

AN
ORATION

PRONOUNCED AT

LEXINGTON, MASSACHUSETTS,

ON THE

Fourth of July, A. D. 1814,

BY REQUEST OF

THE REPUBLICAN CITIZENS OF MIDDLESEX COUNTY,

BEING THE

THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY

OF

American Independence.

BY **HON. TIMOTHY FULLER.**

BOSTON :
PUBLISHED BY ROWE & HOOPER, STATE STREET.

1814.

AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE FOURTH OF JULY, AT
LEXINGTON, A. D. 1814,

VOTED, That the Selectmen of Lexington be a Committee on behalf of this meeting, to wait upon the Hon. TIMOTHY FULLER, and thank him for his patriotick and elegant oration delivered before the people here assembled this day, and to request of him a copy for publication.

JOHN KEYES, *Sec'ry.*

The Hon. TIMOTHY FULLER,

SIR,

THE Selectmen of Lexington take pleasure in conveying to you the above vote, and they request that you will in compliance therewith, deliver a copy of your oration for the press.

July 3, 1814.

JOHN MILLIKEN, *Chairman.*

Cambridge, 5th July, 1814.

GENTLEMEN,

A JUST sense of the approbation of my fellow citizens, expressed by the vote, you have transmitted, as well, as deference to their Committee, require of me a respectful compliance with their request without other apology for the imperfection of my performance, than their candour will readily suggest.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient Servant,

TIMOTHY FULLER.

JOHN MILLIKEN,
NATHAN CHANDLER,
CHARLES REED,
BENJ. O. WILLENGTON, &
JOHN MUZZY, JUN. Esqrs.

*Selectmen of
Lexington.*

ORATION.

TIME in his swift career has numbered little more, than two hundred annual revolutions, since this western continent first rose to the view of a wondering world. Before that period its vast forests, mountains, lakes, and rivers echoed only the voice of ferocious animals, and more ferocious savages. Poetry had indeed feigned a palace beyond the western ocean for the repose of Phœbeus, and the refreshment of his fiery coursers, after their diurnal labors were ended; philosophy too had found in the visions of theory a denser counterpoise for the liquid element, that encircled the realms then known to science; but the reality was the achievement of enterprise and courage surpassing the heroes and giants of fable, of genius sublime and vast, as the acquisition.

In all ages of the world, which history has delivered down to us, kingdoms, states, and empires with few exceptions, have been matured by slow and imperceptible degrees, and have acquired a great portion of their population and territory by rapacity and unjust conquest.

America, youngest born among the nations, offspring of a civilized, of a Christian age, acquired her capacious territory by compact; the myriads of her population by the peaceful operation of a just and enlightened policy. The exiles from European oppression received from

them shelter on these remote shores; and were embraced as brethren in calamity. The fruit of their industry was all their own, and insured support to a numerous offspring: their free-born minds dreaded not the flames of persecution from papal inquisitions, nor from the fanaticism of a church, which arrogated the distinction of being *the reformed*. The nation, from which the exiles had chiefly originated, found them out in their distant retreat, and claimed to appoint for them Governors in their *temporal* concerns. She styled herself their *Mother*, but she was satisfied with extending her maternal cares to enriching herself by their commerce, and feeding her pride by including their boundless wilderness in her titular empire. The religious heresies of such outcasts from the bosom of her church she deemed incurable, and suffered them to travel on to future misery in their own way. For this kind indifference to their salvation our ancestors were grateful they thought themselves indebted to it for whatever their religious institutions and doctrines possessed, that was "pure and undefiled." The checks and restraints imposed on their civil regulations, and the prerogatives, which were claimed by the Mother country, appeared to them the jealous devices of a capricious step-mother seeking chiefly the gratification of her more favored children at their expence; and all their vigilance and energy were in active array to baffle and defeat the arts of malignity in the guise of affection. Such constant exercise of their mental powers enlarged the boundary of their political knowledge, elevated their morals, and purified their religious professions and practice.

