ORATION,

PRONOUNCED AT ALFRED,

ON THE

4th of July, 1815,

BEING THE

THIRTY NINTH ANNIVERSARY

OF

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

BY JOHN HOLMES, ESQ.

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ORATION.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

MAN reflects with pleasure on the day of his birth. To contemplate our progress from infancy to manhood, our weakness, wants, and escapes from danger; the solicitude of friends, and the affection of parents, excite our tenderest passions.

The effect is not different, when we reflect on the birth of our country. Governments, like individuals, are born, progress, become stationary, decay, and die. They have their infancy and manhood, strength and debility, innocence and depravity, health and sickness; and they have their old age. They have friends to instruct, and parents to protect them; traitors to deceive, and assassins to destroy them. Their infancy and inexperience expose them to infinite hazards, from weak supporters, ignorant advisers, treacherous friends, and open enemies. The difficulties, therefore, with which a country has, in its infancy, been obliged to contend, the dangers it has escaped, the progress it has made, and the glory it has acquired, are subjects, upon which its friends will dwell with peculiar interest and delight.

Other countries, with little reason, celebrate their origin. A conquest, a change of masters,

the substitution of one dunce for another, are halfed as auspicious events. The birth of a Prince, to rule and oppress a people, to ride on their shoulders, or tread on their necks, is a source of extreme delight. And shall we, who boast of our title to freedom, be silent on that day when the PEOPLE of America decreed, that they would govern themselves? A day which made tyrants tremble, and humanity rejoice! A day, when the sun of liberty rose in his strength, dispelled the clouds of prejudice and superstition which enveloped him, and cheered and reanimated oppressed and desponding man!

On the 4th of July, 1776, the united colonies abjured all allegiance to Great Britain, and declared themselves "free and independent states." On the 3d of September, 1783, Great Britain acknowledged their independence; and, in 1788, the States ratified the federal constitution, which, without impairing their rights, united their strength, increased their power, and confirmed their liberties.

By this last event, the rights for which we had contended seemed permanently secured. A constitution, whose object was "to provide for the common defence, and promote the general welfare of the United States," to be administered by an executive, deriving his election from the people, with a legislature, most wisely constituted, as well the guardians of the states as the people, promised a triumph over the enemies of popular government. Those, who imagined that they saw the American states progressing to a state of anarchy, which would end in despotism, were con-

founded. The alarms and jealousies of the people subsided, errors were corrected, weak and vicious men were removed by the process of popular election, and under those illustrious characters, who, in succession, have administered the government, we enjoyed an unexampled portion of prosperity and peace. During this period, we were surrounded with revolutions and conquests. The enemies of republics had witnessed dangers in all governments but ours. Combinations of "legitimate sovereigns" to depose "usurpers." These "usurpers" actually dethroning those combined "legitimate sovereigns;" and the subversion of kingdoms and empires, following in quick succession, were a pretty good comment upon the "stability of monarchy," and "the fluctuating state of all republics."

But it was said that the experiment had not been fairly tried; that it was in war the strength of a government must be tested, and its defects exposed. The advocates of "ancient and venerable institutions," abroad, and many at home, were solicitous to provoke hostilities, upon which they predicted a destruction of our government. The opinion and belief that our rulers dare not hazard the experiment, that they "could not be kicked into a war," brought upon the nation fresh and aggravated insults and aggressions. What was to be done? To submit to the seizure of our property, the impressment of our citizens, upon the most frivolous pretexts; or venture upon the hazardous and untried experiment of war, was the alternative. We had, with little interruption, been

thirty years at peace. Our feelings and habits were pacific. We trembled at the thought of shedding human blood. The heroes of the revolution were gone, the art of war was forgotten, officers and soldiers were to be created, and we had none who knew how to create them. Britain, the greatest aggressor, was powerful; she was mistress of the ocean, inured to war and plunder; and her friends, among us, were numerous, faithful and active. In this crisis, this conflict between duty and inclination, government decided as they ought. Regardless of their popularity, they determined to resort to arms.

