

*The American Home Association*

# ORATION,

PRONOUNCED AT FITCHBURG,

BEFORE THE

WASHINGTON BENEVOLENT SOCIETY

OF

LEOMINSTER AND FITCHBURG.

AT THEIR ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

OF OUR NATIONAL BIRTH DAY,

JULY 4, A. D. 1814.

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BY ABRAHAM HASKELL.

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1814.

SIR,

We the undersigned, a committee chosen for the purpose, tender you the thanks of the *Washington Benevolent Society*, of Leominster and Fitchburg, for the excellent and patriotic Oration delivered before them this day--and request a copy of the same for publication.

DAVID WILDER, jun.  
LEONARD BURBANK,  
BRZALKEE LAWRENCE,  
JOEL CROSBY,  
OLIVER FOX.

DR. ABRAHAM HASKELL,  
*Fitchburg, July 4th, 1814.*

GENTLEMEN,

THE Oration this day spoken, before the *Society* and others, was dictated solely by the feelings of the Author.— If the sentiments expressed meet their approbation and they shall judge, that their publication might contribute to the good of the great cause in which we are engaged; they are, gentlemen, with much diffidence submitted to their disposal, by their faithful brother and friend,

ABRAHAM HASKELL.

DR. DAVID WILDER, jun.  
and the other Gentlemen  
of the Committee.  
*Fitchburg, July 4th, 1814.*

# O R A T I O N.

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THE Supreme Governor of the universe, who holds the destinies of nations in his hand, determined, *having determined* that these once British Provinces should be erected into a separate government, and the fulness of time for its accomplishment being come, the delegates from the several colonies then in congress assembled, and acting as his heralds, proclaimed the high behest, by that solemn act of the 4th of July in the year of our LORD 1776, which severed these colonies from the crown and government of Great Britain, and placed them upon the broad base of free, sovereign, and independent states. Thus was a nation born in a day ! For lo ! the U. States of America, emerging from the womb of Providence, raised her trembling head, and was from that time forth recognized and numbered amongst the nations of the earth. This, verily, was the Lord's doing, and it is still marvellous in our eyes. *separate*

It hath been customary from time immemorial, to perpetuate the remembrance of great and important national events, by publick Festivals, or by the institution of certain rights or ceremonies calculated to make the appropriate impression on the mind, and proper to be observed at stated periods. And for this custom we have the highest authority : witness the several institutions commanded by God, to be observed by the children of Israel, to perpetuate the remembrance of their miraculous emancipation from the Egyptian bondage.

And it hath been customary, likewise, in those institutions to have particular reference to the principal agent, by whose instrumentality those events have been brought about. And although there doth not

appear any account of that particular circumstance in the Mosaic history ; yet we have a tradition, by which we are informed, that Moses, after he had safely conducted the children of Israel through the Red Sea, placed the tabernacle which he was commanded to erect, in *a due East and West position*, that by that circumstance the people might be reminded of that strong and miraculous East wind, which blew all the preceding night, and which was the immediate instrument in the hand of God, in preparing the sea for their safe passage through it.

In attempting an humble imitation of examples of such high and unquestionable authority, can there be a good citizen present who must not feel the impulse of duty, as well as that of inclination, in joining to commemorate our national birth, and to celebrate the distinguished virtues of Him who was the renowned hero of the revolution ? Our beloved WASHINGTON was this hero ; he was the principal agent in leading and conducting these U. States to that Liberty and independence, which we this day celebrate. But his wisdom in the cabinet equalled his valor in the field ; for, under the federal constitution, he adopted a system of policy, which he tried and proved ; and he left us a model of it by whose assistance we might be enabled forever thereafter so to administer the government, as to be sure to profit by that liberty and independence he had so gloriously achieved for us.

Since Washington therefore was the instrument in the hand of God of doing so much for us, his virtues, according to the Mosaic custom alluded to, must have an indisputable claim upon our particular attention in the exhibitions of this day.

But before I proceed to the consideration of these, it may not be improper to observe, that there have been ~~no~~ two different systems of policy adopted since the establishment of the national government. The first was that adopted by Washington, at his induction into office as first President under the federal constitu-



tion. This he invariably pursued during the eight years of his Presidency; and it was principally observed by his immediate successor, Mr. Adams. The other was that adopted by Mr. Jefferson, at the commencement of his presidential career. And this mode of administering the government hath been pertinaciously persisted in by him, and by his successor, Mr. Madison, to the present time.

Now in order to form a just estimate of the relative value of these two systems of policy, it will be proper to point out some of the leading principles, in each, to contrast them, and to compare their different effects: for these effects are their natural fruits, which we are to expect to gather under their operation, whether good or bad. "For a good tree bringeth not forth corrupt fruit; neither doth a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit." If the fruit, therefore, by which we shall know them, prove pleasant and salutary, let us endeavour to nourish and cherish the stock, and to guard it with religious care against the rude attacks of bold assailants, or secret emissaries. But on the other hand, if, on examination the fruit should be found of a noxious quality, tending to destroy the health of the body politic, let us exert our united energy in exterminating it root and branch, nor suffer the land of liberty, nor the republican air we breathe, to be contaminated by its poisonous effluvia.

The policy adopted by Washington, was the true republican policy, open and frank! And the measures proposed by him, were generally such, as would bear the test of popular criticism. They were seldom or never of that suspicious character, which required conclave darkness for their enactment: but being stamped with Propriety, in legible characters, they needed only to be seen, to meet the cordial support of the people.

A summary of this most excellent policy is contained in Washington's last legacy to the people of the United States, called his FAREWELL ADDRESS, whose

intrinsic worth entitles it to be written in letters of gold. And as the Washington Benevolent Society profess to adopt it as the standard of political orthodoxy, we should read it by day, meditate upon it by night, and treasure up its precious contents in the archives of our hearts. For it is the voice of a skilful pilot beckoning and proclaiming, this is the way! And if we pay a proper attention to it, it will prove to us, like the Shechinah to the children of Israel; "as a pillar of a cloud by day, and as a pillar of fire by night," to guide and direct us through the wilderness of faction, and the darkness of intrigue, to the quiet possession of a land flowing with milk and honey, with peace and plenty.

In considering the Washington policy, I shall divide it into two heads; First, as it respects our internal police; and secondly, as it regards our foreign intercourse.

I. Of internal police, or the manner of conducting our own affairs amongst ourselves: It was the policy of Washington so to administer this branch of the government, as to maintain peace and harmony amongst the people, and to cultivate good will and friendship between the several sections of country composing the United States. And respecting this last clause, his solicitude was so great, as to induce him to lament the introduction of those terms used to denote geographical distinctions, such as northern and southern, atlantic and western states; as he suspected, that designing demagogues might make use of those terms to induce the people to believe, that those opposite sections have different interests and different views, and to answer certain party purposes, might thus set them at variance. He says "you cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings, which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other, those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection."

In no part of Washington's administration do we

discover stronger marks of wisdom, sound judgment, and true patriotism, than in his selection and appointment of suitable candidates to fill the several important offices. In this business favouritism and party views had no influence. But his sole object being the public good, his whole reliance was upon the integrity, the capability, and the fidelity of the candidate. The ability of his officers, and their faithful discharge of the trust reposed in them, leave not a doubt of the truth of these positions. He did not sour the minds of one political party, by conferring his favours upon the other exclusively; neither did he degrade the American character, by filling important offices with foreigners, in preference to American born citizens.

