## ORATION

### PRONOUNCED AT ORLEANS,

JULY 4, 1809.

THIRTY FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF

### AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

By JOTHAM WATERMAN,

Minister of the Gospel in Barnstable.

My kingdom is not of this world.....St. John.

Am I, therefore, become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?

St. Paul

BOSTON

PRINTED BY JOSHUA BELCHER.

1809.

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### ORATION.

#### HEARERS, FELLOW-CITIZENS, AND CHRISTIANS,

"The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." With joy congenial, we celebrate the wonderful and kind interpositions of Divine Providence, which are called to mind, by the return of this important anniversary. He would say, in a political sense, this is the day, the Lord hath made, we will, as faithful citizens, rejoice and be glad therein.

The speaker, on this joyful occasion, is more frequently selected from the bar, than from the pulpit. The latter selection however is, by no means, inadmissible, for every christian ought to be an active patriot. Any farther apology I need not make, for my personal appearance, in this place and upon this occasion, and shall, therefore, proceed to collect some of the many objects of discussion, which are interspersed in the field, I am now to travel.

To attempt tracing the extensive chain of causes and effects, that led America to INDEPENDENCE, and with the beauties of rhetoric, united with the force of metaphysical disquisition, to prove the justice of those measures, by which she became severed from Great Britain, would be too laborious for the peaker; too far intruding on precious time, beside that, which is not

a fact, presupposing ignorance of historical facts, in this crowded and respectable auditory.

To tread the before mentioned long beaten path, and to compress its multitudinous and circuitous events, to the limits of a brief *Oration* or *Address*, would be like the philosopher's reducing all the real matter in the universe, to the bulk of a walnut.

Gratitude to the origin and protractor of all good, for the innumerable blessings, which have been liberally conferred, on the free and enlightened sons of Columbia, should this day feelingly move the breast of every American whose heart is not callous to the unadulterated sensibilities of patriotism.

Fully persuaded I am, that I sincerely rejoice in this day, and that you all, who know your best interests and obligations to secure them. unite with me. Fully persuaded I am, that every one, who justly claims the honour of a good neighbour, a gentleman, a patriot, and a christian, will cover, with the mantle of charity, those imperfections in the speaker, that are natural to man, and which fail not to be rendered into criminal allegations by such, as see only through the jaundiced perspective of party. This great pest to civil society I would gladly and victoriously combat. While, I attempt to do it, I have this satisfaction, that I am no Tory nor the son of a Tory and also the candour to own, with extreme regret, that many are branded with this all odious name, who deserve it not.

Party has run too high for our national good. Would to heaven, it were reduced to its just limits, to differ in friendship, that the *ups* no more retaliate upon the *downs*. Could I instil into your minds, and the

minds of all my fellow citizens, the importance and wisdom of overcoming evil with good; the great utility of venerating national concord and forbearance, I would dare to predict that the harmless dove of Independence, would not cease to perch on the branching willows of America, "while the earth shall bear a plant or the sea roll its waves."

The happy fruits of Independence, the wisdom of union, in opposition to discord and rendering collisions, receive the weighty, the mature and well digested blessing of an Adams, second to America's first GLORY.—But sorry I am to say it, that he has seen the scripture literally fulfilled. "A man's foes shall be those of his own household," he has had his Hosannas, and now, he is daily crucified and slain because he tells the truth; because he has a little passed the age of man.<sup>3</sup> Behold a party come to the last resort! To depreciate his writings, hear and be astonished at the charge, he has become superannuated!!—Fellow citizens peruse, and reperuse his writings. They are full of mental sanity and true patriotism. They attest to his ever having been a true Republican. His age is but a little more than the learned doctor's, who, the last general election displayed all his ingenuity and erudition upon Jotham's parable! How different this aged statesman and philosopher, from that grey headed divine, who compares Mr. Jefferson to the bramble, in the before named parable!

Hear what Mr. Adams says to the contrary. "I sought and obtained an interview with Mr. Jefferson. I had lived with him on terms of intimate friendship for five and twenty years, had acted with him in dan-

gerous times and arduous conflicts, and always found him assiduous, laborious, and as far, as I could judge, faithful and upright." And speaking of Mr. Madison, he thus observes. "I had long wished to avail myself and the public of the fine talents and amiable qualities and manners of Mr. Madison." And again "of Jefferson," whom some to their honour have called negro and French president!! he says, "I will not take leave without declaring my opinion, that the accusations against him, of blind devotion to France; of hostility to England; of hatred to commerce; of partiality and duplicity in his late negociations with the belligerent powers are, without foundation."

