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# ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT PORTLAND,

ON THE DECEASE OF

**JOHN ADAMS,**

AND

**THOMAS JEFFERSON,**

AUGUST 9, 1826.

BY CHARLES STEWART DAVEIS.



Portland:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY JAMES ADAMS, JR.

1826.

*EMS*

## DISTRICT OF MAINE.....SS.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on this twenty-third day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-six, and the fifty-first year of the Independence of the United States of America, Mr. James Adams, Jr. of the District of Maine, has deposited in this Office, the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Proprietor—in the words following, viz :

“ AN ADDRESS delivered at Portland, on the decease of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, August 9, 1826—by Charles Stewart Daveis. Portland: Printed and Published by James Adams, Jr. 1826.”

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, “ An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;” and also, to an act, entitled, “ An Act supplementary to an act, entitled, an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.”

J. MUSSEY, *Clerk of the District Court of Maine.*

A true copy as of record.

Attest, J. Mussey, *Clerk D. C. of Me.*



At a meeting of the citizens of Portland, at the Town Hall, on the 25th of July 1826, for the purpose of adopting suitable measures to testify their respect for the memories of the late Presidents ADAMS and JEFFERSON. SIMON GREENLEAF, Esq. *Chairman*.

*Voted*, That public demonstrations of respect for the memories of the late deceased Presidents ADAMS and JEFFERSON be offered at such time and in such manner as may be appointed by the committee of arrangements.

*Voted*, That the committee consist of the following gentlemen, viz. Hon. PRENTISS MELLEN, Hon. WILLIAM P. PREBLE, Hon. STEPHEN LONGFELLOW, ISAAC ILSLEY, Esq. JOSEPH ADAMS, Esq. SIMON GREENLEAF, Esq. Hon. JOHN ANDERSON, Hon. ASHUR WARE, and Hon. SAMUEL FESSENDEN.

Attest,

JOHN ANDERSON, *Secretary*.

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At a meeting of the Committee of Arrangements appointed by the citizens of Portland, agreeable to the above vote, July 28th, it was determined, that suitable services should be performed at the FIRST PARISH CHURCH, on Wednesday, August 9th; that CHARLES S. DAVEIS, Esq. be requested to deliver an oration; and that ISAAC ILSLEY, SIMON GREENLEAF and JOSEPH ADAMS, Esquires, be a sub-committee to make the requisite arrangements.

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PORTLAND, AUGUST 9, 1826.

*Dear Sir*—The committee of arrangements, in behalf of the citizens of this town, thank you for your oration this day made, in commemoration of the departed Presidents ADAMS and JEFFERSON, and request a copy for publication. We are very respectfully,

Your obedient servants,

ISAAC ILSLEY,  
SIMON GREENLEAF, } *Sub-committee.*  
JOSEPH ADAMS,

CHARLES S. DAVEIS, Esq.

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PORTLAND, AUG. 10.

GENTLEMEN—With due sensibility to every circumstance in the appointment or the invitation, regarding the occasion, or the source, I have the honour to express my most respectful compliance, and to be

Your faithful and obedient servant,

TO ISAAC ILSLEY,  
SIMON GREENLEAF, } *Committee.*  
JOSEPH ADAMS, Esq's.

C. S. DAVEIS.



## **ADDRESS.**

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YOU are not assembled to hear for the first time the names of ADAMS and of JEFFERSON. They are inscribed upon all their country's columns.—You will not expect a minute account of their lives, nor a careful comparison of their claims. It were not possible to enter into all the details, on which your interest in this day's services depends.—They have lived in vain, if this be necessary now.—You are met in vain, if it were requisite to give utterance to any thing, in fact, besides the feelings and reflections, which the occasion suggests.

You will not judge, indeed, that any thing can be added to the fame of JEFFERSON and ADAMS. Their names summon up a host of associations. Those sounds, that now swell upon the nation to sadden and subdue, once stirred its spirit like a trumpet. Of the whole history of the country, from the middle of the last to the commencement of the present century, their biography is hardly the abridgment. We are assembled, to manifest our veneration for their virtues, and to join with this whole nation in one memorial of their greatness.

Although no notice had been taken by us of this event, the occasion would not have been unobserved;—but a voice would have nevertheless gone forth:—it would have gone forth from the heart of the country; and it would have spoken to all mankind, as it did speak to the soul of every man, every woman, and I might almost say every child in this community, to whom it was first conveyed;—as it will strike the heart of every one, who is yet to learn, that these distinguished persons both died on the same day; at the close of a long life;—at the end of a half century from the most momentous event in their own lives, the most memorable epoch in their country's annals; the date, may I say, of a perpetual æra—from an event, in which they were themselves the most conspicuous actors, and of which they were not only the principal and most prominent, but almost the sole survivors.

This voice is now borne on the wings of the wind to all parts of this vast continent. Already is it on its way to the wonder of the world. It will spread over the whole surface of the globe; if there be any part of it, not yet full of the fame of our revolution, and of those extraordinary actions by which it was achieved, and those excellent counsels by which it was conceived and consummated. Wherever and whatever it may breathe,—whether it come of heaven, or whether it be of earth—and men will pause—the mind will muse upon its import—it rises on the air, and is wafted from the rivers to the lakes,

and from the lakes to the mountains, and over the unmeasured spaces that sweep towards the setting sun, until its echoes shall mingle with the murmurs of two magnificent oceans !

Since the curfew of our national jubilee tolled the knell of these departed patriots, the passing bell has hardly ceased to chime, or the minute gun to repeat, or the muffled drum to roll, over the whole of this extensive territory—wherever a turret rises heavenward,—or the colours of our nation wave their glorious folds over the warlike images of its sovereign power.

We are then assembled, I may say, to join with this universal nation, in one undivided tribute to their united and exalted worth. That such tribute does not proceed so much from their contemporaries, is, alas ! because so large a portion of their venerable compatriots have passed the portals first ; and have bequeathed to us, their posterity, the impressive charge. It therefore remains for us, to pay the homage of the present generation, to which they have been in the providence of God preserved ; covered with testimonials of all the times through which they have come down, and encircled with all those civil wreaths which have made their memory precious to us, as to all mankind. We have come up hither on this day therefore, set apart by the unfeigned sentiment of this community, for the solemnities of the occasion, to testify for ourselves, that we are not unmindful of their merits nor insen-

sible to their services.—Hushed then, as it should be, here; before the Most High; in the presence of him, before whom all flesh must stand, and to whom all spirits shall come; who has watched over this happy and grateful country from its infancy until now; be every thought and every feeling, that might mar the sacred requiem, which a pious patriotism would pour over their honoured names!

Illustrious spirits! Patriarchs, patriots and sages of almost an hundred years, you are gathered to your fathers, and to the fathers of our freedom and existence! You are joined to the company of Washington and Franklin, of Winthrop and of Warren, of William Penn and Walter Raleigh, of the Cabots and Columbus! And the stars that guided those interesting navigators to this great continent, that cheered the long and weary watches of that ancient and most astonishing mariner who discovered America, those stars that have looked down for five and twenty years upon the silence of Mount Vernon, now point our paths to the peaceful shades of Quincy and Monticello.

