

# ORATION

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DELIVERED ON THE THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF

**AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE,**

AT THE REQUEST OF THE

**“SOCIETY OF FRIENDS OF THE REVOLUTION,”**

IN THE CAPITOL IN RICHMOND, VIRGINIA;

BY **GEORGE HAY, Esq.**

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# ORATION.

FELLOW CITIZENS!

From the year 1776 to the present time, the people of America have consecrated the 4th day of July, to joy and gratitude: joy, for the assertion of our national independence; and gratitude to those by whose wisdom, patriotism and valor, it was effected. The anniversary of that day on which the representatives of the people of the then British colonies of N. America, declared their constituents to be a free and independent nation, and assumed, for them, among the powers of the earth, that station to which "nature and nature's" God entitled them, has again come round. And it has come, like the day on which our fathers met, finally to decide on the future destiny of their country, while our ports are shut, our coasts invaded, our towns laid waste, and our frontiers exposed to all the horrors of a war, in which cunning, cruelty, and murder in cold blood, have usurped the place of courage. If, then, we are here met together, to pay the annual tribute of our unfeigned respect, to the statesmen, whom time has sunk into the grave, and to the warriors, who fell, for us, in battle, let us make the offering in the way, which they, if they could be now consulted, would most approve. Let us emulate their spirit: let us be governed by their precepts; and, following their high example, UNITE as they did, and encounter difficulty, privation, danger, desolation, and death, in every form, rather than submit, longer submit, to oppression and degradation. Let us attend to the valedictory admonition of him, who has been emphatically called the Savior of his Country: let us shew that his memory is dear to our hearts, and that his precepts are held in our grateful remembrance, by resolving to be, and continuing to be, one people. Let us attend to him, and not to those false prophets, whose coming he foretold: men, who under the sanction of his venerated name, preach a doctrine which he abhorred. "Union," he tells us, "is the main pillar of the edifice of our *real* independence; the support of our tranquility at home, of our peace abroad; of our safety; of our prosperity; of that very liberty which we so highly prize. It is the point of our political fortress against which the batteries of *internal* and *external* enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed. Frown, therefore; "indignantly frown," he continues, "on the first dawning of every attempt, to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now

link together its various parts." To this hallowed spirit, speaking from the tomb, the prophetic and inspired language of truth and patriotism, I conjure you, and all the people of this nation, to attend; to attend with reverence. The enemy, by a discrimination both military and commercial, between the belligerent and non-combatant states, is endeavoring to undermine this great pillar of our independence, while some of our own citizens, from the phrenzy of party spirit, co-operate with him, by attempting to alienate the people of the East, from their brethren of the South and of the West. At this very moment, when the enemy is upon our Atlantic and inland frontier, when all the energies of the government and of the people, ought to be directed to the public safety; when the men of Kentucky and Ohio, undismayed by past calamities, go forth to battle, to support the cause of their country, and to avenge the death of their murdered friends, a sullen neutrality in the East is observed, and questions deliberately settled by the best and wisest men of this country, with Washington at their head, are revived, and strenuously pressed upon the public mind. Questions, which have slept during the five-and-twenty years of peace and prosperity, are now, in the hour of difficulty and danger, clamorously forced upon our notice. Why is this done now? Why is this done at all? These are questions which I will not now stop to answer: but there is one point in which we must all concur. We must all agree, that the effect, as far as any effect can be produced, is not only to encourage the enemy, but "to alienate one portion of our country from the rest, and to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together its various parts."—But this detestable plan can never succeed. "The people of America have too much good sense, to enter into the gloomy and perilous scenes into which the advocates for disunion would lead them. They will not hearken to the unnatural voice which tells them, that, knit together as they are by so many cords of affection, they can no longer live together as members of the same great family; can no longer be the mutual guardians of their mutual happiness; can no longer be fellow citizens of one great and flourishing empire." Admonished by the most distinguished advocate of the existing confederation, "they will shut their ears against this unhallowed language—they will shut their hearts against the poison which it conveys. The kindred blood which flows in their veins, the mingled blood which they have shed," (and are now shedding) "in defence of their sacred rights, consecrate their union, and excite horror at the idea of their becoming aliens, rivals, enemies." Such, fellow-citizens, is the eloquent and pathetic exhortation of the triumvirate who, in the year 1787, endeavored to impress on the hearts of their countrymen, a belief of the vital importance of union among the states. May this union, the offspring of liberty and truth—be like the first, glorious; like the last, eternal.

