

AN
ORATION,

DELIVERED IN THE TOWN OF POULTNEY,

ON THE

FOURTH OF JULY, 1804.

BY CHAUNCY LANGDON, A. M.

*Why, I can smile, and murder while I smile;
And cry content to that which grieves my heart;
And wet my cheeks with artificial tears;
And frame my face to all occasions.*

SHAKESPEARE.

*O that estates, degrees, and offices,
Were not deriv'd corruptly! that clear honor
Were purchas'd by the merit of the wearer!
How many then be cover'd, that stand bare!
How many be commanded, that command!.....END.*

SALEM:

PRINTED BY HENRY DODD AND DAVID RUMSEY, JUN.

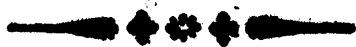
1804.

RESOLVED, by the **COMMITTEE of ARRANGEMENT**,

THAT, Messrs. **PLINY ADAMS** and **THOMAS TODD**, be a Committee to wait on the **Hon. CHAUN-
CY LANGDON**, Esq. with thanks for his services
this day, and assure him, that the committee speak
their own sentiments, when they inform him, that
the general pleasure and satisfaction of his hearers,
have induced them respectfully to request a copy of
his **ORATION** for publication.

JONAS SAFFORD, Clerk.

POULTNEY, July 4, 1804.



TO THE COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENT.

GENTLEMEN,

THE assurance of your satisfaction and that of the
hearers, with my performance, is truly pleasing.
When I received your request on my return home
on the 2d of July inst. I should not have complied
with it, for the want of time ; had I not been com-
pelled, out of regard to your peculiar situation, and
the patriotic and independent feelings of your minds
and your conciliatory conduct, as communicated to
me. In complying with your respectful request of
a copy for publication, I am sensible that I shall ex-
pose myself to criticism, and the censure of party spi-
rit ; but upon further consideration, I have consent-

ed to give you a copy with some small additions, which were omitted on account of length, and some small correction without altering the sense : and if it will afford any satisfaction to the candid reader and friends of a free and virtuous government, it will be an ample compensation to the public's humble serv't.

CHAUNCY LANGDON.

CASTLETON, *July* 10, 1804.

AN
ORATION.

MEN AND BRETHREN,

HEAR me for your cause, and be candid that you may hear. Censure me with wisdom and prudence; “but awaken your senses, that you may the better judge.” Regard the toils, the valor, the treasures and united wisdom of our fathers, that they may prove a lasting blessing to us, and a *proof of great prize* to the latest generation.

I SHALL not address you in the music of periods, in the artifice of connection, or in the well arranged flowers of rhetoric: but in a few plain and ~~simple~~ observations, which, I hope, may deeply impress your minds by their own weight.

I SHALL not come to you in the simpering blandishments of a courtier, or in the *cringing hypocrisy* of a MAN OF THE PEOPLE, falsely so called; but in the plain garb of that Republicanism, which has borne the test of ages; and in the native dress of one “who dwells in his own country.”

We have met, not to celebrate the success of one political party over another; nor the acquisition of an *ideal paradise*; but to commemorate the birth of a nation:—A nation of FREEMEN, who live in a country where LIBERTY delights to dwell! Then let us all unite with heart and hand to celebrate the important event: and render thanks to HIM, who sways the sceptre of universal nature, and implore his protection, and the continuance of all our rights and liberties inviolate.

Now to Brethren

On this auspicious day, to secure our rights and liberties, the delegates of the American people, with the love of liberty interwoven in the ligaments of their hearts, were impelled to lift up their hands to the SUPREME RULER of heaven and earth, and declare themselves a FREE and INDEPENDENT NATION! “Appealing to the SUPREME JUDGE of the world for the guidance of their intentions,” they firmly relied upon the protection of divine providence for the success of a righteous cause. Amid the convulsions of nature herself—conflagrated towns and sacked villages—surrounded by widowed matrons, blooming virgins, and orphaned children, fleeing from past affluence into exile—and amidst all the miseries of a most cruel and unnatural war, they *dared to be free!*—Though naked, feeble, and destitute of every implement of warfare! yet they were clad in the vest-

ments of LIBERTY, and armed with the sinews of FREEDOM! Few in number, yet guarded with the shield of faith in a just and glorious cause! Though scattered over an extensive country; yet they cordially united and mutually pledged their lives, their fortunes, their honor, and all that is dear to man to support that declaration!—A declaration, which astonished Europe; and in the issue made tyranny tremble!—A declaration which plucked from Great-Britain the brightest gem in her crown—and shook her imperial, and tyrannic throne to its centre!—Through seas of blood, surrounded by death and destruction, with despair staring us in the face, we have maintained our freedom, and defended our rights by the single sinew of the arm of Liberty.

