

A N
O R A T I O N,

Pronounced, JULY 4, 1798,

AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF
BOSTON,

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY

O F

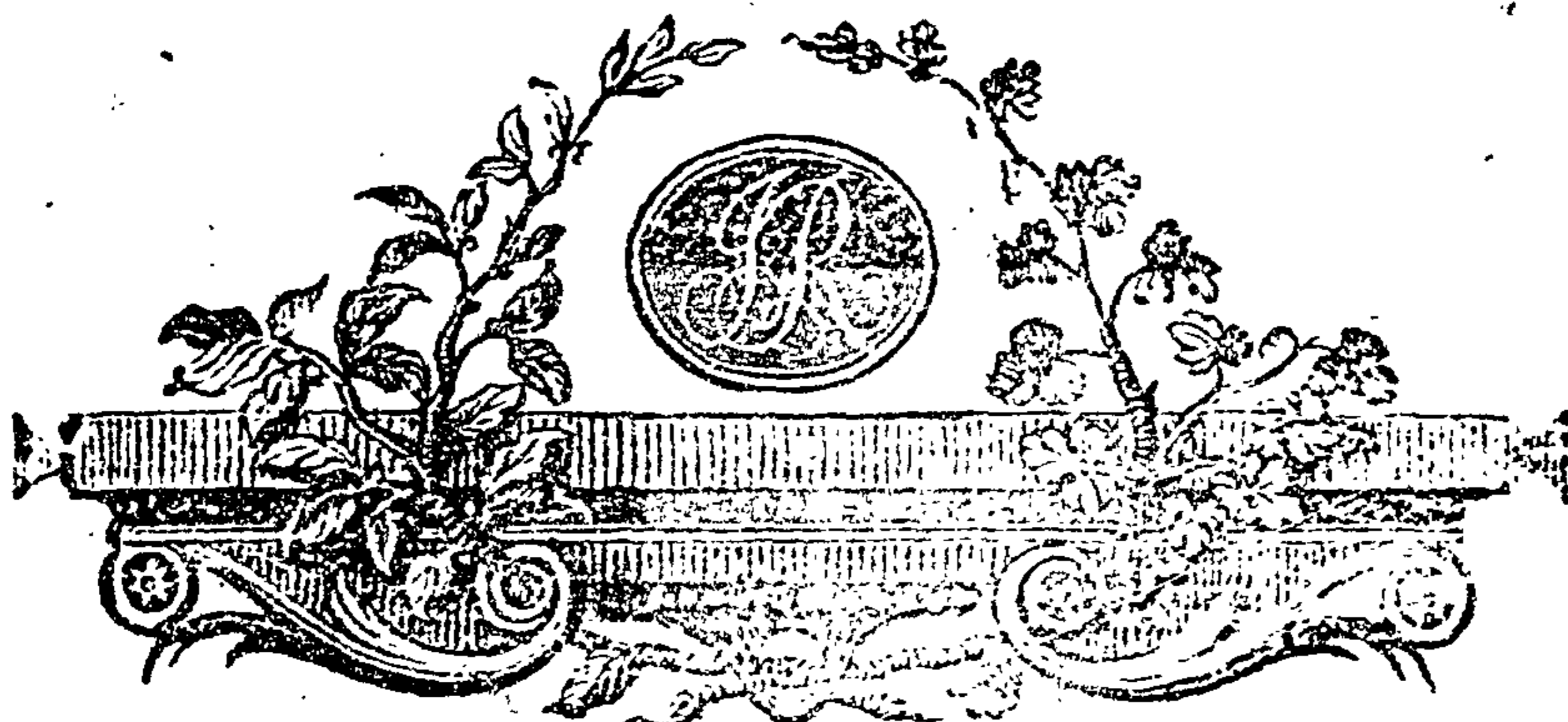
American Independence.

BY JOSIAH QUINCY.

THE inroads upon our public liberty, call for reparation—The wrongs we have sustained, call for—JUSTICE. That Reparation and that Justice, may yet be obtained, by UNION, SPIRIT, and FIRMNESS. But to *divide and conquer* was the maxim of the Devil in the garden of Eden, and to *disunite and enslave* hath been the principle of all his votaries from that period to the present.

