

*John A. Davis Esquire*

*from his friend & Servant*

*the Author.*

## ADDRESS.

DELIVERED AT THE REQUEST OF THE

REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS.

ON THE

**Anniversary of Independence,**

**FOURTH JULY, A. D. 1822.**

**CHARLESTOWN, MASS.**

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**BY NATHANIEL HALL LORING.**

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"That I am one of a party, a party never known to sacrifice the interests, or barter the liberties of the nation for temporary purposes, for personal exultation or honours; a party linked together on principles which comprehend whatever is dear and most precious to freedom and essential to a free constitution, is MY PRIDE AND BOAST."

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1822.

CHARLESTOWN, July 4, 1822.

SIR,—The Committee of Arrangements, in pursuance of a vote of our Republican Citizens, have directed me to express to you, their unqualified approbation of your Address:— and to request a copy for Publication.

With respect,

PAUL WILLARD *Secretary.*

N. H. LORING, Esq.

## ADDRESS.

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**WE** are assembled, fellow citizens, to offer our devotion to the Almighty God, whose guiding arm, in the day of peril which we now commemorate, was distinctly seen on the side of our Country. Through his servant we have approached his throne with gratitude for the past and supplication for the future. It is my humbler province to address you in a few reflections, which may enliven and confirm your patriotism.

From the remotest period of time, mankind, in different climes, have lived under innumerable variations of aristocratical, monarchical and democratical systems of government. We perceive amidst all these fluctuations, which in truth have been fluctuations of misery, with few alternations of happiness, an unconquerable spirit, struggling forward against the gigantick power of tyranny, and occasionally exhibiting itself as a guiding light to the world. That spirit is the love of free-

dom. Looking back on the great ocean of time, we discover, at extensive intervals, a few brilliant lights, by which, through the general blackness, we trace the course of Liberty. Helvidius and Aristogiton, Brutus and Hampden, the fields of Thermopylæ and Marathon, alike testify the precarious existence of a principle, which in our day threatens to destroy the institutions that have overpowered it for ages. Our very nature, equally capable of exaltation and debasement, proves, that when mankind were originally thrown together on this earth, physical strength must have seized the sceptre, since reason, unaided by experience, would necessarily have claimed it in vain. But the principle of liberty existed even then: Deity gave it to man with his divine intellect, so that, when fortified by bitter sufferings, and enlightened by successive discoveries, he might recur to it for salvation. In former times, liberty was desired by a few individuals, but they merely believed, that it was essential to the happiness of communities, but knew not in what manner to render it of practical utility. Untutored by experience they planned imaginary governments which could never actually exist; yet, even in their wildest fancies, they added something to the knowledge of real free-

dom, and it was from a series of unsuccessful experiments, that our immediate ancestors derived sufficient wisdom to announce the immutable principles which we acknowledge on this anniversary. In accordance with those principles, the structure of our federal government was erected, and mankind, for the first time, beheld a nation in the positive enjoyment of freedom. Thus it is, that this hitherto proscribed principle of Liberty, whose gleamings were scarcely seen in the night of former ages, has in this country emerged with a splendour which is destined to illuminate the most distant and degraded nations. That simple principle, which, amidst the rise and decacy of empires, has been sacrificed in democracies, denounced in monarchies, and suppressed every where, has obtained a spot from which it will realize the boast of Archimides, and move the world. Already, the venerable institutions of the old continent, illustrated by the noblest achievements of war, and the boldest researches of reason, are crumbling away; while three-fourths of this continent have wrested the rod from the oppressor. It is unreasonable to suppose, that our fathers would have been able from the resources of their natural reason to have accomplished this great object.

They were created by the same God, and endowed with the same capacities with those men who peopled the earth five thousand years before. But they culled with curious and skilful hands the precious truths which had been discovered by the republicans of antiquity, and, applying them to the necessities of an enlightened people, produced that constitution under which we live. They successfully vindicated that cause whose votaries in every clime, had fallen under the vindictiveness of power. They liquidated the long account between tyrants and their slaves. By them the dying hopes of a thousand illustrious martyrs were gratified : And we may believe that the present generation is the commencement of a new order of things, in which the doctrines of our revolutionary fathers, combined with the pure morals of Jesus, will destroy the sceptres of tyranny, and break down the altars of superstition !

