ORATION.

DELIVERED AT POMFRET,

JULY 4th, 1809:

Commemorating the Day that gave our Nation Birth:

BY IGNATIUS THOMSON.



Without the restraint of law, liberty could not exist in a state of society.——
The law itself is often not sufficiently coercive to keep men within due bounds; on which account it has been found necessary, in all republics, to conside in a number of citizens, who have deserved well of their country, or are esteemed worthy to serve it.

ZIMMERMANN.

WINDSOR:

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[1409]

AN

ORATION, &c.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

ONCE more, we are permitted to see a day epen on us, which brings to our minds the grateful remembrance of that, which gave us a name among the nations of the earth; a day which put into our hands many invaluable privileges, not enjoyed by any of the civilized nations on this habitable globe, and which announced us a FREE and INDEPENDENT PEOPLE.

ONCE more, has the great Ruler of Nations permitted us (though surrounded by the corrupting influence of foreign powers, in a day of wonders, and the restless spirits of ambitious men to subvert the inessimable rights of the people,) to meet together, and hail this day, as citizens of a free country; inheritors of those liberties, which the valor of our fathers won

A day like this, leads us to contemplate, as the price of that liberty we enjoy, the cause from whence it originated, the spirit which the people possessed, and the sacrifices they were called to make to procure it. Without these, we should be illy prepared to meet this anniversary; enter into the seelings of that eventful day, or appreciate the worth of the great object of our rejoicing.

AIDED by these, we bring to remembrance a period that is past, when our ancestors, driven by persecution from their native land, sought a residence on this continent. Here they acknowledged themselves the subjects of Britain, notwithstanding the cruel cause of their emigration. But, the spirit of tyranny knows no bounds but what the want of power constrains to acknowledge. The same principle that drove them from the shores of Europe, marked the British administration over them in this country: hence there was a continual

of the Governor and the rights of the people.*

Opposition to the conflituted authorities of a country, let it be under what form of government it may, will terminate either to weaken the energy of government or abridge the rights of the people. The one or the other must finally submit, and the result will follow. This mutual jealousy of each other's rights, a wife man might readily see, would terminate in abject slavery, or such form of government as the people should choose.

THE British ministry were determined to support their authority, and humble the colonics: this might reasonably be expected. To accomplish this, they passed one act after another, restricting the rights of the people; they denied the colonies a representation in the councils of the nation; they usurped a despotic control ovor us; they made war when they pleased; they demanded such a number of men from the colonies as they thought proper, and then levied just such a portion of the expence of the war on us, as they saw sit.

In all this, the colonies could do nothing, but yield passive obedience. This they well knew the Americans would not easily brook; they therefore levied it in the most unexceptionable way, by imposing a stamp duty on contracts and other instruments of a similar nature, and likewise an extra duty on imported articles.

This at once alarmed the colonies, and they remonstrated in the wisdom and spirit of an injured people; they viewed their liberties at stake; they felt the importance of unity in their desence; they refolved, as a token of their disapprobation, not to use any of those excised articles.‡

This, the ministry considered of but short duration; or, be it as it may, they would send those articles into the colonies, and collect the excise, whether they were used or not. The people very readily understood their object, and resolved to prevent their entering such articles: accordingly, the people went on board an East-India-man loaded with teas coming into the harbor of Boston, and threw the cargo over. Vessels that entered the ports of other colonies experienced a similar sate-

^{*} See Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts.

⁺ Should any one doubt the correctness of this sentence, he is reminded that in the campaign of 1758 and 1759, the British exacted 8000 men of Massachusetts, 4000 of Connecticut, and 2000 of Rhode-Island; and required the colonies to pay their own men.

[‡] Pure liberty is only found in that noble bosom that abbors all chains.
ZIMM.

In all this opposition, we may readily conceive, it was not the burden of the excise that the people felt, but the usurpation of their common rights; it was not the paying three pence on a pound of tea or a gallon of molasses, but the principle that moved them in these acts of violence.

FROM this, the opposition assumed a more regular form, and the ministry prepared to meet it with energy; they were determined to teach the people of Boston their folly by placing a band of insolent and licentious soldiers among them: But chastisement of this nature served only to strengthen the opposition. Ministerial exertions were thus met by adequate opposition till open hostilities commenced.