The wandering tribes of natives were soothed into peace, and invited to acquire the blessings of civilization and society. Their lands were *purchased* not seized by

violence. America has been reproached with exterminating the natives and unjustly possessing their domains. We are interested in this charge. Let us devote one moment to its refutation. A few thousand savages destitute of the arts of agriculture roamed over a trackless continent, and satisfied the cravings of hunger, and shielded themselves from the severity of the climate by hunting and killing animals scarcely more savage than themselves. To them civilization would have been of incomparably more value, than immeasurable wilds of hunting ground. With civilization both they and their new guests, and the posterity of both through many future centuries could live harmoniously, increasing and multiplying, on those same lands, which then afforded only a precarious and miserable subsistence to themselves. To civilize and instruct them we know to have been the intention and the policy of our ancestors; and we boldly declare this was a policy founded in rectitude and justice, the dictate of benevolence and the most exalted piety. That the savages would embrace with avidity at least the *arts* of civilized life was naturally and confidently expected. No vestige of history had recorded the failure of such an attempt. With zeal and sincerity the task was begun. It promised a rich harvest of permanent happiness to the instructors and the instructed. A peaceful asylum, religious and political influence for themselves and their posterity, to the former; and to the latter the innumerable untasted comforts of social life, and the glad tidings of the gospel of peace, unfolding the way to future and endless felicity. Shall then our ancestors and we, their descendants, be *reproached* with conceiving and attempting to realize such an enterprise? Let us rather exult, that, though we cannot trace our lineage to the deified heroes of profane

history, or to the patriarchs or apostles of holy writ, we are justly entitled to the pre-eminent distinction of being called "Sons of the Pilgrims."

A new page in history, an unexplored sinuosity in the character of man was now unfolded. The *fruits* were required by the savages, before they could be persuaded to suspend their vagrant pursuits, and earn them by labor; this was to reverse the order of nature, to require a miracle, and the age of miracles was past. Besides, they had tasted the delicious poison of intoxication, and nothing could rescue them, untutored as they were, from its fatal consequences. Soon they became deaf to the friendly warnings of instruction; their mental faculties and their bodies diseased, labor and industry abhorrent to their depraved appetites, and they seemed irrevocably doomed to destruction.

Perhaps we ought in justice to admit, that the wars with those hapless natives were sometimes occasioned by individual fraud or oppression, and that their animosity and revenge were not altogether causeless; but the effect of these was partial, and would by no means have caused their total extinction.

The gradual decay of the race of beings, that peopled these regions, when "their eyes they had closed" to exclude the rays of truth and knowledge, ought to be a lesson to us, to whom superior light has been imparted; and while we bemoan their fate, let us not fail to acknowledge the finger of Heaven.

In a century and a half from elements like these the colonies of North America, still claimed, as the domain of England, had become populous and powerful. Their energies, their wealth, and their prowess had often been displayed in the wars, which Britain waged with her rivals, France and Spain. To them she was chiefly in-

debted for the subjugation of the French provinces on their frontiers. She saw their commercial prosperity, she saw their courage, enterprize, and extent of territory with eyes of cupidity and jealousy. Gratitude for the sacrifices they had made in the conquest of Canada, was cancelled in a moment. It required but a word to cancel it. *Protection to us*, was substituted instead of conquests for Britain; and this changed the burden, and made the debt of gratitude due from us to them.— *We owed them* for protection, and they were to prescribe the price and the mode of payment.

If any principle in their unwritten Constitution was more sacred to Englishmen, than the rest, it was this— “Taxes shall not be imposed but by consent of the people’s representatives in parliament.” This was the silver cord, that bound the king within the limits of the constitution. For enforcing taxes without his parliament in a purer period of their history an English king scarce appeased the fury of the nation by the forfeiture of his life. Yet England required America to pay taxes into her exchequer without being represented. Our case was clear; we had all the argument, but they boasted that they wielded the sword and the sceptre, and America must submit. Our remonstrances and humble petitions were not heard; our venerable Franklin, the pride of philosophy and of his country, was insulted at the bar of parliament; the voice of America, respectfully supplicating through her Congress for redress, was called the murmur of rebellion; the sovereign, his ministry, their corrupt majorities in parliament, and great multitudes of the nation were infatuated with arrogance.— They believed England, who had so lately humbled France, ought to hear from her colonies only the language of submission. The victories which Pitt had

achieved for the nation, inflated their pride, but the warning voice of Pitt was against them.

How shall we, my fellow citizens, at this day believe, that a cause so demonstrably unjust should have found prostituted pens to prove it *just*, both in England and in this country? If we are incredulous, let us turn for a moment to our own times.