Observations on the Boston Port-Bill, &c. p. 78. by the late J. QUINCY, Jun.

SECOND EDITION.



BOSTON;

PRINTED BY JOHN RUSSELL.

1798.

Town Vote.

AT a Meeting of the Frecholders and other Inhabitants of the town of *Boston*, duly qualified and legally warned in public Town-Meeting, assembled at *Faneuil-Hall*, the 4th day of July, A. D. 1798.

ON MOTION, *Voted*, That the Selectmen be, and hereby are appointed a Committee to wait on *JOSIAH QUINCY*, Esq. in the name of the town, and thank him for the elegant and spirited ORATION, this day delivered by him at the request of the town, upon the Anniversary of the Independence of the United States of America, in which, according to the institution of the town, he considered the feelings, manners, and principles, which led to that great National Event—and to request of him a copy for the press.

Attest. WILLIAM COOPER, *Town-Clerk.*

JULY 5, 1798.

GENTLEMEN,

I CANNOT give you the customary notice of my acquiescence in the request of my fellow-citizens, without expressing my gratitude for the indulgence, with which the ensuing sentiments were received. If they have any merit, it results from strict and anxious regard, to what appeared to me truth and duty. The times require union, decision, virtue. With them, Americans are invincible. Without them, they are, and deserve to be, slaves—and what is more—slaves to the worst of masters.

I am gentlemen, with every sentiment of respect,
your most obedient humble servant,

JOSIAH QUINCY.

The Selectmen of Boston.



An Oration, &c.

HAD this day, AMERICANS, returned auspicious as former anniversaries, I should, after the example of my predecessors, restrict myself to discharge the tribute due to the past glories and future prospects of our country. But at a time, when dark and gloomy clouds hang over the hopes of our nation, when hostile passions attribute this aspect of public affairs to various causes, when through the false opinions of some, and the artful misrepresentations of others, the principles of our revolution have been abused as precedents, or dreaded as instruments, of factious enterprize ; higher duties are added to the ordinary obligations of this day and institution. Not only to extract from our ancient history the principles, feelings and manners, which led to that glorious event ; but also to compare

them with those of our day, thereby to vindicate that period, and illustrate the events of the present.

THE principle, which stimulated, the feelings and manners, which made successful our revolution, are in nothing different from those, on which our country must, at this day, rely for salvation. And that system of oppression, which made our declaration of Independence necessary, originated in the same malign passions, which, in our time, have produced distress to the United States.

THE principle of our revolution was simple ; a passion for Independence ; a high sense of the eternal right of a great people to govern themselves after their own choice and manner. However assiduous our ancestors were to hide it from Great Britain, perhaps fortunate enough to conceal it from themselves, their emigration, their struggles in defence of their rights and soil, their sentiments of civil freedom and subjection were dictated by the genuine spirit of Independence. That to this dignity the genius of our fathers aspired, is evident from the principles and manners adopted in the earliest, and pertinaciously pursued to the latest periods of their history. Records of a memorable spirit exist. A spirit always vigilant and active, ever constructing barriers against European influence, cementing op-

position to it into a principle of patriotism, spurning every concession remotely implicating the independence of their establishment, and hazarding, at all times, every thing dear, to preserve for their offspring a pure, and unincumbered inheritance. Even to us, accustomed as we are to hardy avowals of right, their favorite maxims are objects of equal pride and admiration. That subjection terminated with removal. *(a)* That the duty of allegiance did not follow them to the ends of the earth. *(a)* That, not this principle. but the compact contained in the Charter, was the source of the powers of the crown, which it had no right to extend or resume. *(b)* That the sovereignty of the soil was in the aboriginal princes, whose prerogative purchase had transferred to them. *(c)* That the rights of self-government resulted from the actual compact of freemen. *(d)* From whence they deduced the qualities of an Independent government, free trade, *(e)* peace, if it pleased with the enemies of England, *(f)* Independence from controul in elections, *(g)* from the embarrassments of judicial appeals, *(h)* and the binding force of acts of parliament. *(i)*

(a) Hutchinson's hist. Mass. Bay, 1 vol. 230 p. *(b)* Ibid. 231.
(c) Ib. 230. *(d)* Ib. 45. *(e)* Ib. 179. *(f)* Letter of Mass. Gen. Ct. to Oliver Cromwell, Ib. 166, 452. *(g)* Petition of Gen. Ct. to Parl. 1651, Ib. 448. *(h)* Gen Courts Declaration of Rights in 1661, Ib. 456.
(i) Ib. 2 vol 12.

