

ORATION,

PROMOUNCED AT THE

THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY

OF

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE,

AT JARRA IN THE COUNTY OF WORCESTER,

JULY 4, 1808:

BY JOSEPH B. CALDWELL, A. M.

TO WHICH IS ADDED AN

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

FOURTEEN SPIRITED RESOLUTIONS,

ADOPTED ON THE OCCASION.

publick &c. &c. &c. Oration against Carolina.

PUBLISHED AT WORCESTER,

BY ISAIAH THOMAS, JR.

22:12 STORE-STREET, PRINTER.

July 4, 1808

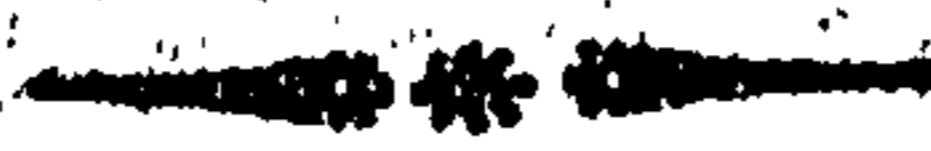


E 226  
B 27  
1808  
Jones Coll.

BARRER, JULY 4, 1808.

*THE COMMITTEE appointed at a meeting convened at Bar-  
re, to celebrate the anniversary of AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, in  
behalf of said meeting, return thanks to Mr. CALDWELL, for  
the elegant and patriotic ORATION this day delivered by him,  
and request a copy for the press.*

THOMAS W. WARD,  
JABEZ UPHAM,  
ELEAZER JAMES, } Committee.



JULY 5th, 1808.

GENTLEMEN,

*IN compliance with your request, I transmit you a copy  
of my ORATION for the press.*

*With much respect,*

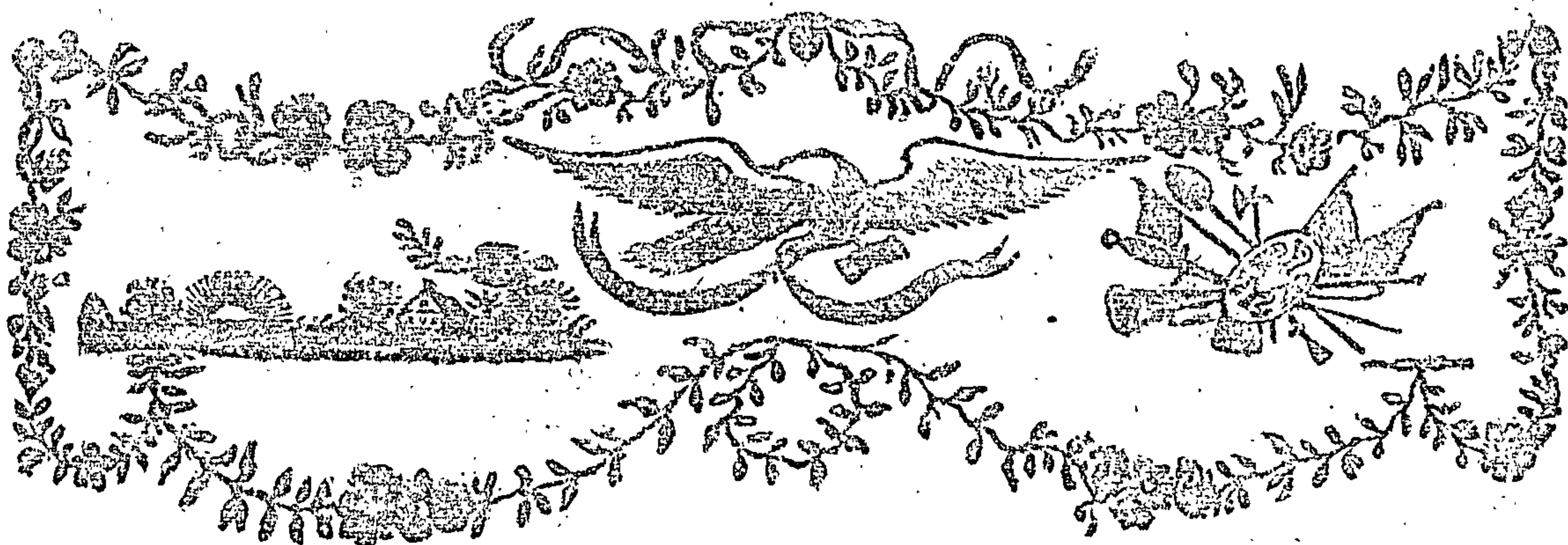
*I am, Gentlemen,*

*Your Obedient Servant,*

**JOSEPH B. CALDWELL.**

**To the COMMITTEE.**





## ORATION.

WHEN surveying the progressive steps of our national existence, the mind will delight to dwell on those events, which have most strongly marked our national character. The soul is filled with a divine enthusiasm, in contemplating the astonishing achievements of an infant people. Every bosom which cherishes a love of LIBERTY, is fired with the rapture of admiration, in recollecting the glorious event which has this day assembled you together. You have met here, not from an idle curiosity, to witness some childish spectacle, but in obedience to the sacred impulse of gratitude, to celebrate the Anniversary of AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE; to commemorate the Natal Day of LIBERTY; to hand down pure and unsullied to posterity, the memory of events, not more interesting to yourselves, than to the whole family of man.