That Mr. Madison does back this eulogy upon his predecessor, may be seen by a multitude of documents, that may be easily obtained, and which also liberate Mr. Adams from the ungenerous charge of being superannuated. They, who make it, know in their own hearts, they make a lie and work an abomination. In the science of theology, natural and christian, and in the science of jurisprudence, Mr. Adams rises infinitely superior to an Osgood,4 an Emmons,5 a Spring, and a Parish. This Quaternion is honoured with a diploma, which they have severally dishonoured by their extreme political party zeal. The first has called Mr. Jefferson a bramble; the second has compared him to Jereboam; the third has put in his oar, and the fourth has called him the Antichrist. Could they lead the standing order of the clergy to the same measure of excess, to which they have themselves gone, sectarians in church, would ere long, supplant them and their followers. The clergy have not been altogether so prudent, as they ought to have been: Had they acted in their proper sphere, republicans would not have said nor done, what they have, in some instances, against them. Let the ministers of the gospel preach Jesus Christ and him crucified, and set those, as one again, who are at variance, and they will not then lug gunboats and the bramble into the sacred desk.

Concord is what every good man and citizen will approve and pursue. Hence, he will be more pleased with those ministers of the gospel, who are not high, nor intolerant in their political sentiments, but are disposed to render unto Cesar the things, that are Cesar's, and unto God the things which are God's.—Because the standing order of the clergy, have been such thorough adepts in federalism, the methodists and baptists have so far increased; and unless the former desist saying so much about the bramble, the latter will find, as they have already done, a feast of fat things.8 There will be partizans in church as well as in state. Both I contemn, just so much as I love Independence in the latter, or venerate religion in the former. I know of no polities apart from this, be they under the colour of federalism or republicanism. I contemn all foolish divisions, and continual versatility of sentiment, carried round by the wheel of honour and profit.

I presume, fellow citizens and christians, that with me, you respect those Americans, who provide things honest in the sight of all men and all parties, who follow whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report.—If you do, then are we all firm advocates for national concord. This is recommended to us in the great volume of nature, and in the all-ex-

panding volume of divine revelation. The deplorble effects of its opposite, compose a principal part of ancient and modern history, and are most pathetically and patriotically remonstrated against, in the never to forgotten legacy of the father of his country, the immortal Washington.

It is unhappy for our common country, there are those, not few in number, who profess to receive him, as godfather in politics, who yet not only in sentiment, but in practice absolutely deny him. Would to heaven, they might clearly see, and candidly own their extreme folly, in thus not only politically crucifying him afresh and putting him to open shame, but in unfeelingly deflouring and unturfing his grave.—His shades will not be troubled for nought. Though dead, he yet speaketh to us, to frown indignantly upon every measure, calculated in issue, to rend asunder the union of these United States. Shall we then, as we would respect his counsels, smile instead of frowning upon such, as have highly approved of a division of the Union, and warmly seconded, if not leaded in the evasions of those laws of the general government, which were the offspring of imperious necessity, laid upon us by foreign nations, and more especially by our mother country, who has it in her power to hurt us most.9 She has done us more injury, since our national birth or independence, than all the other nations upon earth. But I must stop, or I shall be charged with French influence, which God knows would be an un-I have no partiality for any nation but just allegation. my own. I am no disorganizer, I am not a bramble, and though not a Sir Isaac Newton, I am not superannuated. If to be a patriot, and deliver the truth, respecting the dangers which have threatened, and which still menace the country, is to be superannuated, would to kind heaven, every American were superannuated.

Every rational man and legitimate patriot acknowledges it his indispensable duty, to seek the happiness not only of his own children, but of his neighbours, and therefore of the community to which he belongs, as this is made up of a greater, or less number of neighbourhoods. He will be obedient to law and order, and voluntating grant, that it is better, patiently to endure, manfully to support, and patriotically to laud a temporary evil, when thereby he is liberated, in probability, from eternal depredation and plunder.

The Embarco was a temporary evil, and yet as wise a measure (omnibus consideratis considerandis) as ever was adopted, by the American government.9—We readily concede, it was embarrassing to some of our fellow citizens, who will, when commerce shall again have obtained its former activity and profit, know how not only to prize it, but how justly to contemn all attacks upon it, by foreign nations, disposed to intrude upon our national hospitality and justice. It has proved, contrary to federal prediction and declaration, in happy degree, a coercive measure. 10—It has saved our shipping; it has saved our men, who have given a noble addition to agriculture, having their attention called to it. It has lengthened out the lives of many and their enjoyments among their friends upon the land.—It has taught us economy and prudence.

While, great men here, as by some called, have warmly disapprobated this measure, still greater men

across the water, have frankly owned its energy and the justice of its adoption, and so have exposed the folly of those Americans, who have spoken against their own interest, and that of their posterity, in thus ridiculing a measure of Administration, which they ought to have applauded.

Let the infuriated members of the Essex Junto fall back and give place to superior understanding, and the brighter examples of patriotism, in favor of our independence as so nobly exhibited, in the ever to be recorded speeches of a lord Grenville and a Whitbread. One syllable, from either of these true friends to America's rights, is as much above whole volumes from a Sloane, a Hillhouse, a Pickering, and a Quincy, 11 as the Andes are above a molehill.—Wonderful penetration, singular knowledge and patriotism, the latter possess, if the country's good is more their object, than their own self aggrandisements!!

