

AN
ORATION,

PROFOUNCED AT

EAST-WINDSOR,

ON THE

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**AT THE REQUEST OF THE COMMITTEE OF
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AN ORATION.

AN inherent principle in the human breast, induces men to execrate oppression, and to exult in the idea of freedom ;—to deplore the causes which gave rise to the one, and to rejoice in the events which gave birth to the other.

On this auspicious occasion, Fellow Citizens, we are assembled, not with gloomy depression to lament our slavery, but with animated pleasure, to celebrate our freedom.

Time, in its rapid progress, hath brought us to the thirtieth anniversary of American Independence.—In unison with our Fellow Citizens throughout Federal America, we have convened to celebrate the æra which gave it birth. This periodical celebration is a faithful pledge of the respect and veneration we bear to the memory of our ancestors. It reminds us, in the vigor of manhood, of the days of our infancy ; when our venerable fathers, *“ appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions, solemnly published and declared, that the then United Colonies were, and of right ought to be FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES.”* It imparts to our bosoms a glow of that patriotic spirit which inspired them—*“ with a full reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, to pledge to each other their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.”*

So highly do men appreciate the blessings of liberty and independence, that states and nations, that have

enjoyed them, have uniformly commemorated the event or the era from which they date their commencement.

SWITZERLAND, in the fourteenth century, first taught the nations of modern Europe the glorious art of uniting freedom with civilization. Borne down by the heavy hand of Austrian oppression, the little cantons of *Uri*, *Switz*, and *Underwald* dared to assert their rights, and to set their oppressors at defiance. The undaunted **WILLIAM TELL**, smiled at the menaces of an Austrian governor, thrust his arrow into his bosom, and gave liberty to his countrymen. No longer incumbered by the manacles of tyranny, they assumed new courage, and their country a new appearance. The rude soil was cultivated, the rocks were adorned with fruitful vines, and the barren heath became a fertile plain. The Swiss have long celebrated this event with the highest demonstrations of joy.

HOLLAND, until near the close of the sixteenth century, was degraded by Spanish insolence, and humbled by the tyrannic Dukes of Alva. Sensible that no change could sink them to a lower state of wretchedness, her sons conceived the magnanimous thought of becoming free. Headed by the invincible **MAURICE**, they hurled the gauntlet of defiance at the Spanish throne, and shook off her iron yoke. Under the cheering smiles of rational liberty, their country was converted, from a filthy marsh, to a fruitful garden—from a dismal swamp, to the mart of Europe. With the most exquisite pleasure have the Hollanders long remembered and celebrated this event.

FRANCE (if at this period she may be ranked with nations that were *ever* free) from the reign of Clovis her first monarch to the execution of Louis the sixteenth her last, was alternately the dupe of Romish priests and the sport of despotic tyrants. Frenchmen, having, as they imagined, learned the lesson of liberty in our country, with rapture endeavored to improve it in their own. With that enthusiasm which ever accompanies men on a sudden transition from severe despotism to the extremes of freedom, they swore eternal

enmity against tyranny, and everlasting devotion to liberty. Under the influence of the *goddess of liberty*,* they threatened the destruction of every earthly potentate—under the guidance of the *goddess of reason*,† they menaced the throne of omnipotence. Their monarch fell, and with him the monarchy, and the Great Republic rose on its ruins.

For a short period Frenchmen celebrated this æra with enthusiasm, bordering upon the rage of demoniaics.

AMERICA, or that portion of it which we call *our* country, long endured the most cruel oppression from Britain, from whom she merited the most tender protection. It would be useless to relate, and tedious to hear the long tale of aggressions on the one part, and the unparalleled instances of resistance on the other. At this period, we need no stimulant to rouse our vengeance against our oppressors of *seventeen hundred and seventy-six*. As they were holden “enemies in war”—so should they be esteemed “in peace friends.” Suffice it, then, to say, our country, under the guidance of her illustrious WASHINGTON and the protection of heaven, triumphed over her enemies, became *free*, and still remains *independent*.