Mr. Jefferson, at his outset gave us a specimen of his arch sophistry, with which his whole administration was strongly tinged. For, said he, "We are all Federalists! We are all Republicans!" intending by these expressions to cause the people to believe that which was not true, namely, that he felt as friendly towards one political party, as towards the other. And how elated were the people, especially the Federal party at this appearance of impartiality? But alas! how short lived was the transport! It served only to augment their subsequent chagrin and disappointment. For in a short space of time he displayed to the world his intolerance and hatred of federalism, and his determination to put it under his feet, by the unjustifiable removals of good and faithful men from office, men of the orthodox or old Washington school, against whom, as touching the duties of their office ought could not be alleged: but they were removed, because they did not subscribe to his *new fangled* political creed. And his undue attachment to the republican party was at the same time demonstrated, by his filling those vacated offices with men wholly selected from the democratic ranks. These observations are intended to apply equally both to the Jeffersonian and the Madisonian administrations; as the policy of both are considered



as one and the same. But their selection of unfeeling men, depraved enough to push their Napoleon measures, especially in the collector's department, to the last extremity, how much soever they might incommode or distress the people by their abuse of power, could not much redound to the honor of the republican party. This abuse of power in the collector's department, is no chimera. For how many instances of it, doth the mere mention of the non-intercourse and embargo laws bring to our recollection? For it seems, there could be nothing great enough to deter, nor small enough to elude, the rapacity of those vermins employed in the execution of those laws. A list of their abuses would extend from the seizure and detention of the specie belonging to the New-England bank, down to that of a lady's travelling trunk; which was taken, carried off, searched, and its female contents exposed in a publick office, to the no small mortification of the infamous perpetrators!

After taking a general, but cursory view of the subject and observing the manner in which the officers appointed, have managed the affairs committed to their charge, we are led to suspect, that flaming party zeal, and parasitical clamourings, must have been qualifications strongly attracting presidential notice in his several appointments.

Hence the appointment of so many men to offices, for which they have proved themselves utterly unqualified. And on no other ground are we able to account for the continual disasters attending the Canada war.

But the partiality of the executive being too evident to need further elucidation, I shall close this first head of domestic police, with a few general observations.

The abuse of the high prerogative of the executive in appointing, or delecting, bad or wicked men to important offices, and the prevention of the right of suffrage in the people by their electing bad or unsuitable men for



rulers, are both of one and the same nature ; they both have the same object, party purposes ; and they both with unerring certainty tend to produce the same disastrous effects, the destruction of the peace, the harmony, and the prosperity of the people.

The abuse of power in the chief magistrate is the natural consequence of the perversion of the right of election. For if the people will sacrifice the good of the country to the gratification of party spirit ; if, regardless of the public good, they will fill the most important offices with violent partizans, to crush their political opponents : the people in such a case can have no right to calculate upon the strictest integrity in officers thus chosen ; and if they act consistently they do not wish to find it in them. For where party spirit rises to such a pitch, reason is put under arrest, and patriotism retires to the back ground ; but the governing principle is party triumph. And the responsibility for any evils which may occur, in consequence of bad measures adopted, as truly falls to the share of the people, who by corruption put him into office, as to the president, who recommends the ruinous measures. For the people were first in the transgression.

In a republican form of government all power is said to originate in the people ; because they alone can organize it, by filling those several offices, without which the government would cease to exist. So it may with equal propriety be said, that when any public calamity befalls the country in consequence of an adoption of weak or wicked measures, the evil as truly emanates from the people in this case, as the power did in the former : because by the abuse of their elective right, they placed bad men in office, without which circumstance having taken place, those ruinous measures would not have been adopted. This is an important truth which ought to sink deep into the heart of every elector.

II. The second general head respects our foreign relations, or the manner in which our concerns with foreign nations have been managed.

It was the policy of Washington to maintain good faith, and to keep the scale of justice in equal poise, with all nations: to support a strict neutrality with the Belligerents, not granting favours to one, which he would deny to the other, and thus to avoid collisions with both; and by infringing upon the rights of none but doing strict justice to all, to cultivate peace and friendship with the whole world.

Mr. Jefferson, conscious of his own abilities, which all are ready to acknowledge; too proud to tread in the steps of another, but strongly prone to partiality; adopted a system of policy very different from that of Washington; and this is the system adopted by Mr. Madison, and pursued by him to this day. But it is so enveloped in mystery, and in the habit of transacting its most important business in conclave darkness, that it is much easier positively to say, what it is not, than what it is. And although it must depend upon the people for the support of its measures; yet it is not that open and frank policy, which is in the habit of consulting popular opinion; hence the people grow jealous of it: and should they, under such suspicious circumstances imagine it to be worse than it really is, the people ought not to be too severely censured for it; for great appearances of secrecy naturally excite suspicion.

The mystic policy of our present administration seems to be much better calculated for an absolute monarchy, than for a popular government. For in a despotism, where the word of the monarch is the law of the land, he alone is responsible for the measures he takes; and therefore he hath no occasion to consult the opinion of the people.

But in a republic or popular government, where the rulers are deputed by the people, and considered as their agents, impowered to act in their behalf; and where the people have the power, in case of misdemeanor to remove them from office, and appoint others in their stead: I say, where the people have a right

to exercise all these powers, it is reasonable and just, that the people likewise should bear their part of the responsibility, which should be in proportion to the power remaining in their hands.

And as the people are thus rendered answerable for the doings of their agents or rulers ; it is fit and proper that their agents or rulers should, from time to time make their constituents, the people, fully acquainted with the true and undisguised state of their affairs. This doctrine might, perhaps, strike the mind more forcibly, if it were applied to our individual or secular concerns. Let us therefore suppose, that one of us had an important dispute to settle with a rich and powerful man in New-Hampshire, and he should appoint an agent to attempt a settlement by negociation. Now if the agent, instead of letting his constituent know the terms upon which a settlement might be had, in order for further instructions, should, on account of some misthake, or for disrespectful treatment which he supposed he had received, commence of his own accord a hazardous law suit, which if unsuccessful must terminate in the total ruin of his constituent : could we in this case say, that the agent had acted a prudent, or even a justifiable part ? surely we could not : but we must say, that the constituent ought forthwith to dismiss him from that agency, for which he had proved himself so inadequate and unworthy.

In applying this reasoning to national affairs, I would not degrade the character of our rulers, by applying to them the ignominious and slavish epithet of *servants*, as some in the plenitude of liberty and equality have licenciously done ; but I would distinguish them by the honourable name of agents, to whose wisdom and fidelity we have entrusted the management of our national concerns ; and who, on account of the confidence we have reposed in them, are reciprocally bound by every tie of honour and gratitude to adopt and pursue such measures, (aside from all prejudice and partiality, passions which ought never to operate in the



breasts of rulers,) as shall appear best calculated to promote the peace, happiness, and prosperity of the community.

But should our rulers, elated by the honour we have conferred upon them, forget that they are our agents; and instead of acting for our interest, respecting our opinion, or regarding our wants or sufferings, should give themselves up wholly to the dictates of their own capricious passions, and to gratify which should plunge the country into a cruel and disastrous war, which might put to hazard our existence as a nation: what would be the opinion of disinterested judges respecting such rulers? Would they say, they have deserved well, and still merit the further confidence of the people? I trow not. But history will give such men and measures their true character.