If to patriotism we lend our aid, and to concord its patron, our humble veneration, we shall bestow our sacred pæans on those only, who have had the good of the land in view. Among whom we may reckon a John Q. Adams, an Anderson, a Smith, and a Giles. These with many others, have some information, if no money nor religion!! They speak well. "Out of the bundance of the heart the mouth speaketh."

Amidst the joys of this day, we sorely lament the delusion, which has too far prevailed, that federalism and religion are synonymous terms! Happy America, this delusion appears to be on its wane, the bramble 12 notwithstanding.

Religion is not confined to any one party.—Republicans have religion as well as their opponents. When about to settle a minister of the gospel, they have not been so eagle eyed to discover the political sentiments of the candidate, as the federalists have been. Where they have had but a few of these to oppose, they have scarcely made any inquiry into his sentiments, aside from religious; religion is not to be determined by federalism, nor by republicanism. This tune has been played long enough, thank heaven, it begins no more to threaten our independence.

Mr. Madison<sup>14</sup> is not charged with being an infidel, when there is as much room for doing it, as there ever was for alleging it against Mr. Jefferson.

The numerous enormities, and jealousies, and falsehoods, that have disturbed this country, took their origin from a greediness, for loaves and fishes of office.— This greediness displays itself in the hypocricy of not a few, and reminds us of the speech of Caius Marius to the Romans. "It is but too common, my country-"men, to observe a material difference between the be-"haviour of those, who stand candidates for places of "power and trust, before and after their obtaining them. "They solicit them in one way, and execute them in "another." Behold then, with just estimation and charity, the man sowing the seed of discord, and exciting disaffection towards the measures of the general. government, to obtain an office, and on obtaining it, after a very prolix recommendation of religion, enjoining on all his fellow citizens to bury all party dissensions, . for fear, the same he has measured to others, should be measured to him again.

Are we to expect a government perfectly free from error? Are we to expect one, which shall bear nothing but olive berries and figs? Are we to expect one entirely free from the bramble? Why then all the noise, as if the heavens and the earth were coming together, because a measure was adopted by the last administration, wholly approved of by the present, and which, contrary to what has been said and written, thank heaven, has brought our mother country, at last, to treat us, in some small degree, as children.—What this measure wanted in effect, owing to the repeated violations of it by those, who consider themselves the exclusive patriots of the land, has under a propitious and overrulling Providence been made up, in some degree by her ill success in Spain. Charity begins at home, and hence, it would be more acvisable to give a feast to our own, than to the Spanish patriots. We deny not our duty to wish God-speed to all true patriots and christians. We deny not our duty to fast when it be not through debate and strife. We deny not our duty to respect all honest men and institutions of utility, and especially those of religion.

But where is infallibility? Is it in Virginia? Or is in Massachusetts? If in the latter, shall we not have the satisfaction to see it fully exhibited the present year? The enemies of our general government, have now their whole hearts' desire; they can raise or lower salaries, 15 just as they please; make or unmake officers. Notwithstanding they thus have their whole hearts desire, the conjecture is hazarded, that like the preacher, they may exclaim, all is vanity and vexation of spirit. Madison is still a Mordecai to them. They praise him,

to dispraise his predecessor. 16 We hope, and trust, they will go their lengths and pass by. Then it will be a happy day to us, as a nation.

Small indeed the pleasure, or real satisfaction, a man, yet alive to the weight of truth, the whispers of conscience and the exhortations of justice, can receive from rising to a seat of political eminence, through discord, false representation of matters of fact, and speaking ill of the rulers of the people, and their measures, when through their benign and desired effect, as to the special object designed, he has nothing left for him to do, that shall immortalize his name, or cover his fame with the laurels of his country's approbation, for signal services done her. Thousands and thousands, nevertheless, wish for offices. If mere sinecures, it matters not with them, while they alone are the exclusive patriots of the country. Their patriotism is of the most doubtful gender, who have secretly, or openly countenanced an infraction upon the laws, founded upon the wise principle of chusing the least of two evils.

Those laws, which laid the EMBARGO, were the result of absolute necessity. Our neutrality had been wantonly violated, by two rival and conflicting nations of Europe. Reparation for repeated spoliations would much sooner been offered us, had not a want of patriotism been among us, upon which the dominant party\* in this state, have risen to power. 17

The wheels of our political felicity have been unhappily retarded, by a faction, which in conformity to the advice of our mother country, have industriously sown the seed of discord among us. This may be in-

Lean majority.

ferred from the truth, there are among us those, who though they profess to be the humble disciples of Washington, do yet disrelish every speech from the house of lords, in favour of America. Such must be, in a political sense, in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity. It is fondly hoped, such may never compose the majority in our national councils, for should they, the ark of our political safety would be upset and all its sacred deposits spilt on the tempestuous sea of anarchy and confusion.