So dear to them did our fathers prize their civil rights, they would willingly forego the conveniences of life, and even hazard an unequal war, rather than become flaves to a despotic ministry. The greatest lustre attached to the most eligible situation in life, saded in their eyes, when viewed as a rival to the liberties of their country: Even the gloomy horrors of war, and the prospect of death in common with the rest of their brethren, damped not their courage, nor abated their zeal in support of their common rights: They chose rather to offer their lives in desence of the rights of their country, as a facrifice before the altar of usurpations, than to live in slavery. These were the feelings of those who fought and bied, and the fruit of whose labor we are now enjoying.

BEHOLD! the precious facrifice it cost our country to obtain her freedom: Behold! the thousands consecrated as victims before her altar: Behold! the cruel barbarities many endured, and the immense same expended in the contest. Let us look at these, and learn to prize the liberties we enjoy. Well may the grateful heart reply, "She is more precious than rubies, and all things thou canst desire are not to be compared to her."

LET us cause the scene of Lexington to pass before our eyes. Here is the fatal spot, where the first blood was spilt! Here a small number had collected to inquire into the reason which led the British force there, and if necessary to impede their march; but, before there could be time to inquire, the British with a wanton air, sired and killed eight on the spot! This caused a wound so sensibly felt by every American, that it could not be healed: They instantly classed their arms as their only defence: Thus irritated, they pursued them to Boston, and, had it not been for reasons better known to Col. Pickering than others, or because he conceived that there was more safety in attending sacred devotion till he could fairly see their backs before he

moved near them, this British party might have been surrounded and every person taken—This scene, like an electric shock, spread with an inconceivable velocity, and sensibly affected every heart friendly to the cause of his country—

This made the Americans feel the importance of furrounding Bofton with troops, and guarding every place where the British could fally to annoy the country: Accordingly they made a stand on the heights of Charlestown, which the British were determined they should not hold; of consequence they prepared for the contest. Here the British exhibited a specimen of what the Americans ought to expect from them. They began by spreading sire, and every kind of destruction: This, though a melancholy sight, did not dishearten men who were contending for their civil rights; the remembrance of recent injuries, and the cause in which they were engaged, fired them with zeal adequate to their danger. Considering the means of defence which they possessed, the contest exceeded the most sanguine expectations.

The event of that day is recorded in the memory of many present, but you, my fathers, who took an active part in the contest, must excuse your speaker, if, in his description, he falls far short of the truth, or does not equal the sensibility stamped on your hearts. You can tell us from feeling, that time cannot erase, what suffering you endured, what miseries to which many were subjected, and with what zeal the American bosom was filled. You can paint the scenes of that day with those native colors, which it is not possible for one to do, who had then but just opened into life. The principles that then led you to face an enemy to your liberties, I trust will never forsake your bosoms, nor in the least be shaken by the artistice of man.

AFTER the events of this day, we see nothing but the desolations of war marking the foot-steps of the enemy. When we survey our country, the eye can light on one place after another, and behold the awful scene of actions there fought, where connections or friends expired in desence of freedom. Within our own State, the scene at Bennington remains on the mind as a lesson of experience; add to this, the several actions on Lake Champlain, and other places, in which many of you were personally engaged, till Burgoyne and his army were subdued. With the same eye we view within the union, towns burnt and lives destroyed in the most wanton manner: wherever the enemy had power, it was armed with an unrelenting and most barbarous hand; nothing too cruel could be imagined, but what was practised-

The evils of war are unavoidably great; but the benevolent perfon must find every feeling of his heart instantly harrowed into the
keenest indignation, when he sees men possessed of that infernal spirit,
which studies to add crimes of the deepest dye to those evils which at
best must be great. Crimes of this nature were sufficient to unite the
Americans in one common bond of defence, without any other consideration. See the prison-ship near the harbor of New-York! View
the shores of the Wallabout, that received the bodies of more than a
thousand of the American prisoners, who perished by hunger and
cruelty! Behold the monument erected in humanity, as a deposit for
their bones, that were scattered on the shore: While it remains a perpetual memento of the cruel sufferings they endured, it impresses a
lively sensation on the heart, of that implacable malignity that delights
in tormenting the unfortunate, which pervaded the hearts of the British army.

