

AN
ORATION,

PRONOUNCED AT THE REQUEST OF

THE REPUBLICAN CITIZENS

OF

CONCORD

AND THE NEIGHBORING TOWNS

ON THE

FOURTH OF JULY,

1811.

BY CHARLES G. HAINES.

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1811.

George Washington
presented to

Oration.

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WHILE the nations of the East are writhing in the anguish of desponding servitude ; while kingdom is consuming kingdom, and empires wasting before the arm of battle ; while population is withering beneath the grasp of ambition, and the blood of mankind flowing in copious ~~torrents~~, while humanity deplores the destruction of her creatures, and the beauties of creation and art are swept into oblivion ; the GOD of our Fathers hath again permitted us to greet the return of this glorious Jubilee, and hail the favours of our country.

Ye venerable men ! well do ye remember that season of peril when the invocations of an injured people were loud in your ears. Great-Britain had commenced a sanguine era in the government of her western children. She had departed from the principles of justice, and resolved to adopt the rules of oppression. She had annihilated your ancient liberties—she had subverted your former enjoyments, and sent her myrmidons to enforce the mandates of tyranny. The scaffold was preparing for the immolation of your heroes ; slaughter stalked in your towns and villages ; the soil of your fields was fertilized with the blood of citizens. Your morning slumbers were disturbed by the peals of her cannon, and despair with her haggard visage rested on your pillows at the hour of midnight.

There are periods in the progress of nations when virtue triumphs over the baser passions ; when the human soul delights in those godlike actions which stamp eternal honor on the character of man : he no longer dwindles below his allotted rank, but walks forth in the strength of his natal majesty, and maintains his dignity among the vast chain of created beings. Our contemplation dwells with rapture on the actions of a people who are instigated by noble incitements, and led to triumph in glorious undertakings. In tracing the course of our revolution we are warmed in the patriot's cause. The inequality of the contest, and the event of the war, conspire to render it interesting and memorable. The weak did contend with the strong, and the strong were overcome.

The eighteenth century will hereafter be remembered for giving a new government to a new world. Former times are shorn of their splendor by the actions of a people but little known before they knew the sword. The fame of men whose names had marched from ancient to modern times and brightened with age, was surpassed by the achievements of a modern band of heroes marshalled in the cause of a suffering nation.

The object of their toils was as great as the pains which they took to accomplish their victories. They were not contending for themselves, but for their country. Those selfish views which have excited other victors in the course of their conquests, were lain aside for causes that called down the smiles of the DEITY. A man may be valiant, sagacious and fortunate; but if his wishes dwell not in the good of his country, where is the mighty fame that should swell his deeds? where the reverence that should grace his personage? A Cesar may pass the Rubicon and bury the liberties of his country in the ruins of Pharfalia; but it were better his triumph should never be, than that a people should walk as slaves at the wheels of his war car.

Far different were the views of Washington and his compeers while struggling in the event which we now commemorate. They abandoned the comforts of domestic concord; they exposed their families to sufferings and themselves to proscription and death for the purpose of gaining a government of righteous laws.

Happy nation! you were raised from a state of bondage to the highest rank among the empires of the earth. At a single heat of your magnanimity, you produced a roll of heroes whose memories shall flourish till the closing round of duration shall dim the monuments of human valor.

The fall of our martyrs which has so often been recounted in the stories of eulogy, should never be passed over in silence, while the tale of the revolution exists upon record. Their acts of bravery should be mentioned to perpetuate their recollection among the rising generation, nor should the aged cease to remember their gallant deeds. They have not forgotten them. The solemnities of this day witnesseth, that they have not forgotten them. The heroes who fell a sacrifice to British cruelty, challenge the brightest examples of ancient heroism; and their names shall go down the stream of time, un sullied by the foul hopes of personal domination.

