

L. B. Child  
Summit



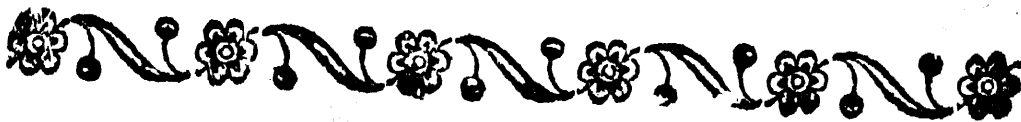
MR. CHILD'S

*Oration,*

DELIVERED AT

RICHMOND, VERMONT,

*July 4th, 1807.*



AN  
ORATION,

DELIVERED AT

RICHMOND, VERMONT,

ON THE

THIRTY FIRST ANNIVERSARY

OF

*American Independence,*

JULY, 4th, 1807.

.....

By GARDNER CHILD.

.....

*Let truth and reason guide the tongue and pen,  
And fearless speak your sentiments to men.*



BENNINGTON: (Vt.)

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.....

1807.



**RICHMOND, July 4th, 1807:**

*Resolved,* That the thanks of the committee be returned to the orator of the day, and a copy of his oration requested for the prefs.

**JOFL BROWNSON,  
ABRA'M HOLLENBECK,  
LUTHER DIXON,  
JOHN LEVAQUE.**

\* 973,361

C 436r

1817

## GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE,

*When I had first the honor of an invitation from you to deliver an oration at Richmond, in commemoration of that all-important day, which declared the independence and sovereignty of our nation; I was informed that some of each party would be present, and that your wish was, the oration should be so formed, as to give offence to neither party; my reply was, that to injure any person's feelings would be disagreeable to me, yet I would not consent to deliver an oration, without including my political principles; still, to avoid offence to the rational unprejudiced mind, I thought it advisable to trace the two principles, which have ever governed the politics of men, not only through other governments, but even to apply the same to our own.*

*From a consciousness of my inability to do justice to so important a subject, it was not my wish or intention, to submit the following lines to the eye of a criticising public, yet from the suggestions of certain persons, differing from me in political opinion, that contrary to agreement, I had touched too severely upon party politics, and that*

*the facts relative to the federal administration were incorrect ; I have thought proper to comply with your request, and by notes to substantiate every contested point.*

**GARDNER CHILD.**

## *An Oration, &c.*

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FROM the present prosperous situation of our Country, let us rather hope than despair; let us rather watch than be lulled in careless security.

Among the numerous grades of being constituting the great chain of nature, from the meanest reptile, abiding in the dark recesses of the earth, to the highest archangel, dwelling near the throne of Omnipotence; man, spoken into existence by Almighty fiat, placed at the head of this lower creation, demands our calm unprejudiced attention.

While the rage of party has enveloped the minds of thousands, in the melancholy gloom of prejudice, we cherish a fond hope, which has reached the minds of none in this numerous assembly.

Man is but one link in the grand chain, consequently every individual, the moment

he breathes the vital air, has an equal claim to nourishment and protection ; and when arrived to years of discretion, has an undoubted right to exercise his knowledge and abilities, in the political concerns of that community to which he belongs.

Such is the state of man by nature ; but from a critical view of the ancient and modern history of society, we find that men have ever ranged themselves under one or the other of these two political principles ; one of which rests the power in the hands of the people, the other would lodge it in the breasts of the well-born few ; the former of these receives its support from justice and virtue, the latter from corruption and venality. These two principles, in their progress through the world, have uniformly received the appellations of liberty and tyranny.

Tyranny first raised its hydra form in the eastern world ; and its progress has ever been marked with blood, devastation, and misery. Asia opened the first scene in the fell drama ; her struggling sons yielded to the cold embraces of death, or sunk beneath the cruel rod of merciless oppression. Here the infernal banner first plumed itself with

triumph, establishing glittering thrones, which viewed through the misery of their supporters, appear like sparkling coals, amidst the ashes and wide extended ruins of a conflagrated town. This garden of native fertility, thus clothed in the sackcloth of desolation, drank in the vital blood of thousands ; and the effluvia from decaying bodies assailed the itinerant with a deadly poison.

Religion too, that bright celestial spark, that high behest of God himself, sent down in kind benevolence to make men mild and happy ; was converted, by these usurpers of human prerogative, to the worst of purposes ; idols were instituted for Gods, from whose polluted altars, the fumes of human sacrifices frequently ascended to the deities of oppression. Thus despotism leagued with ignorance and superstition, trampled on the rights of man : nature lost her primal dignity, and Africa quaffing the poisonous cup, in dreadful convulsions sunk beneath the powerful draught.