Behold their licentious conduct in New-Jersey,—debased to the last degree: They gratified their lawless appetites in a most brutish and unfeeling manner: Such scenes of conduct, which to a mind that retains the least sensibility, must excite the greatest indignation. Well might we expect, that the inhabitants would rise at once to protect their wives and daughters from more than savage abuses. Behold, also, their abominable conduct at Cherry Valley, the sight of which caused even the savage to blush and remonstrate with disapprobation. Such were the additional evils which our country experienced from their unnatural, hard-hearted and tyrannical enemy-

WHEN we turn from these direful scenes, to a view of the state of our defence, the prospect here is gloomy: the body of the people undisciplined and unaccustomed to the art of human butchery; no government possessed of energy; no resources to supply an army with men or provisions; nothing but a sense of the justness of the cause, and the cruelty of the enemy to unite them, and the patriotism of the people to supply their urgent necessities. We may then well conjecture the difficulties that existed in raising an army, and the still greater difficulties in meeting their necessary demands for the comforts of life. We cannot be surprized if we find them at one time surrounding a British army, when they had not more than nine rounds of cartridges to each foldier; at other times in want of tents, of provisions, and of clothing. Such was their want of shoes at a certain time, when called to march on the frozen ground, their route could be diftinctly traced by the blood that issued from their feet. All these evils were endured with the greatest patience. We had declared ourselves

Free and Independent, and it was our defire to maintain it to the last. Nothing but this, and a skilful commander, enabled them to endure all these evils, and at length to become victorious.

The people within this State were not without their share of evils, though there were not so many battles sought here, as in some of the other States, there were, other evils of dangerous consequence; distracted by local difficulties; surrounded by domestic and foreign enemies; exposed to the inroads of the common enemy, but the more to be dreaded the combined Indians and Tories. The leading characters of the State selt the necessity of relying on their own resources, which could consist in nothing, but an equivocal policy: This hapily answered all the purposes that could be wished: The enemy hoping to gain us, refrained from offering any violence till the dangers were past.*

ADD to all these, the dangers to which our country was exposed of being overcome by treachery and spies; more than once were plots laid to take or destroy the American army, but were providentially discovered and rendered abortive. The name of Arnold will remain in the memory of every American, as long as infamy is attached to such conduct.

While we recount in miniature the calamities which attended the war, we have an occasion to rejoice that the end was glorious: Though the citizen may be called to drop a tear over the dust of a near relative, there is a consolation to cheer his mind: Under a well chosen commander and the patronage of the God of armies, the prerogatives of the people were established, and the declaration of Independence acknowledged even by our own enemies.

HAP PY indeed for us, that he who raised a Moses to deliver Israel from Egyptian bondage raised a Washington to deliver these American States from British oppression. He was endowed with wisdom and prudence equal to the exigences of that cause which he had espoused.

He baffled their most profound designs, and escaped their snares. The scene of danger is the most effectual place to faithfully try the heart of man: This convinced the people of their wisdom in the choice of one to command their army: It convinced them, that Washington possessed intrinsic worth, equal to the highest considence reposed in him. The increase of danger only stimulated him to enterprise, instead of depressing his spirits, as in the instance of surprising the British at Trenton: He was every way so well calculated for the exigence

^{*} See Williams' History of this State.

of the time, and to execute the trust reposed in him; that he commanded the hearts of his soldiers and of his countrymen. Whenever an aspiring mind envied him his station or same, or viewed him as an obstacle to its ambition, it was obliged to keep it within its own breast. If it so happened that a person was so indiscreet as to attempt to make interest against him, or spread evil surmises, it was of no effect, like that when an attempt was made to supercede him in command, which terminated with just reproach on the evil minded. Though the people were exceeding jealous of their rights, and careful of putting power into the hands of any one, Washington assorded them frequent evidence that they need not distrust the abuse of any power committed to him. This endeared him still more to his country; this rendered him a solitary instance in the annals of modern nations.

The love of power is so universally predominant in the human breast, that many, who have appeared in the beginning of public life to have the good of their country at heart, and have execrated the least appearance of usurpation, no sooner than they could possess the power, have grasped it with the greatest eagerness. So universally has this propensity of the heart prevailed, that Washington, as Commander, had but one instance before him in the whole history of man, for an example.

CINCINNATUS, in the days of Roman freedom, felt the love of his country on his heart, more than the love of dominion: Like him Washington could retire from the field of battle to domestic enjoyments, when his country no longer needed his fervice. What fentiments worthy of imitation did Washington express in his address to the army, and in resigning his power to that department from whence it originated! What deference to the constituted authorities! What self-denial! What patriotism he manifested! With what cheerfulness has he taught us, that every person to whom is committed public trust, should resign when the good of his country requires it. In all these, Washington completely imitated his copy from the Roman patriot: But though the copy ends here, the character of Washington was not finished.

The people felt the infufficiency of the old confederation and the importance of forming one anew. The counsel of Washington was here folicited, and, happy for our country, he ever had a liftening car when the website of our country called. From the labors of the col-

lected wisdom of the States while under his eye, we enjoy the happinest Constitution known in the civilized world.