The patriots who have bled in other times and in other countries, to redeem mankind from servitude, have had

their names preserved in the temple of fame; and they have proved an example to others, when engaged, in similar actions of glory. Like the stars of the evening, the lustre of their exploits has cheered the way-worn traveller in the cause of virtue.

The names of our martyred countrymen have been added to this catalogue of worthies, and their deeds are blended in the same great luminary of fame. Erin wept over the fate of her RUSSELL; America lamented the fall of MONTGOMERY. They were compatriots who volunteered in the same generous cause, and their deaths have swelled the scrolls of British victims. Their tombs shall be visited by holy orisons through distant periods and by distant generations; and the monumental capstone that tells the fall of WARREN shall be memorable as the spot where HAMDEN fell.

In commemorating the day when three millions of mankind shook off the ~~claims~~ of British connexion, let us not forget the fortune of the brave soldier who bared his generous bosom to the storm. Let those who have basked under the beams of a genial sun; let those who have shared the rich harvest gathered by the toils of others, deign to thank the Power that willed them happy. When they shall see the war-worn veteran borne down with infirmities, and his locks bleached by the frost of age; let them remember for them his scars were opened—for them he spilt his blood—and for them, too, he conquered the foe. Ingratitude is too often the award of valor. Negligence and suffering are not unfrequently the soldier's boon, under the eye of those very men whose interest he has advanced at the expense of his comfort.

Chain

The revolution of America is the event which has convoked the present assembly. Its progress and termination are so generally known, that I need not dwell with historical precision on the rise of the western empire. But I cannot neglect to call your attention to the salutary feelings which this celebration is calculated to inspire. It leads us to appreciate the inestimable value of our republican institutions by learning the price of their attainment.

On this day be it remembered that our privileges were not gained by a feeble contest in the field, or by a sudden and bloodless revolution. No! Our independence was plucked from the crown of unrighteousness amid the sharp conflicts of embattled thousands. For eight years the temple of Janus stood with ~~closed~~ doors; for eight years the boughs of cyprus o'erhung her mournful sanctuary.

uncluse

The annual renewal of this festivity carries back our memories to the birth of our National Independence, and touches our hearts with that enthusiasm which proved the inspiring genius that enabled the venerable sages of America to accomplish our redemption. We gaze with wonder as we view the extraordinary exertions which raised our countrymen to the summit of human glory; and we voluntarily swear to preserve our liberties from the domestic traitor or the foreign invader. Yes, ye descendants of a brave ancestry, you should this day approach the altar, and feed the flame already enkindled in your breasts. By the blood of your brave fathers who have gone before you; by the manes of departed heroes who spent their lives in your cause; you should this day swear a lasting obedience to the laws that bind you, and a willing compliance with the future calls of your country.

Well may we exclaim, that on this anniversary we feel the flow of that joy which pours in upon the freeman's soul. It is not a transitory beam that gathers round the mind and passes off without its knowledge; but it is a rational happiness that settles upon, and is immovable as the heart itself. It teaches us to realize the signal enjoyments of a free government, and gives us reason to exult in the pride of other years. Hallowed be the jubilee that gave it birth! blessed be that morn when liberty arose from chaos, and suffered her beams to gladden our regenerated hills; when the eagle soared from her bloodstained cage, "and mewing over her mighty youth" became the phoenix of empire in the western world!

The wisdom which our countrymen displayed in devising the code of laws by which we are governed, formed a wonderful trait in the character of an infant nation. A nation without laws is like a family without a dwelling place; and it is rarely the case that a people dissolve the bonds which constitute one government, and embrace the obligations which are enjoined by another, without sealing the new made charter with the blood of civil war. But there was a firmness and foresight exemplified posterior to our revolution which demands a contrast in the virtue of other times; it was an august period in the dreary lapse of ages. The singular and honorable part which America had acted during her progress from vassalage to independence was now eclipsed by an act of national polity. The zeal and prudence which bore her along, the unequal and the undeviating fortitude which triumphed over the furies of Vandal barbarity were concentrated in the spirit; and wrought the admirable features of the Federal Constitution.

