

AN
ORATION,

PRONOUNCED AT

WATERVILLE,

JULY 4, 1814;

IN COMMEMORATION

OF THE

INDEPENDENCE

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY THE HON. JOSHUA CUSHMAN.

HALLOWELL :
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1814.

Waterville, July 5, 1814.

HON. JOSHUA CUSHMAN,

SIR,

IN discharge of the duty assigned us by the Republicans assembled at Waterville on the fourth instant, we tender you their thanks for your excellent and truly patriotic Oration pronounced on that day, and request the favor of a copy for the Press.

NATH'L GILMAN,

TH. B. COOLIDGE,

EPH. GETCHELL,

Committee for the foregoing purpose.

Winslow, July 6, 1814.

GENTLEMEN,

THE thanks of so enlightened and patriotic portion of my fellow citizens, as on the Anniversary of Independence participated in the feast of reason and the flow of soul, does me great honor, and is highly gratifying to my feelings. At their request I resign to you the Oration which, on that occasion, I delivered, for publication, and beg you to receive the homage of my very high consideration.

JOSHUA CUSHMAN.

NATH'L GILMAN,

TH. B. COOLIDGE,

EPHRAIM GETCHELL,

Committee.

ORATION.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

THE principles, the feelings, and the causes which led to the glorious event we this day commemorate ; together with the spirit and patriotism which actuated the sages and heroes who achieved the independence of our country, have been so often the theme of the orator, poet, and historian, that they may justly be left as subjects for silent admiration. Foreign from our design, is it to send our thoughts across the Atlantic in search of *irrelative* matter, to exult over fallen greatness, to rejoice in events of *unexperienced* utility to Europe, or to celebrate a revolution which may prolong the war in which we are engaged—inflate the pride and embolden the insolence of our enemy, and encourage him to persevere in a system of aggressions highly injurious to the commerce, the prosperity, and the independence of our country. It accords not with our feelings to rail, *in measured numbers*, at political opponents, to misrepresent their motives, or to fix an odium on their characters. It comports not with our *claim* to virtue, by artful insinuations, to sow the seeds of disaffection, to foment divisions, to raise connections ; nor, by *blandly poignant* expressions to excite a spirit of insubordination, to alienate the people from their rulers, to dissever the national union, and to level with the dust that beautiful structure of liberty, reared at the expense of much blood and treasure ! Were recrimination our business, we might easily enter upon an open and spacious field. The *thinly covered arts* to dismember the country, the open attempts to paralyze the arm of government.

the *newly* indulged ardor to give weight to the local sovereignties, the systematic efforts to render a whole subordinate to its parts, to exalt a state above the nation—these, with other practices and doctrines discountenanced or unknown in the *boasted school* of WASHINGTON, imply inconsistencies truly dishonorable ; and would afford a theme for animadversion not easily exhausted. But we have no mind or talents for the work. All that savors of acrimony or invective we willingly leave to those whose *passions* and *prejudices* fit them for the task—believing it will be better performed by those whose understandings by long use and exercise, are rather adapted to spy out defects than to discern beauties. Our pride derives no consolation from the real failings of any of our fellow men. It is unpleasant to reflect that the great, as well as the small, have *erred*, or fallen into palpable inconsistencies. Not is it without a bleeding sensibility that we witness those indications of *human weakness*, which force us to subscribe to this mortifying truth ; “ Surely men of low degree are vanity, and *men of high degree are a lie* ; to be laid in the balance they are altogether lighter than *vanity*.”

THEMES more appropriate invite our attention. Though we meet together like a band of brothers on this anniversary, to enjoy the *feast of reason and the flow of soul* ; though the event which we commemorate is calculated to inspire hilarity and joy ; yet in the midst of our rejoicing, Fellow Citizens, there is much to make the *heart of the reflecting patriot sorrowful*. It is no part of manly wisdom to conceal the truth. The Republican mind can bear the disclosure. And the fact is, our beloved country is in a perilous situation ! some sections of which seem to be verging towards the horrors of the feudal system—the great baron conspiring to levy war against his lord paramount—valorous knights bringing into the field all their forces, while *personages of inferior dignity* are laboring, by all the arts of detraction and inveighing, to fill the common mind with suspicion and jealousy of the *higher powers*, to shake the very principles of allegiance, and prepare the way for a more open and direct opposition. Our *great confederated* REPUBLIC is in danger of crumbling into petty sovereignties ; and the UNITED STATES of AMERICA of exhibiting to the world the sad spectacle of a *nation divided against itself* !

