

AN
ORATION,

DELIVERED IN

ST. MICHAELS CHURCH,

CHARLESTON, SOUTH-CAROLINA;

ON MONDAY, THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1814;

IN COMMEMORATION OF

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE;

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AMERICAN REVOLUTION SOCIETY,

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*A Member of the Revolution Society.*

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1814.

ORATION, &c.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,

Great topics are called forth by this occasion—it raises in review a train of events, from which imagination may relume her fires—sympathy may replenish her tears—judgment may nerve her energies—philosophy may amplify her speculations—virtue and religion may animate their hopes.

If o'er the field, marked by the vestiges of war, where the cold hand of death has stopped the throbbings of a patriot heart, and where the prayers of dying heroes rise in solemn symphony to Heaven; if, o'er a scene so painful, but so glorious to humanity, fancy has soared on her sublimest wing—over what scenes can she hover with a more mournful extacy, than those, in which the soldiers of America are seen to pour forth their generous spirits upon the altar of their country's rights? And where can sensibility touch a chord, which will vibrate with a more thrilling influence?

If the historic page unfolds a succession of contests between the encroachments of power and the struggles of injured impotence; and if the failure of human wisdom has been conspicuous in its efforts to regulate the order of society, so as to establish the total good upon the due division

of dignity, authority, right, and privilege; surely the situation of this country, after the termination of her revolutionary struggle, must have demanded all the sagacity of the statesman, must have called forth all the resource of the philosopher, must have swelled the highest sensibilities of the philanthropist.

Just risen, from colonial dependence, into national importance, the people of the United States found themselves in the full possession of the power of action, without a national system on which to exercise the sovereign will.

The other nations of the world, who were walking in the paths which time and accident had beaten for them, were looking with anxious solicitude upon this interesting spectacle—a young people, under novel circumstances, with new habits and original principles, just entering on the wide and expansive field of government, alike open to the wild experiments of a fanciful theory, as to the legitimate inductions of a sober and practical wisdom. To the people thus wandering in the wilderness of speculation, the Federal Constitution was reared, as a “Pillar of Fire” to guide them thro’ the night of fear and despondency, as a “Pillar of Cloud” to shade them from the pestilential heats of factious passion.

In the developement of the principles of that instrument—in the execution of its precepts—in the exercise of its rights—and in the enjoyment of its privileges, great and sacred were the duties of the magistrate and the citizen;—but, by a rigid and virtuous conformity with its principles, such

has been the encrease of individual prosperity, such the diffusion of public tranquillity, such the consolidation of national power, and such the splendor of the American name, that the experience of this country has laughed into contempt those slavish theories against republics, which have been industriously propagated and imposed upon the ignorant credulity and ignoble apathy of the world, with a *secret* and bitter malevolence for that cause, whose weakness they *openly* affected to deplore. From this period a new æra has opened upon philosophy, and new data are presented to the student, on which his contemplations may be indulged with more honor to the human character, and more in consonance and sympathy with the rights, the liberty, and the happiness of man.

Connected with these civil excellencies, stand the freedom and safety of religion. That deed which gave the liberty of action, was not to be stained by a restriction upon the liberty of thought. Religion, which was sent to allay the animosities, and unite the dissensions of mankind, was not to be raised as a wall of partition between the members of the same community. The ministers of the laws of man were not to be arrayed against the ministers of the laws of God. The revelation was not to be made a shield of defence to some and a sword of offence to others. The doctrines of Heaven were not to be subjected to the policies of state, or the sinister views of tyranny, but, *the church was left subservient only to the church's God.* Whence then can the incense of piety af-

ced, with better expectation of a favorable acceptance, and a gracious answer, than from that altar, at which persecution stands not to fan the flame of one offering and to extinguish that of another, where the awful converse between the creature and his Creator is free from inquisitorial scrutiny, and to whose shrine no passport is necessary, but a contrite heart and a holy motive.

Such, fellow-citizens, is the retrospect which lies open to you on the recurrence of this auspicious day.

In the happy emotions which accompany this review, deep must be our regret, that it is peculiar to ourselves.