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This supreme charter of our rights has drawn forth the admiration of mankind. It will undergo a comparison with all the governments which mortal wisdom hath ever devised, or mortal deliberation ever adopted. It will not fall below the most perfect scheme which has ever been founded through the annals of enlightened reason.

There never was, and there probably never will be invented a plan of government more consonant with the pure spirit of a republican commonwealth, than that which forms the basis of our national and individual happiness. Simple in its formation, and wise in the administration of its authority; it affords equal protection to all classes of citizens—provides for the common defence of the nation, and guarantees the right of universal suffrage. As the power of ruling issues from the will of the people, so it reverts to them, again at fixed periods; and rulers are ever amenable to the citizens. Hence, whenever the conduct of the existing administration is found to swerve from the true line of national policy, there is an antidote in the laws which rests in the good sense of the community to apply when a balance of the judgment shall deem it necessary. This is a barrier that checks the tide of ambition. When men claim a preferment to honor which their integrity does not warrant them to receive; when principle is lost in an overweening desire for unjust dominion; those who love their country—those who value the duration of equal laws and equal enjoyments, will rally round the standard of the nation—exert their constitutional influence, and pull down the plans of unprincipled ambition.

To preserve this model of legislative justice in all its purity is the important trust that devolves upon the members of the nation; and a fear for its destruction is the painful sensation that too frequently disturbs our peace, from the complexion of occurring incidents.

The national constitution is the chief organ that directs the whole system of republican laws from an individual state to the collective whole. This then is the vital source of our liberties; and how highly does it behove us to watch over its safety with peculiar concern. It is the foresight of the body politic that must preserve the energy of its own lifelines; it is the virtue of the people that can only keep themselves free. Let them once forget their moral allegiance to the laws; let them once lose sight of that course which duty and discretion point out for their pursuance, and our constitution is of no more force than the parchment on which it is written. Def-

potism commences her work—Catalines begin to plot, and the torch of ruin is trimmed to fire the citadel of our freedom. At such periods paper batteries are but ineffectual engines against a furious usurper with his legions at his heels. Conspiracies against the constituted authorities have seldom been known to succeed, excepting when the arms of the multitude are turned against themselves. And the decision of this question will ever rest in the voice of the American community, *Shall we be freemen, or shall we be slaves?*—At the proposition of this question, which carries so much importance with its simplicity, the honest heart issues its inexorable decree: it revolts at the bare name of slavery. But slavery wears ten thousand garbs. It is not confined to the courts of princes; it hath not its limited range in the walks of despotic government; it is too often found at the polls of freemen. Against its exercise in this department there is but one obstruction—the shield of moral integrity. The honest, enlightened citizen who duly estimates the worth of his own liberty, will never seek to destroy the precious patrimony of another. He who sways with undue influence the voice of his neighbor on political questions is a consummate tyrant; and he who is servilely governed by the voice of another without any reference to right or wrong, is an abject slave. It is but idleness for such a man to talk of freedom, while he shrinks at the scowl, and bows at the nod of an aristocratical dictator. As well might he vaunt of his liberty in Turkey. He does but mock his fellow citizens who tells them of their birthrights, while he deprives them of their exercise by clandestine artifice; while like a midnight plunderer he pants to lord in the spoils of their dissolution.

He who boasts the loudest is not the greatest patriot: actions alone must decide his political integrity. In what then does patriotism consist? Is it evinced in a systematical invitation to resist the laws of the land? Is it displayed in holding out a doctrine, that acts of legislation deliberately adopted and legally sanctioned, are not binding on the people? I shall not consider my audience as an umpire to designate the difference between light and darkness; to require an answer to my problems would cast an insult upon their understanding. An obedience to the laws must and will be effected. But when we see determinations inculcated on the eve of political decisions which tend to pervert the influence of reason, and alienate the attachment of the community in the government of their choice; when a bold defiance of statutes and a violation of law is enjoined as a patriotic duty; we

may say to ourselves, if the authors of such proceedings held the destinies of our nation, we should be on the eve of ruin.