This Conflitution called for a President chosen by the people: Their eyes were unanimously fixed on Washington, of all the most worthy. When he was proclaimed, so enthusiastic were the public rejoicings, as expressed an entire considence that public liberty would find in him an ample protector. His administration, when considered as unprecedented, exceeded the most rational calculation. After serving the public under two elections—seeling the weight of years, and remembering the example set under the former Confederation, he publicly refused to be considered a candidate for public trust.

UNDER the former Confederation, John Hancock was successively chosen President; but, considering that though the elections were periodical, should be continue to enjoy that office through public suffrage, custom might establish that which would be detrimental to the design of periodical elections; be therefore resused: his example has been observed ever since. Washington in this, gave his country another unequivocal proof of his patriotism.

But before Washington's administration closed, the French revolution commenced, which naturally affected this country: Viewing them as struggling for the same civil liberties we were enjoying; remembering their devotedness to us in the same cause; the old prejudices were renewed, and the people became enthusiastic in their sympathetic feelings for the cause of France. They sent to our Government Genet, as the sirst public Minister from the French Republic. The people received him with an enthusiasm scarcely to be conceived. He considered himself among those who selt the same devotedness to the cause of France, that glowed in his boson: This led him to pursue some measures, which were inconsistent in the views of our Government: This caused a difference of opinion among the citizens: But as yet, no party distinctions appeared in the Union—each spake freely his sentiments on public measures.

AT length Genet, in addition to his public functions, became a rival with Mr. King, then a Senator in Congress from New-York, in the affections of a young Lady. A politician would little suspect that this would affect the government of our country; but Mr. King, stung with all that sharp resentment which arises from disappointment, was determined on revenge, both on the personal character of

Genet, and the nation he represented.* This caused an asperity as mong their respective friends, and may be considered as the first appearance of any regular party combinations in our country.

Abour this time the British made an unprovoked attack on our commerce, which called for an extra mission to England. Mr. King used his influence in favor of his colleague, Mr. Jay, who was one of his party, and succeeded. The effects of the treaty which Mr. Jay formed are well known to us all; it spread the division through the Union, & each party became jealous of the motives of the other, infomuch that Washington found himself in a very critical situation: with a reluctant hand, after many days' meditation, he figned the instrument, and at the same time expressed his sentiments on it in these words, "It is pregnant with events." This fanction naturally ranked him among what is called the federal party, though wisdom, in his situation, could not dictate otherwise; but Washington was not to be duped by party attachments; he lamented that they existed; he would gladly have brought about an union of public fentiment, but this, he found impossible; public characters were so interested in both parties, that a coalition could not be effected.

THE opposers of the federal party zealoufly advocated the rights of the people, and purfued those measures that were calculated to secure them. The federal party naturally took opposing measures + They have even carried it so far, that in some of the States, a federal Legislature would not trust the people with certain privileges which they had enjoyed, and without any formality secured them in their own hands. Washington faw the respective grounds they had taken, and well knew the consequences; he well knew that there were many, high in office, whose minds "foared above the dull pursuits of civil life," and felt a peculiar anxiety for the fate of his country After all he had done by way of precept and example, he would add his benediction on his country, like the patriarchs of old on their children; knowing that the last words of one that we esteem will long be remembered. In his farewell address he expresses the most fervent love for his country, and feems to be endowed with more than human forefight; he warns us against the fatal effects of local prejudices, and party diffenfions. Moses, in the last month of his life, when endowed with di-

^{*} This is a natural passion.—See Elem. of Crit. Vol. 1. Capt. 2. Part 1. Sec. 5.

⁺ So true is this, that they call their opposers Democrars, even to this day, by away of contempt.

vine communications, did not more particularly warn the children of Ifrael against those very sins they would commit, than Washington, in his address, those very evils which have since taken place among us.

This may be considered as appropriate to the object for which we are convened; this day calls on us to enter into the spirit of freedom, review "the times that tried men's souls," gratefully remember the patriots of our country, and consider those measures which have been pursued by government to the present time, that we might know whether the spirit of the revolution is alive amongst us.

