

AN
ANNIVERSARY
ORATION,
DELIVERED BEFORE
THE
FEDERAL REPUBLICANS,
OF
HALLOWELL AND ITS VICINITY,
JULY FOURTH, 1807.

BY JEREMIAH PERLEY, A. M.

“ Plus, boni mores valent, quam bonæ leges.”

*“ He too is vile, who to his country's good
“ Prefers his friend ; witness all seeing Jove,
“ I never will be silent, when I see
“ Destruction stalking o'er my native land,
“ Nor to my bosom'd confidence receive
“ My country's foe ; convinced that in her welfare
“ We sail in safety down the tide of life,
“ And form our happiest friendships for the voyage.”*

AUGUSTA :
PRINTED BY PETER EDES,

1807.

Hallowell, July 6th, 1807.

JEREMIAH PERLEY, Esq.

SIR,

AT the request of the Federal Republicans of this and the neighbouring Towns, we tender you their thanks for the patriotic Oration, pronounced on the 4th inst. and request a copy for the press.

NATHAN MOODY,
SAMUEL G. LADD, } Committee.
HIRAM A. BEMENT.



Hallowell, July 8th, 1807.

GENTLEMEN,

I will not detain you with apologies, and expressions of the unfeigned reluctance, with which I submit this hasty and very unfinished composition, to the public inspection. Were I ambitious of fame as an author, these sheets would be kept from seeing the light. The request of those, in whose behalf you appear, I consider an authority paramount to my own inclination, and therefore, am induced to give you a copy for the press.

With sentiments of esteem; and wishes for your individual happiness,

I am your's,

JEREMIAH PERLEY.

Messrs. NATHAN MOODY,
SAMUEL G. LADD,
HIRAM A. BEMENT.

AN
ORATION.

FATHERS, FRIENDS, COUNTRYMEN,

IN obedience to the call of a respectable number of his townsmen, with diffidence does the feeble Orator of the moment attempt to address so honorable an auditory, on this anniversary of our glorious independence. Wholly inexperienced in public speaking, he is sensible his best efforts will need your candour and indulgence.

The sentiments of patriotism and national pride, which are excited on this occasion in every ingenuous bosom, are in unison with the best feelings of our nature, honorable to the human character, and promotive of the best interests of society. They should be cherished, as the firmest cement of our union, and as the vital principles of our liberties. They are universal, and coeval with the existence of nations. The customary observance of anniversary festivals, and the public celebration of great revolutions and important national events, have been practised in all ages. The favoured people, to whom were delivered the oracles of God, commemorated in annual solemnities their deliverance from foreign slavery and oppression. The Greeks and Romans instituted, and paid frequent observance, at stated periods, to those splendid achievements, that signalized their annals. In pursuance of such ex-

amples, and the dictates of sentiments so virtuous and wise, Americans have ever honored the recurrence of this birth-day of their nation, with the display of pomp and joy. And the records of time do not furnish an occurrence of greater moment, or more worthy the honorary distinction.

The American revolution is an event, unparalleled in the annals of human society ; and forms an important era in the history of mankind. Separated from the rest of the world, not less by their freedom from the slavery of opinion, and arbitrary rule, than by their local situation, the people of the United States seem to have been designed by that almighty arm, which guided our forefathers to this then inhospitable and uncultured wild, and protected them from the surrounding dangers of savage beast and still more savage man, for a new and peculiar nation, calculated to display the progress of that enlarged sphere of human action, which the new improvements and lights of the age had produced. When reverting to the period of our origin, and looking back on a few poor and friendless outcasts, subduing with a courage and perseverance unexampled the difficulties attending a toilsome, distant settlement, and causing the wilderness to rejoice and blossom as a rose ; the mind is struck with admiration and astonishment at the rapidity with which this germ has shot up and expanded, to its present maturity and greatness.