There is a particular respect attached to the intelligence of men who have shared the people's confidence, as it is presumed that the important station which they occupy in society enables them to judge correctly in political concerns. We have a right to expect that information from their experience, which will serve to direct the various enquiries which it is at all times necessary to institute. When such men, not in the secrecy of a conslave, but with all the freedom incident to popular assemblies, come forward and tender their advice to their countrymen with the solemnity of legislators, they must be considered as acting in a very important sphere; ~~but~~ they must be considered as acting in a province from which there is an appeal from their proceedings; and that they are accountable for the rectitude of their measures at the great inquest of public judgment.

Governments have their dangers, and ours is not without its perils. More is to be feared from the delusive theories and plausible pretensions of internal ambition, than from the invasion of eastern armies. This scourge of republican freedom, who like a fabled giant has left the impression of his footsteps among the fragments of fallen states, has made his unwelcome appearance in the unfolded designs of restless demagogues. We cannot expect that our Republic will differ from all others in the hazards which she will have to encounter. A thirst for exclusive power is the unvarying characteristic which all states have recognized in the various stages of their existence. *Divide and conquer*, is the maxim of those who are discontented with immunities founded upon equality.

The federal Union seems the unmoved pillar that stays the encroachments of these inordinate projectors; and while a confederation of the States shall endure, it will hold a check upon the execution of their intentions. It is our duty, then, to watch over its safety with parental concern. A want of union was the primary cause which gave the republics of Greece to the Macedonian conqueror; and the nullity of this league would give ours to another Philip. The fall of other states should prove a council to guide the exertions of those who wish to prolong the life of their own. It is a warning voice; it is an awful admonition that speaketh from the grave of departed liberty.

The moment we suffer the Union of the States to be

happened by the hand of innovation, that moment our re-
public is in the wane of life; that moment the fabric that
was reared by the toils of ages, is undermined, and be-
gins to totter to its foundation.

When you shall live to witness the Sverange of United
America shall live to behold the sorrows of a wretched
people. Their days shall be long and afflicting; their
nights painful and gloomy. The sections of the north
shall arm against their southern neighbors, and the inhabi-
tants of the west shall watch the eastern sea. Every
State shall maintain troops for its sole defense, and every
State shall have his guards at noon day. The chariot of
civil warfare shall blow its blast upon our hills; the fields
of contentment and peace shall become sanguine with
blood, and Industry be frightened from her haunts.

But there is another cause, though more remote, and
less dangerous in its tendency than our own divisions,
All has an unhappy influence among many classes of our
fellow citizens. It is created by the situation of foreign
nations. A rank antipathy, or a friendship that is warm
to blindness, must ever be considered as extremely dan-
gerous in their consequences.

The world hath arrived to an astonishing period. Man-
kind have attained a new aspect, and the old world hath
passed the ordeal of regeneration. Conquest has rode in
her chariot, and bound the laurel on her champion's
brow. We seem to witness the resurrection of more than
Roman courage in the rapid victories of the French Em-
peror. France, by the success which has attended her
arms, has become the seat of a mighty empire—an em-
pire which Rome never saw in the glory of her Cæsars.