Let us then solemnly renew our covenant, this day, to support our independence, against the vile machinations of such. As it came not without, so let us resolve, it shall never go without blood. Let concord be our pole-star, and the sage advice written not only upon the table of our hearts, but even upon the posts of our doors, "United we stand, divided we fall." Kind heaven, may the former even be our wisdom and happiness as a people, and the latter never our folly and infelicity.

Were there a division of these States to take place, which is a fond projection of some, a second, if not the first Bonaparte, would take the lead of one, triumphantly over the other division, and then the pleasing festivities of this day would be erased from the page of our national honour and happiness.

We have been called unto liberty. Let us not be malicious; let us not descend to licentiousness, the paltry fruits of which have too far diseased our land. When it will be healed, is concealed from us, by the impenetrable vail of futurity. Thus much lies within our cognizance, that when "Common Sense in Disha-

bille," shall have a candid hearing, and candour no more be frowned from the stage, there will be a happy REACTION, which, however, is not wanted only in two or three members of our great political body. These members have been not a little maimed, by a multiplicity of misrepresentations, to answer, as they have already done, an electioneering purpose.\*

Every thing but the naked sword has been drawn against the last administration, and from what has transpired, we may conjecture how the present will be treated. Mr. Madison does not boast in a line of things made ready to his hands. He knows, he has entered into another man's labours, and is disposed to give them that finishing stroke, which shall correspond with their commencement or projection. If we would respect him, let it be, by submission to his rule, and not by an evasion of his laws. If patriotic, we shall not oppose the rulers of our own constitutional choice. If, therefore, in directing the wheels of administration, they cross our path, we shall stay the hand of rebellion. and wait till a new election come round.—If such prudence, if such generosity be not general, among our fellow citizens, America, the great, the rich, and the enlightened America, will fall, like Lucifer from heaven, to rise no more.

To the continuation of our national peace and independence, it is requisite, our fellow citizens form good resolves. A host of resolves, however, have been drawn up against the general government, and voted into publication, within a year past, respecting which,

<sup>&</sup>quot;Rather be at war with every nation on the earth, than be subject to an embargo."—Gov. Gore.

suffer us to conjecture, that those who penned, and those who voted their being made public, seeing how things of national concern have transpired in Europe, would be glad, should it be the fate of the prints containing them, to become wrapping, instead of filed papers. Aware of the folly attached to them and the illegality of the spirit, upon which they were projected, and wishing to extenuate the weight of future censure, they who introduced, and those who abetted them, have had recourse to the pitiable, the laughable leger-demain of dubbing Mr. Madison with the name federalist!! This is a title, explained agreeable to the new style, he utterly disclaims.

Club law will never support our independence, nor consider our blood sacred, while we walk the streets, when we meet those averse from the doctrine of equal rights. Who shall be judges, whether the laws regarding the lives of citizens shall be obeyed or not, when those laws are trampled upon? shall those, who have most solemnly sworn to support the constitution, the laws of the land, and of the state, in which they respectively reside; to keep the peace, with impunity, not only break this, but evade the laws? are we to live forever in confusion, party, and hatred, because civil officers are not multitudinous enough to gratify the unbounded ambition of those exclusive patriots, who have laid themselves under an anathema, they will not rest, tho' they eat and drink like epicures, until they have established, upon the ruins of heavenly republicanism, the trap door edifice of aristocracy, the capstone of which has this inscription, "Praise that you would dis-"praise, and refuse to receive that, which you have

"asked." Should those, who pay their humble devoirs to this creed of anglo federalism, take the reins of government into their hands, the phrase will immediately occur to our minds, ride and tie.

When common sense and honesty shall rise to their wonted height, from the oppressions under which they have unhappily fallen, in any section of our national rotine, then America will have occasion to rejoice.

With proper reflections upon corrupt nature, behold the man, through the measures he has warmly disapprobated, by an undue comment upon them, or charging them with being the fruit of French influence, taking the chair of state, and most cordially embracing an escort, and then contrast his merits and his political meekness, with another's refusing the same, though chosen by more thousands 19 than the former had hundreds. The patriots of this state have professed to entertain the most pure compassion on such as have been embarassed by the embargo, and especially for poor fishermen!! but stop, and think. The money expended in the escort to his Excellency, would have, had it been appropriated to that purpose, relieved the necessities of all, who, in these parts, were rendered peculiarly pinched by the embargo. The poor were not so much the object, as office. But we would not say, depart in peace, be ye warmed, filled, and clothed. But then every thing must be devised to bolster up a weak and tottering cause!!

Cheat and play, if I may be indulged a vulgarism, will never prosper long. The truth is great, and will prevail. The deluded will before long be opened, and the sun of republicanism will return from

his declination, from this part of our political world, and sweetly dry the canvass, which has so long been furled, not through the folly of our government, but the injustice of foreign nations, and particularly that nation, which so many adore, and which, at last, contrary to their wire woven speeches and sophisticated arguments, has come forward, and owned, that she has not only done "us essential injury," but herself also not a little harm.