Europe next became the theatre of contention between these rival principles. Liberty, here, at different times, and in



different countries, made long and glorious struggles, in defence of suffering humanity ; till weak and worn down by the unequal contest, she resolved to retire and seek an asylum in some distant, unfrequented clime. But the civilized world was in a state of such universal degradation, she could not find a place to rest the soles of her feet, unmolested by the general deluge of despotism. In this disastrous dilemma she found it necessary, that some distant region, concealed in the bowels of untraveled ocean, should be sought, where the gigantic fabric of despotism had never been erected.

The inventive genius of Columbus was engaged in this more than human enterprise, by the soft whispers of reason, philosophy and observation. Glowing with ardor, at the expectation of immortal honor, from an expedition of such vast importance to the world ; he spreads his sails to the rising breeze, and soon finds himself afloat on an Ocean, never before traversed by mortals. Did the sky assume her most frightful veil of darkness and terror, he remained unmoved ; did thunder roar, lightnings stream, and storms terrific collect around him, threatening instantaneous immersion in unfathomable Ocean, he baffled their deleterious pow-

ers by his skill ; did his men mutiny befoothed them, till the long wished for sound, land, was loudly proclaimed from the foremast, which soon echoed from ship to ship ; gladly he leaped on shore, and hailed this new world, about to become the residence of freedom, and *emporium* of EMANCIPATION. Here liberty resorted ; though with insufficient force, at first, to wrest herself wholly from the all powerful grasp of tyrants ; yet, she considered it the most favorable position, when sufficiently prepared, to make a vigorous stand against the further progress of lawless ambition and despotic sway. Here our ancestors began to settle in 1608, and 1620, with as much freedom as their necessary connections, with the tyrants of Europe, would permit. These our ancestors fled, not from political oppression only, but from religious persecution, and all the horrors of papal inquisition. It was not sufficient, for those tyrants, to bind the people in bonds of menial servitude ; to seize their property at leisure ; and when dictated by idle ambition, to involve them in the most destructive wars ; but their consciences too must be bound : hence those holy wars, and religious persecutions, which continually deluged Europe in blood, destroying the lives of more than one mill-

ion of her inhabitants, by cruel massacres and murders.

Thus removed from this sink of political and religious slaughter ; the increase of freedom, and the unshackled exercise of conscience, more than compensated them for the toil, the hardship, the inconveniences, of settling a dreary forest, and turning a barren wilderness into a well cultivated and fertile field.

Through the vigilant perseverance, the patient fatigue, and honest industry of these hardy adventurers, the face of nature softened her asperity ; she yielded her strength to their incessant labors ; and filled their store houses with smiling plenty.

Through their attention, useful arts and sciences were cultivated ; regular villages continually rose where forests lately cast their shades ; commerce erects here places of exchange, to reward the industrious, with wealth floated across extensive Oceans, from the most distant parts of the Globe ; the Gospel's sweetest voice, gently vibrates through the air, lately agitated by savage yells and war whoops ; those intolerant prejudices which pervaded Europe, found little

footing here ; and the mind was permitted more freely to range the fields of science and virtue.

Strict in their adherence to the principles of virtue and justice, and prosperous by their own exertion, these colonies began to be considered of great political importance among the rival powers of Europe.

Though these colonies had ever maintained the strictest regard to the interest of the mother country, yet she considered her power but ill established over them ; she saw, to a demonstration, their minds were too manly, too firm, too dignified to bow in humble adoration before a haughty tyrant ; she was convinced, from careful observation, that they had never fallen down to worship the images set up by the Nebuchadnezers of Europe ; she saw with envy liberty's altar flaming with the incense of patriotism, and a love for the rights of man, rooting deeply in the breasts of a people, inured to hardship, and capable of a stout resistance ; it was feared, that this infant empire would become a political Sampson, to prostrate in the dust the mighty fabric of despotism, and its haughty builders ; when arrived to virility and mature strength.

This combination of circumstances, continually agitated the high-fed blood hounds of tyrants, who determined to secure their prey, e'er it was too late. This they endeavored to do, by creeping on with cat like caution; but such artifice was not competent to succeed against a nation, always awake and watchful of their interests; every movement was quickly perceived, and its designed effect carefully avoided. Finding her court tricks, ministerial intrigues, and deep-laid plans, ill-calculated for the penetrating eyes of those, whom it was her intention to deceive; she determined to throw off the mask, and openly to make her final appeal to force.