THE human mind is but seldom so depraved as to meditate deeds of atrocity without first giving to the *motive* at least some color of right. Persecutors and assassins in all their acts of cruelty and blood, stand self applauded under the plea of being actuated by *pious* and *patriotic* motives, and having for their object the exterminating of pernicious error, dangerous to the soul, or of ridding mankind of their oppressors. And even *Benedict Arnold* was not wanting in a *specious gilding* to the motives of his crime, of selling to the British an important post, and of taking measures to betray it into the hands of the enemy. And if my memory serves me, he urged in his own defence what then had more than an *imaginary* existence—the *connection of this country with the French ! FRENCH ALLIANCE !*—Those who oppose by force and arms, wholesome laws, represent to their imaginations these laws as arbitrary. Those who labor to overturn beneficent establishments, give to their efforts the plausibilities of resisting oppression, or asserting inherent rights. And the insurgents of every age and nation, like *Korah, Dathan, and Abiram*, who rose up against Moses and Aaron, uniformly avail themselves of the pretext of redressing the grievances under which the people labor ; or of restraining the rulers from the abuse, or unwarrantable assumption of power.—*Ye take too much upon you—wherefore lift ye up yourselves above the congregation—* is the artful language which is always used by the disaffected and refractory, the ambitious and turbulent, to give a specious colouring to their meditated crimes.

WHEN you consider, Fellow Citizens, this fertility of the human mind to invent somewhat for a plausible justification in the view of others, and to conceal from itself the *turpitude* of its own motives, you will be less surprised in finding some *semblances* of virtue attached by Opposition to that series of scurrility and abuse with which it has assailed the men whom you have delighted to honor, and to its violent unceasing efforts to humble in the dust the Government of your country.

THE *National Rulers* are both *weak* and *wicked* ; therefore to hate and despise them is commendable : their measures are unconstitutional and pernicious : and therefore ought to be resisted. This

specious language is so often repeated, and uttered in such imposing tones, that it is no wonder it has had some effect on the public ear—some influence on the public mind.—But, Fellow Citizens, mistake not positive assertions, however *sanctimoniously* pronounced, for convincing demonstrations. Look at facts.—*Weak*, the men who compose the cabinet, certainly are not. In every station in which they have been placed, they have shone with no common lustre. In their diplomatic capacities they have displayed talents and energies pre-eminent and commanding. And in their correspondencies defended the rights and honor of the country with a wisdom and eloquence which all the powers of their adversary has not been able to *gainsay or resist*.

ALLOWING to them that portion of understanding and intelligence which cannot, even with the appearance of justice, be withholden, it would be unnatural for them to be stained with those political crimes which are attributed to them. To pursue a system of measures consciously and deliberately, hostile to the best interests of the country ; to betray its cause, or to plunge it into an unnecessary war with a view to render it dependent on a foreign nation, would not only be without all motives, but contrary to every consideration that can be supposed to influence the ambition of mankind. Their own greatness and glory are identified with the complete sovereignty of the nation over the civil destiny of which they preside. Is it to be believed that, having enjoyed the pre-eminence of supreme power, they would voluntarily descend from this exaltation, to become, at best, but the prime agents of a foreign master in dependent provinces ? The native pride and all the feelings of the heart revolt at the idea !—The government which they administer is constructed on their own favorite theory ; and with its reputation their own fame is inseparably connected. Their situation is, therefore, that of an owner who sails in his own vessel, built upon his own principles, and freighted with his own goods. Would it be possible for him to be so lost to a sense of his own honor, his own interest, to all that is characteristic of man, as designedly to run his vessel on a disastrous coast, that it might be dashed to pieces against the prominent rocks of destruction ? There is nothing in our nature to warrant the supposition. On the contrary, as our civil constitution is the favor-

its child of our present political Fathers, they cannot but view it with the fondest attachment of which the mind is capable. With all the tenderness of parental affection, they must be inclined to give durability to its existence, strength to its limbs, comeliness to its features, beauty to its complexion, brilliancy to its character, and immortality to its fame.—By the measures which they have pursued, its virtue has been put to the severest test ; and nothing but an imperative sense of duty would have forced them to have exposed this their fair offspring, young and tender as it is, to the trials which it is enduring through the vicissitudes of war and the conflicts of parties.—No, Fellow Citizens, as the men who administer the Government cannot with any colour of justice be considered *weak* : so, in all fair reasoning, they must be acquitted of *that species* of guilt which is imputed to them. This guilt is so unnatural and so far exceeds all that ever was found *turpitudinous* in men of their superior endowments and high station, that it surpasses all bounds of credibility, and carries with it its own refutation.

THE distresses and embarrassments of the times, whatever they are, must be resolved into other causes than the weakness or wickedness of the government. If traced to their true source, they would be found in our internal dissensions, in a spirit of resistance to constituted authority, into an open justification of foreign aggression, in a preference, by no means concealed, to the country from which our ancestors by hard usage, were expelled, to our native land—in the towering ambition of those, who aspiring at an elevation, to which, in the present order of things, they have no hope of attaining, are busily employed in stirring up the embers of discord, and in blowing up the coals of disaffection into a destructive flame—that, the elements of liberty being destroyed, they may rise up *lords*, and *dukes*, and *kings*, out of the ruins!—Hence the evils under which the country groans. Hence insult and injury from abroad, at home weakness and humiliation—interrupted commerce, and crippled enterprise—straitened finances and precarious resources—a war, waged in defence of national rights and honor, suffered to languish, and attended with repeated disasters—the enemy permitted proudly to hover on our coasts, to enter our bays and rivers, and to carry insult and ruin into the interior of our country.

