

AN

ORATION

WRITTEN FOR THE CELEBRATION AT

SPRINGFIELD,

OF THE 5TH ANNIVERSARY OF

American Independence.

NOT WHICH OWING TO A MISUNDERSTANDING IN THE ARRANGEMENTS, WAS
NOT DELIVERED.

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BY SAMUEL BLYDENBURGH.

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BROOKFIELD,
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[1811]

SPRINGFIELD July 5, 1811.

MR. SAMUEL BLYDENBURGH,

SIR,

CONCIOUS of the merits of your oration, prepared for the celebration of our national anniversary, in this place, and submitted to our inspection: regretting the MISUNDERSTANDING, which prevented our hearing it pronounced, and anxious to give it opportunity of promoting those TRULY republican principles which it exhibits; we request the additional obligation of a copy for the press.

Respectfully Yours, &c.

EBENEZER NASH, } of the committee of
JOSEPH CAREW, } arrangements.



WEST BROOKFIELD, July 6, 1811.

MR. EBENEZER NASH, and
MR. JOSEPH CAREW,

GENTLEMEN,

WHEN, in compliance with your request, I attempted to prepare an address, to be delivered at your celebration of independence, my leading motive was, a desire to promote the cause of truth—not to *spout* myself into notice: from the same motive, I now, at your request, diffidently submit it for publication. If criticism says it has faults; tell her, *I know it*: if she finds in it a particle of merit; I thank her for the discovery; though I think her unworthily employed. I do believe, however, that though awkwardly told, the statements I have made, are generally true, and founded on facts highly important.

As to the misunderstanding you mention, I am sorry it gives you regret; as it seems to have arisen from a want of decision in my answer to your first request. But I assure you that it gives me no regret, on my own account; I was rather glad to transfer the task to a young man, who may have ambition to figure some day, as an orator, and in whom the fervour of juvenility has not, as it has with me, long since subsided.

S. BLYDENBURGH.

O R A T I O N .



TO Commemorate important events, by celebrating the anniversaries of the days on which they happened, is among the most unexceptionably useful customs, which human ingenuity has invented, or the experience of ages has sanctioned. It applies with equal fitness, to all portions of society, from an individual to a nation.... To an individual, it marks the season when all his enjoyments commenced ; it measures his progress through the various stages of life, and it serves as a *memento mori*, admonishing him by frequent retrospection of the past, which can never return, to improve the future, which will soon be past....The birth day of a nation is of still higher importance ; when a large portion of the human species, united by the reciprocal ties of common interest, associate into one incorporate body ; inscribing themselves a new name, on the map of the globe ; commencing a new epoch on the page of history ; a new era in the tables of chronology. The annual observance of that day, serves to strengthen the social compact, by recurrence to its radical principles ; to assimilate the manners, to fix the character, and to perpetuate the existence of a nation. But, if these remarks apply with truth to all nations ; they apply with tenfold force, to the United States of America.

If we trace the the history of civilized man, we find throughout its whole extent, one uninterrupted series of the most cruel and relentless tyrannies, constantly supported by new plots and conspiracies against his rights and liberties. Though we find states succeeding states, and empires growing out of the ruins of empires—though we trace from place to place, the blood stained footsteps of mad ambition, and view the desolating scythe of war, proceeding with horrid sweeps from one country to another, until three fourths of the world is bleached with the bones of its victims ; still we find every where, the same proud spirit operating unspent : the same insatiable jaws of destruction, devouring with unabated fury. It is true we can discern here and there, at different periods of antiquity, a few forlorn sons of liberty, trying to investigate those long usurped rights, which they scarcely dare attempt to assert ; but they are immediately discovered by the sagacious bloodhounds of tyranny : and if they escape the engines of death, or more dreadful fangs of slavery ; they have no safety but in flight—no asylum but the mansions of eternal rest.