Standing on the eminence raised by the virtue and wisdom of our ancestors, we look with pride and pity upon the proudest nations of the proudest portion of the globe—Europe; so shattered by the storms of war, so enervated by the diseases of bad government, that even in this her proud and comparatively happy day, she will find a retrospect replete with subjects of mortification and remorse.

Bright as may be some periods of her history, the effulgence emblazons only the pomp of pride and the ardor of ambition. From the splendor of war, few rays emanate to enlighten ignorance; to alleviate the pressure of poverty; to cheer the despondency of helpless misery. Amidst the usurpations of power, the blind compliances of ignorance, the slavish prejudices of superstition, and the intemperate zeal of civil and religious fanaticism, Liberty is scarcely to be seen but in the

frantic struggle of desperation. With different names, the people of Europe bear a common character. *Divided* in feeling and interest, they are *united* in vice and folly, nor from the great moral diseases which have infected her atmosphere can any nation claim a safe and unpolluted exemption.

Let it be remembered, that whatsoever may be the magnitude of European evils, it is the accumulation of ages. Let it not be forgotten, that the vices which have there prevailed, are not endemial to those climes. Let it be seriously enquired, whether; in the vitals of this government, there lurk not the germs of diseases, which may make our manhood detestable for crime, and bring on a premature old age, contemptible for its decrepitude.

Fain would I dissipate such apprehensions; gladly would I delight your attention, with prospects smiling with the fruits of industry, enlivened by the vivacity of peace and dignified by all the traits of individual virtue and national power.

But shall I, under opposite convictions, pursue a course of deception and flattery, which throws a false gloss over your errors, until they become irremediable, and seduces you into the expectation of a happiness too often removed to a distance proportioned to the sanguine temper with which you are taught to cherish the anticipation? shall we indulge the pride of the present, and, by that means, increase the mortification of the future?

MY COUNTRYMEN! With reluctance do I check the proud exultation of this day; but under my present convictions, under a solemn sense of du-

ty to you and to myself, I cannot, I dare not, descend to use the language of unqualified commendation.

Far be it from me to repress a just, a becoming, a rational spirit of national pride—such a feeling is due to the times which are past, and can alone impart the beams of glory, reflected on us to the times which are to come—such a feeling is due to the constitution under which we live, and to the habits and principles which could conform to that model of political excellence, In such a feeling the world participates, when, thro' the surrounding gloom of servitude and misery, she raises her desponding eyes to our azure spot of liberty and happiness—but it is because of this feeling which we should cherish as the “nurse of manly sentiment”—it is because of these virtues, which, in their purity, promise a perpetuity of honor—it is because the interests of humanity revolve around the wisdom of our actions, as the centre of their hopes, the focus of their destinies, that we should be watchful of the approach of those vices and errors, which may creep in upon us to tarnish that reputation, to pollute those virtues, and to blight the prospects which now cheer the eye of philanthropy.

Contemptible as that people must always be, whose *excess of diffidence* makes them passive under the weight of internal oppression, or opens the bosom of their pusillanimity to the invasions of external enemies; deep, serious, and fatal, are the consequences of an *excess of confidence*. It is this which has been the bane of the republics

which have preceded us—it is this which makes a people sleep, in the security of their presumption, over the secret machinations of intrigue, or allures them, in the pride and lust of power, to throw off the salutary restraints of government, and to exhaust themselves in the wanton dissipation of democratical fervor: or, if these fatal effects do not await them at home, it is this which hurries them from the possession of domestic peace into all the ruinous and unnecessary embarrassments of foreign war.

From the disgrace of timidity, the achievements of our ancestors, and our own steady adherence to the rights of this people, have hitherto preserved us; from the ill effects of popular temerity, it is to be regretted we have not been altogether free.

No engine in the hands of those men, who were opposed to the adoption of the Federal constitution, could be more efficacious in forwarding their inimical views to the principles embodied in that instrument, than a disposition in the people to give to the democratical powers of that compact, a greater weight and preponderance than would be consistent with the nice, intricate, and the delicate combination of its several interests.

