

*Geo. Perkins*

AN

**ORATION,**

PRONOUNCED AT THE REQUEST

OF THE

**Citizens of Norwich, Conn.**

ON THE

**ANNIVERSARY**

OF

**American Independence,**

**JULY 4th, 1822.**

.....  
BY CHARLES PERKINS, Esq.

.....  
NORWICH:

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1822.

**CHAS. PERKINS, Esq.**

**SIR—The Committee of arrangements, in behalf of the Gentlemen assembled at the Hotel, to celebrate our National Independence, tender you their thanks for the elegant and appropriate Oration, which you have this day pronounced, and request that you will favor us with a copy for the press.**

**We are, respectfully,**

**Your obedient servants.**

**By order of the Committee of Arrangements.**

**T. ROBINSON, Secretary.**

**Norwich, July 4, 1822.**

AN  
**ORATION, &c.**

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*My Respected Friends and  
Fellow Countrymen,*

THE sensations, which naturally arise, in the breast of every patriot, on the birth day of freedom, are its most powerful preservative.

The mind, insensibly recurs to those events which gave it birth, and fondly dwells upon the recollection, long after the scenes have passed away.

The glow of patriotism, the fire of valor, and the nerve of perseverance, excite similar emotions, in the reviewer of such acts, and selfish feelings lose their influence over the heart of man. The excitement of mind, produced by such contemplations, is part of that moral system of the Universe, whereby the human heart is improved, and rendered, so far as human depravity will admit, a receptacle of benevolent affections.

The deeds of other times, it is true, come down to us, in general, represented in the fairest colors, and the pencil of history too seldom marks the shade of distinction, between the heroic struggle of the patriot for liberty, and the seductive, pernicious dignity of the conqueror; the judicious politician, however, will not fail of discriminating the former, and the patriot cannot refrain from rejoicing at it.

The event, which we have now assembled to commemorate, displayed the sublimest effort, for the attainment of rational liberty, that ever adorned the history of man.

Perhaps, however, at the present day, it should be contemplated, rather in relation to its primary causes, evincing the march of freedom generally, in the world, than, merely, as the scene of exalted, individual prowess, and splendid, national achievement.

It was an event, resulting from causes which had long been in active operation; although, the precise period of its developement, depended upon accidental occurrences.

Viewing the subject in this light, it becomes a far more interesting matter of speculation, inasmuch as, if the position be tenable, it cannot but have a favorable bearing upon the present, and future nations of the earth.

At all times interesting, it is, at the present day peculiarly so; the world having, at no former period, exhibited like traces of powerful moral action, resulting from causes, entirely independent on political calculation.

Statesmen eminently acute, in revolving matters of empire, and in endeavoring to regulate, what used to be denominated, balance of power, feel and acknowledge the agency of some inexplicable principle, which, like an intrusive body, interrupting the revolutions of powerful machinery, entirely, counteracts their well wrought projects, and sets their sagacity at naught.\*

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\* The consequence of their endeavors to prohibit the representation of the smaller States at the Congress of Vienna, & of the British policy there adopted. See, also, the debates in Parliament upon Lord Londonderry's motion for the re-enactment of the Insurrectionary Act, and the repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act.—The speech of Mr. Canning, likewise, in that body, on the 30th April last, upon the motion relative to the Roman Catholic Peers.

Remark, also, the embarrassments of the British and Austrian Ambassadors, urging upon the Divan, the acceptance of the Russian ultimatum; which, although it would establish peace, and thus prevent that Empire from acquiring the arrondissement of the South; yet would afford Greece an opportunity to perfect its liberty, and thus add another to the list of modern free governments:—those of the French Ministry also, when, in February last, Victor, Minister of War, reported to the King, that, after minute enquiry, he had ascertained, that the fidelity of the troops could not be relied upon.

Nations, recently, deemed of too little importance to deserve even a very accurate geographical delineation, suddenly emerge from barbarism, perfect their civil institutions, and demand, in dictatorial style, the acknowledgment of their political consequence.\*

A people, once terrible in arms, but who, for more than fifteen centuries, had dozed in an imbecility, little elevated above the brute creation, have awaked from their intellectual slumbers, and dared the conflict.‡

Devoted servants of royalty, that have long propped the trembling throne, wondering at its vacillations, implore the tyrant, who sits upon it, to dispense with further attendance, lest they perish beneath its ruins.†

Seeing the world lying in fragments around them, ambitious monarchs call upon each other, to unite in holy alliance; and falsely hope, by unrighteous affinity to the Holy Cross, still to retain their dangerous and giddy elevation.‡

Although, nominally, the world is in a state of general peace, yet, it may safely be averred, that never was there a time when tyrants held their crowns by so fragile a tenure; it is a peace, nearly resembling the portentous silence, that forebodes some tremendous earthly convulsion.