On twenty-nine anniversaries, have you, venerable fathers, with rational pleasure, celebrated our independence acquired by the invincible firmness of your

* For the *present standing* of this goddess in France, see a work entitled the STRANGER IN FRANCE, by Mr. CARR.—“Look at that sanguinary prostitute,” said an eminent Frenchman to Mr. Carr, pointing to *this goddess dethroned*,—“For years we have had liberty and bloodshed; thank heaven we are now no longer free.”

† For a history of *this goddess*, see RESIDENCE IN FRANCE. See also the speech of Anacharsis Clootz, on the tribune of the National Assembly.—“Reason will dethrone the kings of the earth and the king of heaven.—No monarchy above, if we wish to maintain our republic below,” &c. &c. For this speech the assembly passed a vote of thanks to this “orator of the human race”!!!

compatriots; and, exhilarating is the thought, many of us, who in the times that "tried men's souls" had scarcely passed the threshold of our existence, have now assembled with you for this laudable purpose. Happy, Fellow Citizens, happy for us, that we can still lay claim to the noble appellation of freemen.

But while we rejoice that *we are free*, let us lament with those of our fellow creatures who can only say, *we once were so!* Let us again, for a moment, revisit those countries whose once delightful picture has been faintly sketched. Mark now the sad reverse!

In SWITZERLAND, the fervid exclamations of freemen boasting of their liberty, are drowned by the sullen murmur of slaves execrating their bondage. The remembrance of their former happiness is but the painful recollection of joys that are past; and instead of ameliorating, adds but a sting to their present misery! Throughout the thirteen Swiss cantons, where monuments were erected to commemorate the noble achievements of their gallant ancestors, are seen the sanguinary standards of Gallic despotism. Instead of enjoying a government made familiar by long operation, they are subject to the capricious decrees of a Corsican usurper—made without their consent, administered by their oppressors, and executed by the force of the bayonet.

Thus has fallen one of our sister republics. Fallen a sacrifice to French perfidy. She began not to resist, till resistance was too late!

Should we again cast our eyes on HOLLAND—should we compare her present degradation with her former greatness, we should here have cause to lament the fall of another sister republic.

Instead of beholding her citizens industrious, enterprising, and happy, we should see them discouraged, and timid, and miserable. Instead of beholding her sea ports crowded with the rich productions of commerce, we should view them drained by the enormous contributions levied upon them by the *Emperor of the Gauls*. The United Provinces, like the Swiss Cantons,

we should find subject to a government, in the making of which they have had no agency, and to officers, in the election of whom they have had no voice.

Thus has Holland fell,—not so much a sacrifice to French power, as a victim to her own visionary notions of liberty and equality.

Should we once more direct our attention to FRANCE, what should we there behold—a nation of enthusiastic freemen? No! What should we there hear—the shouts of *long live the Republic!* No! we should see thirty millions of slaves, and hear them imprecating curses on their masters. We should find this *Great Republic* which has swallowed up every free state in Europe into the impetuous vortex of unbounded liberty, swallowed, with her victims, into the broad gulph of despotism. *Liberty and equality or death*, was the motto upon the standards of Frenchmen; and to *live free or die* was the oath upon their lips. With this motto and this oath, we can follow them from the scaffold of their unfortunate monarch, to the sanguinary tribune of the National Assembly—from a Directory of licenced murderers, to the shrine of a blood-thirsty Co. —and we shall leave them the most abject slaves, to the most absolute despot, in Europe! Thus rapid has been the rise, progress, and fall of this *Great Republic!*

To this catalogue of states which *once* exulted in their freedom, and which *now* lament their bondage, may be added Genoa, Venice, and Geneva.

Where, then, my countrymen, in what quarter of the world, shall we search for genuine liberty? Its guardian goddess, dismantled of her enchanting robes, has taken her precipitate flight from Europe; can find no residence in the voluptuous regions of Asia; and no votaries amongst Africa's debased natives. Has she, then, weeping that men were enervated by the chains of slavery, and hugging the manacles of tyranny, forever deserted our world? No, Fellow Citizens:—Columbia alone is now her favored clime, and we alone her favorite sons.