Thither let us bear all our political burthens, and lay them down by their graves!—We, my fellow citizens, inhabitants of this vicinity, who in time of war, with similar solemnities, and to the self-same strains, bore the bodies of Burrows and Blythe upon the same bier, wrapped in their own ships' colours, and laid them beneath the same calm and consecrating mould, shall we not join the na-

tional procession of our brethren, which with arms reversed, and mourning plumes, and veiled banners, follows the hearse of those who, however parted in their lives, yet were not divided in their deaths ? As the public has charged itself with this oblation, as the friends of each have paid their private tribute, let their departure to the same bourne be crowned with the unbroken blessing of the whole community.\*

“ Nor be the requiescat dumb,

“ Lest it be said o'er Fox's tomb !”†

It may be deemed, that the manner of their deaths alone was wanting to complete the measure, and to give the most effect to the great moral example, of their lives. Each had lived long enough for himself; and either perhaps for his country. Both were prolonging the appointed remnant of their days in a peaceful review of the past, an animated interest in the present, or a serious and enlightened concern for future improvement. For a season their lines were described on different meridians;—but their radiant morning rose, and their grateful evening fell together. Their years, when called to the service of their country, were neither few nor idle. It is necessary to omit an early period devoted by them to the humane or severer muses;—and it may also be allowed to pass over a longer, arduous interval, full of interest and instruction, in which they were afterwards engaged in an earnest strife

\* Plato in *Epitaph*. † Marmion. Introduction, Canto 1.

for the most elevated place in the virtuous confidence of a free people. The mind can hardly fail to draw, from the amenity of their latter moments, something to throw over the middle of their lives, and to soothe the sternness of contending statesmen.

They had received the last farewells of **LAFAYETTE**, the parting envoy of Europe *refreshed* by his illustrious example, to the departing representatives of America redeemed by the revolution; and *they* still remained conspicuous in the opposite quarters of our country the mutual, mild reflections of its two most ancient and honoured settlements. Their suns were going down together; their orbs approaching as they descended, and lingering on the horizon, as it were to merge their declining beams amid the congregated glories of the grand secular celebration. It was the prayer of **JEFFERSON** to breathe the fiftieth anniversary. **ADAMS** hailed its approach and greeted its arrival, as a glorious day. It seemed as though the heavens had bowed down to receive their prophetic spirits.—They reclined their venerable heads in silence, and breathed their last in peace.

If we may be indulged to look among the imperishable relics of antiquity for parallels to these illustrious characters, hereafter to be themselves referred to the past, it may be imagined that one bore more of the Roman, and that the other had more of the Grecian, in their respective features;—that the mind of one was more masculine;—the



genius of the other more graceful ;—that the one belonged rather to the Forum, and the other to the Lyceum. One might be classed with Cicero and Scipio ; the other associated with Phocion and Plato.—The one was ideal, inventive, sagacious ; the other sanguine, vehement, investigating.

The life of ADAMS had been more active ; that of JEFFERSON not less useful. Both were ardent and eminent lovers of letters ; although not equally devoted to the whole circle of sciences. Invited to cultivate the spacious fields of politics and ethics, the mind of ADAMS was disciplined in the more severe and strenuous systems of natural and moral law, while JEFFERSON was instructed in the purest doctrines of the economists and philanthropists. The latter found congenial sentiments in the liberal schools then springing up in the older continent, and the former found equal kindred among the robust ideas of political right in vogue on the neighboring islands ; yet JEFFERSON was not less sensible to the suggestions of Harrington, nor ADAMS less impressed with the maxims of Montesquieu. Both are to be reckoned among the friends of Price, the followers of Locke, and the disciples of Milton ; while each established a school of his own, in which he acknowledged no master.

The particular views of government entertained by them may have been influenced by circumstances of constitution, climate and habit. The one appears to have cherished a more generous and con-

fiding opinion of the qualities of human nature, and the other to have deferred more to the teachings of general history and observation. Employing the principles of popular authority for their respective purposes, the one was studious to extract their essential properties, the other to expend their excessive forces :—the one was sedulous to ensure their development and establish their supremacy, while the other was industrious to prevent their exorbitance and maintain their equilibrium. It was therefore natural, that one should seem more busy about the operation of political checks, and the other more prone to comply with popular impulses. It was apparently the persuasion of Mr. ADAMS, that not less danger might accrue from discharging all constitutional restraints upon liberty, than on power ; while it was plain, that Mr. JEFFERSON was jealous of all conveyance of authority, except in extraordinary cases, beyond the exact limits of necessity. It may have been the comparative error of one to overrate, and of the other to undervalue, the specific importance of positive law. It remains to be inferred from after circumstances, how far their respective opinions became in any measure qualified by experience. From the great principle which Mr. ADAMS defended, namely, constitutional division of power, he never departed; and Mr. JEFFERSON never deviated from the direct doctrine of transcendant popular sovereignty. The propitious auguries borrowed from the virtue and intelligence

of the community are devoutly to be cherished ; while the prophetic lessons gathered from ancient republics and political observations are not to be neglected. There can be no doubt that in the progress of the great experiment Mr. ADAMS acquired increasing confidence in the prevailing rectitude of popular opinion ; and it cannot be questioned that Mr. JEFFERSON would have cancelled no securities needful to avoid anarchy. It is by no means certain, that any absolute incongruity exists between their real sentiments. Both were profoundly versed in the elements of political science ; both endowed by nature with extraordinary intellectual powers ; and while one was perhaps more deeply imbued with the general spirit of philosophy, the other, with more energetic passions and not less vigorous purposes, was equally affected by the obvious abuses of human rights, and by the visible presence of oppression.

Time will not allow to moot the point, who gave the first impulse to the ball of the revolution ;— the when or where the child Independence was born ;

*Non sine Diis animosus infans !*

The electric fluid pervaded the whole continent, and the lively spark was most liable to be elicited, where the strongest occasion was presented. The messengers of Massachusetts and Virginia crossed each other on the road with their corresponding

resolutions ; as the mails lately passed with the responsive tidings of death from the opposite quarters of the union.

But let us pause to ask, what would have been the end of the principal agents in that great transaction, had the revolution failed ? What would have been the fate of the sub-committee, which digested the declaration of Independence ? Would they have tasted mercy, more than HANCOCK and ADAMS ? Would they not have been doomed to tread the same wine press with Russell and Sydney ?—Instead of an euthanasia on the gentle pillows of domestic honour and affection, sinking to the last repose of exhausted nature,

By all their country's wishes blest ;

transportation beyond sea—trial before the King's Bench or Old Bailey—conviction on some obsolete enactment before the colonies were planted,—death upon the scaffold,—if spared the more speedy process of martial law,—and holden up by the hand of the public executioner, as a gory feast for all four quarters of the kingdom, BEHOLD, THE HEAD OF A TRAITOR !

Washington felt all the force of this, when flying from Long Island, he exclaimed with bitter and passionate indignation, that his neck was too good for a halter. Laurens beheld no fairer prospect from the window of the Tower, wherein he was immured for years, except from the faint distant gleaming of a favourable termination to the war.

But the master spirits of that severe occasion had brought their minds to abide the result ; not with a desperate defiance of their fate, but with the undaunted fortitude of martyrs. The iron really entered their souls. The bonds of attachment were broken by oppression, and the affections of the colonies were rived, like trees in a forest split by fire. Their stern and high resolve was undoubtedly conceived, and executed, in a spirit of intense and most powerful determination. But our ancestors were men whom nought could appal. They were enured to extremities ; and handed down to their posterity the cup, whose original bitterness was not exhausted by the first emigrants.

Seat yourselves in imagination on the chalky cliffs of Great Britain, and watch the swelling sail,—that bore one of the earliest bodies of those adventurous voyagers from the beloved shores of their native land, to brave the terrours of the “ North sea” and beat against the “ night-storm.”—Already behold them about to bare their breasts against the elements,—and bracing their brows toward their yet undistinguished bourne. What was it but a scene of excessive moment—a season of immense emotion—of deep, devoted prostration upon providence ! It was more than the weaning themselves from the bosom of the mother country. It was an abandonment of all that was dear in England, the relinquishment of all there was consoling and sweet in home,—for liberty of mind beyond

the heaving ocean. It was the bursting of mighty hearts, away—away—from bondage and from Britain. It was the burning of the idols that they loved, in the fire of their own hearths. It was the baptism they were to be baptized with, in their own hearts' blood.