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\* Mexico, and the Republics of South-America.

‡ The Greeks, who, in National Congress, assembled at Epidaurus, on the 1st January 1822, proclaimed their independence, and political existence. Their fleet, in October last, consisted of 180 vessels, each carrying from 15 to 40 guns; of many with less than 15;—and of above 500, with from 2 to 5, in the Dardanelles, near the Cyclades and in the Ionian sea.

† In September, 1821, the Spanish Cabinet Ministers all presented their resignations to the King; and, as none could be found to supply their places, he refused to accept several of them, and, especially, those presented by the Minister for the Colonies, in behalf of himself and his colleagues.

‡ The Russian dynasty, having it in view, to diminish the political influence of Britain, formed, at the great Continental Congress, a compact, with Austria & Prussia, denominated the Holy Alliance, upon such principles as, necessarily, to exclude the participation of that government.

A mild and rational principle, now, more or less extensively, pervades every civilized nation, and has for more than three centuries, made a secret, yet sure and inflexible progress, and, without disclosing its proximity, until resistance would be worse than useless, has, gradually sapped the foundations of tyranny, and, in many instances, pronounced its requiem.

The impossibility of discerning the magnitude of the danger, serves, but to render its apprehended approach more terrible, and drives its victim to the adoption of expedients that, in their operation, only hasten its development.\*

Against rebellious machinations and ambitious projects, tyrants may marshal their phalanx of physical power; but, against the prevalence of just principles, and the expansion of virtuous affections, of what avail are the sublimest efforts of corporal energy? You might as well strive to limit a pestilence, by mustering against it, the hosts of war; or silence the roaring tempest, by a word of command.

This prevalent and efficient principle is that of rational liberty;—the offspring of virtue and education.

An elevated standard of moral rectitude, is no less essential to the welfare of a nation, than to that of an

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\* The censorship imposed upon the press, in France, by the law of January last, is of the most arbitrary nature, and was carried, in the Chamber of Deputies, by a vote of 254 to 123.

In Prussia, censors are appointed to inspect the books of particular booksellers; and sub-censors, for different departments of science and literature; and all German books, published out of Prussia, undergo a fresh examination at Berlin.

Austria and Prussia, in February last, endeavored to induce the King of Wirtemberg, still farther, to restrict the liberty of the press.

In Austria, by a late edict, all private tuition was prohibited, by which means, the Jesuits superseded their protestant rivals, from Germany and Switzerland.

The Peers of France patronize a class, who, openly, protest against the instruction of the people, and look upon the Lancasterian school, as a seminary for perdition.

In Russia, a ukase was issued, on the 15th of October 1821, prohibiting freemason-lodges, in that Empire, and they have, since that period, been closed.

individual; and to both, it affords a surer protection against presumptuous insult, than all other attributes, in its absence. Few aggressions upon either, are inevitable. Most of them, are artful speculations upon weight of character. Much reliance is placed, by the invader of rights, upon the little influence, which, a feeble reputation can, even in a just cause, summon, in its own defence. Not, unfrequently, therefore, a conquest is made, ere a blow is struck, and the victor has only to receive the homage of the vanquished.

On the other hand, the integrity of a nation is its strong city. With an inflexible rule of conduct, its purposes move on, and are accomplished. It makes no disjointed efforts, projects no disastrous schemes. There is a dignity, in all its relations, which imparts permanence to its domestic institutions, and security against foreign depredation.

The degree of rational liberty enjoyed by any people, is exactly denoted by this moral standard, and, like the mercury in the thermometer, is elevated, or depressed, according to the prevalence of sound religion and sound science. The former, instructs us to do justice, love mercy and walk humbly. Who, on being convicted of its excellence, although arrived at the meridian of life, or passed beyond it, without having acquired the rudiments of erudition, but has begun to make laborious efforts to attain them? The last constituent of rational liberty would, therefore, seem to be the natural consequence of the first; although it by no means follows, that it may not have a separate existence: but to render education, disconnected from sound religion, of any avail, in advancing the cause of rational liberty, it is indispensable, that it be universally diffused.

In the midst of an unlettered multitude, the enlightened intellect of a few vicious men, would both dispose and enable them, to pervert its use, in the depression of their ignorant brethren, and exaltation of themselves.

The prevalence of literature is as hateful to despots and demagogues, as that of virtue, to the prince of the rebel angels.

That sound religion and sound science, are the only basis of sound politics, is abundantly evinced in the record of experience ; the true test of all practical philosophy.