The Genius of Liberty, compelled by the destruction of the Grecian and Roman Republics to wing her rapid flight from the abode of man; by the discovery of Columbus, was once more presented with an happy



asylum, an impregnable citadel, on which to implant her immortal standard. The sons of oppressed humanity throughout the world, hailed with rapture the glorious event. They beheld the day of regeneration at hand, and saw, that they had only to shake off their chains to be free forever. About this era, the human mind was fast emerging from a Cimmerian darkness, which, for ten centuries, had over shadowed the world. The energies of Genius, which had either been smothered in the cloistered cell, or dissipated in scholastic disputation, were now directed to a nobler theme, to a more interesting speculation. The irresistible rays of truth, dawning on a benighted world, began to penetrate the flimsy veil, in which tyranny had hitherto shrouded the rights of man. Persecuted into reflection, they perceived, at a single glance, the full extent of their political degradation. They saw how largely they had been plundered of their just and unalienable rights!.... To retrieve their situation was impossible. With the strong arm of government upon them, they could only escape the iron hand of oppression, by flying beyond its grasp. Their only hope of regaining their long lost liberties, was in reaching some desert shore, which had never bowed in subjection to a sceptered tyrant. Animated by this determination, a small band of patriots tore themselves from the bosom of domestic felicity, encountered the complicated miseries of want and disease, and braved the bloody scalping knife of the merciless savage, to enjoy the invaluable immunities of which tyranny had bereft them. Inspired by the spirit of LIBERTY and INDEPENDENCE, which had exiled them from their native land, their political insti-



tutions approached to an unusual point of perfection. Their laws, which, to an uncommon extent, admitted the important prerogative of private judgment, guarded with cautious vigilance, the rights of persons and of property. They surmounted, with ease, the stupendous obstacles, with which nature, in her most rugged aspect, opposed their progress. A dreary, uncultivated wilderness, by the magic hand of civilization, was made to blossom like the rose. A gloomy, impenetrable forest was suddenly transformed into the field of smiling plenty. On every side was seen rising to view, the protecting roof of the contented cottager, while the prospect, aided by the distant spires of rising cities, was rendered doubly interesting. Afar was descried the white sail of an increasing commerce, while at their feet was heard the busy hum of industry. But alas! The period of prosperity was fleeting and transitory. The very Nation from whom they derived their existence, and from whom, as its colonists, they had hitherto received protection and support, under the specious pretext of obtaining remuneration for their blood and treasure, exhausted in a former war, unequivocally proclaimed "their right to make laws of sufficient validity to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever." This infringement on their rights roused the indignation of the Americans, and compelled a nation of freemen, justly jealous of their liberties, to embark every thing in their defence. Innumerable and complicated were the distresses they endured, until the memorable day we now celebrate, when, worn out by continued persecution, scourged, past endurance, by the mercenary minions of arbitrary power,



appealing to Heaven for the rectitude of their intentions, they proclaimed their **INDEPENDENCE** to the world! To support the high and important rank, they had thus heroically assumed among the nations, they pledged their "lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor." You all know with what invincible firmness and undeviating perseverance, they pursued the grand object of their wishes. "An infant people, with no other resources, and with no other safeguard, than an unclad, unarmed and undisciplined militia, staked their all on the issue of the combat, and resolved to conquer or to die. The Genius of Liberty, from the heights of her favored land, displaying from her extended arm the reward of their valor, bestowed her benedictions on them as they marched to battle."

But to detail to you each particular horror; to recount the various battles which were won, or the defeats which were sustained; to pourtray to your minds the alternate hopes and fears which agitated the bosoms of your anxious countrymen, would produce no other effect than to excite your indignation, or distress your feelings. Suffice it to say, that a people, who had thus solemnly sworn to live free or die, with matchless intrepidity and heroic valor, compelled the crowned heads of Europe to acknowledge their **INDEPENDENCE**.

America, disenthralled from foreign dominion, was suddenly compelled to turn her attention from war to peace, from the armed camp to the labors of the cabinet. Her provisional government, teeming with imperfections, was already tottering to its base. The Hero, who had wielded the sword of war, was called to preside in the councils of the Nation. The pro-



ceedings of the Convention, in their splendor and importance, rivalled the achievements in the tented field, and from this illustrious band of statesmen, we derived the grand charter of our liberties, in which our natural and civil rights are solemnly guarded, and defined with peculiar precision.