THE operation of these principles approximated the old Charter government to an Independent Commonwealth. (*k*) Judicial processes in the name, not of the king, but of the Colony, (*l*) the oath of allegiance unadministered, (*m*) laws of trade slighted, (*n*) refusal, at the instance of the crown, to renew or yield their Charter, (*o*) holding it treason in their General Court to speak of appeals to the king, (*p*) are symptoms of an high sense of Independence, and precursors of national sovereignty. They sprang up under the old Charter, and were nourished by the moral, civil, religious, and military character of our ancestors. The new charter, imposed after the restoration checked, but did not destroy the seeds of national freedom. They are discovered bursting forth on all sides in opposition to the kings governors and parliamentary influence, in disregard of acts of trade, (*q*) in declarations of the invalidity of taxation without representation, (*r*) in securing the controul of the Treasury, (*s*) and grasping under every favourable pretence the claims of prerogative.

THIS bold sentiment and practice, so inconsistent with the principle of monarchy and the Colonial relation, could not fail to touch the pride of Britain. Fortunately she did not anticipate the importance

(*k*) Hut. hist. Mas. Bay 2 vol. 10. (*l*) Ib. 1 vol. 163. (*m*) Ib. 287.
 (*n*) Ib. 290, 2 vol. 12. (*o*) Ib. 163. (*p*) Ib. 64. (*q*) Ib. 283.
 (*r*) Ib. 266.

of the Colonies, until age and morals had given energy and character to their establishment, nor commence her aggressions, until the evils, in presence and prospect of European controul had roused the spirit of our ancestors ; whose most precious legacy to their descendants is the exemplary, discernment and vigour, with which the designs of their enemies, open and concealed, were penetrated and opposed. The political history of our country exhibits scarce any other prospect than the work of Independence gradually advancing under cover of assertion of natural rights and resistance to regal aggression ; successive assumption followed by successive irritation ; materials for explosion collecting : till at length the attempt to tax without actual representation, “ instinct with fire and nitre,” convulsed and separated the new world from the old.

THE evils, which provoked this spirit of Independence to the solemn declaration, which gives this day celebrity, were produced by external *luxury, avarice and lust of domination, co-operating with an internal, depraved, ambitious, disappointed faction.* To support the pressure of her massive debt, Britain naturally looked to the aid of her colonies. Their wealth, industry and enterprize promised a rich resource of revenue. And these hopes were fostered by a small discontented party, which had existed among them from their first settlement, the leaders of

which, having no resort in talents or virtue, could alone quench the thirst of ambition at the fountain of foreign supremacy. By falshood, by misrepresentation, by appealing to her avarice, and exposing the nakedness of the land, this party encouraged and invited the aggressions of Britain. And by insidiously sowing diffensions between the Colonies, by striving to dissever their interests, by malicious invectives against their chief patriots, by every art, through which groveling intent captivates gross understandings, they attempted to scatter discord and disunion among the people. As early as 1646, the serpent faction, which fattens in a free soil, lurked at the root of our republic. Petitions for rights and privileges, hostile to the inclination or interest of the people and its representatives, were preferred, accompanied by the memorable threat of appealing to parliament if denied. (f) The government of the Colony replied to their complaints, but as their expressions had been contemptuous and seditious, they were reduced to reverence by the bitter, but wholesome, New-England regimen. Fine, suretyship and imprisonment avenged the dignity of the government and the majesty of the people, insulted in their rulers. There is this remarkable of the complaints to parliament of these first American malcontents upon record, that none of their successors have materially

(f) Hutch. vol. 1, p. 138

deviated from their path. They complain of the government, of the people and the pulpit. Of government, because, it was not managed by them. It must of consequence be ill managed. Of the people, that they were so ignorant, or so obstinate, that they would have confidence in their rulers, and would have none in the complainants. Of the pulpit, that it " sided with government and denounced the judgment of heaven against such as were going to Europe with evil intentions against the country."