From scenes like these, our ancestors, either driven by despair, or lured by a gleam of hope ; braving the dangers of the ocean, and encountering all the perils of savage life ; beginning, if I may so speak, the world anew, sought, in this then howling wilderness, at least a temporary refuge from their oppressors. But even here they were not safe. So long, indeed, as the smallness of their number, and the weakness of their condition, pre-

cluded the possibility of gain by oppressing them, they were most graciously suffered to remain unmolested. But no sooner had they overcome the most discouraging difficulties with which they were surrounded—scarcely had themselves taken root, where their invincible labors had felled the tall forest, and cleared the dreary thicket, when they found that the extended arm of despotism had reached them, though an ocean rolled between, and was preparing to fasten upon them with its iron gripe. Taskmasters were sent them, glittering in the hateful habiliments of assumed power. Their situation and employments had rendered them a hardy and intrepid race : therefore every measure was adopted, which might tend to *drub* them into submission to a code of laws, which should “ Bind them in all cases whatsoever.”

Urged, at length, beyond farther forbearance, their chiefs assembled, and on this memorable day of the year, solemnly declared, in the presence of heaven and earth, that no tyrant should have dominion over them; but that they would either perish in defence of those rights, with which the God of nature had invested them, or that they and their children should henceforth be free.... I need not describe to you the long and fearful conflict which ensued. Your towns and villages, wrapped in flames—your ravaged fields and plundered storerooms—the shrieks of your affrighted females, are still fresh in the recollection of many whom I see here present. The mouldering bones of your countrymen—perhaps, dear friends and relatives, disgorged from those accursed floating dungeons, where

they perished with hunger and disease, still present a horrid memorial, to those too young to have witnessed the scene—the rising generation may learn the sad detail from abler pens. But victory, at length, tired of deciding in the quarrels of despots, declared in our favor ; and peace, for the first time, emblazoned her olive branch upon the standard of freedom.

This day is then the *birthday of liberty* : and does not probability justify the fond hope, that future generations shall trace to the auspicious event we are now met to celebrate, the downfall and death of tyranny ?.... Let labor hush the sound of her noisy implements— Let pleasure smooth the contorted muscles of pain, and cheerfulness alight her smile in the face of sorrow. Is there a breast which does not glow with ardor on the return of this day ? that breast is not warmed by the blood of a patriot. Is there an American who would persuade you to let this day pass unnoticed ? that man either aspires to the sceptre of despotism, or sighs to be the slave of a despot.

But, my friends, let us not suffer the exulting voice of pleasure to deafen us to the calls of duty. Though we have been thus successful, yet much remains to be done, ere we shall have exterminated the noxious weeds of tyranny. If duty commanded to begin this work, it, certainly, still commands to pursue it with determined perseverance, and vigilant circumspection, until it shall be accomplished. Without perseverance, we shall never complete the work we have begun : without vigilance, we shall lose, even the advantages

we have gained. There is no time in life in which even an individual should trifle : but the nation which trifles, will surely be a *trifling nation*. If we trifle with our rights, we may long indeed continue to shout hosannas to the birthday of freedom ; but instead of the fair flowers of its favorite tree, we shall incautiously bedeck ourselves with those of the wild briar, which has grown upon its grave.

To mingle, according to an ancient maxim, the useful with the sweet—to render even pleasure subservient to profit ; we cannot, I conceive, more suitably commence the duties of this day, than by entering into an investigation of the merits or demerits, of the cause in which we are engaged. I would, therefore, advise every patriot, on each returning fourth of July, beginning with the present, to institute this enquiry. It is true we have the sanction of high authority ; so had the crusaders, whose carnage glutted the crows and vultures of half the globe, for more than two centuries. Error, though sanctioned by the whole world, is still error ; and truth, however discredited, is still therefore, no less true. Let us then adopt no political dogma—let us submit nothing to the standard of hereditary opinion.

