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AN

ORATION,

DELIVERED IN CASTLETON

AT THE

CELEBRATION

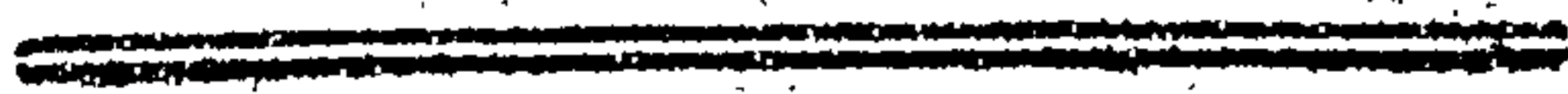
OF THE

Fourth of July,

A. D. 1812.

BY CHAUNCEY LANGDON, A. M.

"We trust too much to the interests of men as guarantees of their engagements. The interests frequently tear to pieces their engagements, and the passions trample on both."
BUNKE



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THE undersigned Committee present their thanks to the Hon. CHAUN-
CY LANGDON, Esq. for his excellent Anniversary Oration:—and in con-
formity to the general wish of the audience, request a copy for the press.
Castleton, July 6, 1812.

SELAH GRIDLEY,
JOSIAH G. HARRIS,
EBENR. LANGDON, jr.
SAML. L. MINOR.
JAMES ADAMS.

To the Committee of Arrangement.

GENTLEMEN,

Your request of a copy of my oration, in conformity to the wishes of
the audience, is flattering evidence of their approbation of the principles
and sentiments written in haste, at an important crisis of public affairs.
My compliance will expose me to the uncandid observations and censures
of calumniators and political partisans. From past experience, I may
expect, that paragraphs and sentences will be divided and sub-divided,
and even words transposed to discolour sentiments and make out false posi-
tions and facts. To correct misrepresentation, and to gratify the solici-
tations of my friends, I have concluded to submit a copy to your disposal.

If the publication will afford any satisfaction, or information to the lov-
ers and true supporters of rational liberty, and independence, it will be a
rich reward to the publick's

Humble Servant,
CHAUNCY LANGDON.

ORATION.

THE government of our choice remains ;—let the acclamations of freemen ascend the throne of HIM who rules the armies of heaven, and directs the destinies of men. The day, on which we broke the yoke of royalty and cut the cords of bondage, has once more made its annual return :—let us all unite in the glorious cause, surround the altars of our liberty, guard the ark of our peace and safety, “and rejoice with fear and trembling.”

The united energy of freemen, protected by the God of armies, thirty six years ago, shook the tyrannic throne of our mother country to its centre ; and the hand of liberty plucked the brightest gem from her imperial crown.

The mother had forgotten her sucking child :—And as Pharaoh's daughter beheld the infant Moses in his ark of bull-rushes, born of God to deliver his chosen people from the house of bondage ; so the Genius of Liberty, saw our helpless condition, took and nursed us as her favorite child. The weak became strong ;—the youthful arm an host ;—and necessity soon taught us, in her school of experience, the wisdom and prudence of ages. Advice was law ; request, command : and all moving in their proper spheres of action, acted well their parts, and emulated each other to serve and save their country.

The suppliant voice of virtuous freemen reached the throne of heaven :—and “He who rules the nations of the earth with a rod, saw the travail of our souls and was satisfied.”—He spake—and a nation was born in a day !

The sun of liberty burst the clouds of despotism, and spread his genial rays over our oppressed country. May it never be eclipsed by the chilling hand of power, nor covered by the *mask* of patriotism, nor enshrouded in darkness by the influence and tyranny of party !

Shall the sons of freedom forget the day of their birth, when the slaves of kings and emperors celebrate that of their masters ; and pay annual homage at the feet of royalty ? No : for while the slaves of despots and kings hasten

over the desolated plains and withered heaths of an enslaved country, to commemorate, in all the pomp and splendor of royalty, the births of their lords ; with sacred delight we will crop the fir crowned hills, fruitful fields, and verdant vallies of our common country, and, like a band of brothers, once more assemble around the festive board, enriched by industry, adorned with virtue, enlivened with freedom, and rejoice together for the remains of independence ; and that the **LORD GOD OMNIPOTENT** reigneth !

