

O R A T I O N,

DELIVERED

ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF

I N D E P E N D E N C E,

AT CONWAY,

ON 1

1804.

—*—
By ELDER JOSIAH GODDARD.
—*—

NORTHAMPTON:

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1804.



Conway, July 4th 1804.

SIR,

HAVING heard the Oration which you this day delivered, we present you our thanks, and request a copy of it for the press.

TUBAL NASH,
JOSEPH RICE,
AUGUSTUS LEONARD,
WILLIAM HAMILTON,
JOHN ARMS.

} Committee.

Elder JOSIAH GODDARD.

GENTLEMEN,

WILLING to gratify you, the Copy is at your pleasure.

JOSIAH GODDARD.

TUBAL NASH and others, Committee.





An O R A T I O N.



Friends and fellow Citizens :

THIS day ushers in the twenty eighth Anniversary of our **NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE** : A day, held in grateful memory by the sons of freedom in this country.

To suitably address you, on this occasion, under existing circumstances, I feel the most lively sensations of my insufficiency ; since the subject with which your listening minds may well expect to be entertained, is that which equals the greatest abilities, and might have justly called forth with honour, the man of talents to address you : But being overpowered with the repeated solicitations of my respectable townsmen, I yield, and offer you the tribute of my tongue ; while on the *generous*, and most *reasonable* exercise of your candor, I ground the only expectation of meeting your approbation.

To assume the airs of the orator, or to use any anxious endeavours to evade the censure of the critic, is foreign to my design ; but to deliver *plain truth*, in *native simplicity*, is the point which I have in view.

Both ancient and modern history teaches us, that it has been the custom of almost every nation to commemorate those days which gave rise to certain, great, and important, events ; and even in the sacred oracles, we meet with instances of this kind. When Egypt's oppressive yoke was broken, and the enslaved sons of Israel went out free, it was solemnly enjoined on them by their Divine Leader, to keep that day in festival remembrance. With such an example before us, and with an event of the same nature, manifestly brought about by the same Divine Ruler, may we not be justified in our convention and public exhibitions this day, if attended with civility ?

The remarkable interpositions of Providence, in behalf of us as a nation, ought ever to be remembered with gratitude :—To discover suitable tokens of joy, on that day, which gave rise to the most interesting event in favour of America, may well become us in our prosperity.

While other nations, who are involved in the sable shades of despotism, *meet*, to celebrate the birth of monarchs and princes—the coronation of emperors and kings, and other trivial events of the like nature—*we meet*, under the spreading banner of liberty, to commemorate the *day*, that saw the imposing bands of
British

British slavery burst asunder in America, and with a manly dignity thrust aside—the *day*, that gave rise to American Independence—the founding of our empire—the birth of freedom, and the rights of man, and laid a foundation for the happiness of millions yet unborn. To commemorate such a day, is worthy of the sons of Columbia, and the peculiar privilege of freemen.

This is a duty we owe to our country, whereby the rising generation may have their minds impressed with a sense of their invaluable privileges, and our happy constitution rendered the golden standard of their present and future union. It is a tribute of gratitude we owe to that *illustrious band of patriotic Heroes*, who have been chief instruments in leading our country to triumph, freedom, and glory;—a tribute of benevolence due to the world at large—to nations that have not yet emerged into liberty, that while they behold her *Star* that has risen in America, brightened by the united respect showed to the birth of freedom, its splendid lustre may animate them in their struggle for it, and lead them forth to enjoy equal rights with happy America.

Convened as we are on this *memorable day*, under the auspices of peace, let us trace for a moment the rise and progress of our Independence—the beauty and excellency of our happy constitution and government, and anticipate with grateful joy the pleasing prospect which lies before us.

When we unfold the volume of history, and trace the origin of those revolutions, which have ~~shaken~~ *shaken* kingdoms and changed the affairs of nations, we find, for the most part, that they have originated, either in the *increasing oppression of over-bearing tyranny*, or in the *aspiring ambition of designing partisans*, who in their exorbitant thirst for the seats of unlawful power, have inflamed the minds of the populace with intrigue, to bring about their perfidious designs. Had the latter of these, been the case with the American revolution, it would have been divested of that *superior lustre*, which now distinguishes it from all others on the records of fame. But the reverse, wholly, is the case.

America, ever obedient to the empire that gave her birth, had scarce began to reap the fruits of her toils on these western shores, when her parent country, whose duty and interest it was to nourish her with the utmost tenderness, beheld her growing importance with an envious eye; and in her *imperious and viciated* council, was formed; and put in execution, the *black design* of filching from her dutiful subjects in America, not only their *hard earned wealth*, but their more *precious and invaluable liberties*.

From this moment the noble genius of America awoke, and saw with a jealous, indignant, eye, the chains that were prepar-

ing for her slavery. Having tasted on her native soil, before she fled to the cultivated regions of America, the bitter effects of *monarchical tyranny*, she was justly alarmed at the most distant prospect of an invasion of her rights: But anxious to evade the bloody scenes of war, with the most pathetic, decent, and supplicating addresses, the impending storm was deprecated. But all to no purpose. The ocean was brightened with the implements of death, and our shores lined with a haughty foe, to enforce *servile* obedience to *oppressive*, and most *unreasonable* laws.

To an enlightened people, who had been accustomed to liberty, death was more welcome than slavery. The voice of danger became the signal of general alarm—our villages poured forth the hardy sons of courage, who with *unequaled* animation met the insulting foe, and bounded their violence.

But who can fully paint the tragical scenes of that long and bloody war that succeeded? when her sable banner was fully unfurled—the portals of death unfolded—the blood of our country poured forth in crimson streams, and our beautiful cities reduced to ashes!

How dismal the prospect now before America! Engaged with the most potent nation on earth—inexperienced in the art of war—dependent on no foreign ally for aid—without adequate resources within—her heroes bleeding on the field of battle, and above all, those *treacherous*, most *fatal* enemies within, who *unnaturally* took a part with the enemy, against their country—their brethren, and their neighbours in their struggle for liberty.

Such was the situation of our country, and such the difficulties that surrounded us, when that *memorable instrument* of our Independence was drawn, the united declaration of which, forever separated us from the British empire.—Propitious day! the occasion of inestimable blessings to our country, and ominous of future good to all the world.—Thou shalt brighten the records of fame when generations sleep in the dust!