THESE powers, operating without and within the colonies, produced those aggressions, which led on our revolution. One saw in the controul of our revenues a rich resource for luxury and necessity. The other sought to supply the deficiency of their ambition by external patronage. The machinations of both rendered the colonies so contemptible in the eyes of foreigners, and so weakened the ties of domestic union, that the hopes of the people had well nigh been frustrated. But the spirit of Independence triumphed. The genius of America rose slow, but terrible in wrath, and burst those chains, which foreign vice had forged, and domestic treachery attempted to impose.

THE design of this institution is to enliven and record in our bosoms, those sacred and pure principles, manners and feelings, to which our country is

indebted for the high and happy rank she holds among nations. A duty, at all times pleasant and useful, is, at this day, peculiarly incumbent. Passions are abroad and operating in the land similar to those, against which our fathers struggled. External luxury, avarice and lust of domination have again grasped at the sovereignty of our nation, and supported internally, by a depraved, ambitious and disappointed faction, had well nigh effected its intent. The spirit of our ancestors, which had slumbered too long, is roused from its repose. Like trials threaten us. We have duties equally solemn to fulfil. Much is due to ourselves. Much to a government the work of our hands, and which secures to us all the right of man, and all the blessing, of the social compact. More to posterity, of whose hopes, we are trustees and guardians. But to the memories of our forefathers, to those principles, which wrought our Independence, whose truth and value they sealed with their blood, not to tarnish their glories, nor fall behind them in virtue, we owe an eternal obligation.

It does not need a nice eye to mark the similarity between the principles and duties of past and present periods. Measures and objects, means and ends are the same. Names and nations have changed. But foreign and domestic tyrants, the enemies of public liberty and social order, providence, in mercy to man, has restricted to one system of schemes,

with power only to vary the composition and application of their poisons, according to the varied sanity and disorder of the public mind. The projects of *Andross*, and *Randolph*, and *Dudley*, and *Hutchinson*, and *Barnard* are revived in our day. Those projects are confined neither to time nor place. They are universal as human passion, and eternal as the nature of man. Whenever ambition and luxury unite in the supreme power of a potent nation, it will never fail to invade the rights, and under some pretence or other to attempt the controul of its neighbours. And real republics always open a wide field for 'diplomatic agencies.' In that species of government, a party ever has arisen, and ever will arise, hostile to the interests and liberties of the people. In the strife for popular favor all cannot be gratified. Disappointment will seek revenge. Envy pursue its rival. Lust of power pant for elevation. There will ever exist ignorance to be misled, and vicious hopes to be pampered. If the nation in itself do not afford these passions means of gratification, they will seek satiety from foreign connections and influence. The union of these has been always fatal to republics.

THE factious spirits, whose intrigues have produced such losses and distress to the United States, and forced our federated stars from the pathway of peace and heaven, are servile copies of those an-

16
tient enemies of Colonial Independence. They have neither the claim of originals, the merit of ingenuity, nor the charm of novelty. It is not a mere general resemblance. It is the old piece in a new position. The same in character and attitude, in expression and passion, in drapery and design. The tories and royalists of old time, compared with the true friends of America, were a small and weak party; unable to acquire the confidence of the people. Ambition, which cannot be gratified by honorable means, has a sure resource in intrigue. Their invitations stimulated and encouraged aggression. They marked out the plan for our enemies. Divide and conquer. Insert your influence amid the parties of the State. Corrupt the avaricious, frighten the weak, vilify virtue, turn talents to ridicule, weaken the obligations of morality, destroy the influence of religion, make men worthy to be slaves, and they will sue for fetters. How minutely the opponents of the will of the people have adhered to these principles in our day is too obvious to remark. We shall find the likeness not less striking, if, keeping our own times in view, we call to recollection the arts by which the tories and royalists formerly played this eternal game of tyranny. To encourage and unite the inhabitants of the old world, they every where proclaimed us a divided people; that embarked in a common cause, we refused to bear our share of ex-