May that same spirit, which united our hearts, *as the heart of one man*, to brave the greatest dangers, stimulate us to guard our rights and privileges, with a watchful eye, against all attacks from without or within ; preserve them from the more dangerous and insidious arts of masked patriots ; and protect them against the fatal effects of foreign emissaries and influence, and popular insinuations addressed to the passions and prejudices of mankind to prevent correct information, to destroy the effect of reason on the mind, and pervert the judgment.

Let reason, candor, and unsullied virtue qualify and direct all your thoughts and actions :—and then, though monarchy and imperial dignity appear arrayed in power, attended by the pageantry of courts, and decked in all the gilded trappings of royalty ; yet the splendor will not catch one scornful glance, nor steal one thought from the day of our national Freedom and Independence ! And there, though falsehood and detraction fly through the land in the garb of truth ; and the artful demagogue daily call at your door with all the patriotic professions of a disinterested lover of the people and the fascinating charms of liberty and equality, and there draw from his malignant and corrupting store-house, all the flattering promises, and opprobrious epithets of the modern political vocabulary ; yet you will bear to hear a man of any political denomination be called *just, prudent, and wise*.

All admire and love the sweets of freedom, and the happiness which naturally results from independence ; but few, very few, really enjoy them. The free and independent man must be above subjection, and a stranger to flattery, falsehood and servility. He must think and act for himself, squaring all his thoughts, words and actions by principles

of virtue and integrity, according to the fundamental rule of our holy religion:—*As ye would men should do unto you, do even the same unto them.* He must esteem and treat his fellow men and his superiors in merit and office with becoming deference; nor debase himself by cringing hypocrisy; nor obtain favors or advantages by dishonorable means. He must not act as if the eyes of the public were only upon him, and with a view to please all; but must feel and act as an accountable being to a well informed conscience and to his God. The virtuous dictates of a man's own breast are as a god within his mind. They are a permanent and correct rule of his moral and civil conduct.

That popularity, which is often sought after by flattering words and public actions, affords no inward satisfaction, nor lasting happiness. But that, which is bestowed upon a man for his good and virtuous actions, and will bear the test of time, is worth enjoying. That fame, which is often acquired without merit, and as easily lost, is as the noxious vapour of stagnant waters heated by the scorching sun.—The man, who gives up his mind to pursue after every popular impulse, becomes a slave without wages:—but he, “whose vanity leads him to mistake the shouts of a mob for the trumpet of fame,” is sincerely to be pitied; and will ever find such applause as the *crackling of thorns under a pot*. Experience has told us, and history has confirmed the fact, that the shouts of the multitude on one day, will be turned to execrations the next. Many have eagerly pursued after popular applause, and acquired, for a time, the name of *spotless patriots*; yet, as soon as truth has stripped away the veil from delusion, they appear in their natural deformity, the *assassins of liberty*.

A man, governed by correct principles, and pure motives, will ever feel and act himself. Adorned with integrity and a good conscience, he will command the friendship and esteem of good men, and the inward, though reluctant, respect of the bad. Free from a servile dependence on others, he can calmly look around on the miseries and changes of life and the world, with a serenity of mind, which alone can make a man happy; and is “as an anchor of the soul, both sure and steadfast.” Such a man is truly free! Such a man is truly independent! Such men in office will diffuse the blessings of freedom and independence

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to all around them, except to willing slaves. Such men will constitute a great, free, and invincible nation !

How different is the man, who is devoted to any man or party of men ? His passions, prejudices, thoughts and actions make him a slave to the will, caprice and vices of others. At first view, it may appear conciliatory and pleasant to the taste, but in the end, it will be as wormwood and gall. " It will bite like a serpent and sting like an adder."

" Can we call that man free, who has nothing that is his own ? whose heart and hands are the sport of fortune and of others ? who must bear with this man's caprice and that man's scorn ? must profess friendship where he hates, and respect where he contemns ?" Whose love and hatred—whose words and actions go and come at the nod of his favorite ? Is that man independent, who must flatter and lie to obtain his ends ? or who dares not appear in his own native colors, nor speak his own sentiments in a decent manner ? Or who dares not be honest, lest he should lose the favors of a man, or be rejected or persecuted by a party of men ?—Such men are slaves indeed !—To *them*, national freedom and independence, are " as sounding brass and tinkling symbols."