How matchless the deed, how bold the declaration, that distinguished this day, and stamped it in the grateful memory of millions! 'Twas heroic courage, and unparallel magnanimity, that signed, in the midst of the perils of war, with a steady hand, *that instrument* which bid defiance to the power of Europe.

But it was the justness of our cause, and a firm reliance on the aid of heaven, that was the foundation of our confidence. And how perspicuous was the arm of heaven in our defence! how apparent the aid of providence thro' every stage of our bloody contest! Tell it to the rising generation, and let it be told to de-

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scending posterity, that it was not the simple wisdom of a single man, nor the strength of the feeble arm of nature, that led us to Independence and obtained us the victory :—But it was the ETERNAL, who advocated our cause—inspired our council with wisdom—headed our armies with a *Washington* (brightest ornament of the age) and led them forth to conquer, till the pride of haughty Britain was humbled, and she compelled in the presence of the world to yield to the force of the American arms, and acknowledge her independence.

This put a period to the distresses of war ;—the shades of that awful night were dispersed, and the halcyon day of reviving peace was ushered in—the jubilant trump of liberty was blown—joy brightened every countenance, and every bosom glowed with gratitude.

Peace being obtained, and the calamities of desolating war over, *government* became the object now in view, by which the *inestimable prize* we had won, might be secured to ourselves, and safely conveyed down as a rich treasure to posterity. Such being the nature of man since his paradisiacal state of innocence, that civil government is absolutely necessary to secure his welfare, and a righteous government may be justly esteemed one of the richest blessings that mankind enjoy, without which the greatest flow of prosperity would only prove a source of misery. On this, therefore, our welfare still depended.

Our *federal system* of policy, tho' famous for the exigencies of the time :—which produced it, after a few years' experience, was found too weak and imperfect for that noble government which the expanding genius of America discovered. This paved the way for the production and establishment of our *excellent, and invaluable, constitution*, that most *illustrious work of human invention*—abounding with strength—replete with wisdom—shining like a star of the first magnitude among those of the most enlightened nations—conveying a light dangerous to tyrants—dreaded by oppressors, and laying a permanent foundation for the equal enjoyment of our dear bought liberties.

Framed by an enlightened people, and able statesmen—with the experience of ages before them—in cool deliberation and harmony—under circumstances peculiarly favourable to escape those evils interwoven in others, it has united in itself every excellency, which has rendered it a source of never failing blessings to America.

This *Palladium* of our country's rights, has laid a foundation for the most happy government on earth. Under its mild and peaceable administration we have derived, and *still may derive*,
all

... those benefits that are calculated to make a *free, independent, and virtuous*, people, happy.—To discover its worth, beauty, and grandeur, we need only to consider its nature and salutary effects.

That the nature of our government is *elective, or representative*, is obvious at the first view. It includes in it the *will*, and the *united voice* of the people, from which it originated, by which it is supported, and by which the whole grand system of administration moves on. This shows it to be *fully*, and in the *highest* sense, a *democratical,* or republican* government; and this discovers at once its *super-excellency*, and the striking contrast it is to an *hereditary, monarchical, or aristocratical* government, or any other whatever, where the people are deprived, wholly, or in part, of this, the dearest of all their rights, and the government originates, solely, or principally, in the *absolute will* of a monarch, or set of nobility.

That the right and power of government is primarily found in the people, is as evident as that all men are born equally free, which is the fundamental principle on which our noble constitution is founded. If this right be in the people, it follows, that every system which does not secure this right unto them is unjust, and opens the way for the most unbounded oppression, and ought to be despised and rejected: But if not found in the people, it follows, that some men are born† rulers and others slaves, and that every exertion of the people to obtain their liberty, in the known world, has been *unjust and rebellious*, and *our* revolution which produced our Independence, has been a *most wicked*

* I have hitherto been of the opinion, that there was no word in the English language, that so fully represented the nature of our government, as the word *republican*. But having remarked that a *republican* had been much degraded—in *England*, like a *witch*, and in our *New-England* not much better, by those that are enemies to our free, and equal, government, and are attached to a *regal policy*; and knowing that when those men of *regal federalism* would degrade a *republican* to the lowest degree, they would term him a *democrat*, and having observed that light was darkness to the *federalists*, it turned quickly in mind that there was something *noble* in the word *democracy*. I immediately took down my *Lexicon* and found that it originated from the Greek, *demos* and *krateo*—*demos*, signifying the people, and *krateo*, to exercise power, which amounts to this plain Eng. . . , a government of the people. This appearing to be most expressive of the nature of our government, I rejoice to give this dreadful word a place in this oration, knowing that truth is of excellent use in *republicanism*.

That there has been in the world two different systems of *democracy*, is a truth. One, by the express will of the whole people assembled for that end, and the other by representatives chosen out of, and by the people. But as there has none such as the first been, or sought for in this country, the contempt is against the latter. It is, therefore, an undeniable truth, that he that is opposed to *democracy* is opposed to the nature of our constitution, and is an enemy to the rights of man.

† Whenever we find persons born into the world, with *crowns* on head, and *sceptre* in hand, we may then (and never till then) safely conclude that the Almighty designed them for rulers, without the voice of the people.

wicked rebellion, and this day ought ever to be held in memorable contempt.

That civil government was designed for the good of mankind, is indisputable: That every political system which has not a tendency to produce this effect is evil, is undeniable: That an *elective* government, administered by the express will of the people, is only calculated to that end; is as evident, as that all men are heirs by nature of equal rights.

Under such a government it is impossible for the great body of the people to be long oppressed, since the balance of power is in their own hands, and the highest in office are amenable for their conduct, and the term of their administration limited. Should our rulers deviate from the path of rectitude, and warp from the golden standard, the constitution, the way is open for every election of the *sovereign people*, to be a peaceable revolution to retrieve the ground we had lost, by deposing them from office, and exalting others in their stead: * But if the power was not in the people, they might quickly lead us out of the light of liberty, into the dreary shades of despotism. The limitation of the offices of our rulers, is therefore, wisely calculated to maintain the nature of our government, and keep it pure.

