ORATION,

FROMOUNCED AT SPRINGFIELD.

ON JULY 4TM, 1809,

IN COMMERCE ACTION OF

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

BY SAMUEL BRAZER, JUN. 200

PRINTED BY THOMAS DICKMAN.

180R.

HR,

Forbearing to express all the emotions awakened in the breast of every Republican Citizen, who has heard your patriotic and brilliant Oration pronounced this day, the Committee of Arrangements hasten to gratify the universal wish, (as expressed by an unanimous vote of the company), by returning you their sincere thanks, and requesting a copy for the press.

3040466

R. DICKINSON, Per Order. Samuel Brazer, Jun. Esq.

SPRINGFIELD, JULY 4, 1809.

In answer to your very polite note, expressing the wish of the company to obtain a copy of my Oration delivered to-day, for publication; I have to answer, that I have ever despised the prudery of pretending reluctance at complying with such requests, when the intention of compliance was previously formed. On this occasion, however, permit me to mention, that the circumstance of bodily weakness and indisposition, under which it was written and pronounced, had previously determined me to refuse a copy. A recollection of the manner, in which a

former Republican Oration pronounced here was garbled and misrepresented, has induced me to change my determination. A copy is therefore furnished for the disposal of the Committee.

SAMUEL BRAZER, Jun.

Rodolphus Dickinson, Esq.

ORATION.

FEW nations can trace their origin, with reasonable precision, and fewer still can pursue the retrospect, without blushing at incredible and disgraceful fables or still more disgraceful realities. The review has usually commenced in scenes of savage independence and wild insubordination. In its progress, we have been called to view the successive ravages of rival factions, or of bloody tyrants, of furious zealots or coldhearted hypocrites. We, Friends and fellow-citizens, have the distinct and enviable right to name, as the founders of our Republic, men who had dearly learned the principles of liberty in the school of persecution—of religious liberty from the anathemas of a bigotted prelate—of civil liberty from the civil disqualifications and prosecutions, to which they were subjected. Driven from their native country, they remembered the lesson they. had learned, and established a system of rational

freedom, chastened by order, and protected by wise republican institutions.

Patient under every privation, submissive under every toil, resolute in every danger, orderly under every temptation to riot; our ancestors evinced the superior strength of minds, supported alone, by the energies of piety and virtue. "They grew and they flourished;" 'rill their cruel parent, who had driven them from her side and denied them shelter and protection, with a refinement in impudence, was pleased to express her congratulations on their growing prosperity by sending tax-gatherers and "masters to rule over them." With a kind of habitual respect, these minions of royalty were received by the loyal emigrants. Long did their accustomed veneration for the name of royalty hush every murmur at apparent aggression and repeated wrong. The list of outrage had swollen beyond the bounds of even Christian forbearance—ere measures were taken to check the ruthless arm of power, and to teach the oppressors, that the blood of the hardy recusants to the formules of Laud had not degenerated by emigration. Renewed remonstrance met renewed neglect. Vain were the temperate, but energetic representations of the illustrious FRANKLIN, backed by the complaints of an insulted continent.

Can it be necessary again to rouse the indigmant feelings of freemen by a recital of the wrongs of our country? No! Even v.c, of the "later growth" are allowed to realize the extremes of British arrogance and outrage by the continued repetition of similar aggression. And our venerable fathers, who endured the hardships, and encountered the perils of the "days which tried mens" fouls," have their memories refreshed by new exhibitions of the spirit of tyranny, which called them to the encounter.—Yet, on this occasion, specifically appropriated to the commemoration of our severance from the oppressor and of the scenes which succeeded, it is surely proper to review, at a glance, that interesting period. Who is there of us, my Friends, (whether among my respected auditors, whose proud fortune it was personally to assist in atchieving our Independence, or among us, who are permitted only to emulate their patriotism, and to assist in preserving what those acquired,) whose heart does not beat with accelerated motion, at the recollection of Bunker, Germantown, Monmouth, Trenton or Yorktown? or whose bosom does not burn with a resentment, too keen to be disguised, too rooted for even charity to extirpate, at the Lorrid, deliberate, dilatory murders aboard the Jersey and other floating castles of cruelty? Are these things to be forgiven and forgotten? Certainly when penitence is evinced. But where are we to look for the evidence of this repentance? Are the thousands of our fellow-citizens, subjected to the dreadful thralldom of pressgangs and war-ships to become the mediators of forgiveness? Was the late imposition of a tribute on our commerce intended as an apology for the old stamp act or tea duty? Were the hisses at our President and nation at a public festival of the British ministry meant as loving tokens of friendship and amity? Were the invitation of our citizens to violate our laws, or the publication of Cannino's letter as an appeal to them against their Government, specimens of a spirit of kindness and conciliation? Is the ghost of the murdered Pierce to appear as the voucher of innocence? Or was the massacre of the Chesapeake a peace-offering on the altar of humanity?