You have already attended the reading of that instrument, in which our fathers recorded their solemn protest against the wrongs they had suffered, and their appeal to heaven for the rectitude of their intentions. But solemn protests, and appeals to heaven have subserved the foulest designs that ever disgraced human nature : therefore, they prove nothing. Let us then, put

our cause to the test of a severer *chymistry*. Let us attend with equal candor to both sides of the question. Let pride advocate the cause of tyrants; and let the less vindictive voice of reason, be heard in behalf of freedom. Let the evidence on both sides be scrutinously compared with the standard of immutable truth: and let the scales of eternal justice decide. If this decision shall result unfavorably to the side we have taken—if our fathers revolted unjustly, from the heaven invested authority of their proper rulers; though faction may oppose, and fashion ridicule us—though the troubled ghosts of our departed champions, with mangled limbs and blood streaming wounds, may cry to us for vengeance—though the dying voice of freedom's chosen son has admonished us; let us fly from the snares of their temptation, and peaceably return to the allegiance from whence we have revolted. But if it appear that man is invested by the creative hand, with no charter to oppress and enslave his fellow-man—if nature proclaims alike to all her children, “I have distributed to you all with equal hand; therefore, let no one seize on the rights of another”; let us listen obediently to her voice—let us rally to the standard of freedom, and though hell should gape, and belch sulphurous fires; let us meet with undaunted composure the storm of its fury—let us despise the wretch who shrinks from the charge, until tyranny shall cease to exist, or time shall cease to revolve.

Permit me then, respectfully to solicit your attention to the trial of the important, and all-involving question,

now proposed....Let us imagine *justice* seated, with her golden balance ; and arranged on either side the parties with their respective advocates. In front of justice imagine *truth*, in snow white robes ; from beneath whose recording hand, justice receives and weighs the evidence adduced : and from the *magic* virtues of whose pen, falsehood, however specious, immediately disappears....To give our antagonist all possible scope, let us consider ourselves as *defendants* in the case. Let *pride* accuse, but on *reason* devolve the harder task to exculpate.

From the character of tyrants, no injustice will be done them, in supposing them thus to introduce and state their complaint.

“ Oh Justice, having hitherto had no occasion for thy assistance, we have not had the pleasure of an acquaintance with thee : but from the character given of thee by thy friends, we presume, thou wilt not hesitate to give us immediate redress, in the *wrongs* of which we complain. To thee, therefore, O justice, WE, our most gracious, most christian, and most faithful majesties, by the grace of God, &c. the emperors, kings, defenders of the faith, and holy sons of heaven ; not only in our own proper behalf, but also in behalf of our liege, faithful and well beloved, their serene and royal highnesses, highmightinesses, lordships and graces, do complain ; that of these slaves, here, on the other hand, WE, your said complainants were truly and lawfully seized, as of our own proper chattels or estate. That by means of our said chattels, we were enabled, not only to sustain, within our respective

realms, the splendors necessarily appertaining to our *regal dignities*, but we were also, thereby enabled, successfully to carry on against our foes, often in foreign and distant countries, the most glorious and honorable wars. But, that a certain demon of discord, a modern upstart, called *Reason*, a despiser of many of the sacred customs and institutions of antiquity, having lately intruded himself* into our peaceable dominions; and well knowing the premises, but envying us the quiet possession of our said property; not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil; aided also, by certain insolent fellows, who have long been secretly, the pupils of this same evil genius, they have excited these our said slaves, wickedly and tumultuously to rebel, and totally to revolt from our authority, and from the obedience which they owe to us, their rightful sovereigns, lords and kings. We therefore pray, that this same Reason, this vile mover of sedition, be immediately banished from all our said realms; never to return, on pain of the severest tortures. That the ring-leaders† of these deluded slaves, be delivered up to us, to undergo the punishments, which our wholesome laws have provided: and that these slaves be made to return to their duty, from whence they have so un-

* I have taken the liberty to metamorphose reason from the feminine to the masculine sex; and if reason does not find fault, I care not who does.

† Not only WASHINGTON, FRANKLIN, S. ADAMS, HANCOCK, &c, and a less fortunate list, beyond the Atlantic; but in short every man, in every country, who has the audacity to think, without leave of a civil or ecclesiastical despot.

gratefully revolted, and accept that pardon, which, upon these conditions, we now *most graciously* offer.”*

“ From your assumed authority, says Reason, we acknowledge we have revolted : and if your titles to that authority are recognised by *Justice*, I will confess, in behalf of these men, who have chosen me as their leader and counsellor, that they are guilty of the facts you have alledged against them.”