As our constitution secures the *right of suffrage* on which the safety of our lives essentially depends, so it equally secures our *property*, which no other but a *democratic* system will fully justify. For if the people are deprived, in any degree, of an equal voice in government, in the like proportion they are liable to be deprived of security of life and property.

The welfare and strength of a nation, in a great measure depend on their wealth, and consequently, on every thing that tends to produce, increase, and secure it. Let a people be reduced to poverty, and they become an easy prey to their enemies, and sink into slavery, which inevitably will be the case when there is no allurements to industry. If the industrious farmer, or mechanic, views himself procuring wealth for a band of robbers, what can induce him to labor? Or if his honest and hard gotten property, is drained off to answer unnecessary public

* There has been a great murmuring, especially in *New-England*, because our *firm, patriotic, President*, turned out of office a number, who were enemies to our country, and appointed others, that were worthy, to fill their place. As well might they object against the *fallen angels* being turned out of the *celestial paradise*, and man from the *terrestrial*, on his laplation, as to object against those men being deposed from office. Tho' it must be confessed that *Haman's* fall is great and dangerous.

lic expenses, to aggrandize* a set of haughty nobility the very nerves of industry will be weakened. This is the way in which the world of mankind have been robbed of ten fold more of their wealth than any other whatever. That part of property which is necessary to support government, is due to the public;—the people have an undoubted right to the *supernumerary part*, which can never be taken from them, for that end, without injustice. That system, therefore, which maintains itself, and leaves the people in possession of the just proportion of their property, is productive of their greatest good, and answers the end of government. In a *democracy* where it may be said with propriety that the people rule by their *elective voice*, the way is open for every unnecessary expense of government, calculated to burden the people and drain off their wealth, to be avoided, and consequently, agriculture and manufacture, those two grand sources of wealth, will meet with due encouragement. But heavy and accumulating debts; and increasing taxes, in which a *proud nobility* are deeply interested, form a part of the favourite system and strength of *monarchy*.† For a proof of this, let England stand as a specimen. Her monarch himself, costs the Empire more than our whole federal government in all its various branches:—This, together with the multiplicity of her officers and pensioners—her costly navies and standing armies, has loaded the people with a burdensome debt of increasing millions, ‡ till their extorted groans have reached our peaceful shores, and warned America to shun her fate.

It is a noble end, worthy of civil government, to encourage *literature*, and render it unobstructed in all its branches which is essential to the liberties of the people. To enjoy rational liberty, it is necessary that a people be well informed—that they know their rights—in what they consist, and how to retain them—that they be capable of inspecting the conduct of their rulers—know the general complexion of government, and understand those political principles that conduce to the public good. If not, the right of suffrage is not valuable;—if not, we are liable to exalt to office men of pernicious principles, and enemies to

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* His most sacred Majesty—his royal Highness, and their Highnesses—his Grace—his Lordship—the most Rev. and right Rev. and Rev. Fathers in God [Bishops and Clergy]—the most Honourable, and the right Honourable, and the Honourable, together with the most Worshipful, the right Worshipful, and the Worshipful, and a thousand other interior Majesties, must have their millions to support them, and all this out of the common people. What a blessed Tracian system is here!!!

† See Tracy's sentiments, advocated in his conversation with Griswold, in favour of the British government.

‡ If a public debt is a public blessing what a blessing has England in store!

our country ;—if not, a representative system is the most dangerous in the world. Ignorance and darkness are the strength of tyranny ;—light is dangerous to its throne, and death to its power : but light and wisdom are the strength and support of a *just* and *rational* government. Whatever, therefore, serves to promote *literature*, is essential to the rights of man. Our *democratical* constitution is every way subservient to this end. It removes every impediment out of the way of the pursuit of it, and holds to view a prize of impartial reward. But were the offices of our government hereditary, or during life, the brightest geniuses would not only be often excluded, and deprived of an essential right, but lose the reward they had merited : But where there is an equal door open for merit and abilities, wherever they are found, it proves a noble stimulus to the genius of a people, and animates many to seek to merit the approbation and honours of their country. And in this is found the main spring of literature, which gives life and vigour to all its inferior branches, and diffuses learning thro' every part of a community.

But had our constitution only defended our *civil rights*, while it contained the seeds of *ecclesiastical tyranny*, how mean, how despicable would it be ! how unworthy of a people whose ancestors fled from the rage of bloody persecution in Europe, to the savage wilds of America, to enjoy unmolested, the *inalienable* rights of conscience ! how unworthy of a people, who themselves, had waded thro' blood, to establish an empire on the basis of *liberty* and *equality* !

Had our constitution laid a foundation for a government to control the consciences of men, it would not only been unjust, but it would have been assuming the sceptre of that kingdom which is not of this world, and paved the way for bloody persecution.

When we cast our eyes on the world, thro' the medium of history and revelation, what an effusion of blood do we see shed by reason of civil government undertaking to regulate in matters of religion ! This is the first rise and progress of every persecution that has been in the world.* Millions have been sacrificed for their religion, because they did not believe what they could not, or in other words, because they could not believe, what the law said they should. 'Twas *this* that caused the fires to be kindled,

* It is worthy of note, that all those persecutions that have been in the world, have been under the *cloak* of religion ; and in every country where they have raged, the *throne* and *pulpit* have been united in the work :—Yea, in our country, even in *New-England*, where there has been some fragments of persecution, for the most part extending no farther than to *whipping*, *imprisoning*, and *banishment*, it is hard to tell which was most active in the work, the *civil officer*, or the *ecclesiastical Priest*.

kindled, at Smithfield, in England, that consumed such multitudes at the cruel stake ;—'twas *this* that caused such a variety of engines of torment to be invented in France, by which so many millions were tortured to death ;—'twas *this* that filled the cup of Rome with the blood of martyrs, and prepared her to drink the wine of the wrath of heaven : And this *one thing only*, has been the cause of more evil and bloodshed in the world, than *all others* united.

Had it been lawful for the civil power to establish any system of religion whatever, and compel men by the force of *penal* laws to submit to it, every bloody persecution from the beginning of time to the present day, has been just, and all those who have lost their lives for the cause of truth, have died unworthy of the name of *martyrs*.