THE ambitious mind is naturally jealous of rivals in power, and is usually filled with chagrin in seeing their conduct set forth in a just light. I know I shall bring upon myself much ill-will and obloquy by attempting even an *apology* for the Administration. But where is the harm of offering in favor of any set of men what truth and candor suggests? Allow me, at least, to inquire, which of the measures of the National Government, by fair construction, overleaps constitutional bounds? Which of them has been fraught with any inherent mischief? Which cannot be justified on the maxims upon which every independent nation must govern itself?

LET US, Fellow Citizens, take a retrospective view of some of the most obnoxious; I mean the *restrictive* system. "Congress shall have power to provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States." If in the opinion of Congress an Embargo *be providing for this common defence and general welfare*, have they not a right to lay it? Again—"Congress shall have power to make *all laws* for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested in them by this constitution, or in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof." If it be conceded that Congress have a right to lay an Embargo as a mean of providing for the common defence and general welfare of the nation, have they not also a right to annex such provisions to the act as shall be necessary to carry it into effect? What is there in all the constitution to limit them in the exercise of these rights? In concerting measures for the *common defence and general welfare*, and devising the means to carry these measures into execution, they must be indulged with a *liberal discretion*. And in these cases, in the first instance, I see nothing to *limit* or *guide* them but their *own discretion*. The displeasure of the people, and the power retained by them, periodically to displace their rulers, must operate as a salutary check; and have a tendency to keep them within due bounds. And as to the *constitutionality* of their measures, the Supreme Judiciary can decide in the last resort.—I do not know as the question has ever formally come before this tribunal. But so far as any opinion has been given, it has been in favor of the *constitutionality of Embargoes*. For though Judges may have been found to give to a Governor of a State a *virtual negative* to the

SUPREME EXECUTIVE of the nation, when calling out the militia to *execute the laws of the Union* or to *repel invasion*; none, as yet, have had the hardihood to pronounce a law laying an Embargo unconstitutional. The act being itself allowed to have been constitutional, *all the provisions* necessary to have secured its execution, must, by fair construction, be also allowed to have been within the *legitimate scope of the constitution*. Why then such doleful lamentations, as if the Temple of Liberty had been profaned, and the Goddess herself polluted! What were the grounds of such clamor, such heat, such fury? If we look back we can perceive, upon the minutest inspection, *no constitutional principle* infringed; and if we look forward, we shall find no *permanent evils* entailed on the country by Embargoes, or the whole restrictive system.— Upon experience, I trust, the worst effects will be seen to be like amputating a limb to save the body, or putting the patient upon spare diet and temperate regimen in order to restore health and invigorate the constitution.

Of the *utility and importance* of commerce, Fellow Citizens, for myself, I have the strongest conviction. “Commerce procures mankind numberless conveniencies, numberless kinds of pleasure and delight—supplies them with the products of every region, and furnishes whatever can add ornament to our dwellings, beautify our gardens, give neatness and warmth to our raiment, or embellish our condition—whatever can employ our mind or gratify our curiosity from the remotest and most dissevered districts of the globe.”— “Commerce by all these means, contributes, in no small degree, to soften and polish mankind, to form their taste, and to promote mutual toleration and forbearance among them. It is an instrument whereby God dispenses his manifold gifts and blessings, more intimately connects the whole family of man, so widely extended, together, brings them closer to each other, and in such various methods, animates, sustains, and benefits them all.”

Of equal value and importance is commerce, considered as a source of national wealth and grandeur. As a proof and illustration we might produce the ancient city of Tyre, *whose merchants were princes, and whose traffickers the honorable of the earth*. We

might mention Carthage, which by commerce, attained to greatness and strength, and was for years able to check the ambition of Rome, aspiring to be mistress of the world. We might mention the republic of Venice, which by commerce, attained to consequence and illustrious rank among European nations. We might mention the Dutch, who by a power derived from commerce were enabled to vindicate the freedom of the seas, or to divide their empire with England. We might mention Great Britain, who, deriving her wealth and importance from commerce, far and wide extends her influence, and rules the ocean with despotic sway. And we might mention the United States of America, which by commerce, made the most rapid advances to wealth, and suddenly rose to an height of prosperity that was dazzling.