The affairs of France for many years have attracted
the attention of the European States, and the changes
which she has undergone have had a predominant effect
upon their situation. The house of Bourbon was over-
turned, and Europe trembled as it fell. At this period
France exhibited a fearful spectacle in a world of trouble.
Ourged by the horrors of a revolution at home, her peo-
ple were called to defend their possessions against the
arms of her ancient rivals. A potent coalition was form-
ed against her, who made it their ostensible purpose to
restore her ancient line of princes. But France at this
time promised a rich reward to victory, and no doubt
her enemies had already triumphed in the anticipation of
a partition of her kingdom. But clearly have they felt
that finally attend the fairest visionary expectations.
France with despair, and wild from the chaos of anarchy,
France continued her exertions that bravery is sometimes

the companion of the unfortunate. The invaders were vanquished, and those nations who had conspired to extirpate one kingdom on the ruins of another, have been compelled to rely on the clemency of a victor, and be content to fight his battles to increase the weight of their submission. They cannot move without rattling their chains. France has walked on to power, till her achievements in the fortune of war have enabled her to disturb the repose of the earth. Strictly martial, and thirsting for the fame of conquest, this vast nation seems to be moulded into a system that moves by the operation of a single spring. Her armies march, and an empire falls! A kingdom is created in the battle-field, and a kingdom is no more! The anger of her chieftain rises a crowned head of its cladem, and erects a new dynasty on the ruins of the subjugated prince. The foresight and bravery of her commander well accords with the genius of her armies. Scarcely is the signature dry which sanctions his plans, ere he stands before the enemy, a dreadful witness of hostility. Nor is there any alacrity wanting among the people to advance the greatness of the nation. The enlargement of French dominion is the object nearest to the heart of every Frenchman. War is the study that engrosses the attention of enterprise, and the field is more glorious than the forum. Besides this darling propensity which forms the most prominent trait in her national character, she possesses all the necessary requisites for long and bloody campaigns. Her tedious wars have not prevented those internal improvements which denote the energy and wisdom of a powerful government.

These are some of the causes which have enabled France to become thus powerful on the continent of Europe; these are some of the causes which have given her an opportunity to revel in the downfall of her opponents, and elevate her grandeur on the wrecks of defeated princes. Although her adversary bears away the palm in maritime prowess, and far exceeds her in maritime strength; still she has ventured to extend her claims on the ocean to an unwarrantable degree. Her conduct towards America deserves the most pointed reprobation. She has violated the rules of national law by infringing the rights of neutrality; she has confiscated our property—she has plundered our commerce. Her friendship is commensurate with her interest, and her interest subservient to her ambition.

From France we turn to England, second in the scale of European power. Unhappy for the civilized world,

Great-Britain has held a preponderance among the nations, which has crowded mankind with misery, and aided in bowing the neck of Europe to the will of a single despot. British alliance has arrayed nation against nation—added fury to the flames of war—and caused armies to pour out their blood upon their own fields; it has wrought the violation of truces, the dethronement of princes, and the reduction of principalities.

Instead of diminishing the power of France, England has been continually adding tributaries to her government. Those nations who have leagued themselves with England have been struck with the shock of death; this fatal union has been a sure precursor of their destruction. Instead of drinking of the waters of life, they have raised the philter of poison to their mouths, and fell a prey to its baneful effects.

Unable to face the brunt of battle on the land, England has sought her element on the waves. Fenced in by her wooden ramparts, she defies an armed world, and triumphs in her arrogance. Haughty and imperious, she usurps the ocean as her exclusive domain. Proud of her supremacy, and jealous of the growth of others, she vents her envy by sweeping the channels of commerce, and prostrating every principle of universal law. She enforces her edicts at the expense of acknowledged equity; and her conduct towards America and other neutral powers will receive the denunciation of justice an hundred years hence.

There are those who argue that Great Britain is in earnest for an amicable reconciliation with America; but to indulge an idea of this sort is as inconsistent as it would be to call him my friend who lifts his hand in anger to shed my blood without a provocation. Her aggressions are the work of years; and if the same dilatory *modesty*, interlarded with the like treachery, be continued, it will take years to heal our differences. To what concessions her extremities may hereafter drive her, is uncertain; but to cancel one violation by committing another, is most certainly a new method of shewing one's readiness to terminate disputes.