The venerable patriot who had led us, like the children of Israel, in safety through the perils of the wilderness, was unanimously selected to perpetuate, by his counsels, the happiness and prosperity of the country he had so nobly defended. Thus situated, under circumstances peculiarly auspicious, inhabiting a country, enjoying, to an equally boundless extent, the means of internal navigation and external commerce, for twelve successive years, did the people of America exhibit to the world, an example of increasing population, wealth and respectability, unparalleled in the annals of time. The arts and sciences were peculiarly the objects of governmental patronage; the white sails of an extending commerce waved on every sea; the produce of our soil was wafted to every clime; our harbors were crowded with the ships of every maritime nation on the earth, and our infant naval force was rapidly acquiring strength, to protect us from insult and outrage on the ocean.

But the restless spirit of faction, and the insidious wiles of unprincipled ambition, arrested the progress of our glory, and committed the dearest interests of our country, to the jeopardy of hazardous and untried experiment! The spirit of innovation projected new schemes of political alchymy; all the riches of the nation have been cast into the crucible, that they might be transmuted into gold; for eight years our *adepts* have



been industriously toiling at the furnace, and we are this day called upon to behold the wonderful progeny of their labors !

A country, prolific beyond all others in its agricultural productions, and hitherto pushing its growth with unexampled rapidity, by an unrestrained intercourse with every nation of the globe, is suddenly touched by the wand of a mighty magician ; its enterprise is arrested, its energies are paralysed, and its strength has decayed ! To preserve, uninjured and unimpaired, those "resources" of the Nation "so essential in time of War," (the ships, the produce and the seamen of our country) every port on the seaboard is hermetically sealed by our experimental Philosophers, and our frontiers are fenced in by the armed minions of their power. Our ships are thus secured from destruction, by perishing in our harbors ; millions of our surplus produce are preserved, by decaying in the field or the storehouse ; and our sixty thousand fishermen and seamen are either prowling in our cities, begging their bread through the country, or seeking a more honorable subsistence in the employment of foreign powers !

If a hardy and industrious race of freemen, bordering on the provinces of the detested Carthage, which, by the decree of the mighty conqueror of Europe, is to be blotted out from the list of Empires, should hazard an attempt to continue an intercourse by which they have hitherto subsisted, a *royal* proclamation denounces them as **REBELS**, and their own brethren are summoned to the field, to chastise their presumption at the point of the bayonet.\* Lest the

\* See the President's Proclamation, against the "REBELS" of *Vermont*, and the *St. Albans MEMORIAL*, giving the "*lie direct*" to the slander.



intercourse between the different sections of the continent should be “*embarrassed by too much regulation,*” the Chief Magistrate of each State, without pretence, or color of legal authority, is constituted, by the great advocate of *equal rights*, to be purveyor of supplies for the people, to sell indulgencies to his *loyal favorites*, whenever a lucrative speculation offers, by furnishing food to supply the *mouth of labor* ! Should an attempt be made to transport, on our *own* coast, the produce of our *own* soil, to supply the wants of our *own* fellow citizens in a sister State, though the law should be summoned to decide, and a solemn judicial decree should give sanction to the enterprize ; yet the arm of executive power is uplifted in defiance of its authority, and a Presidential *Hornet* is commissioned to sting back the bee to its hive !\* It is thus an intercourse by land is restrained by the point of the bayonet ; it is thus a blockade is added to an embargo ; and it is thus the supreme majesty of the law is prostrated by the terror of military force !

In searching for the causes, which have resulted in this degraded and disastrous state of our country, which impoverish in the midst of plenty, and create an unexampled distress among a people, surrounded by all the physical means of comfort and prosperity, it becomes necessary to extend our inquiries beyond the pressure of the present moment ; that we may trace the gradual progress of the disease, from its earliest symptoms, to its present most alarming crisis. It is, however, but of little moment, in estimating the political character

\* See Judge Johnson's decision at Charleston (S. C.) in the Case, United States vs. Simpson Theus.



of our rulers, whether the measure, which has already produced, and is still producing, such a train of insufferable evils to the community, was a wanton, unnecessary and precipitate exercise of power, or an expedient of inevitable necessity, resulting from the weakness or wickedness of former measures. Had it been true, that the hostile aggressions of the Belligerent powers had interdicted to us every neck and corner of the ocean; that to push beyond the protection of our harbors was inevitable capture and condemnation, it would yet have been true, that these aggressions were invited by the feeble and pusillanimous policy of the present administration.

Whether the total neglect of the commercial interests of our country has resulted from a deep rooted hatred of commerce, and of commercial men, “*as unprincipled adventurers, and the most worthless portion of the community;*” from narrow and niggardly local jealousies, or from the vain and visionary theory, that “*commerce flourishes most when left to protect itself,*” yet most certain it is, that, for eight years past, our pacific and philosophical rulers have been most industriously employed, in demolishing the maritime defence, which had been begun by their predecessors, and which they found in a state of regular and rapid progression. “*There was a time to build up, and there is a time to pull down!*” It was the sound and settled policy of our WASHINGTON and ADAMS, that, with a people “*whose farms are on the ocean, and whose harvests are gathered in every sea,*” as our commerce extended, an efficient naval force would become necessary for its protection.



