



**MR. HAINES' ORATION.**

**JULY 4, 1812.**



AN  
ORATION,

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE REPUBLICAN CITIZENS

OF

GILMANTON

AND THE ADJACENT TOWNS,

ON THE

FOURTH OF JULY,

1812.

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BY CHARLES G. HAINES.

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# ORATION.

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**A** NEW spectacle appears to the world. The only Republic in existence is now contending for her Sovereignty and Independence. She hath assumed an attitude which holds the eyes of nations in suspense. Whether the last sanctuary of national Freedom shall be destroyed ; whether the last hope that cheers the despondence of mankind in a guilty age, shall be extinguished ; are considerations that appeal to the breast and fix upon the mind.

This is a period in society important as it is eventful. Future generations will look back with wonder upon the memorable transactions which we live to witness. When they shall dwell upon the revolutions that now break the repose of the civilized world ; when they shall view the different characters which nations are exhibiting at the present moment ; our own situation will not be passed over. Amid the fall of empires and the birth of kingdoms ; the subversion of Freedom and the rise of oppression, will be seen the fortune of the American Republic. She will be seen a lonely champion contending for the rights of man, and defending the last intrenchment of civil liberty.

Whether we shall maintain our government and character, is now the great question to be determined. Environed as we are with difficulties of the most trying nature, it becomes us to improve from experience, and act with a wisdom corresponding with our situation. We do not live without monuments of instruction. If we explore the destiny of other nations, we are warned by past events of present dangers. We are warned by admonitions that speak louder than peals of thunder at the silence of midnight. Every incitement that can tend to awaken the vigilance of a free people is placed before us.

We must consider that all free governments rest upon similar foundations. A likeness in formation constitutes a similarity of danger. Because our government emanated from the deliberations of a free people, and is more perfect and liberal in its nature, than any other that ever existed, it is not to be inferred that it is placed beyond the control of events, or gifted by Omnipotence to endure till the conclusion of time. Because it hath lasted one generation, it is absurd to say that no vicissitudes can endanger its safety, and that it rests upon a broad and imperishable basis. Human systems are subject to human frailties. A revolution may create, and a revolution may destroy. Political institutions are never so much exposed, as they are when their supporters feel secure. A people that will not desery perils because they do not stare them in the face, will approach the brink of destruction, without beholding the “ yawning chasms of their ruin.”

Governments may be destroyed by various means. It is not always by a superiority of physical power that a people are deprived of their constitution and laws. A weaker power may set a stronger one at defiance. What then is the great destroyer of governments whose basis is the people? What has mostly contributed to their annihilation? Have an empire of freemen who presented one front—that were governed by one sentiment, and animated by one object, generally survived the loss of liberty? The history of national misfortunes seldom tells us of the subversion of Republican governments until those who possessed them commenced the work of their destruction—until themselves courted a melancholy destiny. It is by cherishing destroying evils that commonwealths effect their own ruin. When domestic dissensions are cherished with a rancorous zeal; when the voice of patriotism is drowned in the roarings of faction; when foreign attachments are nurtured and vindicated; we may look for a new era in the affairs of such a state.

A difference in political views may sometimes contribute to a people's safety. It may keep the sentinels of liberty upon their guard. But such variation, to be useful, must be limited. When it goes beyond its proper bounds, it becomes dangerous. Where the freedom

of opinion is tolerated, and the expression of political sentiments authorized, it must be expected that the people will be dissimilar in their convictions, and that such dissimilarity will be manifested. But because a smaller portion of the community differ from a larger, it is by no means to be inferred that those who may be found in the minority are destitute of principle, or enemies to their country; it does not imply a degeneracy of virtue or a want of patriotism. It is only when the acts of a minor party tend to disorganize, distract, and weaken a respect for moral and political obligations, that it is to be viewed as a source of alarm. Whenever it produces, or endeavors to produce these effects, its existence should be looked upon as a common evil and a common danger.

A people's will is the support of a free government. When you therefore impair their attachment towards it, and encourage a non-compliance with its exigencies, you strike at the very root of its existence. When constitutional claims are not regarded and remain unsatisfied, a government is a mere shadow that mocks the wisdom of human invention. Riot, despotism and anarchy are at hand. The altars of liberty will be demolished—the sword will be the umpire of decision, and tyrants will spring up and seal their arbitrary codes with civil blood.