This unfortunate war was declared at a time when we were unprepared for it, for we had neither men, ships, nor money, or next to none, to carry it on, compared with the power with which we were about to contend. It was declared when the property of the citizens of the United States, to an immense amount, was afloat, which, being without an adequate naval protection, was liable to capture, a great part of which did actually fall into the enemy's hands. It was declared, on account of an infringement of our maritime rights, against the strongest naval power, which now doth exist, or which ever did exist on the globe. It was declared to avenge the wrongs done our citizens on the high seas; to avenge them, I say, on the peaceable and unoffending inhabitants of the Canadas, many of whom are attached to us, by the strongest ties of consanguinity. And it was declared, I will not say, without a cause; for candour must allow, that both Great Britain and France, the one as well as the other, have given abundant cause for war, by their unbounded and abominable robberies committed upon the property of our citizens, while in the lawful exercise of their commercial rights. We had, in my opinion

just cause for war, and our government would have been justifiable in declaring it, had they been in possession of the means sufficient to have commanded that reasonable preparation, which the aggressors declined voluntarily to make us. But we are assured that many things are lawful, which are not expedient. The propriety of declaring war, when our government did declare it, must therefore turn on the expediency of the measure.

Where then could have been the expediency of declaring war, when the sinews of it, on our part were shriveled, shrunk, and dried up? For our government, in concert with the views of a foreign tyrant, had adopted a system of restrictive measures, which had cut off every important stream, and thus dried up the great national depository. Could it have been expedient, let the provocation have been never so great, to have declared war against a powerful nation, when the only means remaining, by which we could hope to procure money to carry it on, consisted in the precarious one of borrowing, or in the more disgusting one of taxation? And since all will allow, that it would require the united efforts of the whole nation, to carry on the contemplated war with effect; where was the propriety of declaring it, when it was well known, that a large proportion of the people were utterly opposed to it, as inexpedient and unnecessary; and who thus considered it, because the redress sought, was not likely to be obtained by friendly negociation. Where could be the expediency of declaring war against a nation that commands the ocean, when our widely extended seaport towns were nearly in defenceless state? *most* certainly in a state, which could not have prevented their being laid in ashes long before this time, had our enemy bent on wanton destruction, as much as general M'Clure was, when he burnt Newark! (A) O my country! well may we blush, when our own conduct is contrasted with that of the nation, whom we have rashly and imprudently selected for our enemy!



Now under all these unfavourable and forbidding circumstances, how are we to account for the declaration of war? Was it the effect of warm, of exuberant love to their country? If it was, we must suppose that those, who so vehemently urged it on, must have been in the predicament into which disappointed lovers are said sometimes to fall, when they run mad! And notwithstanding it bears strong marks of derangement; yet, I am persuaded, there must have been some powerful motive, which hath been kept behind the curtain, by which we are to account for that extraordinary measure.

It was before observed, that the policy of the present administration hath been so dark and ambiguous, that it is difficult to say fully what it is. One thing in it, however, appears pretty clear, which is, it bears the strongest marks of partiality.(B) And in support of this opinion, the following circumstances are adduced.

The readiness with which the executive was wont to make his communications respecting British aggressions, and his seeming reluctance in announcing those of France. His withholding some of these last,(C) a considerable time, or till they were extorted from him by the calls of congress, go to show that he did not feel equally amicable towards both nations.

But the manner and different language employed on those occasions, more clearly evince his different sensations. For while those of Great Britain were painted in strong colours, and represented in a manner calculated to excite resentment, animosity, and revenge, as if to prepare the public mind to engage with alacrity and zeal in the contemplated war; those of France were touched with great delicacy, glanced upon, and passed over, as though it were the intention of the executive to erase from the mind even the idea of an injury done.(B) Add to this, the fruitful invention discovered in the government and their slavish paragraphists in finding apologies for her unprovoked aggressions. For to soothe the people, and make them believe, that there was nothing inconsistent with real



friendship in the robberies of France, they did that for her, which she did not even ask of them; they construed her cruel rapacities into municipal regulations.

Are not these circumstances, I would ask, sufficient to convince a reasonable and candid mind, that our administration hath all along acted under the influence of a fixed aversion towards Great Britain, and a doting fondness for France? should any one still doubt the correctness of these opinions, I will bring one or two evidences more, which, I think, cannot fail to render their truth as clear as a problem in Euclid.

Hatred and revenge are like the yellow jaundice, which, in the eyes of the patient tinges all objects of its own colour. So when men are fraught with these malignant passions, they can discover nothing in the object of their hatred, but appearances correspondent with their own sensations. Hence they are liable to be deceived, by imagining they discover marks of hostility, where no hostility exists. Hence likewise we may, perhaps, learn the cause, why our executive and his warm abettors could discover gross indecorum and insult in the correspondence of a British minister, whilst impartial judges could discern nothing indecorous in his conduct. (D)

So likewise, a doting fondness for a person or party, may be compared to Cupid's veil, which poets tell us, can hide from the eyes of the fond admirer every fault and imperfection, and make even deformity and ugliness appear like nothing but perfect beauty and loveliness! Hence we may learn the reason, likewise, why our administration and its doting advocates, could see nothing like impropriety or insult in the imprudent letter of Champagny, duke of Cadore, of the fourth of February 1810, in which he told our government, that "they are without just political views!" "without honour!" "without energy!" "more dependent," (meaning upon Great Britain,) "than Jamaica!" and advises them "to tear to pieces their charter of Independence!" *imprudent*

Mr. Madison dismissed a British minister, for making a statement respecting Mr Erskine's instructions, in a point of light different from that which he had done; and for endeavouring to support it. How could a man of such exquisite sensibility read Champaign's letter without emotion, and pocket it without a murmur? surely it would require more than Monticellian philosophy to account for these things upon any other principles, than those, upon which I have attempted to explain them.

A distinguished feature in the Washington policy was the encouragement of commerce and navigation: For Washington, like all other wise and prudent statesmen, considered commerce a main pillar in the edifice of national wealth and prosperity. Accordingly he left it free, to push its honest enterprize into whatever part of the world mercantile calculation might direct it.

But aware of the rapacious disposition of mankind, and considering that commerce unprotected, would be like the dove amongst birds of prey; he therefore laid the foundation of a navy; to guard it against depredation and robbery.

Under the auspices of this policy, our young commerce flourished to a degree before unknown in any nation. The American canvass soon whitened every sea, and visited every clime; and our products found their way to the highest markets:

This gave animation to enterprise; vigour to the hand of labour, employment and support to the poor, to industry a rich reward, and to the nation an overflowing treasury!

The Washington policy was laid in the best feeling of the human heart, and had for its object the noblest purposes; one of which was, the discharge of a debt of honour and gratitude. For remembering the important services of those heroes, whose patriotick zeal induced them to take their lives in their hands, and expose them in the high places of the field, to achieve for

us liberty and independence : the government was then too honest and too generous to set down contented under these important acquisitions, till ample provision should be made for their complete remuneration.

Under the operation of this policy, the debt contracted during the revolutionary war, was gradually diminishing ; and had this excellent policy been steadily pursued, it would, in a few years have completely canceled the whole national debt.