There is a national pride, which is allied to virtue. It is the guardian of national honor. So powerful is this sentiment, that even barbarians have suspended their inveterate party feuds, and united against a common enemy. And, surely, it would have been uncharitable to have suspected, that free, civilized Americans, were so destitute of national feeling, as to sow dissentions in time of war, seek safety from the partiality of an enemy, or press to power at the expense of their country's honor and rights. It was less to be apprehended, from the example of the enemy, which, in other respects, the opposers of the government had felt proud to observe.

But no sooner was war declared, than the administration were assailed with the most outrageous abuse. The war was denounced as wanton, unjust and murderous; and numbers, who voted for it, were personally insulted, and subjected to violence. The opposition assumed a brazen front;

the enemies of the revolution were unmasked, and the strength and designs of the British faction exposed.

In this state of agitation, the government were met with new embarrassments. A principal object of the federal constitution was, the controul of the national strength, for national purposes. To meet an enemy in the field, and perform the duties of active and offensive warfare, it was proper that Congress should have power "to raise and support armies." But as large standing armies were deemed dangerous, in a republic, this power was a subject of much debate, and excited considerable jealousy, at the time the constitution was adopted. To confine its exercise within reasonable limits, it was deemed safest to provide a national militia for national defence. It was important, as well to the defence, as the liberties of the Union. From these men, being citizens, no danger could be apprehended to the republic; and their being officered by the authority of the state in which they were raised, seemed a sufficient pledge, that they would not be disposed to invade that authority. They were to be detached by Congress, who represented as well the states as the people, and to be commanded by the President, the executive representative of both. The constitution was explicit. It gave, expressly, to Congress, the power to call forth, organize, arm and discipline the militia, and to employ them in the service of the United States; "to execute the aws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasion." "To provide for the common defence," and to have no discretion in the application

of that defence, nor of the extent of the danger, was an absurdity, from which the framers and supporters of the constitution concluded they had nothing to apprehend. The unequivocal tenor of the instrument itself, the doctrines advanced in its support, and the practice, after the organization of the government, seemed a sufficient guard against such an outrageous construction. But to the utter astonishment of every friend of the Union, it was decided in Massachusetts, that the United States had no controul over the militia, but at the pleasure of the states; and that these were exclusively the judges of the danger, and when and to what extent the militia should be employed. Had this construction prevailed, we should have been reduced to the singular and mortifying crisis, of eighteen states, in time of war, each deciding for itself when the United States were in danger, and what was necessary for their defence and safety. Happily for our country, it was too monstrous to prevail—One or two of the small states followed the example or dictation of Massachusetts; but the doctrine was generally rejected as a most dangerous perversion of the constitution.

Instead of compelling Massachusetts to obey their requisition, the United States permitted her to practise upon her own extraordinary principle; to incur the responsibility of judging of the danger, and, of course, the expense of providing against it. The result was, what was expected, and what it, probably, always will be, when men assume a power and discretion to which they are not entitled. The State was invaded, and we found no protec-

tion from our friendship for the enemy. A feeble, ineffectual, and disgraceful resistance was made, and the enemy were permitted, quietly, to occupy a large portion of the territory of the State, until the close of the war. And Massachusetts remains a standing proof of the wisdom of the provisions of the constitution, the folly of opposing them, or of requiring the general government to provide for the common defence, and of denying them the means essential to accomplish the end.

Another embarrassment was experienced from the mercantile class of our citizens, in the Eastern States. Of the most respectable of these are many distinguished and patriotic supporters of the government. And though most of the rest were hostile to the administration, it was hoped and expected, that they would have lent their aid in support of those rights, which, at different times, they had been so loud to defend. But it was found that "orders" and "impressment" were not otherwise offensive to them, than as they affected their specwlations, or diminished their profit. These gentlemen had assumed to be the exclusive merchants of the United States, and had imagined that New-England was the only part, which was interested in commerce. It was urged that the war was waged against commerce, and that, could the Eastern States be permitted to manage their own concerns, they might be prosperous and happy. brought up a most delicate and unpleasant discussion. "The father of his country" had predicted that factious men would, in troublesome times, find, a pretext to excite local jealousies, which might