THE mother forgot her fucking child!—And “if it had not been, the LORD was on our side, while men rose up against us, then they had swallowed us quick:”—Yea! “the proud waters had gone over our souls.” But praised be the LORD, we have escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers: “The snare is broken and we are escaped.”

THE finger of God pointed out to us the immortal WASHINGTON to lead the embattled strife!—We rose—we fought—we bled—and we conquered!

Yes, my friends, on this twenty-eighth anniversary

of American Independence, we enjoy the sweets of **LIBERTY**, with **PEACE** and **PLENTY** in her train.

(YONDER fields of battle, once moistened with the precious blood of heroic and virtuous freemen, are now pressed with the plow-share, and annually yield their increase. Stern war stalks not in our streets!—No savage yells affright us!—No relentless foes surround our dwellings or annoy our rest.—All may enjoy peace and plenty under a government of mild and equal laws.) Oh happy people, thrice happy people! if we know our own good, before “it is hidden from our eyes!”

Requiem

THOUGH peace has been “within our walls, and prosperity within our palaces:”—Though many have sought to do us good;—yet remember that the stamp of change is placed on all things below the sun. “GOD alone is unchangeable!—With HIM there is no variableness or shadow of turning!”—Every page of history, (the great mirror of the world, in which we can view the fate of men and nations,) evinces this truth, and nature confirms the fact. The magnificent works of art and man’s inventions to perpetuate their fame or greatness, waste away by ever-changing time: and the face of nature herself annually varies her appearances, and assumes new shapes and features. The corporeal part of man is constant-

ly changing, through the various periods of life; and the mind is active or progressive from one thing to another. With the great mass of mankind nothing is fixed or permanent. Their opinions and professions are fleeting as the wind: and men change and veer as occasion and their own private and ambitious views require. Men are cried up and down, as *great patriots*, according to the particular interests and ambitious views of leading demagogues.* Liberty, freedom and political virtue, in practice, is one thing to-day, and another to-morrow. Tyranny, aristocracy, oppression or *political intolerance* are only seen, or pretended to be seen, and announced in opponents. We, and we alone have no ambitious views; and our only objects are the *good of the people and the security of their rights*, is the language of party and of vain and ambitious men.

“ Not one looks backward, onward still he goes,
“ Yet ne'er looks forward further than his nose.”

MANY fancy that they now live in a golden age: But remember, “ the *gold* may become dim, and the “ most fine *GOLD* changed.”

THE best governments have tumbled into ruin: and

* This position might be exemplified from numberless instances in ancient and modern history. It is sufficient to name only two recent ones—viz. AARON BUEB and THOMAS M'KEAN.

the freest and most enlightened Republics have become tyrannies.)

. Where is the rich and magnanimous Commonwealth of Rome? Once the cradle of heroes, and the deposit of public virtue and true patriotism?—Where is the valiant and heroic Republic of Carthage?—Where are the free and enlightened States of Greece, once the seat of LIBERTY, FREEDOM and SCIENCE? They have long since tumbled into promiscuous ruin, by their own corruptions, flatteries, party spirit, slander, detractions and envy. Parties trod on the heels of parties; destroying one another, by themselves destroyed:—obliterating every virtuous and patriotic act; flattering and deceiving the people; themselves deceived by the actors behind the scene: until all religion and political virtue, in the rulers and in the majority of the people, were done away: and an impartial execution of the laws was set at defiance; and soon, *very soon*, the sword of tyranny pierced between the joints and the marrow of the body politic, and prostrated it in the *dust of despotism*.

