

AN ORATION,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE
CITIZENS OF LENOX

ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF

American Independence,

1802.

BY LEVI GLEZEN, A. B.

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*And let me perish, but in CATO's judgment,  
One day, one hour of virtuous Liberty,  
Is worth a whole eternity in Bondage.      ADDISON.*  
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PITTSFIELD :
PRINTED BY PHINEAS ALLEN.

REQUEST OF THE COMMITTEE.

LENOX, JULY 2, 1802.

SIR,

At this late hour we are obliged to request you, to prepare and deliver an ORATION, to the Inhabitants of LENOX, &c. on the ensuing Anniversary occasion.

We are, Sir,

With great esteem and respect,

Your Obedient Servants,

J. GOODWIN,
A. EGLESTON,
C. HYDE,
D. COLLINS,
J. WILLARD, } Committee of
Arrangements.

Mr. LEVI GLEZEN.

GRATEFUL TRIBUTE.

LENOX, JULY 5, 1802.

SIR,

In behalf of the Audience, we return you many thanks for the well-timed and excellent ORATION delivered this day, in commemoration of AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE; and we beg leave to request of you a copy for the Press.

We believe the sentiments contained in it will be agreeable to Republicans, friends to order; and are conformable to the principles of the Government under which we live, and are determined to support.

We are,

With the highest esteem and respect,

Your Obedient Servants,

COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENT.

Decorative flourish

MR. GLEZEN'S REPLY TO THE COMMITTEE.

LENOX, JULY 5, 1802.

GENTLEMEN,

Accept my acknowledgment for the polite manner, in which you have made known to me the will of the Citizens of LENOX, &c. It would have been agreeable to my feelings, that the imperfections of the Oration, prepared hastily and exhibited this day, should not again have come to the notice of the Public. But by your approbation of its contents, and request that it may be printed, I consent to its publication with a few verbal corrections only. I beg you, however, and all others, into whose hands it may fall, to observe that in stating the claims of Great-Britain upon this Country, I kept in view the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, the Petition to the King, and the Bill of Rights, and have sometimes intentionally made use of the phraseology of those instruments; but as I wrote from memory only, and as those papers are in the hands of all, I found it difficult and think it unnecessary to note the extracted phrases. In the two or three pages, where they appear, all may insert quotations, wherever they please.

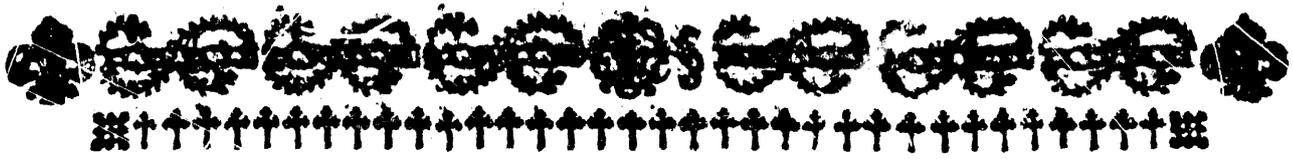
I am with the warmest esteem,

Gentlemen,

Your obliged humble servant,

LEVI GLEZEN.

The Committee of Arrangement.



Oration, &c.

CALLED upon, Fellow-Citizens, by a short notice, to address you on this *Anniversary Occasion*, I do it with a *willing mind* indeed ; but with a *trembling heart*. Having had no time to make rhetorical corrections myself, I leave them to be made by the *candor* of an *ingenuous audience*.— But as I feel the rights, **GOD** forbid that I should not speak the sentiments of an American.

THE authors of the *instrument*, called the *Declaration of Independence*, have often been panegyricized for their patriotism and firmness of soul, manifested on the *fourth of July* one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, a day which gave birth to the *United States* as a nation ; a day which will be interesting to all succeeding generations, and call forth their warmest expressions of praise, wonder and adoration. Situated as they were, at that awful moment, nothing could have supported them but an unlimited confidence in their constituents. This confidence was well placed. Many of the American people, then living, had drank large draughts of *British vengeance*, administered by the hands of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny. From the scourge of oppressive cultivation, they had fled to the protection of the wilderness ; from the rod of refined hierarchy to the liberality of savages. From necessity, they were addicted to labor and habituated to industry, economy, frugality and all the virtues of a simple,

rural life. Scattered over an extensive territory, the riches of whose hills and vallies were the gift of the GOD of nature, oppressed by poverty, but sharing equally the munificence of Heaven, they had not yet been infected with dissipation, nor had they been seduced by the arts of corruption. They were simple in their manners, pure in their morality, indued with vigor, firmness and integrity and inspired with patriotism, which at that time blazed throughout the Continent. They had a strong attachment to the *Liberties* of their Country.— To the love of *these* they had been inured by education. Their customs, their manners, their ideas, habits and local circumstances nourished them, and knowledge, experience and trial had ripened and nearly brought them to perfection. LIBERTY is a plant conatural to the American soil, whose roots sink deep and grow firm, and whose branches are terminated only by the bounds of Heaven. All these circumstances from their nature conduced to render the people of these States indignant to any aggression which should be made on their privileges and immunities, and furnished a strong presumption that they would make a firm and united resistance to any power which should have the hardihood to make an attempt against their freedom. But events had then occurred, which made such a resistance patriotic, necessary and inevitable.