Britain, at this period, exulted in her strength; she considered herself advancing, with rapid strides, towards universal power; she saw France, her most potent rival, yielding to her the palm of glory and national dignity; she saw her generals returning from different and distant parts of the earth, crowned with laurels, and loaded with trophies of heroic valor; she imagined the wide extended earth from pole to pole, from antipodes to antipodes, trembling at the power of her arms; and reverencing the far-resounding glory of her name. Moving

in this mighty sphere, she summoned all her strength, forgetful of a right to raise her empire above all human power. Thus reared, thy heaven defying rod, O! despotism, to strike at the root of liberty, and sink, with one decisive blow, the few remains of freedom, in irrevocable ruin!

This was a time of trouble! this was a time to try the sincerity of men's hearts, and the greatness of their souls: the powers of nature were troubled—the elements were shaken with peals of thunder—the heavens burnt with lightnings—The northern regions pour forth flames of shining Borealis;—Comets returning through excentric orbs, seem anxious for the event;—the genius of liberty hovers on the wing, on the point of taking flight from earth forever;—her devotees cast on each other a silent look of grief, mingled with despair;—the world shrinks from its impending fate.—But hark! when all seemed lost; when consternation seized the stoutest hearts; the voice of God through justice and reason, decrees liberty to the colonies. Congress next proclaimed acceptance, rebounding quick the mandate flies from Maine to Georgia; from the Eastern to the Western Ocean; the feelings of every individual, from one end of the Union to

the other were no longer restrained through fear; every tongue shouted, in emphatic language, we are free, we are independent, we are a sovereign people; which sound like universal thunder, filled the land; then swelling louder, strikes the skies; ecstatic angels make the loud reply "to God be Glory and to men good will."

Liberty again resumes command, to lead her animated sons to new exertions of glory. That ~~evil~~ vility, which had been shown to corrupted, misguided crowned heads, was now cast under the feet of dignified republicans; and a form of government totally unknown to the civilized world, was conceived in this age of miraculous invention. The spirit of God manifested itself, diffusing new light into the human mind. It was now determined by the genius of liberty, no longer to struggle on the shoals of Despotism and Democracy; nor to risk her fortune in a mixed Monarchy, of Aristocracy and Democracy, nor subject the people to the inconvenience, of all appearing personally to transact their business of state: but, with Columbian boldness, she ventures on the unexplored part of the political Ocean, to discover and reduce to practice a new and untried system; which was, by a-

gents, to collect and consolidate in one grand legislative council, the wills and interests of the whole community ; these to consult the national good, and concert measures adequate to the means for obtaining the same ; and the responsibility of these agents to their constituents, to be the pledge in the hands of the people, for the rectitude of their conduct.

A new luminary now guided the minds of the people ; not the democratic star of the east ; not the aristocratic planet of the south ; not the despotic bear of the north ; but the glorious constellation of the west. It is no argument against us, that former republics have all been destroyed, have fallen through imperfection of system ; our plan is different from their's, our advantages are superior ; we venture to say as much superior, as our situation is different in the longitude of the earth. We have therefore to draw arguments, of our political prosperity and existence, only from ourselves : that is from our own actual experiment ; which, tracing the progress of our government thus far, since its first establishment, prove a favorable issue.

But still reflections are serious, when we revert back to those painful struggles, which



produced this mighty revolution ; to those scenes of barbarity, which nature turns pale to behold ; and which the feeling heart of every American, would gladly consign to eternal oblivion, were not the advantages arising therefrom, so incalculably great, so infinitely important, to every inhabitant of united Columbia, and finally to the whole family of man. See your houses in flames ; — See your property, acquired by long and steady industry, a prey to soldiers ; — See those features formed of nature's choicest delicacies, distorted with grief at their inhuman treatment, — See fathers and husbands torn from the tender embraces of their anxious families, by patriotic zeal expiring on the field of battle, recommending, in their last moments, their orphan children and weeping widows, to the care of their God and surviving friends ; see almost in the first onset a Warren and a Montgomery fall, whose falling bodies consecrated the ground, and made it too holy for the feet of tyrants and their mercenaries : and whose departing souls, as they ascended to heaven, appeared to impart a portion of their noble, patriotic spirits to Washington, pointed out by the finger of Heaven, as the future glory of America.

Weak and feeble, at first, our small, but patriotic bands were driven from post to post, bravely contending every inch of ground. The insolent enemy with fire and sword, marked the path, wherever they went, with mournful desolation, untill the Americans, deeply depressed in spirit by their misfortunes, began to despair of success; and their foes inflated by their successes, thinking their work completed, began to revel in careless security.