As the earliest libation of blood was poured out in New-England, among the first flames, that ascended from our burning towns, were those of FALMOUTH. It is not intended to recapitulate the circumstances of flight, havock, and desolation, attending its conflagration from bombardment by a British squadron. I might refer you, with more propriety, to persons still living, and venerable individuals within these walls, for the narrative of sufferings and privations which fifty years have not effaced. They did however but image the general condition of that country at the season. The force of that excitement is long since fortunately spent. But the cannon ball, that shattered the house of God where we now stand, is not more firmly set in the ceiling of this sacred temple, as a memorial of that event, than that devoted sacrifice to the cause of liberty—this voluntary submission to the most appalling consequences, testified, and confirmed, the religious determination of the community.

In their FAREWELL ADDRESS to the people of Great Britain, attributed, I believe, to the pen of the most respectable person now living in these United States, three months before that occasion,

the delegates of the colonies, deeply affected by the circumstances of their situation, are moved to say ; “ we never *will*, while we cherish the memory of our virtuous ancestors we never CAN, surrender those glorious privileges, for which they fought, bled, and conquered. Grant that your fleets can *destroy our towns*, and ravage our sea coasts; these are inconsiderable objects, things of no moment, to men whose bosoms glow with the ardour of liberty. *We can retire beyond the reach of your navy*; and without any sensible diminution of the *necessaries of life*, enjoy a luxury which thenceforward you will want, the LUXURY OF BEING FREE !”

“Our houses,” said Christopher Gadsden, a representative in Congress from South Carolina, speaking on the subject, “ being constructed of brick, stone, and wood, though destroyed, may be rebuilt; but Liberty, once gone, is lost forever !” No ‘thought infirm’ altered their resolution.—Like the devoted inhabitants of a community once seated among the Alps, covering the country of the Grisons and Swiss cantons to Lake Constance, they were ready to put all there was in life to peril for liberty ;—*qui libertatem tueri vita et sanguine gestiebant* ;—*qui se morti devovisse videbantur, modo essent liberi et servitutis expertes* ; *qui mori non recusabant, si liberi morerentur* ; *qui, quasi concepto voto, mortem honestam in libertate optetere, quam in servitute vivere, malebant* !—Their spirits rose with the occasion. They rose to an

elevation with the sublimest sentiments of antiquity ; such as visited with golden gleams the shades of Tusculanum—and soothed the dying thoughts of the victim of Aurelian.—They borrowed consolation also from the suggestion of Brutus to his parting friends, at their grave and solemn interview on the eve of the battle of Philippi ;—that they should either be victorious themselves on the morrow, or free from the power of those who would be.—“ Of this,” said they, in the language of the foregoing farewell, supposed to be from the pen of the venerable JOHN JAY, “ of this we are assured ; that our struggle will be glorious, our success certain ; since even in death we shall find that freedom, which in life you forbid us to enjoy !”

Suffer me to conduct you to yonder noble eminence, still exhibiting the rude vestiges of works thrown up in revolutionary haste, among military marks of a later date ;—not to detain you with the circumstances of their construction ;—but to guide you towards those grass-grown mounds, and invite you to no fancied scene, which took place there, the year before the revolutionary war, and the season before the destruction of Falmouth. What I have to relate is not fiction, but fact ; verified by record, and confirmed by the mouth of one of the distinguished individuals in question. Let me point to you two persons, of nearly the same age. Behold them walking together on that mount, early one morning, in the year 1774. The old Superior



Court was then holden in this place, for the last time, that justice was administered in this province in the royal name. They were not enemies;—they are neither Mowatt, nor his officers. They are friends,—connexions,—in the habit of addressing each other by their christian names. They are earnestly debating between themselves the awful question agitating the country. They have taken different sides of the controversy pending. One is the principal law-officer of the English crown. The other has just been chosen a delegate to the continental Congress at Philadelphia.—An earnest and animated dialogue ensues in relation to the approaching CRISIS. The King's attorney-general argues, expostulates, and remonstrates. He summons, and arrays, all the dark and shadowy terrors that the superstition of the Highlands crowded in the fearful warning of Lochiel, before the fatal battle of Culloden.

“BEWARE!” said Jonathan Sewall, “beware of the power of Great Britain! She is determined on her system. She is invincible. It is irresistible. It will certainly be destructive to yourself, and *all*, that shall persevere in opposition to her designs!”

Listen to the answer of JOHN ADAMS. “I know” said he “that Great Britain *is* determined on her system; and that very determination *determines* me on mine! You know,” he went on to say, “that I have been constant,—uniform,—in opposition to all her measures. The die is now

cast ! I have passed the Rubicon ! LIVE OR DIE, SWIM OR SINK, SURVIVE OR PERISH with my country, is my unalterable determination !” Here it ended. There they parted ;—but not without aching thoughts.—“ We must part,” said ADAMS ; “ and with a bleeding heart, I fear to say, forever ! But depend upon it, that this farewell is the sharpest thorn, on which I ever sat my foot !”

Let me transfer the scene to England, whither Sewall fled as a refugee, and resided some time after the war, in exile. Permit me to carry you from this consecrated ground to the capital of that kingdom, and forward, so far as to say, that they never met again, till 1788.—The storm of the revolution was then over. The sky had cleared away ; and the sun shone out in splendour upon the new formation of the federal republic. ADAMS was then in London, and renewed their old acquaintance, as a friend, laying down the stile, in which he represented at St. James’s the sovereignty of the United States of America !

There are times and seasons in the life of men, that bring past events nearer into view, and raise them up as objects, as it were, to our minds. A lapse of many years is undoubtedly favourable to measuring the importance of political occurrences. The period, to which we have now been drawn, forms unquestionably a most conspicuous æra in our annals. The completion of so large a portion of time, at the present moment, revives its principles

with fresh power ; and the long interval of half a century invites our contemplation to the interesting character and influence of that momentous measure, the **DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE**. Objects are no doubt liable to seem larger at their setting ! As the season of the revolution wears away, and its sober evening settles down, it is natural that its most prominent circumstances should present themselves more palpably to observation ; and that while its minuter incidents disappear, those objects which distinguish themselves above the horizon, should be exhibited in their own majestic and severe proportions. Seen alone above the general surface of the past, they are projected into the favourable light of the hour, and become distinctly visible in all their massive and original dimensions. Their features are more boldly marked, and their outlines more broadly spread out, upon those reposing scenes of public peace and private felicity, by which they are relieved.

Since the cross was erected in Asia, the most important event in all its bearings upon the welfare of mankind, in the history of the human race,—saving one nearly cotemporaneous circumstance of kindred interest, has undoubtedly been the **Discovery of America** ; and the most immeasurable consequence of that remarkable discovery, the most incalculable in regard to all those influences, which it has already exerted in Europe, has also exerted beyond the equator, and will continue to exert upon

all time to come, has been the **AMERICAN REVOLUTION**.—From that period we may commence a new calendar. An extraordinary æra has begun to run. Original principles are propagated ; and obvious results propounded. New organs have been invented ; new impulses imparted. A fatal shock has been bestowed upon all the abuses of a barbarous or half-enlightened antiquity ; and a fresh start given to all the intellectual and moral powers of human nature, and the active energies of public prosperity. From this event the elements of the political universe may be deemed to have received a new development ; the fountains of the ancient deep of despotism and prescription to have been broken up ; a new spirit to have moved on the face of the waters ;—and a new progeny of men and things sprung up ; as though the earth had been suddenly sown, *broadcast*, with the seeds of a new creation.