BUT, Fellow Citizens, while we are thus lavish in praise of commerce, we must subscribe to the doctrine of the ancients—that the *excellence of every thing consists in a certain medium*. According to this doctrine, commerce, in order to attain its highest utility, must be kept within certain metes and bounds. The best things perverted, not unfrequently become the worst. Even religion, that important gift of heaven to man, is not exempted from this rule. When overacted or corrupted it becomes enthusiasm or superstition, which, in producing mischiefs, may vie with infidelity itself.—The like is true of too commercial a spirit. Witness the Dutch—who, instead of being the *assertor of laws, the amendor of religion, the succourer, defender, and reconciler of kings, the vindicator of the seas, and the restorer of peace to Europe*, as was once their boast and glory; by addicting themselves wholly to the pursuits of commerce, and by the feelings and state of intellect, which the love of gain, when it absorbs all the faculties of the rational mind, never fails to nourish and produce—have long since been incapable of supporting their own independence—lost to a sense of glory, sunk to the lowest point of degradation, and indebted to the courtesy or policy of their neighbors for their very name and existence.—Witness also Carthage—which owed its greatness to commerce, and its downfall to the spirit which *that engenders*. The desire of wealth stifled all the nobler feelings, luxurious indulgencies enervated the public mind, and begat in it a disrelish for the manly virtues; and the

republic, shrinking from the toils of war, yielded to the Romans—sensible, when too late, of the error of *bartering national character for profit, purchasing safety with shameful concessions, and of removing a present danger by giving up what is the only security against any danger, the REPUTATION OF ITS VIGOR and the HONOR OF ITS ARMS.*

WHEN the commerce of our country was most flourishing and held out *specious* allurements, *overtrading* became the fashionable error of the day. Tempted by the prospect of suddenly making fortunes, adventurers crowded into the mercantile ranks from all quarters, and filled them beyond what they would bear. The consequence was such as must ever follow from crowding the ornamental professions: numbers were taken from productive labor, the only source of national wealth, and placed on the roll of public pensioners; where, however they may indirectly encourage industry by consumption, add but little to the public strength or riches. During the rage for commerce, other substantial and useful branches of business were neglected. As good often comes out of what we deem evil, through the *restrictive system*, a fair portion of industry is now bestowed on agriculture; while a share of capital and a spirit of enterprise are employed in establishing and fostering manufactures, which, by subsequent improvements, may be competent to supply home consumption, if not furnish somewhat for foreign markets. If in substituting agriculture for *overtrading*, and domestic articles for imported *gewgaws*, less money, or fewer bank bills, circulate, less will be found to serve for every needful purpose. Besides, the man who saves or earns a small sum a day by his labor on lands, is not unfrequently in a more hopeful way of increasing his estate, than he who derives a much larger *nominal* sum from many other employments. By improving his lands, he enhances their value, increases their productive capacities, and renders them capable of affording sustenance to more numerous flocks and herds, and of supplying, in greater abundance, the conveniences of human life. In these consist the wealth of the nation, and not in the quantity of silver or gold, or *scrip* which happen at any time to be in circulation. Connected with improvements in husbandry is the culture of *fruit-trees*; and by the nurturing of these the *excessive* use of ardent spirit is giving way to the more *palatable* beverage.

of the apple—a change not less conducive to the temperance and virtue, than to the substantial interest of the people. It is, Fellow Citizens, in the nature of man to complain. Neither has divine providence as yet placed him in such circumstances as to render him contented or to silence his murmurs.—But in the eye of reason *that* ought not to embitter all our enjoyments, which in itself was preservative, and in its effects salutary—which in its operations improves the general condition of society and renders individuals more virtuous and happy—and which has a tendency to remove some of the causes of foreign collision, and to secure to the country its real independence, its lasting peace, and substantial glory.

FELLOW Citizens! Is such the character, such the aspect and bearing of the measures against which all the batteries of *opposition* have been playing with such violence? Dispassionate posterity will be struck with amazement, in considering the *excitements*, and *clamors*, and the *high-handed proceedings of our times!* And the historian who shall relate the transactions of the period, will be at a loss to find a parrallel, except in the *conspiracy of Cataline* under the *mild* consulship of the *amiable CICERO!* A conspiracy, if more sanguinary in object and design, was not less *justifiable* in principle and motive than the *machinations of FACTION* to prostrate your government. It is a fact, Fellow Citizens, of which you may glory, that whatever may have been the *partial* evils of the *restrictive system*, the condition of the people, in most sections of our country, is essentially ameliorated—that their habits are more sober, their lives more regular, and they less exposed to suffer by the arts of *peculation* and *chicane*—that agriculture and manufactures have flourished and attained to a perfection beyond what they would have done, to speak in round numbers, in fifty years of the most successful commerce. Ingenuity and industry are exerting themselves in the most laudable manner. Our wives and daughters are mindful of their *pleasing task at home*—emulous to *turn the spindle and direct the loom*. Nor need they fear that they shall be less engaging in garments made by their own fair hands than if decked in all the livery of European fashion. For

“ *Loveliness* needs not the *foreign* aid of ornament,
But is, when unadorn'd adorn'd the most.”

BUT, Fellow Citizens, leaving the *restrictive* system, which was abandoned as soon as circumstances called for its discontinuance, we will touch on another measure, on account of which the government has received a series of censure, obloquy and abuse, equally unexampled in the annals of invective. You will readily conjecture that I mean the *execrable Madisonian war*—a war, as is contended, waged, not only without reason, but in opposition to every principle of equity, and prosecuted without any definite object.