Thus while the Washington policy gladdened the hearts of the people with plenty and prosperity at home, it maintained peace and respectability abroad ; and what is more, it compelled even its enemies to pronounce it just !

The policy of our present administration ought to be denominated Jeffersonian, rather than Madisonian, because Mr. Jefferson was the father of it. And although Mr. Madison appears to have entered into the true spirit of it as fully as its founder himself ; yet, it seems, he can have very little claim to originality, but ought rather to be considered as an humble imitator of the example of his immediate predecessor ; unless it should be made to appear, that it was the production of their joint efforts ; in which case they ought to be entitled to share the honour, or the opprobrium of it, equally between them.

We have already discovered the Jeffersonian policy to be a system of partiality, growing out of an inveterate hatred to the British government, and a criminal devotion to that of France. And to carry this policy into effect, and induce the people willingly to swallow it, the most finished sophistry, and the deepest laid artifice, have been employed. For knowing that trade, to be profitable, must be left free as air ; and that it will direct its course whithersoever the breeze of prosperity shall waft it ; and perceiving that the British, the objects of their hatred, would share the greatest proportion of it ; this policy pretended to prefer dry docks to naval enterprise. And under the spe-



cious pretext of saving our property and our seamen from capture, had recourse to embargoes, non intercourse laws, and other restrictive measures, whose real object was, the starvation of Great Britain. And to complete the chicanery, by fallaciously pretending to erect a naval defence, it adopted the gun boat system for the very purpose of carrying the restrictive measures into effect.

Some of the warmest advocates of this Quixotic policy endeavour to justify its measures by alleging, that the cupidity of merchants in shipping contraband goods, frequently proves the cause of collisions and war. But we ought to consider, that the merchant knows before he ships his goods, that to lade in whole, or in part with those which are contraband of war, is a breach of law, which render their capture justifiable. If, therefore, he voluntarily violate the law, the loss of his property is no more than a just punishment for such violation; and it ought not to disturb the national tranquillity.

These same advocates further allege, that the Chinese who are said to be immensely rich, never meddle with foreign navigation. Hence they contend that the carrying trade is of no advantage. To this I can only answer, that we know too little about the circumstances of either the country or the government of the Chinese, to be justified in drawing any practical conclusions from our imperfect knowledge of any of their customs. But this we can say with assurance, that it doth not comport with the united opinion of all those nations, with whom we are best acquainted.

It hath been before observed, that the effects of this policy are its fruits, by which we may know whether it be good, or whether it be bad. By this standard, therefore let us try it. For although the real motives of the Jeffersonian policy have been studiously concealed; yet it is a fortunate circumstance, that its effects, by which those motives may be decyphered, are well known to the world. The following are some of them.

By the interdiction of navigation, the mariner was the first to feel its dire effects. For not understanding agriculture, or any of the mechanic arts, but his education being confined solely to the management of the ship, and being thus thrown out of employment, he was reduced to the dreadful alternative, either to starve, or to beg or steal, for a subsistence. But its effects were not long confined to this class of citizens: the poor of every description soon felt its pressure, by the price of the necessaries of life being raised to double or treble their former value. Nor did the evil stop here. For its effects upon the nation were still more alarming; for the great sources of revenue being thus cut off, the national repository was dried up: so that the government had now, no adequate means left, either for their own support, or for carrying on the war, but the uncertain one of borrowing, or the unpopular one of taxation.

Thus hath the Jeffersonian policy, after binding us hand and foot, by depriving us of the means of carrying it on, plunged us into a cruel and disastrous war, which presseth us heavily on all sides. To prosecute it with effect, we have not the means; and to make an honourable retreat, we know not how! This is a true and undisguised picture of some of the effects of the Jefferson policy, which hath been adopted and pursued by Mr. Madison to the present time.

Thus I have endeavoured to exhibit a distinct view of the two systems of policy which have been adopted since the commencement of the federal government; namely, that of our beloved Washington, under whose benign influence the people enjoyed an unexampled degree of prosperity and happiness; and that of Mr. Jefferson, which was adopted by Mr. Madison, and invariably pursued by our present administration; and which hath reduced the people of the U. States from the prosperous and happy situation, in which the Washington policy left them, to the degraded and deplorable state, which hath just been de-



scribed. It was thought expedient to present a distinct view of each, and of their different effects, that whoever may give himself the trouble to examine and contrast them, may see at the first glance their essential difference, and the opposite results to which they, with unerring certainty, lead. And it was deemed the more necessary to pursue this course, since the means of misrepresentation have been such, as to induce many people and honest men too, to believe, that there is no essential difference between the administration of Washington, and that of Jefferson or Madison; but that the pretended difference is a mere federal trick. But in the portrait here exhibited, it is believed, they cannot fail clearly to discern that essential difference, which to us appears as clear as the sun at noon day; and that, seeing the disastrous effects resulting from the crooked policy of the present administration, they may be induced to discard it, and to unite in restoring the long neglected policy of our beloved Washington, which would prove to this country as salutary and happy, as the restoration of the Bourbons to the crown of France doth to that oppressed nation, to all Europe, and, may I not say, to the whole world.

I shall close this head, as I did the former one, by a few general observations.

Government is intended to restrain the vices, and to regulate the passions of mankind. Therefore the object of all governments is, to render a people in the state of society, more happy. And in order that government may have this effect, it is necessary, that the form of it should be adapted to the particular state and circumstances of the people. It would be erroneous to suppose, that the same form of government would produce the greatest sum of happiness to every community. For a people sunk in ignorance and barbarism, or entirely given up to licentiousness, having neither knowledge nor virtue enough to restrain their brutish passions, would require the iron hand of despotism to regulate them, and to render their society



tolerable. Whilst an enlightened and virtuous people, capable of acting their part well in the article of legislation, are the only fit subjects for a republican form of government. It is not enough that the people have knowledge; they must likewise have virtue to regulate that knowledge, to prevent its running into licentious and hurtful courses, and to restrain it to the channels of propriety and usefulness.(E.)

And as a republican form of government is calculated only for the virtuous and well informed part of mankind: so it is indispensably necessary, in order to support such a form of government, and to render the people happy under it, that the people themselves, from the highest to the lowest, should assiduously cultivate those virtues, to the end that, in the exercise of those rights and privileges which such a form of government guarantees to them, they should be induced thereby, to use them solely for the public good.

But if we may be allowed to judge of men's sentiments, by their actions, there are many people, who imagine, that so long as they enjoy their elective rights and privileges, all will be well, whether they rightly use, or abuse them. For they virtually say, if we are free, we have a right to do as we please. But this is false reasoning, which converts liberty into licentiousness. For to give a man a right to do a thing, the circumstances of the case must be such, as will justify the act; and where the circumstances will not justify the act, a man can claim no right to perform it, and if he do perform it, he doth it not of right, but at his peril. We cannot have a right to do wrong.