Whatever then shall tend to diminish the respect, alienate the love, and weaken the obligations of the people in the constituted authorities of a nation, should be opposed with a becoming spirit and decision. When men stand forth and tell the community that the laws are not binding upon them, and that resistance to their execution is a necessary virtue; and when these men are the leaders, and command the confidence of a powerful political party; their machinations should be guarded with a watchful eye, and meet with that pointed disapprobation which their corrupt designs so justly merit. The end of law is the beginning of tyranny. The fall of the one announces the approach of the other. A subversion of law ever has been, and ever will be the object of the Catalines, the Cromwells and the Robespierres of all countries. Let such characters arise when or where they will, they will be checked in their schemes of revolution, if they find themselves unsupported. It is the countenance of the people that hath too often conducted patriots to the scaffold and usurpers to the throne.

There is another danger which should ever be guarded against with the utmost vigilance in all free states. A passionate attachment for a foreign nation ever produces the most melancholy consequences. It is an evil whose existence should give more alarm than the invading legions of an ambitious despot. Like a hidden disease in the human body, it feeds unseen upon the virtue and energies of a commonwealth. It will mislead and corrupt the public mind, and extinguish forever the noblest feelings of patriotism. Unless seasonably checked in its progress, it will kindle up the fires of faction until liberty expires in the conflagration.

So strong are the prejudices of mankind, that when they once become rooted, they will set at defiance every demand of reason. Attachment to a foreign power leads to a vindication of her policy. Whether that nation be governed by the principles of justice, or whether she invade, ravage and destroy all that comes within her power, makes no material difference : the heart cannot feel, the eye cannot see, and the ear cannot hear the wrongs which she commits. And although they who justify and palliate her injustice, may sometimes be the victims of her violence, still they will contend with truth and justice, "and lick the hand that's rais'd to shed their blood." Such a prepossession, if fully indulged, will stifle honor and patriotism, lead to a prostration of national character, and encourage the most wanton acts of foreign hostility.

When those who are inclined to extend unwarrantable dominion over the rights of others, find their infringements are neither resisted nor punished ; when they find that they may persist in a system of violation with impunity ; they want no other evidence of a nation's meanness of spirit and want of independence ; they want no other inducement for committing a second encroachment, than a tame acquiescence in the first. The world would swarm with tyrants ; the Philips, the Alexanders and the Charles would rise up on every side, if nations exhibited such a pusillanimous character. It is a delusive idea that giving up an important present advantage will secure a great future benefit. Can a rapacious power, revelling in the blood of slaughtered thousands, eager for the plunder of territories and the

annihilation of governments ; who obeys no law but force, and is governed by no principle but interest ; be brought to acknowledge the claims of justice, by cringing and begging ? Be as servile as the spaniel that fawns at the feet of a scourging master ; yield and temporize until humility blushes, and you have nothing further to surrender. And what then ? You have purchased a yoke of bondage and the curses of posterity.

A nation that is willing to sacrifice some of her most essential rights as a sovereign power, for the purpose of maintaining an inglorious peace—for the purpose of gaining a weak guarantee for the future desistance of her enemies—is more than half conquered before hostility unfurls her banner or draws her sword. Too cowardly to be feared, too insignificant to be respected ; she will be plundered, insulted and despised, and offer an easy conquest, when nothing better is left to conquer.

Let a nation consult what course of policy she will, this truth can never be evaded : *If she will have national rights, she must defend them ; if she will be respected, she must respect herself, and punish encroachments upon her sovereignty.* Let timidity startle, let duplicity quivoate, and let the advocates of a mean submission to aggression speak louder than the arms that should vindicate the cause of their country ; this is the only secure and rational policy which a nation can pursue. A people's firm determination to defend their privileges and immunities has ever been the most effectual barrier against the hostility of ambitious powers ; and it ever will be, while mankind have selfish views, and nations separate interests.

A nation of freemen who love no country but their own, that will fight to the last moment for the vindication of their common liberties, seldom presents an inviting object to powers that invade to conquer. Encroachments upon them will be dearly made ; and if overcome by superior force, they will never remunerate the expense of their subjugation, or extend the limits of usurping empire.