THE principal of these was the enormity of the claims recently advanced by *Great-Britain* and resisted by *America*. These claims may all be summed up in one sentence, viz. “*Great-Britain* has ever had and of right ought ever to have full power to bind the Colonies in all cases whatsoever.”— *Great-Britain* had assumed the power, without the consent of her Assemblies, to keep in this Country a *Standing Army*, with a naval armament, and to quarter Soldiers upon the colonists in time of profound peace; professedly for the purpose of protecting them, but in reality with a design to enforce the collection of taxes and to compel them into obedience

ence to her will and pleasure. *America* asserted that these were repugnant to the genius of her free Constitutions ; and that her citizens, the cultivators of the soil, were able and willing to defend themselves. *Great-Britain* claimed a right to make the civil power dependent on and subservient to the military ; in time of peace to increase the power of the *Commander in Chief* and under him of the *Brigadier-Generals*, to render them supreme in all the civil Governments in *America* and to make them the *Governors of Colonies*. *America* maintained that, by the *British Constitution*, the civil power ought ever to be superior to the military. *Great-Britain* claimed the privilege to send hither swarms of officers to eat out our substance and devour our living. *America* preferred officers and rulers of her own choice and attached to her interest. *Great-Britain* had empowered the *Officers of the Customs* to break open and enter houses. *America* said this was against law, unless with the authority of a civil magistrate founded on legal information. *America* claimed that her Judges should have fixed salaries and be independent of either branch of the Legislature. *Great-Britain* had decreed that the Admiralty Courts should receive their salaries and fees from the effects condemned by themselves ; that the Common Law Judges should be dependent on one part of the Legislature for the payment of their salaries and the duration of their commissions. *America* maintained that her citizens, as *British* subjects, were entitled to the privilege of trial by Jury and to be presumed innocent until proved guilty.—*Great-Britain* had decreed by extending the powers of the Admiralty Courts, that the trial by Jury in many civil cases should be abolished ; that in others the burden of the proof of innocence should lie upon the accused ; that the colonists might be tried in *England* for offences, alledged to have been committed in *America* ; and that for certain crimes persons might be indicted and tried in any shire or county within the realm. *America* asserted that the ancient Constitutions and Laws which had descended to her citizens from their ances-

tors, ought ever to be holden sacred, and that they were bound by no laws to which they had not, either in person or by their representatives given their consent. *Great-Britain* would allow them no representation but in name; Parliament had undertaken to give and grant their money without their consent; repeatedly and injuriously to dissolve and suspend the Assemblies of the Colonies; to alter fundamentally the forms of Government established by charter and secured by acts of its own Legislature, solemnly confirmed by the Crown; and to erect, in a neighbouring Province a despotism, whose encroaching nature was dangerous to their political existence. *America* claimed only the enjoyment of her accustomed privileges; she asked but for *Peace, Liberty and Safety*; she required only the favor of *life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness*, under the protection of her ancient usages and laws. *Great-Britain* had undertaken to deprive them of every thing dear to *freemen*; of the power of self-protection, of complaint, of justice, of their lives and liberties; they had assumed to take away their property without their consent; to deprive them of the right of representation; to make them entirely dependent on the will of their King; to erect over their heads a despotic tyranny; and, in one word, the climax of arrogance, "to bind the Colonies in all cases whatsoever." These claims on the part of *Great-Britain* were not merely speculative; but they had been asserted with confidence and partly enforced. *Great-Britain* advanced her plans with a dark, intriguing policy; they were discovered by the American Patriots, who trembled and paused.

THE inhabitants of this country had proceeded too far to recede. They had manifested a violent opposition to the first encroachments on their liberties, and so early as the year 1765, had procured the repeal of the *Stamp Act*. The citizens of *Boston* had thrown overboard the teas, on which a duty was laid; and when for their offence, their port was shut by a navy, they had received assistance from every part
of

of *America*. The *Assemblies* remonstrated; but their remonstrances were treated with neglect. In the year 1774, Delegates from the Colonies met in Congress, published a *Declaration of Rights*, sent a *petition* to the King and *addresses* to the inhabitants of *Great-Britain*, of *Canada* and of the several States. After *Great-Britain* had laid burdensome restrictions on their trade and fisheries, and their various petitions had taken no effect; after the agents of the people had been repeatedly dismissed and the *Governors* instructed to prevent the payment of their salaries, preparations began to be made to oppose aggressions by force of arms. *Lexington* drank the first blood shed in this civil war. The scenes at *Ticonderoga*, *Quebec* and *Charleston*, with other events soon followed, which rendered all hopes of reconciliation desperate. The *Americans*, tho' cool, determined and moderate at first, had now assumed the voice and conduct of a man. Their resentment was raised by the savage manner in which the war had been commenced. *Charleston*, *Norfolk* and *Falmouth* had been wantonly laid in ashes; their countrymen had been murdered; women and children had been put to flight; and their *complaints* and their *privileges* were trampled under foot. Tho' the power of *Great-Britain* was formidable; tho' unrivaled at sea; tho' her coffers were replenished and the number of her citizens and arms were countless; tho' she was flushed with a recent triumph over her hated enemy and rival; yet the hearts of the *Americans* were not appalled by these considerations; but their souls were united more strongly in defence of a common cause, interest and country. No conditions were proffered them but *slavery* or *death*. One enthusiastic flame of resentment for injuries committed, glowed from *New-Hampshire* to *Georgia*. These States, weak in themselves, destitute of resources and credit and untutored in arms, saw the red scourge of bondage brandished over them; they knew no refuge but in *unanimity of resistance*; in this they sought it, and in this they found it.—
 “ *In their own native land, in defence of their freedom, which*

was their birth-right, for the protection of their property, acquired solely by honest industry, against violence actually offered" out citizens took up arms. "With a humble confidence in the mercies of the Supreme and Impartial Judge and Ruler of the Universe," and relying on the support of their constituents, the Representatives of the *United States* in Congress assembled, published to the world the *Declaration of Independence*; and the inhabitants pledged themselves to each other by their *sacred honor* to defend with their lives and fortunes, their liberty and country from every hostile aggression. *America* then closed with her adversary in an appeal to arms, and submitted her cause to be tried by the great arbiter of the fate of Nations.