France and England stand in a similar relation in regard to the United States. They are entitled to equal confidence and respect; and if the aggressions of one nation are palliated, reason will declare that those of the other should receive the same treatment. If I am robbed in the highway of my honest earnings, or receive a violent attack upon my person, does it make any alteration in my

sufferings whether it be done by an Englishman or a Frenchman? If your houses should be pillaged and burnt, and your children snatched from your arms and forcibly carried off before your eyes, do you really think it would make any difference whether the incendiaries were born in London or Paris? No—this would be a home case: sympathy would here be at an end. If practicable, you would punish the villains; if not, you would secure yourselves from danger and your property from depredation.

Why then should the sensibilities of men be so blind, that they can look with composure on the acts of one aggressor, and even justify them, while they rave in high-sounding language for vengeance on another, when they both merit detestation? Have the laws of humanity been transformed, and the spilling of human blood become no transgression? Has the eternal mandate of Nature's God been revoked, that made the slaughter of our species a transgression that called down the vengeance of heaven? Has captivity been meliorated to an elysian trance, and have the ties of kindred love been nullified? Has plunder become a canon, and the seizure of property an act that is to be rewarded by a tribute of respect? Has a disregard for faith, and a disrespect for justice, become a custom that redounds to the glory of national honor? If human laws have undergone such alterations, and the rigid enforcement of these changes be no injury to the nation that has groaned under their execution, much honor may those covet who have tolerated these abuses without blushing.

He who suffers his patriotism to be so far absorbed in a deep-rooted attachment to a foreign power, as to lose sight of the indignities that have been heaped upon his country through the indulgence of that partiality, is no longer worthy to hold a station in his own government. No matter what may be his professions; no matter what specious garb may clothe his political tenets; he will betray the interests of his country whenever an opportunity shall offer.

The novel situation which the belligerents have exhibited in their career of pillage and plunder, has made the duty of our rulers a scene of trial which needed the fortitude of republican virtue. Peace or war seemed the momentous question for the determination of our government; and they preferred peace with a partial suspension of commerce to the horrors of war. Still there seemed a third measure which might have been adopted. We might have kneeled down and craved the gleanings of trade; we might have meanly gathered the precious

morsels which the voice of foreign rapacity told us were left us through "special indulgence." Wonderful method to preserve our national honor! And shall it be said that the boasted Independence of America was sacrificed to increase the fiscal strength of her enemy? Shall the pages of our future history be blotted with the staining imputation, that the sovereignty of the United States did not outlive the memories of those who achieved it? Shall we cease to recollect the causes that made us free, and the reasons that made us slaves? Spirit of our fathers, protest against it! Forbid it, O Americans!

To maintain our neutral position, and by this mean to preserve our Independence, has been the object kept in view by the guardians of our safety during the striking vicissitudes which have attended other nations. To keep aloof from the commotions of Europe, to prevent our launching into her perplexities in any degree, has been the end which continually engaged the anxieties of the wise and the dispassionate. They deemed the salvation of our property more prudent than to risque it on the high seas to gorge the harpies of rapine.

The benefits resulting from commerce ought to be highly estimated, and a free intercourse with all nations is a desire of the first magnitude. But there are times of adversity that cannot be avoided. That season has overtaken our nation, and our commerce has languished under its pressure. And can we avert the thunderbolts of destruction from riving the forests of our mountains, or prevent the winds from rocking the billows of the ocean? No: "when the day is overcast, when the tempest lowers and the lightnings play," we seek an asylum from the threatening danger, and wait till the elements spend their fury.