Liberty and Independence, the choicest of national blessings, and of which we so fondly and justly boast, are valuable only as they tend to make the people more happy. And the happiness of the people depends upon the use they make of their rights and privileges. So long therefore, as the people have virtue enough to induce them to exercise their rights and privileges with a single eye to the public good; so long will they prove of ines-

timable value to them. But should the people become so depraved, as to "use their liberty," as the apostle expresseth it, "for a cloak of maliciousness," it may prove to them a real curse. If, for instance, in the exercise of the right of suffrage, instead of aiming at the public good, the object of the electors should be, to wreak their vengeance upon their political opponents, and with this view should fill all important offices with unprincipled men, base enough to answer their party and malicious purposes; the government, though of the most perfectly free and republican form, might become as oppressive and ruinous, as the most frightful despotism. (E)

When public affairs become unprosperous, and the people are suffering under the pressure of war, taxes, and various privations, they are apt to level their complaints and imprecations, exclusively against their rulers, who were the immediate cause of the measures, which brought them on. And it is right and just, no doubt, that they should bear their full proportion of the censure. But a moment's reflection will shew, that it is the people themselves, who were primarily to blame. It was their will, their obstinate indulgence of party spirit, which, stifling the dictates of reason and patriotism, induced them to violate the sacred right of election: and which, instead of aiming at the public good, perversely led them to put weak or wicked men into office, to answer party purposes.

Is it not astonishing, that men of sense, men whom we embrace in the arms of our charity, as honest, upright, patriotic, and friends to mankind, should be so led away by the artifice of intriguing demagogues, as to be made willing to hazard the well being of their country, for the paltry consideration of party triumph! It is easy to conceive, that the loaves and fishes may prove strong inducements to the candidates for high and lucrative offices, to make every exertion to obtain them. But what motive can the common people have in supporting with uncommon zeal, those men, who



warmly advocate, and obstinately pursue a system of measures, which, without producing any advantage, have been constantly disgracing the American character, and which hath already loaded us with a debt, which will cause our posterity, poor souls ! for generations yet to come, to stagger under its enormous weight ! Oh ! what a legacy to leave our children ! will they bless our memory for it ? Or will it not give them occasion, in the bitterest accents of grief, to lament the degeneracy of their parents ?

The conclusion of the whole matter seems to be this : On the one hand, our government not feeling the force of that christian injunction, which requires us to forgive our enemies, hath, probably, entertained a secret enmity towards Great Britain ever since the revolutionary war. This hath kept the mind in a constant state of irritability, calculated to render it extremely susceptible of, and disposed to magnify, the smallest injury received from that government.

And on the other hand, the flatteries and menaces of Bonaparte, his unexampled success in subjugating one European nation after another, and his immense preparations to bring all Europe into his gigantic plan, called his continental system, the object of which was, to prevent all intercourse with Great Britain, and thus by starving her out, to bring her at his feet ; she appearing to be the only insurmountable obstacle in the way of his march to universal dominion, which, undoubtedly was his ultimate object.

These commanding circumstances operating upon the mind of our government, which, it is probable, was, by prejudice predisposed for revenge, readily, we may conceive, brought our executive, together with the majority in congress, into a cordial co-operation with the arch tyrant, in subjugating the object of their mutual hatred.

Accordingly, after Bonaparte, by measures stamped with a degree of perfidy and baseness, unequalled in history, had kidnapped the king and royal family of



Spain, and proclaimed his brother Joseph king, and was endeavouring by means of a powerful army to bring the Spanish and Portuguese nations under his yoke : likewise after the British government had espoused the cause of these oppressed and distressed nations, and to succour them had sent a fleet and army to the Peninsula, and the contest remained doubtful : then was the favourable moment for the American government to shew to their friend Napoleon their good will, and to afford him such assistance as was in their power, which they did, by withholding their provisions, which the allied powers wanted for the support of their armies. Accordingly our government, in December 1807, laid their first embargo, just five days after Bonaparte passed his famous Milan Decree.

Thus it appears, our government have gone hand in hand with Napoleon as completely, as though their heads had been together to concert the whole plan ; our government by the embargo, cutting off the supplies to the allied army in the Peninsula, whilst Bonaparte by his decrees intercepts them going to every part of the British territories.

At length the embargo and other restrictive measures, not having the effect upon G. Britain, which was anticipated ; and she being so engaged in the European wars, as not to be in a situation to send large reinforcements to her American colonies ; and above all, Bonaparte being then fitting out a most formidable armament against Russia, the principal power to oppose his continental system ; it was calculated that this force, with the invincible Napoleon at its head, would with certainty bring all the northern powers to his terms. Hence our government did not hesitate to predict the speedy downfall of the British power ; (F) and judging it a favourable time, proclaimed war against Great Britain in June, 1812, and immediately sent an expedition against the Canadas, which were expected to fall an easy prey.

And what were the consequences of these ar-

rangements made with such assurance of success? Alas! like Ephraim, we had joined ourselves unto idols, and the Lord went not forth with us. Our counsels were made like that of Ahithophel; we were therefore discomfited; and they who escaped captivity returned with dust on their heads.

And thus have we proceeded for more than two long years, meeting with little else but defeat and disgrace. Our national debt, by the last report of the treasurer, already exceeds 107 millions of dollars, exclusive of the immense expence of calling out the militia to guard our seaports, as well as our inland frontiers. Our enemies, in consequence of the peace of Europe, are swarming in upon us, so that we are sorely pressed on all sides. And if our warfare should not be better conducted in future, than it hath been for the past, nor peace take place; we shall have reason to tremble for our very existence as a nation! The keeper of the great national repository hath to guard empty vaults; and we have not money sufficient either to recruit the army, or to furnish supplies. This is but too true a picture of the dreadful situation, to which the blind policy of an infatuated administration hath reduced us.

In this awful situation permit me to inquire, where now is Mr. Gerry's supereminent statesman? That prodigy of human nature! that comet of the first magnitude, Napoleon! for whose friendship, it seems, our government were willing to barter that of the whole world! Is he a coming to our assistance with his legions, to extricate us from the deplorable situation into which we have been most perfidiously drawn? Ah! no. He, who boastingly said, "he would resign his imperial dignity only with his life," hath tamely submitted to capitulation, to save his life! He, who sent his usurping, imperial brother Toussaint, into Exile, hath himself gone into the same Exile! He, who hath lead many nations into captivity, hath himself gone into captivity! and thus the great disturber of the peace of the world, hath ceased from troubling!!

What shall we say to these things? 'The will of God is done; Blessed be his name forever! And let all the people say, AMEN!!



## APPENDIX,

*Containing Proofs and Illustrations of several passages found in the preceding Oration, referred to by Letters placed in Alphabetical Order.*

A. See Page 13.

NEWARK was a small, compact, handsome village, situated on the Canada side of the river Niagara, about half a mile from Fort George, consisting of about 150 houses and containing about 400 inhabitants, chiefly women and children.

General M'Clure commanding at Fort George, finding his force too small to resist that of the British, which was collecting to attack him, resolved upon demolishing the Fort and retiring across the river to the American side. In this resolution he was completely justified by the laws and usages of civilized warfare. But previously to carrying this resolution into effect, he gave the defenceless inhabitants of Newark, notice, that in twelve hours he should burn the place, letting them have that time to remove their effects and procure shelters for themselves their women and children. But poor souls! there were no places to which they could flee; for there were no villages near, and very few out houses. The threat was put in execution on the evening of the 10th of December, 1813, being on a cold winters' night, in a most rigorous climate, where the wretched inhabitants were compelled to witness the destruction of their property, without any other means of keeping themselves warm, during this night of horror, than the heat of their burning houses! This barbarous outrage unparalleled in the history of civilized warfare, needs no comment.