Every nation has her misfortunes. Sooner or later they will occur. It is not in the province of human sagacity always to avoid calamity. The degree of prosperity which a nation may enjoy frequently depends upon the disposition of her neighbors. If she is surround-

ded by powers who are continually engaged in war, and whose animosity is sharpened by the length of their conflicts ; if she has an intercourse with nations who have neither a regard for moral restraints nor a respect for universal law ; she must look for occasional deeds of outrage and an interruption of her peace. She cannot consistently expect to build up an empire, that will eclipse the glory of other States, nor to find an unexampled increase of population and wealth, without meeting with troubles and adversities.

National prosperity rests upon different foundations. A nation whose interest is essentially connected with commercial pursuits, must be greatly affected by the situation of her commercial relations. The more dependence she places upon commerce, the more she is exposed to embarrassment, and the enmity of foreign powers. When the nations with whom she hath enjoyed a profitable intercourse, render her trade with them a mere pittance of degradation ; when they pillage and destroy whatever their rapacity can grasp, and suspend her commerce with all quarters of the maritime world ; she must indeed be involved in difficulties ; difficulties whose existence should be deprecated not as evils springing from the folly or imbecility of her own rulers, but from the violence and wickedness of foreign powers. A nation may change her rulers as often as the revolution of the seasons alters the color of her fields ; but while she is subject to the hostile jealousy of powerful rivals, she will inevitably suffer perplexities.

Such is the situation of the United States. Such is the condition of a people whose object has been peace, whose policy has been guarded by justice and magnanimity. It appears that a new era hath taken place. Those tremendous commotions which have so long disturbed the peace of mankind, which have annihilated nations, overturned dynasties, and shaken kings from their thrones, have at length reached our shores. We are no longer seated in peace amid the cries of a suffering Universe. We are now engaged in a momentous contest with the second power on earth. Let us therefore pause for a moment and reflect upon the causes which have constrained us to embark in the broad ocean of untried experiment. Let us for a moment be deaf to the clamors of party violence, and reject the degrad-



ing doctrine of non-resistance and submission ; let us dispassionately consider the events which have preceded the present warlike attitude of our country.

It is now twenty years since the present destructive war in Europe commenced. France and England, the two great champions in the contest, early labored to destroy the character of all neutral powers. One nation after another renounced the blessings of peace, and risked their existence upon the faith of a perjured Prince—the movement of an army, or the termination of a battle. National law became a nullity, and the ancient protection of governments void and contemptible. A union of sentiment was exhibited to subvert the establishment of universal justice, and draw the whole world into the vortex of wild contention. This scheme was too far crowned with success. Neutrality expired in Europe with the flames of Copenhagen. Denmark was the last of neutral states beyond the Atlantic. The nations who had firmness enough to resist seduction were driven by force to join in a warfare that neither promised interest nor glory, but exposed their safety to danger and ruin.

This nation was so remote from the scene of European quarrels, that she was not immediately affected by the mighty revolutions which were continually exhibited with the terror and overthrow of other nations. She proclaimed her resolution to maintain a neutral stand, and to rigidly abstain from siding in the least degree with the belligerent powers. She saw the storm which raged around her, and the wrecks of kingdoms that were scattered abroad by its violence. She alone seemed the chosen asylum of peace. Her happiness was unrivalled, and her progress in national importance without an example. Her commerce flourished ; her agricultural interests prospered, and her manufactures rapidly increased. In fact, she appeared to possess every peculiar privilege and enjoyment that constitutes a happy nation. She diminished the grandeur of other empires, and darkened the splendor of conquest. She rose to greatness with the majesty of her native Eagle when bending her flight to the stars.

This was the situation of our country before her sovereignty was called in question, and her sacred rights trampled under foot by lawless power. Such was her

condition, before her prosperity was wantonly destroyed and her children's blood mingled with the waves of the ocean.