pence; that reared under their wing, in our strength, we were unmindful of our patrons. In America different changes were rung. They attempted to set at variance the southern and northern colonies; to make the orders of state contend; to render the poor suspicious of the rich; the rich fearful of the poor. They told the people of fleets and armies; of the power of the adversary, and their weakness. The arms and victories of a nation, then stiled terrible to her enemies, and generous to her friends, were painted in colours best suited to alarm. The sin, the crying sin of ingratitude, to a nation, who had fought our battles, the bones of whose warriors were mingled in the same plains with ours, was blazoned in terms designed to make us odious and contemptible at home and abroad. Every man of talent and virtue was designated as an object of the most atrocious slander. Our Clergy,—God ever preserve to them the glorious prerogative!—calumniated by the enemies of their country. Our patriots, loaded with every insult, which abandoned minds could invent. *Otis*, the spirited and eloquent statesman; *Mayhew*, the man of wit, learning and piety; *Adams*, the equal pride of past and present times. (u)

(u) Vid. the series of Political Essays in Newspapers for 10 years preceding the Revolution, particularly the writings of Novanglus, in Edes and Gill's Gazette, commencing January, 1775. and those of Massachusetts in the Boston Chronicle about the same period.

This is history. May we not say, it is also prophecy? Exchange Britain for France, monarchical for republican forms of controul and corruption, instead of a British Governor, place a French Envoy at the head of the party; in the room of rebel and traitor let them be furnished with the offensive epithets, Aristocrats and Englishmen, give them new weapons and new cloaks, and the tories and royalists of Seventy Five are the Jacobins and Exclusive Patriots of Ninety Eight*. The resemblance between these periods results from the uniformity of the passions, by which despotic design is necessitated to operate. Notwithstanding the infinite shapes it assumes, its hopes exist on two resources only; to deceive, or to debase the people. To the former, ignorance and falshood are the ready paths, and all vicious projects are advanced by demoralizing man: For moral sense once destroyed, and confidence in virtue shaken, the people, deprived of chart or compass, will commit the charge of the vessel to every bold adventurer, who will seize upon the helm. Let us

*Since this performance was pronounced, it has been suggested to me that justness and accuracy require a discrimination in favour of those who in former and present times were mistaken followers of arch tories and Jacobins. It cannot be expected that a work, necessarily of a general nature, should include minute shades of character. I owe it however to truth to remark, that on the one hand, as the mystical names of loyalty and allegiance, as well as the venerable ones of order and good government, form an apology for many enemies of our revolution, so on the other, names equally mystical, gratitude and fraternity, and those equally venerable, liberty, equality, and rights of man, are no less a palliation for the aberration of good men into paths, which terminate in the utter destruction of all that is sacred and venerable on earth.

not then deceive ourselves. But instead of loose execrations, examine the evil, and apply the remedy.

SOME men exclaim, "The vile spirit of party is our ruin. Corruption has gained ground among us. These insults and aggressions are fruits of their encouragement." It is doubtless true that such influence exists in our country. Against ours, as against all preceding republics, corruption and faction are leagued. But the attempts of these, although they produce inconvenience, can never, without other aid, destroy our national independence. Others cry, "the perfidy and avarice of the ruling powers in France have laid a deep scheme, against our sovereignty." It is not to be doubted that in the career of victory and crimes, such plans are drawn, and even now executing. But schemes like these, though formidable, cannot alone sap our establishment. The government of the United States, extending protection to its citizens, showering blessings around the people, rich and strong in their affections, cannot be uprooted by such enemies, however powerful. The danger lies nearer home. It exists—pardon the reflection, not such as are pleasant, but such as are useful, belong to this period—it exists—I fear you will think me too presumptuous—it exists, Americans, in our own bosoms. It is the indolence, with which we have supported government, the calmness, with which we have heard it calumniated,

the feeble, and sometimes doubtful, support, we have yielded to it, that have given strength and spirits to destructive design, internal and external. Immerged in private interests, and personal projects, we have not been attentive enough to those establishments which can alone give permanent value to acquisition or improvement. While each man has been shifting off the burden of supporting government, on his neighbour, all have viewed, with surprize and indignation, at one time, a domestic insurrection threatening its infancy ; at another, an insolent foreigner seizing the dearest attributes of sovereignty ; and now, sacrifices equally derogatory to national honor and interest demanded from us. But could we reasonably expect the reverse? An individual is thought to merit insult, if he suffer it with impunity. Want of spirit to resent, not only invites injury, but is among the marks of its desert. Yet we, Americans, the descendants of Sires renowned for their justice and spirit, have heard daily a government of our own choice and creation ridiculed, vilified, calumniated, we have seen every art exerted to propagate the tale of falsehood, not only without punishment, but almost without reproof. If a people will not take the trouble to rescue its government from infamy among themselves, have they right to complain, if it be not respected by foreigners ? If in the full bloom and vigor of youth,