B. See Page 14.

To show this partiality, I beg leave to refer the reader to the President's Message to Congress, in December, 1807. In this Message the President paints in the most vivid colours and represents in a manner calculated to excite resentment, animosity and revenge, against the British government, for their various aggressions and particularly for their outrage committed upon the United State's Frigate Chesapeake. The smart of



the wound inflicted upon our national honour, by that outrage, was sensibly felt by all parties, amongst whom the Federalists were not the last to express their resentment. But it was soon made known, that it was not the act of the government, but that of an individual; and that the British government were so far from justifying it, or even winking at it, that they publicly disavowed it, promised ample reparation and punish the offending officer for the injury he had done. Yes, as soon as the fact was substantiated, they punished him severely, by removing him from an honourable and lucrative command. What more could reasonable men desire, or justice require? This changed the aspect of the crime, as it respected the British government, and as it ought to do, allayed the popular ferment. *punished*

But notwithstanding this, the President in his speech to Congress, at the opening of their session, in December, 1807—brought up this affair, with many others, which he laboured to paint in the strongest colours and to represent in the most aggravating manner, without deigning even to mention their disavowal of the act, or their promise of reparation. Was this done with a view of prejudicing the minds of the people more strongly against Great Britain?

The Berlin decree, which made an open attack upon the Independence of our own, and upon that of every other nation, and which had been the means of robbing us of many millions of dollars, was slightly referred to. The act of Spain in adopting that decree and putting it in force, was mentioned, as only a "cause of serious complaint." And to sum up the whole matter, he, in the same Message declares, that "with the other nations of Europe" (including France) "our harmony had been uninterrupted, and commerce and friendly intercourse maintained on their usual footing." Now permit me to ask—Does this, or does it not, look as though the President meant to erase from the mind even the idea of an injury done us by France?

C. See Page 14.

On the 2d. of November 1810, the President declared by Proclamation, that the Berlin and Milan Decrees from that time forth would cease to operate against the United States.—But this revocation of Buonaparte's Decrees, we should observe, was made, not by Buonaparte himself, but by Mr. Madison for him. And, it is to be presumed, he performed this kind office for his friend Bonaparte, in return for a similar kindness before received from him. For Buonaparte, by Cl. ampagny's letter of the 15th of January, 1808, declared war for us—His words are these: "War exists then in fact, between England and the United States!" What a ludicrous part these two cronies have acted! Buonaparte declares war for Mr. Madison;—and Mr. Madison revokes Buonaparte's decrees for him! But

notwithstanding Mr. Madison's *feeling* proclamation, Bonaparte's cruisers, impudent fellows ! continue to take, burn and destroy all the American vessels they can come at on the high seas. A list of forty five of those vessels, taken since the 2d. of November 1810, exclusive of the Robinson Ova, the Neptune the Two Brothers and the Zebra, four other American vessels also taken by the French, after that time, was laid on the speaker's table in Congress. And instead of eight American vessels reported to have been burnt, sunk and destroyed by the French squadron, Mr. Emott, in his speech in Congress of January 12th 1813, says, the number was nearly thirty. When did the President communicate to Congress an account of these French depredations ? Never.

*formally*  
 Mr. Smith, then Secretary of State, declares, that "on the 20th of February 1811, the French government did *officially* and ~~formally~~ through their minister Mr. Serrurier, communicate to this government, their fixed determination, not to restore the property that had been so seized." Here permit me further to ask--When did the President communicate to Congress this determination of the French government ? Mr. Emott, then a member of Congress, says, it "has never yet been laid before us by the executive." Had the President have frankly and fully made known to Congress and the people the true and undisguised state of our relations with France, how different would have been the situation of the United States at this time !

A communication of the depredations made by France upon the American commerce, after the "assumed authority" by the President to revoke Bonaparte's Berlin and Milan Decrees, might at least have the appearance of calling in question the validity of that authority. And the making known to Congress the determination of France not to restore the property taken from us, might and probably would have prevented our non-intercourse and war with Great Britain. These favourite objects must not, on any account have been foregone !

D. See Page 15.

The difference between our government and Mr. Jackson, the British Minister seemed to be this : Mr. Jackson supposed, that Mr. Erskine must have shown to our secretary his instructions containing the conditions upon which he was authorized to negotiate with our government for the revocation of the Orders in Council ; and that having seen them they must have known, that he was not impowered by them to make the arrangement which he did make. His words, at which the executive took umbrage were these. "These instructions," (meaning Mr. Canning's to Mr. Erskine, contained in his letter, dated January 23, 1809) "I now understand *by your letter*, as well as the obvious deductions which I took the liberty of making in mine



of the 11th inst. were, at the time *in substance* made known to you." See Mr. Jackson's letter to the Secretary of State, of October 23d, 1809.

All these expressions our government started, and instead of asking for explanations, peremptorily charged him with having made "improper allusions," and with having repeated a language, "implying a knowledge on the part of the American government, that the instructions of his predecessor did not authorise the arrangement formed by him." At-

Mr. Erskine's Instructions were these ; he was authorised to negotiate with the American government for the removal of the Orders in Council, upon these three express conditions :

1st. Provided the American government would remove the interdiction of our ports to British ships of war, and the non-importation and embargo laws, as they related to Great Britain.

2d. Provided the American government would renounce the claim of a right to trade in time of war, with the enemy's colonies, in a manner forbidden in time of peace. And

3d. That British ships of war should be permitted to aid in enforcing the embargo against France and her allies. See Mr. Canning's Letter of Instructions to Mr. Erskine of January 23, 1809, above referred to. In which instructions he was further authorised to communicate the letter, in full, to the American government.

These instructions are supposed to have grown out of certain unofficial verbal propositions made by one of the members of our cabinet, to the British minister, which he agreed to communicate to his government for their instructions.

Now, which is the most probable, that Mr. Erskine did, or that he did not, communicate these instructions to our government ; since he was authorised by the same letter, so to communicate them ? Do not Ministers Plenipotentiary always exchange their powers, to shew to each other, that they are duly authorised, before they enter upon Negotiation ?

Should any one require still further proof to convince him of partiality in our government, let him look at this : When Mr. Jackson the British minister used expressions, which might be construed as disrespectful ; our Executive did not ask for an explanation, but instantly charged him with insult, refused any further communications from him, and dismissed him.

When Gen. Turreau, the French minister, wrote a most insulting letter to our government, the secretary was directed to request him to take it back ; but Turreau refused. Sometime afterwards, the secretary made a journey, if I rightly recollect, to Philadelphia, to intreat Turreau to withdraw his obnoxious letter ; but he still refused, alleging, that he had transmitted a copy of it to his government ; and it having thus become a matter of record, it could not be withdrawn. But nevertheless af-



ter Mr. Jackson's dismissal he withdrew it without apology or explanation. Why this strong sollicitudo, these unprecedented exertions to induce Turreau to withdraw his obnoxious letter? Was it because, that though the executive himself could easily pass it over; yet he supposed, that should it become publick, the people would not brook it?

And it must be fresh in the memory of every one, what pains Mr. Barlow took in creeping after Bonaparte, from France to the northern regions, importuning him for a promise of reparation, for the amount of more than fifty millions of dollars, surreptitiously taken from American citizens; to which servility Barlow sacrificed his life, without obtaining even the promise of reparation.