This, this was the time, for the great genius of our Washington to shew, to display all its skill and energy. In the silence of the night, when sleep had lulled all in careless security; self directed, he visits the frozen banks of the roaring Delaware; whose impetuous torrent as it bears down huge masses of floating ice, reads lessons of terror to approaching man. Here he discussed, here matured a masterly plan of operation; and his all active genius began its immediate execution. He marched, and Moses-like, in a miraculous manner, crossed, in the dead of night the murmuring flood, and e'er the return of day saluted his slumbering foe at Trenton, with the dread signal surrender! Lost in amaze, they considered it some phantom, some visionary delusion of the

brain ; but sad experience soon proved it a sensible reality, and nine hundred men became prisoners of war, without striking a single blow ; and before they had time to rally, Princeton shared the same fate.

These unexpected successes inspired Americans universally, with new enthusiasm ; while fear and dejection sunk deep in the breasts of their opponents.

Here commenced by the force of this all active, all penetrating mind, a series of victories, which finally established the independence we now celebrate ; covered the American arms with unfading glory ; forced Great-Britain to recall, in disgrace, her numerous fleets and armies ; and acknowledge the independence and sovereignty of that nation, her haughty pride had led her to insult and abuse. “ Thus this brightest gem in his Majesty’s crown, no longer sparkles on his brow.”

Flushed with success, and anxious again to recover her long lost sovereignty of the east, liberty returns with fresh vigor across the Atlantic ; and demands her usurped dominions.

At her potent voice crowns shake their plumes over the heads of trembling tyrants ; thrones totter on their bails ; the eyes of depressed man are opened ; France, with giant strength, rises under the ponderous weight of her corpulent despotism ; and precipitates the mighty frame of oppression head-long to ruin ; 25,000,000, of people, all at once, beat off despotic shackles and become freemen.

Fearful of their fate, and prompted by insatiate avarice, the monarchs of Europe, at the cursed league of Pilnitz, all combined in that infernal plan, ever to be detested by man, so long as one spark of virtue remains in the human breast. The object of this ungenerous combination, was no less than to crush the prevailing liberties of France, and make a general division of her territory among themselves. This general combination necessitated France to pursue those energetic measures, which, though subversive of her republican form of government, turned the iniquity of those effeminate, luxurious tyrants, on their own infatuated heads.

The dreadful tocsin of war was sounded ; tyrannic fleets and armies wait around the coasts of France, like hounds in the chase, for an order from their masters to seize on the devoted prey ; but instead of timorous hares they found tygers to contend with. All the enthusiasm which animated Americans was now transferred to Frenchmen, and the universal motto was, *Die or be free.*

Full of this patriotic spirit, see the citizens of France rising in masses, and repairing to the field of battle : On board the crippled ship *Le Vengeur*, see her flag nailed to the shattered mast, and the brave, the patriotic crew, amid the universal cry of *Vive la Republic*, seek an honorable death amid the waves, rather than yield to the lawless power of despots.

By land, army was defeated after army, and throne after throne tumbled into ruin. If we rejoice at nothing else we may at this just retribution, to see vice and injustice so completely punished, to see that same destruction plotted against republican France, carried to their own doors, and executed against those very monsters, who dared in the face of their God, concert so execrable a plot. Still you see Napoleon, at the head

of numerous and well disciplined armies, undermining and overturning their seats of long established power : and teaching the art of humiliation. Do you tremble for the fate of Europe ? Do you fear that their sufferings will be increased, under the government of this magnanimous hero ? His moderation to conquered countries answers it in part, and this plain simple question answers it in full. Is it possible for men to be more miserable under any government, than under that, of those, who were capable of such superlative crimes ' such unparalleled injustice ?'

Let us now turn again to our own country, our government, & to our Washington, whom we left at the head of a victorious army, endeared to him by long and intimate acquaintance. What was now his language ? did he say to the people I have fought your battles ; I have undergone fatigue and hardship, for which I ask to be rewarded with a crown ? did he say to the soldiers place me in power and I will give you honorable employment in return ? The language of a man fighting for eight years, without compensation, the battles of his country, could never be such. To the people he said, " your toils, your la-

bors, your dangers are at an end; you have delivered yourselves from the galling yoke of a foreign tyrant, go and enjoy your blessings in peace: that command, that authority, which I received from you, to you I return."

Then turning to his soldiers he might have said, " We have lived long together, in kind and cordial friendship; you have completely triumphed over your enemies, more numerous and better disciplined than yourselves; you have gained from them many laurels, and much gratitude from your fellow citizens; your work is completed; you may return to the bosom of your country and friends; and as you have been good soldiers, learn henceforth to be good citizens. Then in an affectionate farewell, that bedewed every cheek with tears of the tenderest friendship, he disbanded the army.