Assuming this as an axiom, tested by the experience of every age and country, the commencement of a system of self defence was coeval with the establishment of the Federal Constitution. The system had advanced, as the means had increased, by the increase of our revenue, in a sort of arithmetical progression ; and had it continued uninterrupted till the present day, the present day would not have witnessed our national degradation, but would have been to us, emphatically, a day of **GLORY** and **INDEPENDENCE** ! But our political experimentalists were resolved, that the people of America, like the fabled inhabitants of *Laputa*, should become a nation of Philosophers ; and that while they were engaged in the *profitable process* of extracting *sunbeams from cucumbers*, they should not be disturbed by the sound of the axe and the hammer !

In our navy yards the stroke of labor was suspended ; the materials, which had been diligently collected, were as diligently dispersed : Dry Docks were projected ; our ships were dismantled ; and to accelerate the natural progress of decay, by a league with the destroyer, our mouldering Navy was driven from the ocean, to furnish food for worms in the putrid waters of the *Potomac* ! While this process of deterioration and destruction was thus “ in the full tide of successful experiment,” the people were “ soothed, by the annual lullaby of a President’s message, into silken slumbers and golden dreams !” They were told, in the genuine cant of hypocritical demagogues, in every age and country, from the time of *Absalom* down to the present moment, “ that *since they had been made Judges in the land*” all the abuses they had



once experienced should at once be corrected ; that the least possible portion of food should be taken from "the mouth of labor ;" that their yoke should be easy and their burden light ; that no griping taxgatherer should be found at their doors ; that the national debt should be wiped away with a *sponge*, without imposing on the people even the labor of *squeezing* it !

These inflated promises were popular and captivating, and the people were rapidly caught with the gilded bait. Proselytes were multiplied with more than *Mahometan* rapidity, and every new convert strove to make atonement for his former errors, by the zeal with which he should propagate the doctrines of the impostor. Thus surrounded by the multitude, and flattered by their applauses, aspiring demagogues began to fancy their work was accomplished, and that no change of time or circumstance could weaken the confidence they had so deceitfully acquired.

But in an evil hour the destroyer came ! The imbecility which had marked the measures of a *feeble, timid* and *wavering* administration, though invisible *at home*, to the eyes of a people so blinded that they would not see, did not escape the keen and penetrating glance of aspiring and ambitious conquerors *abroad*. Our commerce presented a lure to their appetite for plunder. Our government had not the *spirit to resent an insult*, and they had *voluntarily surrendered the means to redress an injury* ! They had not only withdrawn all protection from commerce, *but it was prohibited the humble right to protect itself*. Captures were committed with impunity, and condemnations followed without complaint. The *Great Empire* required money, to pay off the work.



men whom she had employed to forge and rivet chains on the surrounding Kingdoms and Republics. Our Commerce did not furnish sufficient plunder for their rapacity, and a contribution was demanded to supply the deficiency. Under the pretence of purchasing a territory, without title or boundaries, a *douceur* of FIFTEEN MILLIONS is granted, to appease the vengeance of him, whose tender mercies are more cruel than death!

But humiliating concessions and *millions for tribute* are insufficient to purchase a peace with him, who has said, in his wrath, *there shall be no peace till England is destroyed*. These haughty Islanders must be exterminated, that the freedom of the seas may be restored! Their Islands are blockaded by an Imperial Bulletin, while not even a single gunboat is to be found within, perhaps, an hundred leagues of their coast! Yet the opening of this battery of *paper shot* is deemed sufficient, of itself, to annihilate our intercourse with England, that, by inhibiting the exchange of our produce for their manufactures, the United Kingdoms and their colonies may be starved into submission. *Great Britain*, in self-defence, attempts to retaliate; and the decree of *Milan*, *denationalizes* every ship that shall have been searched by the English, shall be bound on a voyage to England, or shall have paid any tax to the government of that country. When an explanation is demanded of these outrageous and unprecedented measures, we are superciliously told, that a War exists between England and America, and that our vessels, which have been captured, shall *only remain sequestered*, till we have had a chance to associate against England, *in restoring the freedom of the*



*seas!* \* Our *magnanimous* and *independent* government, finding that the cause cannot be decided at the bar of public reason, discreetly withdraws itself into a calm and dignified retirement; and, that its philosophic reveries may be no longer disturbed by clamors about *commerce*, very wisely decrees that *commerce* shall no longer exist! That France may have no occasion to doubt our devotion to her interest, all commercial intercourse by land with the British Provinces is interdicted, under the *ingenious* pretext of preserving our shipping and seamen from capture! The mighty Emperor, however, is not yet satisfied with our submission, and we have not yet drank sufficiently deep of the cup of humiliation! The “dispositions expressed” by our Government are not yet sufficiently explicit for his purpose. We have as yet only *laid down* **COMMERCE** in obedience to his mandate. The word of command for *taking up* **ARMS** has been issued, but has not yet been obsequiously obeyed. The cargoes which were *only sequestered* to wait for a declaration of war against England, are now *only confiscated*, and their proceeds transmitted to Paris, because war is not declared! The last act in the drama remains yet to be performed; and the curtain is only dropped for a moment to shift the scenery, and prepare the dresses and decorations!