The British orders in council, plundering millions of property from America, are by some called *just retaliation on France*. Her practice of seizing seamen on board our merchant ships under pretence of their being British subjects, though she *conceals* them on board her ships of war like stolen property, instead of affording an opportunity to them and their friends to prove them Americans; by which thousands of our citizens have been imprisoned and their lives sacrificed; this is called "*Britain's undoubted maritime right*" "*essential to her existence.*" The war, which we waged at last after years of suffering and remonstrance, to cause her to desist from her depredations on our property, and from enslaving our seamen, is called "unnecessary, unjust, and wicked." Our detention of British prisoners, as hostages for the safety of our naturalized citizens, whom she had taken fighting our battles, and threatened to execute as traitors, is called sanguinary and barbarous.— These and many more such perversions of language, of truth, and decency, will reconcile us to the belief of equal perversions forty years before. Unless indeed we make great allowance for the unexampled improvement of the present age in the arts of false logick, deception, and forgery; arts, which Britain no doubt in the exercise of her *belligerent and maritime rights* has seen fit to "*impress*" into her service. The right of impressing these we ought not to deny her; it is indeed, and has long

been "*essential to her existence ;*" but it were to be wished, that she could find sufficient native, British materials without recruiting on American ground.

To these parasites, hirelings of a corrupt ministry, the government of the free and "thinking" nation of Great Britain lent a willing ear. They had only to dispatch a small portion of their veteran force under the most experienced generals and commanders of the age, and our obedience was secured. In parliament it was boasted, that if twenty thousand men could not, fifty thousand *should* reduce this "froward people."

To the most cool and discerning of our countrymen these boasts were not without their terrors. No common ligament of union then bound the colonies together, except the acknowledged one of interest. So indefinite a tie might easily be dissolved by a powerful adversary, who in the moment of crushing one member of the confederacy, could disarm others by terror, or seduce them by promises. We had no army, no naval force, no revenue ; England held every city on the seaboard, and her triumphant navy had quiet possession of every harbor. Symptoms of adherence to her cause under the specious names of duty and loyalty, threatened to break the ranks of liberty by filling every bosom with jealousy and distrust. The keys of our destiny seemed to be in the hand of our oppressor. We saw suspended over us by a feeble thread the sword of her vengeance ready to drink our blood. Great was the crisis, and great was the spirit, that awoke for our deliverance. This glorious spot, the hallowed scene of this day's devotion ; this happy, favored spot, beheld the first precious, ruddy drops, shed to redeem our country. Yonder sacred pedestal, faint emblem of our gratitude, de-

clares the names of the first victims of British injustice. But long after that shall have crumbled to dust, the faithful page of history, the hearts of a grateful people shall engrave the deed, and transmit the glorious record to remotest ages.

This first shock, though foreseen and expected, electrified the whole American people. Order and concert soon succeeded to confusion and surprise. The din of arms resounded through the country. Peaceful towns and villages poured out their champions in armour, and the applause of their fellow citizens, whom age or infirmity withheld, and the prayers of beauty and affection sped them to the combat. Soon the capital was invested, and the crimson heights of Bunker-Hill bore testimony to the heroism of the defenders of their liberties. A chieftain was found, whose skill and valor had been tested; and to him was awarded the glorious danger of leading the armies of freedom. All local jealousies were discarded, and the emulation of patriotism and courage pervaded every section of the country.

When it was perceived, that the contest became sanguinary, and that the inveteracy of our invaders precluded all hope of accommodation;

“That never could true reconciliation grow,
“Where wounds of deadly hate had pierc’d so deep;”

the sages of the nation assembled in Congress, were equal to the crisis. They called heaven and the world to listen to their motives and the necessity of the measure, and they pronounced these Colonies to be “Free, Sovereign, and Independent States.” The Rubicon was past. The glorious declaration was hailed with joy, and the sound of Independent America was responded through the Union.

In Europe our cause became better understood ; and even nations, which never had tasted freedom, were led by policy to take a part in the conflict. Our chiefs in the field were equalled by those in council, and the world beheld American diplomatists without the deceitful arts, the sycophancy, or the corruption of European statesmen and courtiers, effecting the most important alliances, and bending the incongruous materials of ambition, jealousy, and cupidity to the great concert of measures, which had so large a share in securing the successful issue of the controversy. The names of Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson will descend to posterity with those of Washington, Montgomery, Green, and a constellation of heroes and sages, whose valor and wisdom will beam lustre on their age and country.