From the nature of things, wherever a world is peopled by a race possessing the qualities of man, the great sum of their efforts and discoveries will incline towards civil freedom. It is indeed true, that a nation may for a period of years decline continually in slavery. But, during that same period, all its experience and inventions will add to

human knowledge, and consequently prepare the way for liberty. Additional experience must result from additional years; and whenever the human mind has the benefit of experience, it will inevitably produce combinations of science, and axioms of wisdom. The observations of the shepherds, as they watched their flocks by night, gave distinct appellations to the several planets, and, thus determining, that they had an actual or apparent motion, theories were invented, by which that motion was attempted to be explained. An obvious or supposed error in one theory, gave birth to another; the fault of one philosopher was detected by his successor, until, after many systems had been constructed and exploded in a period of more than four thousand years, the English Newton, by those combinations which his stupendous intellect formed from the suggestions and wanderings of his predecessors, discovered the actual law of the universe. Such is the progress of the human understanding towards perfection; and, if it is true, that freedom can only exist where the people are intelligent, it can be no less true that every advance in science is an advance in the knowledge of human rights. When therefore in the infancy of society, observations give us

a single combination or discovery, we have the *nucleus of all science* ; and innumerable combinations, increasing with the age of the world, and the multiplication of its inhabitants, will throw forth the arcana of physicks and morals ; develope the phenomena of the solar system, or explain the more intricate and volatile operations of the mind ; and ultimately demonstrate that despotism is incompatible with an equality in the blessings of civilization. The nation in which this last truth shall be established will burst its manacles, and frame a government, in which all power shall be lodged in the people. Such a consummation is worthy of the sublime energies of the mind ; and, thank God, it is now realized in this confederation. It was for this consummation, fellow citizens, that the bloodiest tyrants could never entirely stifle the generous murmurs of rebellion ; it was for this, that the ecclesiastical power was circumscribed ; that a high-souled few among the learned of every age were found in deadly warfare against the presumptuous domination which would have retained them in ignorance ; it was for this, that the lamp of literature was relumed after the dark ages ; that the invention of printing spread the treasures of science to the humblest cottages ; to this con-



summation every local act of resistance to unjust rule remotely contributed : for this, Locke and Milton wrote ; Russell and Sidney died ; and

“ Tell disclos'd through peril and alarm,”

“ The might that slumber'd in a peasant's arm.”

If we are thus entrusted, my countrymen, with that cause which has been sanctified with the blood of the brightest and most virtuous of men ; if, on our fidelity, depends the freedom or the slavery of innumerable multitudes who are now unborn, are we not called upon for ceaseless vigilance, and the practical exertion of every republican virtue ? By the favour of a benignant Providence, we are in possession of such blessings as never fell to the lot of any other nation ; and holding them in trust for posterity, we must not wantonly put them in jeopardy, nor indolently permit their decay. We must prove, that the valour and wisdom of our fathers, have established in this Western portion of the globe, a noble republic, capable of effecting all the just purposes of government. We must hold out to the great family of the oppressed, whether groaning under the rod of an Hindoo Rajah, or the more powerful sway of an English King, the illustrious spectacle of a whole people, happy, without regal magnifi-

ence, and orderly, without chains. We must fortify, by our example, all those throughout the earth, who have embraced our precepts; and in our internal polity and external relations, we must remember, that to our protection, has been confided the palladium of mankind.

In discharging this important trust, the first truth that strikes our observation is, the necessity of perpetuating the union of the States. If we become divided, and resolve ourselves into a few petty sovereignties, we abandon, not merely our own interests, but relinquish a victory to that system, which, in Europe, flourishes amidst the throes, and at the expense of an oppressed and ruined people. Such a measure would be an abandonment of our interests, because there exists between the different sections of the Union, a reciprocation of commercial advantages, supplying mutual wants and creating a general strength and affluence.