Perplexed as the situation of our Country had been rendered by the outrages of the Belligerent Powers, it has been demonstrated that the ruinous and destructive remedy, which our political empirics have adopted, is infinitely worse and more dangerous than the disease. **THIRTYNINE MILLIONS** of the surplus produce

\* See Champagny's letter to Gen. Armstrong.



of our country are perishing on our hands, not because the markets of Europe are closed against us; but because the native enterprize of our citizens is repressed, and they are not permitted to put at hazard the fruits of their own labor. *Notwithstanding the vexatious decrees which had been levelled against us, yet, such were the exceptions to those of Britain, and such the incompetency of France, from her naval imbecility, to execute, the gasconading threat which was to sweep us from the ocean, that we might at this moment have been pursuing, safe and unmolested, a commerce, equal, at least, to that which would be permitted to us by the powers of Europe, were they now restored to perfect tranquillity and repose!\**

Time will not permit; and the occasion perhaps would not justify, an examination, in detail, of the data on which this position is founded. Suffice it to say, it is the result of a thorough and deliberate investigation, by those best acquainted with the commercial concerns of our country. And yet, Fellow Citizens, your *inspired legislators*, either guided by an invisible hand, or blindly confiding in Presidential infallibility, without deigning to develope to their constituents the hidden causes of this strange and unprecedented procedure, require only the transient period of a single diurnal session, to prostrate our COMMERCE as a nuisance, and to bury our AGRICULTURE in its ruins! If a bold and intrepid statesman should dare to arraign the motives to this measure, he is not, it is true, silenced by the stiletto of the assassin, but a *page of the water closet* is commissioned to reason him into conviction, by the unanswerable logic of a leaden syllogism!

\* See Mr. Key's Speech, and Mr. Lyon's Circular Letter to his Constituents.



It is thus, FELLOW CITIZENS : Ye who cultivate the soil, who turn the furrow, and wield the scythe and the sickle ; ye who have been set apart, by Presidential flattery, as the chosen people of God ; who have been so peculiarly the objects of his paternal care, that he would not “ e’en permit the winds of heaven to visit you too roughly ;” ye, who have been cajoled by promises, that no taxgatherer should be found at your doors, to levy contributions for the support and protection of commerce ; it is thus, that, in a single year, by a *bead roll* of Embargo laws, by an act original, an act additional, and half a dozen acts, explanatory and supplemental, you are taxed to more than half the annual income of your farms, *in the annihilation of commerce, and the consequent depreciation of the fruits of your labor ! ! !*

Your flocks that feed upon a thousand hills ; your fields now waving with the ripening harvest ; your granaries now bursting with the redundant crops of a former year ; these are the orators, which pronounce, with overwhelming eloquence, the eulogy of the past, and the unvarnished character of the present administration ! !

Is this strange and mysterious policy to be ascribed to the intrinsic weakness of our government, or *the undue preponderance of any foreign power* in the councils of our nation ? Among those who were early deluded by the specious and plausible theory of our philosophic politicians, we have found some, who have been faithful to their country, by descrying the danger and sounding the alarm. From the mouth of one of their most distinguished champions ; one, who, if deluded, is yet



honest; if ambitious, is yet independent; one, who “ would not flatter NEPTUNE for his trident, nor JOVE for his power to thunder ;” from him it has been proclaimed to the Nation, that the very man, who now guides the Executive councils, and to whom the mantle of authority is to descend, has attempted to palliate our base and cowardly submission, by an open avowal, that **FRANCE HAD REQUIRED MONEY AND THAT THE REQUISITION MUST BE ANSWERED!** From the moment of this avowal, he has told us, his confidence in the government departed; and from this moment, is there an American, who, at each returning Anniversary of our **INDEPENDENCE**, (if Providence has another yet in reserve for us) will not crimson with shame, or glow with indignation, at the remembrance that this sacred boon has been thus jeopardized by the treachery or cowardice of the guardians to whom it was intrusted!!