Having left their native homes, and forsaken the land of their fathers, for the safe enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, our renowned ancestors ever discovered a jealous adherence to those invaluable privileges, and a disposition to resist any encroachment on those rights, which were dearer to them than life. Their attachment, however, to the mother country was never stronger, at any period of time, than at the commencement of our revolution. At this epoch, the most resplendent in the annals of Great-Britain, on the termination of

a glorious war, that had carried her triumphs into every quarter of the globe, a systematic attempt was adopted by the British cabinet, to exercise an arbitrary and unlimited power over the colonies. This system of despotism to deprive the people of this country of their constitutional rights, which, during some years, was occasionally relaxed and enforced, had ever met with a firm and united opposition from men of the best talents and information in England. The colonists, deprecating the effects of a perseverance in such a tyrannical usurpation of power, had remonstrated and petitioned, till all hopes of a redress of their grievances were lost. It was then, that breaking off those natural ties, which connected them together, they evinced with what spirit they would repel such strides of tyranny, and how highly they estimated those rights they inherited from their fathers. Undaunted at the prospect of deciding the contest by force ;—undismayed at the strong arm of manly power, to which their youthful vigour was opposed ; and putting their confidence in that Being, who had hitherto been their protector and shield, they made their *appeal to Heaven*. The blood, which streamed on the heights of Charlestown, first witnessed with what valour they would defend their cause ; and taught the forces that were sent to enslave us, to repent their temerity and haughty contempt of those undisciplined defenders of their soil, who then first heard the cannon's roar. Even after the earth had been stained with blood, they earnestly sought a reconciliation ; but the terms of unconditional submission roused their indignation. They declared themselves free, sovereign and independent, and severed their connection forever.

The firmness and magnanimity, with which they entered on the unequal contest ; and the wisdom and fortitude, with which they maintained and finally secured those rights for which they fought, furnish a subject of pleasing retrospection.

Posterity will read with wonder the relation of the difficulties they overcame, and dwell with rapture and delight on the story of their illustrious achievements.

To recount the vicissitudes of fortune, the successes and defeats they experienced ;—to enumerate the heroes and patriots, who fell in the defence of their country, or survived to guide her into the haven of peace and prosperity, were a pleasing occupation ; but it belongs to the pen of the historian. Their names and their exploits are enrolled in the records of fame, and will descend to the most distant ages. Long and arduous was the conflict ;—now the benignant beams of prosperity cheered the rising country ; and now the dark clouds of adversity overspread the horizon, and struck with terror and dismay the most undaunted breasts. It was, however, with the saviour of his country, who led them to victory and independence, as with the ancient Romans, *he* never despaired of his country's safety. On him all eyes were turned, as the pilot, who was to guide them through the perilous tempests, which threatened to overwhelm them in ruin. Calm and collected— with an eye whose ken pierced the thick surrounding gloom, and viewed the dawning hope of a brighter day ; rising superior to misfortune, he soared on the wings of victory, like the guardian angel, that rides in the whirlwind, and directs the storm.

When at length the happy day arrived, which crowned our efforts with success ; gave us liberty and peace, and forced our proud oppressor to acknowledge our independence ;—“ this man without example, this patriot without reproach,” in whose bosom the lust of lawless ambition never found a seat, resigned with alacrity, “ when he was arbiter of its fate,” that sword which had defended his country. This was a deed that ranks the illustrious hero, “ above all Greek, above all Roman fame.” Uninfluenced by the love of power, or the example of former heroes, in him human nature appeared in its highest lustre ;

and the virtuous and disinterested patriotism, which actuated his mind, who "considered grandeur inseparable from rectitude," has exalted him to the highest niche in the temple of fame. The names of a Cæsar, an Augustus, a Cromwell, or a Bonaparte, may be emblazoned by the pens of the historian and poet; but they cannot efface the crimes with which they are tarnished. While the name of WASHINGTON will shine, in all its native splendour, as unsullied, as the spotless purity of his heart.

The scheme of federal government, which had carried us through the revolution, when the enthusiasm of patriotism sacrificed every thing to the public good, was found too radically defective in principle, too feeble and insufficient for our protection from foreign aggressions, the suppression of domestic disturbances, and for those internal regulations for which government was instituted. Insurrection reared her hydra head, anarchy was stalking o'er the land, "portending fearful change" to our peace, "and from their golden tresses shed pestilence and war." The safety of the States, the very existence of that union, the love of which is entwined with the dearest ligaments of our hearts, and the fate of a nation the most interesting that ever existed, was brought to its crisis. The people perceiving the defects of their shadow of their government; conscious that no alliances of the States, however strict, could secure them from civil broils and the infraction incident to such confederacies, were convinced that their only security would be in forming a more energetic government, embracing the whole union. This important trust they unitedly delegated to those men who possessed their unbounded confidence, and were most illustrious for their patriotism, virtue and wisdom, in times that tried men's souls. The Roman Senate was said to resemble an assembly of kings; here was seen in consultation a convention of sages and philosophers: and the