Glance your eyes, then, a few moments upon its pages, and trace the lineaments of those political systems, in which the absence of these qualities is sadly conspicuous.

Anterior to the commencement of the sixteenth century, excepting a few individuals, who bore the Christian name, the whole earth, exhibited the 'palpable obscure' of heathenism, and mental degradation.

Governments, indeed, existed, and some too, misnamed republics, which, in theory, professed to meet to every one, his due measure of justice, but, which, in administration, practiced the most reprehensible injustice. The ingenuity of man had, even then, fixed upon the co-ordinate, and subordinate divisions of sovereign power, but demagogues, alone, enjoyed it. One law-giver rose after another, until, he, whose code is said to have been written in blood, exhibited the climax of depravity.

The people eulogized freedom without knowing its attributes. By liberty, they understood exemption from warfare, whether it were the murmuring silence of tyrannic imposition, or the slumbers of mental imbecility. They knew not, that freedom prevailed, except by the opening, or shutting of the temple of Concord. Symbols made a deeper impression, and were more efficient guides of conduct, than principles. The jargon was their only philosophy, and the maxims of common life that prevailed, hardly extended beyond the sphere of those, denominated the vulgar men.

Expressing their admiration of virtue, yet enveloped



in the obscene orgies of paganism, it was to Mars, Bacchus, and Venus, that they paid their sublimest adorations.

Vice was openly and legally disseminated, and flourished in congenial soil: Conscience, if any there were, was lulled by the influence of Stoical dogmas,\* or the conclusion of a syllogism. State policy, with no permanent basis, vacillated with the responses of the Delphian Oracle, or the maxims of heathen philosophy.

Theirs was a life of constant fearful apprehension, and grinding servitude. Insensible to the want of what they had never enjoyed, sound religion, & sound science, going on to consecrate error by time, still wondering at their own multiplied miscarriages, they advanced, at every step, deeper in the labyrinth of misery; and, in the banishment of citizens upon the charge of being too virtuous, and persecution of those, who denounced their idolatry, they fancied, like Saul of Tarsus, that they were doing God's service.

Having no determinate principle of moral action, patriots themselves could not agree upon the basis of right administration.

Some, possessing intellects of the finest mould, and who have left for our admiration, specimens of their gigantic but ill-directed talents, not apprehending the nature of true liberty, pronounced its eulogy, both upon the tombs, and in the presence-chamber of tyrants: at the same time grieving, that, seeing the path of duty

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\*The Stoics doubted the immortality of the soul, or, at least, spoke of it, in a confused and ambiguous manner. Brutus, who was of that sect, before committing suicide, exclaimed: "Detestable virtue! How have I been deceived in thy service. Thou art a vain phantom, the slave of Fortune!—*Dict. de Mr. Bayle Arctic. de Brutus Tom. i. p. 685.*

‡Aristides, the Athenian patriot, was, with others, banished by the Ostracism, for the cause assigned, by a member of the tribunal; "That it could no longer be endured, that he should, every where, be decimated the Just."

was so plain, mankind would not be free. But the freedom they contemplated was tame submission to the ancient dominion.

One patriot,\* in despair, terminated his own existence, while another<sup>‡</sup> stood in the Rostra, whence he had once been hailed. ‘father of his country,’ and at the feet of Cæsar exclaimed: “O Romans, what noble rights are these, which we have enjoyed ever since the State began!”

Trace the record of experience a few centuries farther,—long beyond the wreck of all the ancient republics, and behold the principle of government under a new character,—the temporal, united with the spiritual dominion, in the person of the Roman Pontiff.

This unnatural union of the sceptre, and crosier, like the fever and ague, in the human body, wrenched the whole political system with convulsions.

From the palace of the Quirinal, with the keys of St. Peter, professing to bind and loose on earth and in heaven, the Papal Hierarch, hurled his terrific denunciations, far into the gloom of more than Egyptian darkness, and shook the thrones of reluctant potentates, bringing them at his feet, in humble and penitential subjugation.

Themselves arch deceivers, the popes were seldom deceived. In general, possessed, in their own, and in the persons of their Cardinals, of all the learning of the times, they employed it effectually in the subjugation of both princes and people.

Under pretence of zeal for the Holy Cross, but actually to dispose of dangerous neighboring power, they enlisted under its banner all Europe, upon crusades to Palestine, to crimson its fields with the blood of a peo-

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\* Cato, of Utica, relinquishing all hope of rescuing his country from the domination of Cæsar, after reading Plato's dialogue, upon the immortality of the soul, stabbed himself with his own sword.

‡ Cicero.

ple, less infidel than themselves, and convert the place of the Atonement into a slaughter-house of nations.\*

Little heeding the event of the enterprize, it was sufficient for them, that relief was thereby obtained from threatening perils, and an interval for idleness and debauch.