In a LIMITED MONARCHY, such as GREAT BRITAIN, where the *strong and efficient power* of the state is vested in the *monarchical and aristocratical* departments, and to which power the GREAT *check*, or CONTROL, exists in the influence and prevalence of *popular* opposition, such a disposition ought always to be encouraged; but in our re-

public, where the image of the state is fashioned by the hands of the people, where *influence* and *power* combine to guard the citadel of our republicanism, and where the *first feelings* of youth, together with the *latest convictions* of wisdom and of age, identify our unwritten prejudices, and our inbred habits, with the written provisions of our constitution, here, such a disposition, excited beyond the due constitutional limits, can have no other tendency than to shake the constitution from its balance, to hurl it from its proud pinnacle of wisdom, and of glory, and to prostrate it in the imbecility of an ignoble dissolution.

Perceiving this, the same men who had been foiled in their attempts to poison the springs of our liberties, with a malice porportioned to their disappointment, assiduously set about to divert the deep and majestic stream of our government, into all the little shallow channels of intrigue and party, and by that means expose it, divided, sluggish, and incapable of repletion, to all the torrid influences of the dog star of anarchy.

Aware of the obstacles which would impede their progress, as long as the people were kept sensible of the importance of limiting the democratical departments of the confederative powers, they ridiculed the mixed and *middle* principles of our government, as the offspring of timidity, and were assiduous to represent the salutary checks upon the excesses of popular feeling; as the steps by which monarchy would ascend to her fortrefs, thence to look down and awe the just and generous

efforts of an enslaved and indignant people. It was however, well known, that the great majority of the people would revolt from the idea of making an ostensible innovation in the construction of that instrument, which they had so lately sworn to conform to and obey. But it was equally well known, that the secret and surreptitious approaches of intrigue would allure their unsuspecting minds into compliances equally pernicious to the integrity of that sacred instrument. Professing, therefore, to venerate the dignity, and bow to the power of that constitution, they lost no opportunity to diminish (by a misapplication of general principles, and a misconstruction of circumstances incidental to the best forms of government) the influence of the one, or render the salutary exercise of the other alarming to the perverted jealousies of deluded ignorance.

Successful in exciting popular fears, they now addressed a feeling, which, when properly regulated, is the safeguard of a nation's honor, but once suffered to become extravagant, is the copious source of ruin and disgrace. The pride, the self love, and the self sufficiency of the people, in their primitive and individual character.

Various were the means, unceasing the application, to wound the pride of the people, by artful suggestions of the disgraceful suspicions manifested in some characteristics of the constitution, of their want of virtue and capacity to govern themselves; free from restraints, rather suited to the cautious circumspection of monarchy than to the liberal principles of a republic.

Political maxims, which the ardor of the new philosophy of France had adorned with all the attractive graces, that please the fancy of the theorist, and heighten the hopes of the sanguine, were presented in their most alluring aspect to the warm and generous feelings of the American people.

Against these deep designs of a cowardly ambition, which sought its object by the basest circumvention; stood the unshaken virtue, the calm, the moderate, the cautious policy of those men who, *with Washington*, had experienced the perils of loose principles, which make government imbecile, and keep the public mind in a state of dangerous fluctuation.

But where will you find the great public body so pure and fortified as to resist the seduction of sentiments, well calculated to flatter their pride, to sooth their diffidence, and to inflame their confidence. Yes, my countrymen, that virtue which would not coalesce with open villainy, suffered itself to be deceived into an acquiescence with the views of an insinuating duplicity.

It is painful to advert to the success of schemes, which polluted the public mind, and insulted the majesty of the laws.

Could I believe that the undaunted firmness of the administration of Washington, had extinguished the spirit, when it crushed the figure, of the "western insurrection;" the disgraceful and dangerous occurrences of the year 1794, had not been recalled. But is it not to be feared that al-

tho' the great tree of that rebellion was then cut down, its roots had spread too deep and wide to be immediately and effectually eradicated? when we, with deep mortification, witness the tumults of popular passions, almost equal in atrocity to the ruthless fury of a Robesperean mobocracy, and contemplate the insidious indifference with which some men study to hurry them from the virtuous indignation of the people; can we hesitate to believe that the same hands, which sowed the first seeds of a licentious discontent with the true principles of our constitution, are wanting to cherish and transport the scions of that political Upas, into the fertile soil of the delusive pride and excessive confidence of the people. It is criminal to shut our eyes to these evidences,—they betoken a disregard to the warning knell of the republics which have gone forever—they shew our rapid lapse into those diseases which brought them to their sad decline—before it be too late let us confront them before the tribunal of public candor, virtue and intelligence.