The robust race of the East, who carry our flag into every sea, find employment in transporting the produce of the luxuriant Southern plantations. The importations of our merchants, are consumed in the interior; and they receive in return, the commodities of agriculture. Our manufacturers will, in a great measure, supply the necessities

of the more southern states, and the orange, the olive, and the grape, will be accepted in exchange. Our Union resembles a great machine, in which an individual wheel is incapable of performing any thing itself, but is essential to the motion of the complex whole. If the union were dissolved, the jealousies and consequent disputes which are incident to neighbouring nations, would immediately ensue; and the rivers which now separate peaceful and friendly states, and bear the produce of their common industry to the ocean, would be dyed with the blood of those, who are at this time, friends, brothers, and fellow-citizens. We are situated in a country, from which may be drawn nearly all the productions of every quarter of the globe; so that an industrious people may supply their wants and luxuries from their own land. Our magnificent rivers, those great arteries of internal commerce, connect the most distant states, and sufficiently indicate, that we were intended, in the Providence of God, to be one people. But, beyond the ties of convenience and the calculations of gain, there is sufficient cause in the nature of the affections and morals, to render our union perpetual. Common sufferings in a common cause; the affinities of marriage and friendship: a mutu-

al and emulous love of freedom ; and an equally pure and ardent devotion to our common country, are glorious pledges, that we shall never be broken into adverse states—never become implacable foes.

If, in some future day, we should be divided, and a stranger should behold relentless animosity subsisting between us, he might enquire, through how many centuries we had passed, of conflicting commercial interest, and sanguinary contests for power ; by what great natural and immoveable boundaries we were divided ; by what different languages we were distinguished ; by what rival kings we had been governed ; by what inhuman and unpardonable injuries, our hatred had become implacable ? He might, perhaps, be answered by some one of us now present—That we had never been sacrificed to the ambition of rival kings ; that our interests were similar ; that through two centuries we had improved our situation by the holiest acts of friendship ; that when we were the dependant colonies of an unnatural mother, we leagued together for defence ; that when that mother country became our foe, an injury on one was resented as an injury on all ; that a hundred different fields were the scenes of our

mutual struggles for independence, and were stained with our mingled blood; that in the imprisonments of Britain, afflicted with loathsome diseases and perishing for want, our fathers supported each other, by the consolations of hope and the tenderest offices of friendship; that we had a common language—that language which in '76 reverberated from every hill and valley in America, and roused a nation to arms; that our fathers, sisters, mothers, and brothers, were dispersed over the country, and related to our enemies by the dearest connexions of love; that we were once a happy confederation, peaceful, industrious, and wealthy; triumphant in war, unrivalled in peace, and prospering above the prosperity of every other nation; that our separation was not produced by reciprocal indignities and wrongs, but resulted from a morbid jealousy, which cankered our hearts, and destroyed the fairest prospect which ever met the approbation of God, or gladdened the eyes of man.

I know that there are some politicians who have a prophetic expectation, that the union will be speedily dissolved. But, those individuals predict according to their hopes, or conclude that no constitution can long subsist, which has not a parallel in history. Blindly attached to the exam-

ple of those corrupt states, which have uniformly flourished and declined, they are incapable of grasping, or arrogantly reject, the inductions of reason, and cannot perceive, how the erudition of Europe is excelled by the common sense of America. Look back, faint-hearted reasoners, to your beloved Europe! Go! clank those envied chains which have so long been the object of your nightly prayers, and your unmanly sighs!

If it could be demonstrated, that some partial benefits would result to individual states from a dissolution of the confederacy, our right to fling away that noble patrimony which posterity will require from our hands, would still remain questionable. We cannot preserve our liberties, and dissolve our Union. The adjoining states of America, like adjoining states in Europe, would find ample inducements to war. Some states would be weakened and others made strong; the passions for dominion and military glory would inflame the body of the people; and whenever the multitude drink the inebriating cup of ambition, they are unable to preserve their virtue and intelligence. The intoxication of power renders a nation mad; and it becomes a prey to demagogues and conquerors. Where all wish to be tyrants, there must be some slaves.

I do not intend to enquire into the principles of our constitution, but I will here observe that the federative principle appears to be the true secret, by which liberty may be made universal. Several democracies have existed in ancient and modern times, in which, if the people had been sufficiently enlightened, and no foreign power had interfered, they would have been free. Certain states likewise of a mixed political organization, have enjoyed a considerable portion of liberty, but the vicinity of some great kingdom corrupted their morals or destroyed their independence. No small republick can preserve its virtue in the vicinity of a powerful and ambitious neighbour. It is equally impossible in the present state of intelligence, for a continent to be separated into many unequal republicks, each of which should inculcate peace, and discard the lust of dominion. What other plan then can the wisdom of man devise, than a federal compact, by which these nations shall be bound together by a community of interests, and an interchange of the social affections. Such a compact removes territorial disputes, or despoils them of their ferocity; it can embrace an indefinite number of republicks, and cover an immense extent of country. The pillars of this system appear