result of their unanimous counsels was the Federal Constitution—the last, best hope of desponding humanity.—This government, the offspring of the wisdom of ages, and the most profound exertions for the public good, the American people adopted, on a mature investigation, and with a judgment free, and unbiassed by prejudice, or any thing extraneous to their own best interest. Their example has decided the momentous question, whether a good government may be established by human societies, from reflection and choice; or must depend on accident and force. And their future conduct will decide, whether a free government can be maintained; or that ours, like all other Republics, must become the victim of some intriguing usurper, or the prey of foreign violence. This is a subject of the most interesting nature, to the future felicity of mankind; and happy will it be for our country—happy for the world, should the result of the experiment, be consonant to the ardent wishes of the patriot and philanthropist.

Americans! your fathers have expended their blood and treasure for the sake of freedom, and obtained a national constitution, forming a more perfect republican system than has been before produced; and you have only to defend it with the same spirit and wisdom, with which it was established. Guard then with vestal vigilance the important deposit, committed to your trust. Respect its authority.—Let not party violence, or a pretence of necessity, dare to violate the sacred instrument. Remember, you are to act, not from private or temporary views, but for your country,—for your posterity,—for the world.

Unanimity, even in opinion on matters of speculation, is not to be expected from mortals. Still less, are we to hope that in practice any public measure, however beneficial to the community, which has to encounter the particular interests, the wayward passions of prejudice and ignorance, should meet

the approbation of the whole. Unhappily, there existed among us a class of men, who, either dreading a diminution of their consequence, or calculating to rise on the confusion and ruins of their country, or from a combination of these and other causes, opposed with activity and perseverance the adoption of the constitution. The good sense of a vast majority, however, frustrated their dangerous designs; and the new government was organized and put in operation by men of equal talents and as tried patriotism, as ever guided the energies of a nation. The man who in war had led us to victory and peace, now conducted us to prosperity, felicity and glory. "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen," to him was committed the helm of State, when first we launched forth on the tide of experiment. At that period we had reached almost the last stage of national humiliation, and suffered every thing which could wound the pride, or degrade the character of an independent people. To raise us from this melancholy condition, to restore public and private credit, to regulate our finances, and provide for the payment of our debts;—to bring us from disorder, poverty and insignificance, to a state respectable in our own eyes, and those of foreign nations, were among the difficult and important objects, that required the exertion of their powers. Instead of aiding in their accomplishment, the enemies of the constitution combined together to thwart the administration, by every obstacle they could throw in its way. But notwithstanding their opposition, "with what wisdom they discharged these hazardous and thronging duties of incipient magistracy; the revival of political harmony, the extended confidence of commerce, the unexampled increase of national credit and wealth, and the happiness and morality of the people, will furnish more satisfactory evidence, than the most brilliant description of the panegyrist."*

These halcyon days were enjoyed without disturbance, till the deleterious mania of Gallic liberty and equality infected the people with its baneful contagion, and an epidemic phrenzy overspread the land. Enthusiastically attached to liberty, they beheld with sympathetic rapture a great nation, casting off the yoke of slavery, they had worn for ages, boldly laying claim to the rights of man, and proclaiming the sovereignty of the people. When the terrible republic, by attempting to force their newly acquired blessings on other nations, had become involved in a war with almost every European power, our President, with a wisdom and foresight that did him immortal honor, proclaimed the neutrality of the United States. The party which had ever opposed the constitution and policy of the government from its first institution, with a view of weakening the confidence of the people in the executive, inveighed against the measure with an unusual degree of acrimony; and taking advantage of the popular delusion and enthusiasm for the French revolution, under the pretence of *gratitude*, would have hurried us into that war, which must have added ours to the list of republics, which have fallen under the destructive influence of French friendship and alliance. It is here we trace the origin of that rancorous party spirit, which so unhappily divides our common country, and threatens to blast every thing fair in this highly favored land. The party in opposition had imbibed the principles of the French school of politics and philosophy, which tend to sap the foundations of civil society, and destroy all those domestic charities, which are our greatest solace in life. The storm of angry passions they excited, had well nigh drawn us into the vortex of the mighty conflict, that agitated the eastern world, or imbrued in each other's blood those hands, which had fought together in defence of their country.