CEASAR, having become popular by his many and splendid victories, and his courteous attention to the people, aimed at the sovereign power of Rome.—While he wept, when the poor man cried, he was preparing materials to enslave the people. While he

thrice refused a kingly crown, he was forging out chains to fast bind Roman liberty, and shackle public virtue. While on Pharfalia's plains he was denouncing and fighting POMPEY, as a dangerous and ambitious man, and hostile to the rights and liberties of the commonwealth, he was softly winding the chains, he had prepared, around the cringing necks of the too credulous Romans. While he was decrying the rigid virtue, and pure patriotism of CATO, as tending to aristocracy and monarchy; and as dangerous to the equal rights and liberties of the people, he was closing the doors of the TEMPLE OF FREEDOM:—And while he was closely pressing him pent up in Attica, struggling to save their liberties, and the glory of the Roman name from his tyranic grasp; CEASAR was placing an everlasting seal on the PORTAL:—which made the magnanimous HERO cry out, in the language of ADDISON, that

“ When vice prevails and wicked men bear sway,

“ A post of honour, is a private station !”

And in the end, made him refuse to preserve a life too virtuous and patriotic to survive the loss of public and private virtue, and of the glory and freedom of Rome !

WHERE are the modern Republics of Venice, Genoa, Switzerland, Geneva and Holland? They are now the vassals of a foreign power, and groaning un-

der the *iron yoke* of the Republic of France, with the only consolation of having the terms, LIBERTY and EQUALITY, stamped on each end! In vain did the noble youths of Switzerland, as the true descendants of WILLIAM TELL, under the walls of Bern, like the band of LEONIDAS, fight to preserve their ancient liberties and independence from the rapine of the French government, and gulph of their tyranny.

WHERE is the boasted *Liberty* and *Equality* of the French Republic? If they ever existed in France, they have long since fled that ill-fated country, to elude the tyrannic grasp of a foreign usurper.

FROM the tragic death of the humane ~~LOUIS~~ to the present day, party spirit has continued in rage with unrelenting fury; and, as the besom of destruction, has swept all before it. PETION, BRISSOT, CARNIER, CONDORCET, BARRAS, MARAT, ROBESPIERRE and other ruthless demagogues, under the fascinating charms, and colour of freedom, in thick succession seized the helm of government, from which they were hurled into the giddy vortex of a fancied *Liberty* and *Equality*! Millions of every age, denomination and sex; yea; helpless and unborn infants fell a prey to their relentless rage and tyrannies. Destruction was in their ways; and desolation marked their steps!* They

* PREDHOME, a zealous jacobin, in his publication of

changed the temples of the living God, into scenes of debauchery and all manner of wickedness :—and even attempted to change virtue itself ;—to eradicate every moral sentiment from the human breast, and to extirpate all religious obligation from the face of the earth.—They even assailed the throne of the Deity himself ; and would

“ Snatch from his hand the balance and the rod,
 “ Rejudge his justice and be God of God.”

the revolutions in France, states, that the victims in the revolution from June 1789, to October 1795, amounted to 2,029,606 : that 1265 women and children were thrown into the sea at Toulon : and were called REPUBLICAN BAPTISMS : that 900,000 perished at La Vendee ; 15000 of whom were women and 22,000 children : that 32,000 were adjudged to death at Nantz by CARNIER ; among whom 500 children were shot, and 1500 drowned ; 264 women were shot to death and 500 were drowned—and that 124,000 whites and 60,000 blacks were destroyed at St. Domingo. This unparralleled destruction of the human race, was within the territories, under what they called the civil administration of their government. While these bloody massacres took place in France, her armies were whitening the plains of Europe and Africa with the bones of the innocent, and driving over heaps of slain, were laying waste the fairest part of the globe, and bowing the necks of nations, happy in their government, to the gallic yoke ; and vainly deemed these victories, the triumph of Republicanism, and called the purchase cheap !!!

ALL these things were done under the names of Liberty and Equality !!!——“ Tell it not in Gath, “ publish it not in the streets of Askelon !—lest” monarchy “ triumph, and the daughter of” despotism “ be glad !”

THE people of France were oppressed by the tyrannies of the administrators of their government, until ~~the~~ millions were made willing, with raised hands and *clamorous tongues*, to welcome BONAPARTE with his victorious legions, within the gates of Paris, and declare him Consul for life, with a right to dictate all laws, and name his successor. Thus the great mass of the people rejoiced to exchange the *Tygers* of France for the *Lion* of Corfica, to rule over them with despotic sway !