THE particular scenes of this eight years contest, are many, various and interesting; they have employed the best geniuses of the American Orators, poets and historians; it is presumed they are fresh in the memories of all and need no recapitulation in this place. Suffice it to say, that the *Americans*, tho' they suffered many defeats and endured unparalleled hardships; tho' at the close of the year 1776, weakened and disheartened, they could boast only of their gallant exploit at *Trenton*; yet in 1777 they were successful at *Berlin* and *Saratoga*; in 1778 they vanquished the enemy at *Monmouth*, and made a Treaty with *France*; by whose assistance, in the succeeding years, they were conquerors at *Stoney-Point*, *Savannah*, *Rhode-Island*, *Guilford*, the *Eutaw Springs*, and finally on the 19th of October, 1801, they triumphed over the *British* arms at *York-Town*. On the 30th of November, 1782, the provisional articles of Peace were signed at *Paris*, and *England* acknowledged the *Independence* and *sovereignty* of the *United States of America*. Thus closed the *Revolution*, disgracefully for *Great-Britain*; honorably for *America*.

SCARCELY is it probable, Fellow-Citizens, that the *American Patriots* foresaw, that in all succeeding generations, the

the *Day* on which they published the *Declaration of Independence* would be numbered among their happiest Anniversary Occasions. Yet they have lived to see this, in a measure accomplished ; and no nation can boast of an Anniversary in which JOY may be more rationally expressed than our own.

By the American Revolution we were separated from the dominion of a *foreign power*, from all her exorbitant claims and her destructive policy. Her character is thus admirably sketched by Governor LIVINGSTON of *New-Jersey*. "What," says he, "is their present Government, and what has it been for years past, but a *pensioned confederacy* against *reason* and *honor* and *virtue* and *patriotism* and the rights of man ! What their Governors, but a set of political craftsmen ; flagitiouſly conspiring to erect the Babel of Despotism on the ancient and beautiful fabric of Law ! A *shameless cabal* ; notoriously employed in deceiving the Prince, corrupting the Parliament, debasing the People, depressing the most virtuous and exalting the most profligate ! A Junto of public Spoilers, daily increasing a public Debt, already enormous ! And moreover, she is precipitating her own fall or *the age of miracles is returned*." "From such a nation," as the learned gentleman concludes, it was evidently our interest to be detached. What would have been the condition of *America* during the late wars in *Europe*, had *Great-Britain* succeeded in her plans, or had this country submitted on *her* terms. While the reflective mind reviews the bloody scenes, acted beyond the Atlantic, and contemplates the misery, horror and devastation, which have been promiscuously scattered through those fertile fields, the humiliation of *Great-Britain* at the commencement of peace and her impending bankruptcy, it cannot but ascend in grateful praises to Heaven, that in time we were snatched from the jaws of a similar fate, and far remote from those scenes of woe, had become a free, independent and powerful Nation.

THIS joy must be heightened, when we consider the object and principles of the Revolution and the manner in which it was conducted. The war was commenced *voluntarily* by *Great-Britain*; *reluctantly* by the Colonies. *Americans* fought not for conquest, they followed no ambitious conqueror; they were duped by no artifice; but with a full view of their own situation, they risked their all in defence of their freedom, of peace, liberty and security. They were without Law to aid their operations; yet with remarkable unanimity they abode by the recommendations of Congress, like the *Decrees of Heaven*. Inspired with the greatness of the idea of raising a nation from bondage and misery to independence and happiness, they met no danger which appalled their hearts, or paralyzed their arm. They treated their enemies with a noble magnanimity and conformed themselves exactly to the rules of war.—Not such was the conduct of their Adversaries. They considered the Colonists, from the first, as *rebels* and would allow them the benefit of none of the principles, which have been instituted to moderate the fury of civil dissensions. By *them* our citizens were hunted down like wild beasts. Dragged to prisons, or confined in the holes of ships, they were there suffered to pine and starve and die. Many were conducted to secret executions and died unseen, unlamented. Many of our citizens, shut up in towns and not allowed to depart, suffered all the horrors of famine and siege. There are, perhaps, *some* in this audience, who well remember these events and the time, when *Great-Britain*, in her madness and delirium, let loose the Savages upon the defenceless inhabitants; when their ears were daily saluted with the news of families murdered, of women and children fleeing in consternation; when they beheld the conflagration of cities and towns, as *Kingston, Norwalk, Fairfield and Danbury*; when they lamented the loss of public and private property; when they saw with anger, the destruction of houses consecrated to religious purposes and to the cultivation of the arts and sciences.—Rejoice, *Ye Young*, that in the short span of your lives, ye have not witnessed such scenes; but

learn,

learn, they are the offspring and natural result of unbridled, unlimited tyranny.

THE real friends of the American Revolution, will with ever fresh delight review the virtues of the great men who led them to victory and independence; with whom they toiled and bled. Their integrity and patriotism can never be called in question. By all wise men, WASHINGTON, FRANKLIN, JEFFERSON, JOHN and SAMUEL ADAMS, GREEN, JAY, LAURENCE, HANCOCK, R. T. PAIN and many others will ever be considered the most glorious characters, that ever adorned the theatre of action and will ever be quoted as models of republican virtue. Let us entertain a lively sense of their talents, industry, integrity and services; let our country confer on them the reward, due to their merit and beware lest *ingratitude* be named the *vice* of the American Republic.

ANOTHER source of joy, which affects our breasts on this day, is the effects, which have flowed from the American Revolution. It has impressed a benign aspect on Religion. Various, indeed, are the forms, under which the God of Heaven is worshiped. The people appeal to their own good sense in the choice of their religious creeds and the rising generation, far from having their minds shackled with false opinion and wild theories, as soon as they commence their existence, which it is lawful for them neither to examine nor contradict, are early invited to the exercise of their reason on religious subjects, and to ground the principles of their moral conduct on truth, derived from the contemplation of nature, of society and the scriptures.—Americans voluntarily support their religion. They throng the temples and perform the worship of their God, because they believe in his existence; they sing hymns to his praise, because they adore his attributes; they support his ministers, because they are his legates and consult their welfare, they are governed by the principles of their religion, because they make the bands of
social

social order more firm, conduce to their happiness *here* and lead to the Gates of Heaven *hereafter*.—Charity exalts her hoary head, reconciles discordant interests and breathes peace to man.