Was the blood of our infancy wasted to resist the demand of a paltry tax by the most powerful nation on the globe; and shall the full vigor of our manhood yield to this imperious requisition, because it is urged by a despot, at whose awful nod the crowned heads of Europe have trembled and obeyed? Shall we truckle to his authority, from a cringing fear of his menaces, or a blind and stupid predilection for the cause in which he is engaged? To quiet the fears of the timid, (if there be any such, except among those to whom our destinies are confided) can it be necessary to remind them, that until the cliffs of England are swallowed up in the caverns of the ocean, or her floating castles are swept away from its surface, we are as much beyond the reach of his



wrath or his ambition, as if we were the inhabitants of another planet! Although, like a *Colossus*, he bestrides the kingdoms of the European world, yet, between us and his myrmidons, there is a gulph which they can never pass, unless we are first leagued with him, to wrest the trident from the Monarch of the Seas! In his towering pride and boundless projects of conquest, he might as well attempt to scale the battlements of Heaven, as to draw us within the vortex of his power, unless we should first conspire with him to break down the barriers, which GOD and NATURE have erected for our preservation!

Are there any in this assembly, so much the slaves of early prejudice, or the dupes of more recent infatuation, as to believe that England is our enemy, because we were once at war with her; or that France is fighting the battles of Republics, because her murdered Monarch once was our ally? France, from the earliest ages, has been seeking the destruction of England, and was willing to assist in shearing her locks, by lopping off her colonies, which had contributed so much to her strength. She was not willing, however, to see another empire rising in another hemisphere, which at some, future period, might rival her in glory. It was only by the intrepid firmness and perseverance of our revolutionary patriots, that she was persuaded, reluctantly, to acknowledge our INDEPENDENCE. Has the character of the Nation changed, with the sanguinary changes through which it has passed? Was their ambition exhausted with the blood of the butchered BOURBONS, and has the establishment of another dynasty, in the person of the *mild and unassuming* NAPOLEON, oblit-



erated their hatred of England, or extinguished their ardor for conquest? The triple alliance of TILSIT bears witness to *their loving kindness* towards England; and for proof of the *unambitious* character of her sovereign, the modern history of Europe speaks to us in language, which never can deceive. ITALY, and SWITZERLAND, and HOLLAND, and PORTUGAL, and SPAIN, all but PORTUGAL, successively his faithful allies, have been successively bound in chains to the triumphal car of the mighty conqueror. KINGDOMS and PRINCIPALITIES have been parcelled out to perpetuate the splendor of his name; PRELATES and POTENTATES glitter in his retinue, and REPUBLICS have been plucked from their orbit, to add to the lustre of his imperial diadem! !...SPAIN, the last victim to his desolating fury, presents to us a beacon, to warn us of the destiny which awaits the deluded allies of this all devouring empire. His revolutionary emissaries crowd the capital of this haughty kingdom; an insurrection is fomented to drive their feeble monarch from the throne; and while the crown is descending to its legitimate owner, he is invited on a visit of state, to his imperial brother, that it may be caught in its fall, and rest on the head of a *mushroom* King, who now wields the sceptre over these faithful allies of their new lord and master!

While pursuing with "*giant stride*" these projects of universal domination, can it be vainly imagined that the only remaining Republic on the globe, has eluded his glance or bounded the boundless prospects of his ambition? Vain and fatal infatuation! Let our rulers pursue their favorite project, to unite us with the TERRIBLE EMPIRE, to destroy the navy and commerce of



BRITAIN, and we may all yet live to see the world's last hope extinguished, in the eternal extinction of OUR GLORY and INDEPENDENCE!!

The picture I have drawn, and the prospect I have delineated, are not presented to lure you into lawless combinations, or to rouse you to acts of outrageous violence, against the authority of the government and the laws. Were such my purpose, the firm and unshaken patriotism of *Newengland* would admonish me that my attempt would be idle, and my efforts abortive. The dignified submission to the constitutional will of our RULERS, for which you have been so peculiarly distinguished, is a sufficient guarantee for your patient resignation under the evils you now suffer, and which are in dreadful prospect before you, until a constitutional remedy can be safely and seasonably applied. This remedy is to be found only in the suffrages of MILLIONS OF FREEMEN. The stubborn perseverance with which the destructive theory has been pursued, through a series of more destructive experiments, for a period of eight successive years, leaves to us no rational hope of a change, but in a thorough and radical change of our rulers. As if by the kind and gracious interposition of Heaven, to rescue us again from impending destruction, the crisis of our disorder has overtaken us, at the period presented by the Constitution, for the renovation of the body politic, by committing it to the management of more skilful physicians. Where are they to be found, and how are they to be invested with power? "There is yet balm in *Gilead* and we have a *Physician* there!" In a crisis not less portentous and alarming than the present, when the powers of Europe had resolved to



force us into their deadly and destructive conflicts, the guardian genius of WASHINGTON, which had once before plucked us from the deep, saved us again from the destroying angel, and encircled us with the rays of his glory. The spirit of WASHINGTON has fled, to intercede on high for the salvation of his beloved people! But he has left on earth his precepts and example; and, in the train of his pure and enlightened followers we are to look for those, who have treasured up his precepts as the doctrines of political inspiration, and who have imitated his example in all its earthly and imitable perfections! From this groupe we are to select the most firm, intrepid and enlightened of his co-patriots, who will rapidly tread back the steps we have so rapidly descended, and again conduct us to the pinnacle of our glory.