And what evil can call louder for a remedy than that policy which, with a prodigal and licentious hand, scatters the sacred right of suffrage to the winds of an indiscriminating equality—look to this evil in the very bosom of this state—see it recorded *in our statute book*.—Men who look into consequences cannot but believe that this act which makes suffrage universal, is pregnant with evils, which, when this country shall encrease her population, will make the very tumults of the Athenian ostracism, or the Roman tribunate, appear

but as the warning whistling of that tempest, whose ravages will then have laid waste the fairest, the greatest, the last of republics.

Perhaps the “uncandid duinets” of some, who wish not to acknowledge the existence of this evil, may call for a minute and explicit exposition of the grounds of these apprehensions; but neither the time nor the occasion will admit that comprehensive scope of reasoning, which the subject would deserve and demand in the legislative chamber.

This much, however, it is proper that I should say—The opposers of “universal suffrage” by no means wish to overlook the claims of poverty, or to arrogate to wealth any prerogatives—they cherish the sentiments of our former law—the law under which the people were happy and honorable among themselves, and respected by the world—the law which, altho’ moderate and reasonable, was just in its requisitions—which was graduated by the scale of reciprocal rights and reciprocal duties—which, if it required pecuniary as well as personal services, gave additional rights as a recompence for additional duties. Under that law, poverty, with honesty and industry, met with encouragement, reward, and honor—but that law set its face against the pretensions of that abject poverty, which is the consequence of a disgraceful indolence, and brings in its train all the mean and groveling vices of a venal mind, accustomed to hang upon the bounty of others; while it raised a protection to the integrity of suffrage, in those delicate and invaluable feelings

of a proud independence, which is always the inmate of the bosom of honest poverty, will make a man frown down the least attempt upon the chastity of his election, and keep him true to his friends', his country's honor, and his own.

These are the prominent effects of that excessive confidence, which has marked the conduct of the American people in their affairs at home—and when we look abroad we find, that, impelled by the same undue confidence of our strength, we have launched the dearest interests of this young republic, upon all the fluctuating embarrassments of foreign war.

The repeal of the “British orders in council” confines the observations which you may expect upon the subject of the present war; to the questions of “expatriation and naturalization.”

To a continuance of this unhappy contest, upon the grounds taken by our government, a fair, a just, and a patriotic opposition has been raised in this country.

I know with what a shew of feeling the advocates of expatriation come before this country and the world—I know that philosophers in the calm contemplations of the closet, have pretended to lay down *general* rules upon this subject—but I also know that this question has not been universally settled, even in the abstract, and that when we consider the bias of national pride and national interest, which is brought into the discussion, we can scarcely be sanguine enough to expect its practical solution.

How much soever the happy medium between

that tyranny and misrule, which absolves a citizen from the obligations of his allegiance, and that rigid, but expedient exercise of power, which, altho' irksome and perhaps injurious, it would be a crime in him to rebel against or disobey, may be talked of by the disinterested and unimpassioned philosopher, still it is almost impossible to be discerned when fought for by men under the influence of strong and generous national feelings.