OH my countrymen ! because tyrannies have been practised in a Republican form of government : and the cloak of Liberty and Equality, has been prostituted for a covering ; *despise not the garments !*—they are robes which become virtuous FREEMEN : but can never be long worn by demagogues or tyrants, when the people are virtuous, and well informed.) *Finis*

LIBERTY and Equality have been used as *fascinating charms* to bewilder the unwary, and ignorant :—but well defined, understood and practised, are the basis of every free republic, and virtue the preservative.

CIVIL Liberty is opposite to licentiousness. It exists in its greatest perfection, where the people are under a government of their own choice, and they conform to the laws enacted by themselves or their representatives, for the good of community. True liberty makes the people subjects, not of men, but of the laws. If we, therefore, would enjoy liberty, we must do only what the laws permit. It forbids the practice or indulgence of any thing that is injurious to our fellow-men. We may act according to our own choice, and pursue those measures which are conducive to our own interests and happiness; but must act within the limits of the laws, and distributive justice. We must so use our own, as not to injure another. Freedom of speech within the limits of good and wholesome laws is a great privilege, and is conducive to public good and private happiness: but a licentious use of *that* Freedom, is a curse to any nation, and is as *the pestilence which walketh in darkness* to just information, and all social and domestic happiness. It is like a free use of mercury in the hands of a quack; and will eventually prove as destructive to the body politic. “So long as the people are under the restraint of just and equal laws, they enjoy true FREEDOM.” When the passions of men are under no other restraint than *reason* ;* and

* One of the doctrines of modern philosophy, or the new school, is that every other restraint, than natural reason,

the laws are violated with impunity, all real Freedom is lost, the reign of justice is over, party rage succeeds, LIBERTY changes into libertinism, tyranny triumphs and public virtue flees away.

IN every free government, the principles of *equality* consist in an equality of rights ; but not in an equal liberty, in every individual, to exercise the same rights :—And those rights protected and secured to every one by a strict observance and an impartial administration of the laws. And that those rights, thus protected and secured, be such, as that the way to honor and preferment may be equally open to every individual in society—and where real merit, information and capacity are the only distinctions. LIBERTY and EQUALITY, thus defined and practised, will perpetuate our government and FREEDOM, and ensure us lasting blessings.

To obtain LIBERTY and INDEPENDENCE, we had to conquer a mighty host : but to preserve them pure and uncontaminated, we must do more—we must continually conquer ourselves. We must stand in awe of our own prejudices and corruptions. We

is an infringement upon the freedom and liberty of man : and therefore created Reason a goddess, as the presiding principle or only rule of civil conduct in every individual in society.

must guard against flattery, envy, falsehood, party spirit and detraction. We must watch the actions, and not hear the professions of the *zealous and self-styled patriot* : for “ by their works ye shall know “ them. Men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor “ figs of thistles.”

“ THERE IS,” said the patriotic orator, CAIUS MARIUS, to the Romans, “ a material difference in the “ behaviour of those who offer themselves as Candi- “ dates for places of power and trust, before and af- “ ter obtaining them. They solicit them in one way, “ and execute them in another. They set out with “ a great appearance of activity, humility and mode- “ ration : and they soon fall into sloth, pride avarice “ and oppression.”

A SHORT time before the Athenian Republic lost her liberties and was destroyed by party rage and factions, the great and eloquent DEMOSTHENES said to the people—“ That when he compared the speeches “ of some amongst them, with their actions, he was “ at a loss how to reconcile what he saw, and what he “ heard. Their protestations,” says he, “ are *full of* “ *zeal for the public good*, but their measures are so in- “ consistent, that all their *professions* become suspect- “ ed.”

MORAL and political virtue and real patriotism, are

modest in their professions and appearances. This is most beautifully exemplified in the parable of JOTHAM,* representing the trees as going forth to anoint a king over them. The olive, the fig-tree and the vine modestly excused themselves from leaving the *sweets* and *fatness* of their own native virtues and excellencies, and go to be promoted over the trees, and reign over their brethren. The bramble, the vilest of all trees, watching his opportunity, and ambitious of promotion over his brethren, hid his thorny trunk and limbs with a fair covering of leaves, stood and said to all the trees, *come and in truth anoint me king over you ;* and kindly invited them, saying, “ *come and put your* “ *trust in my shadow :*” and no sooner was the application made, than *the bramble* accepted the offer—but soon *fire came out of the bramble, and devoured the cedars of Lebanon !*

VAIN ambition and corrupt designs require the strongest and most zealous professions of patriotism, to hide their deformity from the public eye. Truth and virtue want no covering. They appear most lovely in their native dress. They shun not the light; they suspect no evil; they seek that which is good.—Happy is that nation, to which true virtue reveals herself in all her native beauty ! Can they see her, and not love her ?—Can they love her and not be happy ?

