of other nations,—leading them to the great temple of liberty. Let us, rather dwell on our country's rise, to her present distinguished eminence. Let us evince a strong sympathy in the sufferings; and interest, in the success of those nations, that are now wrestling with the giant-power of despotism. Let Americans be satisfied, that they obtained the triumph; that England yielded to their claim of independence: to the full establishment of which, their present power and glory, bear ample attestation.

That all nations have a natural and indefeisable right, to civil, and political liberty, is a principle, that obtains fundamentally, in all liberal constitutions. But few have had the happiness, to reap the benefits of free institutions, simultaneously; so, that, while a small portion of mankind, have been blessed with the advantages of free government, the rest have laboured under the curse of domestick subjugation, or foreign dominion. While the great mistress of the ancient world, existed as a republick, in the uninterrupted enjoyment of good fortune, other nations saw no array of brightness, above their own horizons;—nothing, but one wide waste of moral, and political darkness. Along the vast tract of time, that intervenes between those ages and the present, some few republicks arose, but vanished as suddenly, as the blaze of the meteor in the dim distance of night. Our own stood alone for years, until the sister states of the South, sprang into being, as it were, by the force of enchantment. In what form, Sir, do you suppose, that she appeared to the rest of the world, then weeping o'er its own miseries and servitude? As the last verdant spot, amidst the general desolation. Such, no doubt, did she appear to the Trans-atlantick patriot, whose soul remained unbent to the measure of tyrants chains; and who anxiously looked abroad for an assylum, in which his fellow-men might repose.

But, why have republicks been thus solitary? Why have they expired in their infancy, and often, in the very convulsions that produced them? Surely, not because of the unfruitfulness, of the essential and constituent principles of social liberty? No, sir; it was, because, these principles were not rightly apprehended; nor rightly practised. Instead of being based upon them, rudimentally and substantially, that the superstructures might partake of their nature, and derive their benefits, they were made up of the atoms of anarchy; hurled into tumult; dashed to and fro, in the whirlwind of popular passion; confused and disordered, as was the original matter before the dawn of creation. Where, in all this, is the studied arrangement;—the good order;—the wise administration of men, associated by compact?—Others have been erected with greater caution, but with little security: evincing what might be effected, by the proper exercise of those principles: with the full display, of the infirmity and instability of human nature.

It is, now, the indisputable opinion of scientifick moralists, that man was originally organized for a social state: notwithstanding, the bold reasonings of cold metaphysicians, and vain philosophers. It has been deduced from the best rules of morality; and from the sole design, that could have been formed, in the creation of things. The grand object of society, is the security of individual and collective happiness. As individual happiness could not be conserved in any other, than a social state: nor collective interests be regarded, while, all the rights, that might be supposed to pertain to a state of savage or insulated nature, remained unabridged; it was found necessary, that some few of those rights should be surrendered: because, the *good* of one member of a community, should be subordinate to that, of the thousands, and tens of thousands that compose it. These are the principles, upon which, all governments are founded. But all are not agreed, as to what constitutes that true and essential happiness. That it consists in civil and political liberty, is implied in this instrument. The same principles, which have just been maintained, are recognized by all liberal and enlightened statesmen. These taken as the groundwork; with the best maxims of government rested thereon, for the preservation of this liberty, form the great and glorious structure of our republick. Other commonwealths, no doubt, were raised upon the same foundations. But, how different were their constructions! how different were the means adopted for their safeguard!