endanger the union of the States; and had warned his countrymen to be upon their guard. The people of New-England are exceedingly jealous of their rights. To make them believe that their government intend to oppress them, is sufficient to rouse them to resistance. In this case, the leaders of faction, who were pressing for power, even at the expense of their country's honor and safety, took advantage of the credulity of this description of merchants, excited their alarms and jealousies, and addressed their interest and their cupidity. A merchant of limited information is but an indisserent politician. His attachments are often strongest, where his speculations are most profitable. Where his treasure is, there we shall most generally find his heart. We have, therefore, less to expect from his patriotism, than from those whose attachments are at home. These men, therefore, were the first and most easy dupes. They were induced to believe that their rights were attacked, and that resistance was essential to the interests of commerce. But upon investigation, it was found that the commerce of New-England was entirely dependent upon the other States. Upon the score of interest, therefore, these merchants doubted, suspected they had been deceived, made their calculations, found that resistance was unprofitable, compromised with their consciences, and engaged in the practice of privateering, which they had before denounced, as inconsistent with honor, morality and religion.

Opposition rose from another quarter. In other countries, a priesthood have had a powerful, and

often a pernicious effect in the civil administration of the State. Having, in some measure, the superintendence of education, the controul of consciences, and the custody of the divine oracles, they had become dangerous to the civil power. It had been found, by experience, that when entrusted with this power, they had seldom used it in favor of the liberties of the people. The truth is, the clergy are like other men, and "subject to like passions." Possessing the means of gratifying their ambition, they do not fail to improve them. Hence the most cruel and vindictive wars have been waged, and the most barbarous tortures and murders inflicted, in the name of that religion, whose "glad tidings" were "peace on earth and good will to men."

In this country, the clergy had been entrusted with no temporal power, and they had felt, or affected to feel, that humiliation, which well became the disciples of "the meek and lowly Jesus." Whether from fear of becoming subject to an episcopal hierarchy, or of losing their livings, by opposing or restraining the indignation of the people, or from honest and patriotic motives, certain it is, that after the battle of Lexington, most of them became zealous advocates of the American cause, and contributed essentially to its support. From their conduct in the revolution, their patriotism was not suspected. Possessing the avenues to the hearts of their hearers, their popularity was extensive, their power and influence increased; many of them grew wanton, and aspired to the controul of the civil power. Foiled in their attempts, and

despairing of governing a nation so extensive, intelligent and free, as the United States, the most distinguished of the order, projected the establishment of a hierarchy over a section, to be severed by foreign and domestic exertion. The moment, therefore, that war was declared, they took their stand in favor of the enemy, magnified his power, complimented his magnanimity and forbearance, eulogized his justice, and pronounced him "the bulwark of our holy religion." The leaders of the order were most inveterate, wanton and abusive. Their coarse vulgarity, their insolent denunciation of the government, their gross calumnies against the legitimate rulers of the American people, and their undisguised recommendation of open resistance, polluted the sanctuary, offended the christian, disgraced religion, and insulted the Deity. They had made peace with the Pope, their former Anti-Christ, and all the pious curses, which they used to invoke upon this "man of sin," were now transferred, with tenfold vengeance and malignity, to the President of the United States! Say not that we attack religion, when we denounce those who pervert it. Say not that we are hostile to the body of the clergy, when we discriminate against those who disgrace the profession. Our remarks are intended to apply to those, and those only, who have prostituted their sacred duties to purposes of opposition to the government.

"We venerate the man whose heart is warm,
Whose hands are pure, whose doctrines and whose life,
Coincident, exhibit lucid proof
That he is honest in the sacred cause.
To such we tender more than mere respect,
Whose actions say that they respect themselves."

But when they use their offices to cover the vilest and blackest designs, when they wound and insult the feelings of one part of their flock to gratify the spleen and rancour of the other, when they attempt to scandalize the only government on earth, which would tolerate their scandal, we must and will doubt, whether they can be the disciples of HIM, whose "kingdom was not of this world." Point me to a word in all HE said, which recommended or licensed opposition to the government, where he was, and I consent you take it for your text, to justify all the virulence and abuse, which have disembogued from the polluted lips of the vilest incendiary that ever disgraced the pulpit. No. Your divine master did not "stir up the people." "He went about doing good." His doctrines and his life were respect and submission to "the powers that be." And by his precepts and example, he proved that "tribute," even to a most odious government, was "lawful," when he himself was so poor and pennyless, that he was obliged to work a miracle to pay his tax. Ye hypocrites! who neither say as he said, nor do as he did, who neglect your duties to abuse your rulers, "ye cannot be his disciples." Ye neither "render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," nor "to God the things that are God's." For your own sakes desist. Think not to feed your flocks with political feuds, when they are starving for "the bread of life;" lest pious christians shall be offended, and turn their backs on those sanctuaries which you shall have desiled with your horrid blasphemies.