“ Unsufferable insolence !” exclaims pride, with eyes flashing with indignation. “ Shall our authority be thus questioned to our faces, by mere worms of the dust ? Shall *we*, who were born to command millions of such reptiles, be thus insulted ?

Here justice finds it necessary to interfere ; and gently raising that sword, which never falls unfelt, “ Imperious mortals” says she, “ You assume a higher tone, than is admissible in this place. The shining appendages of royalty, give you no claim to respect in my eye. It matters not in my view, with what toys the garments of men are decorated, nor of what vain and empty titles, those toys are the *insignia*. It matters not whether he inherits his cloathing from the bear, or the silk worm—whether in rags, or naked : the monarch and the beggar meet with equal success, in pleading titles at my bar. If you have been wronged, you shall have redress ; but your claims, to be cognizable before me, must be traced to the purest sources.”

*To the aged American, whose ear was in early life, accustomed to the bombast of royalty, the stile here used, will, it is presumed, sound familiarly appropriate. Those, whose educations have been republican, are referred to the proclamation issued by Burgoine in 1777. and to the indictments of the various patriots, tried in the British Dominions, during the present war.

“ The rights we claim,” continues *pride*, “ have descended to us, through a long list of ancestors : many of them, *since time, whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary.*”

“ Therefore” says Reason, “ Since the right of possession is not acknowledged by the laws of Justice ; your claims will only be the harder to authenticate.”

“ But we are nobly descended : our veins have never been contaminated, with the base blood of slaves and peasants ; therefore at any rate, we can only be accountable to our equals.”

“ As to royal blood,” continues Reason, smiling, “ we acknowledge, we have nothing to boast : we candidly own, however, that we are not convinced of its possessing the virtues ascribed to it. We believe that the blood of a peasant circulates as swiftly through his veins, gives as much vigour to the body, and is tinged with as rich a crimson, as the blood of a monarch. But we are willing to rest the fate of our cause, on a single experiment. Let a given quantity of royal blood be drawn, and the same quantity be taken from the veins of a peasant. Let these be separately analyzed, and scrutinously compared together. Let truth decide. If the result issue in favor of royal blood, your claim shall be thereby established, and we will submit to the sentence of justice.”

“ But, we trace our authority,” still continues the advocate for oppression, “ Even to heaven itself.”

“ Had you been sent from heaven to govern us” replies the voice of Reason, “ You would have been suit-

ably invested for the important mission. You would have come clothed with angelic splendors, and awed the astonished world to silence : or, you would have possessed physical power, to have subdued the most stubborn and refractory : or, if you had neither of these, you would have brought such diplomatic credentials, as it would have been impossible for any earthly hand to have counterfeited. That you possess neither of the former, is selfevident : If you have the latter, you will, therefore, now please to exhibit it—shew us the patent of your commission, and we submit with dutiful respect. If you refuse to do this, we now rest our cause on the decision of justice, without farther remark.”

Here, to silence the mutterings of revenge, which issue from the ranks of tyranny, justice, lifting her flaming blade to an erect position, thus proclaims ,

“ Mortals, listen to my sentence.”

You who contend for power, instead of supporting the claims, which you have brought to my bar, have, at each step you have advanced, not only involved yourselves in accumulated guilt ; but by pleading on the ground of hereditary descent, you have assumed a load of sins, beyond the possibility of atonement. My laws, therefore, require that sentence now proceed against you. Were I not moved by the voice of mercy, I should pronounce that you go hence, clad in the loathsome garb of slavery ; and that those whom you have oppressed, should rule over you with a sceptre of iron.... My sentence is, that you descend to that

level with your fellow men, from whence you have so long, and so unjustly arisen.... You may indeed, continue to wear the contemptible *insignia* of departed power; but know that with me, they will be considered as the *insignia* of disgrace."