Now, the want of sound religion and science was deeply felt, in the absence of every vestige of civilization, that renders society desirable.

Then it was, that a merciful Providence was pleased to look down upon these instruments of mischief, and say to them urging on the torrent of desolation like the lava flood: "Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther, and here, shall thy proud waves be staid."

Then was the dawn of light, and life, and joy. Then into that thick gloom which for ages of despair, had enveloped the mental horizon, broke a glorious star, whose heavenly radiance presaged the advent of freedom, peace, and good will to man.

Here, note the simple yet efficient mode, in which it pleases the Deity to accomplish his purposes.

A humble Professor, in the university at Wittemberg, first announced the doctrines of sound religion, to the modern world, and in the same words disclosed the principles of rational liberty.

Alone, and with no weapon but that of the Spirit,—no shield but that of Faith,—no helmet but that of

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\*In 1096, the first crusade, consisting, in both divisions, of one million of warriors, was undertaken at the instigation of Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont, where he addressed thirty-four thousand Clergy and Laity. His motive is apparent, in the jeopardy of the See of Rome, at that time, from the refractory conduct of a large number of energetic contemporary potentates. In Germany, was Henry IV. styled the Great Emperor, who, having, a few years before, deposed Pope Gregory VII. and been, afterwards, compelled to do penance for the offence, felt, no less than his sons, Conrad, and Henry, indignant at that exaction.—In England, William Rufus, inheriting the prowess of his father, the Conqueror, had, in despite of the pope, ill-treated his prelates, Lanfranc and Anselm.—In France, Philip I. had been excommunicated for obduracy. Of all this mighty host, but few individuals ever returned.

Salvation; he dared the proud champions of the Pope, to a personal interview, upon their mutual doctrines. Like an angel of mercy, he came to point deluded man to the gates of heaven, and teach him to read his duty and destiny in the only volume on earth, whose author is God.

Again, observe the dispensations of Providence in this, that just before it was ordered that Luther\* should proclaim the errors and degradation of Papacy, the art of printing was benignly handed down to man; thus imparting the means of propagating the true faith, at the very period when nearest oblivion.‡

Here then, we behold the first glimmerings of rational liberty.

No sooner had mankind begun to read this book of Divine authority than they began to learn, that tyranny is a perversion of civil government, that every right has its correspondent obligation, and that both, are equal in all. No divine right of kings to hold the people's destiny in their hands was found to be there recorded; but the plain precept: "Do unto others, as you would, that others should do unto you," comprised the whole system of political, as well as of moral philosophy.

Just in proportion to the advance of Protestantism in Europe, was that of civil emancipation.†

In Germany, Switzerland, and England, where first promulgated, tyranny lessened; on the other hand, where Roman Catholicism, Judaism, Pagan and Mohammedan superstition prevailed, the people slept quietly in their chains. And could we find a country,

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\*In March last, an elegant monument was erected to his memory, by the King of Prussia.

‡The second book printed, was that of Cicero de Officiis, in 1466, and in 1517, Luther first openly propagated his doctrines.

†Protestantism was promulgated in Germany and Switzerland, in 1517—introduced into England in 1524—there authorized, in 1558—tolerated in France in 1576,—and, prior to the latter period, had made considerable progress in Sweden, Poland, and the Low Countries.

in which Protestantism alone prevails, with its correspondent illumination of intellect, freedom would be perfected.

Such a country was ours. The first adventurers into our wilderness, were those very Protestants, and those only. Accordingly, they laid the foundation of that liberty which we, in right of inheritance, now enjoy; and thus verified our introductory position.

Although, from infantile weakness and mild paternal rule, they then entertained no thought of disowning the parent state, yet at a later period on feeling the cords of authority tightening around them, those pure and elevated spirits, ill-brooking servile bondage to depravity and corruption, at once sundered its ligaments and stepped forth in complete emancipation.

Liberty and slavery have not, nor can have, any alliance to each other. Liberty has reigned on our coasts ever since they felt the tread of civilized man.

Still, that great Manifesto this day read, bearing the signatures of the ablest statesmen, proclaiming to the world that America is Free, was the first decisive developement of the principles of civil liberty; and the Federal Constitution, the first successful effort to combine them into a system of practical government.

Not to rest in our view of the march of Freedom, at this spot, where she first unveiled her beauteous form to the admiring nations, be pleased to contemplate her amiable tour a little farther, into those regions where virtue and education have begun to prepare the way for her reception.

Although certainty in our intellectual vision, is circumscribed within the narrow limits of retrospection, yet habits of just observation, will not unfrequently enable us to penetrate, with some tolerable degree of certainty, into the regions of the prospective.

