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# AN ORATION,

DELIVERED,

AT

THE COUNTY COURT-HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA,

ON THE

FORTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY

OF

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE,

---

BY DR. SAMUEL JACKSON;

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*[Published by particular request of the meeting.]*

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PHILADELPHIA :

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# AN ORATION, &c.

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**FELLOW CITIZENS,**

To render the tribute of praise to distinguished merit ; to offer the homage of a nation's gratitude, for the exertions of political virtue, while it is an act, pleasing to the heart, is a duty enjoined by the wisest policy.

A liberal ambition to deserve the public honors of a people is fostered ; and we catch a portion of that spirit, whose generous sacrifices, are the objects of our admiration.

Assembled on this day, to commemorate an event, the most important in a nation's annals, the establishment of its existence, and its freedom, the men and the events, connected with it, necessarily arise in our minds ; and we are led to the contemplation of those important consequences, of which it promised, and still promises, to be productive.

Selected by partial friends, to illustrate this subject, well might I shrink with a consciousness of my incapacity to perform the task, with adequate skill. The actions of which I would speak, are the most noble and glorious ; those, by whom they were performed, the most dignified and illustrious ; the theatre on which those scenes were displayed, the most grand and magnificent. The highest gifted eloquence, enriched with all the treasures of a brilliant imagination, much less my feeble abilities might despair to adorn the theme : Yet its simple recital, may awaken the most lively emotion. It is this reflection, that inspires confidence to address you. The mind occupied with the contemplation of noble deeds, cannot attend to the imperfections of him, who relates them ; the heart in the fulness of this glad hour, cannot indulge the harshness of critical severity.

The Declaration of Independence, constitutes an important epoch in the history of man. In its eloquent and energetic language, was heard, for the first time in a thousand years, the vindication of his divine rights. The chains which had for centuries, bound him to a despot's car, who dragged him, exhausted and panting at its wheels, fell loosened from his limbs. The gloomy genius of feudal oppression, trembled on his hundred thrones, at its revelation of the truth. The usurpations of kings and nobles, discarded with contempt, their insignificance was displayed ; and the people, the only legitimate sovereigns, invested with legitimate authority, were restored to their ancient dignities and rights.

It is for these things, that we pour the libation to the memories of the sages, who planned ; of the warriors, who achieved our independence. It is for these things, the smoke of incense ascends to the skies, and the song of triumph is raised. It is these things, which consecrate this day, as the sabbath of our liberties.

Other nations celebrate with heartless pomp, and idle pageantry, the birth day of a despot, whom they dare not approach ; whom

they cannot love. They celebrate his ascension to that throne, built on the ruins of their violated rights; whose power is felt in the miseries it inflicts; whose existence is known by the lamentations of suffering humanity. But our rejoicing is of the heart; for this day gave to us freedom, happiness, prosperity: our triumph is that of the people, for their restoration to power; for the recovery of the prerogatives of equality; universal suffrage; freedom of speech; liberty of conscience; deprived of which, "life hath no sweetness," and without which, there can be no guarantee against slavery.

It is not from a fear, that I should exhaust your patience, that I shall refrain from speaking with garrulous minuteness of the fields of our father's fame; of their wisdom in council; of their fortitude in disaster; their moderation in victory. No: the theme always inspires him, who loves his country. But who now hears me, whose ardour has not roused his feelings beyond the excitement of language; whose fancy has not already portrayed, in burning colours, the proud, the glorious story? In the vain attempt, my feeble words would fall unnoticed on the listless ear; the tameness of my pencilling, would be faint, indeed, to the energy of your stronger conceptions.