to approach perfection, for they are founded not on the fears or passions, but on the benevolence of man. The details of the plan of Henry the Great to confederate the nations of Europe are imperfectly known. Its regulating principle seems to have been a guarantee of the whole, against the violence of any one; thereby preserving peace by the influence of fear, or entering into a general, in order to quell a partial war. This scheme has been frequently eulogized, but unlike our mild constitution, it supposes that political societies can only be preserved tranquil by the application of force or the operation of fear. The rational mind by contrasting the features of these two systems, the one, marked by the savage exertion of physical strength, the other, animated by the benevolent but secure power of reason, will believe that the sages of America have discovered the true method by which nations may be joined in fraternity and peace.

It is not however by the preservation of the union alone that we can preserve our liberties. The abolishment of the privileges of primogeniture, and the constitutional obstacle to titles of nobility, render it impossible for an hereditary aristocracy to establish itself among us. But in the larger cities,



a majority of the affluent have a tendency to obtain a dangerous personal authority. This proceeds in a degree from the want of information in a portion of the population, but more from the policy of the rich in oppressing or corrupting every one, whose talents or integrity are formidable. More ignorant and vain than any other class of the community, the ostentation of their ill-gotten wealth, conceals their deficiencies from the intelligent poor; and by the assistance of mercenary talents, they usurp an unwarrantable controul over many individuals, who depend upon them for employment and patronage. We frequently behold a man whose destitution of every amiable and respectable quality is notorious, affecting, and in the opinion of many, maintaining, a superiority over those who would be dishonoured and humiliated by his friendship. Such are the men, fellow citizens, such are the men, who assume a rank above the honest freeman; and, unable to comprehend the principles, endeavour by their luxury and parade, to sap the morals of our government. They have no communion with the people. They hate every thing that reminds them of the ridiculous insignificance of their pretensions. The descendant of the Percys or Howards, in Imperial Britain, who

looks back to a catalogue of ancestors which he cannot enumerate, is humble and unobtrusive, compared with the lordly demeanour of these modest republicans. It was not such men who staked their lives in the revolution. It was not such men who followed our Washington through the Jerseys, when the flickering torch of Liberty had almost expired.\* There were none such on yonder Hill! and even from its immortal summit, the spirits of your intrepid ancestors frown indignantly upon them. Let them count their treasures day after day, and night after night; let them wring from the poor mechanic his hard-earned pittance; let them persuade the farmer to relinquish his little profits in the market-place, but we desire them not for the "Corinthian Capitals" of our Society.

To preserve our freedom, we must avoid luxury, and its concomitant aristocracy, and cling to the simple habits and frugal fare of republicans. We must likewise discountenance that profusion and peculation by which, in the various branches of our government, the public may be defrauded. The voice of the people should be distinctly heard against the creation of sham tribunals, which may usurp the duties of established courts, and suppress the public justice of the country.

The individual who attempts to establish an unlawful tribunal, to crush the weak, or screen the powerful, no matter how high his office, or how elevated his reputation, is a "SHAMELESS OPPRESSOR, A DISGRACE TO HIS RANK, AND A TRAITOR TO HIS TRUST." Courts can derive authority only from the Legislature, and the department which assumes this power, is guilty of a dangerous and unjustifiable usurpation. The administration of Jefferson is a practical exposition of the principles of our constitution; and in proportion as other administrations diverge from his policy, they desert the interests of the people. We must *go back* to specific appropriations; maintain once more the responsibility of public agents; and consider a fraud on the nation and a fraud on individuals, as equally criminal. We must banish the senseless etiquette of Courts from our seat of government, and introduce that simple dignity with which Jefferson clothed his rank as first republican of the world. When the Gauls entered Rome, warmed with victory, and furious with a foretaste of carnage, they drew back with reverence and fear, before the calm majesty of a Roman Senate, and believed themselves in an assembly of Gods. What would be their emotions in beholding the paltry ceremonies and miucing eti-

quette which deform so many of our republican magistracies !