The genii of most ancient nations, were aspiring and ambitious. Rome, when republican, was not contented with the freedom of her own institutions; and exemption from foreign domination. War and conquest were her watchwords. They were the mottos, that distinguished her ensigns; and caused every opposing army, to tremble and shrink before their array. Her domestick tranquillity was long marred, by the distinctions Plebeian and Patrician. But, so soon, as the voice of the former, began to be distinctly heard, they were abolished. Civil and political equality was introduced. Peace and concord reigned in triumph, at home.—As power injudiciously balanced, inclines too much, to the hands of single men, her free citizens, in the enjoyment of the high offices of Consul and Dictator, became charged with faculties, dangerous to her safety. Subordination and obedience were superseded, by the greatest oppression and tyranny. And from those causes, proceeded the unexampled effusion of blood, under a Sylla and a Marius. Thus, by degrees, did the democracy of Rome, lapse into empire, under which, she fell before the barbarous hosts of the North: and, now, remains the wretched wreck of what she once was; the miserable seat of a more miserable superstition.——How, were the Grecian republicks constructed? Were they tempered with the moral virtues, "peace and good will to men"? Were these principles introduced into their constitutions, as the grand moderators of their liberty and equality? No, Sir: they were too ardent, in the pursuit of foreign conquest; and, too often, turned their own arms from external war, against each other, to the utter destruction of all friendly intercourse, and mutual aid. Had they been formed under a Christian dispensation, what a peaceful and harmonious society of nations, might they not have composed among themselves! Under a wise union, strongly cemented, they might have existed until the present day, and saved that classick land from barbarous profanation.

Since then, the world had undergone a great, an universal change. Those nations, that had been blessed with the illuminations of knowledge, fell into a second intellectual chaos. Proud Babylon, whose temples and observatories, would fain have stormed the heavens, was laid low, in one wide field of ruin: and seemed, in sullenness to mock the brutal term of her, once, haughty Nebuchadnezzar. Susa, Persepolis, and Palmyra, were deserted by their former splendours: and their deathlike silence was interrupted, only, by the howlings of ferocious beasts; and the wild cry of the prophetick owl. Jerusalem became a wilderness; and Carthage leveled with the dust. Those places, that had boasted of their grandeur and magnificence, were known, only, by the few relicks of brass and marble, that lied scattered here and there, on their desolated surface. The whole earth, from the rivers of India, to the pillars of Hercules, where civilization had ever traced a solitary step, appeared to be reduced to primeval darkness. Like Rome, after her conflagration by the Gauls, it had, again, to pass through the stage of adolescence.

On this side that great wreck of intellect, new nations have arisen. Human nature has resumed its former character, as mental and physical resources have been developed. Those governments, which received their forms, without the impress of the elementary principles of society, enforced by the cautious maxims of good policy; and without the properly legitimate object, in view, civil and political liberty have been the subjects of frequent revolution. They, which have stood the test of time, have been repeatedly shaken to their centres. And they, which were subverted, and arose anew, have again, been brought to the verge of ruin.—The little states of Italy, seem to have been the footballs of fortune; always, vacillating between democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy. Venice, only, stood for ages as a republick; but, now, lies buried in the general heap of Italian liberty.—Holland was possessed of the form;—not, of the spirit of a commonwealth. The popular voice was, but seldom heard in her councils; and then, only, by a loud exertion of its physical force. Her naval strength, at one time, was adequate to a competition, with the fleets of England; but the valour of her Van Tromp and De Ruiter; and the genius of her De Witts, were unable to raise her above the storms of tumult and sedition.—And where is Switzerland, the land of the patriotick Tell? She, too, has suffered the death of an independent nation. Once, she was the peaceful asylum, of the oppressed of all Europe. Once, she was blessed as the quiet retreat of liberty and domestick felicity; but is, now, coerced to the tenure of a constitution, dictated under circumstances repugnant, to the first principles of national independence. Her soldiery, once, the bulwark of a happy people; and the teachers of tacticks to other nations;—are, now, the degraded body-guards of besotted kings. After maintaining her freedom, for more than five hundred years, she was barbarously crushed, by the fell spirit of the French revolution. France, too, at that time, under the pretence of reform, professed the intention of establishing a liberal and enlightened administration. But, in truth, she was then nurturing within her own bosom, the wild affections of anarchy. The spirit of liberty sleeping in inaction, when awaked, arose and cast off its fetters, as the lion, on his morning walk, shakes from his mane the dew-drops of heaven. Unrestrained by the confines of one kingdom, it suddenly overleaped the barriers of others, erected for their own defence: where, it devastated all that was fertile; and despoited all that had been consecrated. Not contented with the triumph at home, it idly and ingloriously perished on foreign battlements. Instead of commencing the work of revolution, with gravity and wisdom, the French people rushed with their characteristick levity, into the greatest excesses of disorder. Instead of being admonished by the fatality, that attended the adoption of false rules and maxims of government, by former nations, they plunged themselves into all the horrors of war. Where the unhappy and ill-fated Louis reigned, there sat supreme the tyrant Robespiere, impurpled with the blood of his countrymen; armed with the sword of massacre; and sceptered with the pen of proscription. Instead of being the reign of wise reform, and prudent administration, it was emphatically, "*the reign of terror.*"