Where too should I commence? The details of that period are so numerous and brilliant; event so rapidly succeeds event; one brilliant action follows on another, that the mind hesitates which to select, as the most deserving attention. Shall we revert back to that earlier period, and expatiate on the sensibility of our fathers to Oppression, whose first whisper wafted across the Atlantic, alarmed them, as though a thunderbolt had been driven; when they arose to the conflict, not so much for wrongs suffered, as for wrongs anticipated? Shall we discourse of the coolness, with which they reasoned against injustice; of the fearlessness, with which they carried truth to the throne; the eloquence, with which they supported their rights; with which they sought to stay the tyrant in his mad career? Shall we select as the object of admiration, that fixedness of purpose; that determination of spirit, which animated their exertions, and endowed them with unyielding constancy. When convinced that the homage of their affections, and voluntary obedience, springing from the heart, was discarded by a profligate ministry, and unprincipled king; that it was meditated to subject them to ignominious bondage; to add to the ill of subjection, the degradation of slavery; they did not hesitate between an uncertain struggle, or a base though secure submission. With Spartan fortitude, they abandoned ease, indulgence, and safety; they embraced toil, fatigue, and danger to perpetuate their freedom. Their little barque, they launched with fearless confidence on a tempestuous ocean, though around them the storm lowered, and the thunder pealed above their heads, to save the palladium of our rights; their rich inheritance, from the destruction, with which it was threatened. And they did save it.— They contended manfully with the swelling surge. Not a heart quailed amid the danger, nor was an arm palsied with fear at the oar. They saved it: they placed it on a rock, whose adamant base bids defiance to the warring elements. They have enshrined it with a splendid temple, which towering o'er the deep, will look for ages on the angry waves below, whose tumultuous heavings, break innocuous on the distant shore.

From the desperate struggle, in which our fathers engaged for independence, they acquired not merely safety; they came out victors, crowned with never fading laurel, and cloathed with deathless renown. The plains of Saratoga and Yorktown attest their valour; and amidst the glorious fields of that contest, stand pre-eminent in glory. There was the proud one humbled; there did the mighty fall. Unconquered Britain, passed for the first time, beneath the yoke. She had before encountered in dubious fight, the ancient and warlike nations of Europe. She had before retired discomfitted from the field. But youthful America, and her undisciplined yeomanry alone, of all the world, can boast of having forced to a humiliating surrender, two of the best appointed armies that ever left the shores of England.

If this day recall the remembrance of these recorded deeds, it no less certainly excites the mind to the anticipation of the brilliant scenes, which are destined to live on the page of future history. Irrisistably do we people our extended country, with hundreds of millions of freemen, urging with all the energies of their character, arts, literature and science, to their greatest perfection. The forest falls before the rapid march of civilized man. The warwhoop of the savage, yields to the carrol of the peaceful plough-boy. The golden harvest waves o'er immense plains, now resigned to the howling wilderness. The shuttle and the loom ply even at the foot of the rocky mountains, and send from the depths of the desart, the wonders of their production.—Public roads and canals will be extended to the most remote parts of the union, combining them in the closest ties of social intercourse; and rivetting them together in the indissoluble bonds of a common interest.—The Mississippi, the Missouri, and the Columbia, will be covered by vessels, propelled by the giant force of steam; and the productions of Europe, of Africa, and of Asia, will meet in the centre of America. The solitary cabin of the Indian, will change to the social village; the village will rise to the populous city; the city grow into the splendid metropolis, adorned with stately edifices, and refulgent temples. Republic will rise on republic; empire stretch beyond empire, till either ocean constitute the boundaries of free and confederated America.

The discovery of this country, and the adoption of a free and enlightened system of government, have been designed by Providence to effectuate the perfection of the human character and the advancement of society. These states, this republic, you, fellow citizens, have been selected as the conservators of the liberties of the world.—To display this interesting view, of the ultimate cause of our national existence, you will excuse me, should I trespass on your time, while I delineate the divine scheme of the moral and political government of the universe, and exhibit the important part assigned to our country, in this splendid drama.

Every reflecting mind, must be convinced of the existence of a deity. It is a truth, which nature incessantly proclaims. We find it impressed on all her works, in ever-during characters, whether we seek her in the blades of grass at our feet; or explore her in the wonders of the starry fields, above our heads.