WITH those who take counsel from their passions and are obstinate in their prejudices, whose bosoms are *surcharged with gall*, and tongues tipped with *abuse* and *sarcasm*, it is in vain to reason. But by men of reflection, who are acquainted with the maxims by which independent nations are governed, it will be allowed that the United States had *just cause* for war.—A war is considered as just which is undertaken for just reasons; and *just reasons*, as stated by writers on the laws of nature and nations, are, “either to defend ourselves and property against those who endeavor to injure us by assaulting our persons and taking away or injuring our estates—or to constrain others to yield up to us what they ought to do, when we have a right to require it of them—or to obtain satisfaction for damages we have injuriously sustained, and to force those who did the injury to give security for their good behavior.” Where is the man who has the hardihood coolly and deliberately to affirm that Britain has done us *no essential injury*? By her orders in council did she not *take away or injure our property*? By the *impressment of our citizens* has she not *assaulted our persons*? These reasons, Fellow Citizens, existed in full strength at the declaration of war by our government. What are the changes which have since taken place? Have they removed *all* the just causes for war? Has the enemy as yet, yielded up to us what he *ought to do*, and what we have a *right to require*? Have we obtained from him *satisfaction for the damages* we have *injuriously sustained*, or any *security for his future good behavior*? If not, it results that, as the war was undertaken for *just* reasons, so reasons *equally just* demand its prosecution. But there are nice casuists, and very learned men, I suppose, in the *moral sciences*, who affect to consider the war unjust merely because it takes the name of *offensive*. But allow me to

reimind these *profound jurists* or *modern jesuits*, of what in the fervor of zeal seems to have escaped their notice—of what is said by a writer as learned, and at least of as *fair a mind* as themselves—“ Those who look upon the word *offensive* to be an odious term, as always implying something *unjust*, and who on the contrary consider a defensive war as *inseparable* from equity, *confound ideas* and perplex a thing, which of itself seems to be sufficiently clear. It is with states as it is with private persons. The plaintiff who commences a suit at law, is sometimes in the right and sometimes in the wrong. It is the same with the defendant. It is wrong to refuse to pay a sum which is justly due ; and it is right to forbear paying what we do not owe !”

BUT as disgraceful to men of sense as this sophistry is on which I have remarked, it is of a piece with that which infers the *injustice* of the war from the *ill-success* which has attended our arms. Look for yourselves. Fellow Citizens, on the faithful pages of history. Do you there perceive that victory uniformly perches on the standard of those who have *justice* for their cause ? Did Cato and Brutus triumph in battle, and Julius Cæsar and Mark Antony fall ? Look into the volume of inspired truth. What are the lessons which you there learn ? Do you learn that *retributive justice* is always inflicted on the wicked in this world ? Do you not rather learn that there be *just men, unto whom it happeneth according to the work of the wicked ; that there be also wicked men, to whom it happeneth according to the work of the righteous*—that while the just are tried in the furnace of affliction, *the tabernacles of robbers prosper, and those who provoke God are secure ; into whose hand God bringeth abundantly* ?—Were the British arms, when employed to wrest the Canadas from the French, at the first onset, victorious ? Did not campaign after campaign, terminate in disaster and disgrace ? Who has not heard of the *signal defeat of BRADDOCK*, or the ruin of his army ? Were these calamitous events owing to the *injustice* of the cause ? Was our struggle for Liberty and Independence without *justice* on our side ? And did our arms *immediately* triumph ? No, Fellow Citizens, even at BUNKER HILL, *uninstructed prowess*, though it performed wonders, and covered itself with glory, was forced to give way before *superior discipline* ; and

to pass over the series of disasters of the intervening year, in seventeen hundred seventy seven the *stone house at Germantown*, as well as the *stone mill at La Cole*, in eighteen hundred and fourteen, resisted the *utmost efforts* of American valor, *though directed by WASHINGTON*, and gave to victory the appearance of a defeat.

IN war much depends on the discipline and subordination of the troops, and the skill and experience of the commanders. And from these circumstances, a nation, keeping up a military establishment and frequently engaged in war, at the commencement of new hostilities, in every encounter will gain advantages over a people averse from fighting and blood-shed, and wholly intent on the pursuits of gain, or on cultivating the arts of peace. Add to this the *insidious attempts* to alienate the soldier from the service in which he is engaged, the filling of his mind with distrust as to the justice of the cause for which he is contending, and the spirit of insubordination which is *artfully* countenanced—the chilling disapprobation continually experienced by the officers of all grades, the difficulties with which they have to struggle, the *covert censure* which is mingled with all expressions of praise ; and the *ill success* of our arms may be easily accounted for, without the supposition of any *injustice* in our cause, or without having recourse to the *special frowns of Heaven*.