It is a “*pleasing*” as well as a “*dreadful thought*” that Americans are the only people on earth, at this period, who are in the enjoyment of rational liberty.

But the enjoyment of a blessing should never render us forgetful of the tenure by which it is holden, nor unmindful of the means by which it may be destroyed.

Let us not imagine, that, separated by the Atlantic from the ambitious states of Europe, we are therefore safe. The history of the *eleven European Republics*, which were “in the full tide of successful experiment” until near the close of the eighteenth century, will convince us that the lust of domination knows no bounds — is restrained by no principles. Their universal destruction seems to say to the *American Republic*, “Be ye also ready” for your fall.

Our very existence, as a free state, is a daily confutation of the favorite maxim of the despots of Europe, *that no republic can, nor shall exist*. Having exterminated every republic in their own quarter of the globe; having silenced the voice of liberty in their own dominions; they look with indignation at our free republic, and with malvolence at us, her free born possessors.

Should we place our reliance upon their lenity, and our dependence upon their justice, we shall find, as dismembered Poland has fatally found, that their lenity is measured only by their cupidity, and that their ideas of justice are wholly governed by their possession of power.

The cabinets of Europe know full well, that so long as the confederated states of America remain free, liberty will have a country, and her votaries a rallying point. Well may they apprehend, that their own enslaved subjects, encouraged by our example, may one day rise in their *natural* strength, assert their unalienable rights, and make their present well established thrones to totter beneath them. These considerations will induce the European powers, divided in every other object, to unite in our destruction.

Is this the visionary fantasy of groundless apprehension, or is it a rational conclusion drawn from past ex-

pericence? It is no less the exhortation of reason than the language of inspiration, That "he that thinks he standeth should take heed lest he fall."

But, Fellow Citizens, imminent as our danger is from abroad, we have nothing to fear unless our own country becomes an accessory in her own destruction; —unless, by her pusillanimity, she delivers herself up to her destroyers. The garrison is less endangered by the thickening battalions of its assailants, than by the desertion and timidity of the soldiers who are appointed for its defence.

It was an aphorism of the great and justly celebrated DE WIT, when Holland was menaced by the *united* forces of France and England, in the reigns of Lewis XIV. and Charles II. "THAT NO INDEPENDENT STATE OUGHT TAMELY TO SUFFER A BREACH OF EQUITY FROM ANOTHER, HOWEVER UNEQUAL THE POWERS."

When, and by whom has this dignified language been held in our country, since we became independent? By her undaunted WASHINGTON; when our Western Posts were retained by the British forces, contrary to the stipulations of their Treaty; and when our commerce was threatened with annihilation by their navy, contrary to the law of nations.

The consequences of this intrepidity are known:—The Western Posts were restored—ample indemnification for spoliations on our commerce was obtained. In JAY, the court of Saint James recognized the dignified representative, of an indignant nation.

Under the administration of ADAMS, measures equally intrepid were pursued. Threatened by the prowess of France, and our very shores infested by her picaroons, our infant navy started into existence; thundered defiance to our enemies; convinced them that America was as powerful as free, and put an end to aggressions at once. A provisional army of intrepid freemen, rendered doubly formidable by the unconquerable spirits of WASHINGTON and HAMILTON, taught our foes that our right, to this territory of free-

dom, was as well protected, as our immunities upon the ocean. In ELLSWORTH, MURRAY and DAVIE, the imperious court of Paris beheld the invincible ministers, of an injured and unconquered people.

At this period, the American character stood high. Our firmness dismayed our enemies—our resolution astonished Europe.

Would to heaven that truth would permit us to detail measures, equally dignified, adopted by the present administration. That, at a period of our affairs similar to those we have alluded to, a conduct equally vigorous might be discovered.