"To you on the other hand, who under the banners of freedom, have elected *Reason* your guide, justice declares, that your cause merits and obtains her entire approbation : in proof whereof, I this day arm your leader with my invincible sword, which was never stained with blood, in an unjust cause : and I swear by the eternal heavens, that so long as ye continue to act only in defence of your just rights—so long as ye listen to the voice of *truth*, and wisdom presides in your councils—so long as ye cherish peace and unanimity, and endeavour to expel discord and faction from your ranks ; though oppression may gnash her teeth, and slavery chill your blood, with the clanking of her chains—though tyranny may grin, with grisly aspect, and destruction shake her "Gory locks" around you ; the sword of justice, shall never be unsuccessful—the cause in which you are engaged, *shall* stand, like a rock-begirt island, against which, the billows of commotion may spend their fury in vain, and the storms of vindictive oppression shall pass unheeded by.

If, in this decision, I have reasoned correctly—if justice has sanctioned our cause, and has guaranteed with so valuable a pledge, its ultimate success ; the next thing in course, which presents itself in the business of this day, is to endeavour, by a careful and

thorough investigation, to ascertain and point out that line of conduct—that fixed and settled policy, which shall not only preserve, but extend and beautify, to the latest period of time, our fair political structure, in spite of foes who may assail from without, and factions which may broil within. This, at a superficial view, may appear an arduous task ; but I trust, that upon deeper research, and closer attention to the subject, its difficulties will in a great measure, disappear.

There are in human nature, certain fixed principles, on which, if we know them, we may predicate social establishments, on the effects of which, we may calculate with the utmost certainty.... If it is known by a government, that its best interest lies in protecting and supporting the individuals it governs, in the possession of their just rights ; it certainly will act accordingly : if, on the other hand, the individual knows, that his only safety is in supporting the social compact by which he is governed ; he will endeavour to support it : and it is equally certain, that if both these are done, both will be supported.

The foundation, on which, alone, the fabric we have reared, can stand, is *science*—knowledge is the only sure *bane* to tyranny and oppression ; it is only therefore, by its general diffusion, through all ranks of society, that we can hope to preserve, unsullied and entire, our republican institutions.... “ A nation,” says a philosopher and a statesman, ‘ may be taught to reason correctly,

* Joel Barlow, Esq.

to reason perversely, or not to reason at all." The first of these propositions is sufficiently proved, by shewing that nations have reasoned correctly, on some points. If this is possible on some points, it is possible on all. That nations have reasoned perversely, needs not be proved. That they have in some instances not reasoned at all, the history of slavery and oppression, furnish ample proof. It is only in the gloom of mental obscurity, that slavery can rivet her chains, and oppression bind on her fetters. But in the appearance of *man*, either in his individual, or national capacity ; when he is capable of discerning by the light of reason, all his moral and social duties ; when the same reasoning frees him from all improper restraints ; when he

“ Knows his rights, and knowing, *dare* maintain,” there is something so formidably majestic—so daunting to the face of tyranny, that the “ Infernal devil,” himself, would scarcely dare attack him.

Reason which teaches us our own rights, teaches us also, the rights of others : when it teaches us to prize our own rights, it teaches us that others prize theirs, also. It shews us, that if we invade the rights of others, they, in turn will invade ours ; and our security be thereby lessened. It shews us that if we suffer others to encroach on our rights, with impunity, our rights will cease to exist. While therefore, reason teaches us justice ; selflove teaches us selfdefence. In a nation thus drawn and repelled, by the laws of mutual interest, an invading foe, would find on every foot of ground, a Thermopylae—in every man, a Leonidas.

But beside these remarks, which apply to all nations, whose governments are founded on the principles of social justice ; there are some political *truths*, which from our local situation and peculiar circumstances, apply more especially to *this* nation.