Toryism and Britain yet retain an organized Junto of advocates. In the words of a much-reprobated, but, we fear, prophetic production, "some of our Samsons in combat, and our Solomons in council have had their locks shorn by the harlot England." To the convincing evidence long since adduced to show the existence of a British party in this country a series of proofs has lately been added, from an unexpected quarter. The

exonerate him from a load of censure, imposed on him by unfortunate appearances. They prove too the pertinacity of the Anglo Federal faction—and they do honor to the talents and patriotism of the writer, by their able and spirited vindication of American rights. He appears to have manfully struggled against a current, in which it was believed he willingly advanced, and the force of which he was supposed to increase. It is an animating reflection, that one of the prime movers of the measure we celebrate, had not deviated from its principles. And we feel for the perplexities of an American patriot, with a British Cabinet Council.

In alluding to the plans of the Junto, it is well enough, perhaps, to notice, contemptuously indeed, the stale story of democratic partiality for France. It was not strange, that the defendants should have filed this in, as an offset, but an impartial world must give judgment against them. Where is it shown, or how? Where is the Republican, who vindicates the Decrees of the French Emperor? Who says that France "has done us no essential injury?" Are we to look for this prejudice in the fair and impartial conduct of our late, or of our present President; or is it to be found in the open, manly remonstrances of Armstrong to the French Court?

It would be unpardonable, indeed, on this auspicious anniversary, to omit a tribute of respect to our late President, a tribute justly due and dearly earned. The principles of national independence, and the causes of declaring it, are inseparably connected with the name of JEFFERson. To Jefferson, Republicans look as to a revered political father. In him, whether vindicating the insulted rights of his country, or managing her most important concerns at a foreign court; whether ably maintaining a deep and intricate controversy with foreign ministers, in a subordinate station, or in the first Executive office, effecting the will of the nation, they are sure to find wisdom unerring, and integrity unswerving. The elevated contempt, with which he looked down on the slanders of faction, but added to the affection and attachment of the Republican family, new reverence and admiration. Like FRANKLIN, combining the philanthropist and politician, the philosopher and statesman, his life has been a splendid series of successful labors in the closet and the cabinet. Voluntarily having withdrawn to the scenes of his beloved retirement, he has carried with him the love and veneration of his country. His political axioms contain a body of instruction; and his political life affords an ample commentary. A dissent from his opinions should excite a suspicion of political heresy. Long may he enjoy his well-earned repose. "History will take care of his fame, and conscience of his recompence."

Nor has his mantle descended on an unworthy successor. The claims of President Madison on the confidence of his fellow-citizens, are powerrully impressive and cheerfully recognized. That he has long been a distinguished coadjutor of his predecessor, and that, with those of that predecessor, his own political tenets are identified, is not among the least of his merits. The firm and early vindicator of commercial and national right, he has never swerved from his first principles. So long as he adheres to them, he will meet the cordial support of those, who have elevated him to office. That the bitterest of his former revilers, should become the most fawning of his present panegyrists, and "bow to the rising sun," can only furnish him with a topic of contemptuous amusement. Their former malignity and present sycophancy spring from the same innate servility of soul.

It will be expected on this occasion, that the past and present political situation of America—her controversies with the European belligerents—the Embargo laws—and the late partial emancipation of commerce, should be subjects of notice. Time however, would permit but a slight review,

and the subjects have received repeated, ample and able discussion. A recital of the injuries received by our country, from England and France would alone more than occupy the day we have set apart as a political Sabbath. It would be unpardonable vanity in the speaker to attempt a vindication of the so much reprobated measure, which from partial evil bas and will produce permanent good. Abler pens and tongues have exhausted the topic. It is sufficient for him, to express his solemn conviction of its wisdom—and while he sincerely regrets the hard necessity, produced by foreign aggression, which caused such temporary embarrassment and difficulty, he has, in behalf of justice and candor, to request that a proper consideration should be had, of the domestic means, adopted to add to its pressure, and prevent its eventual effect.