We may illustrate these positions by a conscientious appeal to ourselves.—

Is our country at peace? Is her population large, industrious, and happy? Does there exist too intimate a concord between the government and the people, to apprehend any evil from emigration? In such circumstances it is little less than natural, to cry out against the tyranny of restricting a privilege, as yet appearing perfectly consistent with all the obligations of allegiance.—Reverse the picture.—Has war shattered the fabric of our union, and has internal discord followed in her train? Has the government been compelled to resort to measures which encrease the burdens of the poor, and decrease the luxuries of the rich? Does every man communicate to his neighbor his complaints and his discontents? Is the time arrived when the least relaxation of constitutional power would give a range to rebellion, and a loose to emigration, which could not again be compassed or restrained? Where is the man capable of foreseeing the contagion of example, in the same community of feeling, who would not be ready to call that, treason, which before he

had thought but the proper exercise of an unalienable right? At such a time would not this be our language? Is the public calamity to take from infidelity its stain? Are the obligations of private friendship heightened by adversity, and is there no public, no national friendship? No—when ever the case actually occurs, in which the society is so deteriorated, as that its members cannot remain in it, consistently with their views of happiness and honor, a general, an universal discontent will rouse each and every member to a recurrence to their original state and original views, and, with one heart and with one hand, the whole will set about the work of disenthralment and regeneration—But before this crisis, and especially when the great body of the country stands in need of the contributory aid of every citizen, to throw off one's national character is a desertion of his country—a pusillanimous compliance with selfish and interested dictates, and not the just and honorable exercise of a natural right.

Candid men saw and admitted the perplexity and distraction in which mankind would always be involved, whenever they were *compelled* to agitate this question—And perceiving what a perennial fountain of war and bloodshed it would be, they, under this serious conviction, have called upon the people of this country to pause and reflect, before they *volunteer* themselves as the advocates of either opinion, as the champions of either right.

Surely, upon a subject so doubtful, even in the abstract, and, when regarded with a view to

its practical tendencies, so difficult of solution, there was no urgent or imperative call from the honor of this country to an appeal to arms.

Great Britain, while she did us *injury* in the persons of some of our native fellow-citizens, and persisted in her claims to the services of her natural born subjects, added *no insult* to our indisputable sovereign rights, but, in the first case, pleaded inevitable mistake, and, in the second place, attempted to justify her conduct, as well upon the ground of *state necessity*, as upon the general, if not universal, usages of the European nations, and her long established construction of the laws of nations, in the decisions of her common law, and the provisions of her statutes.

Under these circumstances it was thought, and insisted upon, that arrangements of a degree less formal than a treaty, but having a watchful regard to the *rights* of our naturalized fellow-citizens, could settle, at least for a time, the existing differences. Whatever *rights* we justly had, we may have delayed to assert, but would still have retained; whereas a premature attempt to coerce our opponents, could terminate only in the relinquishment of our claims, and the frustration of our pretensions,

But even suppose our right to protect the natives of other countries, upon the high seas, to be indisputable, still the question of war lay open to considerations of policy and interest. Before we had sent forth our hostile herald, and cast our bloody spear, we should have seriously enquired—whether a productive revenue, a well

disciplined soldiery, a skilful, expert, and experienced navy, and a firm union of sentiment (the basis of all our strength) would enable us to conduct the war compatibly with our honor and commensurate with our views.

Upon these points, facts which burn the bosom of the American with indignation, and suffuse his face with shame, deny us even the poor consolation of *a doubt*.

A pitiful, improvident, and insidious policy, *the policy of a party, and not the policy of the nation*, withheld the constitutional demands upon the contributions of the citizen; while reclining on the bosom of prosperity, his heart dilated with present joys, and his hopes expanding a wide field of future felicity, he would have willingly culled the first fruits of his industry, and, with a patriotic zeal, have made an offering to his Alma Mater. Such a policy, suffered the fiscal tree to wither and decay, until, amidst the losses, the confusion, and the ruin, arising from its folly, taxation became exaction, and contribution, privation.

To counteract this important obstacle, nothing was to be found in the organization of the army, nothing in the establishment of the navy, nothing in the union of the people. The first was unenlisted, unofficered, and undisciplined; the second pined under the weight of a contemptible parsimony, and a detestable envy of that wisdom which had nurtured it, and the public mind trembled on the brink of national disunion.

Will posterity believe it, that, with all these

disadvantages, and at a most momentous crisis of the world, the people of America, hurried by an unthinking passion, and a ruinous prejudice, have left the happy shades of peace, and rushed into the incarnardined fields of Europe, there, in the very puberty of their growth, to enter into a rude and unequal conflict with the bone and muscle of Europe's manhood?