This fact laughs the speech of a Sloane out of countenance: 20 "To what a degree of stupidity" and absurdity he must have been reduced, to make the assertion, in his ever memorable speech, as set forth, by the federalists! that, "the embargo was a measure, so far "lucrative to Great Britain, that could she ensure its "continuance for seven years to come, by defraying "the whole expense of the American government, she "would gladly do it." I would not too far meddle with or disturb the patriotic friendship of this modern Demosthenes, by saying, how incompatible is his assertion with the mission\* of an Oakley!!

Our form of government is the best on earth, and needs therefore the best support. The best of men will support it. It looks to equal rights, "The rights of man." While it has its evils, so has every other kind of government. But the evils would be happily diminished, did our fellow citizens respect virtue, as they ought. Then let no one speak against it. It opens its honours, its profits, and its offices equally to all, equally qualified. So wide is the door of American greatness, that not unfrequently, the disqualified enter with

<sup>\*</sup> We predict, it will prove an earthen vessel.

those who are worthy, by talent and practice, a part in administration. Let patience have its perfect work. Each spoke in our political wheel cannot be a top at the same time, but resolves in turn to rise. Let Americans show themselves men; show themselves patriots, and show themselves patrons of virtue, and we shall have continued to our enjoyment all the felicities of national concord, all the blessings of a truly republican government.

What, fellow citizens, renders heaven so desirable an abode, but the sacred harmony, which there resides? On the contrary, what renders hell the topan of misery, but discord and strife? How all important unanimity and concord, in neighbourhoods, towns, counties, states and confederated republics? How necessary concord in the universe? How baleful is party? Is concord so necessary in the planetary system, that without it the stars would fall from heaven, the sun and moon not give their light? If so necessary, let us, this day, pay our sacred vows to its shrine, and we shall have peace in all our borders and prosperity in all our palaces.

There is a nobility in our country, which wants not a little softening down. Unhappily for their repeated assertions, that they possess all the money, all the learning, and all the religion, for antichrist is found in this selfsame pod, which discloses to our view, our political adversary, who, in diverse colours, sits, in satanic majesty, judge supreme of all good sentiments and elegant composition, and has notified his lodgings are taken up in Boston. He and his satellites rail against French influence!! But are we not in as much danger, if not vastly more, of northern influence? Why go the fed-

eralists, if so afraid of southern influence, to the south-ward for a candidate for the Presidency? Consistency is peculiarly desirable, being the handmaid of national concord?

Federalism, if we must use names, is, notwithstanding assertions to the contrary, on its wane. It would not have thus risen to fall, had it not been for the embargo, which would have six months sooner been raised, had it not been for Essex Juntoism.—Its members have industriously circulated reports to Great Britain, that we were so much divided, as to be open to her depredations and insults on all sides. But the snare is broken and we are escaped. We are now permitted to trade, "without interruption from British cruisers, with all "the ports of Russia, Norway, and Sweden in the North-"ern Ocean with the whole circuits of the Baltic Sea; "with the British Isles; with Spain from the eastern ex-"tremity of Austrias to the Southern bank of Lobregat; "and Italian and French ports excepted, with every "harbour of the Mediterranean from the straits of Gib-" raltar to the sea of Marmora."

While we rejoice, it is with trembling. From past, we infer future events. Great Britain, will\* ere long again crowd against us. But we have this for our consolation, that her peculiar friends here, will intercede with her to respect us, as they have already done, in their ever memorable resolves! Though in the height of their chagrin, they have endeavoured to crop Mr. Jefferson of his laurels, yet like some vegetables, he will grow the faster for being cropped. The embargo of federal delusion will be raised, and then he will advance

<sup>\*</sup> She has done it since the delivery of this.

with full spread sails to the approbation of future patriots. Is it inquired, of what use was the embargo? We answer, it saved our shipping and men with their property. Is it not advisable for a man, to save his furniture, when his house is threatened with devouring flames? If by the embargo, our national wealth has been retarded, we have no reason to complain, when we consider, that it is not good for individuals and nations, without intermission to walk in the golden slippers of wealth and luxury.—Our prosperity has been nearly, if not entirely equal to that of the Israelites. Let us then, as wisé men and true patriots, resolve we will know how to abound and how to suffer need. Whatsoever may be the bread of our opponents, never let it be ours, that, "justice is a phantom; reason a chimera; mar-"riage a trifle; the faith of treaties an illusion; peace "but a bait; that cabals ought to be ensnaring; oaths "but a sport for children, a trap to catch cullies and a "charm for fools," and that smuggling ought to be respectable, and resolves against the general government honourable.