Thus separated an army, which might, under a leader of unprincipled ambition, have bound you in those chains of despotism, you had so long been struggling to burst; thus this leader of armies, long accustomed to supreme command, by his own voluntary act became a common citizen, and retired to the walks of private life.

But such abilities, joined with such principles, could not long remain in obscurity; a government was to be established, political concerns to be regulated; the eye of the public soon went in search of its beloved Washington; the united voice called him once more from the plow to the presidential chair; where he shewed himself no less illustrious than at the head of armies.

Peace he preserved abroad, unanimity at home; every one is enable to repose under his own vine and fruit tree, and no excise master or direct tax gatherer to molest or make him afraid. He guarded the reputation of government by rectitude of administration, not by sedition laws; he promoted science by encouraging colleges, academies and schools; knowing a general diffusion of knowledge to be the main spoke in the government wheel: and agriculture escaped not his wise notice, as on this depends the rotation of this wheel, and the motion of the whole machine. Thus directing the chariot of state in wisdom, his first term expires; the same unanimity calls him again to the presidential functions, and the same wise policy continues to guide his administration; a third election was about to manifest the same



unbounded confidence ; when, advanced in years, and debilitated by a long and active life, spent in public service, he in an eloquent and pathetic address to the public, begs leave to retire. This request could not be denied him. He retired ; but in his retirement he was not unaccompanied by the hearts and affections of the people ; the absence of that genius, which had put the affairs of government in so prosperous a condition, deeply impressed the image of its possessor on the memory of every worthy citizen.

We call on you history, both ancient and modern, civil and ecclesiastical, to shew a human character equal to this. Will you cite us a Moses ? When did he lead his people to a choice to shew their sense of his administration ? When did our Washington retire to a mount Sinai, or a mount Vernon, until the people despaired of his return ? or when was our Washington forty years in establishing his people in the Canaan of America ? Will you tell us of a David, the man after God's own heart ? When was our Washington driven from cave to cave, routed from one hiding place and seeking another, by the persecution of his own countrymen, under a Saul ? Where is that modern Absalom, who stole from a Washington the hearts of his

people, and involved the nation in a civil war? Will you compare the retirement of Camillus or Cincinnatus to his? the comparison will not hold: the Roman laws allowed no compensation for public service, these men were poor and necessitated to retire through want. As to modern names, there is none worthy of attempting a comparison with his. Such Americans is the character you have lost, in the loss of a Washington; and such is the character which will command unceasing reverence.

Such is the grandeur, the dignity, the happiness, to which we were exalted by our glorious exertions in the cause of freedom. Had British power prevailed, different, far different had been our lot, of which to obtain an accurate idea, turn your attention to suffering Ireland, where that British insolence which we repelled, reigns uncontrolled.

Ireland contains four millions of inhabitants, three millions of which are Roman Catholics; these three millions, or three-fourths of the whole community, are excluded from their rights both civil and religious. Property here is not safe; no one can tell in what hour the tax-gatherer or landlord will seize it; life is uncertain, as the next alarm

of rebellion may seal it up in a dungeon, or give it an eternal exit by suspension between the heavens and the earth.

Liberty, poverty, and misery are three things ever certain : that is, liberty is certainly wholly banished, and poverty and misery are constant companions.

Consider the weight of oppression, continually bearing down this devoted part of the human race to the regions of despair : a despotic monarch ; a parliament devoted to his will ; his dread tribunal not of justice but injustice ; sheriffs and a numerous horde of civil officers, to drag to the dungeon, on mere suspicion ; an armed soldiery, quartered upon the people, to insult and abuse them ; tax gatherers and imperious lords to seize on the scanty morsel of bread, sufficient only to arrest the mad career of approaching famine. All these combine to form one grand machine of political destruction. Such, such, Americans would have been your lot, had the unfeeling hand of British power prevailed.

Washington you have already seen retired ; the fourth of March 1797, closed the active course of his political life. Tyrann-

ny began to fear her hedious head, endeavoring to inculcate new and unpleasent political doctrines.

She tells us the chief magistracy ought to be hereditary ; that we must have an intermediate order dependent thereon, such as lords, knights, and barons ;\* that a national debt is a national blessing ;§ that men are incapable of governing themselves ;|| not considering that one who is incapable of governing himself, would be quite inadequate to

\* *Mr. Adams, when Vice President, declares to Col. Taylor and Mr. Giles, in hearing of Mr. Langdon, then a senator from New Hampshire ; " I hope, or soon expect to see the time, when you " will be convinced, that the people of the United " States cannot be happy without a hereditary chief " Magistrate, and a senate that is hereditary or for " life." See a confirmation of the same, in a letter from Mr. Langdon to Mr. Ringgold of Maryland.*

§ *See Adams' defence of the American constitutions, where he declares the British Monarchy " to " be the most stupendous fabric of human wisdom."*

|| *See discourses on Davilla, written by Mr. Adams. " Nature has ordained that no two crea- " tures shall be perfectly alike, and no two creatures " perfectly equal ; therefore men cannot exist under " an equal form of government."*

govern a nation ; not considering that what makes rulers incapable of governing, with propriety, is their own base passions ; which only a sense of responsibility to their constituents, can possibly restrain.