The results are too mournful to be recapitulated. Dark indeed will be the records of these times, when flattery cannot address passion, and falsehood deceive ignorance. Alas! who can endure the picture of our injured country, which the weakness of our present rulers has held up to a scoffing or a pitying world? Let us the rather look upon the only scene* which cheers the general gloom.

Sainted Spirit of our Father, our Fellow-Citizen, our Washington! That heaven which has seen fit to chastise the follies and vices of thy children, has, in *its justice to thee*, and in *its mercy to us*, by a signal interposition, marked its approbation of the wisdom and the purity of thy principles.

Yes, Americans, raise your desponding eyes. One monument † of your Washington still stands upon its noble base. Upon it raise the superstructure of *his* principles—guard it, with the fortitude of freemen, from the silent approaches of intrigue, from the dissolving influences of jacobinical principles, and from the intrusion of foreign feelings: for, infected with the vicious atmosphere of Europe, they bring with them such a

* Our NAVAL VICTORIES. † Our NAVY.

whirlwind of passion, prejudice, caprice, and speculation, that, were the materials of our constitution of adamantine firmness, were the arts of Doris, of Ionia, and of Corinth united to give it strength, symmetry, and splendor, its shining capitals, its graceful columns, its well set buttments, and its deep foundations would soon lie crumbled beneath the concussions of these rude elements.

Yet these dangers are not to intimidate, but to animate you to exertions suited to the high object we have to attain. It is not to gild the chains of despotism—it is not to nerve the pernicious power of monarchy—it is not to pamper the pride of aristocracy—but it is to bless with equal laws and equal rights the happy people of a happy republic.

Every thing combines to stimulate our efforts. Europe is awakened from the sleep of apathy, and risen from the bed of servitude. Stupendous events, which fix the minds of men in dumb astonishment, attend her progress. The tyrant, whose ambition sported with the freedom of nations, and spared neither the innocence of virtue, nor the helplessness of impotence, now lies prostrate in an ignoble seclusion, loaded with the pity of the merciful, the detestation of the just, and the tortures of a guilty conscience.

When the “morning star” of France set beneath the horizon which she illumined; when the sensibilities, which endear and adorn the human character, were blasted by the influence of “that barbarous philosophy, which made Regicide, Parricide, and Sacrilege,” not merely pardonable, but

commendable—when the “age of chivalry” seemed to be gone, and the “glory of Europe to be extinguished for ever”—BURKE, the good, the philosophic, and the great, in the agonies of a disappointed humanity, thus gave vent to the generous sympathies of an overflowing bosom—“Oh, what a revolution! and what a heart must I have, to contemplate, without emotion, that elevation, and that fall.”

Now, when the dawn of disenfranchisement and regeneration has opened on a benighted people—when the “pleasing illusions” have re-appeared, which make “power gentle, and obedience liberal;” which “harmonize the different shades of life, and incorporate into politics the sentiments which beautify and soften private society.”—When “a new scheme of things” seems about to be instituted, in which reason and religion will inculcate peace—what freeman can hesitate to exclaim “what a re-action! and what an heart must I have, to contemplate, without ineffable gratitude and joy, the fall of the tyrant, and the elevation of a government, which promises to the people of France, the repose of peace, the prosperity of industry, and the happiness and honor attendant upon the restitution of moral principles and religion?”

“Is not *this* a triumph to be celebrated at the altars? *Holland* is free! again will the spirit of liberty give an energy to the people, which will crown individuals with wealth, and the nation with glory.

Spain! Freed from the debasing thalldrom of

superstition, and re-organized by the regenerating principles of her Cortez, is restored to her monarch—bound, by every feeling of gratitude, to govern only for the happiness of a magnanimous people.

Prussia may again hear, without a blush, the achievements of her *Frederick*:—and *Russia*, having called fallen nations into a new existence, follows the destinies of “*Alexander the Deliverer*,” whose name the smile of innocence will decorate, the voice of honor eulogize, the tears of gratitude embalm, and the benedictions of piety will sanctify.