Washington was succeeded by Mr. Adams, who highly complimented his predecessor, and very justly too, that it was a source of consolation that he was living, and that he could enjoy the benefit of his counsel. President Adams entered into office in a troublesome time, but was still more unfortunate in being surrounded by counsellors of corrupt minds. These men put themselves at the head of their party, and under the pretence of a high respect for the honor of their country, were aiming at a monarchial system. This oftensible patriotism was designed to blind the eyes of the people, till they could accomplish their object; for they well knew that a very large part even of their own party, were well wishers to the liberties of their country. In this they so far succeeded that, for a long time, President Adams did not appear to be sensible of it.

Ar this time the French followed the example of the British, and annoyed our commerce: Hamilton, Pickering and others determined that this should be a watch-word to bring about their object. Hamilton forcibly advocated, before the President, the importance of joining England in establishing the Bourbon family; but it appears that the President did not enter into his views; he chose rather to send an Embassy to France to accommodate the difficulties. This the federal leaders calculated to render ineffectual, by using every mean put into their hands, which they did to their fatisfaction; knowing that it was necessary to keep up this national discord, to blind the eyes of the people of our country, to their real object. They attempted to affright the people, from a fense of the danger of an invasion from France, and urged the importance of raising an army to repel sudden danger; this having succeeded, the President gave the command to General Washington, which was a joy to all parties but a few designing men.

Bur as Hamilton stood high in office under Washington, he was determined to execute his plan. He would wish to know the strength of his party, and rivet their minds as strong as possible in the cause. To this end he introduced the famous black cockade, as a badge of party distinction. This enabled him to obtain the knowledge he desir-Now he confidered things about ripe fo. his purpofe. He called a fecret council of the most leading characters of the federal party to meet at Trenton, New-Jersey, where the heads of departments then were. At this meeting he opened his mind with respect to domestic measures; he proposed that the President should be chosen for life by the Senate, and the office hereditary in his family; and that the Senate be chosen for life. The principal arguments he used were, that public measures would be more stable and dignified; that frequent elections kept the public mind in continual agitation; and that this would prevent electioneering designs on the people. to this, there was an army ready at hand to effect it without much difficulty.

THERE was, however, one obstacle anticipated as in the way; Washington had such an ascendancy over the minds of all parties, that nothing could be done without him; he must, by some mean, be brought into their views; but, fortunate for our country, Washington was yet a friend to her liberties: The monster was therefore obliged to hide his head for the prefent. The following extract from William Cobbett, a distinguished federal printer, when in this country, may fuffice: * "To this affembly, unfortunately for us, was called a certain cautious Chief, whose approbation was, by tome, thought absolutely necessary. He was, as usual, for slow circumspective measures, and could not be brought to fee the necessity of an immediate rupture with France, a coalition with Britain, or the propriety of introducing an hereditary Chief Magistrate, against the sense of the Republicans. But the old gentleman, [Mr. Hamilton] and some others, thought it absolutely necessary to yield to it because no scheme of such magnitude could be accomplished without his approbation." + Happy for our country, "Washington, the cautious Chief, could not be brought into their measures." "If those projects had been attempted, foreign and civil wars, with all their horrors, would have been the contequence "

HAMILTON and his affociates did not give up the project; they

^{*} Rush Light, No. 6.

[†] I hazard a conjecture that President Adams was not at this meeting. See his letter, dated Quincy, May 2, 1808.

fpirited manner, when Mr. Adams resolved to send an Embassy, the second time, to France—he said "it would be stooping on our knees to them." By this time, Mr. Adams was convinced of their object; he dismissed Pickering from office, and disbanded his army. These men, with their peculiar adherants, fired by disappointment and silled with envy, strove to ruin Mr. Adams' character, as the only way to establish their own. Thus Mr. Adams closed his administration, contending with these new discovered enemies to our country.

MR. Jefferson succeeded Mr. Adams in the Presidency; the samé who penned the Declaration of Independence: He was well qualified for the office, and especially to meet these new discovered enemies to Mr. Adams: He confronted all their defigns with peculiar firmness, though they accused him of cowardice, treachery, and almost every other crime. Malice aimed at him 21 the calumny which the ingenuity of disappointment could invent. He opposed them with a truly ingenuous and honest mind—with filent contempt: By which he convinced the world, that he was superior to his enemies, and was justly deserving the character of a Philosopher. He discharged his duty as President to such general satisfaction, that towards the close of his second term of election, the Legislatures of fifteen States addressed him with a request, that he would suffer himself to be a candidate for a third election; but power, with all its flatteries, could not tempt him to forget the example of his predecessor, or he the first to make a precedent that might be fatal to his country. He, therefore, with true patriotism, as a faithful guardian of our liberties, nobly declined.