THE arts in practice cannot but have the most pernicious influence on an army. Except the approbation of God, and the self complacency felt in well doing, the applause of the public is the greatest incentive to noble deeds, even with the generous and brave. If all their conduct is viewed with a jealous eye, their motives construed to their disadvantage, the cause in which they are engaged considered dishonorable, and all the trophies which they obtain *inglorious* to the nation, their military pride must be wounded, the ardor of their minds damped, and their spirits too depressed for heroic achievements.

BUT perhaps the *justice* of the war could more easily be got over than its *expense*. Fellow Citizens ! In a contest for essential rights is it wisdom to set down calmly, and in our abstractions, to

amuse ourselves by counting the cost? Are we passively to yield and to submit in quiet to *never failing* indignities and injuries, because the expense of redressing those already endured, would amount to more than the damages done?—Is this correct reasoning for a statesman? Are the services and lives of thousands of our bravest citizens to be weighed in such scales? Is it thus that we estimate the price of their blood? Must we consent to be tributary in our commerce, because to defend its freedom would be attended with expense? What has become of the good old doctrine—*MILLIONS for defence and not a cent for tribute*? Had the sages and heroes of the revolution been such *nice computists*, they might have saved *great expense*. The claim set up by the British ministry of drawing a revenue from the colonies without their consent, they might have said, has the color of right. In practice it has not been very oppressive. It is a claim which Britain will never relinquish till she ceases to be a nation. Resistance on our part is worse than useless—it is treason against our best interest. We are feeble and unprepared for war. The issue of the contest cannot but be inauspicious. The *expense* of maintaining it will be more in one year than the duties on *tea* in ten. But, fortunate for the country, if *Independence be acknowledged a blessing*, the patriots of those times were not such *frugal* economists. They spurned at such debasing ideas. They were determined to repel all encroachments on their rights, let the cost be ever so great. Poised on their own magnanimity, they nobly resisted *beginnings*, and in defence of principles hazarded both life and fortune. A noble example of the sublime in virtue, and above all praise! Should we shrink from the contest, and surrender the rights in dispute without a manly struggle, through fear of the *expense*, we could not be the legitimate sons of such illustrious sires.

I KNOW, Fellow Citizens, there are some *conscientious* men in the Commonwealth, who labor to attach a peculiar odium to the war, because it is waged against the nation “*which for centuries has been the bulwark of the religion we profess.*” But if all along this bulwark has rather been employed to *annoy*, than to afford us safety and comfort, it can have no great claims to our gratitude or affection. Our sympathy and tenderness would seem to be wrong.

ly placed, should they be indulged at the expense of our rights.— But there are others who seem to be striving to persuade you from the prosecution of the war, from a consideration of the calamities resulting, and the demoralizing effects :—and these they are presenting to your sensibility in all the coloring of the imagination.— On this head, however, I am able to confront them with their own authority. According to this authority war, *when necessary*, as we all admit that it must sometimes be, ought not to be shunned on account of its evils and sufferings—has its good side as well as its bad, its benefits as well as its mischiefs—and that it is useful for every nation, at least once in each succeeding generation, to be engaged in war. “ It represses the *little vices*, and brings forward the great virtues of the human character. It accustoms men to submit to privations and sufferings for the sake of principle or honor. It calls them off from the pursuits of gain, and engages them in the pursuits of glory. It raises *talents* and *courage* above mere *wealth*. It imparts vigor and energy to the national character, which continue after the war is over, and animate all the pursuits of peace. Hence the most flourishing and distinguished nations in modern, as well as in ancient times, have always been those that have fought most frequently.”

To support a war for the sake of gratifying the ambition of an *Administration*, however wise and deserving, is no part of the Republican policy. But if war be undertaken and carried on in defence of rights, which rights cannot be abandoned without a virtual surrender of national sovereignty and independence, what good citizen can withhold his aid ! Such, Fellow Citizens, is the character of the present war. Though willing to have made every reasonable sacrifice of interest or of honor, in order to have avoided the bloody contest ; yet the Government could not passively behold important avenues to wealth blocked up, the commerce of the country made tributary, and your brethren arrested while engaged in their lawful occupations, and led *like sheep to the slaughter*. Finding remonstrance and negotiation useless and vain, it had recourse to the last resort of nations ; it appealed to arms, and in the cause of justice and honor, erected its banners.