That religion is founded on the power of civil government, and supported thereby, is a most *absurd* idea, demonstrated by a world of evidences and known facts. It has, it does, and it will flourish without its aid, and in spite of every opposition therefrom. To protect all in the enjoyment of the *inalienable* rights of conscience, is the province of civil government—to control, or dictate, is the province of DEITY.

Our constitution is the first that has appeared in the world, wholly free from these *deadly seeds*, laying a foundation for the full enjoyment of religion, without being accountable to any man. *This is its fairest ornament—this is its inexpressible worth* :—Divest it of *this*, its lustre is gone, and rendered at once, a *worthless and contemptible object*.

Our *civil and religious rights*, being secured by our wise constitution, the way is prepared for the utmost *harmony and mutual friendship* to abound among the people. Nothing contributes more to the happiness, strength, and increasing prosperity of a nation, than their *union*. Every system, therefore, which serves to unite the people, is promotive of their good, and answers the great end of government : For without union it is impossible for a community to reap the fruits of peace, or be in a state of prosperity, or defence. On the contrary, that which serves to divide the people, destroys their peace—eclipses their welfare, and renders them an easy prey to their enemies.

When America, in her infant state, was invaded by the powerful arms of Britain, it was the union of her councils—the united zeal of her armies, and the harmony in which the different states cooperated, which rendered her formidable to her foes, and invincible unto victory. And her union has done more since, in keeping our enemies at a distance, than ten thousands

arranged under the banners of a *standing army*. When Rome was united, her empire was enlarged—her strength increased, and her magnificence was great; but when she was divided, she fell—sunk into disgrace, and the utmost confusion. Whatever, therefore, tends to unite a people, ought to be viewed of the highest importance, and preserved inviolably to that end. To a people accustomed to liberty, there is nothing so directly calculated to unite and maintain that union as the full enjoyment of their civil and religious rights. Where this is impartially enjoyed, discord seldom prevails, except it be by the seeds of contention sown by *designing men*. But let a state, a town, a society, or even one family, be designedly deprived of their right, the effects will be *jealousy* and *contempt*, and *reciprocal friendship* will be destroyed. Our constitution is wisely constructed to shun this evil, in that it lays an ample foundation for the complete enjoyment of all our rights; and we are indebted to its nature for that *union*, which is our strongest defence, and our greatest glory.—And so long as our government shall continue to be justly administered, every state, and every individual therein, that understands its nature, and is a friend to his country, will seek to continue and strengthen the *union*, and thereby add to the glory and happiness of America.

If the increasing prosperity and growing importance of a nation, rise in proportion to the rectitude of their civil polity, what a source of evidences do we discover, in favour of our *federal constitution* and *government*! In vain do we search the records of antiquity—in vain do we turn the pages of modern history to find a parallel of our country. So small and inconsiderable was America, before our revolution, that her name was scarcely known among the nations. Our wealth was small—our commerce and navigation in their infant state, and our strength inferior. Since that, a long and desolating war, destroyed our cities—depopulated our towns—drained off our wealth, and involved us deeply in debt:—But to the astonishment of the world, within the short term of twenty two years, we have risen from the borders of obscurity to bear an honourable name among the nations:—Our population is doubled—our territories greatly and richly enlarged, and our wilderness turned into popular states and added to the union—our wealth abounds—our national debt diminished—our commerce is great—our navigation respectable, and the scientific arts have flourished with rapidity. In addition to all this, we have preserved peace with the nations, and escaped those *treacherous snares* that have been laid by *designing men*, aided by *foreign influence*, to draw us into the
bloody

Bloody scenes of war, with the jarring powers of Europe. We have also maintained peace within our borders, notwithstanding the *seeds of discord* that have been sown by those *emissaries*, that seek to sap the foundation of our government:—And smiling peace crowns our frontiers; so seldom free from savage cruelties. How indicative is the flourishing state of our country, of that *wise policy*, by which our national affairs are guided, and our rights secured.

But if we look forward to futurity, how pleasing, how boundless the prospect that lies before us! To what a pitch of grandeur and magnificence will America soon rise, if nothing should impede her prosperity! Favoured with the most happy government on earth, which still will be refined by the experience and wisdom of future ages, all the treasures of liberty and peace will be opened for the enjoyment of an enlightened people. Prepared for increasing population, by an extensive and fertile territory,* bounded on unknown regions, how will the trackless forest bend before her increasing millions to the pacific ocean! who will turn the wilderness into fruitful fields, and adorn the fertile banks of rivers yet unknown, with cities, towns, and villages, which forming new states, will add to the strength and grandeur of America! Commanding a vast extent of sea coast, containing excellent harbours and flourishing cities, centering the produce of an extensive, and fruitful country, by the help of some of the finest rivers in the world, where nature presents to view every allurement to industry, and opens the way to the highest degrees of prosperity, how will the rich streams of her commerce, command the attention of the whole world! Separated from the contending powers of Europe, by the atlantic that rolls between, America will flourish in peace while the eastern world is overwhelmed in the calamities of war.—Here the *royal ensign of liberty* will stand, unto which the distressed of the nations shall flee.

* It is true, that the *modern federal logic* is, that a small and thick settled territory, is best for a community; and that a large one, containing much unsettled land, is detrimental to the interest of a people, in that it tends to scatter them by migration, and dissolve the bands of union. It is well that these *heroes of wisdom*, have happily desecrated this thro' the *sagacity of their wit*, for if they had not discovered it, *common sense* would forever have dictated to the contrary. That a small and thick settled territory, where the people have no new country, or lands, to which they can migrate, is best suited to govern a people by *regal policy*, is a given point. In such a state, or kingdom, the land will soon fall into a few hands, which will produce a set of nobility, which are so necessary to uphold monarchy, while the common people are reduced to meet the exigencies of poverty, till obliged to work a day for "head and pluck," and have enough to do to keep soul and body together, without "meddling with the affairs of government," according to the *Tracian policy******.—But in a republic, where, people are governed by rational laws, made by themselves, the more land holders, the stronger the government, and the more attached the people are to the common interest, and of consequence, the more united.

See, and find an asylum of rest, and taste the delicious fruits of peace.—Here will the *cause of truth* flourish on its own native basis, and the *hallowed ark of religion* remain untouched by the finger of the civil law. O America, thou hast outstripped the nations of the East—their glory is eclipsed at the brightness of thy rising!