On the eastern continent, from whence we have descended, the experiment has been repeatedly tried, whether a nation can long exist, whose government should emanate from the sovereignty of its individuals. Of these, the melancholy fate has been already mentioned. Memory recoils from the painful recital—the tear of sensibility would fain blot out the record. Whether we shall be more fortunate, time alone must determine : at any rate, we have their examples before us, and we have local advantages, surpassing those with which the experiment has ever been tried... We are separated by an ocean three thousand miles in width, from any foe which can annoy us. We have land for our descendants, to the thousandth generation : we have strength and vigor to till the soil, and we have shewn by experiment, that we have skill and bravery to defend it. In addition to these, neither we nor our fathers, have been accustomed to bend the knee to arrogance. We have hitherto, acknowledged no distinctions among us, but those pointed out by nature—no titles, but those inseparably connected with some important duty.

But human nature is every where the same. We have those among us, who would soon learn to wield a sceptre ; and, I blush to name it, we have those who would as readily learn, to cringe the gilded minions of

despotism. The world has never afforded any other school where this detestable *farce* might be so easily learned, as in modern Europe. “ Evil communication corrupts good manners ; ” therefore, it should have been the early policy of the United States—it should now and ever be their policy, to restrain, as far as possible, our communications with those governments, whose prosperities grow out of misery, and whose strength, out of corruption. In the moments of victory and prosperity, are often sown the seeds of defeat and misfortune. Had we, at the close of our revolution, been as wise as we had been victorious ; we should have adopted the policy, proposed by the sage and wary Franklin, “ To wear our old cloths over again, till we could make ourselves new ones.”

Opinion is divided in Europe between what is called the *old* school, and the *new*. In the old school, which is the school of despotism and bigotry, the man who labors is considered as a mere beast of burden, the sole property of him who governs him. Whatever has received the seal of *antiquity*, it would be sacrilege for reason to call in question. National *splendor* consists in reducing thousands to beggary, to make one unwieldy nabob ; and national *greatness*, in employing one half of mankind to destroy the other half. Power constitutes right : and man, untrammelled by the fetters of lawless power, as his own worst enemy....From this school, as weeds spring from repositories of filth, has sprung the new school, which disdains all restraint ; and with the fetters of bondage, has thrown off the bonds of justice.

The stimulus given to reason, by the tollerancy of our government, in matters of political and religious opinion, is advancing in this country, the state of the human mind, with a rapidity, perhaps, beyond any former example. But the greatest care should be taken, that while on the one hand, *reason* shall not be restrained, by the terrors of the old school ; the hoodwinks of *superstition* shall not be followed by the *mad licentiousness* of the new. To check the dissemination of both these doctrines, should be our constant care ; and this can in no way be so well effected, as by lessening our intimacy with those countries from whence they emanate.

The territory we possess, affords the raw materials for every necessary, and almost every luxury of life ; and our citizens possess abundant ingenuity, to mould these into any form, within the compass of fancy and art. To bring these raw materials into use, and at the same time to excite to action the diversity of genius, by diversity of employments ; and thereby, to draw forth the whole physical strength of our population, appear to be dictated by every principle of sound policy. The man whose talents would enrich and embellish society, as an artist, a mathematician, or a chymist, would perhaps sink into poverty and disgrace, if confined to the pursuit of a cornplanter, or a grazier.... Besides, the nations of Europe, as has been stated, are involved in perpetual war. The more closely we are connected by the ties of commercial or political interest, the more we are liable to be implicated in their quarrels. By war, we can gain nothing on earth, and we must loose much ; perhaps, every thing which we hold dear and valuable.

I would, therefore, venture to urge this, as an additional inducement, to lessen the frequency of our intercourse ; and thereby reduce the number of those points of contact, through which alone we are vulnerable.

It is true we have men, whose private interests would be promoted, by sacrificing the public good to their own speculations ; and we have drones and parasites, who, to avoid hunger and bailiffs, would be glad to feed upon the public earnings, and swagger, protected in the badges of their country's ruin. These men will doubtless, strive to seduce you into their favorite schemes ; but if you attend closely to the subject, you will find, that as their motives are impure, their arguments are fallacious.