Already has it driven Great Britain from the high ground taken by Secretary Canning. The sneering tone assumed by this imitator of their great comic hero, Sir John Falstaff, has been succeeded by one, bearing the semblance of decency and the show of justice. We are not accessed with a parody of the fat Knight's language—"Slender, I broke your head; what matter have you against me?"*—How far the orders in Council of the 26th April comport with the overtures of Mr. Erskine—how far the principles of the first Henry IV.

orders are relinquished in the second, whether Mr. Exsking's assurances, that the orders " will have been" repealed at a certain time, means merely that they would have been modified, are questions to be settled by abler casuists and future negocia-It may be asked, why, under present circumstances, so frequent allusion has been made by the Speaker to British outrage. His defence is If a party had preserved a decent impartiality between their patrons and their government, it would be well to wait the issue in silence. But when every misrepresentation is made to criminate our rulers, and to even culogize the aggressors—the etiquette of urbanity must yield to the dictates of duty—and the eye of public vigilance turned towards the conspirators and their masters.

For the honor of our country, if it comported with her future safety, it were indeed "devoutly to be wished," that the mad freaks of New-England Toryism, in her last years dreadful paroxism, were forever shrouded in oblivion, and the record of Legislative madness effectually blotted from the archives of our Land. If the madmen were confined in utter darkness, 'till restored to sanity, it would be our duty to forget their ravings, and rejoice at their restoration. Infected themselves with the virus of English Influence, the contagion was spread among the healthy citizens

of a portion of our country; while a state of predisposition caused by necessary privations, aided the disaster. A kind of crazy cunning, a sort of desperate, but in some measure successful boldness combined to effect the object. It is at best, a painful duty to advert to particular instances of wild and ridiculous action, or to recite the rantings of maniacs. We should be spared the task of detailing the frantic proceedings of certain of The very review would sicken and disgust. Those of our honest fellow-citizens, who in a sit of fright and frenzy, held up their hands in approbation of resolutions to oppose the national Government and its officers, to arm themselves in opposition to the laws, and to assist in severing the Union, will willingly avoid the melancholy It will be enough that repentance retrospect. produces reformation. It is scarce worth while, to notice the strange and monstrous effusions of a herd of hirelings, who crouded our British prints with vindications of British outrage, so bold and so barefaced, that they astonished the minions of St. James. They, outdone by their proselytes, retained sensibility enough to avoid the lash of European ridicule, by avoiding republication. It were too humiliating to review the farce of Spanish Patriotism. To those disordered optics, which saw the Genius of Liberty hovering over the bludgeons and knives of a drove of squalid and infuri

Inquisition as the temple of Freedom, and the Esceptial as her favorite residence, no collyrium ought to be applied. The deception aided the stage effect of the drama performed. Even the impious interlude of a hypocritical Legislative Fast may be past over by us; and left to the censure of the teachers of piety, Religion and morality. To be sure, the evil spirit which "tore" its enactors, was not like the "dumb spirit" in scripture, which "went not out, but by fasting and prayer," for fasting and prayer seemed to increase the "gnashing of teeth, and foaming at the mouth;" and the "possessed" seemed still more "lunatic and sore vexed."

But, when we turn from the childish antics of Boston or London Festivals, the proceedings of demagogue-duped town-meetings, and the solemn mockery of party processions, to the serious, deliberate, official acts of our own Legislature, contempt should rise into indignation, and the principles avowed, should receive pointed, and lasting execration. Let it never be forgotten, and let it be remembered only to be shunned, that the zealous advocates of the Federal union have zealously attempted to array the States of New-England, and such others, as they could entice into their conspiracy, in open Rebellion against a Law of the

Federal Union-a law, too, pronounced constitutional, by the very tribunal, to which they referred the decision—that in perfect conformity with the example of almost every nest of traitors, since the days of Absalom, they solemnly determined to submit their projects to such States as should show a disposition to conform with them—and that they honored the Hon. President of the Senate, and Hon. Speaker of the House, with a discretionary power of enlisting recruits and forming alliances. Taught by Burk's unfortunate exception to a general rule, they resolved, that their scheme should not be communicated to pub. lic bodies, which had not been previously sounded by the sagacity of Messrs. Otis and Bigelow. Let us never suffer the Report of the great patron of these measures to escape our recollection. The toilsome task of ransacking the mouldy records of Prize Courts for apologies for BRITAIN, after declaring that the State Legislature had no concern in the affair, should not be lost to us. And after this last avowal, the Declaration of War against France—the Iullabying Executive Speech, the former language and conduct of its pronouncer -the subsequent sanction of certain proceedings of the last Legislature, grounded distinctly on party principles—these things afford us wonderful presages of consistency and sincerity in the chair of state. Well may the people of Massachusetts exclaim in the words of the duped MAC-

- "And he these juggling fiends no more believ'd-
- " Who palter with us, in a double sense!"