The mighty machines of despotism were moved on with vigor ; standing armies were raised ; American navies began to float the ocean ; taxes were increased ; the national debt increased by eight per cent loans ; additional judges, and a numerous horde of other officers created ; the liberty of the press, that great bulwark of freedom greatly curtailed ; † the constitution was violat-

† (Second section of the Sedition bill ) “ *And be it further enacted, That if any person shall write, print, utter or publish ; or shall cause or procure to be written, printed, uttered, or published ; or shall knowingly and willingly assist, or aid in writing, printing, uttering, or publishing any false, scandalous, and malicious writing or writings, against the government of the United States, or either house of Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States, with intent to defame the said government, or either house of said Congress, or the said President, or to bring them, or either of them, into contempt, or disrepute, or to excite against them, or any or either of them the hatred of the good people of the United States, &c. then such person, being there-*

ed ;† and that governmental energy assumed, which ever proved the destroyer of republican government.

No sooner did the time of another election arrive, than the majority of the people man-

*“ of convicted before any court of the United States,  
 “ having jurisdiction thereof, shall be punished by a  
 “ fine not exceeding 2000 dollars, and by imprison-  
 “ ment not exceeding two years.”*

*Such is the letter of the sedition law ; and such was its operation. that Mr. Holt, editor of the Bee, was fined 200 dollars, and imprisoned two months, for saying the army which was raised under Mr. Adams, was a standing army. “Whereas,” the judge who condemned him, said, “ he should have called it a provisional army.”*

† See the alien bill, which gives the President power, without judge or jury, and on mere suspicion, to order any alien to quit the territory of the United States in such time as shall be expressed in such order. The third article of the amendment of the constitution, expressly declares, that congress shall make no law respecting an established religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. Now if the sedition bill was made, respecting the abridging the freedom of speech or of the press then it must be considered an infraction upon this article of the constitution.

ifested their willingness to permit the promoters of such measures to retire to private stations, with all their wisdom, all their abilities, all their admiration of British monarchy, all their elevated ideas of national dignity and self-aggrandisement, and called Jefferson to the chair of state, whose principles of policy, are best delineated in his inaugural speech ; which contains principles of policy worthy to to be preserved in letters of gold, as guides and monitors to every sovereign in the world. There is correctness of sentiment ; there is political knowledge ; there is the whole essence of republican government concisely delineated ; there the duty of rulers and ruled is insurpassably pointed out ; and that sincere attachment to the interests of the people expressed, which if sincere, cannot fail to interest every unprejudiced mind in his favor ; and his whole administration from that time to this, proves him no hypocrite.

Under the peaceful, the politic administration of Mr. Jefferson, those engines of despotism were of no use. That army, that navy, which began seriously to prey upon the vitals of the republic, which during the four years of former administration had received the appropriation of nineteen millions of the

people's earnings to their use, were now dismissed or greatly reduced; our treasury, which had been reduced, notwithstanding the great increase of taxation and the still greater increase of the national debt by eight per cent. loans, to one million seven hundred and ninety-four thousand dollars, was found at the expiration of two years and an half under the present administration, to contain five millions eight hundred and sixty thousand dollars; though vast sums were appropriated towards the discharge of the national debt; and the people, at the same time, were relieved from many grievous taxations.— Our differences with foreign nations were honorably adjusted, and commerce relieved from those constant depredations which harassed it during the reign of energy: our territory was greatly enlarged—not by lavishing blood and treasure, not by the expense of a long and tedious war—but for the small consideration of fifteen millions, a sum far inferior to what was appropriated for the support of the army and navy during the four years of Adams' administration. By this acquisition, (not to mention the great increase of our territory, and the blessings of liberty extended to an additional portion of the human race,) our flag is permitted to pass



unmolested, those western waters; through whose spreading branches, wealth and commerce are brought to the very doors of three-eighths of the inhabitants of old united America. While it removes those troublesome neighbors to a greater distance, it becomes a great source of wealth and importance to this growing republic.