* See Judges, Chapter ix.

And can they be happy without FREEDOM?—And can they be FREE without VIRTUE in the rulers and in the people? Reason dictates that when the people are corrupt, they will choose corrupt rulers, who will follow their own devices, and gratify their own vicious inclinations. They engender vice until the whole body politic becomes corrupt and dissolution ensues.

When the people become corrupt, the LORD of hosts has also said “that he will take away the mighty
 “ man, and the man of war, the judge and the prophet, the prudent and the ancient, the honorable man and the counsellor,” &c. “And will give children
 “ to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them.
 “ And the people shall be oppressed, every one by
 “ another, and every one by his neighbor : the child
 “ shall behave himself proudly against the ancient,
 “ and the base against the honorable.”

FRUGALITY and industry are essential to virtue. They are so essential to the happiness of the world, that they are respected in every man, from the highest potentate to the beggar on the dunghill. Without industry and frugality few virtues can long exist.—
 “ They may be called the daughters of prudence, the
 “ sisters of temperance, and the parents of liberty.”
 Extravagance and sloth will ensure poverty :—poverty will enforce dependance :—dependance will invite corruption—and corruption will destroy all FREEDOM

and LIBERTY. Dependance will produce a passive compliance with the wickedness of others : and there are few, few indeed ! who do not learn to practice those crimes and vices which they daily see and cease to censure.

WHILE a nation is virtuous, they will generally be well informed ; and when rightly informed, they will judge correctly, and pursue their own happiness.

FLATTERY is dangerous to right information : and whoever possesses power is exposed to its direful effects. Flattery will insinuate itself like a serpent among flowers. “ It is better, said ANTISTHINES, to “ fall among crows than flatterers ; for those only devour the dead, these the living.” Alas ! to what are men possessing power exposed ! Even the wisest are frequently abused by the flatteries of the designing.— People are often deceived because they do not repulse flattery ; and love and respect those who tell them the truth. Flatter not, nor be flattered. Search after truth by the dictates of unbiassed reason, and you are safe.

ARTFUL and designing men will ever flatter the people, when power and authority are derived from them ; and when they have obtained the height of their ambition, they will turn their backs, and look down and scorn the base degrees by which they as-

cended.* Good men will retire, and wait until they are sought after and promoted. The great CINCINATUS solicited no office, but followed his plough and industriously pursued his domestic concerns until he was actually chosen dictator of Rome, and the command given him. But ABSALOM “*rose up early and*” “*stood beside the way of the gate,*” with all the pageantry of a monarch, to engage the attention of every one as he passed by. And as every one passed by, to go “*to the king for judgment,*” he *called unto him,* and enquired of his welfare ; and appeared to interest himself in his concerns : And then began to complain of the government ; and “*charged him to see if his*” “*matters were good and right since no man is deputed*” “*of the king to hear thee.*” He then *artfully* says to him—“*Oh that I were made judge in the land, that*” “*every man which hath any suit or cause might come*” “*unto ME, and I would do him justice.*” And as

* *This trait of the human character is beautifully described in the following lines of SHAKESPEARE, in his Julius Cæsar.*

.....“*’Tis a common proof,*
 “*That lowliness is young ambition’s ladder,*
 “*Whereto the climber upwards turns his face :*
 “*And when he once attains the utmost round,*
 “*He then unto the ladder turns his back,*
 “*Looks in the clouds, scorning the base degrees*
 “*By which he did ascend.*”

the unwary “ man came nigh to him to do him obeisance,” he being the king’s son, “ *he put forth his hand, and took him and kissed him!*” And what was the result? Holy writ informs us, that “ so ABSALOM stole away the hearts of the men of Israel.”—A viler and more atrocious theft could not be committed among men!* After process of time, under pretence of performing the religious obligation he was under, he went to Hebron, “ sent spies through all the tribes of Israel,” and proclaimed *himself* king; and thus drove his father, “ a man after GOD’S own heart,” from his throne; and polluted the sceptre of wisdom with his sacrilegious hands!