While the material world, is preserved in regularity and harmony, by laws founded in divine wisdom, we cannot suppose, that

the moral state of the world, would be abandoned to the operation of uncertain chance : that the continuance of man, in savage ignorance and debasement, or his emergence to the highest state of intellectual, and moral existence, was the mere effect of fortuitous circumstances. Man, assuredly, is as much the object of divine regard, as inanimate matter ; and is intended to arrive at that perfection, of which he has been created capable. To this end, are, and have been, all the revolutions of states ; the changes of governments ; the rise and downfall of empires. The great political movements of the world, are all directed to one end, and are regulated and governed by general laws, which though obscure to our limited capacities, are not more certain and invariable, than those with which, in physical science, we are more conversant.

It is not possible, on the present occasion, to enter fully into the consideration of this subject ; and to examine the mass of detail, necessary to its elucidation. Yet we can trace with rapid hand, the outline of the Philosophy of History.

Authentic history, in its commencement, exhibits to us Asia and Egypt, as the only civilized countries. Greece, which led the way in European improvement, was just emerging from Barbarism. The human character, from the cojoined operation of climate, religion and laws, was rapidly sinking into hopeless debasement. So completely was every regenerating virtue extirpated, that to this day, it has been unable to recover its former dignity ; nor could it impress the smallest degree of refinement, on the savage race, that overwhelmed and have possessed themselves of the country. They continue as illiterate, and as brutal, as when they first left the steppes of Tartary.

Society having reached in Asia, that perfection, of which it was then capable, it became necessary, in order to perpetuate its improvements, and to preserve its knowledge, that they should pass into other hands. The great empire of Persia, raised on the ruins of the Assyrian kingdom ; and pressed, on the southern provinces of Asia, and on Egypt, accomplished this object. To escape the desolation, and the havoc of the wars, which followed this collision ; to shun the despotisms, which every where ensued, in this conflict, men sought an asylum, in more secure and peaceful regions.—The west only was open to their flight ; and Greece was placed in their way. To facilitate emigration, in the infancy of navigation, it was connected to Egypt by Rhodes, and to Asia by the Archipelago, spread over the narrow sea, by which they were separated.

Greece, deeply indented by bays, and large arms of the sea, and intersected by ranges of lofty hills, is naturally divided, into small provinces ; these were occupied by different colonies, proceeding from different parts of Asia, and from Egypt, urged on by the same motive of safety. In this manner, were formed the independent powers of Greece. No one was sufficiently strong to subject the others to slavery : Yet they were so compressed, by the narrowness of space, in which they had settled, that they were forced into constant intercourse, and combination ; and finally, to assume the character, of a single people. Thus situated, popular governments were adopted, and democracy, under different modifications, was the ruling polity of Greece. It is the tendency of the human mind, when

unconstrained in its operations, to prefer that form of government. Under its influence, the intellect of the Greeks, was rapidly evolved; and their character displayed, the brightest virtues.

When thus prepared, and matured for the performance of her important duties, Greece received to her virgin bosom, the expiring civilization, and sciences of Asia. At this exuberant source, they soon acquired more, than pristine vigour. Her plastic genius, moulded them in the most perfect form of beauty; and decorated them with the chastest ornaments of a pure and exalted imagination. In her hands, the arts and sciences, acquired a perfection, and diffused over her a splendour, which has stood unimpaired and undiminished, the rivalry of all after times.

Though Greece, was thus calculated and intended, to receive and perfect those arts, which liberalize the mind, and refine the manners; though she herself advanced greatly in civilization, she was not adapted to diffuse those advantages to other portions of the globe.

Conscious of their superiority, the Greeks held the rest of mankind, too much in contempt, to communicate to them, their knowledge or refinement. They were too jealous of each other, to undertake extensive conquests in concert; and too feeble to effect them singly. Their system of colonization, was too slow, and too inefficient a mean, to accomplish so important an object. But the diffusion of Grecian science, literature, and refined manners, was necessary to their preservation; and to advance the civilization of man. For had Greece, continued their sole repository, too long, surrounded as she was, by barbarous nations, threatening her existence; and liable to the corruptions and decay, that attends on nations, as on individuals, the productions of her intellect, might have perished beneath her ruins.