Under this mild, this politic administration, religion is kept intire, uncontaminated with politics, at the free disposal of men's consciences; in which unmolested state it advances the happiness of society; but when converted to political purposes, it may prove a severe scourge to the human race. To prove this, it will be only necessary to refer you to the rivers of blood which have, in different nations and at different periods of the world, flowed from the veins of the pious, to force a compliance with national creeds, which reason and conscience declared erroneous.

When four years had thus passed, during which time, slander, malice and detraction had exerted all their powers, the period of another election arrives—from the result of which, we may judge the people's approbation of these truly republican measures.

What was the sequel? 162 out of 176 declared in the affirmative; while 14 only faintly replied no. Remarkable unanimity! It seems almost a paradox, that in a country so extensive, inhabited by people of so many different trades, guided by so many and almost opposite interests, measures could be adopted so universally congenial to their feelings.—From the elections of different States, we are continually gaining new proof of the wisdom and prudence of the present administration.

We have had energy in our internal government, we have had energy in our foreign treaties—not one mean or servile treaty made under the present administration can be produced.

Still, says the objector, I am not pleased; we want martial energy; why should we not vie with the monarchs of Europe in standing armies? why should not our fleets humble the naval pride of Great-Britain? Ah! here is the rock on which we split; and here is the very weight which sunk every republic since the world began. This very martial energy, this military power, paid by, and dependant on the rulers, is certain, absolutely certain, to bear upon and finally sink forever the liberties of the people.

The ancient republics of Greece, Syracuse and Rome, all tumbled into ruin from an adherence to this very principle. Pompey was a man of martial talents and energy ; terror marched hand in hand with him wherever he turned his arm. This induced the people, surrounded as they were by dangerous enemies, to continue him in the command, contrary to the constitution and common custom. What was the result of this ? his energy, at length, turned against the constitution of his own country, and crumbled it to atoms : In consequence of which the streets of imperial Rome, under Pompey, Sylla, and Cæsar, were crimsoned with the blood of her noblest republicans, until the scourge of despotism was borne without a struggle.

It was this same energy, under Oliver Cromwell, which reduced England, then a republic, to the most degrading servility ; and it is that same energy now, in fleets and armies, which while they carry terror, insult, and outrage abroad, produces misery and starvation at home.

What let me ask is the advantage of this gigantic navy, this monster of the ocean ? Does it protect commerce, or serve as a mere

engine of oppression, a cloak for the basest perfidy, and a protection to crimes which dishonor the history of man? All, we presume, will grant the latter to be the case, when we are able to shew from the maritime list of Liverpool, that British insurance is double that of American. Notwithstanding she has such vast fleets to scour the ocean, the constant war which she is obliged to foster for their support, exposes her commerce to double the danger of ours. Fleets on the ocean resemble fish, inhabiting that element, they live by preying upon their inferiors.

These evils we consider as powerful arguments against large naval armaments; we want ships sufficient to awe the Barbary powers, and those we have already; but to attempt to equal the great maritime powers of Europe, would be vanity, would be folly. Should we, by any misunderstanding be involved in a war with any of them, our privateers would pick up their merchantmen, even under convoy of those heavy sailing ships of war.

But waving these objections, let us raise the power of the American flag upon the

ocean ; let us permit government to drain from the country, every farthing of circulating cash ; let them mortgage the states in an immense national debt, borrowed at eight or any rate per cent : let it be required of every citizen, to furnish his proportion of labor to build and furnish these mighty machines of terror ; and what would follow ? We should then be a fine prey, a rich booty to British prowess ; her Howes, her Nelsons, and her Duckworths, would have a noble enterprise of glory ; and when all our strength thus embarked on the ocean, was annihilated, weak and feeble by land, we should be necessitated to make the most humiliating concessions.

As a final proof of the baneful influence of this governmental energy, on republics, permit me once more to call your attention to France. When she was fast approaching the zenith of freedom and happiness ; when every American beheld her progress with anxiety, and heartily wished her success ; that combination of monarchs, worthy of infernal fiends rather than men, took place, and called forth that dreadful energy on the part of France, which sunk her again into despotism, and forced the cause of

freedom, in which she had so eagerly engaged, to lasting exit from that part of the world ; leaving us the small consolation of seeing the misery and disgrace intended for France, vibrate back with double force on the heads of the guilty ; a diminutive consolation, indeed, to the emancipation of a great nation from slavery ; and the further probability of this liberal principle's extending itself to the remotest bounds of the habitable world.

Let us therefore profit by the errors of others, let us keep a steady eye on the true principles of Republicanism, and ever keep at the greatest distance those engines of Tyranny.