What has been, many times indicates what will be; and especially when certain causes have invariably

produced a given effect, we unhesitatingly aver, that until the course of nature be changed, they will not cease to produce it.

One reason why mankind have not more generally regarded the progress of rational liberty in connection with pure religion and knowledge, is, that they do not suffer the circle of their intellectual vision to be sufficiently extended.

It being a matter of universal concern, nothing short of a view of the entire world in connection with its influence, can yield any satisfactory results. Viewing a part only, it may be difficult to account for the phenomena it presents.

In one section, a people who began to breathe the pure spirit of liberty seem to have yielded the principle, and to slumber quietly in bondage: while, in another, abject slavery, without any apparent extraordinary provocation, suddenly awakes from lethargy, shakes its faded locks, and with relentless fury, breaks its chains over the oppressor's head.

In the first instance, Liberty fell, it is true, but only like Antæus, to rise again, invigorated by the fall: and in the latter, proximity to regions of light, had imparted to the people some delightful glimpses, which put them upon enterprizes for the enjoyment of the full blaze.

In illustration of the former instance, contemplate the empire and revolution of France. The principle of liberty was there disseminated, about the same time, as in England, though less extensively. It spread much in the reign of Louis XIV. which compelled that monarch, while patronizing literature, simultaneously, to put a rein upon the effect of his patronage, by the enactment of more arbitrary laws, than the ignorant times of his predecessors could possibly have required.\*

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\* To the character of all despots, Louis XIV. and Napoleon seem to be exceptions, in one particular;—the former, having instituted a seminary for public education; and the latter, after his return from Elba,—a Lancasterian School.

Had France had populous colonies, at the time of her revolution, she doubtless would have lost them; but, as the heart beats long after the extremities perish, she, like Britain, might still have retained the vital principle, long after colonial defection.

In illustration of the latter instance, cast your eyes upon South-America. With only the little remnant of Jesuitical learning, there propagated by the disciples of Loyola,\* its people had made small advances in virtue, or education. Still, they were rational beings; and, among them, were minds that could penetrate beyond their own borders and direct those of their simpler countrymen.

With their view then, directed towards the northern hemisphere, that nation beheld the face of Freedom, beautiful as the Aurora Borealis of her native sky, and invitingly smiling upon her beholders in the glorious light of its varied coruscations.

Inflexible as Constantine, when he fancied he beheld the symbol of the Cross, suspended in the heavens, they sounded the tocsin of war, and by a sort of mechanical impulse urged on its torrent with increased momentum, until the name of tyranny fled astounded from their coasts. But, whether tyranny itself is fled, is yet to be ascertained. It may exist in diversified forms; and the sure basis of freedom not having been laid in the character of the people, it is perhaps difficult to suppress an apprehension, that they are destined to further ebullitions, before it becomes permanently established.

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\* The head of the monastic order of Jesuits founded in 1540. About sixty years afterwards, they obtained from the Court of Madrid a grant of the fertile Province of Paraguay, and in a short time formed a powerful state of 300,000 families, whom, to preserve their own influence, they kept in comparative ignorance, and would not suffer to learn any language but their native dialect. The Jesuits were the most learned order in all the Catholic Kingdoms; and their books, "*in usum Delphini*", are a proof of their skill in the critical art.

But, as it is with reference to the whole human race that we are now considering the march of freedom, the true criterion of determining whether it be upon the advance is, rightly to answer the question: "Do its efficient causes continue generally to operate?— If so, the conclusion follows, that others are yet to enjoy its benign visitations: And that these causes do thus operate, with increased and unparalleled energy, the face of the wide world evinces.

The signs of the times, no less distinctly denote the progress of the sun of righteousness in the moral, than those of the Zodiac, that of the sun in the material world.

A few years since, and the regions of moral light were commensurate with certain territorial limits only, now their extent is graduated upon nothing less than great circles of the sphere.\* Passing by its obvious prevalence in the abodes of civilized man, we

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\* Not to speak of similar institutions in other countries, the British and Foreign Bible Society has about one thousand Associates in the United Kingdom, and six hundred, in other parts of the world, has translated the sacred volume into 130 different languages, into 80 of which, no part of it was ever before translated; and has circulated four millions of Bibles and Testaments

The Great Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden, having made the Lutheran tenets, the established religion of his country, is eminently distinguished by having, in 1559, sent forth the first Protestant Missionary. Since which time, there have been organized 13 Missionary Institutions.

Idolatry has recently been abolished in many parts of the heathen world, and especially in the island of Otahiti, Eimeo, and those adjacent Tetaroa, Tapua-Manu, Raiatea, Huaheine, Taha, Bora-bora, and Marua.