When France and England had departed from every principle of justice and marked out America as the last victim of her violence, the administration of our general government found it compatible with the exigencies of the times, to adopt such measures as would maintain our national sovereignty. Measures were accordingly adopted that promoted our security and invited an honorable and friendly understanding with the belligerent powers. Our policy was a peaceable and impartial policy. It was intended to operate with equality upon the French and British nations. It was dictated by wisdom, and originated from a desire of reconciliation towards the destroyers of neutral rights. While it effected the salvation of our commerce, and saved our countrymen from captivity; it powerfully appealed to the interest of our enemies.

After experiencing a series of violations from one belligerent power, and greater injuries with the blackest treachery from the other, France came forward and pledged her honor for the relaxation of her hostile policy towards this country. With that promptness and conciliatory spirit which have eminently distinguished the American Cabinet during the whole course of our commercial embarrassments, our rulers thought it consistent to accede to her propositions. This measure was enforced by interest and the fidelity of the nation. Whether France will be governed by the obligations of her plighted faith, or whether, she will still continue to persevere in her system of aggression, the test of time can alone determine. Our relations with her at present are in a doubtful state; and if we judge of her future conduct from her past, bare justice cannot be expected from her.

France has acted a part towards the United States which will stain the annals of her country with the foul blots of the basest injustice. Instead of displaying that disposition towards us, which would cement the bonds of friendship, and meliorate the acrimony of national prejudices; instead of regarding the rights of a neutral and independent nation; she has exhibited one "unbroken series of encroachments." And what can

we expect from such a power? Can we look for a long continuance of forbearance from a nation whose ambition is war, and whose object is universal conquest? The modern Cæsar, who writes the epitaph of nations with his sword, and looks alone to the aggrandizement of his stupendous Empire, will not long be pinned down by restraint. If France shall hereafter be governed by her present policy, the time may, and I believe *will* come, when we shall be driven to put on the armor of defensive war. When this period shall arrive, the same spirit that burns to vindicate our rights at this moment, will be seen animating an independent people in the assertion of their national privileges.

England still continues to exercise a most enormous system of tyranny towards us. Her enmity, sharpened by the lapse of time, is keener than the tyger's hunger. Deaf to the appeals of an injured nation, she glories in her deeds of iniquity. The same desire to "extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction" over this country, which was manifested thirty seven years ago with such traits of inhumanity, still exists. Nothing short of a relinquishment of our neutral rights and a virtual prostration of our sovereignty, appears sufficient to restrain her course of violence against our national existence.

Time was, when nations considered themselves bound by the principles of honor; when a sense of national dignity would disdain the miserable evasions of petty artifice—the taunting arrogance and bold effrontery of studied insolence. Time was, when the treachery of a national minister was ranked in the same grade of criminality with the villany of the common knave; when national piracy was detested like the deeds of highway robbery; when the shedding of blood without a cause, under national authority, was deemed no better than noon-day murder. But Great-Britain rests her fame upon a different basis. She has formed an example for future times more congenial to the encouragement of human guilt, than the actions of a virtuous nation. She appears to look upon a frank compliance with justice, and a simple acknowledgment of *right and wrong*, is incompatible with royal magnanimity. With all the finesse and intrigue exhibited in the middle age by the Italian States, she makes her demands upon neighboring powers with as little reference to right or

equity, as were the frantic mandates of a drunken Prince of Persia, in the days of eastern barbarism.

England never was our friend. She was not our friend when she drove our ancestors from their native shores, and hunted them to the depths of the wilderness. She was not our friend when she ground us down to the most degrading slavery, previous to our separation from her empire. Nor has she exhibited a solitary instance of disinterested friendship since our existence as an Independent nation. When has there been a time that she did not appear to be governed by a spirit that was not hostile to the dearest interest of our country? When was there a period that she was not inclined to violate and diminish the sovereignty, and wantonly sport with the rights and honor of the United States? Search the history of her country, and such a period cannot be found.

The conduct of Great-Britain towards this country for several years past has been to the last extent aggravating and inhuman. Her depredations have amounted to actual war. She hath arrayed herself against our peace in a thousand shapes, all verging to the accomplishment of one object—the termination of our national existence. Every measure that would tend to forward this design has been put in vigorous operation.