Within a short period, we have seen an important right, guaranteed by a solemn treaty, violated with the utmost impunity. The right of deposit at New-Orleans, has, without the least pretext, been taken from us. Should we triumphantly be told it has again been restored, we must admit it. But *all* must admit that the very terms of the restoration, are a tenfold greater injury than the deprivation of the right. It evinces to the world that the American government will “*tameily suffer a breach of equity from another power.*”—That Americans will suffer themselves to be robbed of an immunity, and then humbly compensate their robbers for its restoration—that they will servilely beg as a favor, what they ought manfully to claim as a right. Here we shall be charged with reiterating the horrible tocsin of war—here our *humane* political bards will describe, in vivid colors, our cities in flames—our country “*a bloody arena*”—our dearest companions in groans—and themselves in “*agonizing spasms.*” The man that will suffer his reason to be eclipsed by the gloomy forebodings of his imagination, we can only pity.

Switzerland and Genoa, Holland and Geneva have lost their liberties by paying contributions forced by the bayonet; and have we not reason to fear that America will lose her independence, by paying contributions swindled out of her by “*diplomatic skill.*”

A contribution, in the vocabulary of tyrants, may

be defined to be a sum of money demanded by an oppressor, and paid by the oppressed to prevent a threatened injury. An injury to the American government was more than threatened—it was committed. “*Your rights at Orleans shall be restored to you upon no other conditions, than that you accept from me, for fifteen millions of dollars, the wilderness of Louisiana.*”—This must have been the language of the pacific Emperor, to the sapient minister of our philosophical President. The stipulated sum is to be paid to this despot to ward off his vengeance and to purchase peace with his “*enlightened government.*”

As enormous as this contribution may appear; as much as the payment of it may drain our treasury, and encrease our burdens, the loss of wealth we thereby sustain, is incomparably less than that which we suffer in the diminution of our national character.

What has been the effect of this immense sacrifice of national wealth* and national character to the rapacious Corsican? The same effect which ever has been, and ever will be produced by the payment of tribute. It has increased his insolence toward the American government an hundred fold, and enables him to oppose us with double the advantage. Hence his imperious prohibition to the court of Madrid, from allowing indemnification to our citizens, for illegal captures. Hence the depredations committing upon our commerce, at this time, by French marauders, within our very harbors. To the same cause may be imputed the

* The question whether the acquisition of Louisiana will add to the *real* wealth of the United States, has been ably discussed, and rationally decided by the real friends of our constitution. A farther proof of the justness of their arguments may be drawn from the celebrated *Notes on Virginia*. “The *indifferent* state of that (agriculture) among us does not proceed from a want of knowledge *namely*; it is from our having *such quantities of land to waste* as we please. In Europe the object is to make the most of their land, labor being abundant: here it is to make the most of our labor, *land being abundant.*” QUERY VIII. “But we have an *immensity of land*, courting the industry of the husbandman.” QUE. XIX.

unparalleled outrages of the British frigates *Cambrian* and *Leander* in the harbor of New-York. *

It was a governing maxim, during the administration of Washington and Adams, that a nation, to preserve peace, must be prepared for war. It is the *theory* of Mr. Jefferson, and it is surely the *practice* of his ministers, that it is impolitic "to accumulate wealth, to provide for wars which may happen we know not when, and which might not happen at all were it not for the temptation that wealth afforded."

Magnanimous doctrine! The security, then, of the independent American Republic depends upon her poverty; and the magnitude of her danger is to be estimated by the extent of her wealth!!

Let it be seriously asked, are the principles and measures of the present administration, calculated to repel or to invite insult; to afford protection to our country, or an easy conquest to her enemies?

Could the disembodied spirits of Washington, Gates and Greene, once more revisit the earth, how would their manly hearts burn with indignation at the servility of their countrymen. They would exclaim, with the christian and patriot bard,

"AMERICA, with all thy faults we love thee still—
"Our country."