Such, Sir was the nature of those free governments, that were precedent to, and contemporary with our own. And, let no man be so vain, as to judge of the future success of the latter, by the subversions of the former.—But what, I pray you, was the great secret, that continued so long undiscovered? It was nothing less, than *popular* representation. It is true, that England had the honour of first introducing it, as a branch of her constitution: whence, it was derived by the framers of our own: but, they have won the imperishable fame, of having applied it more largely, and securely based upon the sovereignty of the people. The balance, in this system, is most admirably adjusted, between the different powers, executive, legislative, and judicial. Too great tendency to monarchy, is guarded by the wakeful eye, and political strength of the popular body; while, the wildness and extravagance of the latter, are wisely restricted by a wholesome infusion of the former. This is a mighty confederacy of independent states; organized within themselves, upon the best principles; all, contributing their respective portions of aid and support to the Union; and receiving from it, an equal diffusion of nourishment, by a process of reaction. Like the organization of the human body, it is constructed with all the appropriate strength of dependant parts; conformity of features; and beauty of just proportion. And like it, we must expect its decay; for it is similarly liable to disease. Not, that its constituent principles are mutable and perishable, intrinsically; for they are immortal and eternal, as is the soul's existence. But its structure; its framework, like the material part, must fall after the elapse of ages, before the relentless hand of time, rendered more wasteful by the native sinfulness of men.

Again, Sir, some blind and disingenious politicians, have presumed to maintain, that democracy is but the artful invention of factious men; and, that regal government, is the dictate of nature. This opinion has been deduced from the fact, that monarchy has existed in the world, from its earliest ages; and that, from that time, to the present, it has been more generally received among mankind. Sir, no doctrine can be more fallacious. With the same propriety, they might have asserted, that because the first great Patriarch fell from the joys of Paradise; and all his posterity fell with him, and have continued to sin thenceforth, therefore, *evil* is the dictate of nature's law, and the appointment of God.—The difficulty is most easy of solution. Wherever, the human mind has been buried in darkness, there, has been the reign of tyrants and of kings. A people uninformed and unintelligent, are unable to discern their rights and interests; and if they do, are incompetent to prosecute them, with any conformity to reason. It is over such, exclusively, that the dominion of kings is legitimate. As soon as reason's maxims begin to be rightly apprehended; and the popular mind awaked from it slumbers, they should relax their government; and return the sovereignty to the people, its natural source. But kings, like all others, are subject to the influences of pride and ambition; at the suggestion of which, they rivet their chaims more closely than ever, to perpetuate their thrones. Were it possible to find, in any community, a man possessed of sufficient power, (moral and physical,) to give strength to dominion, and native virtue, to secure it from corruption; it would be the wisest policy of that community, to place him at its head, to rule its destinies: because, the virtue and wisdom of one man, are more efficient, than the loose and dislocated energies, of a great and hetrogeneous mass. But, as all mankind are alike, in weakness and proneness to error, it should be carefully preserved in the hands of its lawful proprietors.