Let us not only emulate the spirit, but follow the example and pursue the policy of the founders of our republic. The memorable Congress of 1774, invited the Canadians to consult their own glory and welfare, and to unite with them, in the great compact, which they had formed. Your province, said they, is the only link, wanting to complete the bright and strong chain of the union. But, according to an English historian, the spirit of liberty was too faint and feeble in Canada, and the aristocracy and priesthood too powerful, to admit of any considerable effect

from this address. But *this* effect was produced. The Canadians declared the quarrel was one in which they had no concern, and in which they would take no part. As soon as this disposition was known, the invasion of Canada was projected, and the expedition confided to the gallant, but unfortunate Montgomery. Such was the policy, such was the conduct of the men, to whose wisdom and firmness we are indebted for the revolution. They knew that the Canadians were not their enemies, but they also knew that Canada formed a part of the dominions of their oppressor—a part essential to the repose and security of the Union, and they wisely determined to take it, if they could. They did not whine and cant, as some of their degenerated offspring have done, about the innocent Canadians; about the unchristian wickedness of making war upon a harmless people. They were not hypocrites. The exclusion of the enemy from this continent was the great object which they had in view, which we ought to have in view now, and which, during this war or the next, will be inevitably accomplished. This idea is sanctioned by the opinion of Washington himself; and yet those who have formed a society, under his name, insult HIS memory, the memory, of Montgomery, consecrated by a glorious death, and that of all whom this day brings to our proud and grateful recollection, by declamation as insolent as it is puerile, against our invasion of that province.

Let us remember, though we have not followed, the example of those whose wisdom, virtue and valor, we are here assembled to celebrate.—Our fathers did not wait until the oppression, which produced the war, was actually felt. They opposed the unjust pretensions of Great Britain, at the instant at which they were announced. The British government asserted a right to tax the colonies. This usurpation was strenuously opposed. The contemplated tax was trivial in itself—and might have been paid, without diminishing a single comfort which our citizens had been accustomed to enjoy. But the people of America, happily for themselves, for us, and for the world, decided, that they would not submit to the slightest imposition. They opposed a principle, which they knew, would lead to unlimited dominion. The British ministry endeavored to silence this opposition, by a commercial regulation, which while it asserted the principle, made the tax itself entirely nominal. They took from the export duty in England, a sum precisely equivalent to the duty exacted here. But this miserable subterfuge did not succeed. The founders of our revolution disdained to make those pecuniary calculations, which have been of late so common.—They scorned to weigh gold and silver, against principle. They knew not how to estimate money, as the price of national degradation and slavery; and they required that the claim of a right to tax them, should be unequivocally surrendered. But our remonstrances were treated with scorn; our opposition was declared to be rebellion; Washington himself denounced to be a traitor; our trade was annihilated; our cities destroyed; and our country ravaged by the veteran armies of our oppressor, aided by hired murderers from the continent. But the spirit which dictated the declaration of independence, was not subdued; the flame of patriotism was cherished with more than mortal vigilance; “the chain of union was bright and strong;” and the surrender of the British army, in this state, produced a reluctant but final acquiescence

in our claim to national independence. Such was the conduct, such were the sufferings, such was the success of those, whom we are now assembled to honor, and who are most worthy to be honored.