While Greece, cultivated the sciences, and the arts, which give dignity to human nature, and ameliorate its condition; while she wooed the muses to her happy retreats, to soften manners, and to humanise the mind; a power, was slowly forming in the west, intended to receive, and to adopt her letters, her arts, and her science, and to give them an imperishable existence.

Rome, from a small town, founded by a band of adventurers, under the institution of a wise policy, and by the exercise of the most splendid military and civil virtues, had gradually arisen to a powerful empire. Her sway was extended over Italy. Gaul and Spain were her provinces. The great commercial republic Carthage, her formidable rival, she had obliterated from the earth; and Africa was added to her dominions. She turned her conquering career to the east. Macedon sunk beneath her arms; and Greece, the prize of the victor, lay at her feet. But Greece found respect, in her philosophy, her poetry, and her arts, when arms failed to give protection. Triumphant Rome, bowed in submission to the superior genius of her subjected province. The youth of Rome, resorted to Athens for instruction; and the refined pursuits of the Academy, the Lyceum, and the Portico, were associated with the ruder trade of war, which had been the sole occupation of the Roman citizen. He learned to entwine the garland of the muses, with the wreath of victory.

The refinement, the philosophy, and the arts of Greece, trans-



planted to Rome, found a genial clime, and happy soil. They flourished with unfading verdure. Beneath the shelter of the growing empire, they struck their roots deep; they put forth wide spreading branches, and scattered their rich productions over the known world. They acquired a vigor, and a vital force, which has enabled them to survive the fury of the storm, in which their protecting genius perished.

Rome, acquiring a polish and refinement by the cultivation of letters, at the period she became the mistress and metropolis of the world, diffused their wholesome influence over the savage nations she had subdued. Barbaric Gaul, and rude Hispania soon began to rival their mistress, in the refined arts; and uncultivated Britain, became familiar with the elegancies of polished society. Civilization advanced with rapid strides; and the work of centuries was completed in the short period of a few years.

To accomplish the great work of civilization, and the elicitation of the intellectual and moral faculties, it had become necessary, that the barriers, which divided men into distinct and unconnected hordes, should be broken down. It was necessary, that the savage system of national polity, that universally prevailed, and which must have retarded international communication, should be extirpated.— A new system of national law, and a new religion were indispensable. The universal empire of Rome, amalgamating mankind into one people, with an unrestrained intercourse, was the compressing power to effect these important objects, in the divine scheme of the moral government of the world.

The corruption of manners, and the debasing superstition of paganism, which accompanied and accelerated the decline of the Roman empire, had buried the character of man in remediless imbecility and depravity. Without the pure doctrines and divine morality of the christian religion, its regeneration could not have been effected.

When the empire of Rome had extended itself over the then known world, the only obstacle to the universal prevalence of the religion of Christ, was the Palace of the Cæsars. Penetrating its courts, resistance was at an end. No sooner had Constantine embraced the Christian faith, than its banners were displayed from Caucasus in the east, to the pillars of Hercules in the west.

It was then, that was laid the broad and stable basis, on which was to be erected the more perfect form of national policy, and more improved state of morals and of society. Literature, arts, and science, had been created; had been cultivated to great perfection; and had taken a form and consistency, which secured their existence. A religion was now added, giving a divine sanction to a perfect morality, which must correct the tendency of the heart of man to corruption. A soil was yet wanting to give them maturity, and to enable them to bring forth the richness of their harvest.

The character of man, under the domination of the Cæsars, was exhausted of every virtue. It was not susceptible of cultivation, for its vital principles were extinguished. A more abject and degraded race of slaves, have never before or since, burthened the earth. A new stock; an uncorrupted population were requisite to impart new vigor; and to prevent the materials of civilization, which had been collected from perishing.

In the uncultivated forests of Germany, and in the frozen regions of the North, this provision had been made. There, a people had long existed, almost unknown to the republic, who were secured by their fastnesses and dreary abodes, from the invasion of her invincible legions. They possessed in an eminent degree, the virtues of savage life ; and were inspired by the fiercest spirit of independence.