It is by this means, that the people of Europe have been, so long, involved in political ignorance; and are now groaning under the bitterest oppression. In what nations soever, the spirit of liberty has been irradiated by the light of the understanding, it has never failed to arise and vindicate its claims. And, whenever republicks have been successfully established, they have, first of all, chastened and purified and sublimated it, in the two-fold alembick of virtue and intelligence. Rome, Greece, the modern Italian states, Holland, and Switzerland, were far more enlightened, by the true philosophy of nature, while they enjoyed their free institutions, than they ever were before, or have been since. *These* were their golden ages: *these* were their long harvests of wealth. Monarchy is better suited to the beclouded meridians of Arabia and Tartary and Siberia and Ethiopia and Egypt, where the people are inadequate to their own good government, than of lands, where virtue and reason and intellect have dawned forth, in their brightest effulgence;—where the spirit of freedom, stalks abroad, with a giants stride, and a giants strength. Let it not be said, then, that our institutions are anomalous;—that they are frail;—that they are transitory. The best commentary on their qualities, is the uninterrupted prosperity which they have produced. In the course of a few years, from weak and revolutionized colonies, requiring the aid of a foreign power, they have raised this to be a great nation, filling a large space in the eye of the world.—Her wisdom and experience are in requisition, by other nations.—Her arms are respected.—Her navy is second, only, to that of England.—Her commerce is confined by no limits.—Her enterprizing citizens are crowding the ports of all countries.—Her seminaries of learning are daily springing into being.---Above all, her various religions are tolerated and prosperous.---And, by her aid, Christianity is making its rapid inroads, among the strong places of barbarism and infidelity, a work, far more glorious, than all the conquests of Macedonia's king. These are the fruits, of the principles contained in this sacred instrument.---These are the trophies won in furious battle by our ancestors.---These are the laurel and the ivy, that now shade their tombs.---These are the imperishable monuments, which they have left of their patriotism.---These are their honours, more to be desired, than the thrones and diadems of the Caesars,—the civil and political rights of themselves and posterity. Let us preserve them.

To prolong the existence of these institutions, we must look to the virtue and wisdom of the American people. To cultivate these, is the first duty of the statesman. Establish high seats of learning; and these aided by primary seminaries, will fully develop your moral and intellectual resources. Bring education home, to the door of every man. Diffuse it wider and wider, until you be able to meet in every cottager or peasant, however poor and humble, an intelligent friend, an educated citizen. It will be found to be a solace, to persons of all ages, in solitude or society;---calming the untoward passions;---mollifying the asperbities of temper;---and smoothing the inequalities of the wayward path of life. But especially, let not female virtue, and female education be neglected: for these have a more powerful influence, in humanizing the manners and affections of men, and reducing to harmony, the discordances of nature, than all the restrictive systems of lawgivers. Suffer no distinctions of wealth;---no privileged orders to arise, to mar the general equality;---but, let all be brought to the common level, of virtuous, intelligent, and patriotick citizens. Eradicate the noxious seeds of luxury, that have already been planted in the country; lest they grow up to be your destroyers. No hemlock is more baneful to animal life, than it is ruinous to the vital energies of nations. An invariable adaptation of mode and manners, to the condition of life, should be preserved. In the zenith of prosperity, it should be recollected, that the day of adversity may come. In the lowliness of poverty, despair should be eschewed, and the hope of better things, fondly cherished. By all, let it be remembered, that Sybaris and Sicyon, once proud and flourishing, fell under the incantations of that sweet-toned Siren.

To give permanency to a confederacy, whose basis is its *unity*, the elements of the union must be made strictly concordant; and be combined with the full force of attractive aggregation. "Frown indignantly, upon the first dawning of an attempt, to alienate one portion of Union from another,"—was the advice of our great republican father. In the choice of legislators, it is more important that qualifications, moral and intellectual, be regarded, than popular whim, or the caprice of particular factions. The best talents and virtues of the country, must be sought for, if our institutions be expected to endure. The Solon, the Lycurgus, the Zaleucus, and the Confucius of other ages and nations, may be found in every circle of our societies; from the lowly pauper, to the rich proprietor. Cultivate them;—nourish them;—bring them forth, before the full gaze of the publick eye, from the haunts of obscurity: (whether they be retired within the dwellings of poverty, or the gilded halls of your mansions;) and place them in the foremost rank of your country's benefactors. These will give a character to the laws and constitution, that will ever support the strength, the honour, the glory of the republick. When these master-geniuses shall have brought the national code, to the state best adapted to our necessities, and its own duration; it should be kept from the moth and rust of frequent emendation, by unskilful hands;—unchanged, but with the vicissitudes of time and circumstance. It should be guarded, as were the volumes of the Sibyl of old. It should be treasured up in a holy place; and preserved with all the solemnity of Jewish veneration.