Her long course of reiterated aggressions has at length rendered forbearance insufferable and degrading. Our government has had recourse to negociation for more than seven years, and used every pacific mean to obtain a friendly understanding. This mode of gaining a redress for sufferings has failed of success. War is necessary, when peace is inglorious. Our national rulers have so considered it. After enduring the greatest provocations for a war with England, with a degree of moderation and temperance that does the highest honor to the friendly disposition of the American nation; after making every honorable effort to preserve peace; we have been driven to take a bold and energetic stand against our old and inveterate enemy.

But two alternatives were left to our rulers—*war* or *submission*. *War* for the freedom of our commerce—the redemption of our enslaved countrymen—the restoration of our property, and the future security of our national rights; or a *submission* that would destroy our

dependence ; that would render our country, redeemed from bondage by the blood and toils of our ancestors, a mere appendage of the British empire : a *submission* that would render us an outcast among the nations, and a name of reproach throughout the earth ; a *submission* that would sanction the sanguinary violations of the common enemy, and bind our children with the fetters of the slave.

But notwithstanding the manifold aggressions of England and the abundant causes which exist for a war against her ; and notwithstanding it is the only measure which can save our national character ; there are those who are of opinion, that peace, however mean and humiliating, is preferable to war. Peace is certainly a most desirable state. But for a nation to remain in a state of timid activity, for the bare sake of saying that she is at peace, while she is despised and trampled upon, and war is made upon her to every purpose, excepting by a formal declaration, by another power, is no peace at all. It is war on one side, and folly and cowardice on the other. All warfares are to be deprecated. But there is sometimes an election of evils. There are times when war—open and determined war, is demanded by imperious necessity : and every thing dear to us as freemen, now demands it.

If we have war, we must expect the loss of lives, the shedding of blood, and the annoyance of the enemy. These are inevitable consequences. But shall this consideration deaden every sensation of patriotism and independence? Shall we disgrace our origin by being the slaves of our fear? Supposing that on the morning of our revolution, while the massacre at Boston was still crying out for vengeance, and when the blood of our countrymen flowed at Lexington ; when Great-Britain said, “ *Ye shall be slaves ;* ” —I say, supposing at that gloomy period, pregnant with the most awful dangers, instead of resisting Great-Britain, we had bowed at her feet, and acquiesced in her usurpations ; supposing that our WASHINGTONS, our HANCOCKS and our WARRENS, had subscribed to the doctrine of certain hollow-hearted patriots of the present day—“ *War is a destructive evil ; we had better obtain peace as we can ; we had better suffer our rights to be invaded with impunity, than be guilty of spilling*

*blood : we had better submit, than to expose our cities, our coasts and frontiers to the attacks of England."* What would such a want of spirit have produced? It might have made us vassals and slaves to this day. But there was then a magnanimity in this country that called our fathers to arms. They appealed to the God of battles, and fought under his banners; they engaged in war, and they conquered. The establishment of our Independence is owing to that war, and its existence depends upon another.

A great portion of the American people seem insensible to the accumulated wrongs which they suffer from England. The shock of war has struck them dead—dead to the exalted feelings of freemen. Instead of looking upon an honorable contest as the only course of delivery from troubles and perplexities, they look upon it as the commencement of more permanent sufferings. The name of war is grating to the ear that has been accustomed to the salutations of peace; and through the momentary impression which it never fails of making, and the malicious misrepresentations of designing men, they can see no cause for its existence.

But, my countrymen, is there *no* cause for war with England? Can you subscribe to a declaration so repugnant to truth—to a sentiment so foul to the proud feelings of a magnanimous spirit? What is our condition at this moment? The Independence atchieved by the valor, and sealed by the blood of our revolutionary patriots, is assaulted to its basis. Foreign emissaries are sent among us to alienate the people from their government, create rebellion and civil war. Our commerce falls a victim to pillage and robbery; our hospitality is abused—our efforts to obtain peace insulted; our harbors blockaded, and a "wall of fire planted round our coasts." Our seamen, the native citizens of the United States, are enslaved by ruffian violence—to support the power of their oppressors, and in cold blood to destroy the lives of their friends and connexions. But more than this. The wilderness is filled with enemies fiercer than the wolves of our mountains. On our frontiers, old age, youth and innocence are exposed to indiscriminate murder. "You are a father, the blood of your son shall fatten your cornfield: you are a mother—the war-whoop shall wake the sleep of the cradle."