Educated in the hardy habits of a military state, they were untainted by luxury ; and practised in the severity of self-denial, disdained too much the debauched and effeminate subjects of an expiring empire, to adopt their manners, or to imitate their vices. They constituted a noble material to replace the abject slaves, who of Romans, retained only the name ; and to form the present improving society of modern Europe.

Agitated by commotions, originating in the central plains of Scythia, horde after horde was propelled, on the unprotected provinces of the enfeebled empire. The resistance offered to their progress, served to impart some portion of civilization to those uncultivated children of the forest ; and to excite a relish for the enjoyments and indulgencies of a regular and organized society.

After hovering on the borders of the eastern and western empire, and alternately alarming the imbecile and degenerate courts of Constantinople and Ravenna, the torrent burst on the rich and fertile plains of Italy. Rome, the "venerable," and in the boastful language of her degenerate citizens, "the eternal city," experienced all the horrors of savage conquest ; and for the first time in eleven hundred years, knew the presence of a foreign master. The western empire fell beneath the arms of the Goths ; and the different provinces, occupied by different tribes of Germany and Scythia, began to form those powers, which constitute the present nations of Europe.

It is well worthy of remark, that while the western empire became early the prey of rude barbarians ; while those barbarians were gradually losing their ferocity, their savage habits, and debasing ignorance ; while regular governments, and social intercourse were maturing the new relations of society, new manners, and a new character ; the eastern empire, continued to protract a sickly existence down to the fifteenth century. It thus retained some remnant of the arts ; and kept alive the glimmering, though dying flame of letters. From this source, was lighted up that fire, which shed on Italy the reflection of her former glory ; and has continued to throw up, a steady and undiminished blaze.

The operation of various causes, which cannot be here detailed, occasioned the feudal system to be received by the new governments of Europe. By this system, Europe presented the aspect of an aristocratic republic of kings and nobles. The people were without rights, and without power. They were the property of their lords, and transferable with the soil.

This system, in the infancy of the European governments, was essential to the maintenance of the martial qualities of the people, and to defend them against the Mahometan powers, then threatening the subjugation of the world. But its ulterior operation, must have proven highly deleterious to the perfection of that society, which it was at first designed to protect.



When the feudal system had effected the only services it was calculated to render ; when it was apparently becoming firmly rivetted, as national policy, provision was made for its removal. Arts and letters revived in Italy, and the Heaven-directed Columbus, opened the way to America.—The impulse created by these events, gave a new character to man. Manufactures increased and were extended ; wealth was created and diffused ; cities acquired riches by commerce, and were endowed with extraordinary priviledges, obtained by purchase, or granted by needy sovereigns to secure their support. These circumstances lessened the power and importance of the nobles, and increased those of the people.

The civil commotions ; the religious persecutions ; the devastating wars ; and mercantile policy of Europe, rapidly peopled the forests of America. Left to his natural exertions, man soon displayed all the energy of his character, and his instinctive affection for freedom. Uninfluenced by power, he entered into society for the benefits it conferred ; and organized governments, because necessary to his happiness. But he never forgot his independence, nor sacrificed his rights ; and enjoyment had given a zest, which made him doubly sensible of their value. Thus in our sequestered wilds, was nurtured the spirit of freedom, intended to arrest the course of despotism, which should arouse the drugged senses of mankind from the torpor of oppression ; and place them in the possession of those high destinies, for which they had been created.

A recurrence to the state of Europe, at the period of our revolution, will demonstrate, that freedom must have been extinguished, had it not found an asylum in America.

The only nations, whose balanced powers had tended, to preserve some embryo of liberty, were Spain, France and England. In the Northern and German powers, the feudal system had ever existed, and still exists, in full vigour.

Until the reign of Charles the Fifth, Spain possessed more freedom, than any other nation of Europe. But the mines of South America, rendering the monarch independant of the people for supplies, they lost their weight in the government ; and the juntas, or legislative bodies, ceased to form a part of the constitution. They were no longer assembled. The Spanish monarchy became a pure despotism.