Towards the close of his administration, an unforcseen, and consequently an unexpected event took place, which has taught us an important lesson; that many among us, who in the days of prosperity will highly appreciate the liberties of our country, when unfortunate occurrences take place, or public measures affect their private intersest, though of necessity, they are ready to rise up and curse the Government of the land; who, like the children of Israel, when they had turned their backs on slavery, and found they had to endure some privations before they could be established as a nation, looked back on Egypt, and remembered their pottage, their leeks and onions, as sweet things, rather to be desired than their liberty. Such restless spirits are as "unstable as water" tossing to and fro.

THE British and French nations had hitherto made encroachments on our rights; they perceived we were disposed to endure, rather

At length they seemed equally determined to see how far they could intrude on our rights, before we would be in earnest to defend them. Their orders & decrees had completely deprived us of our right to the ocean, that high-way of all nations, and to add a finishing stroke to their insults, the British ordered that we should not trade with any other nation not dependent on them, without first entering their ports, and paying an extra duty for the privilege. This sensibly affected every member in the departments, except the sycophants to British allurements.

GOVERNMENT now began to feel the spirit of the revolution working in their hearts, and were determined to make opposition on the same principles. It was not the paying a few cents on a gallon of spirits or a pound of tobacco, that called for this energy of government, but principle that alarmed them. If the British were allowed to exercise this assumed power, they might just as well take every other right from us. The crisis was now formed, which called on us, either to submit to foreign control, or make a struggle for our own sovereignty. Our Government thought it best to withdraw from the ocean for the present, in hopes that an event would soon open for an adjustment, consistent with our rights as a nation; in consequence, they laid an embargo on our shipping.

Now was a very favorable time for the enemies of our country to exert themselves: they remembered that Burr, with all his intrigues, could not effect his designs in time of peace; but now, when the nation was in commotion, there were some hopes that it might be accomplished. Accordingly the same Pickering, who was leagued once with Hamilton, now boldly vindicated the cause of Britain. It is barely possible, that, after being in the secret councils of Rose, the oftensible British Minister, but evidently a spy, he may think they had done us no essential injury." But such a man, whether deluded or corrupted, ought never to be trusted.

SEIZING this opportunity, favorable to delusion, the Legislatures of some of the States resolved that the laws of the Union were not binding on them. Emissaries went forth, both of sacred and equivocal characters, to sound the alarm, and convince the people that it would be best for these Eastern States to withdraw from the Union, and join Canada as a British Province. When sedition thus boldly shewed its hideous head, Mr. Adams, a former President, still retaining a love for his country, selt it a duty to have recourse to the labors of his pen to correct errors, vindicate his own character, and counteract the de-

figns of those men, "who sucked in with their mothers' milk" and inveterate prejudice against the liberties of our country.

These labors must be ever esteemed by every friend to his country, especially when he considers the motives which directed his pen, and the timely season in which they appeared.

Government, in making a stand against these unjustifiable encroachments, found they had domestic as well as foreign intrigues to encounter; but the simmers with which they pursued their object of redress, prepared, the way for overtures favorable to our rights on the ocean. Soon after Mr. Madison was inducted into office, the British Minister made some proposals for a settlement, which we hope in time will be realized.* This at once deseated the project of these leaders of sedition: But to divert the public eye, if possible, from beholding their characters in a just light, they have affected greatly to admire Mr. Madison, and anathemise Mr. Jesserson, that man who was faithful and persevering in the cause of his country, and who, like an honest man, has now retired from public cares to enjoy the endearments of private life.†

MR. MADISON, I trust inherits the virtues of his predecessors, and though he has been attacked with the poison of adulation, his honest heart and discerning mind, will ever be ready to administer an anti-dote, and never suffer them to lead him from the strictest path of patriotic duty.

- "The rights of freemen claim thy guardian care,
 - Thou fon of freedom, thou, the adopted heir,
 - "Thy adoption prize, nor let it e'er be fold,
 - "The truth for falschood, for the best of gold.
 - Thine be the task continue still the toil,
 - "To pluck the tares and errors from our foil,
 - "The wheat to gather to thy father's barn,
 - "To bind the tares in bundles for to burn.
 - "Your vigilance we trust, no doubt have we,
 - "Our freedom's certain, when we look to thee.
 - "Truth thou art, freedom, life; tyrant a lie,
 - Which once believ'd, or felt freedom will die.

† A fingle citizen auho has Javed his country is avorth a hundred theufand others.

^{*} Since the delivery of this, ave are forry to find that these hopes are not so promising as avas amicipated.