FREE governments have often been sapped to their foundations by envy, slander and party spirit. Their

* *Stealing of men’s hearts was well understood by nature’s poet.*

“ *Observe his courtship to the common people :*

“ *How he did seem to dive into their hearts*

“ *With humble and familiar courtesy :*

“ *What reverence he did throw away on slaves ;*

“ *Wooing poor craftsmen with the craft of smiles,*

“ *And patient underbearing of his fortune,*

“ *As ’twere to banish their effects with him,*

“ *Off goes his bonnet to an oyster-wench :*

“ *A brace of draymen, bid, God speed him well !*

“ *And had the tribute of his supple knee ;*

“ *With thanks, my countrymen, my loving friends.*

baneful effects have been seen and felt by the good and virtuous in all ages. Envy ever fixes itself on merit; and, like a sore eye, is offended with every thing that is bright, and will ever call in the aid of slander to tarnish the lustre. ARISTIDES, who, for his unexampled integrity, was surnamed the JUST, fell beneath the envenomed shafts. By the envy and slander of vile demagogues, that great man was banished, by those who could not write his name, from the Athenian Republic, which he had enriched by his superior wisdom, virtues and talents, and often saved by his valour—and for no other cause, than that *envy could not bear to hear him called “THE JUST.”** Though he possessed the public treasury, yet he died poor, and his children were unable to bury him.

SOCRATES, the glory of Athens and of the world, and numberless others, have also fallen victims to envy and slander.

* *When ARISTIDES was on trial by ostracism, an Athenian who did not know him, and could not write, came and asked ARISTIDES to write on his shell: ARISTIDES asked what he should write? The man answered, “ARISTIDES.” He then asked what he had against ARISTIDES? The ignorant man answered, “He had nothing; only he could not any longer bear to hear him called THE JUST.” ARISTIDES wrote his own name on the shell, and was banished his native country for his virtue and integrity!*

Says the prince of poets,

My heart laments that virtue cannot live
 Out of the teeth of emulation.
 No might nor greatness in mortality
 Can censure 'scape : back-wounding calumny
 The whitest virtue strikes. What king so strong
 Can tie the gall up in the slanderous tongue ?

.....'Tis *slander*,

Whose edge is sharper than a sword, whose tongue
 Out venoms all the worms of Nile : whose breath
 Rides on the posting winds, and doth belie
 All corners of the world ; kings, queens and states,
 Maids, matrons—nay, the secrets of the grave
 This viperous slander enters.

IN America, have not the greatest talents, and most exalted virtues, which ever adorned human nature, felt the envenomed shafts, from the hireling tongues of foreign sycophants and restless demagogues ! Let the grey hairs of RETIRING WORTH bear witness ! Let the war-worn soldier testify ! And let the entombed ashes of the FATHER of his country declare ! . . .
 Alas ! HE lies low in the dust, beneath the cold clods of the valley ! and *envy and slander* would refuse him a monument of HIS WORTH ! But his virtues and fame are exalted above the reach of envy itself.

PARTY SPIRIT in governments, towns or families is

an inexhaustible source of evil. It is a *gangrene* which often rages so as to produce a total dissolution, unless prevented by a timely amputation of the part affected. It embitters every enjoyment of life; and by its pestilential breath blasts all social and domestic happiness. It paralyses every virtuous act of government, and sweeps away all confidence in the constituted authorities. It destroys all integrity, and drives every public and private virtue into exile. Do we not see—do we not feel its direful effects?

OH, my Countrymen! How must our cheeks be covered with crimson blushes, if our renowned HERO and STATESMAN should return from the mansion of the dead, to see our improvement of those lessons of moral and political wisdom which he left us as a dying legacy?—Hear his warning voice against party spirit. “Let me now take,” says he, “a more comprehensive view, and warn you in a most solemn manner against the baneful effects of party spirit generally.

“THIS spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, contracted or repressed: but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

“ The alternate dominion of one faction over ano-
 “ ther, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, which is
 “ natural to party diffension, and which in different
 “ ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid
 “ enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this
 “ at length leads to a more formal and permanent
 “ despotism. The disorders and miseries which re-
 “ sult and gradually incline the minds of men to seek
 “ security and repose in the absolute power of an in-
 “ dividual :—and sooner or later the chief of some
 “ prevailing faction, more able, or more fortunate
 “ than his competitors, turns this disposition to the
 “ purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of pub-
 “ lic liberty.”