The prosperous state of our manufacturing establishments yields a new joy to the friends of our government. The necessity of importing commodities from other countries is gradually diminishing, and our independence on supplies of their luxuries daily increasing. The encouragement which the administration has bestowed on the useful labors of the American artist, has given a new spring to the inventions of mechanism, and aided the fabrication of merchandize to an important extent in the United States. Like the strong man, America has arisen from her lethargy, and explored the strength of her own resources. It is only upon extraordinary occasions, that a nation can realize its own force, and call its physical powers into operation. The emergency which has bore upon us under our commercial embarrassments has

opened a new field to industry, and excited a commendable emulation among our artisans. When the marts of Europe were no longer open for the reception of our exports, and the arm of the captor was wielded on every sea, our citizens turned their attention to the promotion of useful arts. Happily for us, this spirit continues to grow in energy, and make daily advances towards the highest state of perfection. And the time is not far distant when the states of Europe shall witness a powerful rivalry in the manufactures of America. Let the genius of discovery continue to be fostered, and the prudence of our administration will be felt at the end of another century.

The improvements that are continually wrought upon the face of our soil by the industrious cultivator, is raising our importance as a people, and will ere long render America the granary of the earth. Agriculture is an occupation highly honorable to its patrons. During the meridian of ancient glory, the greatest among men were proud to delve the earth, and add progression to the "art of all arts." Crowned with the oaken laurel, they chaunted the fruits of peace, nor envied the trophies of war erected on the ruins of justice.

————— *Extrema per illos
Justitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.*

VIRG. GEOR. LIB. II.

"There Justice left, when she forsook mankind,
The last impressions of her steps behind."

Handed down to us sanctioned by the patronage of men whose deeds have canonized their names to immortal memory, we must be happy in viewing its encouragement by the first characters in our country. Our laws are congenial to promote and reward the toils of the husbandman. He is invited to labor by the variegated beauties of nature's bounty. His fields teem with abundance—his vallies are verdant with plenty—and his hills are covered with flocks. It is to be hoped that an employment thus important and lucrative, may never want a due attention from the American citizen.

Religious toleration is the most important privilege on earth. It was a spirit of religious persecution that drove our forefathers from their native country, and caused them to "pitch their tents on this side the mighty Jordan." They suffered not in vain: their children are reaping the golden heritage which they left behind. All denominations here invoke the mercies of their Maker after the manner of their own profession. Long may we continue to witness the blessings flowing from this sacred fountain—a fountain that yields everlasting salva-

vation to the souls of degenerate mortals. May the walls of our dungeons never enclose the persecuted dissenter, nor the prayers of saints mingle with the groans of torture. May religion continue free as the light of heaven and pure as the air we breathe.

The Press is the ever watchful sentinel that guards our civil and religious liberties. It is the faithful herald that reveals the treasures of antiquity, and hunts down the votaries of superstition. It enlightens the soul, purifies the heart, and refines the genius of man. The freedom of the press is as necessary to the existence of liberty, as the unobscured artery to the circulation of the blood. And while this right shall continue to be exercised free from the unjust penalties of curtailing statutes; while the discussion of men and measures shall be unfettered by arbitrary restrictions; depend upon it, treason will be driven from its lurking place, and the tyrant will hide his head.

The Militia of the United States is the grand safeguard of our Independence. It is not composed of men whose mercenary views are bent on gain and lucre—who would sell their country to enrich themselves; but it consists of those who have the strongest inducements to defend us from the invader—for in defending their country, they defend themselves, their families and their household gods. Let the despots of Europe invade our coasts and darken our shores with their myriads—Columbia will move her denizens to action, and repel their attacks with unshaken bravery.

And now, my countrymen, as a last charge to you all, suffer me to conjure you by every thing that is dear to man, to preserve your republican faith with increasing constancy. Fathers, advise your children, and teach them the worth of their birth rights: children, consult your parents, for their council is full of wisdom and years. Let no local difference or petty animosity cause us to relax our exertions in the support of our administration, which is guided by justice, and whose aim is the general good. Let us be united, for nothing is more certain than this truth; *If we are divided, our divisions will produce our downfall.* If our efforts direct us to union, the enemies that prowl up and down our land will never succeed in converting our happy form of government into an odious plan of slavery. We have all an important trust reposed in our fidelity, and may we never prove unworthy of our charge. *Let us hand down our Constitution to our posterity, or gloriously perish in its defence.*