And still there is no cause for war ! The nation that perpetrates these crimes should go unpunished ! O insulting language !! I appeal to the feelings of this assembly ; I appeal to kindred affection—I appeal to humanity herself. I ask, if at mid-day we should see our youth dragged from our fields, and forced from their native shores by a banditti of foreign ruffians, never, never to return ; whether we should not invoke an hour of retribution ? If, at the hour of midnight, when the heavens are curtained with darkness and creation sleeps, a band of merciless savages should enter our habitations, murder the infant on the mother's bosom, and leave whole families heaps of slaughtered victims ; whether we should not deem the instigator of such inhuman outrages, an object that deserved the vengeance of a people's valor ? In private life, the villain that abridges your privileges and assaults your person, must be punished. The thief that plunders the sanctuary of your household gods—the robber that takes your parse, must feel your vengeance ; the wretch that violates the privileges of hospitality must be treated with severity ; and “ he that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.” And are nations absolved from the claims of justice, while the violations of individuals receive their merited deserts ? No : Justice is eternal. She never changes her features. What she was yesterday, she is to-day, and will be to all eternity. From her august tribunal, she not only looks to the ordinary transactions of society ; but she calls states and empires to atonement. Her flaming sword now points to war, as the last, the only redress for the crimes of Britain—“ crimes so grievous, that they cry to heaven.”

But cruel and outrageous as the conduct of England is towards this country, she has her friends, her admirers and her sycophants. In the face and eyes of the most enormous aggressions, we are basely told of her *sympathy* and *love* for the American people ! She *love* the American people ! She *loves* us, as the lion *loves* the lamb. She *loves* us, as she once loved the states of Europe, whose existence and neutrality she destroyed. She *loves* us too well to suffer us to remain in peace and prosperity. She *loves* us too well to respect our Independence, or acknowledge the eternal rights chartered by the God of Nature to his children. She would love us well enough to blot

our name from the catalogue of nations forever, and make us the slaves of her lawless dominion, if she had it in her power.

But it is asserted that England is embarked in a cause that should shield her from the vengeance of an injured, suffering and abused people. She is contending against the common enemy of mankind ; she is fighting the battles of the world : she is defending the rights of nations ! Wonderful magnanimity !! And how does England conduct herself in this noble contest ? Ask Austria ; ask Prussia ; ask Sardinia and Holland : ask the other mangled victims of her intrigue and corruption—the monuments of her accursed wickedness. These nations will point you to that memorable conspiracy of crowned heads formed by the arts and jugglings of the British cabinet, as the source of the mournful catastrophes, which they have exhibited ; a coalition that was formed without principle, and that will be felt through future centuries. They will tell you that England first planted an infatuation in their bosoms, that has plunged them into the gulf of ruin. The conduct of England does not excuse the unrelenting tyranny of France, or cast a pall over the shocking scenes of her blood-thirsty ambition ; but to say that England is the defender and protector of nations, while she does act, and ever has acted, from selfish and wicked motives, is too glaring an absurdity to escape the test of ridicule. This moment she exercises as much tyranny upon the ocean, as Bonaparte does upon the land. She never fought a battle from principles of philanthropy. She never drew the sword, but to return it to its scabbard with the promotion of her own interest and the acquisition of power.

Her pretended concern for the rights of neutrality is the consummation of hypocrisy. Her conduct to neutral nations is “ written in letters of fire and blood.” The fate of Tuscany, Genoa and Denmark, will be remembered with abhorrence, while guilt and cruelty are repugnant to humanity. Her treatment towards this country is before our eyes. She gave the first blow to our neutral privileges ; and France followed her example, as the thunder follows the lightning.

In fact, England has long been a scourge to the human race. There are no bounds to her arrogance, no limits to her requisitions. Already she claims the empire of the seas, and the right of controlling the com-



mercial world. Nor is her dominion upon the land less modest, where she can wield the sceptre. Abroad she scatters pestilence and death; at home, she acts the finished tyrant. In Ireland she inflicts the most enormous oppressions upon a miserable peasantry; in Scotland she enforces obedience with the point of the bayonet; in India, she renews the slaughters of 'Fameralane.\* Her policy is uniform, consistent and persevering. No observance of laws either human or divine, restrains the execution of her designs.