And we can also exclaim, in the language of the bard,

"Farewel those honors, and farewel, with them,
"The hope of such hereafter."

* To prove the entire consistency of Mr. Jefferson in *theory* and *practice* we need only to cast our eyes again into his *Notes on Virginia*. "And, perhaps, to remove as much as possible the occasion of making war, it might be better for us to *abandon the ocean altogether*, that being the element whereon we shall be principally exposed to *jostle* with other nations." "They (the Europeans) can attack us by detachments only, and it may suffice to make ourselves *equal* to what they may detach. A small naval force then is sufficient for us and a small one is *necessary*." QUERY XXII. A "small, sufficient, necessary, naval force" is in the Mediterranean—and the harbors of the United States, are "abandoned altogether."

“ Those ends are set. Oh rise some other such !
 “ Or all that we have left is empty talk
 “ Of old achievements, and decay of new.”

From the servility of our administration to foreign powers we have much to fear ; much also have we to fear from its temerity at home. Is it not a peculiar feature in our philosophical cabinet to be intimidated where there is the least danger, and undauntedly courageous where there is nothing to be feared ? Our ministerial phalanx would shrink from a Spanish garrison at Orleans, but marches, with matchless courage, to the attack of the constitution.

Already have they, “ *Like bold Briareus with an hundred hands,*” prostrated the independence of the judiciary. Already have they deprived the small states of any efficient power in the election of a President of the Union—and they have made a bold stride toward the annihilation of the senate ! While attacking the constitution, they have not forgotten the venerable patriots who framed it, and who have ever been its strenuous supporters ; but they have remembered only to proscribe them. Where “ death and resignation” hath not lent their aid, presidential vengeance hath hunted to destruction almost every federal officer within its reach. Where this *could not* extend, (for, thanks to the stubborn resistance against innovation, we have yet a few fragments of our constitution remaining,) the abused power of impeachment has been called in to complete the destructive work ; and one unfortunate judge has been sacrificed for his misfortune ; and another, most venerable, has been driven to indigence to evince his innocence !!

A wise magistrate who has the power of appointing and removing officers, will carefully compare the qualifications of the officer he is about to expel, with the talents and character of the stranger who is designed to fill his place.

If our chief magistrate, “ has had time” to make any comparisons at all, has not the preference been uniformly given to his own sycophantic admirers, the

enemies of the constitution, and of disgraced foreigners, * with all their prejudices for, or against their own governments, and with a full portion of malice against our own constitution? I hope, in heaven, there is no disguised Corsican amongst this numerous host of favored miscreants.

Measures similar to this have assuredly hastened the decline, and precipitated the fall of other republican governments. Should we be told that the United States are *yet* independent—are *yet* wealthy—and that their danger exists *only* in imagination, we may answer, by reviewing the past, we can determine the present, and, to almost an absolute certainty, anticipate the future danger of the Union. But this criterion, by which only can we judge of the good or bad tendency of any public measure, is denied to be just; and it is boldly advanced, *by high authority*, that examples drawn from the history of other nations, and by parity of reason, from that of our own, ought not to have any influence upon *our* rulers; and that men

* The very excellent remarks of Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, upon this subject induces me to extract them. "But are there no inconveniences to be thrown into the scale against the advantages expected from a multiplication of numbers by the importation of foreigners? Every species of government has its *specific* principles. Ours perhaps are more *peculiar* than those of any other in the universe. It is a *combination of the freest principles of the English constitution*, with others derived from natural right and natural reason. To these nothing can be more *opposed* than the maxims of *absolute monarchies*. Yet from *such* are we to expect the greatest number of emigrants. They will bring with them the principles of the government they leave, imbibed in their early youth; or if able to throw them off, it will be in exchange for an unbounded licentiousness, passing, as is usual, from one extreme to another. It would be a miracle were they to stop precisely at the point of temperate liberty." QUERY VIII. One more extract from *the Note*. "The time to guard against corruption and tyranny, is *before* they shall have gotten hold of us. It is better to keep the wolf out of the fold, than to trust to drawing his teeth and talons after he shall have entered."