Though I fear I have already transgressed too long on your patience ; yet you will listen a moment to the voice of the American constitution ; which makes the wide-extended territory, over which our mighty eagle has spread her all-protecting wings, sacred to the genius of liberty ; which invites the suffering and the persecuted to a safe retreat in her bosom. Has his countenance lost its bloom by the vertical beam of a torrid sun ? has he lost his liberty in the fierce contention of tyrants ? has superstition cast her chains

around him as an irredeemable slave, or consecrated him a solemn sacrifice to her idol? has the sovereign decree of a tyrant set him as a mark for the fiercer arrows of his vengeance to pierce? the moment he sets foot on American earth, the melancholy gloom is driven from around him, by piercing rays from the sun of liberty; her genial influence restores his soul to its native dignity; “he stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, by the irresistible genius of universal emancipation.”

Americans, you have an extensive territory and a happy government, which long has been and still continues, almost the only shield against oppression on the face of the whole earth; peace and plenty cheers every rank, from the poorest to the most opulent citizen; the merits of every virtuous man are duly appreciated; by the universal circulation of news-papers, and the general diffusion of useful books, knowledge becomes an easy acquisition. You have since your first landing enjoyed a portion of liberty,—though never till the declaration of Independence did you enjoy her in full glory; when Britain began to carry her tyranny to excess, your exertions were vigorous and successful; when a tyrant sought to enslave

ing in your own dominions you repelled it; when ambition would rise in rebellion, your vigilance detects it, and places the author before a public tribunal; so long as this vigilance, industry, oeconomy, reverence for religion, regard for the laws, and this wise pacific policy continues—so long may we expect the continuance and prosperity of this happy republic.

Gentlemen of the Militia, permit me to address you in the name of the whole Militia of these United States, of this free, independent and sovereign Republic. Shall I recount to you the fatigues & labors you have undergone for conquest? would you be the companions of an Alexander carrying death and desolation to the utmost regions of the east? would you be victorious Mahometans, under the celebrated Tamerlane, crimsoning your swords with the blood of every man, woman and child, differing from you in religious tenets? Would you be crowned with the laurels of those vast armies of Europe, which, under ambitious leaders, are riveting the chains of despotism by blood and murder? would you under a Pompey, a Sylla, a Caesar, or a Burr, turn your arms against the peaceful inhabitants of your own country?



the few, over the interests of the many? These honors Gentlemen of the Militia, tho' splendid in sound, are too mean for you; those arms, that uniform, that discipline, that military array, was never intended to impose on the defenceless part of community; you are mercenaries to no haughty tyrant; you follow no merciless despot to the field of carnage, in hopes of wealth and false glory, from the plunder & murder of the innocent; you have wives, children, friends and property, in the great body of the people; you have rights and liberties in common with them; in fact your body, is the body of the whole community, combined together for defence; consequently those swords, those weapons of death, which have occasioned so much terror, so much misery in the world, in your hands are to be feared only by the enemies of your country and of Republicanism; while they remain an eternal safeguard, and a pleasing security to the weak, the unambitious, the honest and the industrious.

Your work then is important; you have to protect an extensive empire, of freedom, of happiness, and of inborn rights; which is the interest of at least nine tenths of the world; to repel every aggression, on which, whether foreign or domestic, let your energy

be exerted. In that martial visage, while innocence views her protector, let tyrants read their doom.

American fair, your's is a different task. You were not doomed to the barbarous soil of the east, where the youthful bride, sparkling in beauty, immolates herself on the funeral pile of her deceased partner; you were not destined to languish out a tedious life, with mind uncultivated, excluded from the agreeable walks of society, in the dreary seraglio of an austere turk: Fortune has not placed you in the cold ungenial regions of the north, where fishing and hunting employ the time, and destroy the delicate constitution of the female; Russia's unsocial clime gave you not birth, to present your husband, on the day of your marriage, the indelicate corrective, manufactured by your own fair hands, which directed by his savage temper, remains a painful scourge during your hymeneal life; Heaven has kindly removed you from the barbarous savage, where the female is drudge or burthen bearer; thanks to your God! your lot was not cast in Europe, to be a prey to unbridled insolence of the unfeeling soldier, or to see your fathers, brothers, sons, and husbands, dragged involuntarily from your tender embrace,

by press-gangs, or conscript masters, to pour out their blood on some crimsoned field of battle : but you are blessed with existence in a land of liberty, where the rights of women are understood and regarded. While the man protects, labors, and accumulates wealth, you have to preside over domestic affairs, to cultivate civilization, soften manners, and correct morals ; you must nourish the infant, direct its pliant mind, by your plastic care, and early inspire it with a love of amiable virtues : On you depends, in a great measure, the happiness of society.

To perform such important duties, you see the necessity of enlightened minds and modest virtues.

**FINIS.**