But is the delusion so incurable that the remedy will be perversely rejected? Indications of returning reason invigorate our hopes, and stimulate to incessant and redoubled exertion. Our own Commonwealth, the last victim to the ravages of the wide spreading pestilence, is the first to exhibit symptoms of convalescence, and will soon be restored to her wonted vigor. Her example will vivify, and the cure will be not less contagious than the disease. Disunion and disorder have crept into the ranks of the enemy; faction is rising against faction; and the whole encampment presents a scene of confusion and dismay.

“Now, then is the accepted time, and now is the day of salvation!” Now is the auspicious moment to form a solid and impregnable phalanx, composed of the talents, the integrity, the patriotism, the independence and the courage of our Country, to face the



enemy in the field, to march into their strong holds and drive them from their intrenchments !

There are individuals of either party, who ardently wish for the prosperity of their country, and who have only been divided as to the means by which it may be secured. Let those, who, from recent and melancholy experience, have seen the inevitable tendency of the experiment which has been tried, unite with brethren of the same principle, who have only yet been distinguished by a difference in names ; and we shall all be **REPUBLICANS**, we shall all be **FEDERALISTS**, promoting, with a sincere and single heart, the glory and happiness of our common country. The friends of *Agriculture* are the friends of *Commerce*, for their interests are one and indivisible. The friends of *Agriculture* and *Commerce* are the advocates of an efficient naval force, for by this only are they to be protected against violence and rapine. The supporters of our **INDEPENDENCE** are the supporters of a system of fortification and defence, for by this only are we to be permanently secured against external annoyance and invasion ! The friends of the *Constitution* are the enemies of domestic divisions, for by these will the *Constitution* be subverted, and the integrity of the union destroyed. The lovers of our **LIBERTY** are the enemies of foreign influence ; for its secret machinations will estrange us from our Country, and its insidious approaches will sap the foundations of our freedom !

Guided by these unerring principles, transmitted to us as the political legacy of our political father, stripping false patriotism of the mask by which it may attempt to disguise its selfish motives or its ambitious designs, let us rally round the standard of **WASHINGTON**.



TON, in whatever section of the continent it may be erected, and we shall find it is planted upon our rock and our fortress !

**AMERICANS !** Let us now form for ourselves a creed of political faith. Let it be founded on those principles which gave birth to the Constitution, on those principles which preserved America from anarchy at home, and degradation abroad; on those principles which advanced our beloved country to an unexampled height of domestic prosperity, and gave us a respectable and imposing rank among the nations ; on those principles which have hitherto rescued us from the malignant influence of that desolating spirit, which has swept the face of Europe with the besom of destruction ; on those principles which can alone hereafter protect us from that **IRON DESPOTISM**, under which one quarter of the earth groans in agony, and which threatens the liberty and repose of the whole civilized world !

Let, then, the torrent descend ; let the tempest of war beat upon our coast ; let the whirlwind of its wrath sweep across the ocean ; the pillars of our **CONSTITUTION** will remain unshaken, for they are founded on a rock, and will endure forever, to support the imperishable fabric of our **LIBERTY** and **INDEPENDENCE ! !**

**FINIS.**



---

**A P P E N D I X,**

**CONTAINING**

**FOURTEEN SPIRITED RESOLUTIONS,**

**ADOPTED ON THE OCCASION.**

---





## APPENDIX.

---

*After the ORATION was delivered, the Hon. SALEM TOWN was called to the chair, and the following RESOLUTIONS, being reported by a Committee, previously appointed; were read—and each of them separately adopted by the UNANIMOUS vote of the whole, consisting of more than SIX HUNDRED Federal Republicans, from various parts of the County. Among whom were our Representatives in Congress from both districts, and many other Official characters.*

---

## RESOLUTIONS.

AS it is the right of the citizens of a free Republic, on every proper occasion, to express without restraint, their opinions of the measures of their Government, and the political conduct and character of their Rulers; and the Anniversary of the DECLARATION of INDEPENDENCE being the season most suitable and appropriate for the public declaration of our sentiments, and also for considering and endeavoring



to correct the abuses by which our INDEPENDENCE may be endangered; and as the alarming and distressing state of our country, imperiously demands from us a bold, energetic, and unequivocal expression of our feelings and opinions, and requires of us, collectively and individually, as a solemn and sacred duty, every peaceable and constitutional effort to remedy the evils we already experience; and to guard against their further extension, by removing the causes from whence they have arisen: Therefore,

1st. RESOLVED—As the sense of this Meeting, that the National Government can only be administered in its purity, and the prosperity of the People permanently promoted, by a conformity, in every essential particular, to the system adopted and recommended by our beloved WASHINGTON, by a frequent recurrence to his precepts, and a solemn reverence for his example.

2d. RESOLVED—That the course pursued by the present Administration has been, in our opinion, a series of alarming innovations and dangerous experiments; in which our rulers have constantly attempted to allure the popular taste for novelty, by a studied and systematic departure from the principles and practice of their predecessors.