The foundation laid for a happy adjustment under the former administration.

- "This tree of life we'll tafte, our right's our due,
- " Falschood we've overcome by trust in you;
- "The truth, the wheat, thus fever'd by thy heed,
- " Shall yield the richest bleffings, sweet indeed,
- "The highest bliss e'en charity, we'll prove
- "The worth of liberty, 'tis life, 'tis love:
- "The fair reward thy labors thus will find
- " The feast of love, in having bleft mankind."

Thus, we have taken a curfory view of the revolution, and of the administration of government since; through which we find a sufficient number of faithful friends to the liberties of our country to defend and support them, and as yet, virtue and discernment among the people, to clearly see and properly guard against the intrigues of ambitious and unprincipled men. Tho' some of the States are overwhelmed with the torrent of delufion, the body of the people through the union remain unshaken; they still adhere to the first principles that led them to triumph over oppression-That individual freedom which the constitution of our land guarantees, puts it into the power of the restless part of the community to abuse their own liberties and sometimes even disturb that of the public; hence we must expect that opposition will arise, and intrigues be practiced against this fair fabric of American freedom. This has existed, and we must expect it will exist, till her lustre shall fade and liberty be swallowed up in tyranny. There ever will be men of ambitious minds, who are feeking for preferment, and when they have obtained it by the suffrages of the people, will feek to have it established on a more permanent security, than that of periodical popular elections.

Hence a free people ought to be constantly on their guard. It is their duty to be watchful over their rulers, and make a just discrimination between him who serves his country, and him who served himself. They should weigh well the character of those, on whom they confer their offices of honor and trust; for in this truly one finner destroyeth much good.

THERE is one error into which, freemen are too apt to fall, and against which they ought to carefully guard! When persons are presented, as proper candidates for preferment, the people are too much prone to consider him, the most eligible, who makes the greatest bustle. They too often conclude that vehement declarations, and a firy zeal for the cause, are sure marks of a true patriot; whereas, such are the most dangerous men that can be named. Of this, we may be convinced in some of our elections that are past. Men, who are sired with ambition, more than patriotism will always be zealous. Such

men are exceedingly given to change. If they begin well we know not where they will end: And besides, he who is thus warmly engaged may spoil the best cause; he will be inconsiderate in his measures and his arguments will not have the weight on the hearers, like one, who is sedate and firm.

THAT man must be the most eligible, who does not seek preferment with eagerness, who can bear it without being exceedingly elevated, and who can retire from office, when the voice of the people call, without his feelings being sourced with disappointment.

In short, he, who can copy the example of our beloved father of his country, who was willing to rise only by the merit, that others discovered in him, and equally pleased to serve, or be served, as his lot might be, or the will of the people might place him. To this, we should add, as proper in a candidate for office, a virtuous mind, and an irreproachable character; knowing that virtue only exalteth a nation, and the want of an attention to this, may give too much occasion for our good intentions to be evilly spoken of. Associate these qualities in him, on whom you would confer your suffrage, and you may be respected through your representation in the council of the nation, besides, ou can place the highest considence in him you can in my. For the want of these in the person you elect, he may be engaged in violating the sacred laws of God and man, or he may oblige his constituents to spend their time (which might be better employed) in reading the vagaries of a fruitful imagination.

so long as the people possess virtuous hearts and discerning minds we may hope that they will appoint faithful guardians of the liberties of our country. Should the great body of the people become generally corrupted, liberty would fly from this, her peaceable abode, and leave the world to the slavery of despotism. But we hope better things, though we thus speak. "Remember united Columbia is the last hope of the world." Here freedom has sixed her peaceable habitation while the rest of the world is distracted by the most dreadful convulsions. Let us remember the subject is important; we are acting not only for ourselves, but for the rising generation, and even those that are yet unborn. Let us be faithful to preserve our liberties, that those, who come after us, may attune their hearts in praise to our patriotism.