"Mankind soon learn to make interested uses of every right and power they *possess* or may *assume*." QUERY XIII.

are *not* universally the same. This at once puts an end to all discussion.—This will enable our sagacious guides to *make* example for their own justification, and precepts for their own government. With a most cordial contempt for the experience and wisdom of others, they can bestow a full measure of confidence upon their own.

If then, neither apposite examples drawn from history, * the warning monitions of a departed Washington, † nor the almost inspired language of a murdered Hamilton, ‡ can have any influence upon our rulers, “*neither will they be convinced though one should rise from the dead.*”

Let us then leave the destiny of the Union in the hands of that merciful being who “*tempers the wind to the shorn lamb,*” and direct our attention to what most nearly concerns us, the interest of our native, our beloved state.

The state of Connecticut, at this period, stands the scoff of the national administration, the derision of jacobinism, and the admiration of good and great and virtuous statesmen.

Yes! Fellow Citizens, although we enjoy a full portion of calumny from the servile adulators of our President, and his ministers, the genuine friends of our inestimable, though mutilated constitution, in every part of the union, look up to our *little* state as its strongest, its best support. They consider this state as the strong and impregnable fortress of federalism, that will effectually repel the furious assaults of democracy. They are convinced that federal republicanism is bottomed on the immutable principles of truth; and that it will eventually, like all truth, though for a season obscured by error, gloriously prevail. Here they behold, in brilliancy, the inextinguishable spark of

* See the histories of Holland, Switzerland, Venice, Geneva and Genoa from the 14th century to this time.

† See the numerous addresses of General Washington, especially the last.

‡ See the *Federalist*, wrote by this eminent statesman.

federalism, which will, ere long, illuminate the whole constellation of the American states. This is not the delusive vision of an enervated and disappointed minority ; it is the rational and well-grounded belief of most eminent statesmen.

But, Fellow Citizens, political truth to be triumphant, requires the active support of its adherents. It is not enough that we are merely friendly to its cause, we must, with unremitting vigilance, endeavor to extend its influence. Its enemies, with the advantage which licentious principles always afford them, will continue to check its progress, and discourage its votaries, till by the dignified language of its supporters, and its own irresistible rays, they are driven to conviction ; as Paul was forced to repentance by a “ great voice” and a “ shining light from heaven.”

In proportion to the firmness with which we resist the progress of disorganizing principles, in the same proportion have we experienced, and in the same proportion must we expect to experience, the violent attacks of its adherents. The principal ministerial prints in the Union, *under the sanction of its chief magistrate*, have long been enlisted against us. One is urging the general government to force upon us a constitution without our consent ;—another is representing the people of Connecticut as bigoted, hoodwinked, and priest-ridden ;—and a third is stigmatizing the state, for their difference of opinion, with the epithet of the La Vendee of America ! Our own democratical editors, regardless of their duty to the state which gave them birth, and which has uniformly afforded them protection, have joined their feeble forces with our enemies, and have become their fellow-helpers in this diabolical work. Charity may possibly wink at their delusion in approbating many of the pernicious measures of the general government ; for this *may* arise from their own misapprehension ; but broad as her mantle is, it never can conceal their iniquity in endeavoring to destroy the welfare of their native state. What is the uniform tendency of their productions ? To depreciate the state

of Connecticut in the scale of the Union ;—to diminish her importance as a member of the confederacy ; —to destroy her own internal tranquility.

Principles the most destructive to our welfare, have been published in their weekly journals ; from these they have been promulgated in the market-places ; and in these they have been hawked through every village. By these means, honest men have been deceived, and the uninformed have been led astray. Conducted by passionate leaders “*who, for themselves alone, themselves have raised*”—they have been instigated to erect the standard of opposition against our state government.