But however promising the state of our country is at present, or however pleasurable it may be to take a view of the prospect that lies before us, we are not out of danger of losing our prosperity, and our blood-bought liberties. Other nations, even in *distant ages*, have arisen, in a good degree, towards our present happy state, and have suddenly elapsed into ruin. The history of Rome, as well as many others, affords us a striking proof of this. That empire once, with a degree of propriety, could make her boast of liberty; but how soon did she sink into slavery by the *wiles* of her enemies. This country has ever had *her* enemies:—In her struggle for liberty she found them—in her prosperity since they have been seen, and still they do exist. Should it be asked who they are, the answer is ready—they are the same, for the most part, that ever they were*—*those* that were and *still are* disaffected at our revolution—*those* that opposed our Independence—in a word, *those* that are attached to the *British policy*, and of consequence, opposed to a *democratical government*, administered by the equal suffrages of the people, *that beam of equity* on which the whole scale of equality turns. It becomes us, therefore, to be on our watch, and strictly to guard against every invasion of our rights, and thereby seek to promote the interest of our country.

There is no government on earth, however just, and perfect, but what is liable to lose its energy thro' the *exertions* of those who seek to overthrow it. And these, for the most part, have been men of influence, who being *deeply interested* in effecting their *perfidious designs*, to achieve power and emolument to themselves, the utmost of their abilities have been exerted to this end; and their greatest success has been in concealing the end they

* The reader will please to observe, that by the enemies of our country, we mean those that took an active part for *Britain*, so far as they could, or dared to, and preferred, and still do prefer, her *regal and oppressive policy*, to that of our *wise and happy government*.

That there were many who did not take up arms in the defence of their country, that were, and *still are*, well affected to our republican government, is an acknowledged truth:—These were never in reality *tories*—we view them friends to our country—we wish them success in freedom's cause, and should ever such a *crisis* return again, we wish them a little more courage. But *those* that were, or *those* that now are, attached to monarchy and opposed to democracy—they were in *fact tories*—they *still are so*, and *still they ever will be*, unless they meet with a political conversion, or in other words, are weaned from the breast of *Great Britain*.

they have chiefly in view, and feigning a tender regard for the rights of the people: And the more *noted*, and *influential*, men have been in the world, the better they are qualified for such a work, and the greater their success. We should not be surprised, therefore, to see men of the brightest abilities, seeking to overthrow our government, and to destroy our union. It is most evident, that those revolutions which have deprived the people of their rights, have chiefly been produced in this manner. What, therefore, has been so often known by sad experience, ought to be most strictly guarded against. But as we are indebted to the laborious exertions of the greatest abilities, and men of the greatest influence (who ought ever to be highly esteemed for their services) for the production and establishment of our excellent constitution and government, great care should be taken, to discern between our *chiefest* enemies, and *greatest* friends.

As our *democracy* is the security of our rights, so it is the mark against which all the heavy artillery of our enemies is levelled. This is that which has been, and still is assaulted, and the greatest exertions made to overthrow our present form of government, and take the power of it out of the hands of the people. This is a matter so momentous, and obviously interesting to the people, that to effect this, the most *sly insinuations*, and *cunning craft*, is necessarily resorted to. Before the people will part, willingly, with such a *precious pearl*, it must be rendered worthless and dangerous to them, and something apparently preferable held to their view. To the enlightened, christianized people of America, who have tasted the gall of oppression, and know what it is to feast on the fruits of liberty, there is nothing so justly, and so highly, valued by them, as the enjoyment of their religion, and so long as our government is viewed in its *nature* and *effects*, calculated to secure *this pearl of great price* unto them, it ever will appear valuable, and will be strenuously maintained; and this is well known to our enemies:—But could it be made to appear, that it militates against religion, and the enjoyment of it, notwithstanding, all the benefits that have been derived therefrom, it would be viewed with a jealous eye—lose its lustre—fall into contempt, and be easily given up. And fellow countrymen, if ever there is an attempt made to overthrow our happy government, we may look for it, not only from this quarter, but in this way. Yea the attempt is already made: have not many honest Americans been told, and made to believe, that a *democratic* government tends to destroy all order and religion, and that all those that
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adhere to its principles are *infidels** and *deists*, and seek to extirpate religion from the land? and are there not too many that have imbibed this belief and are prejudiced against one of the best governments on earth? The happy effects of our political system have been so sweetly experienced by the people of America, that nothing of less moment will ever turn them against it. And indeed, was it a real truth, that our political system was in its nature militating against this, the dearest of all our enjoyments, it would be worthy of our contempt. But, will the enlightened people of this country, be so lost to reason as to believe this? In more than twenty years experience have we found any thing of this nature? is not this the government that has procured us the unlimited enjoyment of religion? has not religion flourished in a superior degree of late in our country? Has government opposed it? has it flung any impediments in the way, to hinder its progress? are there not many real friends to religion, among those that are attached to *democracy*? have they disturbed others in the enjoyment of it? Or is the foundation of that kingdom which is not of this world, laid in the erring wisdom, and feeble power of human nature? Is there any other government on earth more favourable for religion than ours? Is the favourite system of *monarchy*? Let the Isle of Britain, stained with the blood of martyrs, witness to the contrary.

But we have not only to guard against the *seeds of regal policy*, springing up amongst us, but its more *dangerous source of foreign influence*.* In such a popular commercial nation as

ours,

* There has been a great cry in *New-England* of late, that religion, religion was in danger. And why all this ado? will not a little share of reason tell us, that it is a stratagem to excite the minds of the people against our chief *Magistrate* (who is without a parallel in wisdom and equity of government) to turn him out of the presidential chair, and to slip in a *king in disguise*, under the name of a *president*?

That all law established religion is in danger, is true; but that the religion of *Jesus Christ* is in danger, is false, and ever will be, unless the gates of hell can prevail against his church.

It is curious to see what a reformation has taken place of late among the federalists in *New-England*. A few years ago, one half of them had as much faith in the bible as *Thomas Paine*, and the rest said but little or nothing about it; but of late, almost every one of them is converted, and become strong advocates for religion. But, unhappily, their conversion, it is feared, is not genuine, for they do not lead quiet and peaceable lives.