"The art of printing has been introduced and the press is now in active operation, in these islands. The Gospel of Luke, when printed, sold for three gallons of Coconut-oil, per copy, and though the impression consisted of three thousand copies, yet several thousands of the natives were disappointed that no more could be had"

Omitting the ~~Intention~~ of smaller establishments, the Mission at Serampore a Danish Settlement, about fifteen miles from Calcutta, has a type foundry, a paper manufactory, seventeen presses in operation, workman of every description connected with them; and all the varieties of type necessary to print the Scriptures in every language in India.

The spirit of enquiry among the Jews may, also, be noted among the remarkable events of these times.



have seen even the wilderness, under its influence, blossom as the rose; and waste places become vocal in its praise. The isles of the sea rejoice, and their idols of wood, and clay, and stone, are cast back to their native elements; and of them, it may be enquired, as by the Prophet of old, "Where, now, are the Gods of Hamath, and Arpad, where are the Gods of Sepharvaim?"

Thus much of the operation of the first cause of rational liberty;—of the second a few words will suffice.

It is a phenomenon in the history of education, that upon one day in each week throughout the civilized world, gratuitous instruction is offered to every individual, and administered in so mild, so engaging, and, if I may so speak, in so seductive a manner, that even the grey unlettered head may, without reproach or even danger of insult, acquire a knowledge of the written language; while multitudes of the tender age, otherwise, perhaps destined to grow up in brutal ignorance and become fit instruments of pollution, are kindly taken by the hand and taught the rudiments of scholastic education; and thus furnished with the means of rightly ordering their own course in the multiplied relations of civil life, and fortified against the insidious arts of traiterous ambition.

Inasmuch as the physical power of a nation lies in the body of the people, it is from these institutions that we have reason to expect vast accessions to the cause of rational liberty.\*

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\*Literary Institutions of the highest order, although essential to national reputation, and the formation of a just standard of erudition, are less instrumental in advancing rational liberty than those which disseminate knowledge generally among the people. Of the latter kind, are those of Pestalozzi, and Fellenberg; but these are, in this respect, inferior to that of Lancaster, which supplies instruction to the greatest number, at the least expense. This is now extensively adopted in Europe. In France, within the department of the Seine alone, including Paris, there were, in Nov 1818, sixty-seven Lancasterian schools; and in Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Piedmont, Greece, the

• Go on then ye Instructors in these Seminaries of Freedom, Benefactors of the human race, and as the art of printing was benignly imparted to man to bring to his view the pages of sound religion and science, be ye the happy instruments of enabling him to peruse them, and thus advance the cause of his temporal as well as spiritual emancipation!

Will not those therefore who have beheld the operation of these great and efficient causes, yield their assent to the position, that Freedom has long been, and will long continue to be, upon her glorious and irresistible march!

“ Yes—the light of freedom smiles  
On the Grecian phalanx now—  
Breaks upon Ionia’s isles.  
And on Ida’s lofty brow.”\*

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States of Germany, and even in the provinces of Turkey, they are permanently established. It will be noticed, however, that, excepting in one or two instances, they have been patronized by no Monarch, but principally by liberal-spirited Merchants and Noblemen.

In Tuscany, two were established in 1819, one by subscription of Signori Ridolfi and others; and the other, by Count Girolamo di Bardi; and in the same year, one in Lombardy, by Count Confaloniere. In the absence of proof that literature is now in royal favor, the fact, that even the sovereigns who formed the Holy Alliance, uphold the Church of St. Dominick, the great head of Monachism and founder of the Inquisition; and also that the Spanish King positively prohibited public instruction in New Spain, alleging that it would have a pernicious tendency; together with the recent manifestations of royal hostility to *private* tuition, evince that the rapid extension of the Lancasterian system is not the effect of regal patronage.

But, over all other Scholastic Institutions, viewed in connection with civil liberty, Sabbath Schools possess this excellence, that while instruction is afforded without price, the moral principle is improved.

\* The reader will have observed in the foregoing pages the distinction taken between liberty and licentiousness. The latter is the alloy of the former, always, in a greater or less degree prevails, and sometimes predominates. In this, philanthropists have not unfrequently erred. Not reflecting that a salutary change in government can be effected only in a gradual manner as the human character improves, they have ventured to put in motion the vast physical energy of a people, who possessed no intellectual force for its direction, and thus their uncouth struggles for liberty, like the desperate efforts of the irritated Sampson, have recoiled upon themselves.