The exorbitant power of the French nobles, endangered alike the integrity of their country, the safety of the king, and the independence of the people. The monarch attempted, ineffectually, to reduce it within bounds, by force. A safer policy, dictated the more effectual system of corruption ; and Lewis XIVth accomplished what Lewis XIth commenced. The nobility degraded without the aid of the people, who obtained no rights by their fall, all power concentrated in the monarch ; and France like Spain, sunk into the lethargy of despotism.

In England, the power of the king was in undue proportion ; and threatened the rights of the nobles and the people. In the struggles which arose between the kings, and the nobles, the people, courted by both parties, seized with avidity, the opportunities, which presented, to regain some portion of their rights. While they repressed the power of the nobles, they possessed themselves of a controul-

ing influence over their kings. The English monarchs bore their trammels with undissembled impatience.—The attempt to shake them off, cost one his head, and another his throne.

The present reigning family, with all the partialities for despotic power, derived from a German sovereignty, no sooner found themselves firmly established, than they attempted to effect the same object. Taught by the experience of the Stewarts, the Guelphs adopted a more secure and certain means, than open force. A revenue obtained from the colonies, would have freed the monarch, from a dependence on his people for his extraordinary supplies; and have enabled him to dispense with a house of commons, which had been oftentimes difficult to manage. Its efficacy had been tested in Spain; and George the third was enamoured with its success.—The stubborn virtue of our fathers defeated the treasonable design. Indignant that their cause, the cause of the British empire, should be treated with apathy, and their appeals be received with coldness in England, they severed their connexion with a people, too debased to vindicate their insulted rights.

Though the guilty project, had occasioned the loss of America, its accomplishment was not abandoned as hopeless. The cabinet of St. James, resolved to imitate the policy of Versailles. The abuse of the royal prerogative; the corruption of a venal parliament; have securely effected, what arms might in vain have attempted. The democratic branch of the English constitution is annihilated. The constitution itself is no more. Its foundations undermined, the fabric lies tumbled into ruins. An aristocracy of family, and of wealth, riots on the spoils of the people. Of the invaluable rights, which an Englishman once boasted as his inheritance, the trial by jury, and a free press, alone remain inviolate. While those bulwarks exist, all hope is not lost. The voice of truth is still heard. The asserter of the people's rights has some defence against their tyrants. But their ruin is meditated; and should it be effected, England like Spain and France, will be degraded to a nation of slaves.

The governments of Europe, tainted by original vices, and imbued with the barbarism of the times, in which they were produced, were not capable of preserving any purity of principle, they might have contained. Much less could be derived from so foul a source, those principles which the enlightened state of society requires. It was essential to their creation, that there should be a people, divested of prejudices, and unfettered by ancient habits; free to act from the impulses of their will; with a character developed without restraint; and with faculties expanded with the advanced state of intellectual improvement. Our country was the nursery of such a people; and the Congress of 1776 promulgated those principles of government, which are founded on the immutable basis of philosophy, reason, and enlightened religion.

The principles of free government, which are embodied in the declaration of independence, and interwoven in our constitution, are committed to the guardian care of this country. A solemn obligation is imposed on us, to preserve them inviolate, and to deliver them unimpaired, in vigor and purity to our posterity. It is a duty more particularly enjoined on those, who professing democracy, charge themselves with the maintenance of the peoples cause. Should they hold them lightly, who will esteem them sa-

ered? Should they betray them, to whom could they be intrusted? But how can they impart security, if they enfeeble themselves? How give protection if destroyed by disunion? Dissention not only renders a party impotent, and contemptible, but is fatal to its principles. All that is most highly valued, is put to hazard, without the prospect of obtaining a single benefit.

Let not the views of individual aggrandisement; nor the revenge of disappointed vanity; nor the petty schemes of egotism, and selfishness disguised as independence, distract you with their feuds, and tear you to disjointed atoms.—The noble animal, beneath whose tread, in the vigor of organized power, the earth trembles, in the solution of its affinities, becomes an inert mass, insulted and preyed on, by things of vilest nature.