Pardon me, my fellow citizens, if I omit further to recount the events of that memorable era, of the glorious peace, which followed, and the exalted patriotism, talents, and magnanimity, which after an interval of repose and a fair test of the inadequacy of the first confederation, gave you your present constitution. A constitution, combining local concessions, and reconciling local to common interests ; containing principles of energy in the executive, compatible with its responsibility, insuring independence and ability in the judiciary, at the same time causing the voice of the people to be heard and obeyed in both branches of the Legislature. With wonderful knowledge of the springs of human action, drawn from profound observation and scientifick research, with foresight almost prophetick, the framers of the constitution offered to their fellow citizens a system of union so perfect, that after twenty five years experience of its operation in the most stormy period of the world, administered too by men of political sentiments diamet-

rically opposed to each other, subjected more than once to the vicissitude of domestic insurrection and foreign war, this glorious constitution still remains, the pride of our country, the admiration of the world. Let every heart and every voice unite and say, "Be thou perpetual."

Scarcely had we begun to feel the blessings of permanent peace and happy institutions, when the revolution in France convulsed all Europe from its centre to its utmost limits. It was impossible to behold the struggle of a generous nation with liberty in view, but swimming to its object over seas of blood, without emotions of pity and of horror. Philanthropy shed a tear on human nature, when she saw ignorance and infatuation planting the relentless shrine of Moloch on the pedestal of liberty, and satiating the monster with human sacrifices. The hope of emancipation to the human species, which had begun to dawn in the eastern horizon, was clouded, and soon seemed extinct. Yet our country reaped a rich harvest of wealth and revenue from the wide spread conflict, that set Europe in a flame. The wisdom of our government and the impartiality of their system happily kept us aloof from a contest, in which we could have given no aid to suffering humanity; and could have had little influence but to augment the number of victims, who already gorged the great charnel house of the Christian world. Perhaps we were too indifferent to the sufferings of so many nations;—perhaps some among us nourished a secret satisfaction, that they could derive *profit* from the slaughter and devastation of the European world; and were easily reconciled to the contemplation of ruin and misery, from which themselves were exempted, and which en-

riched our cities, and spread an aspect of prosperity and splendor over our whole country.

The unfeeling calculations of avarice were not long suffered to go unpunished. The two great belligerents, whose deadly hostility made them the rallying centres of European animosity, turned a jealous eye on our prosperity, and resolved to enlist us in the conflict, or to subject us to all its evils. England without a rival on the Ocean, possessing manufactures sufficient to supply the world with luxuries, and having acquired by conquest the colonies and trade of both the Indies, determined no longer to permit an unarmed nation, a nation too of revolted subjects, to supplant her in the colonial and carrying trade; while its ships found ready admission in the European markets, from which the continental system of her adversary excluded hers. To prevent this, she had only to quarrel with us herself, or to embroil us with her enemy—either of these would effect her object. If she quarrelled with us herself, her naval power could invest our ports, and annihilate our commerce at a blow; if on the other hand she could make us quarrel with France, the continental system would exclude us like herself from the European market, and we must be contented to revolve, as inferior satellites, around the orb of her gigantic power.

This latter course she preferred, as it would ruin our commerce without danger to her provinces, leaving us only the privilege of a direct trade with herself, of receiving her manufactures, supplying raw materials to her artizans, and paying the balance in specie. An intercourse, which must soon have exhausted our capital, palsied our energies, and extinguished our enterprise.

It requires little political sagacity to interpret her successive attacks on our neutral rights, whatever specious pretext was in each case alleged. In her sudden enforcement of "the rule of 56" we first read her project of *monopoly*; on her paper blockades we plainly see inscribed her insidious system of *monopoly*; in her pretended retaliation of an empty threat of France, we see "confirmation strong" of her fraudulent grasp at *monopoly*. To this first object she bent every other measure. She told all nations, she was fighting their battles; that *her* naval greatness was "the world's last hope." The inference was plain—If she alone fought their battles, if her single arm sustained the freedom of the world; then all the world could do no less than quietly yield her the trifling privilege of controlling their policy and *monopolizing* their trade. What though her naval officers violated our jurisdiction; what though some thousands of our seamen were seized, and dragged to perish in her floating prisons; what though the loss of millions of our mercantile capital, seized by her rapacity, ruined our merchants, and impoverished the nation. These were trivial evils, while she sheltered us under the wing of her invincible navy. True it sometimes startled us to remember, we called ourselves an independent nation; yet to see her, from whom we had so lately extorted our independence, now affecting to *protect* it; but we were told, we were indebted for the change to her *superlative magnanimity*; and to effect her benevolent purposes for our protection, it was necessary to bend our policy, and submit our rights to be bound by her "in all cases whatsoever."