The people, whose confidence was still unshaken, again looked on Washington for their guide ; and viewing the perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign-nations, again he accepted the trust. But the party who had adopted the jacobinical principles of France, and were either the dupes or supporters of her influence, opposed every measure of the administration, of energy sufficient to give security to our independence, or support to our dignity and honor.

It is a lesson, taught us by the history of all former republics, that it is not under the forbidding appearance of a zeal for that vigour of government, which is essential to the security of liberty ; but under the specious mask of a zeal for the people's rights, lurks that dangerous ambition, which has subverted their freedom, and clothed their pretended friends in the garb of tyranny. But those intriguing demagogues set up against the federal administration the cry of aristocracy and monarchy, and would have persuaded the *enlightened* people of America, that those men, who had devoted their whole lives to their service, in defence of their liberties, and in the guidance of their councils, were designing to establish an arbitrary government, or betray them again to the influence of Great-Britain. Even the Father of his people could not escape the foulness of their calumnies, or their virulence of reproach. But, conscious of rectitude, the breath of slander could not tarnish the purity of his character ; and panoplied in the armour of virtue, the arrows of malignity fell harmless at his feet. Persevering, unawed by the threats of faction, till the tempest of passion had subsided, he demonstrated to an admiring world the disinterestedness of his patriotism ; and unambitious of power, but for the good of his fellow-citizens, he retired to participate with them in privacy those blessings his labours had procured. And as the last instance of his paternal care for the people, who inherited his affections, he left us

the "legacy of his intelligence," his farewell addresses—more valuable than the mines of Potosi; more venerable than the laws of Numa, though drawn from the responses of the goddess Egeria. It is a chart, in which are pointed out the rocks on which we are in danger of splitting, and the courses by which to avoid them distinctly marked out.

The same dignified and independent line of conduct, that Washington had pursued, was followed by Adams. The opposition to that upright administration, did not, however, decrease, either in strength or violence. Nor did the French intermit their injuries and insults. Their depredations on our commerce rendered a navy necessary for its protection; and their threats of invasion, some armed forces for our own. Approving the firm and manly tone they assumed, again did the hero of Mount-Vernon give up the tranquillity of his retirement, and accepted the command of the provisional army. This was the consummation of his character.—This was the last proof he could give to his countrymen, that his whole life and soul were theirs; and that "he felt his ruling passion strong in death." History in her long records of ancient or modern times cannot furnish a man of equal greatness and perfection. His name shall descend with pæans to the most distant posterity, and unborn ages wonder and admire.

The august man, whom when living they had scandalized and opposed with unrelenting activity, the same people (when dead) sacrilegiously *dared* to claim as their friend.—Strange inconsistency! unblushing hypocrisy! When called to erect a national monument to his memory, as a testimony of the gratitude of the country he saved, they ignobly pretended, a lasting monument was erected in the hearts of his countrymen. But it was too evident, that it was not in *their* hearts a monument was raised. Or why, if they entertain such respect for his memory, and veneration

for his precepts, why does not their conduct evince the sincerity of their professions? What though he who hired a venal scribbler to scandal his name, has

—————“*shed*
“*Theatric sorrow o’er the mighty dead!*” *

Will it blot the foul stigma from his character? Shall his intrigues to undermine him, and direct opposition of principles and conduct, escape the pen of the historian? No, the record, too true for our happiness, will hand him down to posterity in his genuine colours, when the mists of prejudice and party shall have evaporated in air,

The fathers of our republic where are they? They sleep in dust, or are driven by upstart pretenders to patriotism and love of the people’s rights, from their honor and confidence, and from the guidance of their councils, to the shades of retirement, and the true post of honor—a private station. The wise, the virtuous, and the learned, the men who walked in the old paths, directed by the light of ancient days, are now passed away, and

“*Lo! Reformers decorate the land.*” †

Steady habits have given place to novelties:—Religion is succeeded by *philosophy*: and the wisdom of experience, by the utopian perfectibility of man. Is this new scheme calculated to carry us to that state of superlative happiness, its advocates have promised? Or does our experience of its effects convince us this millenium is at hand? Is it certain, that the people know in this their day the things that belong to their peace? We are not subject to an ecclesiastical intolerance; but are we not subject to a “political intolerance, as despotic as wicked?”