† Whoever will read the writings of *John Adams* of *Massachusetts*—*Alexander Hamilton* of *New-York*—*Mr. Tracy* of *Connecticut*—*John Langdon* of *New-Hampshire*—*Tench Coxe* of *Pennsylvania* (the three first federalists, and the two last republicans) and with them, scores of others that may be produced, and considers well the offices those men held—the occasion and manner of their publishing their principles; and further, if he takes a retrospective view of the complexion of the last administration, the conduct of the federal party *then*, and their opposition *now*, against our present *republican system*, that has been crowned with unexampled success, and in addition to all this, let him read

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ours, we are liable to great danger from this quarter. There is nothing more dangerous to the foundations of tyranny, than the light and liberty, which beams forth in a *Republic*. Every method, therefore, will be taken, to suppress and quench that light, which proves so destructive to the thrones of tyrants and kings. Much by common influence may be expected; Where there is a continual commercial intercourse, between us and other nations, the manners and customs of those nations, together with the nature of their government will be recommended. And well would it be, if this was all: But the more baneful effects of special influence, thro' the agency of those authorized to that end, have been felt in America. Let the conduct of a *Gennett* from France, and that of a *Cobbett* from England; testify.

To maintain our government, and to defend our rights, it is most essential that we be united. Nothing, therefore, will be more eagerly fought for by our enemies, whether internal or foreign, than to destroy that union, which has been, and still is, our glory and defence. Let the words of the immortal WASHINGTON give energy to this assertion; they are, "your national union will be the point in your political fortress, against which the batteries both of internal and external enemies will be constantly and actively (tho' often covertly and assiduously) directed." This GREAT MAN, in his wisdom, saw this danger that awaited us, and in his same address, has given us faithful warning of it. Nothing will prove more effectual to destroy our union, than *falsehood, slander, and calumny*, by which the nature of our government will be misrepresented, the measures adopted, stigmatized, and our rulers calumniated, to render them odious in the eyes of the people. Truth ever unites, and by truth a good cause is supported;—error divides, and by error it is maintained. Nothing but a dark, erroneous, system, will ever require error and darkness to maintain it. How mean, how despicable then beyond degree, is that cause that needs the dirty filth of falsehood and slander to maintain it! But despicable as it is, it is supported by the enemies of our country, and the only hope of their success. If our union abounds, not all the powers on earth united, can overcome our country:—If our union abounds, the very name of united America, will strike terror to our most distant foes, and we shall be saved

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from

the report that was made to his Majesty in England, by his privy council, of which the present Earl of Liverpool was chief, which states, "that a party in favour of *Great-Britain* was formed in America:"—I say whoever reads, and views all this, and a trace of evidences besides, and will assert that we have not been in danger of having a *British* system of government introduced into America, must either be an *Ignoramus* in politics, or a man of intriguing design.

from the awful expedient, and baneful effects of a standing ~~army~~ *army*. On the union of our country, depend, all our welfare and strength; and he that does most towards maintaining it, will contribute most to the good of his country: But *detested* be the *wretch* that seeks to divide the people—let him never be shielded from the *disgrace* he has merited.

Again, to preserve our government, and keep it pure, it is necessary that a strict attention be paid to the *rights and duty of election*, and to the *political principles* of those men that obtain our suffrages. This has been too much neglected, especially, in times of no political contention. Every man, that is legally qualified, ought punctually to discharge this important duty; and when called to give his voice in government, by election, should view himself as legislating for our whole nation. If men of character and abilities, and possessing constitutional principles, are raised to office, government will be justly, and wisely, administered: But if men of inadequate abilities, or possessing principles dangerous to the interest of the people, receive the honour of our suffrages, they will be like *vultures* to prey on the very vitals of our constitution, and we shall do all in our power to destroy ourselves and our country. A knowledge, therefore, of those political principles that tend to promote the happiness of the people, is highly necessary. Many men rise to *office* thro' the ignorance of their constituents, which prove their greatest enemies. Every channel of information ought to be opened, and kept pure—every branch of science encouraged, and the greatest care taken to have the rising generation, taught the nature and principles of our government. Finally, *truth*, which only can support a true, and a righteous system, ought ever in candor to be vindicated and supported, and to adorn every exertion to maintain the rights of man;—every *press* that is devoted to *flander* and *insurrection*, ought to be evaded, as *poisonous* and *destructive*, while those that convey the *christian stream* of truth, and *wave the olive leaf* of peace, and *breathe the spirit* of union, ought to be adhered to and supported. Let *truth* prevail, and our union will increase, and opposition will be weakened;—let *truth* prevail, our government will stand, and our rights are secure;—let *truth* prevail, our country will be in peace—her wounds will be healed, and America will be happy.

Having viewed the nature of our government, and its happy effects, together, with the possibility and danger of losing so great a blessing, ought we not, while feasting under the banner of liberty, unitedly to support what the blood of our country has purchased
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and heaven has preserved for us? If our constitution be good, if a representative system be just, is not our present government worthy to be vindicated and supported? But if our present system of administration be not just, if it militate against the constitution and the rights of the people, it becomes us, unitedly, to bear our testimony against it, and to exert ourselves to the utmost degree, in the peaceable way of election, to retake the ground we have lost.—But if it be just—if it be constitutional—if it secure all our rights—if it be free from oppression, and if the effects of it be peace and prosperity, ought we not unitedly to maintain it in opposition to all the efforts that have, or can be made to overthrow it? ought we not to appear in its defence, and despise all the *frowns, ridicules, and standers*, that pour upon us from every quarter, and esteem it our brightest honour to be engaged in maintaining those political principles, which support that government on which the happiness of so many millions depends? And is it not just? if not, where lies the evil? in what is it discovered? Are not our lives secured? When did we ever enjoy more protection than now? Is not our property secured? or is the reward of our labours fallen into the *lawless hands of a merciless banditti*? Have the laws of our union, and the different states, lost their energy? or was justice ever more impartially administered, thro' all our judicial departments? Is the right of government taken from us? or are we governed by laws, made by rulers of our own appointment? Are we burdened with heavy, useless, and increasing taxes? or has our national debt been diminishing? Are we involved in the distresses of war, thro' the impolicy of our Congress? or are we by their wise administration at peace with the nations and enjoying repose? Is our religion taken from us—our temples demolished—our bibles destroyed? or have we not the unlimited enjoyment of all our religious rights? Was America ever in a more flourishing state than now—her name more honourable—her commerce more courted—her flag better regarded?—What benefits do we wish for, or expect to derive from a government, which we have not? Do we wish for liberty? we have it. Do we wish for peace? we have it. Do we wish to enjoy all our civil and religious rights? what hinders? Indeed, do we wish for any blessings, that the best of governments on earth can give? we have them beyond measure.