Have we, animated by the spirit of '76, followed this great example? Have we united, and risen up to oppose insolent and unjust pretensions, as soon as they were announced? Have we had wisdom to foresee the mischief which acquiescence in foreign usurpation must always produce, and firmness enough to resist it, from its commencement? No! we have not had this wisdom; we have not displayed this firmness. The hand of oppression was laid upon us; and though we murmured, we did not resist. We have been insulted and injured at home and abroad, and though we complained, we never struck a blow in revenge. The spirit of our fathers slept. We have, indeed, been patient. Patient! let me speak the truth; we have been abject. Under a pretended devotion to peace, we have concealed our love of gain. We have been corrupted by high prices for produce and for freight, the miserable profits of a despised and despicable neutrality; and in our ardent pursuit of wealth, we have stooped, and crept, and crawled, until we had almost lost the power of becoming erect; and we have been oppressed and trampled, until not only every feeling of shame, but all sense of pain, appeared to be extinct. Our commerce had been for years piratically plundered, our ships taken from us by force, or consumed by fire, upon the ocean; our cities insulted, our citizens murdered, our flag dishonored, our seamen made slaves, and our national character become the scorn of nations. All this we have seen, and yet our patience was not exhausted. For seven long years, the very period during which our fathers encountered all the miseries of war, in repelling a claim which was never carried into operation, against them, then willing subjects of the British empire, we, a free people, possessing twice their strength and wealth, have submitted to every species of oppression and insult. But thanks be to God! the citizens of these United States have been at length roused from the stupor and lethargy, into which they had sunk. The spirit of our fathers was not dead. We have asserted our indisputable rights, we have declared war to support them; and they will be supported. The badge of slavery which we have worn so long, will be removed, and the chain by which we have been bound and galled, will be broken into pieces on the head of our oppressors. The feelings, excited by this day, consecrated to departed worth and patriotism, will insure our final triumph. For, I trust, that you have not come here in quest of amusement, or to indulge in idle curiosity. I trust that you have not ventured to approach this holy national communion, unless your hearts are purified by love of your country, zeal for its rights, indignation for the wrongs that have been heaped upon us, and a firm resolution to resist those wrongs forever. Feelings like this belong to this sacred day. Possessing them we may look back without shame, and forward without apprehension. Engaged as we are in a just cause, the blessing of Almighty God will be upon us. If we are firm and united, we shall prove to the belligerents of Europe, that we will not be injured with impunity, and we shall ourselves learn that insolence and rapacity must be opposed at their commencement, as they never fail to increase in proportion to the patience with which they are endured.

This subject of our wrongs and humiliations, deserves our most serious notice. I will present it distinctly to your view. It will afford us a salutary lesson. It will teach us to follow with firmness and perseverance, the steps of those who have gone before us, or to forbear the celebration of virtues which we have not the courage to imitate.

It is obvious, that during a war between France and Great Britain, the United States, if neutral, must derive great benefit from a commerce restrained only by the law of nations concerning contraband and blockade. For a time this benefit was enjoyed, our trade increased, and our tonnage became nearly equal to that of Great Britain. The commercial jealousy of this unfriendly power was excited, and her ministry availing themselves of her naval supremacy, determined to embarrass if not destroy the rival commerce of the United States. Of this plan, history assures us that they will never lose sight; and if we have peace in this year, in the next, we shall be exposed to new wrongs, and outrages, unless we are prepared to do that by force, which reason, justice and humanity never can effect.

The first measure adopted by the British government, was to declare a large portion of the French coast in a state of blockade. This idea was as novel as the measure itself was injurious to the United States. We remonstrated, complained, negotiated—but the grievance continued and the trade of the United States suffered incalculable losses. It is true that this principle has been since abandoned, and paper blockades are admitted to be illegal. But this admission was not made until a new principle had been adopted, which, occupying a broader ground, made this surrender of no consequence to neutrals. How much we suffered by this lawless exaction, it is impossible here to ascertain; but they are recorded in the books of the admiralty of England; a court which, under the pretence of securing to the mariner the reward of his valor in the spoil taken from the foe in arms, distributes among pirates the plunder of which they have robbed a defenceless and friendly neutral.