If we adopt the policy I have laid down—if we introduce and encourage the useful arts ; we shall sever the last ligament, which connects us with the fearful destinies of contending Europe ; we shall avoid the contamination of her follies and vices ; and we shall acquire that real *independence*, which, hitherto, we have enjoyed too much in *name*, rather than in *fact*. By increasing our internal commerce, and thereby increasing the mutual dependence of one part of the union upon another ; in facilitating communication, by canals and public roads, between different and distant parts, we render it the interest of each particular section, to support that union, without which, like “ A house divided against a house ” we “ cannot stand.”

The opulent party, who execrate this policy, will tell you that, owing to the immense field, which our

extensive possessions open to agricultural enterprise, and the consequently high price of labor in this country ; it must be long before manufactures can be successfully introduced—that so long as mechanics work in England for six pence per day, they will be enabled to undersell us ; and that people will buy in the cheapest market.

This argument is plausible, and for the present moment, we will admit its propositions to be true. The question then is, whether we will barter the rights and liberties, which our fathers so dearly purchased, for the privilege of saving a few *cents* in a yard of cloth, or a few *mills* in a paper of pins—whether we will sell our independence for toys to decorate our females ; or whether we will keep it, and suffer them to improve their native charms, by the less tinselled, but more durable and honorable fabrics, wrought by their own hands.

But, say these gentlemen, our independence is in no danger from commerce. Let the fate of ancient Greece, Rome and Carthage decide. While these republics were clothed in their own native strength, they were great, they were wise, they were respected. But when commerce had introduced wealth, and wealth opulence, and opulence distinction ; and these were followed by venality, and all the demons which dance in the train of avarice ; they shone with the shortlived glare of a meteor, and they vanished in the shades of eternal night.

If these do not afford convincing proofs, let us have recourse to an example nearer home. At the end of

the revolution, the United States had successfully defied the greatest power then on earth. Then, every breast glowed with patriotism : every heart palpitated, at the sound of the name of independence. The enemies with whom we had contended, found, after they had expended four hundred millions of dollars, what they ought to have known before ; that men inspired with the genuine love of liberty, could not be conquered.... But they were older in policy—deeper skilled in the wiles of intrigue, than we. They reflected that their only successful mode of warfare, must be to enlist one passion against another. They reflected that the invincible love of liberty might be lulled to sleep ; and that the passion of *avarice*, like Aaron's rod, might be made to swallow up all the rest. We had long deprived ourselves of finery ; and the shelves of their ware houses, had *as* long been bending beneath it. These they emptied and poured out upon us ; and we were literally, inundated with gewgaws and flummery. Our females became emulous to outshine each other in gauzes and laces : and when every woman becomes an *Eve*, there is no doubt but every man will prove an *Adam*. The bait was greedily swallowed, and the desired effect was produced. Our whole country ran desperately *mad* with commercial *hydrophobia*. To facilitate commerce, our circulating medium must be increased ; for want of gold and silver, it must be made of paper ; for want of intrinsic value, it must have the sanction of government ; for want of means to procure that sanction, others made and passed it as

readily without. The value of this *true* and *false* counterfeit money, constantly decreased with the increase of its quantity : and the price of every article of life increased, as the value of money decreased ; until the deluded farmer, when he had sold his produce, like the vicar of Wakefield, when he had sold his horse, found, that instead of green spectacles, with *copper* reams and shagreen cases, he had got nothing but a draught on *neighbor Flamborough*. The cause and the effect seemed reciprocally, to produce each other. Commerce, at the talismanic sound of whose name, every ear was charmed, was expected, like the *touch* of *Midas*, to turn every thing to gold ; and the effect was produced, with this slight difference, that it turned gold into every thing else. Our interest became involved in every quarrel on the face of the earth, and our ships within gunshot of every battle on the face of the water. Our country became filled with bankchartered swindlers, and our jails filled with counterfeiters. Our farmers became so enriched by trade, they could not pay their debts ; their farms became mortgaged and forfeited to the country trader—by the country trader, they were mortgaged to the banks, and the bank stock was owned in England.*

But in the midst of this unexampled prosperity, our government saw fit to check its career by an *embargo*. On the policy of this measure, I will offer no remark :

* No illusion is here intended, to our petty country banks, which are the mere *fungii* of mad speculation ; but, that much of the stock of our principal banks is owned in England, is a fact, well known : and that the proportion is increasing, is equally certain.