We have heard much incompatible with matters of real fact, this side the water, let us hear what has been said across it, in favor of our country. "We know, "that Mr. Pinckney did, in a communication, dated "February, (1808) on the part of the American govern-"ment, strongly remonstrate against those very orders "in council. There has been a considerable diminu-"tion in your exports and imports, I will say to the "amount of eleven millions. But suppose such a "diminution did not amount to more than 7, 8 or 9 "millions, still it is sufficient to prove, that the effect

"has completely contradicted every boasted promise." That is, we interpret, upon the promised dissensions in America, which were fostered by a T. Pickering, whose disorganizing pamphlet, received two or three editions in England. "Equally futile and inefficient "was the hope of an unlimited supply of raw materials "for our manufactories. From America, previous to "these orders, Great Britain imported cotton wool "32,000,000lb. Since that part of the world has been "closed against our commerce, what has been our sup-"ply? From Asia, Portuguese settlements in S. Amer-"ica, we have imported 5,000,000lb." These are the words of a Whitbread in the house of lords, I would gladly quote whole pages but my limits will not permit. However, I must add, "If you wish to ascertain "the extent of the injury inflicted on this country, by "the orders, I call upon you to reflect, upon the con-"dition of the extensive town of Manchester, where "out of 49,000 persons employed, before the orders in "council," or the American embargo, the result of the same, "a far greater part are thrown out of bread; "where of the numerous cotton mills, which were em-"ployed, thirty-two are now idle, and only six are at "work. Cast your eyes to Ireland, and behold the state "of its linen manufacture for want of flax seed. What in "God's name, do you want of America?" May we not answer for the noble lord, more of their smuggling resolutions? "By listening to the offer in August last," (1808) made by Mr. Jefferson six months before he ceased to be president, "England might have secured "two advantages; the repeal of the embargo and the "next of having America for an ally."

These assertions are in a most masterly manner basked, in the speech of lord Grenville. Would to heaven, in order to the independence of America being continued, both these speeches might be read and improved by every American. They abundantly clear Mr. Adams from the charge of being in his dotage. How wonderfully strange, how inexpressibly great the generosity, wisdom, and patriotism of these federalists then, who, if any, deserve the name jacobins and disorganisers! I make this explanation, because there are many valuable men, who belong to the federal party, whom I highly respect, and who have acknowledged the fact, that the past administration has been belied and that, through a British faction.

I humbly respect, and in so doing, speak the sentiments of my auditors, every man, who means well to this glorious land, let him be called either a federalist or a republican. But then every good man is a republican. Aristocracy has no recommendation, in the gospel, for its sentiments are of a republican essence. Call no man master on earth, &c.

To the gospel then, fellow citizens, let us pay our reverence, and our land will be healed and preserved. We are a great nation, and if we live in concord and peace at home, we shall be respected abroad, and this would liberate us from any more embargoes. But there will be worse ones than the last, unless that spirit shall subside, which gave rise to the many resolutions, composed and published, within a year past, against the general government.

What is no more strange than true, these resolutions have, in spirit, been sanctioned in his excellency's in-

augural speech, after recommending therein, to a great length, our pacific religion, which requires obedience to law and order. If more consistency be not exercised among us, we shall be disturbed at home, and scorned abroad, and hence, should we send ambassadors and ministers to seek for national redress, we should have no reason to expect, but what like David's messengers, they would be sent home half shaved.<sup>21</sup>

If ever ruined, we shall do it ourselves. Propitious heaven has put every requisite price into our hands to obtain wisdom to direct in religious and civil matters. The permanent supports of our independence are within our reach. Then let us no more give food to that cage of unclean birds, which Hamilton hatched and brooded until he was taken from them, by the rapacious talons of a Burr, that hawk of democracy.

The party, which has thus taken its origin, have used every mean to attach to their cause, the clergy, and to lead them to the same measure of excess. Too many of them have diverted from their office. Have not they refused to pray for the rulers of the people? If rulers are good men, they need not prayers so much, as if they were of the contrary character. Have not some proved false prophets, for religion has not been destroyed, nor have our bibles and meeting houses been burnt? If all accounts are true, we have from one quarter and another, religion never flourished more in this country, than it has during the administration of Thomas Jefferson.

We have to rejoice, that the lines have fallen to us in pleasant places, where a preached gospel is enjoyed. We have to rejoice, that under the banners of our independence, and the good sense of our fellow citizens at large, we have one of our own choice, at the head of our national council. And we heartily rejoice, that Mrs. Liberty did not actually die, on his being inaugurated, though she was formally honoured with a funeral procession, in one of the opposition papers, in Boston. This did not display patriotism; this did not exhibit good sense; this did not display learning, and this did not exhibit a humble sense of religion.

The majority must rule, whether federal or republican, rebellion is not patriotism, nor is smuggling. The poor were inspired greatly by this, and still feel the folly of it, though not chargeable with it. But we have to rejoice, that with prudence and economy, we may soon gain more than we lost by the recent restrictions upon our commerce. America is rich enough, however embarrassed certain individuals may be. The poor we shall always have with us, and they, who are strong, should bear the infirmities of the weak and not still farther depress them, by augmenting their own salaries.