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* *Bracket’s Ghost of Law, or Anarchy and Despotism, a Poem.*

† *Ghost of Law.*

Are the enquiries of a candidate for office, "Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he a friend to the constitution?" Americans! Was it for *your* honor, that your treasury has been confided to a foreign child of vice, and nurseling of sedition, whose only merit was aiding in the days of Washington an insurrection against the laws of his adoptive country? Are your public affairs conducted in a manner better to secure domestic tranquillity and happiness, or respect abroad? Are we in no danger of running the same career, that *all* free people have trodden; and that either our own vices, or foreign influence, shall blast that liberty and independence, which are so dear to us?

In these crises of our affairs, every good man must feel the importance of viewing the progress of those nations, whose society may affect our own character and conduct. The great events, which have, within a few years, taken place in Europe, are of a nature highly interesting to our safety. A monitory lesson may be drawn from the French revolution. It was hailed by Americans, and by the friends of liberty in all parts of the world, as a new era in the history of man; as the harbinger of universal peace, harmony, freedom and concord. But alas! the vista is changed; the picture is sadly reversed. It seems in its progress and termination to have been the precursor of universal war, ruin, slavery and discord. From their want of morals and information, and of the essential principles of free government—from their contempt of justice the basis of liberty, and of the experience and wisdom of former legislators, and disregarding the nature and moral conditions of man, the event was necessary and unavoidable. In a few years, they have run the fated round, which all ancient republics had gone before them; from liberty, to licentiousness, to anarchy, to despotism; they declared themselves in a state of permanent revolution, but a Corsican has finished it. At a

very early period, that amazing geuius,* “ whose powers, like those of prophecy, could overleap the tardy progress of human reason, and unfold truth without the labour of investigation,” and whose prophetic “ Reflections” on their revolution have been awefully fulfilled, had declared, that “ if their present project of a republic should fail, all security to a moderate freedom must fail along with it ; all the indirect restraints that mitigate despotism are removed ; insomuch that if monarchy should ever again obtain an entire ascendancy in France, under this or any other dynasty, it will probably be, if not voluntarily tempered at first setting out, by the wise and virtuous councils of the prince, the most completely arbitrary power, that has ever appeared on earth.” Had the volume of futurity been laid open to his inspection, he could not with more certainty have unfolded the sad destiny they now experience. The unhappy nation are groaning under the most ruthless oppression, and cold, unfeeling despotism, that ever existed. A vile Corsican usurper, a minion of fortune ; a base dissembler and cold blooded assassin, whose career has been marked by every crime and atrocity, that ever stained the traces of ambition, now sits on the throne of the Bourbons. The galling yoke of his tyranny is felt, from a court blackened with every vice and enormity, that ever disgraced human nature, to the most distant section, and the most humble cottage ; while the miserable sufferers are left not even the privilege of complaining. The illfated conscripts, consisting of all able to bear arms, are dragged from the bosom of their families, of whom they were the only hope and stay—driven like slaves in chains to distant countries, there to meet that doom which inevitably awaits them. ‘ Alas ! nor wife, nor children more shall they behold, nor friends nor sacred home.’ The wretched families, whose prayers, and sighs, and tears could naught

* *Burke.*

avail, to soften the obdurate hearts of their lordlings of oppression, must weep in silence, without one ray of consolation to cheer their desponding hearts, or one beam of hope, but from the hands of death.

Does this picture of the termination of the French revolution afford cause of triumph? The foes of freedom may rejoice; but Americans, and the friends of humanity must drop a tear, mingled with emotions of pleasure at the reflection, that here—in this country, the persecuted exile yet finds an asylum. We have reason of gratulation for our escape from that ravaging torrent, which has swept away every other refuge of liberty, and ‘left not a wreck behind.’ We have escaped their fate; but does no danger threaten us from him by whose puissant arm kingdoms rise and fall, and who is now wading through blood and slaughter to universal dominion.