THE American manners and Government have received their impression from the principles of the Revolution. Europe and the world have long witnessed an astonishing order of things ; a priesthood to blind, a nobility to corrupt and a royalty to tyrannize. These orders of men, secure of power independently of the suffrages of the people, treat their inferiors with a contempt and haughtiness, not to be borne by freemen ; while they are met by the arts of the courtier, by a cringing servility and the fawning meanness of sycophants ; the offspring of minds, lost to a sense of moral duty and contented with the shackles of slavery. A great disparity of rank among individuals, is the fond child of an inequality of property and they are both the barbarous remnants of the Feudal System. In Europe the people have not as here, an absolute and exclusive right to the soil they cultivate. The higher Orders have engrossed all property as well as all power, the few are served by the many, while the hungry are not fed and the naked are not clothed. The humble laborer must bow the knee to the Sceptre of power and riches, independence of character is lost, the inferior approaches the superior with profound reverence and awe and sincerity and virtue are forgotten.—A great disparity in the wealth of individuals is the parent of atrocious crimes. While the nobles are attired in all the splendor, earth affords, while they gild their vices with a profusion of equipage and ornament, while they conceal their vices and their acts of oppression under names and titles, while they secure themselves from justice by the grandeur and magnificence of their order, the multitude are caught with the glare and these men and these manners, instead of becoming objects of abhorrence and detestation, become examples for imitation. Poverty it-
self

self will break over all bounds and men will commit innumerable crimes to gratify the cravings of nature ; but to participate the delicacies of life, thus enchantingly set before them, they will spare no exertion, however wicked, desperate, or contrary to Law. Thus the lower and middle classes, among whom virtue naturally dwells, are corrupted by the higher classes, where it seldom dwells. Hence a want of confidence, dishonesty, cruelty, perfidy, brutality and a general dissipation of manners, have pervaded all the populous parts of Europe, and hence *one tremendous groan of millions* is heard from their gibbets and their goals. From the causes of these evils we are, thanks to Heaven, delivered. It might, perhaps be displeasing to *some*, who reside at the Court of St. James' and perhaps at that of Versailles' to assert, that all men are by nature equal. Yet the Americans have so thorough a conviction of this truth, that they have ventured to make it the foundation of their manners as well as of their laws. The manners of this country are republican. They are marked with a familiarity, a boldness, an assurance, dignity and independence, that must at once convince a stranger, that those possessed of them, consider themselves men, and entitled to the rights and privileges of men. Happy are the climes, where an equality of rank prevails. Happy soil which yields an easy subsistence to the cultivator, happy society, where property follows industry, genius and enterprize. There may we hope to find peace and refinement ; there the reign of virtue ; there shall we see a people, possessed of manners, uncorrupted with effeminacy, sloth, pride, extravagance and debauchery ; manners derived from principles pure and simple ; connected with morality, noble, honorable in themselves and producing happiness in their consequences.—Happy Americans ! thus highly distinguished in your morality, religion and manners.—Let us ever cherish the rational freedom and just equality, from which they take their origin. “ Begin,” says Mirabeau, “ with the infant in the cradle, let the first words he lisp be WASHINGTON and Liberty.” On this subject,

subject, let every heart beat in unison. It is the distinguishing glory of the United States, that the real and not the ideal good of the nation, is secured by their legal systems. The Charters of our freedom guard our rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, while they are careful never to violate any natural privilege, unless they restore more than an equivalent.—Say not that men, inflamed with the love of freedom, will loose a sense of subordination. An enlightened and free People will ever pay obedience to legal authority and they are not so easily induced to rise in opposition to a *government* formed and approved by themselves, as to a *government*, founded in usurpation. The minds of the American youth are early and scrupulously impressed with a deference to superiors and there is in no country a more solid respect, manifested to those, clothed with authority; a respect, originating from the esteem, which the *People* entertain for the virtues and merit of those, whom they are pleased to make their servants, and whom they *delight to honor*. They are not indeed, taught to pay homage to character on account of a star, a ribbon, or some bauble of distinction, which the pride of man has invented and which ignorance for ages, has holden in sacred veneration. The ancient badges of haughty grandeur, some derived from high birth and noble ancestors have vanished in this country and in their room is substituted the only glory, designed for men on the earth; a glory ever attendant on abilities, meritorious services and a fair unspotted moral character. Citizens, with these qualifications, meet with esteem and reward. Children are early taught to list the praises of their Country's preservers and benefactors, to warble hymns in praise of their exploits, to strow laurels in the paths they tread, to listen to their story with the profoundest attention and to regard their memories as eternally sacred.—This is however a government of the people; it was formed by them, preserved by them and must ever be supported by and for them or not at all. Those, who administer it are their servants and to them must be amenable. The *Legislator* will not receive applause, because he is the representative

representative

representative of a few thousands of people ; but because he labors for their welfare. The *general* will not be crowned with laurels, because he holds a commission from a despot, trampling on freedom ; but because he has courage and abilities to enable him and a heart to induce him to step forth in defence of his country. *Civilians* and *Judges* will not be honored on account of their *robes* ; but because they are just and wise interpreters of the *Laws* and are supposed to judge uprightly. The *ministers* of *Religion* will not be venerated for their surplices, their bands and their politics ; but because they are the messengers of peace and truth and are clothed with piety, morality and humility.