We rejoice, and again, I say, we rejoice, this day, in our separation from Great Britain, and in that respect she has at last paid to the measures of Jefferson's administration. He made the voyage, which has procured us our present reconciliation with Great Britain, but Madison brought the ship in, and to his honour, he refuses any thing farther than mate's wages. We hope those, who were opposed to his election, who now sing Hosanna to him, will not soon be heard to cry, crucify him, crucify him, he is under French influence!! O tempora et mores! Who are so much afraid of this

influence? They, only, who are under British influence. Of this the beloved Washington thus speaks to colonel Humphries. "For God's sake, tell me, what is the "cause of all these commotions? Do they proceed "from licentiousness, British influence, disseminated by "tories, or from real grievances, which admit of re-"dress?" The colonel answers, from all three. Now was not Washington superannuated as much as Mr. Adams is? The following extracts, will liberate the latter from the charge of being in his dotage. "is a distinction founded in truth and nature, between "party and faction. The former is founded in princi-"ple and system, concerning the public good: the lat-"ter in private interest and passions. An honest par-"ty man will never exclude talents and virtues, and "qualities eminently useful to the public, merely on "account of a difference in opinion. A factitious man "will exclude every man alike, saint or sinner, who "will not be a blind, passive tool." We say peace, honour, and prosperity to this venerable sage and patriot. He stands to the last for his land, and to the last, we give him our praise.

Let us all consider the need of concord among our fellow citizens, and do all in our power to contribute to its happy increase. Our independence is an unspeakable gift. Let us not part with this national birth right, for a mess of pottage; and as it came not without, so never let us part with it, without blood. Let not faction lull us to sleep with her Siren song, for then she would wake us with her lash. She professes to spread a bed of roses for us, but let us beware of the bramble, as well as of the thorns. Let us beware, while we read

of "some, who trusted in themselves, that they were righteous and despised others."

I express the wish of this audience, and of all the most respectable part of America, when I say, would to heaven, that all real matters of fact, might be made known to all residing in this country, whether male or female. Let the latter rejoice with us, in the services of this day, for our wives and daughters must be interested with us, in the support of our independence. It is in their power to aid, not a little, its continuance, and may they do it.

This celebration should be peculiarly interesting to our best feelings. We ought to keep this day, in the bonds of chastity and concord, decently, patriotically, and in order. May our independence, through patriotic sentiments and manful practice, be transmitted down to our children and theirs forever. Let us "be of good courage, and let us play the men, for our people, and for the cities of our God, and the Lord do that, which seemeth him right." Let it be our wisdom to contemn the folly of such as abuse those who differ from them in sentiment. Let us treat, with just contempt, their conduct, who have called Mr. Jefferson a negro president, for he was no more so, than was Washington and Adams, or than Madison now is. Such illiberality, such low abuse, however low, poor and irreligious republicans may be, they utterly despise. us be steadfast.22

We glory in republicanism and when reviled with the opprobrious name, a bramble, we feel disposed to say with Paul of Tarsus, "it is a small matter, whether "we are judged with men's judgment," more especially those men, who do not show themselves men, nor friends to the country, in candour, generosity, and true patriotism.

Such a glorious land as ours, so inexpressibly favoured by heaven, is entitled to our most sincere and solemn vows, in its support. See how fertile are hills and vales? How delightful its landscapes, even on these barren shores! How numerous are its thriving cities? How rapidly, and how numerously, towering steeples arise, which bespeak attention to the public worship of God?

With the fruit of the field, we may gather of the riches of the sea, if we remain united and resolve to respect the powers that be.<sup>23</sup> But to discord, disunion and aristocratical juntoism or faction, let us say, get ye far from us, ye are an offence unto the independence of the nation, we have now been celebrating.

### NOTES.

- (1) THE time is better spent, in describing the means, requisite to continue our independence, than in giving a history, how we came by it. He is a skilful *physician*, who knows how to make an application, suitable for the disease, whether the disease be for a *commission* or not!!
- (2) Washington speaks of tories and British influence. It has had a rapid growth since his decease.
- (3) The charge of dotage in Mr. Adams, by the federalists, is as ridiculous as ungenerous, as is also the charge of blind partiality, in Mr. Jefferson towards France. The suggestion, that Mr. Adams would not have come forward, in public, as he has done, unless excited to it, by his son John Q. Adams, is highly puerile, if we admit him to be superannuated, for no person, exercised with filial love and respect, could wish to expose to public scorn an aged parent!!
- (4) Dr. Osgood cannot be supposed to have the knowledge, which Mr. Adams has of Mr. Jefferson.—Mr. Adams' knowledge, is personal, but Dr. Osgood's is only newspaper knowledge, or that, which is not far better, pamphlet knowledge.
- (5) Dr. Emmons has laboured himself much, in a sermon upon this day, to prove that none have a right to celebrate it, but the federalists!! It is a difficult matter indeed, to see how they can sincerely celebrate it, when so many of them want to bring us under the yoke of Britain again."
  - (7) Dr. Osgood's election sermon, May 1809.
- (8) Instances have not been wanting, in which itinerants have introduced themselves, upon the political imprudence of the standing order of the clergy. Sectarians will be opposed to them, and therefore, it is best for them not to be too high in politics, they ought to show their moderation unto all men.
- (9) It is said, there is a very great change from republican to federal sentiments. To this assertion, it is replied, that is only of those, whose ruling passion being interest, became chagrined at the embargo. It was upon the back of this, the governor of Massachusetts took the chair of state. "I wish him," as in a fast discourse of mine, which was falsely so called, highly federal, I did Mr. Jefferson, "the greatest good."