FURTHER, “ It serves always to distract the public
 “ councils, and enfeeble the public administration.
 “ It agitates the community with ill-founded jealou-
 “ sies and false alarms : kindles the animosities of one
 “ part against another, foment occasional riots and
 “ insurrections. It opens the door to foreign influ-
 “ ence and corruption, which find a facilitated access
 “ to the government itself, through the channel of
 “ party passion. Thus the policy and will of one
 “ country are subjected to the policy and will of a-
 “ nother.”

SHALL we not listen to the last address of our poli-

tical FATHER? Shall we not hearken to his maxims, when they contain a complete epitome of that virtue and morality which exalt a nation; and of those principles which are the bulwark of our peace, freedom and safety? Each sentence is like a precious jewel, and all his actions like so many pearls, strung on the golden cord of love to his country.

My friends, suffer me this plainness of speech.— Have not too many of us been swerved from the line of our duty by fascinating words, flatteries and false professions? Have not our minds been violently prejudiced and embittered against good and upright men, whose abilities, knowledge and experience justly entitle them to our confidence, by clamorous partisans and demagogues, and by a vile application of opprobrious epithets? Have not *slander* and *party spirit* had too conspicuous a station and too visible an effect among us? Do not some of us severely feel its envenomed shafts now rankling in our bosoms? In consequence of these things, do not too many foreigners, who have sucked the *breasts* of *sedition*, and been dandied in the *lap of corruption*, hold important stations, and have too much influence in our government and councils?—And *that by the displacing*, and to the exclusion of our best citizens! Will not the enemies of OUR FREEDOM and INDEPENDENCE gain

ground upon us, while we are destroying one another by party-spirit, envy, slander and political intolerance?

IN our government the people emphatically possess the *sovereign power*. The nature of our government is propitious to the rights of man, and the prosperity and happiness of society : but its continuance is short unless guarded by a vigilant attention. Its principles must be preserved pure and uncontaminated. When the purity of those principles are gone, the descent to anarchy and from thence to despotism is inevitable. In vain will the patriot strive to restore its original principles. The virtues of a CATO, or a WASHINGTON will become as a *founding brass* or a *tinkling symbol*.

FINALLY, brethren, let us search for truth as for hidden treasures. Let us profit by the fate of nations, and the experience of past ages. Let men of virtue and real merit (but not the merit of party) be preferred and sought for in their humble retreats. Let venality, slander, party spirit, vice and immorality meet your abhorrence in all your actions. Avoid innovations as dangerous. Make no changes, with an expectation of finding *perfectability in man, or the works of man* : It is not in man or his works : The search is vain—it is the contagious disorder of the mind—

the idle pursuit of a new race of beings, which we can have no reasonable hope to discover.

WHILE we notice the importance of this day, let us all unite in the love of one another, and in the LOVE of our common country ; and avoid party spirit as destructive to both. Detest envy and slander, and cultivate peace and harmony in society. Practice virtue, integrity, economy and industry. The practice of these things is the life of all FREE GOVERNMENTS. And let such and only such be the objects of our choice, for places of honour and trust. Let the golden privilege of the right of suffrage be ever guarded, as the *apple of the eye* ; and exercised with pure intentions. Forever renounce every appearance of bribery, corruption, prejudice, dissention and party spirit. Ever distrust and avoid the man, who would create distrust and party spirit among men.

THUS we shall perpetuate our FREEDOM and GOVERNMENT, and hand them down to posterity in their original purity. Thus we shall secure the sublime enjoyment of all those RIGHTS and PRIVILEGES, which have been dearly purchased, by the precious blood of HEROES and the united cares and toils of a long list of PATRIOTS, who are now no more. Thus we shall become victorious over the enemies of our FREEDOM

and INDEPENDENCE—and what is more, we shall be victorious over *ourselves* :—and thereby realize, without alloy, the benign influence of good and wholesome laws, under a FREE and INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT : and leave to our posterity the richest blessing earthly parents can bestow :—And finally finish our course in peace, and fall asleep in our GOD, and the GOD of our FATHERS.

FINIS.