THE pomp of royalty, the attire and high-flown finery of its appendages bewilder and misguide the mind and lead it to place a false value on every thing around it. This glare can never long dazzle eyes, enlightened by the rays of liberty and education. Public opinion has in this country, attributed to character an importance, proportioned to its worth and excellence and this age has set a new value on men and things. The military has given way to the civil power, both in view of the public and of the constitution. Characters once thought humble and despicable are brought into estimation. No American is debarred from the highest post of honor. The ingenious artist and the laborious mechanic have their encouragement : The man of originality and invention finds his reward : The physician, the divine, the civilian and the man of science have a due weight in society, and even the labor of the husbandman, who furnishes the necessaries of life, who preserves good neighborhood and gives from his stores to poverty, is softened by the attention, politeness and independence, which he receives. The people as enlightened freemen, require justice, not only with regard to their civil rights ; but in their characters, in the reward of merit and in political consequence.

INSTITUTIONS in this country are valued from their benign tendency and not from the magnificence of their numbers.

numbers.—Our Patriots, *paragons* of worth in themselves, with talents and virtue, with the knowledge of the local interests of their country, the wisdom of ages before them, formed the American Constitution, full of *mutual concessions* and *mutual sacrifices*, and the People, when they ratified and put their names to this instrument, made it the cement of their union, the pledge of national prosperity, the guardian of their rights, their shield, their glory and their defence.—The state governments, the municipal towns and corporate societies are the offspring of consummate wisdom and they do honor to those, who planned and improved them. The philosophic, humane and agricultural societies have also justly acquired fame and importance and are entitled to the highest eulogium. The zeal and integrity, with which they are conducted, and the good they have already produced, are the most sure omens, that the ends for which they were instituted will be answered and the labors of their benefactors requited. Yet it is the conviction alone, that these institutions are on the whole, calculated to produce the greatest supposable sum of human happiness—that gives them popularity and stability. They live therefore, in the affections of the people and they can never be destroyed, till the people are corrupted or are exterminated. Confidence is their life and support, and if this confidence continues unimpaired by *vice* in the people or *corruption* in the rulers, they may vie with the pyramids of Egypt in duration.

YOUR patience, Fellow Citizens, will not follow me thro' all the domestic improvements, made by the genius of our countrymen, awakened by the events of the revolution. We can travel into no parts of the United States, but we meet astonishing improvements in arts and sciences and morals: We can visit no class of citizens, but we find them invigorated and pursuing their business with activity. We can look into no corner, or neighborhood of our country, but we find the inhabitants benefited by the revolution and the free constitutions of government, which followed it.

ON this day, consecrated to festivity, it is presumed the American LADIES will find ample reasons to rejoice at the amelioration of their condition, in the respectable figure, they make and the important station, they hold in their country. They are no longer considered the baubles and drudges, whose freedom is despised and whose minds are not worthy of cultivation. Passing the bounds of vulgar prejudice, they have broken from servitude and insignificance and aspire to a rank, which nature and their own constitutions have assigned them. They have not, indeed been very ambitious to shine as politicians ; they have not been very anxious to become the promoters of those voluptuous habits and customs, which sometimes draw down misery and ruin on families and societies ; they have not been forward to assume the sphere, in which a Miss WOLSTONCRAFT would desire them to figure ; but they have aspired to the preeminent rank of respected wives and tender mothers ; they have taken on themselves the glorious task of instructing their own sons and daughters ; they have assumed the distinguished privilege to diffuse sensibility and refinement, and to cultivate the morals and manners of their country ; they have undertaken to form associations for the relief of the helpless orphan, to soften the sorrows of life, to correct a vicious taste and to make the ways of virtue inviting to the stranger. In their houses are neatness, œconomy, industry, and hospitality ; in their manners are propriety and elegance ; in their countenances dwell modesty and sensibility, in their hearts charity ; on their tongues lives piety and in their conduct are fidelity, prudence, judgment and discretion.—The Ladies, who have contributed by their instruction to this amelioration in the condition of their sex, have merited well of them and will no doubt receive the highest rewards. They will be numbered among the WORTHIES who adorn our country and of whom it boasts.

HERE let us pause, Fellow Citizens and consider, whether there are now any circumstances in our country, which

which may check the fervency of the joy, expressed on this day. Many complaints are made. It is often said, that the Americans, ever fickle and unsteady, have departed from their republican forms of government, and have become entangled with ideas, repugnant to the genius and principles of their constitution. It is to be observed however, that altho' these destructive sentiments have frequently made their appearance on paper, they have not yet made their way to the hearts of our citizens. The good sense of the Common People in this country have decided many questions, which might have long puzzled the brains of speculative men.—When they are told, that it is contrary to the constant experience of all nations, that a great republic should be free from anarchy and revolutions, that the laws should be made by the people and yet be sufficiently energetic to protect them; *They* reply: In many things, we have advantages over the *Ancients*, especially in a general diffusion of knowledge and an equal chance for property. Our political constitutions differ essentially from all others, ancient or modern. Let the *learned* admire the *venerable rolls* of antiquity; In them, they may trace the first dawnings of Liberty and mark her progress and her errors. The *most grown columns* and *broken arches* of *Greece* and *Rome* may be full of instruction. From all *these*, our Statesmen may reap a rich harvest of wisdom. But for us, we shall not recur to ancient Fables for the Characters of our Freedom. They shall be conformed to the great Laws of Nature and to the Constitution and local circumstances of ourselves. We will have the *reign of Laws*; not of men. When they are told, that Liberty is a *relative term*, suited to a certain ideal state of society; never existing in reality; *they* reply: We are the judges of the degree of Liberty, suited to our state of refinement, and we will admit no other judges on earth in our case. Liberty is the gift of Heaven; it is impressed on our natures and without it, man is a beast.—When the People are told that men are *vicious* and *partial to themselves*, and therefore are not fit to govern

themselves,

themselves, they reply: If man cannot govern himself, can he be trusted to govern others? There is certainly but one Being in the Universe sufficiently good and disinterested to be entrusted with unlimited dominion. That government is best which unites most wisdom, goodness and strength. These, we find united in our Confederated Representative Republics, and these we will cultivate and support.—When the People are told, that whenever by the imprudence or zeal of party spirit, their Representatives shall pass an unconstitutional act, their excellent constitution, the palladium of their prosperity, the ark of their safety becomes a mere nullity; they reply; This constitution is a contract entered into by ourselves, it runs in our names, “WE THE PEOPLE,” &c. it is a contract subsisting betwixt each individual and the whole community and no power is able to destroy it, but we, the power that made it.