But

* That there are some instances of depredations of our commerce on the seas, by nations that are at peace with us, and that some of the *Barbary powers* are hostile to our nation, every man of the smallest information and candor, both knows, and is ready to acknowledge: But that we are really in a state of declared war with any nation, is not a truth.

But if our wishes are contrary to nature, against ourselves—our country, and the rights of man;—if we wish for a *regal policy*—*standing armies*, or *useless and unequal taxes*—alas, we cannot obtain our wishes, these are fruits that will not flourish on our happy soil, and we must die in despair.

Shall we then be opposed to a government every way calculated for our happiness? If we are, what is the ground of our opposition? Would not our case be pitiful indeed, if we were found among the *oppositionists*, and be obliged to give a sufficient reason for it? But however unreasonable such an opposition would be, does it not exist? Have not the measures of our wise policy by which we have enjoyed the fruits of peace and prosperity, been *vilified*, and loaded with *reproach* and *contempt*? Have not the best, and greatest of men, been most abusively calumniated—the best and wisest of measures, stigmatized? and has not this been thro' the agency of those very men, who have sought to deprive a majority of this great nation of the **MAN** of their choice? and are they not now endeavouring to do their utmost to deprive the people of their full and unlimited right of election? Have not principles, most dangerous to our country, been strongly advocated, by men who have had a seat in our national assembly? Have they not strenuously pled for war, and uniformly opposed those measures that led to peace ***** And had we adhered to their council, what would have been the state of our nation?—The sun of our peace would have set and America's prosperity would have ceased—the hoarse trump of war would have been sounding in our land—our country dressed in arms, and thousands of our fellow citizens, sacrificed to obtain, what we in peace have justly procured, without one drop of blood * * * * *

And who have been the instruments of our deliverance from this bloody vortex of war? were they our enemies, or were they our friends? were they those that opposed the administration of our government, or were they not those very men, upon whom slander has been lavished, for adopting those measures which led to peace? O Americans! let us throw by our party prejudices, which have set us at variance with our own happiness, and rendered our hearts ungrateful to the best of friends.

Shall the *pearl* that was worthy to be obtained by *costly wars* and the *blood of our country* lose all its lustre and value† when purchased

* If any doubt of this, let the conduct of the fourth of March, 1801, and the General Ticket in Massachusetts, speak.

† It must be acknowledged, that our federal friends, have the advantage of the republicans in one thing, in that they have the art of the transmutation of territories. When ever

purchased in peace for a reasonable sum? Shall we enlarge our borders with *blood*, robbing the nations that are at peace with us, and refuse to enlarge them on *reasonable conditions* of peace? Have we forgot the distresses of that awful war, which we passed through to obtain our Independence? Are the bloody scenes of Lexington, Bunkerhill, and many others, remembered no more, that the cry for war should so animate our hearts, that the gentle voice of peace should not charm our ears? Or is our national union, of so little consequence, that it is not worthy to be maintained? yea has it become such a source of evil to us, that we should seek the most effectual methods to overthrow it? In vain do we glory in the name of *Washington*, and boast ourselves his friends, if we do not attend to his weighty advice. We may garnish his sepulchre as much as we will, with all the *gaudy toys* of empty eulogies, yet still we are among his enemies if we do their works, and slight his friendly, wise, and most interesting counsel. Hark, hear his words, "It is of infinite moment," says the noble HERO, "that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness, discountenancing whatever may suggest a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning on the first dawning of any attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, and thereby dissolve the sacred ties by which the various parts are linked together." Here is wisdom and counsel in miniature, sufficient if it be regarded, to keep us out of every political evil, and make us forever a happy people. Let us, therefore, while the *treacherous whisper** steals forth in the ears of New-England to separate from the western and southern states, and become a
body

ever it is necessary that they should have fertile soils, and be exceeding fruitful and valuable, to obtain some favourite design, they can present them to view at once in all the richness and fertility of *Paradise*. But should this *paradisical form* of a country, fail to answer the end they have in view they have the art of transmuting it again, by which they can not only change it to its former state, but turn it into the most sterile wilderness, and make it resemble *Arabia Deserta*. It must be confessed, that this is a strange work, and rather uncommon, but as strange as it is, it is most certainly true. When the war between us was on foot to take *New-Orleans* by force of arms, Mr. Morris, Ross, Dayton, White, Mason, Adams, and many others, represented the country of *Louisiana* as immensely rich and valuable. But as soon as it was amicably, and reasonably purchased, the *Federalists* have turned it into a barren wilderness, not worth possessing. But as these men have such a transmutable power, we hope, that by and by, in a fit of good humour, they will transmute it again to its primeval state, and let it remain so.

* That the *oppositionists* in *New-England*, have it in contemplation to read the eastern states from the union, is as evident as that the sun gives light. This is discovering the very deadly dregs of *federal monarchy*—this is its last struggle, and should it prove abortive (heaven grant it may) we expect, and hope, its dying greans will be next.

body politic by themselves:—Let us indignantly frown on the first dawning of this attempt, lest America fall to rise no more.

Let us seek, fellow citizens, to the utmost degree, to maintain our national union.—Whatever is sacrificed in the rage of party spirit, let us, one and all, of every name, and party, preserve this as a precious jewel, sacredly and inviolably, on which our constitution and our present and future welfare depend. And to this end, let us exert ourselves in our individual capacities, to cultivate mutual friendship and benevolence, and thereby seek to eradicate the seeds of *party prejudices*, which are so dangerous to our union. And to this end, let us patiently endure the slanders of our enemies, in boldly vindicating the cause of our country, and imitate the noble example of our beloved PRESIDENT, who in his *wisdom* and *greatness* of mind, has far distanced his opposers, in the race of virtue; while the most fleet calumny has pursued him in vain; who at the helm of state, governs the affairs of a great nation with an unexampled *firmness* and *serenity* of soul; and has conducted our political ship, against every dangerous and *contrary tide* of *opposition*, to the shores of safety and peace.