All things human, have points of elevation and depression, which they cannot transcend. Man has his birth, his prime, and his death. All animated nature has the hour of formation, of perfection, and extinction. The material structure of the universe, is continually changing, in the decay and renovation of its parts. Thus it is with nations. They, too, have their rise, progress, and downfall. We have had our days of tribulation; but are now, marching on with a rapid pace, towards that point of eminence, beyond which, no people, as yet, have stretched their career. When that crisis shall arrived, posterity may tremble for its existence. But who knows, Sir, what may be the result of present and past experiments, and the experiments of the future, if wisely conducted. If our government be continued, and well supported on the principles, which, at this time, constitute its basis, its progress may be made, with the grace and beauty of an asymptote, always approaching the curve of its elevation, but never touching it.

But, Mr. President, while we are concerned for the perpetuity of our own laws and institutions, is there no sympathy for the foreign nations, that are now drinking of the cup of human woe? Are no tears to be shed for the bitter sufferings of GREECE, now writhing under an inexorable despotism? Oh! Sir:

"Lives there a man on earth so dead"

as to be unmoved by the cries of Scio and Ipsara? Is there a classick mind in this assembly, indifferent to her cause? Ir there a heart, sensible to the thrilling notes of the lyre and the flute, that does not vibrate with deep emotion, to the elegiack song that portrays her miseries. There, the spirit of freedom once flourished; but, for ages, lied buried in her tombs. It has just risen from the ashes of the mighty heroes of antiquity; and in the wildness of desperation, seeks the blood of every opposing foe. It mocks the power of death;—it will yield only to the blast of "another destroying angel." This was the favourite clime of the Muses;—the kind nursery of warriors, poets, orators, historians, and philosophers. It is, on the graves of these, that the proud Turk, now trampies with haughty grandeur Where once stood, the Odeon, the Parthenon, the Lyceum, the Athenœum, and the Areopagus of former ages, now rise the harems and mosques of the Mussleman. Oh, shame to Christian nations! It will be an eternal blot on their annals. Oh, patriot! despair not; but press forward to the throne of God, and implore that modern Greece, may yet be rebuilt, upon the ruins of her forefathers.

The destinies of South America, are finally resolved. The last hold of Spanish despotism is destroyed. Her republicks have been liberated, with a rapidity of succession, hitherto unprecedented. The spirit of liberty, cannot languish for the want of refreshment. Letters and history and morality and religion and physicks, all pour in their floods of light, to assist in the general illumination. And wherever these rays be darted; whether along the banks of the Indus or Euphrates, the Niger or shores of the Red Sea, the Rhine, the Danube or Tiber; provided they reach the ranks of the obscure, so as to enlighten all men; it must follow, and that, by the moral force of opinion. It must keep pace, with the progress of the knowledge of its properties, and essential principles. If it lose its ground in Europe, it may yet, find a resting place in the Western Hemisphere. It may rise upon the winds, and sweep unimpeded, from the wilds of Patagonia to the fox-dens of Alaska. It may waft gently, and at rest, on the silver stream of La Plata;—or ride boldly on the dashing current of the Amazon. Mississippi, proud to mingle his waters, with the free flow of Magdelena, rolls on his rapid tide, with greater grandeur than before. Now, that the Andes are begirt with the atmosphere of freedom, the broad side of the Alleghanies, reflects with increasing splendour, the brightness of the eastern sun. Here will be presented a scene more magnificent than earth ever beheld;—an object of wonder to the myriads of posterity.

Go, Americans, from the North and

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