“ Still monarchs dream

“ *Of universal empire, growing up,*

“ *From universal ruin. Blast their design*

“ *Great God of Hosts, nor let thy creatures fall*

“ *Unpitied victims at ambition’s shrine.*”

The ambitious designs of Bonaparte, and the astonishing rapidity of his strides towards the subjugation of the world, are alarming to all civilized nations. His colossal power already exceeds that of Rome, when she was mistress of the world. He is a man of the most astonishing fortunes, that has ever appeared on this globe. Raised from a state of obscurity to an almost absolute power over the continent of Europe, devastation and rapine accompanied his victories; desolation, ruin and misery followed in his train. Pretending to give liberty to the people he subdued, this *great republican* is the *great destroyer of republics*. He has subverted the liberties of every republic but ours, from the Helvetian confede-

racy, to the little but ancient republic of St. Marino. This humble *sans culotte*, and lover of equality, has become an emperor and king, with numerous vassals subject to his nod. Of all religions, or of none, as best favors his purpose; no tie however sacred—no law of nature or nations—no treaty or compact, however solemn, can bind his perfidious and haughty soul. He has no God but fortune, no principle or feeling, not subservient to that towering ambition, which is his only passion. Peace and war add equally to the vastness of his dominion, and the immensity of his power. Aided by that arch apostate and politician Talleyrand, he negotiates a peace;—and again, infringing that good faith held sacred by barbarians, he sets the world in arms—‘And millions die that Cæsar may be great.’ He overturns ancient kingdoms, and sets up new, as if with the wand of a magician. Within two years, the whole of Italy has bowed to his sway, the German Empire has been destroyed; he has annihilated Prussia, which for seven years sustained a war against almost united Europe, in the days of Frederic the great. Every thing falls before his all conquering sword, or still more powerful gold, which he uses as an entering wedge to the victories, that have crowned him. No continental power, but Russia, seems able even to protect herself; and notwithstanding the check he has received from that quarter, they seem on the eve of a battle, or a treaty, that will decide the fate of Europe.

Are not these gigantic strides towards a fifth great monarchy, which will extend over the whole civilized world, and perhaps reduce it to that state of gloomy darkness, that succeeded the decline of the Roman empire, alarming to the man who takes an interest in what concerns his race? Is it not distressing to the friends of suffering humanity, that on the will of one should depend the peace, the tranquillity, the happiness and the lives of so many millions?

This modern Alaric has declared war on the civilization of mankind. He has declared that Europe must be brought back to the ideas of the fourth century, when there was no commerce. The commerce of England makes him her most implacable enemy. *Delenda est Carthago*;—the destruction of Britain is the main spring of his action, whether in wars, negotiations, or decrees. She is opposed, now, almost the only barrier to his conquests. The wooden walls of Old England may yet be the salvation of the world.

This subject is applied to us by one of our statesmen,* who will not be suspected of an undue partiality for the British, who warns us in the language of political wisdom; "Take away the British navy, and France tomorrow is the tyrant of the ocean. How far then is it politic in the United States, to throw their weight into the scales of France at this moment? From whatever motive to aid the views of gigantic ambition; to make her mistress of the sea and land, to jeopardize the liberties of mankind. You may help to crush Great Britain, you may assist in breaking down her naval dominion, but you cannot succeed to it. The iron crown of the ocean will pass into his hands, who wears the iron crown of the land."—Then, what have we to protect our commerce, or ourselves? Our gun boats? our fortifications? *Those* have become the jest of all parties; and *these* are objects of the contempt and neglect of the sagacious politicians of the day. No, we must desert our seaports, instead of fortifying and defending them, and retreat to the mountains. Is this the spirit of seventy-six? Is this the language of Americans? Shades of our Fathers! is it thus we value the inheritance which was purchased with your blood?

But if we be united, it is not so much from the arms, as from the arts of foreign nations, we have so much to dread. Our political saviour viewed this, as our most deadly enemy;

* *Randolph.*

and most earnestly warned us of the danger. "Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence," says he, "the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake." Could his spirit winged from heaven again address you, he would say, "beware of foreign influence. Let not your councils imbibe the noxious draught.—Rouse from your lethargy, before it be too late—before you become the slaves of the mighty tyrant, that lords it o'er the world."