In consequence of the naval superiority of Great Britain, the French government opened for neutrals, the trade between the colonies and their belligerent parent. That trade which had theretofore been confined to the ships of France, was now carried on by the neutral American. The British government, not satisfied with the destruction of the carrying trade of France, determined that no neutral should enjoy what France had lost. They soon promulgated a doctrine fitted exactly for the occasion. They declared a trade opened to neutrals by a belligerent in consequence of a war, to be illegal, and seizures and condemnation to the amount of millions, followed the declaration. Again we remonstrated—again we negotiated—but our grievances were not redressed.

The American merchant to avoid the mischief of this usurpation, imported the productions of the belligerent colonies, into the United States, as they had done before the war, and then exported the cargo, or sold it to those who exported it to France. For this state of things, a new principle, precisely such as the convenience of Great Britain regarded, made its appearance in the Courts of the English admiralty, and was cordially received as a part of the law of nations. It was decided that an importation into the United States did not interrupt the continuity



of the voyage, and the work of plunder and piracy continued as before. American vessels, loaded with American property, going from an American port, were seized on our own coast, by the power, and condemned by the rapacity of Great Britain! This too, we bore.

To render our situation still more deplorable and humiliating, British ships were stationed off our coast, for the express purpose of intercepting this colonial produce, and our vessels engaged even in domestic trade, were ordered to come to, and state what they were, and whither they were bound. Disobedience was death. But the murder of Pearce, aroused for a time the torpid spirit of the country. A sentiment of shame and indignation pervaded the continent. Remonstrances and complaints were pressed from all quarters upon the government. Those from the trading towns merit peculiar notice. Never were rights more accurately described; never were wrongs more eloquently denounced; never were assurances of support and co-operation, more solemn or more strong. But our patience was not yet exhausted, and new losses and humiliations were soon to spring from another source.

In January, 1807, before the fate of the treaty of December, 1806, was known in Great Britain, her ministry had issued an order interdicting the commerce of neutrals from one port of France to another. Of this usurpation we had hardly time to complain.

In June 1807, a British ship, in the bay of Chesapeake, attacked an American frigate unprepared for battle, killed some of her men, forced her to strike her colors, and impressed several seamen from on board.— Yes, fellow-citizens, the flag of these United States, which never knew disgrace before, and which has seen nothing but glory since, descended, sunk, became prostrate, within the limits of this insulted country, upon a deck wet and stained with the blood of our murdered countrymen. I do not mention this outrage, as cowardly as it was savage, as a cause of war. The British ministry disavowed the act, and we have accepted the reparation, such as it was, which their pride permitted them to make. It is only stated to shew the insolent and hostile spirit of that nation towards us. But thanks be to God, this dishonor has been wiped away; the nation has been avenged; the flag of the United States has waved in triumph over the naval standard of Great Britain: and honored, forever honored be the men, who have bestowed the glory and happiness, on their country.

There was yet more of misery and more of humiliation in store for the people of America. Encouraged by our patience, and still more by our divisions, and stimulated at once by rapacity and by pride, Great Britain in November, 1807, issued her orders in council, interdicting all neutral trade with France and her dependencies. This gave the finishing stroke to almost all our commerce, except with herself. It was the death-blow to neutral rights. It was the open and unqualified assertion, in the face of the world, of that principle which has been so adroitly developed, that Great Britain is authorised to maintain its naval superiority against her enemy, at the expense of not only that enemy, but of neutrals. A principle, more lawless and more oppressive, was never asserted by the Arab of the desert, or the pirate of the Mediterranean. This, however, is the real principle on which Great Britain has acted, and on which, rest assured, she will continue to act, as long as her tyranny shall continue to be unopposed. Her naval suprema-



ey, bottomed on commercial monopoly, is the object of her warmest affection; its display gratifies her strongest passions, her pride and her avarice; and it will be cherished not only at the expense of her enemy, but of all the neutrals of the world.

A single fact will exhibit the orders in their genuine colors, and shew the source from which they sprung. After Great Britain had issued her imperial decree, commanding the nations of the earth to abstain from trading with her enemy, she herself, meanly and sordidly, carried on with that enemy, the very trade in which neutrals were forbidden to engage.