It does not surprise us, that the stupid vanity of the rich, should regard the unnatural grades of society in Europe with doating affection ; but, it must excite our sorrow, no less than our amazement, when we see those men, who have sprung from, and hold all their power of, the community, disregarding its voice, and coveting peculiar privileges. And every feeling must revolt, when those who have fattened on the spoils of the treasury, deride the public displeasure, and enjoy their plunder with impunity. If such actions are regarded with complacency ; if they do not meet with disapprobation ; nay, fellow citizens, if they are not visited with the whirlwind indignation of an abused and patient people, the columns of your republican fabrick will become carious, and barefaced immorality will crumble its very foundations !

When we consider, that war will sometimes be necessary for the preservation of our national independence, we infer that a certain degree of military science should be acquired by our citizens. It is our policy to preserve peace ; but the menaces of an enemy should be disdained, and his aggressions met by resistance. In foreign nations

where the people have no liberty to defend, the jealousy of their rulers denies them the possession of arms ; but in this country where every citizen exercises a portion of the sovereign power, he has in his dwelling the means of asserting and maintaining it.

“ ‘Tis the home we hold sacred, is laid to our trust,”

“ God bless the free land of the brave !”

“ Should a conqueror tread on our forefather’s dust,”

“ It would rouse the old dead from their grave !”

If we wish that the principles to which I have alluded, should exist in their full force, in this people, we must carry intelligence and a competency to the lowliest hut in our remotest forest. Education will obtain a subsistence for its possessor, and enable him to shake off the servility usually attendant upon extreme want, and to become conscious of his elevated nature and destination. As the inequality among a people decreases, they are better acquainted with their rights and are more able to protect them. He who has a little property of which no one can deprive him, and finds leisure to study the extent of his natural rights, is prepared to discharge the duties of an independent citizen. It is not politick to endow colleges, which may be transformed into po-

litical engines, and into which the poor are never admitted without being reminded of their dependence : The publick bounty will be more wisely employed in founding primary schools, which bring to the door of the peasant the rudiments of instruction.

On Parents devolves no subordinate share in the great work of preserving our liberties. They direct the unfolding of the young germ ; they impart the first impressions to their children, and can instil into their delicate minds a despicable sycophancy or sturdy independence. In vain you erect your colleges and schools ! In vain you spread forth the treasures of genius and reason ! If parental instructions are erroneous or vicious, your labours will avail nothing, for you cannot stimulate your pupil to the noble sentiments of a man. Mothers, who are not permitted to have a direct authority in our government, may yet exert a great and salutary influence on the character of their countrymen. It is in this manner that woman may proudly uphold the capacity of her intellect and bestow the richest blessings upon her country. She is called upon to inculcate in her children, a grandeur of soul, which will fit them for the exigencies of the republick ; she is called

upon to imitate the exalted patriotism of the Roman Cornelia, and derive her highest joy in training her sons to the publick and private virtues ; she is called upon to prepare her daughters for succeeding her in the instruction of youth, and she will find her reward in their benedictions, and the stable gratitude of posterity.

While alluding to the means of preserving our liberty, it would be unpardonable not to recur for a solemn warning, to the times which are now past, when it was inscribed in characters of shame on the history of this state, that our Union was not to be shaken by men, whose want of genius and energy left them the character of knavery without the consolation of greatness. They had spoken of separation. Every patriot awaited the onset without fear or anxiety. They sounded the clarion of revolt to regardless ears, and as it echoed from hill to hill the discordant notes of sedition and despair were heard in the palaces of Boston.

My Countrymen, I have endeavoured to present you some ideas on the magnitude of the trust confided to our care. If I have expressed myself with warmth, it is because that man must be dead to all honourable feelings, who does not feel warm, when discussing a subject, pregnant, like this, with the

welfare or misery of millions. In whatever land a human being seeks, this night, a miserable repose, impoverished by a heartless tax gatherer, or watched by a ruffian soldiery; in whatever land is heard the rattling of chains, or the cries of the famishing, in that land the civil liberty which we now enjoy, will in some future time be naturalized. We are now set apart from the old world, in the secure enjoyment of those blessings, which our maker intended as a birthright to the whole human family. We now stand where no other nation ever stood; and in every language which is spoken by civilized or savage man, an appeal will rise to the God of Heaven, for that protection which he extended to our fathers, and through which they acquired our independence.