To an enlightened yeomanry, and to other substantial citizens, I dare appeal for the correctness of these assertions. You, I consider the nerve, the arm, the strength of the nation. You, I am confident, are firmly attached to the Government of your country, and will, whatever inconveniencies you may suffer, support with all your energies, the men whom all along you have delighted to honor.—Nor while you are in the possession of so much prosperity, be wheedled out of your senses into the belief of grievances which you perceive have no existence but in the *teeming* imaginations of the disaffected and designing. You know that the best men may be calumniated and their virtues refracted through the false and imposing medium of a distorted and insidious eloquence. And you as well know, that if by the breath of disaffection a flame should be raised by which your free government should be involved in ruin, a frightful despotism or a *factious* aristocracy would spring from its ashes. Besides the indelible stain which would be fixed on your character as republicans, a pretext would be furnished for the domineering of mankind to exult in their boasted opinion, that the republican system, however organized, is, for any length of time, incapable of being supported. At the thought of being rendered the instruments of your own reproach, you shudder; and wisely determine to support the present Government or to perish under its ruin! You know, Fellow Citizens, that it is not uncommon for the human mind to be *dolorous* in its complaints when it experiences no great sufferings—that the most virulent opposition to public men and measures may have other grounds than the pure love of country—that other passions may prompt to the pulling down of one set of men, and the putting up of another, besides the desires to promote the general good. These men, for example, are my rivals. I am hurt at their pre-eminence and wish to see them disgraced. I therefore, give a false coloring to their conduct and present it to the public mind through a medium that causes it to have a disgustful and odious appearance. These are my friends, with whose elevation my own interest is connected. I therefore attribute to them *all the wealth, all the talents, and even all the religion* of the nation, and consider them as having something like a *divine right* to administer the government. I did not originate a certain system of measures. I therefore pronounce it unconstitutional and fraught

with mischief. I have previously given my opinion on the great questions of national policy. My pride renders me tenacious. I have predicted evil, and the spirit of prophecy has hardened my heart. I have embarked with a party, and right or wrong, must enter into all its feelings and views. I am out of employment and *want bread*; every thing of course is *wrong in the nation*. Or the men with whom I act, have lost their great strength in the nation, and in revenge, are determined to pull down the Temple of Freedom.—From such feelings and views, Fellow Citizens, do many of the complaints of grievances and the *speaking evil of dignities* arise. Acquainted with their spring and motive, you wisely determine to turn a deaf ear to them, to support the constituted authorities of the nation, and to leave those who would play on your passions, a prey to the ill-humors and other disorders of the splenetic mind.

IN none of our general remarks do we intend indiscriminate censure. In all combinations, there are some worthy and honorable men.—But, Fellow Citizens, it will confirm you in well-doing, if you cast but the glance of your eye at the personal character and circumstances of the most *virulent* of those who are endeavoring to mislead your judgment by inflaming your passions, and to poison your minds with principles of disloyalty and sedition. In the private walks of life are these men illustrious for the virtues of beneficence and equity? By acts of humanity have they drawn the *blessing of him that was ready to perish* upon them? Does their *righteousness shine forth as the light, and their just dealing as the noon day*? Do they, like yourselves, *eat their bread in the sweat of their brow*? On the contrary, are not the most *prominent* among them those who flourish by your toil, and thrive by your distress? Who *bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne and lay them on men's shoulders, while they themselves will not touch them with one of their fingers*? Who are able to *clothe themselves in fine linen and purple, and to fare sumptuously every day*? Who derive their treasures from *foreign countries*—and whose hearts are there also?

I AM sensible, Fellow Citizens, that you envy none their ease, or affluence, or elegant accommodations of life. But when you see

those to whom providence has been most bountiful, like the murmuring Israelites, the first to *speak against God and against Moses*, you cannot but feel as Heaven has taught you to feel, nor refrain from the expressions of the most pointed indignation.—Thanks to Heaven! the American people have distinguishing ears, and a discerning spirit. They will never be prevailed on through the arts of such men to forsake the *fountain of pure waters, and hew out to themselves cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water.*

It may be useful at this crisis, to call to mind the attempts which were made at the commencement of the revolution, and through all its successive stages, to magnify the *power and importance*, and the *resources of GREAT BRITAIN*—the various arts put in practice to infuse distrust into the minds of the people against those whom they had selected to lead them, and to seduce individual states to secede from the Union, and to misrepresent the motives and views, as well as to asperse the characters of the sages, patriots and heroes of the times. But the people were too intelligent and understood their interest too well, to be duped or moved by all the machinery which could be made to play upon them. They remained united and firm. Through difficulties and dangers, calculated to appal less resolute spirits, they adhered to the cause of their country. And placing full confidence in their leaders, of whose wisdom and ability they had many illustrious proofs, for years they maintained an arduous contest, repeatedly triumphed in the field, and at length, to the humiliation of the foe, and to the astonishment of an applauding world, obtained an honorable peace and rank among nations.—The spirit of the people, I trust in Heaven, is not extinct, that it cannot be animated to such glorious achievements. The example of preceding times will call forth new energies in the present generation, and teach it, that by placing a manly confidence in their constituted leaders, and by a persevering co-operation with their endeavors to save the nation and to promote the public weal, it may also perform deeds of patriotism and valor not less honorary to itself or serviceable to the country. True is it, Fellow Citizens, that you have to encounter an evil which was but feebly felt by your fathers. In the times to which we have alluded, the number of their internal opponents was