They have been told by a man to whom *all* governments are alike, and to whom *none* are of any worth, that Connecticut is without a constitution. Obsequious to his imperious mandate, they have conceived, and are struggling to bring forth, a revolution in this state. Driven, at once, by his electric voice, from a high state of civilization, into the barbarous *state of nature*, with the utmost philanthropy they have offered to give us a constitution, that we may again become a civilized people !!!

It would be an unnecessary expense of time, and arrogance in me, to attempt to *prove* what we already *know*, that we have a constitution. We are convinced, from a long experience of its benefits, that we have one of the best :—a constitution that has produced mildness and permanency in the government ; wealth and tranquility in the governed.

To say, however, that our constitution is perfect, would be attributing to *it* a quality of which no human institution can boast. It may have faults ; if it has they should be approached with that prudent solicitude and trembling apprehension, with which a skilful physician approaches to the wounds of an aged patient.—As he would not make his most powerful medicine the daily food of the invalid, neither should we commence the partial alteration of our constitution by its total subversion. There is surely “*a medium between absolute destruction and unreformed existence.*”

Says the great, and justly celebrated Sir EDMUND BURKE, “*A good statesman will maintain a conflict with that obstinacy which rejects all improvement, and with that levity which is fatigued with every thing of which it is in possession.*”

In Connecticut there are two parties ; much as we deplore their existence, we cannot deny it ;—and their principles, much as we deprecate the evils which *may* follow from the diversity, are diametrically opposite. But is it the part of wisdom to weep and wail at the existence of parties, or to dare to investigate our situation as it *really* is, and endeavor to improve it ?

The party to which we have *professedly* attached ourselves, and to which, I trust, we are *really* attached, has through the trying scenes of the American revolution, through all the alarming mutations of other state governments been the stable support of our own constitution, as well as one of the guardian protectors of the constitution of the general government.

Those who have administered our own government, divesting themselves of “*that obstinacy which rejects all improvement,*” have uniformly endeavored to remove its corruptions, supply its defects, and to perfect its construction. How they have succeeded, let the civil, religious and political blessings we enjoy inform us.

The other party, for as a conspicuous member of it has told us “*it can be designated as well as the lines of a town or a county*” consists of the passionate admirers of Mr. Jefferson, and his administration, and the inveterate enemies of our state constitution and those who now administer it. Why can they not be friends to the former without becoming enemies to the latter ? or is attachment to our President inconsistent with regard to steady government ?

This party,—“we speak the truth and lie not,”—with that “*levity which is fatigued with every thing of which it is in possession*” are resolutely bent upon the destruction of our state constitution, and sedulously engaged in the removal of all our faithful and well tried officers. This is their *professed* object—they do

not pretend to *disguise* their intentions. Well for us, Fellow Citizens, if they are to be malignant, that they are thus bold in their malignity:—fortunate for us, if we are to contend, that we can face our antagonists in an open field.

Why have they, at once, become so inveterate against their own constitution, which they have long sanctioned by their own suffrages? Must we conclude that they are blind to its merits, and ignorant of its excellences, and *therefore* wish to destroy it? A bungling mechanic, who is ignorant of his business, will destroy the implements of his trade.

To make a revolution, is a measure so immensely important, that no trifling reasons are demanded in its justification. Are these reasons, at this time, sufficient to justify a revolution in Connecticut? For a resolution of this extremely interesting question, we will not apply to the unsettled vagaries, of the rash members of a revolutionary junto. Such have no standard by which they can judge of the rectitude or turpitude of opinions, and their obstinacy always bears an exact proportion to their ignorance. As they adopt theories without reason, they never can be reasoned into a belief of their absurdity; and it is most frequently the very absurdity of an opinion which induces them to espouse it. As well may we undertake to dispossess a caravan of wandering Arabs of their tenements, who have no settled abode, as to attempt to convince those men of their errors, who have no settled opinions.

But to solve the question whether a revolution is necessary, we will search for the wise and experienced language of eminent statesmen and philosophers.