Shall Europe hold the highest niche in the temple? Recollect, that hitherto *we* have advanced, while *she* has receded. Hitherto *we* have set her an example of enterprize and honor, and opened to her children an asylum of peace. Still let that asylum be open to the stranger and the distressed; and pause not in your virtuous exertions to stand conspicuous among the nations of the world.

Despair not of success. Intricate, and therefore delicate, as is the form of your government, it is, nevertheless, durable: It is founded on the basis which God himself has laid—the virtue of his creatures. Our constitution is a tender plant; but the dews of heaven will refresh its roots; her winds will unfold its blossoms; her sun will mature its fruits.

Yes, my countrymen, seeing the causes of the fall of republics, it is in your power, by a scrupulous and undeviating adherence, to the moderate and rational principles of liberty, as deve-

loped in the "federal constitution," to perpetuate the blessings of this young republic, which *ignorance* and *prejudice* sometimes affect to despise, and *misanthropy* dares to deride.

For aid in this great work, Gentlemen of the Cincinnati, to whom time has unfolded the pages of experience, we look to you. The dangers of the revolutionary war have imbued your souls with the spirit of fortitude, and the difficult scenes of a rising government, in which you were the actors, have fortified your minds against the pernicious influences of loose and impracticable theories. We expect from you lessons of a calm, moderate, and rational liberty—a liberty founded on principles, which, like the vernal breeze, bring health and vigor to the bosom which inhales them—principles which we recognize in the federal constitution, and in the conduct which characterized the administration of Washington.

Gentlemen, be ye our pilots, and let these principles be your star.

MEMBERS OF THE REVOLUTION SOCIETY.

Dangers assail our republic, and you must defend her. The tempest of war howls along our borders, and the groves which once echoed with the warblings of peace, now murmur with the plaints of discontent. In this day of her peril, heed the call of your country. It is true, that party spirit, intrigue, and ignorance deny the honor of public and conspicuous service, but nothing can deprive you of the supreme felicity of the patriot—the *serviing her with fidelity*.

How innocent soever we may be of producing

these evils, we would incur a guilt by not striving to avert them :—let us be careful to adopt means consistent with this end :—an opposition, however pure in motive, may, by injudicious and extravagant application, militate against the interests it would wish to promote.

While, therefore, we bow with deference to the powers recognized by our constitution, and pay implicit obedience to the laws, it is our *duty*, with a dauntless front, to oppose the measures which we believe to be injurious to the public good :—it is our *duty* to expose the weakness and wickedness of men, who may sacrifice the permanent interests of this country, to the gratification of prejudice and party feelings, or to the indulgence of fanciful schemes—it is our *duty*, to rouse the *people* to a sense of their danger, to an amendment of their errors.

GENTLEMEN, in doing this, we shall meet with malice, calumny, and danger—but, need I tell you, that the consciousness of integrity will raise before the bosom of every good man, a shield which the shafts of malevolence and falsehood will vainly attempt to penetrate? Surely, I need not remind you of the exquisite feelings of self approbation, which will embalm the retrospection of our conduct; and amidst the storms, which, as the servants of the state, it will be our duty to buffet, will give us a peace and a calm within, which nothing can disturb, agitate or convulse, when withdrawing from the scenes of interest or ambition, we look with a single eye to our country's

good, and, appealing to the God of Truth, can say with a proud confidence,

——“ We have done our duty.”

And you, on whose tender virtues and graces, the future historian of this country, will, amidst the graver deeds of state, dwell with that rapture with which the artist entwines the youthful ivy “ o’er the stern grandeur of the gothic tower”—to you, your country confides the vestal fire of her existence—**THE VIRTUE OF HER SONS.**

And you, Ministers of the Gospel, when, amidst the opening splendors of the dawn, your Orisons ascend the Throne of Omnipotence, call down array of **GLORY** on our beloved country; and when, in the calm serenity of the evening hour, your Vespers rise to the Seat of Benevolence, invoke a soft zephyr of Peace, to compose the agitations of war, and to induce a sweet repose, from which this Young Republic, may, with renovated vigor, arise to a long day of **NATIONAL LIBERTY, HAPPINESS AND HONOR.**