WE need the more to be guarded, when we confider, that our liberties are envied by the world. There is not a potentate in Europe, but who would be glad to see some person, whose spirit soars above the dull pursuits of civil life" erect a throne within these States, and reign with a monarch's fway. Wonder not then, if intrigues of every kind are practiced on us. If there be attempts to draw us into an alliance with one of the powers of Europe, that our liberty may be lost in its fraternal embraces. Let us then be ever ready to cultivate peace, and honest friendship with all nations, but enter into entangling alliances with none. Let us maintain our independence with independent minds. --- Let us cherith in our breafts the spirit of those, who achieved us this precious inheritance we enjoy. The remembrance of the valor which encircled the brows of our ancestors with never fading laurels, is a perpetual memorial and an uncealing incitement to us, that we should do nothing unworthy the name; that we should esteem ourselves able to maintain it in all its pristine lustre-If we would imitate the virtues of our progenitors, if we would approach near to their renown, if we would revive their great and glorious days, we must be mindful of our origin, and of the duties it imposes on us; we must keep our ancestors in view as our bright example; we must never look on their renown as an inheritance, which we may enjoy in indolence; never indulge in that impatient and jealous pride, which suggests that all must yield to a name of glory, and which is irritated at the preference prefent merit obtains over former worth. It is then that our fathers live again in their descendants; their moss-grown cenotaphs and ancient trophies seem to rise before us; the guardian genii of our nation are seen supporting in the air the shades of the illustrious founders of our fame; and enraptured by this pleasing vision every heart and hand is united in the ardent pursuit of honor, and every foul blazes with true patriotism."

AIDED by this, we may realife what we ought to be, and duly eftimate the bleffings of a free government; and would we be defirous of maintaining it, we must not abuse the privileges put into our hands; we must not abuse them by conferring our suffrage on an unworthy person, who is not a real friend to his country; nor, neglect the right of suffrage. If we do not attend to the elections of the people, we deprive ourselves of an important privilege, and we may deprive the state of one to rule over us, who otherwise would be the choice of the people. By thus neglecting our duty, ruin may come on us, when we are not aware, and especially in a day when ambitious men are striving to monopolize power, at the expense of the liberties of the

people. While we are faithful to improve the privileges we enjoy, we may justly hope they will be preserved unimpaired; which if neglected we must not wonder if they are taken from us by the usurping hand of ambition.

Would we become useful citizens, understand the nature of a free government, and live conformable to it, we must remember, that the first step towards it is self-government, for the basis of all true patriotism is founded on private virtue.

HAVING this for its basis, our government will stand amidst all the revolutions, that are in the world. Det us then practice it ourselves, and teach it to our children, in hopes that generations yet unborn may know from experience what blessings we enjoy. Let us join our united efforts to support the government of our land, and humbly implore him, who holds in his hand the destinies of nations, that our government may not be corrupted nor our constitution limited till the time shall come, when he whose right it is to rule the nations in righteousness, shall claim the universal sway over the whole earth.



A PSALM,

SUNG ON THE OCCASION.

Altered from WATTS.

TO thee, most holy and most high, We render thanks, and sing thy praise; Thy works declare thy name is nigh, Thy works of wonder and of grace.

To bondage doom'd thy freeborn sons, Behold their soes indignant rise; And sore oppress'd by earthly thrones, Appeal'd to him who rules the skies.

Then, mighty God, with equal power Arose thy vengeance and thy grace,
To drive their legions from our shore,
And save the men that sought thy face.

Let haughty princes fink their pride,
Nor lift so high their scornful head;
But lay their impeous thoughts aside,
And own the powers that God hath made,

Such honors never come by chance, Nor do the winds promotion blow; But God the judge doth once advance, 'Tis he that lays anoter law.

No vain pretence to royal birth, Shall raise a tyrant to the throne; Th' impartial Sovereign of the earth, Will make the rights of men be known.

His hand will yet uphold the just, And whilst he tramples on the proud, And lays their glory in the dust, Our lips shall sing his praises loud. When peace and harmony shall reign; When direful wars no more are know. And all respect the rights of men.

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AN ODE,

FOR THE SAME.

ONCE more, on freedom's hallow'd day, Columbia's fons rejoice; Once more we join the festive lay, And tune our grateful voice.

Come ye who love the smiling train, That meets throughout this land; With one accord adopt the strain, And let our joys expand.

Hail Independence! joyous hour, That gave true liberty, Unloos'd the grasp of British power, And spoke a nation free.

Columbia felt th' inspiring shock, Yet trembled, till she saw Her empire sounded on a rock Of government and law

See distant Asia bound in chains !
See Afric' sunk in gloom!
See Europe bleed at all her veins,
While armies throng the tomb!

While here sweet peace maintains her stand, Here plenty spreads her cours, And Madison now rules this land, Which once was sav'd by arms. Come, then, and let us all rejoice, Nor fear a tyrant's rod; Let's join to bless, with heart and voice, Columbia's guardian God.

And while we drink the stream that flows To cheer the freeborn mind;
Let's drop a tear for foreign wees,
And pray for all mankind.



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