comparatively small. Such was the indignant spirit of patriotism, that the friends to the *royal cause*, affected concealment. It would have been unsafe for them *openly* to have declared for the enemy. But now disaffection is not wanting in numbers. It is well organized. It speaks in a tone that is bold and menacing; and exulting in its strength and resources, is assuming an attitude both formidable and alarming.—The republican mind, however, has no disposition to succumb. It is not composed of materials to be borne down by dangers. It rises by pressure—is animated by difficulties, and gains strength by opposition. It will surmount every obstacle in its way to renown.—Though there is much in this section of our country to depress it, there is somewhat to give it spirit and vigor. The *mountain* of opposition, though it stands *Strong*, is not fixed on an immoveable basis. The surprising events in Europe are a solemn warning to all *usurpers of authority*, and teach *aspiring FACTION*, however well organized and firmly intrenched in power, it must, when its views shall be fully developed, and its *grasping ambition* clearly unmasked, fall, like the despotism of Napoleon, before the indignant voice of an injured community.

THE great body of the citizens, by whatever name they may be called, are in heart *purely American*. They love their native country. They cannot long remain indifferent to its safety and glory. The predatory war, and the indiscriminate, as well as wanton destruction of property, begins to awake them from their dreams. They will be convinced that tameness of spirit serves but to invite aggression. They will see that they must resist a public enemy on the principles of self-preservation. They will be roused into action. They will rise in the majesty of their strength, rally round their National Standard, and exert their energies in obedience to the Government to *repel invasion, and to execute the laws of the Union*. And should the nation with which we are at war, flushed with recent triumphs, lose sight of justice, and demand humiliating concessions as the price of her good-will—touched beyond the patience of men and the meekness of christians. they would exhibit to the world illustrious proofs of what wonders can be done by men united and determined to maintain their ancient privileges and territorial rights!—Fleeing from the hand of religious oppression, and

rising superior to unheard of difficulties, our venerable ancestors obtained for us a wide extended and pleasant country, abounding in advantages, and watered the soil with their blood, and by their toil caused it to flourish. Should we through a tame submission to the encroaching spirit of any power on earth, suffer this country to be dismembered, or its essential appendages to be torn from us, the spirit of these ancestors from their bright abodes would frown indignantly on us, and be troubled at the degeneracy of their sons. —This your country, Fellow Citizens, and ye brave defenders of her rights—now engaged in an arduous conflict, weakened by internal dissension, and invaded by a powerful and victorious enemy, stretches her suppliant hands to you—you she implores to redress her wrongs, to maintain her rights, and to vindicate her bleeding honor. Should you be deaf to her solemn calls, she would justly impeach your sensibility, your loyalty, your patriotism, your courage, and load you, as you will have deserved, with her highest displeasure !

Your civil constitution, the beauteous offspring of that liberty and independence, to obtain which the sages and heroes of the revolution suffered and bled, leans on your wisdom and valor for her reputation and support. Should you by dissensions endanger her existence, or by relaxing in your guardian care, suffer her to become a prey to the arts of the designing, the blood of your brethren poured out in defence of her parent, would cry to Heaven against you from the ground ! Your *National Union*, that ark of your public safety, like a stately ship on a tempestuous ocean, driven by adverse winds and conflicting with hostile elements, is in great danger of foundering. It is only by a steady helm, by keeping her before a strong breeze of patriotism, by the generous ardor of a resolute crew, and the firmness of an able commander, nobly resolving never to *despair of the ship*, that she can be kept above the waves and made to ride out the storm in triumph !

CARTHAGE, once the mart of all the trading nations—Sparta, the nurse of heroes and legislators, Athens, the seat of literature and politeness—and Rome, the haughty mistress of the world—raised to eminence and grandeur by the patriotic and manly virtues, have

long since through party spirit and faction, and the aspiring ambition of the nobles, misleading the people by their passions, by the love of gain and pleasure, and the disuse of arms, been humbled to the dust, and stripped of their independence and glory.—Forewarned of our impending danger, by the fatal catastrophe of these once renowned Republics, let us, by all means, steer clear from the rocks upon which they split, and shudder at the vortex in which they were plunged.

To avert the direful calamities which hang over our country, let us, Fellow Citizens, restrain the workings of party spirit—let us blunt the too *keen edge* of our political animosities—let us restrain the too selfish feelings of our nature, the aspirings of an inordinate ambition, and put in practice the best resolutions that can be dictated by the most enlightened patriotism : at the same time addressing the FOUNTAIN of LIGHT to guard us from the error of the passions, and to guide us in the paths of unity and peace. By cultivating a spirit of candor and conciliation, by practising the virtues of men and discharging the duties of citizens in an adhesion to the Government of our own creation and the men of our choice, we may long remain a *free, sovereign, and independent* nation. And by the benedictions of Heaven on our efforts we may again humble the pride of the imperious, teach the haughty foe to respect our rights, open a channel for a flourishing commerce, and fix the peace, prosperity, and happiness of our country on a more durable foundation.