Belonging to that gigantic race of men, which actually existed before, while they seemed to be called into being by, the revolution, were **THOMAS JEFFERSON** and **JOHN ADAMS**. These men are emphatically among the American Heraclidæ ;—the offspring of that original strength, to which our republic owes her vigour.—At once distinguished beneath the southern sky, the first of these eminent individuals claims a full share of our attention ; standing conspicuous among the foremost men of all that period, than whom we have had none greater ;—

and when has the world seen their superiors? What shall we say of THOMAS JEFFERSON; but that he was second to no man in the splendour of his genius, the copiousness and versatility of his powers, or the clearness and strength of his understanding? What shall we *not say* of *him*, who was the friend of man under all shades, the enemy of oppression in all forms? Of him, who raised his voice for the African and the Aboriginal; than whom the negro never found a more intrepid patron in Granville Sharp, nor the poor Indian a more engaged zeal in the good Las Casas? He interested himself with all his heart for the relief of one unfortunate race, and the redemption of the other; and entered with earnestness into all the measures suggested for the mutual melioration of their condition. He was altogether an American. The paradox of Buffon, that man and brute equally degenerated on this side of the Atlantic, he rejected with scorn, and refuted with triumphant talent,—admirably illustrating the intellectual force of his position in his own victorious example. The junior of JOHN ADAMS, the warm sun of the south poured through his veins a tide, that swelled like a torrent against tyranny. A Prince, he pronounced, whose conduct is thus marked by every act that can stamp a despot, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people! The authors of such a succession of flagrant outrages upon the sacred rights of humanity, and a most innocent state of society, as are involved in all the brutal and

horrid abominations of negro-slavery, are unfit to reign over the future destinies of this otherwise unpolluted population. His generous indignation upon this subject undoubtedly transported him to an excessive degree ; and the spirit of atonement towards that most injured class was probably carried by him to an extent, not surpassed by any follower of William Penn. He came into Congress on the eve of independence, with a distinguished reputation for the power of his pen, the purity and vigour of his patriotism. His alacrity, ingenuousness, decisiveness, at once seized upon all hearts, and inspired entire confidence. Placed by consent at the head of that committee, which was effectively the congress, substantively the country, upon this absorbing question, to him it was assigned to set the fortunate seal of his own genius and sensibility to that great solemn act of separation from the mother country, “embittered,” alas ! “by the mutual reproach of tyranny and rebellion ;”—and to him is justly ascribed upon the most authentic testimony, and by the most unquestionable, unequivocal acknowledgment of his ancient and co-departed colleague upon that extraordinary sub-committee, that vehement vindication of rights, that vivid recital of wrongs, that accumulated and unexampled recapitulation of colonial abuses, that vigorous detail of imperial and parliamentary usurpations, that concentrated and tremendous reprobation of royal power, about to be perverted to our ruin,—

which communicated their instinctive energy to that enthusiastic expression of the public will;—those ‘thoughts that breathe, and words that burn’ in the Declaration of Independence,—those flashings of an indignant, free-born spirit, in the deathless deed of that day’s glory,—and those fulminations of an accusing popular eloquence, dealing denunciation and defiance against the whole power of Great Britain,—which we can hardly conceive to have been exceeded by the most electrical power of oratory, in all its outpourings upon the Macedonian or the Persian, in the grandest age of Greece.

In JOHN ADAMS, again, it is well known, that this measure found its most determined and inflexible supporter. Upon the floor of Congress, where the struggle was to be, and the question was to stand or fall, he was its acknowledged champion. Indelible and indestructible, as is the Declaration of Independence, no testimonial it contains can be more true, than the impression which it bears of his moral and political courage. To no cause was it more indebted for its consummation. The sense of the effectual benefit received from the powerful aid of Mr. ADAMS, always remained deeply fixed in the mind of Mr. JEFFERSON. Nothing in nature, no invention of fable, no example in Homer appeared to him too strong, or too sublime, to signify his idea of Mr. ADAMS’S energy on that occasion. He was instant; indefatigable; inexhaustible; and irresistible. He sometimes spoke with such force, as

to move members from their seats. Dickenson of Pennsylvania, the author of the Farmer's Letters, who shrunk from the final assertion of his own principles, shrunk likewise from the unquenchable fire of ADAMS's impetuous, impassioned, and Olympian eloquence. He hurled the thunderbolts, until the earth shook, and the forest smoked, and opposition reeled,—and resistance yielded. The voice of KNOX was not heard more powerfully above the storm, forcing the winter-passage at Trenton, than the voice of JOHN ADAMS on this occasion.

By the nomination of JOHN ADAMS, it is stated as fact, that GEORGE WASHINGTON was appointed commander in chief of the American army. After the tide of war had rolled toward the south, Mr. JEFFERSON himself presided in the government of Virginia, and engaged in the general measures of defence. During the whole of that period JEFFERSON and ADAMS acted as one. Throughout the whole of the tempestuous season of the revolution their genial lights went and came, like those ancient twin-points, whose union was so auspicious to the tossed and troubled navigator. Purer identity of purpose did not exist between Aristogiton and Harmodius; and those illustrious colleagues have borne constant, cheerful, and mutual testimony to each other's patriotism and efficiency. Determined to find a way for their country's freedom, or to make one, and deeming nothing done while anything remained undone, they first moved one continent



and then the other;—they compassed sea and land for succours, and invoked earth and heaven for auxiliaries, to their straitened and bleeding country.

ADAMS and JEFFERSON were employed in the service of their country on various public embassies, the first during, and both after, the revolution; and served the public interests abroad with the same spirit and ability, that signalized their exertions at home. In the skilful and successful negotiations of the former, together with Franklin, Jay, and Laurens, by their earnest and hearty zeal for their country's good, their direct and honest dealing with the diplomacy of Europe, it is the merited honour of no man more than Mr. ADAMS, to have inspired the independent powers of the continent with confidence in our cause, and won their countenance, or conciliated their good-will. By conventional stipulations, by public treaties, and national alliances, they secured the means, and, in conjunction with Mr. JEFFERSON, accomplished the objects, of independence. They established the conditions of peace with foreign powers, and arranged the relations of commerce on a general basis, to which England herself eventually acceded. Thus, it is the eulogy of all these illustrious individuals to add, that our independent rights to the earth and ocean came to be universally confessed; our boundaries defined; our fisheries preserved; our territorial and maritime sovereignties secured, and all our essential interests effected.

By the revolution we were rendered, what nature always intended, *a world by ourselves!* Before that period we were only colonies of England, surrounded by other colonies of Europe, stationed like garrisons along the chain of lakes, and seated at the mouths of the two great rivers of the north and south,—included between the Canadas and the Cane Islands. France and England fought for our dominion on our own frontiers, and the fair fields of the west became the blood-stained scenes of European belligerents,—the Flanders of America. It was the object of France to interlock Canada in one grand province with Louisiana; and when the brilliant project was defeated by the expiring victory of WOLFE, the beautiful valley intervening was fore-ordained to remain a desert, during the unrelenting pleasure of the English Court. Acknowledging then the common sovereignty of the English crown, these provinces were disjoined by the ungenerous and ungrateful policy of the imperial government, and combined together by the power of the British parliament only in acts of restraint upon our commerce, to cramp our trade and mutilate our industry; to monopolize its products, and confine our progress to that point, which was expedient to keep us in perpetual subjection. In vain, for us, the ocean rolled its waves beyond the Atlantic. Nature in vain poured out her treasures beyond the Alleghany. In vain did the colonies toil, like silk-worms, only to feed foreign looms.