Having now considered to the extent proposed, the principle of rational liberty, from its promulgation, down past the period of its more complete develop-

The Neapolitan Carbonari, for instance, were at first an association of all that was respectable and wealthy in Naples, to cultivate true liberty, without any mysteries or secrets, and like the league of Lombardy embraced all that were fit to be free; but the moment the brute mass of Neapolitan soldiery began to move, society was overwhelmed with a torrent that could not be controlled. Such was the error of France at her Revolution, and is now that of her friends. Such, also, was that of Old Spain. But the patriots of Britain are more judicious. They strive to cultivate the intellect and moral principle by the establishment of religious and literary institutions, and thus prepare the people for an easy transition to the full enjoyment of liberty.

The soundness of their policy is evinced in their determination to preserve a free press, through which the bad passions of society find an easy vent. The press operates as a safety-valve for the vapor of popular ebullition. Had not this avenue been closed in other parts of Europe, several explosions would probably have been prevented. In France, at the present moment, the popular fury, stifled and increased by the late law of the press is struggling for vent and forebodes desolation.

In Russia, Austria and Prussia, the press having long been restricted, public education almost unknown, and excepting in Russia, the principle of liberty never having been introduced, the people scarcely know that freedom any where exists. True, in Russia the Protestant religion is faintly encouraged by its Emperor, but the political reasons there existing, and which exist no where else in Europe, rendering it subservient to ambitious views, detract much from the apparent philanthropy of that sagacious monarch. He well knows, that nothing but the Protestant religion can ever civilize the vast and barbarous European and Asiatic hordes of his immense interior, and render them either fit for government, or worth numbering, and that this cheap mode of making men, will not in his day, jeopardize the crown.

While upon this subject, it ought not to be forgotten, that our information regarding the progress of liberty in Europe; comes to us principally through the medium of Continental papers, under governmental restriction. By which means liberty is doubtless caricatured with all the forbidding, and none of the attracting features. One after another is denounced as rebel and traitor, who perhaps was no otherwise so, than our own beloved Washington when in the papers of that perilous day, he was thus denominated, even by the good Doct. Johnson, who styled us all rebellious children, traitors, vipers gnawing files.—The method of effecting a salutary change in systems of government is well described by the Abbé Mably—

“Toute révolution qui arrive dans un état, qui doit son esprit national à des lois, est le fruit des évènements, qui amènent des circonstances qui donnent de nouvelles idées aux esprits, et remuent dans les cœurs de nouvelles passions qui diminuent la force des anciennes, et parviennent par degrés à n'en laisser subsister aucune trace.”—*Oeuvres de l'Abbé de Mably. Tom. X<sup>e</sup>. p. 159.*

men, endeavored to investigate the grounds of our expectation, that its march will continue through nations yet in servitude; your attention is solicited a few moments longer, while the thoughts may recur with sentiments of gratitude, to those worthy instruments which Divine Providence has been pleased to employ to effectuate his benign purposes.

Most of those illustrious Heroes and Patriots, whose virtues shone conspicuous during that great era of liberty in our hemisphere, have long ere this bid adieu to all sublunary scenes, and are now enjoying their eternal repose. Many perished in the field. Many have since departed laden with honors to the grave; yet some are still permitted to enjoy the blessings for which they toiled, to receive the benedictions of all wise and good men in all nations, while they unite their hearts with those of their Fellow-Countrymen, in paying a tribute to the memory of their old companions in warfare. And who, save those venerable heroes, are worthy to advance on hallowed ground and ruffle the willows that bend o'er the tomb of their mighty Chief, to pronounce his eulogy?—But can eulogy exalt him whose excellence is the climax of eulogium:—who stood in the field of war, rather as the Genius of arms, presiding o'er its destiny, than as a human agent in it? The happy man who shall correctly delineate the character of WASHINGTON, will have drawn a portrait of virtue and moral excellence, that will render himself immortal.

Although departed, he left his country a legacy of more worth than many jewels;—his name to be proud of—his glory to boast of.

Who enquires what armorial bearings quartered his shield—what insignia glittered in his helmet? Titled ensigns of Heraldry are feeble mirrors to radiate the glory of him—hailed ‘father of his country.’

“—— Roma parentem

Roma patrem patriæ Ciceronem libera dixit.”

But the number of our Revolutionary Heroes equally entitled to peculiar regard, being too great to allow a specification of individual merit, without entering into a detail of glorious achievements that might satiate by its very profusion; let us, while deeply sensible of the blessings which, under God, we now through their instrumentality enjoy, and while cherishing the remembrance of those who are departed, and hailing heart in hand those who survive, take a transient view of later heroes and patriots whom their example has given to our country.