In opposition to these salutary maxims, and to that impartiality, which ought to mark our conduct towards foreign nations, a non-importation act against British manufactures has been passed, which only injured our own citizens, and a treaty rejected, made at a most favorable juncture, and containing concessions, that can never again be expected. But it is said, we must protect our seamen. So we must our commerce, if we will have any. Treaties and proclamations never will do it. A naval force is their only protection. Britain, and every pirate on the ocean, will harass us till we can resist; subject us to every species of maritime plunder, and load us with every insult and disgrace. On the other hand, a partiality for France, or some worse motive, has induced a slavish submission, too humiliating for freemen, who would any longer boast their independence. Bonaparte dictates; our commerce with St. Domingo is interdicted. It was the policy of Philip, who destroyed the Grecian republics, to gain them to his interest, by giving them his money; but the modern Philip has turned the tables, and has gained us, by taking *our* money. For his disputed title, to a worse than useless territory, he draws from us fifteen millions. Not satisfied with this, two millions more are granted for some secret negociation, the purchase of the Floridas, or no matter what. Again an antiquated and settled claim for a million is brought forward, probably a call for our *gratitude*. Grant this, and you can refuse nothing. Claims will be brought, while money can be had; and money

will be had whenever called for ; and if it want the name, it will want nothing more to make it *tribute*. Should this be the course of our affairs, he will have only to nominate our officers, and his influence will be so well established, that we cannot if we had spirit enough, shake it off. Will any say we are too virtuous, we have no men corrupt enough, to be the dupes or the instruments of his intrigues ? What confidence can we have in such men as we see every day around us, changing as they call it their *political*, or abandoning their moral principles, and using every art and intrigue, *for the sake of an office* ? How easily could his emisaries influence our elections. How many immigrants are now in the country enjoying the rights of citizenship, devoted to interests alien to our own. Has not a sister state recently experienced their alarming ascendancy ?

Watchful as we ought to be against intrigues from abroad, there are dangers at home a vigilant attention to which is essential to our security. It has been truly observed, that the basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make, and alter their constitutions of government. But innovation is not always reformation, nor alteration amendment. Nostrums and experiments are as dangerous to the political, as to the natural body ; they may destroy its vital energies. A spirit of innovation on the fundamental principles of the constitution, under the specious pretext of amendments, should be watched by its *real* friends with a jealous eye. The form may remain, while the substance is destroyed ;—the foundation may be sapped, while the superstructure remains ; the beauty and uniformity of the original may be impaired, till at length the buttresses are swept away, and we are crushed under the ruins of the fabric. When those, who had opposed the constitution, came into power, the sincerity of their *new* attachment was to be tested by their practice. The conduct of the party soon evinced, in what veneration *they* held it. That wise provision, avoiding the dangers incident to other elective governments in the choice of a supreme magistrate, was altered ;

solely with the design of securing the reelection of their favorite. What security have we for our liberties, or the integrity of the constitution, if the unhallowed hand of faction thus bends it to the purposes of party? Perfection is not to be looked for in works of human invention; but if there be a fault in our constitution, it is, perhaps, in authorizing the persons delegated to the administration of the government, to originate amendments, not only applicable to the organization of government, but to the mass of its powers. They ought to originate with the people, from an experience of defects, or imperious necessity. Congress have power to propose them, and their propositions pass for law. From the numerous amendments, made and proposed, we may expect it soon to become an ordinary act of legislation. And possibly, in avoiding the fundamental vice of other free governments, the want of a provision for amendments, we may owe the loss of ours to the too great facility with which they are made.

We have great reason of apprehension too, from the usurpation by Congress of unconstitutional powers. There has appeared, in almost all the American governments, a spirit of encroachment by the legislative over the other branches, which ought ever to be kept distinct. This was more evident in the repeated and systematic attacks made by Congress, in violation of the constitution, on the independence of the judiciary; which have caused the fairest pillar in the fabric to totter to the ground.

The licentious and abusive attacks on our courts of judicature, which have become so prevalent of late, the flagrant attempts to subject them to the influence of party, and to prejudice the juries, must be viewed with the deepest regret and indignation, by every friend to a government of laws. On the independence and integrity of the judiciary depend, in the last resort, our properties, our liberties and our lives. Whenever the ermine of justice becomes tinged with the poi-

son of party, or subject to the control of a mob, the last barrier against violence, injustice and oppression, is prostrated, and we are subject to the worst of despotisms, the despotism of the many.

An inviolate respect and attachment to the laws of our country is essential to the preservation of freedom. Where law ends, tyranny begins. The recent attempt to suspend the *habeas corpus*, without that extreme emergency which the constitution contemplates; and the still more daring attempt to subject the civil to the military power, without a shadow of legal authority, are very dangerous attempts on the most important of rights, the personal liberty of the citizens.