We had no name among the nations ; and our shield was only blazoned to bear the engravings of England. But this great event gave us an escutcheon of our own.

By the Declaration of Independence we became a NATION. The revolution formed us, if it did not find us, ONE PEOPLE. We became, not thirteen sovereignties, independent of each other, but only of Great Britain. We constituted to her and presented to all the world a single, bold, compact, and unambiguous front of political sovereignty. These states became in truth A WORLD BY THEMSELVES. —By their Declaration of Independence the United States were invested with the transcendant powers of war and peace. By the acknowledgment of their predecessors, they were admitted as peers, into the great society of nations. They became members of the great christian community ; and parties to the law of nations ; coming within its pale, and comprehended by its code. Confirming their solemn dedication to the imperial duties of sovereign power, by an appeal to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe for the rectitude of their intentions, they engaged to hold all mankind—England among the rest—enemies only in war, in peace friends !

Why do we avow so great a debt of gratitude to the patriots of the revolution, and bestow such unqualified portion of praise upon the patrons of our independence ? It is first ; because we see in their agency the powerful internal workings of master-

spirits and master-principles. It is because, instead of the spell that may be cast upon the human mind by the paralyzing influence of terror, superstition, and oppression, we discern the divine and resistless impulse, which can be sent into the immortal soul, at the clear sight of its imperishable *earthly* inheritance. Because it exhibits also the energy, which a great and vigorous genius can communicate to the spirit of an age, or the character of a people. Because it proves man, whether as an agent, or an instrument, capable of being excited, to equal the emergency of any occasion. Because it shews the vast advantage resulting to a great cause from being impelled by the same urgency in which it originated. Because it manifests, that neither a **NAPOLEON** nor a **CROMWELL** are the more absolute personifications of the power of opinion, or exemplars of the state of an age, than an **ADAMS** or a **JEFFERSON**;—and that those who lead the forces of liberty to victory, to lead them back in triumph to the capitol over the prostrate columns of the Commonwealth, are not more genuine originals of its true *principles*, than these illustrious enemies to all their political corruptions. Because we see in the *prosperity* of the principles, advanced by the latter, such a wonderful comment upon the wisdom and precision of their projects. Because we view the conductors of the American Revolution as kindred spirits with the leaders of the Protestant Reformation.—Because in fact, we be-

lieve, that the agony of the revolution was not less severe in its announcement, than in its achievement. In fine, because we have formed as high an estimate of moral, as of military, merit. We entertain as strong a sense of the virtue of that bold and decided act, by which the king of Great Britain was deposed from his authority *here*, as of the vigour by which his efforts to reconquer the colonial empire were frustrated, in the defeat and capture of his armies. Moreover, without any idle effort to aggrandize to the imagination ‘the pomp, the dignity, the ceremony of the transaction,’ we deem the sublimity of the occasion altogether to ‘correspond to the greatest conception, that is suggested in the annals of human kind!’

Look then abroad through nature ; to the range  
 Of planets, suns and adamantine spheres,  
 Wheeling unshaken through the void immense !  
 And speak, oh man ! does this capacious scene  
 With half that kindling majesty dilate  
 Thy strong conception, as when BRUTUS rose  
 Refulgent from the stroke of CÆSAR’s fate  
 AMID THE CROWD OF PATRIOTS ; and his arm  
 Aloft extending, like immortal Jove,  
 When guilt brings down the thunder, called aloud  
 On TULLY’s name ; and bade the father of his country hail !  
 For lo ! THE TYRANT PROSTRATE IN THE DUST !

Let it be understood, that it is not merely the positive evils, from which the colonists were delivered, that cause this weight of obligation. They could have borne the taxes, as well as they did the burning rays at Monmouth plains, or endured the

winter's cold at Valley Forge. They could have taken the tea on the East India Company's terms, as easily as they could pour it into the dock, or as they poured out their blood, as the forfeit. It would have been cheaper, in point of fact, to have paid the customs, than to defray the whole cost of free government. The question could have been compromised a thousand times cheaper, than the price of independence. Under the policy, to which the English waked with the reign of their last prince, we, their fellow-subjects, could have breathed and had our being. We could have arrayed ourselves in foreign fabrics, and flourished as fair as our neighbours in the adjoining provinces, and ruffled it with the bravest in their Australasian empire. We could have digested all the degrees of the Grenville Tariff, and kept our workshops in Europe, and continued God's chosen people to cultivate the soil, yielding its annual tribute into the provincial treasury.—It was not for the mere exemption therefore from *excise*. It was not even for the *emancipation* of the colonies. It was not entirely for the *erection* of an independent empire of four and twenty states. Nay, it is not absolutely for the national height and magnitude, to which we have already attained; nor for all the materials and elements of political power combined, which we unquestionably enjoy in full proportion with all other people and nations of mankind.—But it is for the field of improvement that has been opened. It is

for the sphere of felicity that has been enlarged. It is for the career of prosperity, that has but commenced. It is for the emanation, that has spread over this hemisphere, like the Auroral radiance of the North. It is for the advance of moral and intellectual power. It is for that, which man can *do* unshackled, and mind can *reach* untrammelled, and thought can *dare* unfettered. It is for that glorious liberty, wherewith God himself has made us free! It is for that all-powerful principle, which makes use of America to move Europe; and however pressure may keep down its inward vigour, or combination arrest its onward progress, enables the friend of man, wherever his own fortune, or the anchor of his hope, may be cast, to exult like Galileo, rising from his idle recantation, **IT MOVES NEVER THE LESS !\***

The principle of liberty is one of prodigious force. There is a spirit in man to overcome, by its intrinsic energy, any oppression, by which he may have been, for a season, or for a series of seasons, overborne. It bursts, with a superhuman might, the most massy piles of political establishment, imposed upon natural rights and moral sentiments, and covers the earth with their fearful ruins. It is a serious inquiry, why the action of this principle ended so unfavourably in the country, to which it was conducted from us. The French Republic was one of extraordinary power. It did not fail from any defect

\*Tudor's life of James Otis. Preface.

in conception. It wanted nothing for success, that the mine, the magazine, the arts and sciences, and and all the products of genius and talents could supply. But it wanted that foundation, on which it could, only, build with safety; and its results remain, in a very different manner, from the meaning intended by Lafayette, in taking leave of the Revolutionary Congress, '*lessons* to oppressors and *examples* to the oppressed!'

Never—since the period that Cæsar conquered Gaul, when the inhabitants enjoyed a barbarian license under their native chiefs and druids, had the voice of liberty been heard in France, till the 14th of July 1789. Never before did such a note of exultation spread over the vine-covered hills,—and echo among the beautiful valleys, of that fair country. Never perhaps before was there such a burden lifted from the minds of men. In the unwonted consciousness of power, they seemed to tread a new earth. In the intoxication of triumph they burst from the bonds of morality and humanity. So very singular, and strange, indeed, was the position in which the people of France were placed by the revolution, that their vernacular language was found deficient in the appropriate phraseology of freedom; and they were obliged to resort to a foreign idiom, and to the customs of other climes, and the usages of other nations, and to ransack the regions of fancy and invention, for the vocabulary, as well as the drapery, of their new republic.