while profusely scattering around us rich fruits, it cannot interest us enough to protect its character from obloquy, and its existence from attack, is it not natural for our enemies to expect its utter dissolution, when, checked by embarrassments, it cannot yield such luxuriant bounties? And how certainly do they already rely on its destruction, when, by the necessities to which it has been iniquitously reduced, it shall apply to the direct contribution of the people!

AGAIN; the rulers of our nation were selected by the people from amid themselves, for their talents, virtues, and patriotism. Emanating from the common mass, returnable into it at stated periods, with interests, views and feelings, which could not be hostile to those of their constituents; above all, for the most part, leaders and pride of our Independence, what other requisites could exist to ensure the attachment and confidence of the people? Yet what has been the result? From the adoption of the Federal Constitution, a current of calumny and abuse, replenished from sources the most vile and wicked, has never ceased to pour upon our rulers. While we, high spirited republicans, in full exercise and boast of the energy of virtuous, and the foresight of intelligent minds, have listened calmly to these invectives; and without reflecting, that the keenest of all insults against the people is that, which holds up

its representatives to dishonor, this language has been submitted to from men, the loudest, on all occasions, in their pretended veneration and care of the people. Need I call you this day to the disgusting recollection of the calumnies and falsehoods, which have been propagated concerning our best and most virtuous citizens ; our clergy ; the majority of both houses of Congress ; the heads of all the departments of State ; the present head of our nation ; or shall I point you, to that injured hero, who, like the departing sun, looks through the shades of Mount Vernon, on this western world, refulgent with his glories ?

THIS practice and forbearance we have not learnt, Americans, of our ancestors. They were well apprized that such abuse is treachery the most malignant against the republic ; in as much as it destroys the moral qualities of the people ; breaks down the barriers which separate and distinguish vice from virtue ; diminishes the greatest security of the people in a ruler, by making one event to patriots and traitors. Of these facts, and of the spirit, which has gone forth to lay principle and character low, none of us are ignorant. The evidences are before and around us. They meet us in the street. They follow us into our houses. They infect the purity of the country ; and disturb the tranquillity of the town. Americans are every moment witnesses of the malignity of their virulence. Yet, strange in-

fatuation! the manufacturers and venders of these poisons are supported and encouraged among us. And there are many, who give credit to their intentions, or in charity, transfer the guilt, from their hearts, to their understandings. But have not the people a dear property in the virtues of their rulers? Will they look on unconcerned spectators, while that property is violated? Are men of talents and integrity of such spontaneous and abundant growth, that we can afford to trample on them rudely, or make them abhor our favours? To what will these things lead? Experience daily gives the answer. Men of talents retire, or refuse your proffered honors. True spirit cannot long bear to be a butt for the shafts of calumny. If the justice of their country will not secure the fame of good men, they will seek, in retirement, consolation for its injustice. And who will succeed? Bold and hardy ambition, that seeks his own emolument, not the welfare of the State; from whose brazen front, the darts of just reproach leap back, blunted; that will sacrifice his country, and take care to recompence upon the people,—Ah! keenly to recompence, their unjust suspicions of virtue, or thoughtless indolence in its defence.

MERCIFUL and righteous have been the ways of Providence to our nation. It had crowned our cup high with bounties. The United States walk-

ed forth, among the people of the earth, in the bloom and majesty of youth and freedom. Prosperity began to obliterate the principles of our forefathers, to corrupt their simple and pure manners, and to weaken that attachment to country, which was their distinguishing attribute. Like the other chosen people of the most high, we began to run after strange deities, the idols of other nations; to forsake his altar, for the new temple of liberty, which has NO GOD; to look with less awe on constitutions, resting on religion, the rock of ages, cemented by the blood of our fathers, upheld by morals, venerable by early habit and recent obligation. The black whirlwind, which spreads disorder and desolation over the face of Europe, curls threatening towards our shores. The impending evil has hastened us back to ourselves, to the principles and feelings of our ancestors, to a right and high sense of our duties. Our coasts ravaged from the Mississippi to the St. Croix, the blood of thousands streaming again for Independence, a century of war is a cheap price for this renovated temper and unclouded vision.