The vices, and immoralities of the day, have been generally considered a theme of declamation, fit only for the enthusiastic religionist, or the misanthropic recluse. But, if ever there were cause for exclamation against the degeneracy of the age, our fathers have reason to deplore its lamentable progress among their sons. When our fairest characters are blasted by the breath of calumny, which, like the pestilence, walketh in darkness:—When all distinction between virtue and vice is lost—the pernicious maxim of justifying the means by the end is practiced, and morality and religion are held in contempt; the floodgates of licentiousness are opened, and the destructive torrent will deluge the land. Vice and corruption are the secret poison that infects the blood, and destroys the vitals of the commonwealth; and will inevitably hurry us to the grave of all republics. Public and private morals are necessary to the support of liberty. Without them no good government can exist. Without virtue and patriotism, laws will have no force, and constitutions are waste paper. Morality then is the main pillar of our freedom; and the basis of morality is religion. Shall vain philosophists deny the existence of that plastic hand, which is imprinted on the universe? Shall the credulous infidel sneer at the Christian's hope? Gracious

God! has not the stone been rolled from the sepulchre? Has not thy light shined in darkness?

The importance of education, as the source of those morals so essential to liberty, cannot be too strongly inculcated. On the enlightened and virtuous state of the rising generation, every thing dear and valuable depends.

If virtue then be our only hope and safety, to you must we look, ye *Fair*, whose breasts are the seat of every virtue, and whose persons are attended by all the graces. Our mothers bore with patience the privations and sufferings of our revolutionary struggle; and shall not you their descendants participate this festivity? That patriotism exists in the hearts of females, history, the renowned name of a Charlotte Corday, bear ample testimony. That it glows in *your* breasts, we have the best evidence from the honor of your attendance.—To you is committed the charge of helpless infancy—yours the

*“ Delightful task! to rear the tender thought,
To teach the young idea how to shoot,
To pour the fresh instruction o’er the mind,
To breathe th’ enlivening spirit, and to fix
The generous purpose in the glowing breast.”**

You will not consult a Wollstoncraft for a code of “The Rights of Women.” Do not usurp the rights of man, they are essentially distinct. Scorn her principles. Content to live as woman, you attract the respect of man. Guarding the innocence and purity of your minds—your modesty the brightest gem in the female character—endowed with the charms of wit and beauty, you secure the love and admiration of mankind. Oppressed with public toils, or private cares, man finds his greatest solace in your smiles. Your hearts are ever open to the calls of humanity; your influence is as extensive as civilization.—Let virtue preserve her umpire in your breast—

* *Thompson.*

let not the base arts of the new school "dethrone the queen celestial, for

—————"Greatly know
"A nation's honors from your morals flow."*

Fathers, Friends, Countrymen—On evil times are we fallen, and evil men: But let us not despair. What though it be said that the sun of federalism is set, and that Massachusetts, the cradle of our liberties is added to the constellation which is eclipsed by the sickly moon of democracy. Shall not his benignant rays again beam on our benighted country? Has the Almighty arm planted us in this pleasant land, watered us with the dews of heaven, and protected us from the cruel gripe of oppression, only that we may be plucked in the opening bloom by the hand of the spoiler, or destroyed by the canker that feeds upon the core? Heaven forbid. The finger of God, which has so often been conspicuous in our deliverance from danger, may yet point out the way that shall conduct us to our peace. This is a time for a *man* to act. The people that now support the spurious patriots who rule the land, would spend the last drop of blood in its defence. Enlighten them with the truth. Let "wisdom and knowledge be the stability of the times." Be vigilant, be active, be instant. Rally round the constitution, the *magna charta* of our rights. There is yet true patriotism enough in the nation to save us. Whatever be our present situation, or future prospect, let us have the consolation of knowing that we have done our duty. We have an honest pride and exultation in the reflection, that Washington and his compatriots, who secured our independence, were our friends—that "truth" has been "our guide, and liberty our object." Tho' stigmatised as its enemies, conscious of the purity of our motives, let us treat the base and unfounded insinuation with contempt;—and, † "according to the degree of pleasure and pride we feel in being republicans, ought to be our zeal in cherishing the spirit, and supporting the character of *federalists*."

* *Bracket.* † *The Federalist.*

F I N I S.