It is remarkable, that the revolution in France, beginning, in fact, with the destruction of the Bastille, should end in the re-establishment of despotism. It was a revolution indeed not more remarkable for the original character of its cause, than its catastrophe; for the astonishing contrast it exhibits between the splendour of its talents and the atrocity of its crimes; for the reverence which it professed for antiquity, and the mischief it produced to posterity; for adopting the most enormous maxims, and enforcing them by the most audacious means; for the use which it made of its own freedom to enslave other nations to its law, for erecting the empire of Rome upon the democracy of Athens, for the adoption of a model of colossal grandeur, and establishing the most tremendous system of policy, that ever convulsed human-kind:—a revolution, conspicuous also for the sudden appearance of a race of men springing up from the earth, as though it had been sown with dragons' teeth, and its monstrous fruits produced with hydras' heads and tigers' hearts;—resounding, together, with the tribune, and the guillotine;—not merely remarkable for tearing the priest from the altar, but for rasing the altar likewise to the ground; and distinguished for the successive destruction of some of the most ancient thrones and crowns in Europe;—for the ignominious death of the last in a royal line of seventy sovereigns, who, at any former period of the monarchy, would have been blessed as the father of his people,

and canonized as the true descendant of St. Louis, —and the most affecting example on record of an anointed queen, not more famed for her charms than for her sorrows,—her errors more than atoned by her sufferings, perishing without a tear, in a land of ancient renown for chivalry, upon the scaffold! The revolution in France was a scene at which sensibility sinks. It seemed to extinguish the hopes of its friends in the blood of its martyrs; and it was hardly relieved by the virtues of its purest patriot, educated in the schools of America, banished from the air of France, and doomed to breathe the dungeons of despotism.

To what are we indebted again for our escape from that wild turmoil, which involved the elements of society and government in Europe with an overwhelming violence? Why was it, that while the storm, that shook the continent abroad, beat against our iron-bound shore, its fury was expended at our feet; and we heard it howl along our agitated coast and die away at distance? Why did we enjoy a light, like the children of Israel, in our dwellings, while Egyptian darkness brooded around? Why, in this universal chaos, had we such reason to congratulate ourselves on the good providence of God, in ordaining us to be a world by ourselves?—It was certainly not, that we did not enter into the cause of liberty in France with enthusiasm; for our hearts were in it as warmly as

they were in our own. Our sympathy was with it as long as it could be sustained ; our regret pursued it in dishonour,—and our affection followed it into misfortune. We lamented to see, that all the results of that amazing movement of the human mind, contemplating the happiness of millions, and looking to the improvement of ages, should follow the fortune of foreign war ; and that they should centre in a single individual, carried away into captivity, and doomed to end his days upon a solitary rock. We grieved to behold the beautiful and brilliant star of the French Revolution sink at last into mid-ocean, the mere meteor of military glory.—Feeling all the disappointment of its friends, we cannot but contrast it with the deep repose, which our own illustrious and honoured patriots enjoy, in the land which gave them birth, beneath the mighty shadows of our happy political revolution.

Although, as Americans, we cease to cling to the cause of revolutionary liberty in France with the lingering fondness of early affection, we continue to follow its dying light, as though we could not believe it had entirely sunk in darkness and despair. If it be not possible to regard it uninfluenced by its unfortunate termination, if we can borrow nothing from its origin to relieve its mournful catastrophe, it behoves us still to embalm the wounds of liberty with its healing spirit, and it concerns us also, that all its sacrifices and services for the sake of man should not have perished with its victims. The

vices of the ancient government rendered it unfit for the happiness of France, without essential alterations ; and while we reflect with pain upon the results of the revolution, we must bear in mind that they were the excesses of men like ourselves, transported by hopes excited by our example, and exalted by a more ardent temper, untrained by the same favourable habits and beneficial institutions ;—and although its transient violence may shock and repel our sympathy, it ought not to disgust us with its principles, or to alienate our attachment from its rational objects. Let us not fail to perceive, as we shall, if we are attentive to the facts, that what was good was in the cause ; and what was evil was the effect of that long oppression by which it was corrupted. In this wonderful dispensation to mankind we may not perhaps pretend to scan the ways of providence ; yet in common with the christian world we cannot fail to behold the dealing of a divine and overruling hand. Where the seed of liberty has been sown, and watered with the blood, as well as tears, of patriots, that seed is yet *in* the earth ; and whether it spring up before our eyes or not, it may be the will of Him, to whom no eye is raised in vain, that nothing shall be lost !

It is nearly impossible to advert at all to the French revolution, without some reference to the foreign policy of this country, by which it was so sensibly affected. By the conditions of our alliance with France we were exposed to be involved in any

future war of hers with England ;—while by our existing treaty with Great Britain we were at peace, upon our plighted faith, with all the world ; and by our compact with Spain, had amicably parted the navigation of the Mississippi.—We were then the ONLY FREE GOVERNMENT ON THIS CONTINENT. We were surrounded by the ships and colonies of Europe. It is well remembered, how powerfully the state of feeling and opinion in this country was affected by the emergency occasioned by the breaking out of war between France and England. Under all circumstances in which we were placed, it was the opinion of Washington, confirmed by his confidential advisers, that Europe had a set of primary interests, to which our political relations were remote ; and that it was expedient for us to avoid all political involvement in foreign affairs, as much as possible. This determination of Washington, ratified by the country, laid the foundation of that system of foreign relations with Europe from which his immediate successors never departed. It was the policy of ADAMS, on his accession to the presidency, to pursue a course equally distant from the intrigue of European politics and the din of European arms ; and while cultivating general relations of amity, and maintaining a perfect knowledge of their policy, to inspire the powers of Europe with confidence in our objects, respect for our rights, and a sense of our own ability to sustain them ! Conformable to these examples was the prudent

maxim of the third chief magistrate, ‘*peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none.*’

The conductors of the revolution in France, pretending peace to cottages, and proclaiming war to palaces, sought to involve *us* in their general crusade against all ancient dynasties and established governments; and when Washington undertook the serious responsibility of issuing his proclamation of neutrality, the act was attended with a severe shock to the whole political system.—Owing to this unexpected obstruction, the tornado of the French revolution, crossing the Atlantic, took the course of the Gulf Stream, and, with it, took the whole wide sweep of our commerce in the West Indies. All the methods of pacification that could be pursued, being frustrated by the insatiable cupidity and rapacity of the temporary regents of that anomalous power, the voice of the country demanded, and the sense of the community sustained, that limited and judicious resort to measures of defence and indemnity, which the condition of affairs rendered unavoidable, and which received the solemn sanction of the departing Washington. The loss of that distinguished object of American affection, at that particular season in the relations of our country, was deplored by the President, as a public, and also a personal bereavement, in the removal of one of the last of his associates in the first great Congress before the Revolution.

The policy of Washington, expressed in his legacy, again prevailed, and received the patriotic sanction of Mr. ADAMS. The wisdom of his reflections finally overcame the impulse to an open war with France; overruling his strong sense of injustice by a powerful effort of that love for his country, which was never known to fail, constituting perhaps the most powerful sentiment of his heart; and of that love of peace, which can scarcely be carried too far, and which forms the most beautiful trait in national character. At the close of his administration indemnity was obtained; the engagement entailed upon us by the improvident stipulation to guarantee the dominions of France in this hemisphere, *released*, at the moment they were all falling into the hands of Great Britain; and the danger avoided of embroiling America in that scene of warfare, which then kindled up the whole continent of Europe, and was blazing on the confines of Africa and Asia!