But the opposition to the war did not stop here.

A most bold and daring measure was devised and adopted by Massachusetts. At a special session of the Legislature, summoned upon the pretext of defence, but at which, no defensive measure, whatever, was matured, delegates were appointed to meet in convention, with others from the rest of the New England States, for the purpose of taking the resources of the government out of their hands, preventing the exercise of federal authority within these States, and of preparing the way to a final separation. This project was resisted, and its effects and tendency exposed. The people became alarmed, the enemy encouraged, and strong apprehensions were entertained that Massachusetts, at least, would throw her whole weight into the scale of the enemy. But that Being, who has so often interposed in belialf of our country, did not forsake us in this extremity. The session which authorized the convention, was summoned after the capture of Washington, and while the public mind was depressed, and, in some measure, desponding. Had nothing favorable intervened, it is impossible to say to what length, the madness of party would have driven this deluded State. But the loss of the capitol was succeeded by the most brilliant triumphs. This depressed the enemy, and discouraged the opposition. The convention met; resistance was postponed; and several alterations to the constitution were proposed, tending to impair its energy, and abridge the people of their rights, having no bearing on the then state of affairs, and the fate of which, is now viewed with the most profound indifserence. Upon the acceptance of the report of

her delegates, Massachusetts appointed three commissioners as a committee of grievance, to proceed to the seat of government, to ask, what the United States had no right to give. These disconsolate gentlemen, after meeting with much tribulation, ridicule, contempt, and pity, and hearing the mortifying and unwelcome intelligence of victory and peace, arrived at Washington, were afraid or ashamed to make known their errand, returned as secretly as possible, and here the farce ended!

Thus have I enumerated some of the engines, by which the constitution was attacked, while she was buffeting the storm of war. But HE, who watches over the destinies of America, shielded her from the storm, protected her from the tempest, and brought her to her haven in peace, safety, and triumph. In spite of those and other embarrassments, you see this infant republic rise from its cradle, and humble the mistress of the ocean. You see, on the Lakes, two British fleets of superior force, strike to the matchless skill and unconquerable bravery of Americans. You see our young and inexperienced officers and soldiers at Chippewa and Bridgewater, in field fight, meet and repel a superior force of the veterans of the Peninsula, "the conquerors of the conquerors of Europe." You see, at New Orleans, the most powerful British army that ever stepped on American ground, vanquished, with vast destruction of their officers and men, by "the back woods" farmers. Who can doubt, but the God of battles espoused our cause, and not only "covered our heads in the day of danger," but covered our enemies, "with shaine as we mantle," and "confusion as a garment?"

And you, fellow citizens, are partakers of these exploits. If the rulers of your State have endeavored to stifle the flame of your patriotism, and to prevent your sharing in your country's glory, the brave volunteers from Massachusetts and Maine, have gloriously fought and bled for their country. Many officers and soldiers from this State can boast of honorable wounds, received at Chippewa, Bridgewater, Erie, Plattsburgh, and elsewhere, in defence of our country's honor and its rights; and many a gallant tar from your native soil, has helped to the dousing of St. George's cross to the stars and stripes of America.

Yet up starts one of your calculating gentry, and asks, "Pray what have you gained by the war?" I answer, national honor; "without which," as was once observed by a leader of the opposition, "national independence is not worth preserving." Full well I know that this national honor, is a commodity which many calculating Yankees cannot comprehend. If it is not an object of speculation, they do not understand it. "What," they will ask, "is its value in the market? How can it be exchanged for stocks? Will the brokers take it? What quantity of it will purchase a cargo of rum and molasses, or sugar and brandy? Will it pay taxes? If it will answer none of these purposes, it is of no use to us."