It is true that the orders have been repealed. But why were they repealed? Was it because Great Britain had become at length sensible of the injustice which we had suffered at her hands? No! Did she offer to indemnify us for the millions of which we had been robbed? No! Was it then because France was believed by her to have repealed her Berlin and Milan decrees? No! Such is not the fact. The repeal was produced by the clamors of the British people, who felt the interruption of the American trade to be a national calamity.

The excuse that has been offered for the outrage inflicted by these orders, is as insulting as the outrage itself was excessive. They were bottomed, it was said on the principle of retaliation. The people of America submitted, said the British orators, to the oppression of the French decrees; we will *retaliate* by oppressing *them* with the orders in council. Such is the reasoning of power, stimulated by avarice and by jealousy.

To complete the degradation of this country, the British claim the right of impressing their seamen from American ships on the high seas. This alledged right they have long continued to exercise, and in the pursuit of it have impressed thousands of our native born citizens, and by chains and stripes forced them to serve on board their navy; to fight their battles—to assist *before* the war in plundering their own defenceless countrymen, and since, in combating against a flag in defence of which they would be proud to lay down their lives.

To shake off this yoke, is now the principal object of the present war; an object which must be obtained. The government of America can never lose sight of it. It cannot be so base and abject. To sanction by treaty, a claim which brands this nation with shame and infamy, would be treason against humanity—a cowardly and sacrilegious surrender of that equal station among the powers of the earth, to which the great men, whose merits have brought us this day together, declared that “Nature and Nature’s God entitles us to.”

It is not my intention to enter into the discussion of this subject.—Enough and more than enough has been said to shew the fallacy of the principle on which the claim has been made to rest, and the duty on our part to resist its practical operation, even if that principle were true.—My object now is, merely to state a fact, which will shew, more completely than any yet stated, the degraded condition to which, as a nation, we have been reduced. Great Britain has never once deigned to complain to the government of the United States of any violation of her rights in our employment of those whom she calls her seamen.—Her ministry knew, that British seamen as well as other British subjects, left their native land, in search of freedom, or of bread, and found

them in America. They knew that the former, when in our ports, have been employed in our ships. Yet they *never* condescended to complain. They never stated to our Executive that their seamen were thus employed, that they had a right to their service, that they claimed that service, and that the American government was bound to remedy the evil. They disdained to ask redress. *They took it.* Content to assert their claims, in opposition to our complaints, they stopped our vessels on the ocean, carried from them by force the native as well as the foreigner, whom they thought proper to select, and left the residue exposed to the mercy of the elements.

All this we bore, until June 1812; and yet there are persons in America, men in the councils of the nation and of the states, who say, that we ought still to have been patient, and that the war in which we are engaged, is wicked and unjust. If this be true, let us disperse in sorrow and in silence. Let us speak no more of the statesmen who planned the revolution, or of the heroes who conducted us through it, or fell in its support. The revolution was folly, the war was wickedness, Washington a traitor, our government usurpation, and that independence which we have here met to celebrate, the shame, and not the glory of America. *We* have felt for years the hand of oppression; our fathers would not suffer it to touch them even for a moment. If we are unjust and wicked, what were they?

Thus, before the war, the conduct of Great Britain was in direct opposition to all the laws and principles established among nations for their government in relation to neutrals. Since the war, it has been equally irregular and offensive. She has deluded the drunken Savage of the north-west into an alliance, which she knows must eventuate in his destruction. She has turned him loose upon our frontier, and even brought him to fight by the side of the British soldier, though taught by experience, that he will rush on a defenceless captive, and murder in the fort, the enemy whom in the field he was afraid to face. Great Britain knew that this mischief could not be prevented, and yet she has formed this infamous alliance. I thank God, that the government of the United States disdained to employ the hand of the murderer, in maintaining the sacred rights of this nation.