Doctor SWIFT, a strenuous advocate for the rational liberty of Englishmen, will inform us—“*That whenever the evils which usually attend and follow a violent change of government, will not, in probability be so pernicious as the grievance we suffer from a present power, then the public good will justify a revolution.*” Time will not permit us to analyze this profound remark. Let it only be asked, what are the *grievances* of the

citizens of Connecticut? none but those salutary restraints which must necessarily be imposed upon our licentious propensities. Do our revolutionists wish to be relieved from all restraints, then let them quit the regions of civilization, and flee to the savage clans of the wilderness. *There* they may rove with unbridled liberty—*there* they may “rage in savage sensuality;” but *here*, they must recollect, that the rights of the civil and uncivil state cannot be enjoyed together.

Sir EDMUND BURKE, as strongly attached to rational liberty, as opposed to unbounded licentiousness, will instruct us that “*when the advantages of the possession and the project are upon the par, there is no motive for a change.*” What are our *possessions*? A mild and steady government—honest and upright officers. What are the *advantages* of the revolutionary *project*? The wild raging of anarchy and confusion, the guidance of rash presumption, and the insolence of untutored pride.

To these profound axioms of *Swift* and *Burke*, might be added numerous others, equally sound, from the inestimable productions of *Montesquieu*, *Vattel* and *De Lolme*, for men of true greatness, the magnitude of whose minds enables them to discern the good of the whole universe at a view, most uniformly think in unison upon similar subjects. These great men, Fellow Citizens, whose opinions surely ought to have some weight with us, were all convinced that the blessings of a mild and steady government are invaluable; that it is the patient labor of a deliberation and fore-sight for centuries to build it up; and that rage and phrenzy may demolish it in an hour.

We may safely conclude that to be good from which good is derived; and therefore we may conclude that to be a good government, under which the people are happy, wealthy and contented. In Connecticut, every one is happy, excepting those who render themselves miserable by their own vices; every one has a competency (and that is wealth enough) excepting those whose indigence is chargeable upon their own

idleness or misfortunes ; and every one is contented, excepting those turbulent spirits that are *determined never to be at rest* :—to whom the most moderate restraints are tyrannic oppressions—the injunctions of christianity clerical impositions—and the influence of morality the chain of the mind.

Political *virtue*, which esteems the public good of as much importance as private interest, is the only support of a government which has a tincture of democracy in its composition. A monarchy may be sustained by a principle of *honor*—a despotism owes its existence to *fear*—but *virtue* is the guardian genius of a republic. The nature of our constitution, it must be admitted, presumes *much* upon this virtue ; it is the grand pillar upon which it rests ; and we may rest assured, the voice of reason and experience convinces us, that when this falls it will drag the constitution itself into its ruins. Then will commence the destructive work of revolution ; and when commenced, it will have no eyes for *forefight*—no time for repentance.

Thus, Fellow Citizens, in compliance with your polite and unexpected invitation, I have attempted to address you on this glorious anniversary of our national independence. I have endeavored, in a concise manner, to trace the origin and destruction of the principal European Republics,—the origin of the American Republic, and the danger to which it is exposed as well from a spirit of domination in the European cabinets, as from a spirit of innovation and servility in our own ; and have devoted a few moments to the consideration of the concerns of our native state. These subjects are, each of them, all-important ; and if, from their great magnitude, I was unable to comprehend them, and have treated upon them with more vehemency than understanding, my inexperience, I trust, will be my sufficient apology.

As a member of the confederacy, our state is of much importance :—as a state, in which, as we trust, the genuine principles of the American constitution are understood and supported, it is of immense conse-

quence—but to us, Fellow Citizens, who are its inhabitants, it is the EDEN of the world. From its borders, may the sword of political virtue, pointing in every possible direction, forever repel the hydra monster of jacobinic vice. We know, and we feel that we have an excellent constitution. Let us then unite firmly in its support. If we maintain it, we shall, under providence, be a happy, a prosperous people:—if its enemies destroy it, we shall have the satisfaction to reflect, while lamenting its fall, and our consequent misery, that we have not contributed to its destruction.