European nations listened to the syren voice of British *magnanimity*. All fears of her maritime ascendancy were hushed for a while by the dangers, that

menaced all the states of the Baltick. The iron sceptre of French domination to them had terrors, which benumbed their faculties. Commerce and naval power were willingly conceded to the British Lion, for the advantage of his alliance in repelling the Imperial Eagle. The tyrant of the continent lowered also on the free states of this western hemisphere; freedom, though remote, was hateful to his sight. Few were our points of contact with his dominions, yet wherever unsuspecting confidence or cupidity brought American property within his grasp, it felt the fangs of an insatiate plunderer. To our government his style of negociation was uncourteous and offensive, and never for one moment existed aught of confidence between them. A relaxation of his faithless and rapacious system, extorted probably by his conviction, that England in adherence to her darling *monopoly* would violate her plighted engagement to relax her war on our neutral rights *pari passu* with France, won for him no concession from the American government; but it demanded of them a fulfilment of the public faith, pledged in the face of the world, to require an equal relaxation on the part of his adversary. The subtle and unworthy evasions of England could no longer elude the light. Her hollow pretexts and her selfish and tyrannical system appeared in naked deformity. War or submission was now our only alternative. Except with a few timid spirits there was no hesitation. We are proud to number among those, who acknowledged the *justice* of the war, most of the brightest ornaments of our country in both political parties. The suitable *time* of declaring war, the *mode* of warfare by sea or land, the expediency of bearing injustice *still longer*, and other minor topics excited the chief opposition and debate in the great councils of the nation.

Diversity of opinion on these has since been the aliment of faction, which by shifting its ground, and seizing on subsequent and unforeseen events has been emboldened to elevate its voice. Its voice, the baleful herald of disaffection to our country, has been heard with indignation by a free people. Repressed and stifled on our shores, its hollow murmur has resounded to the enemy. To their ears it was harmonious musick. The gale, which wafted it, was sweeter and more welcome, than the rich tribute of Arabian perfume. Transmitted to their Prince and his luxurious court, its regaling virtues found a more gracious reception at the foot of the throne, than the birth-day adulation of a thousand pensioned muses, or the obsequious submission of a thousand vanquished nabobs.

The trunk of our Independence, like the princely oak, strikes deeper its roots, when the tempest fiercely assails its branches. The constitution, of age more tender, but of vigorous fibre and of fruit most delicious, has flourished by its side, and opposed its firm texture to the furious gale. With the attachment of devotion to their constitution and independence the government and people of America resorted to arms. But the movement was slow and solemn; for while their territory was not assailed, they hoped the foe would relent. They trusted, he would repent his injustice, while they were buckling on their armor. Besides, America with the prerogatives of unexampled freedom, necessarily suffers the inconvenience of unsuspecting innocence slumbering unarmed, while sleepless ruffians in her neighborhood prowling for blood and plunder, are ever ready to leap on their prey. A fear has been audibly whispered, that it is a defect in our constitution to withhold the power of making war and peace from the executive ;—that in

times of sudden danger and extraordinary exigence his arm will want vigor, to call forth the power of the nation. That our only remedy in such a state of things will be in giving ourselves that monster of fearful portent, a Dictator—an absolute Master, who is to be a lamb of kindness to his country, and to thunder terror only to her enemies. In times of Roman simplicity and virtue, this phenomenon sometimes appeared, and the Republic survived the prodigy. Then a patrician, a consul, a dictator, and a farmer, were sometimes found united in the same man. Happy age ; but short as happy ! In after times Tyranny assumed the name of Dictator, not as before “to take care that no harm should come to the Republick,” but to take care that no *suspicion* should be excited of her impending slavery. When America resorts to this dangerous remedy, her fate is sealed. Her liberties are no more. Before that time comes, may the voice of civilization be hushed, the silence of the wilderness again reign over these joyful fields, the murderous savages again howl responsive to the mountain blast, and the present inhabitants of these happy vallies find happier dwellings in realms of celestial bliss !