. IT is complained, that the AMERICANS under THIS GOVERNMENT have become vicious. This assertion is made unfairly. With the progress of every society, individuals will become luxurious. Are they *more vicious* under *this government* than they would have been under any other form of government? may be a proper question. In no Country, perhaps, do the virtues flourish more, in no country is religion kept more pure or its ministers better supported; and let the adversaries of republican principles remember, that notwithstanding all their labors to the contrary; the sense, integrity, firmness, patriotism, industry, and virtue of the American Yeomanry will of themselves preserve pure our free Constitutions of government for ages to come.

IT is complained that the PEOPLE are become seditious. If the Anti-republican News-Papers were the mouths of the Citizens, this might be asserted with justice. From whence do all the abuse and calumny against our government proceed? They proceed from men, displaced from office and desperate in their fortunes: They proceed from Renegado Englishmen, from men, who would gladly raise their own fortunes on the ruin and ashes of their Country; and they proceed from men, who are perhaps encouraged by a few *high friends* of Royalty. A great majority of the People, despise, detest and would gladly see the *Authors* of these infamous Libels suppressed. They would not however wish to see this effected by the power of Sedition Laws. If a *man* should be found in the United States, so mad, so desperate, so devoid of duty and of love to his Country, so lost to himself as wantonly to sport with and asperse the character of the First Magistrate of the Nation, in whom is concentrated its Dignity, to denounce his friends the *high officers* of State to be *venal hirelings*; to declare

Congress

Congress to be bribed and dependent on a presidential nod; to assert that they were fools and blackbeards, betraying our interest and undoing our Country. On such a man the People would inflict a proper and adequate punishment. They would indeed leave him to flourish in his fortune, as a monument that the Liberty of the Press may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat error; they would not have him shut from the sight of men in the gloomy recesses of a prison; but they would leave him to sink in merited disgrace and to read in the countenances of his fellow citizens the severest detestation of his crimes.

It is complained that our citizens are divided among themselves. This is a serious, a melancholy truth. The great body of the People are not however divided as to the essential principles of our government. They disagree with respect to characters and facts, which are too far removed from their view to be accurately discerned. When the fogs and the mists, which now surround many of these, shall be dispelled, the hope is cherished, that they will again unite; and it is believed the time is not far distant, when moderation shall prevail over rash councils; when the northern, the middle and the southern States shall no longer be mentioned as names of party discrimination; when esteem shall follow individuals as men, hospitality as christians and justice as republicans; when Americans shall speak the same language, be governed by the same principles, possess the same views, unite in the same cause and breathe the same sentiments.

It is complained that the People have lost all confidence in their government—Their confidence ever ought to be unconstrained and unlimited and never will they, it is hoped, engage themselves to follow any set of rulers to every length, they may please to lead them. If they find their confidence to have been misplaced, they will withdraw it. If the past Administration and the men out of office, suffer an unmerited disgrace, every American will compassionate their situation and wish justice to be done them. Still the People had a right to displace them as much as any citizen has a right to dismiss a servant, when for causes *reasonable or unreasonable*, he is displeased with him. But a confidence in and obedience to the will of the Majority of the United States, expressed by the Constitutional organs never has been lost by the People. This confidence and obedience to the *will* of the Majority of the nation, supported the United States in the late revolution and the People have never lost sight of it. These principles are in themselves all important to *their* safety and are the only preservers of *their* freedom and constitution. To these the People have ever been inviolably attached. The Sedition and Alien Laws, the Stamp Act, a navy established, an army raised, taxes imposed, officers multiplied, some of which acts were perhaps unconstitutional, certainly repugnant to the genius of our free constitution and highly offensive to the People, never erased these principles from their minds. Seditious pamphlets and inflammatory *News Papers* made no impression upon them. Two insurrections, raised and headed by misguided and wild leaders were suppressed without trouble or difficulty. No person befriended or succored them; but the leaders were legally brought to justice. All the Acts of the Federalists, however obnoxious, or however decried were paid obedience to, until they expired themselves or were constitutionally repealed—This confidence in and obedience to the will of the Majority, we hope is predominant at the present time. Should a Faction now arise, determined to raise a *Monarchy* in this country on the present beautiful order of things, to form the *Dismissed Judiciary* into an Aristocracy, and to raise an *Established Priesthood* on the ruins of freedom of opinion; should a *Judiciary Consultation*, rumoured to be holden next Month at Philadelphia, dare to consult the ruin and blood of their country; let them first know, that there are few of the American Yeomanry willing to hazard every thing, dear to them, in an *uncertain civil war*; that there is a Band of Veterans in this country, thinned indeed by death, but again replenished with youth and vigor, the blood, that runs in whose veins, many winters have not chilled, and the glistening blades of whose swords, now rusty in their sheaths will take ample vengeance on the Authors of confusion: Let them first know in the *elegant rhetoric* of the Inimitable* Mr. Otis, that they will soon see their Royalty toiled on one wave of the sea, their Judiciary and Nobility on another,

* It is reported, that Mr. Otis, in an address to an electioneering Caucus in Boston, said: *Where now is the Federal Government? It is blown away by the winds: You will find the Army on one wave of the sea, the navy on another, the revenue on another and the judiciary on another,*

their Priesthood on another and the Leaders themselves wasted on the foaming billows, far—far from land and there permitted to excite sedition and raise rebellion among the scaly monsters of the Ocean.—But perhaps the suspicion is unjust and the information ill-founded.