*E. See Page 21.*

It was stated, that virtue in the people is an indispensable requisite, in a republican form of government. Let us examine this position a little more minutely, in order to ascertain whether it be correct.

By virtue is here intended, a conscientious regard to the established principles of right and wrong: Or it is a principle founded upon the fitness and propriety of things and actions, as it respects our several relations of life, whether to God, as our creator, parent and benefactor; or to mankind, as they severally stand related to us. Hence virtue and morality may be considered as synonymous, or nearly so.

And these principles of right and wrong, of fitness and propriety, take their stamp from, or are rendered conformable to, the ideas generally entertained of the attributes of Deity. Hence those principles of virtue and morality, as well as their several customs, vary in different nations, agreeably to the notions which those nations respectively entertain of the Supreme Being.

These positions being granted, permit me to ask, wherein consist the virtue and morality of those, who profess Atheism? This query is not intended to apply to any nation, because I know of none, however barbarous, who do not entertain some vague ideas of a Supreme Being. Can the morality of the Atheist rest upon any other foundation, than that of custom and a certain notion of honour? For so long as the Atheist lives in a society where the gross violation of the laws of morality is deemed dishonourable; so long will he be a moralist. But should the times change, and depravity so prevail, as entirely to do away the idea of disgrace attached to the breach of those laws, what should we find the Atheist then to be? Surely not a stickler for the observance of those laws, in the violation of which he could discover no criminality.

As we profess to be the political disciples of Washington; and as religion and morality constitute an important part of his

system of policy ; let us attend to his opinion upon this subject. He says " of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports." And, continues he, " The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them." " Let it simply be asked, where is the security for Property, for Reputation, for Life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice ?" " Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience, both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle."

" In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, (says Washington) who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, (religion and morality) these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens." And as the words of Washington have hitherto proved like the voice of inspiration, here permit me further to ask, where then could have been the patriotism of that man, who laboured to rip up the foundation of the Christian system of religion and morality, by writing and publishing that infamous production, falsely called " the age of reason ?" What claim to patriotism could that great personage have, who invited his return to this country, that he might resume his antichristian work here, which by a perversion of the obvious meaning of words he denominated " useful labours ?" The ruinous effects of his whole system of policy must give the answer. What claim to patriotism, can those persons have, who have advocated & endeavoured to disseminate those destructive principles contained in that infamous production ? and finally, what claim to patriotism can those persons have, who are in the habit of disparaging the Holy Scriptures which convey to us the true ideas of a Supreme Being and of making such low, vulgar and disrespectful allusions to the great and sacred name of Deity his attributes and institutions, as tend to stagger our faith in his being, our veneration for his character, and our reliance on his mercy, man's last hope ! Do not all these practices tend " to subvert those great pillars of human happiness, those firmest props" of a popular government, without which, it was Washington's opinion, such a government could not long subsist ?

It is a belief in the being and attributes of Deity, which gives force to moral obligation. For if we believe not in the existence of a supreme Being, and in a future state of retribution, what could there be to induce us to fear or dread any punishment for the violation of his laws ? for after men have become so abandoned, as to deny the reality of his existence, his laws and institutions must of course be disregarded and viewed as nothing more than mere imposture and delusion. Under the full impression of such a state of mind, what barrier could there be op-



posed to the unlimited gratification of every vicious passion and propensity? For the turpitude of a crime would, in this case be entirely done away. There could be no such thing as criminality in the abstract. For criminality and turpitude depend upon a supposed violation of the divine law.

Hence we may conclude, that vice and immorality are the natural fruits of Atheism. And in support of this position, the history of the French revolution affords abundant proof. For that history informs us, that the atheistic rulers of that deluded and licentious nation, of whom Robespierre was at the head, not contented with enjoying in anticipation the conquest of the world and the speedy demolition of every ancient institution; too haughty to acknowledge any superior, either in heaven, or upon earth; and too wicked to hope for a happy hereafter; and swearing eternal hatred to kings and royalty of every description, audaciously attempted to dethrone the king of heaven himself! But Deity not being assailable by guns and bayonets, they endeavoured to dispossess him of his throne, which he of right ought to hold in every person's breast, by that terrible decree, which they formally passed, sacrilegiously declaring and proclaiming that, "there is no God but nature," and that "Death is eternal sleep!" And being thus prepared for the unbounded gratification of every vicious passion and propensity, the bare recital of the crimes and enormities of every description, committed by that depraved people and recorded in the same history, would cause humanity to shudder and put decency to the blush.

The same history goes further to prove the correctness of another position advanced in the foregoing oration, (see page 17.) in which it was stated, that the perversion of the right of election, by putting bad men into important offices to answer wicked purposes, and a corrupt administration of the government, may render a republican form of government as oppressive, and I will now add, as bloody, as the most cruel despotism.

For revolutionary France adopted a Republican form of government. But virtue in the people was converted into licentiousness; reverence for the Deity was changed into Atheism; and crime was thus divested of criminality. And thus were the people prepared for the unrestrained and unlimited gratifications of every vicious passion and propensity. Whenever therefore, a set of men rose up, who thirsted for the reins of government, they had only to raise a strong party, accuse those in power whose places they coveted, (and in this case they could easily prove any thing they wished to do,) condemn them, and hurry them off to the Guillotine, and thus, by the help of the licentious populace, get proclaimed in their stead. Thus revolution succeeded revolution, till the earth became glutted with the blood of the rulers. When at length, the better inform-



ed part of the people finding it dangerous to accept of a high office and becoming weary of such a state of things readily co-operated with Bonaparte, to assist him in performing the best act of his life, by putting an end to a form of government for which the people were so ill qualified, and establishing a despotism. For under an absolute monarchy the depraved people of France might have been tolerably happy, most certainly much more happy than they were under their popular government, had Bonaparte been a good man.

F. See Page 24.

About the time Mr. Jefferson rejected the treaty with Great Britain, made by his own favourite ministers, Munroe and Pinckney, he sent it back without laying it before the senate. This unprecedented procedure excited great sensations amongst both political parties. And his friends questioning him upon the subject, his reply was, that he did not desire any treaty with Great Britain. And the reason given by him was, that it would be of little or no consequence; because, said he, within a year, she will cease to be an Independent Nation! See Mr. Pickering's Speech on the Loan Bill.