3d. RESOLVED—That among these innovations, we have viewed with peculiar concern, their decided hostility to commerce (under the false pretence of economy) evinced by their strenuous opposition to all the measures for its defence and protection of our sea coast and commercial cities, so earnestly pursued by former administrations, and so zealously urged by men of tried patriotism and long experience.

4th. RESOLVED—That we consider the interests of Agriculture and Commerce as inseparable; and every attempt to create a belief that the former can flourish while the latter is neglected and depressed, as a gross imposition upon the understandings of the people, and an insidious effort to detach from



each other, different classes of the community, who are united by the strongest ties of reciprocal interest and advantage.

5th. **RESOLVED**—That the alarming experiment now in operation, has already furnished to the advocates of a fallacious theory, demonstrative and melancholy proof, that the annihilation of Commerce is certain and inevitable destruction to the agricultural portion of the People.

6th. **RESOLVED**—That the recent acts of the National Government, interdicting to a Commercial People the free use of the ocean, without limitation of time; prohibiting all intercourse by land with the inhabitants of provinces on our borders, who have hitherto been accustomed to a traffic with us highly profitable to our citizens; and also restraining commercial intercourse between the different States, by novel and oppressive regulations—even if they are measures warranted by the Constitution, are yet to be considered as of the last necessity, and only to be resorted to in such a crisis of our national affairs, as will admit of no other expedient or relief.

7th. **RESOLVED**—That from any disclosures that have been made by the Government, the present crisis does not, in our opinion, sanction an expedient of such distressing tendency; and that if it has been adopted from any cause which is concealed, this concealment evinces either a want of confidence highly reproachful to the People; or a consciousness of error highly disgraceful to the administration.

8th. **RESOLVED**—That if the perplexities in our Foreign Relations have left to the Government no other alternative than to preserve our “*essential resources*,” by the total suspension of our Commerce; we yet consider those perplexities, as resulting, in a great degree, from the former feeble and impotent policy of our Rulers; or from an unjustifiable predilection for one of the Belligerent Powers, and an equally unjustifiable hatred of the other;—a predilection and hatred altogether in-



compatible with our neutral position, and highly repugnant to the character of an independent nation.

9th. RESOLVED—That from the precipitancy with which the Embargo Laws were enacted—from the temper manifested by a majority of Congress on that occasion—from the pointed tendency of some of the supplemental acts—and from the partial operation of all, as well as from events which have recently transpired, we have strong reason to believe that they were intended as a virtual and servile compliance with the imperious requisitions of the French Government; suspending all commercial intercourse with Greatbritain and her colonies, under pretence of equally protecting “*our resources*” from the depredations of the different Belligerent Powers.

10th. RESOLVED—That the Administration of the National Government having thus forfeited every just claim to our confidence, we feel ourselves pledged to each other, to use every fair and honorable exertion, in a manner conformable to the Constitution, to produce a change of men, as the only means of producing a radical change of measures; and thereby restoring our Country to the rank and dignity among Nations from which she has so rapidly descended.

11th. RESOLVED—That to accomplish this purpose, it is, in our opinion, of the highest importance, that Massachusetts, the first to shed the blood of her citizens in support of our Independence, and the last to tarnish her glory by revolting from her ancient faith, should more effectually recover the exalted character she had lost for a season, and return from her errors to the wisdom which once guided her Councils.

12th. RESOLVED—That from this day we will consider ourselves pledged, by a zealous and cordial cooperation with our brethren in every part of the Commonwealth, and by a more efficient organization of our strength within the County, not only to maintain and render permanent the ascendancy already acquired by the friends of the Constitution in the



Legislature of the Commonwealth, but to finish the work of the reformation by harmonizing the Executive with the Legislative Department of the Government.

13th. **RESOLVED**—That we sincerely approve the determination of the Legislature to exercise a privilege clearly vested in them by the Federal Constitution (and exercised by the Legislatures of a majority of States in the Union) in the choice of Electors for the two first offices of the National Government—a mode of choice, which will, in our opinion, conduce to a more fair and unbiassed expression of the public will than any other which can be adopted in these times of party influence and political intrigue.

14th. **RESOLVED**—That we as cordially and sincerely deprecate the base and outrageous attempt of a *Minority* in the Legislature at the close of their late session, by intrigue and management to usurp the power of the majority in deciding upon this important subject; and that this attempt, as it furnishes a striking example of the arts which would be more extensively used among the People in the choice of Electors, furnishes also a strong and powerful reason for retaining the choice in the control of the Legislature.

**VOTED, UNANIMOUSLY, that the foregoing RESOLUTIONS, be published, as the sense of this Meeting, in THOMAS'S MASSASHUTTS SPEECH, and as an APPENDIX to the ORATION this day delivered.**

*Attest,*

**FRANCIS BLAKE, Secretary.**

*July 4, 1808.*