BUT on this spirit alone, we must not rely for salvation. The day of trial will require higher energies and severer duties. Let no man persuade himself that this state of things will cease, or Independence be preserved without arduous conflicts; without conflicts of blood. Look around you, my

countrymen, and burst those films with which faulty love and momentary interests, heretofore darkened your vision. Recollect the obstinate perseverance, with which every agent of republicanized France has striven to grasp your sovereignty; to revive ancient antipathies; and, by ostentatious display of love, to create a claim for dangerous reciprocity. Recall to your minds the venom, with which her missionaries, principal and subordinate, open and concealed, have corroded your first Patriots and Virtues, and with what rancour they continue to this hour, shameless, their infamous falsehoods and calumnies. Turn your eyes to the other side of the atlantic, and shake off that indolence, and love of ease, into which peace and delusive security have sunk you. Behold in Europe, a new Empire, like the Macedonian and Roman, progressing forward, in the same paths, and by the same means, to universal dominion. See it, under specious pretence of giving liberty and rights, entailing slavery and wretchedness, on prostrate man. And learn, that in all this, there is nothing new either in project or execution. When *Phillip* aspired to seize the sovereignty of Greece, think you that he proclaimed his design to the world? He (*v*) too first interested the zeal of the Grecians, by pretended concern for their relig-

(v) Travels of Anarcharis the younger by the Abbe Barthelemi, vol. 5, ch. 61. vol. 7, ch. 82.

ion and rights ; by splendid successes over distant nations, he exalted their admiration ; and by professions of pure and virtuous intent, excited their enthusiasm. While he was securing the surrounding kingdoms, some by conquest, others by alliance, and while the true patriots and statesmen of Greece were striving to rouse the people from their lethargy, before he became invincible, his “ diplomatic agents ” were composing their fears, weakening the influence of all the friends of their country, calling them mercenaries of the Great Persian king, the ancient enemy of Greece, painting the blessings of peace and the horrors of war, and notwithstanding one nation after another was falling victim to his arms, by these arts, they rocked the people into such fatal repose, that they collected not their force, until it was too late. Greece like her neighbours, sunk into subjection. And under a feigned alliance, became a tributary stream to that Macedonian torrent, which desolated the Asiatic world.

THE same projects on a broader scale made the Universe pass under the Roman yoke. Hear one of their historians. “ By affecting moderation in victories, (a) by appearing only solicitous for the interests of their allies, (a) by disclaiming all ends but the prosperity of the people, (b) by proclaiming themselves generous to their friends and terrible only to their enemies, the Romans hastened to univer-

(a) 1 Ferg. Rom. Rep. 212.

(b) Ib. 213.

sal dominion. In all their successes, reserving nothing to themselves, besides the power of giving away entire kingdoms and provinces; or in other words, they reserved nothing but the power of seizing the whole, at a proper time, and for the present, the supreme ascendant over all the conquered provinces, that were given away, and over those who received them. Taking care so to balance (c) the parties in the State, to which they had given a nominal Independence, that no formidable combination could be formed against their sovereignty, and if one or a few parties should presume to withstand their power, many others were ready to join the cry of ingratitude; and to treat opposition to them, as an unworthy return to those, who had so generously espoused the cause of mankind." Shall I insult your understandings by a formal application of this history? Look at Italy and Holland, plundered, prostrate, and enslaved; paying their whole wealth for their freedom, and their liberties, yet at nurse, under the bayonets of Fifty Thousand Frenchmen. See Venice given away at a bargain; and Swiss mountains, whose bare and icy breasts upheld liberty to the heavens, penetrated, vanquished and chained. Behold an hundred thousand warriors, with swords encrusted with blood, ready to pass into Britain. Into Britain did I say? Into America; into any land, that opposes obstacles to their ambition, or offers plunder for their rapine. We have allowed ourselves too long to be deluded, Americans.

(c) *Ib.* 215.