Every consideration of political virtue, demands from you the sacrifice of unimportant differences; that you bury in one common grave your unfounded antipathies, and fatal prejudices, and petty animosities; and again rally in united phalanx, under the banner of democracy. Your principles will derive new force; and your cause, in this district, again prove triumphant by your union. None but those who are hostile to you can dread it; and believe me, none but such, whatever may be their pretexts, will endeavor to prevent it. He that fosters our discords, is inimical to our supremacy; he that strives to prevent our union, sacrifices the principles of popular government, to his wretched prejudices, or his party interest; he that labors to widen the breach, by the designation of senseless terms, is undeserving confidence, and miserably covers his ambition by shreds, stolen from the mantle of republicanism.—But above all, be it borne in mind, that a wily enemy divides, securely to destroy; that the foe most to be feared is the corrupted partizan, who, purchased by the enemy, remains unsuspected in the camp, and is admitted to the council.

We have attempted to elucidate the moral government of the world; and to connect the discovery of this country, and the declaration of our freedom, as parts of the divine scheme for the gradual improvement of man; and progressive perfection of society. While this view fortifies piety, it gives additional strength to patriotism. The support of our constitution, and the maintenance of the Union, are enforced on every American, with the solemn sanction of religion, as well as by the soundest policy. To every democrat, they should be the first feelings of the heart, and the ruling motives of his political life, for they are identified with his principles.—They should be made the test of political virtue; and he who should dare to suggest a thought to their injury, should be discarded from the confidence of the people; and barred by public opinion, from every situation that could give him influence. The most blind and implicit faith on these points, may be indulged with safety; nor accounted bigotry. From scepticism only can arise evils; or ruin rush into the state. A united nation, we might hurl defiance to Europe in arms; felicity must be the portion of our children; and unequalled prosperity crown our happy country. An invading foe, a gallant navy would bury beneath the ocean wave; or landed on our shore, his blood efface the pollution of his footsteps; and his carcase fatten our soil.

The only danger which can reach us, is the disorder that within,

may wither our vital strength with its fevered heat. Faction and disunion, alone, threaten our safety.

“ Havock, and spoil, and ruin are their gain.”

They are the restless spirits of Hell-born ambition, warring with the harmony and order that spring from Heaven. Man is their victims, and earth is the field of their desolation. It is against the machinations of faction that we must guard. Let not its pestiferous breathings infect the air, but arouse at the first movement of the monster, to its destruction. Let it never be seen, but as pictured by the poet, confined with a hundred brazen chains, and impotent to do mischief:

“ Centum vinctus ahenis,

“ Post tergum nodis fremet, horridus ore cruento.”

If we contemplate the disasters that would attend on, and the miseries that would be experienced, by a division of our empire, we must feel a just horror at the nefarious project. Intestine war would devastate our fields; our population would be thinned by mutual slaughter; our towns be sacked: and districts laid waste, resigned to pillage. Agriculture would be neglected, where the harvest was uncertain; commerce and manufactures, cramped by revenue laws and heavy duties, suggested by rival jealousies, would languish; the intercourse between state and state, and city and city, be subjected to embarrassing restrictions; the people be oppressed with taxes, to maintain standing armies and fleets; and harrassed with excise laws, to protect industry and capital. Ignorance would supervene on wretchedness; vice follow in the track of misery, till some hardy despot, seizing the reins of power, America would present the appalling aspect of a degenerate race, immersed in slavery, barbarism and crime.

It is in the preservation of the Union of the states, that we will find security against these evils. It is the Union, that will give permanence to our freedom, and protect the principles of republican government. By the blood of those generous souls, who fell in the battles of the revolution, are we exhorted; by the spirits of the illustrious dead, who guided the councils of the nation in the hour of her trial, are we invoked; by the voice of Washington, still thrilling in our ears, and beating at our hearts, pouring his paternal warning, are we intreated to preserve the Union, as the last hope of mankind. And shall they appeal to us in vain? Shall base ambition, and the low intrigue of faction, prevail against their sacred influence? Shall the deep shame of having squandered the noble patrimony bequeathed to us, cover our memories? No: the aspirations of freemen, on this day give assurance of their devotion to the sacred cause of liberty. The vow offered, each year, on the altar of our country, will foster a virtue, which Heaven delights to cherish; and that virtue will give perpetuity to the republic.