The endeavours of the three first administrations to remain at peace were thwarted by several causes. Washington was urged to a war with England, wisely avoided by the treaty of 1794. Mr. ADAMS was equally impelled to war with France, prevented with no less fortune by the convention of 1800. Mr. Jefferson was incited by sufficient causes against both these powers; the burden of which was undoubtedly aggravated by domestic circumstances. After the extraordinary progress

of the country during the first period of his administration, the sky suddenly closed down, and no propitious opening was afforded for continuing to practice upon the essential principles of his original policy. During the second four years of his presidency, it was the lot of America to struggle incessantly, and to struggle unavailingly, in a state of peace, to preserve the rights of peace. Vain was an effort, relying for support upon the pacific principles of reason, and religion, and humanity, against a policy, which recognized and acted upon the rights resulting from a state of war alone. Vain the endeavour to maintain the conditions of commercial security against contending powers, acknowledging only the robust rule of retorting upon their national enemy the unmeasured evils of his own pernicious policy. Considerations of justice in favour of the rights and interests of America were disregarded. Principles of national law, which were first admitted as parts of an universal code, the same at London and at Stockholm, were treated as the abstractions of philosophy or poetry; the laws of nations superseded; and the rights of free and independent sovereignties bowed before the high behests of royal and imperial tribunals.

During the long and bloody war, that continued between France and England, JEFFERSON remained in his cabin, like Logan, the friend of peace. Such was his love for peace, that passing by the proofs of devoted attachment afforded by the whole



course of his early life, unjust doubts were entertained of his preference for his own country. But they judged severely of either of those distinguished patriots, who deemed that they did not love it above all mankind. But peace was the anxious policy of Mr. JEFFERSON ;—peace, if possible, though not at all events ; and security, if practicable, though not at all expense. A resort to any other arbitration, besides that of reason, was by him regarded with aversion ;—from an appeal to force for the security of essential rights, which must in some manner be committed to its results, the peaceful and prudent spirit of Mr. JEFFERSON instinctively recoiled ; and the infinite train of evils and calamities—the greatest that humanity can ever be called to mourn—involved in recourse to that ungenial and ungrateful alternative, must be taken into view, in order to estimate the considerations that operated at the period with Mr. JEFFERSON to suspend the terms of commercial intercourse with governments, which manifested no regard for our national rights. As there is nothing in the occasion to invite a further discussion, the subject may be dismissed with the single remark, that the legislative views, entertained by Mr. JEFFERSON in relation to commerce, probably formed an exception from the general course of his ideas in regard to government.

But the most original and felicitous measure of Mr. JEFFERSON'S administration, that which will

occupy the fairest page in its history, which will give it the most interest in the eyes of the country, and stamp it with the most character in those of the world,—that which will be attended with the longest results and most lasting and beneficial influence, —arising out of the interruption of our treaty with Spain, was the purchase of Louisiana.

By this act the territory of our union was nearly doubled, and an acquisition of immense importance effected, at the cheapest price ; and a vast expenditure of blood and treasure at that, and in all time, saved to this republic. Its value to the peace, as well as commerce of the United States, can hardly be over-stated—and the credit of the measure, although connected in some manner with the convention of 1800, belongs entirely to Mr. JEFFERSON. The favoured citizens of these United States may justly praise this discreet, pacific, and patriotic policy. The northern merchant, who makes his long and prosperous freighting voyage, around the Capes of Florida, to Europe, may thank the statesmanship of Mr. JEFFERSON. The naturalist, he who follows the steps of Lewis, and Clarke, and Long, and he who traces the Yellow-Stone, or explores the Rocky Mountains, shall pay his appropriate tribute. This shall be the burden of the boat-song from St. Louis to New-Orleans. The philanthropist shall bless the memory of its author, as a benefactor to mankind ; and among the happy, happy millions, that shall hereafter people the banks

of the great parent of streams, and spread with the evening beams over its luxuriant and beautiful prairies, the name of **JEFFERSON** shall flow, with the music of the vesper hymn, along the lovely valley of the **Mississippi**.

The most magnificent monument of **Mr. ADAMS'S** administration, on the other hand, is the **NAVY**. As long as we may wish to remain a world by ourselves, we may sometimes, perhaps too often, be compelled to wrestle for the mastery, upon the vast and sublime arena spread out by the world of waters. Already has the thunder of our infant navy, rolled along the **Atlantic**, the **Pacific** and the **British Channel**, and echoed along the **Lakes**. It has whitened the surface of every sea, and crimsoned the coast of every continent. It has passed the **Pillars of Hercules**, and rode, in the light of heaven, over those blue waves of the **Mediterranean**, whose furrows were formerly parted by the stately prows of **Roman Galleys**, and ploughed by the keels of the **Carthagenians**. It has flashed the fire of freedom on the coast of **Barbary**. Our brave and lamented **PREBLE**, called to the service of his country by **ADAMS**, was sent on this commission of mercy by **JEFFERSON**;—and long as the fame of the forlorn hope before **Tripoli**, long as the fame of the constant and heroic youth who fell upon it, long as the fame of the gallant, the amiable, and accomplished **WADSWORTH**, shall continue in this, his native clime;—long as this hardy soil and happy region

bear the honoured name of New England; yea, long as New England echoes the beloved name of ADAMS, shall HE find his Mausoleum also in the glory of the Navy!

It may be said with peculiar truth of the present subjects of our passing honours, that THE SUN KNOWETH HIS GOING DOWN! In approaching the declining days of these revolutionary patriots, it is impossible to avoid, however trite it may be, the observation of the immense change, which has been undergone, during the latter period, in the condition of this whole continent. It is even most obvious to remark the amazing alteration, that has been produced in its affairs, since the date of their retirement from the stage of public action. The world, since then, has been the theatre of great events. The baleful war-fires of the French Revolution have been buried up, if not extinguished; and a new race of republics has sprung up by our side, claiming every kindred with us, except of speech and blood;—successfully seeking to enrol themselves in the general family of nations, with an anxious and avowed affinity for the principles of our institutions, and the results of our experience. Behold the whole of Spanish America, cleared from the domination of the Spanish bayonet;—scenes once stained with the conquests of Cortez and Pizarro, reanimated, as it were in new forms, by the spirits of their native princes! Behold the unheard of number of nations, born in a day! See a new

constellation of free and independent sovereignties beaming in the sky above the equatorial circle, rejoicing like the morning stars in their creation, and invoking the benevolent communion of congenial lights, and influences !

At this most interesting and impressive period in the annals of mankind, when GREECE is perishing, not by a dispensation in the dark, but openly, in the face of day, how must it have cheered the ancient hearts of these veteran friends of Liberty, as their own day was departing, and they were extending its prospect forward, to behold such an accession of strength to its cause ! How deeply must they have been moved by the earnest and affecting struggle for its possession, pervading the whole space from this side of the Isthmus to the verge of South America. How must they have been touched by its pathetic appeal to the sympathy of the American People ! Read the last letters of these illustrious philanthropists in answer to the various invitations, received by them to join in the recent national celebrations, full of the most inspiring and enthusiastic expressions of interest in the fortunes of humanity, and breathing the most ardent aspirations for the ultimate spread of the principles of benevolence to all mankind, through the diffusive progress of the universal law of liberty !