To our Country, did I say?—to the World! That expansion of heart and soul which forms the character of the patriot and hero, is commensurate with the inhabitable Globe. They are the property of the whole human race, and so many grand reservoirs of eminent virtue, in which, the conviction of each individual that he has a personal interest, elevates, not only his own, but his national dignity.

This is not a nominal, but an actual interest, which, however, he seldom duly appreciates, until placed in regions where he is known only in the character of his country. There are doubtless many in this respected auditory, to whom the question never was put;—“Of what nation are ye?”—And, until in situations rendering it important to be truly answered, it may be difficult rightly to estimate that grateful glow of feeling, which would result from being, able to say, that you are Americans! What nation of antiquity was that, whose warlike renown alone, protected its members, in the remotest parts of the earth?—Said the great Apostle of the Gentiles, to him, by whom he was “bound with thongs to be scourged at Jerusalem, I am a Roman;—and the Chief Captain was afraid, when he knew he was a Roman, because he had bound him,—and he loosed him from his bonds.” But, as elevated national character sometimes sinks, for want of

its natural aliment, the meed of noble and generous sentiments, every individual has a deep personal, as well as public interest, in striving by their indulgence, to preserve its elevation.

In respect to whom then, at the present day, can these feelings be called into more grateful exercise, than towards our gallant heroes of the Ocean? They are the offspring of Liberty. With feelings, buoyant as the element they float upon, pure as the atmosphere they breathe, the broad circle of their horizon is an exact emblem of their philanthropy.

The spirit of a sailor, is at war with the objects of a demagogues ambition. Formed to noble and generous sentiments, by continual exposure to danger, and those feelings of friendship which always arise amongst gallant souls, who hold their lives upon so fragile a tenure, they are totally unfit instruments for an usurper, and are too magnanimous to engage in party dissensions, or the projects of sinister ambition. And I apprehend, no distinguished naval commander has ever existed, who was not a true patriot. Many and powerful nations have fallen a prey to the licentiousness of their own armies, but never were a people enslaved by their naval force.

Few indeed, in number, are our gallant heroes of the ocean, but we trust their names are immortal. True glory does not arise from the magnitude of the contest, or the number of those engaged in the struggle. The mild star of evening glows with a light as pure, apparent and indestructible, as the full blaze of the meridian sun.

Our fields too, have evinced, that there is a redeeming spirit in our modern prowess, that will not suffer the glory of our forefathers to be lost in their sons. What though the Invader, profiting by extensive borders, as a felon by the cover of night, did depredate upon the defenceless! Have we not seen him, when

fairly confronted by the Son of Freedom, with tremulous lip, and nerveless arm, yield the palm of victory?

Our Senate, also, has added 'large honors' to the laurel wreath which encircles her brow.

But my Fellow-Citizens, while rejoicing at our own emancipation from tyranny, and in the noble race of our Patriots and Heroes,\* will not the same feeling extend itself to other nations? Shall we not suspect that patriotism which, regarding itself alone, can look with indifference upon the prospect, that they are yet to enjoy the blessings of freedom? "Give me the man," said the Poet, "who cannot taste a joy which none partakes;" give me the patriot I would say, who feels that his own liberty is imperfect while the nations of the earth are crushed beneath the Leviathan of Despotism. Liberty is of Celestial descent; her cause is of God. It will prevail.

"When the world in throngs shall press  
To the battle's glorious van.  
When th' oppress'd shall seek redress  
And shall claim the rights of man—  
Then shall Freedom smile again,  
On the earth and on the main."

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\* It is an elegant remark of Rousseau in the Discourse by which he obtained the prize of the Academy of Dijon, and equally true of heroic, as of literary enterprize.

"Si l'on veut que rien ne soit au-dessus de leur génie, il faut qu'il y en ait un au-dessus de leurs espérances. Voilà l'unique encouragement dont ils ont besoin.

L'ame se proportionne insensiblement aux objets que l'occupent; & ce sont les grandes occasions qui font les grands hommes. Le Prince de l'éloquence fut Consul de Rome; & le plus grand peut-être des philosophes, Chancelier d'Angleterre."

*Oeuvres de Rousseau Tom. VII. p. 61.*



" When the banner is unfurl'd  
 Like a silver cloud in air,  
 And the Champions of the world  
 In their might assemble there—  
 Then shall valor dash the gem  
 From each tyrants diadem."

" When th' Almighty shall deform  
 Heaven in the hour of wrath—  
 When the Angel of the storm  
 Sweeps in fury on his path—  
 Then shall tyranny be hurl'd  
 From the bosom of the world."

" Yet, Oh! Freedom, yet awhile,  
 All mankind shall own thy sway—  
 And the eye of God shall smile  
 On thy brightly dawning day—  
 And all nations shall adore  
 At thine altar evermore."