But this is not all. The British, not content with combating men, armed for battle, have commenced a brutal war on those, whose sex claims and receives, at all times, and under all circumstances, from every man worthy of the name, sympathy and protection. A licentious soldiery have been let loose, in our own waters, upon matrons and maidens, and purity and innocence, have sunk and perished in the infernal struggle. Fellow-citizens, you are all sons, husbands, fathers or brothers—you have mothers whom you venerate—wives whom you love—daughters who look up to you for safety—sisters whom you are bound by honor to protect;—you have the hearts of men—and you must feel this unexpected blow; you have arms, and you must avenge it. The hour of retribution must come; but it must come when you are in the field. The only retaliation to which a magnanimous people, however insulted or injured, *by individual excesses*, will ever resort, will be shewn by patriotism and courage against the enemy in battle. And when this enemy shall abandon his mean and sordid system of desultory, plundering and licentious warfare, when he shall advance upon our soil, where

its defenders can meet him in the face, he will find that the terror with which he has inspired one sex, has only inflamed the courage of the other. "HAMPTON," will be the word, that will pass from rank to rank, and along the line of our patriot army; and the pollution which we have sustained, shall be washed away in the blood of the unmanly miscreants by whom it was committed.

Here let me ask, what is Great Britain to gain by this miserable policy? What is she to gain by this infamous alliance, by shutting our ports, by pillaging our coast, by burning defenceless towns? or by a shameless violation of the laws of decency and humanity? She may expend one hundred millions more, she may add to the weight of that debt, which has already made every 7th man a pauper; she may employ ten years in the work of death and desolation, and pollution: and after all, she will find, that our population has increased, "that plenty waves upon our fields; that opulence glitters in our cities;" that our manufactures are prosperous, that our union is confirmed, and that experience has taught us never again to submit with patience to insult or oppression. Do you not believe that the British ministry must be sensible, that they can gain nothing in this war by conquest? They are sensible of it. They know it. They feel it. Why, then, do they not listen to our complaints, and surrender the CLAIM of impressing, if we surrender, as we have proposed to do, the right of employing British seamen? Why will they not accept terms of accommodation, which we are not bound to offer, and which are offered only from a love of peace? I will tell you. Their hope is, that we shall not be united.—This war is waged against our union. This is the point of our national fortress, against which the "external enemy now directs his battery." His hope is, to disgrace our republican government—to expose it to the scorn of the world, and our own contempt. If he can make one part of this nation, feel exclusively the pressure of his power, and neutralize the other, by keeping at a distance the calamities of invasion, he trusts that we may be weak and wicked enough to quarrel with each other, and to pull down the temple which we have consecrated to union and to independence. Then, divided, miserable and weak, we shall be exposed to the pelting of that pitiless storm, which he will soon cause to burst in thunder on our devoted heads. If this scheme shall fail, his next hope is, that the people, harrassed by the war, may change the administration, and bestow the powers of government on men whom he supposes to be more friendly to his views. In this hope, too, he will find himself mistaken: there is no party in America which would dare to surrender to Great Britain the right to regulate our trade, and to impress even British seamen from our ships.

Yes, my countrymen, rest assured, that the union will be preserved and that our rights will be maintained. The people of America are well aware of the glorious destinies which await their country. They look forward to that time, which some here assembled will live to see, when 50 millions of people, in the full enjoyment of freedom and abundance, will occupy the fruitful plains, and mountains and vallies, which extend from the Atlantic to the head waters of the Missouri—from the gulf of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi: a people bound together no less by interest than affection. Even then we shall be rapidly advancing in wealth and strength. The nations of Europe,

exhausted by the calamities which the ambition of princes never fails to bring upon their subjects, will respect our rights, because they will learn our power. The navy of the United States will be the guardian of our repose, and the future Decatur, Hulls, Joneses, Lawrences, and Bainbridges, of America, will stand centinels over the rights and honor of their country!