I congratulate you, fellow citizens, at this auspicious era, on the present *favourable state* of our national affairs, which are crowned with honour and daily brightening. Let us rejoice, our prosperity returns, the glooms of that awful night, which so lately hung over our country, are dispersed, and the day illuminates our land, in the light of which our nation is once more rapidly fleeing to the standard of *reason*, and to the constitution, that *main & golden pillar* in the “edifice of our Independence”:—Our union increases—the strength of opposition is weakened—the arrows of light and truth, together with the wise and peaceable measures of Congress, have given it the mortal wound.

Americans, rejoice, and let your joy be rational, let it be free from savage festivity, which is unbecoming the man, and far more the christian; and may our hearts be ever grateful to that wise Almighty BEING, who presides over the affairs of all nations, and hath continued his smiles to America. May our national Independence, which is the gift of his goodness, and the work of his providence, lead us to feel our dependence on him, who has wrought all our deliverances for us, and whose signal mercies betoken future good to our Country.



TOASTS.

1. *The Anniversary of American Independence*—the day on which we emancipated
from abject desperation to national felicity.

May every heart be fill'd with glee,

On this our national jubilee.

2. *The heroes and patriots, whose united exertions obtained the independence on
this day celebrate*;—May the gentle muses with lively accents, chant their praise from
clime to clime, and ages yet unborn their memorials celebrate, by nobly emulating
their virtues.

3. *Washington the Great, the venerable Sage, and Columbian Hero*—a sweet repose to
his slumbering dust;—May his maxims sublime in letters of gold, to generations yet
unborn, be safely transmitted.

4. *The free, independent, and enlightened People of the United States of America*—
May the tender ligaments of unanimity intertwine the whole American family, in spite of
the dark intrigues of plotting, demagogues; and may we convince the nations of the
earth, by the practice of all the social virtues, that our ability to retain, equals the
patience which gained our Independence.

5. *The Federal Constitution*—“The most stupendous fabric of human invention” re-
plete with precepts of peculiar excellence—making provision for its own perfection:—
May it never be tarnished by the rude hands of ignoble speculators:

But from the test of experience, and the wisdom of ages;

May it receive such improvements, as shall brighten its pages.

6. *President Jefferson*—Eminent on the records of fame, and in the temple of science;
His moderation and sagacity displayed in his administration, convince his ene-
mies;

That their false accusations and insolent slander,

Will not be regarded by peaceable candour.

7. *The American Congress*—Important department:—May unanimity preside in her
councils—moderation, perspicuity, and brevity, characterize all debates—and unerring
wisdom, and sound policy sanction decisions;—

And may each member consider when vested with power,

That he's call'd to protect and not to devour.

8. *All civil Officers of the general Government*:—May they add lustre to our political
temple by their wisdom and rectitude, and so teach the practice of virtue by the purity
of their morals, that in the discharge of their official duties, they may find their yokes ea-
sy, and their burthens light.

But they when corrupted, and guilty of meanness,

Should be turn'd out of office, as birds of uncleanness.

9. *The Militia*:—The great bulwark of American Independence:—May the true
spirit of genuine patriotism animate our sons of liberty to the study of military tactics;
and by unanimity and alacrity in the discharge of military duties, may they convince
the haughty sovereigns of the earth, that no combination of kings nor potentates, can stand
in competition with free, independent, Americans.

10. *The American Navy*:—May they ride triumphant on the towering surges of the
foaming deep, and hurl the impious foe, who dares our rights assail to swift destruction;
and when with devastation they repay, the tribute vile barbarians justly merit; may they
to the *Dry Docks* of their native land return, undisturbed by the noisy prating of
restless demagogues.

11. *New-England*:—The first who espoused the cause of freedom; may she be the
last to submit to the shackles of slavery: And may her little aspiring *majesties*, whose
perfections are eclipsed by the sublimity of their phiz, never be so elated with their own
magnificence

magnificence, as to attempt a separation of our national union, nor have more exalted conceptions of the stupendous fabric of British invention, than their own fertile imaginations can clearly comprehend.

12. *Gov. Strong, with all the officers of our State Government* :—May all their laudable exertions for the public good be crowned with success, and their services duly appreciated by a grateful people.

13. *The Press* :—

May it emit the rays of correct information ;
Be the pride of the age, and the lamp of the nation ;
Be plain in it's diction, and free in it's action,
And despise all contemptible blackguard detraction.

14. *Our peacefully acquired Brethren of Louisiana* :—May their honorable adoption into our American family, animate them to a cordial co-operation in our exertions for the promotion of human happiness ; and may our jurisdiction extend, until the whole earth becomes one great republic, and each member of the great political family, peacefully enjoy the fruits of his labor, under the pleasing banner of national liberty.

15. *Human Slavery, the greatest of human miseries!*—Freedom to the oppressed of all nations.—But may all the horrors of a guilt conscience with afflictions excruciating, seize the infernal monsters, whose vile hands have burst asunder the tender ties of conjugal affection, and torn from the tender bosom of parental fondness the hapless offspring !—May the fear of awful vengeance walk with the guilty wretches to the scaffold of humanity !

16. *Poultrified, slander and political Machiavellism!*—Vices of the times :—May they be buried in eternal oblivion,—and may the vile propagators be gorged with their own filthiness.

17. *Agriculture, Commerce and Manufacture* :—May they be protected and encouraged by the benign influence of equitable laws, and receive the smiles and benediction of the great sovereign of universal nature.

18. *Pure Religion* :—May it flourish and its professors adorn their profession by the practice of all the christian graces, and by their universal benevolence, and unbounded charity, cherish the whole family of mankind into a belief of its precepts and the practice of its virtues.

VOLUNTEERS.

1. By Mr. SHEPHERD. *The Republican Orator of the Day* :
2. By Capt. AMES. *Thomas Jefferson*.—The brightest luminary in the political horizon ; the friend of peace and the benefactor of man.
3. By THOMAS AVERY, Esq. *The People of the United States*.—May they prove to the world, that a democratical government can be supported.
4. By E. A. CLARY. *The American Fair* :—May they spurn with disdain the embraces of monarchists.