Leaving these gentlemen to their speculations, permit me, on this day, to congratulate you, on the high ground your country occupies on the return of peace. In Europe, to be known as an American, is to command respect. We mean an American in the legitimate sense. For we are

told that the British themselves treat those with contempt who bear the name of Americans, without possessing the spirit.

Notwithstanding the increased power of the enemy, during the war, and a correspondent increase of opposition from our own citizens, the peace is honorable and satisfactory. Those who confide in British honor, and magnanimity, for the protection of their commerce, and the liberation of their seamen, and those who have seriously contended, that "Britain has done us no essential injury," will not, surely, regret, that we have no treaty stipulations on the points in dispute; and those who have not the fullest confidence in British justice, or liberality, will be satisfied that the disgrace of her navy, and the defeat and destruction of her armies, are better pledges for "free trade and sailors' rights," than the most fair and definite promises, on parchment.

But the reputation of Britain stands on different ground. She has employed the merciless savage, whose known mode of warfare is indiscriminate murder. She has marked her progress by a wanton destruction of monuments of elegance and taste, a disgraceful plunder and waste of private property, and a barbarous cruelty, and savage brutality, upon persons entitled to protection, humanity, and tenderness.

When powerful and successful, she was insolent in her demands; and when beaten, she yielded to the propositions which she had before rejected. Had we cavilled, vacillated, and conducted in this manner, well might the world have charged us with waging war for purposesof conquest, ambition and cruelty.

As the distresses of the war were unreasonably magnified, our expectations will be, probably, disappointed by the peace. We do not find that sudden transition from extreme misery to extreme happiness, which we expected, because much of that misery was imaginary. If, however, we will improve, from the lessons taught by the war, we shall probably experience some compensation, even for its imaginary evils.

We have learned the danger of depending too much on foreign luxuries. These alienate our affections, and impair our independence. We have encouraged, increased, and improved our manufactures. These promote agriculture, national wealth, and national attachments. We have found, that, however important commerce may be to some, its importance is most felt and magnified by those who are reaping its profits. And if, by the peace in Europe, our exclusive merchants do not find the channels of trade through which they have, hitherto, enriched themselves, let them not repine; lest the world should suspect the sincerity of their love of peace, and be induced to believe, that, had the war with Great Britain been productive of immediate mercantile profit, they would have felt less compassion for their "afflicted country." And, if other nations have become their competitors in their business of transportation, it will teach New England that a separation from the other States, would be but a change of their commercial dependence, from their own to a foreign nation, who

have no employment for their shipping, no use for their manufactures, who care little for their friend-

ship, and less for their prosperity.

The war has taught us the importance of agriculture. When the creator of the world was progressing in his work, he seemed to regret the want of a being, bearing his image and his likeness. Not, however, that there were no merchants to traffic in licit or illicit commerce; not that there were no lawyers to discuss disputed rights; not that there were no warriors to defend or enslave their fellow men; nor that there were no priests to preach religion or politics; but that "there was not a man to till the ground." Hence man was taken from the earth, which he was destined to cultivate, and to which he must ultimately return. The earth is a kind and indulgent parent. She administers to our wants, encourages our hopes, and rewards our fidelity. And, though she sometimes corrects our presumption, chastises our indolence, and frowns upon our extravagance, she does it for our reformation and improvement. Agriculture is the favorite employment of Heaven. And, in this country, it is the greatest security to national attachments, prosperity, independence and happiness.

We have, moreover, proved the mutual dependence of the States, the strength of the Union, and that the constitution is adequate to the purposes of war. When the rains of faction descended, the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon it, it fell not; for it was founded on the rock of eternal justice. While the tempests of anarchy, and the thunders of despotism, shall assail it, may it stand unmoved, firm as the world, and perpetual as time.

We are further taught the necessity of keeping our armour on. Much as we deprecate the shedding of human blood, the present aspect of the world gives us little hope of universal peace. Prudence dictates that we should be prepared for the worst. We have been taught by experience, that little reliance is to be placed on the firmest national friendship. And, surely, much less is to be expected from the friendship of England. She envies us our happiness and our glory. She views us as the rival of her commerce and maritime power. She is still smarting with the wounds, inflicted on her, on the ocean, the lakes, and the land.