COMPLAINTS are brought against the President: He has turned good men out of office, filled them with villains, committed many unconstitutional acts, and pursued a course of administration, violent and unwarrantable. Jefferson needs no panegyrist to vindicate and clear his character from all the aspersions, that are wantonly thrown out against him. His own actions are his highest eulogium and by his own works he will be supported against all the assaults of his enemies. You are, however, requested to reflect, by whom these charges are made. Most of them are doubtless made, by men opposed to your interest and to a republican administration and on that account opposed to Jefferson, before he had taken one step in his office, by men angry at his appointment and irritated at the loss of their places and emoluments, altho', in most cases deprived of them by the will of the nation, expressed by Congress; by men, dismissed from the Army, and by men determined on revenge for the disappointment of their hopes in ruining our free constitution and raising ANOTHER from its ruins. Few of these complaints are brought against the President by men, who obtain their living by fair honest industry. Neither time nor adequate information will permit me to exhibit any thing new to the refutation, already many times made to the charges brought against our First Magistrate, not only as we believe, to weaken our confidence in him, but in the constitution itself. Knowing him to be the centre, in whom the Republicans now unite, it is imagined, however vainly, that he being removed, anarchy and its attendants would ensue. Jefferson may have erred; but most of the charges, brought against him refute themselves; some, on examination are found groundless; some are untrue, and all may be palliated, excused or justified. Jefferson is a character not lately come into public notice. He acted a distinguished part in the Revolution; he has been high in the confidence of Virginia and of the United States; is extensively known as an author; possesses abilities and talents, equal to any in America; has been tried and found faithful and if ever a man merited a fair, impartial trial and a candid construction of his conduct, it is he. These are the only favors, which he claims. He desires you to judge candidly and impartially and if at the end of four years, you do not find him to have been faithful and praiseworthy, he owns and recognizes your right to dismiss and supercede him.—But he will be found to have been the friend of America and he will then be numbered among the best of Patriots: He will be found to have been, not the President of a Party, but of the nation.

Tho' complaints should, on this day, check the effusions of joy in some of our Citizens, they are such as have existed in all nations in a more violent degree and must be expected in our own. Perhaps they are attached to the constitution of man. Let the dissatisfied be candid to themselves. Let them not contemplate the desolation alone, made by the wind, the rain and the lightning, while they neglect to observe the verdure and luxuriance, which they bring to the vegetable Kingdoms. Let them be assured that any change in our government like a change in the laws of nature would be attended with greater evils. Let them look around and they will behold many reasons for rejoicing. In many important, national concerns, our free constitutions, formed and nurtured by the spirit of the Revolution have been connected with the most desirable consequences. They have called forth the Latent Hamdens and united the best of men and the best abilities in a glorious cause. Riches are multiplying from a thousand channels; Commerce, increasing with every gale, that strikes her canvass, unfolds her treasure; the Earth yields to the hand of industry her nutritious stores; the Number of the inhabitants is greatly augmented; Peace pervades our borders; Improvement is awakened; the Arts and Conveniences of life are multiplied and made easy; the Temples of Religion and Science arise and are crowded with their votaries; Philosophy is cherished in every corner; Morality and Ethics are improved; the Problem, that general Virtue is the result of general information, in a degree is verified; Sorrow and Misery are more gentle in their effects; the Springs of Happiness vibrate more lively: the voice of Oratory has been heard in our country; the Muses crown their votaries with a living bay; Music strikes her rapturous notes; the Canvass and the Marble begin to breathe, and the Genius of America calls her to Glory.—“Hail Columbia! happy land!”—Hail Independence! hail!—Hail the rights of Man!

Since then, Fellow Citizens, we are revelling in the sweets of Independence, under our own vine and fig-tree, let us entertain a compassionate regard toward those of our fellow creatures, not so highly favored. No passions have received a higher polish in the hearts of Americans than humanity and the love of Country. Men, under the specious pretext of advancing their country's good,

Have carried destruction over the globe; have warred upon the laws of nature and its God, have broken the ties of honor and tumbled order into chaos, while white robed humanity with peace within her train has retired to some solitary desert and there in mournful strains, bemoaned her lost, forsaken cause. Her voice has been heard by the sons of Columbia, and altho' "it is sweet and pleasant to die for one's country" no American citizen is dignified with the name of *Patriot*, who does not respect her rights. May her name be ever respected in these States. May it be engraven on the ensigns of their union and never be erased. May a phrenzy for war, blood and conquest never disgrace our Annals, may peace and moderate councils forever pervade our borders.—Let us cultivate the kindly affections. Natural feeling revolts at the idea, that friends should defame the characters and shed the blood of friends. Nature recoils, that men, who are filled with violence and lies should be deified and adored. The heart misgives, when dishonesty, cruelty, hatred, revenge, injustice and impiety are mistaken for better qualities. Ignorance and mistaken notions give these passions, their credit: Seen aright, they are detested.—May our citizens ever prefer the *public good* to a *private* or *partial* benefit and may they with a noble magnanimity of soul, ever sacrifice resentment to patriotism. May they forbear to commit any act or express any sentiment, which shall countenance or tend to the division of the States, for their union is the cement of their national glory and welfare. May they remember the words of their beloved WASHINGTON: The partition of the States is an event, most ardently desired by your *enemies* the most to be dreaded by *yourselves*. May it be the ambition of every citizen to discard party spirit and with joy to hail the return of the unmingled felicity, enjoyed under the administration of that illustrious Character. Let us discard ill founded prejudices against our brethren in any part of the Union. Let us remember, there are men in Virginia and the other States, as noble, as generous, as disinterested and as great as any in Massachusetts or New-England. They with us largely participate in the felicity of this day. While, therefore we assemble around the festive board, let us recollect, that they were once united with us in a common cause; as we are now united by a common interest, let us tender them our friendship and our best wishes for their prosperity; and as we all partake of the bounty of a common country, let us all unite in a firm resolution and engage ourselves with them by our sacred honor, unanimously to defend with our lives and fortune its freedom and constitution from every hostile aggression. May the vibrations, excited by the roar of the Artillery in New-England on this day, be repercussed by those of the Southern and Middle States; may they bound over the lofty Allegany and meet with accelerated force in Kentucky and Tennessee and finally die away on the inhospitable shores of Louisiana.