The fear of that abuse, which in ours, as in all countries, is the inheritance of virtue and patriotism, has kept truth too long in the shade. But the day of apology is passed. It is in vain; it is treacherous now to palliate the iniquitous design. Our government has declared, and the people from one end of the continent to the other are echoing the disgraceful truth. That Independence, for which our fathers so long and ardently strove, and to which they waded through blood and peril, has been assaulted; our rights invaded; the liberty of deciding on its own interests denied to our government; its most solemn acts insidiously represented as the work of a faction; and you, yes, you, my countrymen, been incited to plunder your constituted authorities of your choicest delegated powers, and under the plausible pretext of assuming your natural rights, to open an opportunity to foreigners to seize your liberties by your divisions. Praise be to him, who rules among the passions of the human heart, the insidious appeal of foreigners to the people has been answered to their confusion. With an holy indignation, worthy the chiefs of the revolution, worthy their descendants, the people have vindicated their Independence, they have scorned to be cheated out of their rights, have broken the shackles of too partial an affection, and dissolved the charms of gratitude. under which, too long for their honor or interest, they had slumbered. Thanks to the firm and stern texture of our constitution; thanks to the

bold Independence of the head of our nation; to the firm and manly conduct of our envoys; above all, thanks to the spirit of our forefathers, descended again to bless their posterity, we have escaped the snare. Instead of gloom, it is a day of exultation. Instead of despondence, joy should penetrate and enliven our countenances and hearts. Americans have returned to their government; they have returned to the principles of their revolution; to the influence of their best and most virtuous citizens, from whom, by dark policy, they had been estranged. We had drank deep of the cup of her love, brimmed with principles, noxious to morality, as well as to Independence. At the moment, when the last dreadful draught was mingled for us, it is stricken from her hand, and the swords of millions of freemen gleam half sprung from their scabbards, indignant at the insult. Think you Americans, that the spirits of our departed patriots and heroes, from amid the band of the perfect and just, look not down complacent on the events of our day? Yes, surely; and on their thrones exult, "THESE ARE OUR CHILDREN."

Laudable is your zeal, my countrymen; just your indignation. What! Americans, with your knowledge, habits, and virtues, rich in governments, and rulers of your choice, fortified by morality, inspired by the hopes of religion, shall ye be placed on a level with the gross and restless slaves of ancient despotisms? Shall ye be dupes of the same

hacknied arts as they? Shall your governments, the result of your calm investigation, filled with pure, guarded by youthful blood, be drugged by the same gross opiates as have drenched in death, aged, corrupt European fibres? With the records of your ancestors in your hands, their maxims on your hearts, shall ye be frightened into disgraceful sacrifices, or descend to try liberty by arithmetical processes, open accounts between Independence and submission, strike balances, and make nice calculations, how much it will cost to be freemen, and what you may hope to keep, and be slaves? The tombs of your fathers, alas! untimely reared; the bleached bones of your warriors, which the plough share, in industrious progress, upturns to the sky, excite different sentiments, rouse to other duties. Not a paltry tax, less than the necessities of all governments require, not burdens incumbent, but threatened, prompted their struggles, pointed them to glory. It is better to die, than be slaves. And to their high sentiment, payment of a pepper-coin on principles derogatory to their rights or their honour was slavery, worthy to be repelled at the risque of life and of all that is dear to man. They also were tempted by the fair names of peace and of plenty. But, what security for peace, except national spirit and power? And what can the sword take away, which rapine will spare? Away then, with these fallacious hopes, which delude our hearts and weaken our vigour. With no common voice our country commands us

to shield her from disgrace ; from devastation, this land, the delight of freemen ; from destruction, those dwellings now the abode of peace and of joy ; from defilement, these altars, where reason unites her incense with devotion ; and from pollution, those fair bosoms, native mansions of purity and truth.

THE ark of liberty is, among the virtuous, union invincible. Guard, therefore, against faction, the viper. Guard, as the bulwark of your hopes, the fame and honor of your rulers. Above all, guard against those base, unmanly suspicions, by which foreign and domestic enemies strive to break the anchor of Independence, confidence between rulers and people. Then, Americans, you may rely with assurance, that,—if such be the will of the Supreme ruler,—you shall preserve the peace and liberty, you so justly prize, and your country maintain, in honor and virtue, that high and happy rank, she holds among nations.