None but just wars can be waged by a free country ; every political measure comes successively before the eyes of every citizen. The general interest is ever pacifick, and the aggressions of neighboring nations must be clear, and pass the filtration of universal scrutiny, before war can be adopted. It then becomes the war, not of the government, but of the nation. In such a cause all the disadvantages of a pacific, unarmed policy, of the publicity of debate, or premature disclosure, a limited executive, and inexperienced commanders will gradually

be surmounted by the potent and irresistible tide of public sentiment.

“He has great odds
Against the astonished sons of violence,
Who fights with awful justice on his side.”

The events of the present war have corresponded with the rational expectations of the nation. The rapid reduction of the British provinces had indeed been anticipated by both countries. The first great armament, which a competent tribunal has lately pronounced commensurate with its object, failed without just imputation on the sagacity of the plan or the bravery of American soldiers. To *that* failure may be imputed the defection of the savages, the accumulation of the force and resources of the enemy at the points of attack, the tardiness and timidity of the militia, and probably that a British force yet has possession of the strong holds of Quebec and Halifax. But a volume of experience and wisdom has been unfolded to America. She has learned, where disaffection to the public cause is the interpreter of the constitution, to repose no confidence in the co-operation of the militia; she has discovered, that military schools must be established, and youth must be encouraged and invited to acquire the theory of war from veteran experience, embracing all opportunities of perfecting theory by actual service. The absolute necessity of commanding the frontier waters, and the impossibility of otherwise transporting provisions and munitions of war for an expedition remote from the supplies of agriculture and the aids of compact population; but above all she has learned the surprising, the wonderful truth, that the discipline, skill, and courage of her seamen and naval commanders are superior to the

self-styled mistress of the ocean ! This is no dream, no empty boast. No sage had proved, no prophet had ventured to predict the astonishing event. To credit such a prediction, the world required a sign ; and signs and wonders have been given. The spell is broken—the glorious reality is unveiled to our eyes. The world has seen it with delight, England with horror and dismay. Precious to their country is the blood of freemen, of those who, have fallen in defence of the honor of her flag ; but let America wipe away the tear of sorrow, while she inscribes on the monument that shall consecrate their fame, “They fought, they bled, but first they taught their country to vanquish the naval tyranny of Britain.”

While thus our navy was emblazoning its glory in almost every rencontre, while our armies were acquiring discipline, our officers experience, and in many instances signaling their valor against veteran forces ; our patriotic Administration have never for a moment lost sight of the great object of the war, a solid, just, and honorable peace. By enactment of Congress an arrangement was offered on a reciprocal basis to exclude British seamen from our service under heavy penalties, and the means of certainty in all cases were made accessible to their authorized agents. The moment they repealed their Orders in Council, though a concession merely to the crying distresses of their own manufacturers, an armistice was proposed, as a prelude to negotiation. It was contumeliously rejected. All subsequent overtures have been repelled, or so modified, as to blunt the edge of hostility, where we were the assailant ; and leave our seacoast and commerce exposed to the ravages of a plundering foe. Such unequal terms could not deceive our President ; they spoke intelligibly the

language of guileful hypocrisy, half smothering a purpose of unrelenting war. If any thing were wanting to prove our earnest and unceasing efforts for peace, behold it in our ready acceptance of the mediation of her imperial ally, with his fleet in her own possession. If any thing were wanting to convince incredulity itself of the sullen and unyielding animosity of England, behold it in her refusal of his mediation, at a moment too, when her dearest projects of self-aggrandizement and revenge on her continental enemy might have been jeopardized by the refusal.

At length the mighty warrior is prostrate ; his proud trophies, the spoils of so many vanquished princes, are levelled with the dust. Napoleon is no more ! No more, did I say ? The blaze of that portentous meteor shall gleam resplendent through all future time !

The proud banner of England in close contact with her imperial coadjutors waves in triumph over the French metropolis. The destinies of the vast empire of France and the partition of Europe await the nod of those same princes, who so lately trembled in their capitals. The "disinterested and magnanimous allies," the "deliverers of the world," seem very *affectionate* to the world, they have delivered. Their "labor of love" is only begun. One takes Poland under his gracious protection, another is pleased to take Norway, a third Italy ; and modest England resigns to each his favorite portion of prostrate Europe, and only claims, as a small gratuity the rest of the world ! France pays fifteen hundred millions of francs for the acquisition of her ancient dynasty. O, how would the heart of every American rejoice ; how should we at this moment hymn praises to Heaven, if the generous prince, who once espoused our cause in distress, now filled his rightful throne ! But it

may not be—"The son of St. Louis is ascended to Heaven."