And here is a further proof of his arch sophistry and duplicity, with which, as was before observed, his whole administration was strongly marked. For notwithstanding he did not desire a treaty or compromise with Great Britain, but was determined to prevent it: And to prevent it, he evaded the laying of it before the Senate, lest they should be induced to recommend its ratification, especially as his ministers had pronounced it *an advantageous treaty*. Yet, I say, notwithstanding this secret but firm determination, not to compromise, such was his machiavellian policy, that upon all occasions he expressed an anxious desire to obtain an honourable adjustment with Great Britain: And to quiet the people, who were loud in their calls for a settlement, after he had rejected Munroe's and Pinckney's treaty, he ordered them to renew their negotiations, and if possible to effect a settlement of what he termed "the differences which ought no longer to exist between two nations, having so many motives to establish and cherish mutual Friendship." See secretary Madison's letter to Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney, of the 18th of March, 1807. But it is to be remembered, that Mr. Jefferson, to prevent a compromise, took care to insert some condition with which, he was sure, Great Britain would not, or could not, comply. Exactly the same policy hath been pursued by the present administration to this day. They profess a desire to put a stop to the horrors of war. Why then, after the Orders in Council were revoked, which were the ostensible ground of the war, did they not propose an armistice, and open a negotiation? Then was the favourable moment for obtaining an honourable peace, saving thousands of valuable lives, and preventing the accumulation of a debt, which, if it should not sink the

nation, must greatly distress the people for generations yet to come. The government, in my opinion were, if possible, more culpable for refusing that opportunity for making an honourable peace, than they were for imprudently declaring a ruinous war. Several other opportunities for settling the dispute, have occurred, but have been as often rejected. When the Orders in Council were revoked, the Impressment of American seamen was substituted as a cause for continuing the war. And when the British government had renounced all pretensions to a right to impress American born citizens, the protection of Foreigners, even though they should prove to be British deserters, is claimed, and now appears to be the only pretext for prolonging the war.

How are we to account for these things? The answer is easy. Our government had come forward voluntarily, bowed the neck, and taken Napoleon's yoke upon them, by going fully into his system of starvation and war. The Embargo, Non-Intercourse, and Non-Importation laws, were adopted in aid of Napoleon's Berlin decree. They were all hostile measures, and intended conjunctly with the Berlin decree to operate as a Blockade, to reduce Great Britain by starvation. The real object of them was kept carefully concealed under the guise of municipal regulations, only because the people were not yet ripe for open hostilities. And had all nations been weak or wicked enough to have adopted Napoleon's Continental System, as his Berlin Decree required, it is highly probable, Bonaparte's grand objects would have been obtained. These objects were, first, the subjugation of Great Britain, and then the conquest of the whole world! In the first of these, our government might have been fully gratified. But in the second, they must, under the galling chains of slavery, have submitted to lick the dust, with the other enslaved Nations! Nor is this exaggeration, notwithstanding what the advocates of the present ~~government~~ may pretend to the contrary. For when Bonaparte had once brought the Continental powers of Europe under his control; and had added to his gigantic power on the land the navy of Great Britain which commands the ocean; then would he have been in a situation emphatically "to look down all opposition!" For none would then dare to oppose him.

Had ALEXANDER tamely submitted to give up so much of his Independence, as to yield to the dictates of Napoleon, as we had done, Bonaparte would not have marched his legions to Moscow. But thanks be to God, who inspired him with wisdom and fortitude to frustrate the machinations, and to foil the power of the most intriguing and dangerous Tyrant, that ever disturbed the peace of the world, or that occasioned the slaughter of so many of the human race! By his noble example, he inspired and animated the neighbour-Princes and States, and by their

isolation



joint efforts they have not only secured the safety of their own Territories ; but also saved a world from slavery ! Glory be to God in the highest ! that there is now a prospect of peace again upon the Earth, and of the revival of Good Will amongst men !

Some people imagine that the downfall of Bonaparte affords no just cause of rejoicing in this country.—I am of a different opinion. I am ready to acknowledge that we might have more easily obtained an honourable settlement with Great Britain whilst Bonaparte was successful. But that favourable opportunity our government rejected, and I believe ever would have ~~been~~ rejected, so long as he should remain prosperous. And had he continued successful, and obtained the great objects of his ambition, we, as was before shown, must have been swallowed up in the mighty vortex. We could not safely calculate upon any exclusive favours from him ; for tyranny is a monster without natural affection, and knows neither friends nor favourites, when they stand in the way of its ambition. For the truth of this position, Spain furnishes ample proof. And therefore, although his downfall, resulting in a general peace in Europe, may leave Great Britain at liberty to send a much larger proportion of her disposable force to America, whereby the character of the war may be changed, from that of *offensive* to *defensive*, or in other words, from that of conquest to defence ; yet the increased pressure of the war upon us from this cause, is, in my opinion, infinitely overbalanced, by our happy escape from the detestable thralldom, which must have inevitably followed Bonaparte's ultimate success. The Tyrant is fallen, and the chains forged for us are broken ! Let Americans rejoice ! Yea, let every friend to mankind rejoice at this important event.

Bonaparte, when he seized the reins of government, and caused the imperial diadem to be placed on his head, employed his most distinguished orators to harangue the people in the bitterest strains of invective, against republicanism and every form of elective government. The newspapers of that time contain several of those harangues, in which the right of election, particularly, is denounced as productive of the greatest mischiefs, pregnant with the greatest evils, and inadmissible under any form of government. And his practice hath been every where conformable to those principles. For he hath annihilated every republick, over which his rapacious eagles have spread their blighting wings !

Is it possible then, that Americans, who so highly prize their elective franchise, can regret the fall of him, who was the most inexorable foe to republicanism, and who trampled upon the rights and privileges of the people, wherever he found them ? No : surely they cannot regret his fall. But every one, who loves Liberty, and wishes for the uninterrupted enjoyment of our dearest rights and privileges, must be under the strongest



inducements to rejoice, and to be deeply penetrated with heart-felt gratitude to the great Disposer of Events, for checking the Tyrant's career, and for not suffering him to pursue his bleeding victim, Liberty, to this her last retreat! The only cause of regret which we can have, is that the United States have been drawn into so close a connexion with Bonaparte, which, if it hath not made the nations of Europe our enemies, it hath at least caused them to become very cool friends. Could our connexion and co-operation with him have any other effect?

It hath been denied by the advocates of the present administration, that our government have had any connexion with Bonaparte, in any of their measures. Why then did Bonaparte name the United States of America as belonging to his party, when he proposed an armistice, and a congress to meet at Prague, to settle the preliminaries of peace. The Paris Moniteur, a paper under his immediate and absolute control, under date of May 23, 1813, says, "The emperor Napoleon has proposed the meeting of a congress at Prague, to consult on a general Peace. On the side of France there *will be* Plenipotentiaries from the United States of America, Denmark, King Joseph, and the Princes of the Rhenish confederation: On the other side, those of England, Russia, Prussia, the Spanish Insurgents, and other allies of that Belligerent Mass." Now to entitle the United States to be named by Bonaparte as one of the nations on his side, they must be considered as something more than mere friends; they must be in some form or other, his Allies. It is evident Bonaparte viewed us as such; and it would not be strange, if the allied powers from a variety of circumstances should entertain the same opinion. I will mention only one of those circumstances, which none, I presume, will attempt to deny, which is this: The republican papers, which have warmly advocated every war measure of the present administration, have been prompt in emblazoning every victory and advantage gained by Napoleon over the Allies, in every part of Europe. And they have likewise discovered a reluctance and backwardness in publishing his reverses; and when they have done it, deep regret hath been clearly depicted in the performance; and the manner of doing it hath been such, as in some measure to discredit the truth of the narration. Thus when the news arrived of the Allies having entered Paris, and of Bonaparte's capitulation, the account of these events was headed in the Chronicle with "WHAT A WHALE!" But as these papers have gone to Europe in their proper shape, it is presumed they speak a language, which is there clearly understood. And these observations are made to strip them of their guise, in order that they may be as intelligible here, as they are in any part of the world. For here, I believe, they have deceived thousands, and induced them to advocate measures, whose adoption I have no doubt, they now, in their hearts, most sincerely regret.