Perhaps a new certificate from so distinguished a member of the Missionary Society as Gov. Strong, might pass current in this world, as proof of Gov. Gore's "belief in the Christian Religion"—although some platforms of church discipline might dispute the right of acting by proxy in a profession of faith. At any rate, Republicans claim leave to discredit so very sudden a conversion in a political creed. The furious partisan, transformed by the magic of a lean majority into the preaching inculcator of conciliation would be an inexplicable phenomenon, did we not recollect that elections are annual, and next year, probably, no embargo fever will introduce morbid humours into the body politic.

If, in the Spring Elections, like the illustrious hero of Navarre, "we have lost all, but our colors and our honor," let us not exclusively ascribe it to the unprecedented and unprincipled exertions of our opponents. Fairly as did our troops collectively deserve applause; yet something was lost

by the petulance of private cavils, something by the credulity of uninvestigating indolence, and more by the treachery of torpid indifference. These last, indeed, are the political sins, " which do most easily beset us." In deprecating the spirit of party, it has become in some measure fashionable, to check the spirit of inquiry;—and men, who without preference could not see a trial of speed or strength between two contending animals, will shrink from the drudgery of forming an opinion on topics, which involve the peace, prosperity and freedom of the nation. It is the misfortune of Republicans, that such men are honest, though blamably negligent—of course the votes lost, and the influence withheld are Republican.

It is our sacred duty, Friends and Fellow-Citizens, to profit by the miscarriages of the present political year—and it is our pride and our encouragement, that the performance of our duty, is the sure guarantee of the success of our cause. Let not that tame, disgraceful, short-sighted policy, which contents itself, with present exemption from the horrors of civil war or the extremes of Junto tyranny, delude us, to destroy us. Perhaps, for the present year, no terrible explosion may wake us to exertion. Perhaps, nay probably, the deeper safer plan will be adopted, to lull us to

lethargy, while the miners are at work, the combustibles preparing and the plot maturing. the recesses of the Federal Aitna, the Cyclops may be forging our fetters, to be rivetted after the next Election, and we not be permitted to hear the sound of their hammers. Can we believe, that the infuriated members of the Northern Coalition have relinquished their objects, on account of partial success? Having gained the ground which was to aid their operations; is it in nature, that their project is to be abandoned, merely because they view their accomplishment more practicable? No, Fellow Citizens, now is the time for determined preperation—and next April the season for vigorous action. It is needless to dilate on the distinguished merit and services of our candidate for the Gubernatorial Chair. His panegyric may be read in the apprehensions of his opponents, and their abuse of his public character—We well remember, that, in Federal estimation, our late Governor Sul-Livan was transformed by death from a demon of darkness to an angel of light. We have no reason to doubt, should death deprive us of the talents, the virtue, the energy of Lincoln—and he thus, for thus alone, would he crase to obstruct the views of the Supreme Junto of the Northern Coalition, they would willingly decree him an apotheosis, and deify instead of detesting him.

We have every thing to fear from

- The mad wild bull, which faction has let loose,
- "To toss our lives and liberties i' the air," *

however his politic keepers may have muzzled. him for the present. It is our duty to save the present Executive from " the fatigues of another E. lection week"-and, when, next year, he retires to his palace—his gaudy cavalcade may be saved the trouble of enacting his triumphal entry, into the "Head-Quarters of" his "principles." Republicans are not in the habit of desponding. At the next Election they will be found on the alert. The "Bramble" (to which a Reverend Sermonizer so unkindly likened our Chief Magistrate,) will be torn from the bed of office. A firm phalanx of real Americans will plant the true "Republican Banner" over the prostrate colors of the Northern Coalition—and at the next recurrence of this proud anniversary, we may commemorate with the discomsiture of British Arms, the defeat of British intrigue!

* Olway.