The ministry of Great Britain have not shut their eyes upon this splendid prospect. They see a new power rising in this western world, whose commerce and whose navy, if the states remain united, are irrevocably destined to surpass their own. What, then, is the course of policy which Great Britain may be expected to pursue? The question is already answered. She has endeavored to ruin our trade, and to destroy our union. Of these objects, rest assured, she will never lose sight. If by her machinations in peace, or her policy in war, she can divide the people of America, her object is attained. The victims of faction at home, are the predestinated prey of foreign power. If seduced by the spirit of party, we forget the precept of Washington, and cease to be one people; the sun of American glory, just rising in beauty and splendor above the horizon, will sink to rise no more.

Fellow-citizens! This is a great crisis: important, not only to us, but to the world. The war in which we are now engaged, ascertains the strength and value of our republican institutions. The political experiment which we have made, has been hitherto successful. Our government secures our happiness in time of peace, and cannot subvert our liberty. Let us shew that it is competent to our defence in time of war. If it be so, our destiny is fixed, and all the powers of the earth cannot disturb it. If it be not thus competent, if the measures required for common defence and general welfare can be impeded or baffled by the spirit of party, and the clamors of opposition, if in fact, the whole force of the country, cannot be put into operation, for the protection of all, the alternatives are obvious. We must either, adopt by common consent, a government which can afford us protection in time of war; or, such a government will be forced upon us, by the ambitious leader of a victorious faction, or we shall fall a prey to the arts, and power of that nation, which shall first be able to direct all its energies against us. Thus while we are now engaged in the defence of our rights, of our persons, and of the soil on which we tread, we maintain and invigorate, and give character and credit to that system of government, which many have conceived to be fitted only for the season of prosperity and peace.

Fellow-citizens! Have patience yet a moment. You will have patience. It is Washington who speaks. "Citizens, by birth or choice," says this illustrious man, "of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate our affections. The name of American, which belongs to us in our national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, we have the same religion, habits, manners and political principles, with every commanding motive which interest can furnish, for guarding and preserving the union of the whole." Let us, then, my countrymen, hold it to be a sacred duty, to regard all the states as one country, and all the people which inhabit them as our brethren. That narrow and sordid and selfish spi-

rit which shall lead the people of one state, to view with jealousy or envy the prosperity of another, it is folly, it is wickedness to indulge. But still more detestable, is that feeling which induces the inhabitants of one section of this country to exult at the dangers to which others are constantly and inevitably exposed, or at the calamities which invasion may produce. Let not your souls be blackened by such pollution. Tear from your hearts every root and fibre of sentiments like these.— But why do I give this admonition? My countrymen, I know that *you* need it not. But it may not be “wasted in the desert air.” It may fall where it may be felt. I say with confidence that you do not require this admonition. I judge your hearts and minds by my own, and I say for you, that you rejoice in the wealth and industry of the Eastern states; in the rising greatness of Pennsylvania and New-York, and in the increasing power and population of the states on the western waters. The prosperity of the states is the glory, and their strength, is the strength of the nation.

One more remark, and I have done. The enemy, by his late movements, seems to have selected the state of Virginia as the peculiar object of his vengeance. Be it so. The people of this commonwealth are proud to be thus distinguished. They have never, by a senatorial resolve, deprecated his wrath, and so help them God! they never will.— Their fathers met him in the field, and led his army into captivity.— We will emulate their spirit, and endeavor to follow their great example. Our officers may want experience, and our soldiers may be deficient in discipline. But they will learn their lessons in the field of battle, and men who bravely fight in defence of their sacred rights, and of the best and dearest objects of human affection, will soon know how to conquer in the service of their country. My countrymen! my respected countrymen! brave and generous Virginians! when this storm shall pass away, when an honorable peace shall be acquired by your patriotism and valor, when you, or such of you as may survive the conflict, shall meet again in the full enjoyment of peace, and of the rights for which we now contend, what will be your feelings? How pure will be your joy? how proud your triumph? You shall “read your history in a nation’s eyes.” Yes! you shall stand on the right hand of your grateful country, while those who have encouraged the foe, and deserted *her* in the hour of danger, shall call on the mountains to cover them!