The events, since the peace, are slender evidence of her friendship. The cold blooded massacre at Dartmoor prison, is, perhaps, without a parallel in the history, even of British barbarities. Some thousands of American citizens, who had been impressed before the war, were, at its commencement, held as prisoners. These, with others, were secured in Dartmoor prison, in England, and the walls were guarded by a band of soldiers.

On the sixth of April last, without any cause, and upon the most frivolous pretext, the barbarian who commanded the guard, ordered them to fire on these unarmed and unoffending American citizens, and to charge them with the bayonet. The savage order was executed, and seven were killed, and about sixty wounded, while begging for mercy! What explanation or satisfaction will be given by that government for this murder, is very doubtful. Probably it will end like other aggressions; be first justified here, then there, and many will conclude it

is best not to dispute about it, unless we can "make money" by it.

Europe is in a state of convulsion. We have, hitherto, taken no part in their quarrels. The ambition of the emperor of France has no advocates in America; nor do we feel much interest in the cause of "legitimate sovereigns." When Bonaparte was deposed, we neither fasted nor gave thanks.--The restoration of "the ancient and venerable institutions" of Europe, whether civil or religious, was no cause of joy to us. Not that we apprehended that the threats of England and her American adherents would be executed, and the "illegitimate" President of the United States would be expelled to Elba; but, because we doubted the great good which would result from the event. And we still doubt. We do not much understand "the rights of kings," nor fully relish the interference of foreigners, to settle the internal concerns of a nation.

But a strange event has put the question of "the rights of kings" on different ground. After the deposition of Bonaparte, the "magnanimous allies" began to partition all which they had, and some which they had not, acquired by the conquest.—Now, while these royal and imperial robbers are disputing about the division of the plunder, the exile returns, comes upon their backs, and sends them away to take care of "the divine rights of kings." The events which shall grow out of this state of things may, and probably will, be of little importance to us. Yet, as we know of no "legitimate sovereigns," except those which derive their authority from the people, may that people, who would

choose their own rulers, prosper in the attempt; and may all combination, to prevent them, be brought to confusion.

On this day, fellow citizens, let us not forget the American soldier, returned victorious from the field; nor the son of Neptune, who has buffeted the ocean, to meet and conquer his country's foes. If you see him in adversity, remember his services, respect and relieve him. Make him "to eat of your bread, and drink of your cup," and while he recounts his exploits, and shows his scars, afford him consolation, and God will bless you.

And while we review the dangers and glories of our country, let us not be unmindful of those brave men, who have fallen in its defence. Far from home, in a foreign land, unheeded and unknown, do many sleep. No parent to perform the last rites, or bid a last adieu. No tender and delicate female friend, with consecrated affection, to retire to the lonely spot, to bestow tears, roses, or requiems, at their tombs. Some shrouded in their hammocks, are consigned to watery graves. By the thundering cataract of Niagara, the bones of many bleaching lie, whose flesh has been food for the wolves and vultures of the wilderness. While others, under a little turf of moss, sleep to the murmurs of the western wave. Few receive the honors of a hasty funeral. The steel-clad warrior, in solemn procession, with arms reversed, and muffled drum, and minute gun, pays the last tribute to the memory of a brother in arms! And shall their country refuse to raise a monument to their glory? Shall these be forgotten, amidst the joys of victory, and the songs of peace? Let us, on this day, fellow citizens, suspend our mirth, to embalm their memory with our tears. It is our duty. They fell in defence of their injured country's rights. They doriously expired in the arms of victory. They fell! but it was to rise, on wings of immortal fame, to realms of eternal bliss!*

By a retrospect on recent events, we learn our duty, and let us perform it. Let us abjure foreign attachments, love our country, and respect the rulers of our choice. Let us discountenance local jealousies and prejudices, sedition and rebellion, and encourage a national spirit; fidelity to the law, and devotion to the constitution. Let us practise friendship, charity and forbearance, considering ourselves as brethren of the American family.—
Then, may we hope that HE, who has so often made bare his arm, for the salvation of our fathers, will still hold our "stars" in his right hand, and walk in the midst of our "golden candlesticks."

^{*} The Editor is informed, that at the close of this paragraph, the music touched a soft, melancholy, and sympathetic air, which was exceedingly impressive.