- (10) Mr. Gardenier, who not long since escaped a duel, with only his skin in his teeth, is, it appears, in a very long speech of his, of the contrary opinion, as he endeavours to prove that lord Grenville is, in Great Britain, what he himself is in America, a javobin. We see how the leaders of the federalists conduct, we would rather say of the British faction, for there are many, who are called federalists, that are honest meaning men. If "Jefferson" is "blacker," if a doctor, who says, he "deserves the halter as much as Benedict Arnold," is esquired, let it be enquired, who led such? What became of Hamilton? What did Selfridge do? What did Gardenier do? Did he fight a duel? In those things, &c. there appears to be some jacobinism.
- (11) Mr. Quincy made last winter a motion in Congress, to second which nobody appeared. We would not infer from this, he is not a good man, or that he is not a man of *learning*. This would be federal *logic*, with which we have long been fatigued.
- (12) Dr. Osgood's sermon at general election, May 1809. Its like has never before been, nor never will be again.
- (13) Self and vicinity experience is the best proof we can wish, in certain cases.
- (14) It is said, by good authority, that Mr. Madison is not so constant in his attendance upon public worship, as Mr. Jefferson. Why have not the federalists then come forward and charged him with infidelity? We answer, because they are not ignorant of the truth of the adage—It is hard to catch old birds with chaff!! The clergy may pray for him! Why did they not for Mr. Jefferson?—Because they thought him beyond the grasp of divine mercy and pardon! "Be astonished, O heavens, and give ear, O earth!"
- (15) It is perfectly right, men in station, whether civil or ecclesiastical, should have an handsome support. But the cause of the poor, in times of difficulty and distress, is to be consulted. They have many addresses made to their passions, by the exclusive patriots of the land, taking "the embargo for text," but has their suffrages for the governor, brought them one single cent's profit? Heaven knows it has not. Salaries have been raised, a part of which they must pay. Some high federalists have been put into office, who will say, you must bow to me, now that I am made justice of the peace, although I have broken it, and resolved against it!!!
- (16) Judas betrayed his master with a kiss and consented to it, for silver. Auri sacra fames.
- (17) Every misfortune that has happened has, by some, been ascribed to the embargo! But every advantage the federalists now enjoy, they owe to it.
- (18) A man, in this vicinity, who penned the resolves of the town he resides in, and who says, they bid defiance to the hand of criticism, and that

"Thomas Jefferson is as deserving the halter, as Benedict Arnold," is among the very first honoured with the commission of justice of the peace, if there be any honour in it! This commission has sunk more than 90 per cent, within 25 years, for that distance of time transpired, a person had only to say, he was going to the 'squire's as every body knew who the 'squire was. But now every thing is an esquire. The doctor is an esquire and the esquire is a doctor, the captain is a mate and the mate is a captain. Distinction is nearly lost. Fashions are worthless, when they become common.—But certain persons must be rewarded for their labours in this depreciated coin!!

- (19) Governor Snyder.
- (20) He is too insignificant a character to be mentioned, but for the honour of those, who extolled his speech and honoured it with a separate sheet!!
  - (21) II. Samuel.
- (22) True patriotism stands aloof from those who repeatedly turn their political coat. Some are charged with this versatility, to whom the charge does not apply, but much better to those, who make it, for it is they only, God knows, who have left Washington and Adams, though they pretend to hold to the former.—Change is more in the times, than in the views and sentiments of certain individuals. But let every man own the truth, as it comes to light, be it popular or the reverse, for to say, we were in an error yesterday, is only to say, we are wiser to day, than we were then. Happy is the man that getteth wisdom.
- (23) The good man never thinks his glory comes too late. Mr. Jefferson will have his reward. The recent conduct of Great Britain, in kicking over the full pail of milk, which she gave, will terminate to his honouring the justification of the embargo. It is hoped, that every man, who would be considered a true American, will, in future, be very spare in his commendation of Great Britain, as she has now done what she has repeatedly done before, proved that s! so not to be trusted out of sight.—She says yes to-day and no to-morrow. It is a wonder that those, who advocate her injustice, should send letters sine nomine, and postage unpaid. The man must know his cause to be dirty, who refuses to give his name.—I looked to the junto caucus and behold iniquity was there.

Errata. The reference to the second note should have been placed at the end of the fifth line from the bottom of the fourth page.