Lest Russia should remember her slighted offer to mediate, England stipulates in season, that none shall interfere, while she chastises her revolted colonies, the "froward" people of America.

Now she prepares the vials of her fierce wrath for this devoted country. The armies of Wellington flushed with victory, have already crossed the ocean, and are traversing the plains of Abraham in rapid march for our frontier. The savage allies of Britain howl the war-song, and sharpen their barbarous weapons for slaughter. On our western waters numerous ships of war equipped for action suddenly rear themselves like sea nymphs from the waves at call of the mistress of the ocean. Her thousand ships of war borne on the wings of impatient winds, bring to our shores the pupils of Nelson, the chieftains of the Nile, of Copenhagen, and Trafalgar.

Where now shall America seek an ally? Where shall she turn her eyes for succour? The charm of national friendship has been long dissolved; the dream of magnanimity in princes is now dispelled; even the strong ligaments of national interest are severed, or forgotten in the intoxication of success. What hope then remains for America? Shall she hasten to implore the clemency of her ancient masters, or wait till they dictate their terms at Gottenburg? Britain's terms have already reached us.—*Dismiss* your rulers, *cashier* your president—bow your necks like France to the yoke, or expect no peace with England! Go then, my peace-loving countrymen, appease her anger; thrust down your government at her bidding, and exalt in their places the amiable friends of peace, of submission, and of England.

Let old Massachusetts set the example, and hasten to be first to send in to the English minister her act of "*adhesion*." Perish forever the degrading thought! Let slaves and vassals learn submission. America needs not seek safety in alliance. She stands single, she stands unmoved. On the justice of her cause she relies, on the arm of the God of battles!—Faction be silent! Freedom, exalt your voice; Patriotism awake, thou slumbering genius of my country! The soil of liberty is invaded, the dwellings of innocence, the altars of piety are assailed. Soon shall myriads of freemen encompass the frontier, and the armies of tyranny shall shrink from the fearful onset, or fall victims to the sacred valor of the champions of American Independence! Boastful Britain shall call home the remnants of her baffled powers, and the recreant lion shall once more implore peace of Republican magnanimity.

America, rejoice with trembling. Many of heaven's choicest blessings are already yours. An extensive, fertile, and diversified territory; a climate blending mildness and vigor in your physical constitutions; early habits of industry and discipline; fountains and streams of knowledge every where diffused; political institutions daily acquiring vigor by political experience, and dispensing permanent security and enjoyment to the whole system. The fortunate intervention of the vast Atlantic, to repress European ambition, and disarm corruption of its poison, before it reaches your shores. Above all the diffusion of religious knowledge and the sacred scriptures among all ranks of citizens. With such preeminent blessings, sure it is no empty boast to call ourselves *the favoured people*. Still while we rejoice, let us also tremblingly remember the duties, required for the improvement of each talent, the sacred

deposit of the Author of all good. Industry and talents, knowledge and goodness, should be cherished by the potent smile of public approbation. They should be the only passport to confidence, dignity, and public suffrage. Free discussion should be held sacred, and the freedom of the press preserved inviolate ; but the profligate abusers of these bulwarks of liberty should be frowned into silence, and tortured by public contempt. Corresponding commercial interests no less, than national defence, ensure the continued union of these States ; unless the ambition of a few aspiring families shall make us blindly sacrifice all for *their* gratification and aggrandizement. Our flourishing manufactures exhibit early evidence of maturity, and announce to the world the exhaustless resources of American capital and ingenuity. The deleterious influence of such pursuits on the poorer classes will find an easy and effectual counteraction in the wisdom of legislative precaution. Agriculture will ever find a speedy and honorable recompense for industry. Commerce will soon gladden our cities, and replenish our revenue. Sweet peace shall return, and our friendship shall be courted by all nations. The trident of Neptune, soon to be the prize of our naval prowess, shall be the guaranty of free intercourse and equal protection to the whole world. Glorious America ! Land of our nativity !—May thy happiness be consummate, thy fame immortal !

ERRATA.

- 1 Page 4, 18th line from top, after "grateful" add a semicolon.
- „ 5, 22d line from top, for "vestage" read vestige.
- „ 6, 3d line from bottom, for "displayed" read developed.