MAY religion, morality and information be encouraged, and extended as the most unfailing source of national happiness and prosperity and the only impregnable barrier to our republican forms of government. May our citizens, when they exercise the right of election, the highest trust, reposed in them by the constitution, never be influenced by an unreasonable party spirit. May they ever have a regard to the wisdom, the age, the experience, the talents and known integrity of the Candidates. May standing armies, the bane of Free States, be discountenanced. May the Militia, that Bull-work of the nation, ever maintain with dignity the very respectable station, which, at present, they hold with so much honor to themselves and safety to their country. May both officers and soldiers be inspired with a martial spirit, with patriotism and a true warlike intrepidity and if it should ever be their fortune to fall in the Field of Battle, may the inscription on the monument, raised over their tombs, be; "Stranger! report in our cities, that in obedience to her laws, we died in defence of our country."

LET us love our Country. It includes every thing, dear to us, wives, children, parents, friends, laws, religion and institutions of every kind. He that should hate his country would be unworthy to live. Patriotism is not an inactive passion. May no class of citizens be supported in luxurious ease on account of high birth or the sacredness of their offices; neither may they be indulged in idle employments; but may every citizen be invited to enter the station, which best accords with his genius and abilities, and fill it with honor and respectability. America opens a vast field and offers large rewards for industry, public virtues and honest characters of every description. No hand need be unemployed; no citizen need spend his time in useless pursuits: There are none, who may not find employments, honorable to themselves and useful to the society in which they live. Exertions for the public benefit are not limited to age, station, or sex.

" 'Tis Ours to dig the metal from the mine,
 " 'Tis Yours, Ye Fair, to polish and refine."

It, in the Providence of God, there is a spot, reserved on the earth for the enjoyment of unadulterated felicity, it is the Corporate Towns of the United States. With few objects of contention, they have retained sufficient power in their hands to consult and regulate their own internal concerns. These are little confederated Democracies, in which men may exercise their abilities in promoting works of utility, in erecting and supporting institutions for the encouragement of morality and education, and in pointing out to their fellow citizens, the means, which tend to civilize their natures and reform their hearts and manners. Here expands an unbounded field for the display of charity. These are theatres, in which good example may be exhibited to the best advantage and effect. The Patrons of towns, taking into view the important doctrine of consequences, may behold themselves placed in very commanding stations. They may promise themselves, that the immediate consequence of making suitable provision for schools of learning may be the good education of their own children and those of their neighbors; but when they reflect, that these schools are to continue for ages, that thousands are there to acquire the first rudiments of Science and Virtue, and that thereby their abilities are to be excited and improved for the good of their country, they may consider themselves the sources of that stream, which devolves, in its current, Columbia's glory and prosperity. The our citizens should not all possess talents, or opportunity to figure in the Field, or thunder in the Senate; may it ever be their pride to shine in these humble societies and to give energy, by a steady exertion of their example and abilities to these humane institutions, may it ever be their ambition to become the first ornaments in these refined, polite and polished neighborhoods, to bear away the palm of goodness and to give the streams of felicity a gentler flow.

ABOVE all; let it be our care, that the blessings, we enjoy may descend to Posterity, and that future generations may largely participate in the *same joy* we express on this Anniversary Occasion. The value of every thing which a man possesses is enhanced from the consideration, that it will descend to posterity and that his children will inherit the same blessings, which *he* now enjoys.—He, that labors for himself alone, is a very insignificant, a very contemptible being: It should be the anxious care of our citizens, that those, who are to come after them, inherit their estates, wear their names, bear their image and be their representatives on the earth, should be worthy of their Fathers. The reflection, which men may have in the days of old age, that they essentially contributed to the amelioration of society, must be a rich compensation for all their Labors. This was the distinguished reward of the last generation and will doubtless be that of the present. The prospect before us, is glorious, unless defeated by wars and divisions among ourselves. In a century or two, the United States will probably be filled with more than an hundred millions of inhabitants and the human species will be astonishingly multiplied. The prospect which arises from the contemplation of the future population, growth and prosperity of the United States in every respect, fills the mind with the most grand, sublime and exalted conception, that ever entered the human imagination. Under the influence of the ameliorated systems of government, now in embryo, administered by the hoary sages of wisdom, this vast Empire, will move on in Unity, like a band of Brothers; she will be ruled and governed by the laws of nature; forgetting vice, war, and conquest, she will progress in science and civilization and be greatly improved in morality; she will become the votary of peace, the seat of virtue and happiness, a land of liberty, a name, a praise, and a blessing in the whole earth; she will look back and bless her preservers and benefactors and with reverence and fear adore her God, while all her inhabitants rend the Heavens with the acclaims of joy and the echoes of felicity. The world, as ever, presents a gloomy aspect. It would then be flattering to the pride of man and an acquisition to society, if while in one part of the Globe, mankind are sunk in barbarism and stupidity and in another are groaning in bondage and slavery, if, while one nation is wading in blood and carnage, and another carelessly sleeping over the tombs of departed Empires, America might be a *spot*, where man shall act up to the dignity of his nature and to the design of God in the creation of the Universe. Let Posterity, therefore, excite our regards; let our Country possess and exercise all our patriotism, love, support and cultivation; and with whomsoever we dwell, or whatever may be our employment, let their various, momentous and vast concerns, employ, as they justly claim, our best endeavors, our warmest wishes, our most ardent desires and most strenuous exertions. Behold the Pride of your Banners and the Ensign of your Union; see, with what speed and alacrity, yonder Silver Eagle claps her wings and loftily soars over the *dark cloud*, that skirts our azure Horizon; My Country! Columbia! go, follow her flight to VIRTUE, INDEPENDENCE and GLORY.