Let it not be supposed, therefore, that America means to withdraw herself from the sphere of political society, out of the circle of sister states, or

away from the pale of public law. As Columbus wisely concluded, that this side of the globe could not be all water, it is plain that America must always form a weight in the scale of nations, which it cannot be quite safe for Europe to disregard, in any of her political projections upon this hemisphere. Although we may lie along under different meridians from the kingdoms of that continent, we cannot with propriety be considered, or set apart, as belonging to another planet. While we wish to remain, what we profess to be, a world *by* ourselves, we do not claim to be a world *to* ourselves. Let this be understood, that America *declines* to become party with Europe, only for war, but not for peace. She asks for terms of peace with all powers, and seeks relations of commerce with all countries. She wishes to establish the rights of peace and commerce with all mankind, upon a broad, safe, honourable, and universal basis.—Strange, as it may seem, after ages apparently employed in the pursuit of these arts, there are still securities wanting. Strange, as it may be, there are laws of Nature, not yet received in the code of Nations; and there are principles of pure philanthropy, that find no benevolent and blessed sanction in its systematic provisions. There are duties yet to be performed by all portions of the civilized world. There are works of religion and mercy to be done. The rule of the more perfect law remains to be fulfilled. Obligations of justice are to be

discharged ; rights of humanity to be redeemed ; the wounds of Africa to be healed ! Improvements of pressing importance are yet to be effected in the international system, combining the benevolent and, I trust, not altogether impracticable views of philosophers and politicians. There are objects deserving the most deliberate discussion ; measures worthy of the wisest statesmen to concert ; which will weave a wreath that shall not wither for themselves, and an unfading chaplet for their country.

Many memorials of the opinions and services of these eminent individuals remain to be recorded, ere their eulogium would end, or its fountain be exhausted. The colonization of the African was a favourite idea with Mr. JEFFERSON, and owes to him its original suggestion. All the efforts for the benefit of those myriads of beings, that cluster in the bosom of our society, with such an indefinite series of evils in the rear, rest on us. All the hopes of happiness for mankind in our hemisphere are garnered up in our important experiments and examples ;—and after freeing America from every foreign yoke, and all internal bondage, whether enjoying the favour of Europe in measures of seasonable, moderate, and progressive emancipation, to be employed, or not ; may we not only be able to exult in our own extrication from the evils, which her policy entailed upon her posterity in us, but rejoice in seeing the same evils converted under the blessing

of Providence, into the ultimate means of civilizing and christianizing Africa !

As we seem to have arrived at the second age of our Revolution, we might find an excuse for taking up its early, touching tale, unto our children. But the hour must be the apology for passing over several incidents regarding these eminent persons, of no inferior interest to those which have been related ;—among the rest their influence in forming the constitutions and jurisprudence of their native states ;—and that attention, which has been exhibited by them, in their relative and respective positions, to improve the means of free and universal education. May the elevated object of the southern patriot's expanded mind, the last public object of his dying interest and regard, rise to emulate our own New-England ALMA MATER,—encircled by her faithful offspring—crowned with the turrets of our literary and religious institutions, and casting her classic shades upon all the land !

The grateful hour, that seemed to be appointed by heaven to mark our national deliverance, has passed.—The silver trumpet has ceased ;—scarcely to sound again in the ears of this assembly, or to vibrate in those of the present generation. Its last accents sunk into a mysterious and dying note. It discoursed to us of the days of our own dejected Judah ; and winded together the dirge of those, who turned our captivity, *as streams in*



*the south.* It breathed also of the days when the horn of our prosperity was exalted; and if the harps of our Zion at seasons seemed to catch a foreign tone, and rival banners waved within the walls of our Jerusalem,—though brothers' breasts were sometimes bared, yet had the conqueror thundered at our gates, and the towers of our country's temple fallen, they would have fallen themselves, reconciled like the brothers of Judea, into each other's arms.

Reflecting on the union, as well as the division, of these departed patriots; recollecting, that the name of the one faltered upon the tongue of the other, let it also be remembered, that he who pronounced the eulogy of the Last of the Romans, may be regarded as the Last of the Romans himself!

Happily the great survivors of our Declaration of Independence were not reserved to gather a mutual consolation over the sympathizing ruins of the revolutionary cause;—*cum Marius inspiciens Carthaginem,—illa intuens Marium, alter alteri possit esse solatio!*—We do not wish to say, in the last expiring breath of Emmet, let no man write their epitaph! But let it not be written yet;—or let it be only read in the inscriptions which gratitude engraves. Let it live, only, in those institutions, into which they have breathed themselves, which even now assume a monumental firmness, and begin to cast their shadows forward on futurity.

We have long known of the declining days of JEFFERSON and ADAMS. We knew that the silver cord was loosed, and the golden bowl was breaking. Oft as the kind inquiry was reciprocated between Virginia and Massachusetts, ‘the old man that you spake of, does he yet live ?’—we learned that

“ Gently on them did gentle nature lay  
 “ The weight of years ;”

and that while they were bowing beneath their burden, the coming on of age was kindly ; that time was dealing tenderly with them, undermining the grounds of ancient difference, and inducing a benevolent forgetfulness of all that was unpleasant in the past—

“ Still o’er them oblivion’s waters lay,  
 “ And still the tide kept flowing !  
 “ When we spoke of our sires, it was but to say,  
 “ The old men’s strength was going.”

Their days however were marvellously prolonged ; and for them the signs upon the dial were providentially stayed, and most singularly centred upon the same point. We have known all their joys and all their sorrows ; for their homes were open to their countrymen, and their hearts had no secrets from their fellow citizens. And we have heard one of them, within a few days previous to his death, express the pathetic, and painful sentiment, that he would not care, if his life should end with the line he was writing, could he only leave the objects of

his affection free from all solicitude. While the other could raise his aged and grateful eye to God, that he saw nothing whatever to cloud the setting of his great and glorious day !

And now that they have gone hence to be here no more, and their remains have been recommitted to the maternal bosom of the earth, let no dying appeal in favour of their beloved offspring, founded on their own long-tried, faithful, and self-devoted services, and the good feelings of a benefitted and prospered community, be addressed in vain to the consideration of their country ! Let the sires teach to the sons, and the mothers to the daughters, the lesson of their worth ; nor let the nation deem all debt to the posterity of their distinguished benefactors discharged by the easy performance of these funereal obsequies.

*Et credis cineres suppositos curare !*

When America shall raise the marble to the memory of her patriots, let the sculpture speak the truth. When the monumental stone shall rise to emulate their virtues, and shall undertake to present their images, to be objects of sense, as well as of sentiment, so long as the soul of man can speak to the most remote posterity, through the works of art, let the real feeling of the present age be expressed. Let it be embodied, and embalmed, unfalsified, by the faithful muse, and its rays reflected

with snow-white purity and truth to all succeeding times. Let the marble by all means speak the truth of those, who will then be asleep to criticism, though not inanimate to the fame and honour of their ancestors ;—and be still alive to the moral power of the statuary. Let not the art of Chantry be employed to sculpture Belisarius, supplicating the charity of his country,—nor to imitate the attitude of Scipio, expostulating with it in vain ;—nor the idea of Epaminondas, inscribing its self-rebuking sentence upon his own tomb. Let not the orphan genius of Greece be unveiled to drop her cold tear upon the kindred marble ! Let not the interesting group of sister republics be imagined doubtfully at a distance, mournfully averting their faces from the hollow urn, intended to receive the common ashes of ADAMS and JEFFERSON ! Let not the work be unworthy of America. Let her emblem exhibit her Atlas, and her Hercules ;—and both sustain the scroll of their country's independence.—Let native genius beam from the living marble ; and its lesson be immortal !

Not, however, that *we* want any monument of ADAMS and JEFFERSON. America needs no other memorial of them than her own free arts and institutions furnish. We know nothing more noble than their example. Be nothing more sacred than their fame ! We wish for nothing more illustrious, nothing more magnificent, than the sublime moral and political monument, which they have left us.

Do any in this respected assembly make the inquiry *where*?—Look around you! Lay your hands on your hearts! Cast your eyes around your native land, and remembering all that it holds, behold **YOUR COUNTRY!**

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