Such a nation will never respect the rights of her neighbors, while it is for her interest to violate them. But powerful as England is, she is not invulnerable. The well-directed energies of a brave and powerful people will make a serious impression upon her interest. The means of retaliating for the unnumbered injuries which she hath heaped upon us, are within our power. With those principles of eternal justice which we have upon our side, and under the fostering protection of that Almighty Governour of the Universe who protected our fathers in the hour of trouble, and conducted them to Independence; I have the fullest confidence that we shall prosecute a successful war in defence of our national existence.

The idea which is so repeatedly advanced, that the present situation of our public affairs involves us in an alliance with France, is absurd and delusive. To say that we cannot have a war with England without being allied to the common foe of mankind, to that monster in human shape, whose ambition is said to grasp the universe—is a species of logic that common reason does not readily fathom. It is novel reasoning. According to this, we cannot repel the assaults of one enemy, without seeking shelter under the arm of another; and this inevitable connexion must keep us in a state of abject submission. Our situation then is peculiar indeed. England is perfectly safe as it regards us. In the most profound peace, she may batter our cities about our ears; she may enslave and destroy more than she does now; and we must crouch like the patient beast of burden, and bear our fate with the best grace we can.

\* Let those who doubt the cruelties and oppressions of the British nation, read the speeches of FOX, SHERIDAN and BURKE. Let them consult the solemn declamations of her own statesmen in her own Parliament. They have fully developed her policy for the last twenty years.

The voice of our cannon must not be heard—the weapons of freemen must not be wielded—because in defending our birth-right, they join with the papists and infidels of France ! Such fallacy is entitled only to contempt.

At this momentous period, my Countrymen, it becomes you to support your national rulers with firmness and patriotism. It is for you and your posterity that they are now contending with a thousand difficulties. They have ever been faithful to your interests, and they will never forsake them. Let not those who vindicate the cause of a foreign nation, turn you from the paths of rectitude. You will be told by a desperate opposition party, that your own Government have reduced you to your present condition ; but remember that it is these domestic enemies who have encouraged foreign hostility. If you can see the light of the sun at noon-day, you can see the justice and impartiality of that policy which your rulers have pursued. If you maintain your political faith with unshaken fortitude, you have the prospect of a glorious deliverance from your troubles. If you unite in the schemes of a political combination, whose views you have heretofore opposed ; you may find yourselves ingulphed in dangers that may outlive yourselves, your children and your liberties.

Act with zeal, but not with violence. Let no profession, let no imposition lull you into a state of security. Let not the garb, rifled from the tomb of the illustrious dead, hide the cloven foot of faction. Against the opposers of the constituted authorities and the promoters of discord, maintain a steady and undeviating course. Sacrifice private, personal prejudices to the public good. We are not engaged in a conflict between party and party, but between nation and nation. Party bickerings should be buried in oblivion. Our country demands our services, and should receive them. At a time like this, every man should consider himself a servant to the calls of the nation. Instead of *insulting* the memory of WASHINGTON, let us study to obey his parting advice. Let us support our National Union ; bear the public burthens with cheerfulness ; comply with the demands of government with promptness ; and encourage a spirit of genuine patriotism. Let us discourage foreign attachments and partialities wherever they may be found, and love no country but our own. Above all, let us cher-

ish Religion and Morality, the main supporters of civil liberty.

My Countrymen, you have the most important charge confided in your integrity of any people on earth. The troubles which surround you are great ; but they can be surmounted. However formidable the crisis, the unconquerable spirit of the American people is able to sustain it. If animated by the consideration, that their country is the last spot of Freedom under Heaven ; if they have a just estimate of the invaluable privileges which they enjoy ; if they are warmed by the righteous cause in which they are engaged ; they will triumph over the vicissitudes which surround them. If the Councils of our Nation are hereafter actuated by that greatness of spirit which they now exhibit ; if the energies of the nation are directed to the defence of that Independence which we are now manfully maintaining ; we shall humble the tyrants of the ocean and the land, and arrive at that summit of power and glory which God and Nature seem to have designed at our creation.