I will only state a few of its most obvious consequences, and leave others to comment.

Within four years, our advances in the useful arts ; and the advances we have made towards *real independence*, in consequence of manufacturing establishments, have been greater than had been made, before that time, since the revolution. The fever of commercial enthusiasm has somewhat subsided ; and a spirit for encouraging domestic manufactures, begins rapidly to prevail. Our importations are lessened, and our farmers are less in debt.

I have gone thus far, upon the ground, that owing to the cheapness of labor in England, we can import, from thence, our manufactured goods, cheaper than we can make them here. But another, and a weightier objection to the argument, is, that this fact does not exist. It is founded on statements brought from England, many years ago ; and they were then true. Every article of life was then cheap in proportion ; but these have since, risen to an enormous height, and the price of labor has nearly kept pace.*

If the facts and suggestions I have offered, on this part of the subject, are not sufficient, I will relieve your

* The prices of *provisions* and of *labor*, are nearly in the same proportion to each other in every country. If one suddenly rises, or falls, the other gradually follows. About A. D. 1200, the price of wheat in England was 4 1-2d per bushel : the price of Labor, at that time was 2d. per day. Since that time, owing to the influx of gold and silver, from America and to the great increase of paper medium, both have gradually risen. From 1785 to 1793, inclusive, the average price of wheat was 5s. 8 d : Labor, during those years, was from 1s—3 d to 2s—3 d. Since then, wheat has risen to double its average price in America ; and labor, though generally a little below, has nearly kept pace. The average price of labor, from 1805 to 1809, as can be proved by the most authentic documents, has been much higher than in America.

patience, by appealing to the decision of posterity ; when the fumes of party prejudice shall have evaporated, and the smoke of fermenting opinions, shall have blown away.

A moment more, and I will fatigue your attention no longer. There is an evil, against which I would warn you, and it is “ A sore evil under the sun.” There is a propensity in the human mind, when not sufficiently illuminated by the beams of reason, to hang with servile dependence, on some favorite object. Unable to unravel the mazes of our own destiny, we trust to some equally blind guide—we pin our *faith* and our *fate*, upon the sleeve of a *demagogue*. Our neighbor enlists himself under another demagogue, and each becomes the leader of a party. From party, proceeds discord, from discord, faction, from faction, civil war, and from civil war, destruction. We have more to dread, from this one source, than from the attacks of the whole united world ; were every man an *Alexander*, and every leader, a *thousand Napoleons*.

I would rest solely, on the justice of our cause ; I would *idolize* no man ; I would trust implicitly to the *faith* of no man. I would advise, however, that the *immortal* Washington, to whose sword and whose wisdom, we owe our liberties and our institutions, should be an exception to this rule : he has gone down, unsullied, to the grave ; and let no man whisper, “ Washington had a fault.” But I would extend my partialities no farther. While I revered the literary talents—the deep political research of John Adams ; I would

have watched his *ambition*, which was great ; I would have pitied his *vanity*, which was greater. But when the fever of popularity has subsided, and the frigidity of age has shewn him, that “ *All is vanity and vexation of spirit,*” and he returns, to follow the dictates of reason ; I would meet him with the hand of friendship ; and receive him as the “ Sheep that was lost, and is found”... Whatever may issue through the polluted *mudpuddles* of newspaper paragraphs, to the contrary ; I would duly appreciate the great and philosophic genius of Thomas Jefferson ; remembering at the same time, that he has his *faults*, and he has his *foibles*. If they were, partiality to France ; I would guard against their evil influence, by enlisting them, against the prejudices of others, equally strong, in favor of England. I would adopt the same line of conduct, towards the pacific Madison, and towards every other man on earth.

It is only by this general plan, that we can steer our political traverse, with a hope, of safety ; and if after all we perish, we will perish like brave men, with this *last* consoling *hope*, that from the benefit of our example, some future and happier generation, may rise, *phœnix* like, from the ashes of our destruction.