Believe me, my friends, that no chains bind so hard, and no fetters are so strong, as those which link together men to promote the interests, views and ambition of a dominant party in an elective government ! This is the essence of aristocracy, and the vilest tool of tyranny !

" O momentary grace of mortal men,
 " Which we more hunt for than the grace of God !
 " Who builds his hope in air of your fair looks,
 " Lives like a drunken sailor on a mast,
 " Ready with every nod to tumble down
 " Into the fatal bowels of the deep."

To explore and analyze inanimate nature and irrational creatures, is the pleasing task of chemists, naturalists and philosophers. Their natures and essences are nearly the same in all ages and countries ; and are almost as invariable as their Divine Author. But human nature is one of the greatest objects which ought to engage our thoughts and reflections. Says POPE,

" The proper study of mankind is man."

This well of knowledge is vast and deep ! The sources various and inexhaustible ! We behold man born into the world more dependent than "the wild ass's colt !" He has not even the aid of instinct in so great perfection as the beasts which perish. Yet we soon see many of the human race enter the stage of action, like the blaze of a meteor, and pass away. Many cringe, bow, strut, and puff about ; boast, flatter, and bluster along ; but soon step into the pit, and are seen no more ; whilst the meritorious pass unheeded by. Some, filled as with inflammable air, vapour around, and end in smoke. Others, impelled by rage, malice, and revenge, rush on like mad men, and set the world on fire. Few, very few, enter the stage of action, at the call of others, act well their part, uniformly pass the various scenes of life, and unblemished step behind the curtain of time. Fewer still, walk majestic in their own sphere of action, and, unpolluted with the stain of vice, ascend the throne of virtue, with never fading laurels, and finally obtain a crown of glory.

To explore the recesses of the human heart, develop the motions and passions ; and to unfold to public view the thoughts and actions of one individual would be an Herculean task. Could I place before you all the fancies of the head, the feelings of the heart, the sparkling of the eyes, the expressions of the countenance, and the language of the tongue, you would find a boundless field to rove in, and an inexhaustible source of meditation !

But if we view mankind confederated in civil society, the contemplative mind must be filled with astonishment !—What a variegated picture !—what busy scenes should we behold !—How many use arts to deceive, and political manoeuvres to circumvent, degrade, defame, depress, and finally to subjugate and enslave others to exalt themselves !—and generally call it, **THE LOVE OF THE PEOPLE !!** We shall see them project plans one way, and execute or accomplish them another :—and often by the means of error, prejudice and delusion !—We shall see them compassing the ocean and the earth through seas of blood and carnage, enduring all the evils and horrors of civil and foreign wars, to gratify hatred, malice, or revenge : or to obtain the bubble, called honor, or a cordial peace, which is equally interesting and desirable to both parties ! We shall see the most insidious

arts and purest benevolence blended together—and the vilest stratagems concealed under the veil of patriotism and the public good : and the interests, rights, liberties and happiness of nations sacrificed to the sordid passions, vanity and lawless ambition of individuals !—To trace the springs of human action to their sources would, indeed, furnish us with “ a store house of experience, and a mirror of duties ;” but it is beyond my limits and the reach of my abilities.

The origin, rise and fall of nations, states and empires ; the efforts and fruits of genius ; the influence and effects of virtue and vice ; the wonderful workings of the passions and prejudices of mankind ; the infinite variety of opinions, habits, manners, customs and laws will furnish us with an inexhaustible fund of useful and necessary knowledge, and bring us home to ourselves. A just knowledge of these would be “ the light of truth, and the directress of life :” —and I may add, the knowledge of these would be the Palladium of liberty, which can be preserved only by knowledge, truth and the practice of virtue.

“ ’Tis liberty alone that gives the flowers
 “ Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume :
 “ And we are weed without it.”

When we open the pages of history and revolve in our minds the records of time, we find, that

“ All has its date below ; the fatal hour
 “ Is registered in heaven ere time began.
 “ We turn to dust ;—and all our mightiest works
 “ Die too :—the deep foundations that we lay,
 “ Time ploughs them up, and not a trace remains.
 “ We build with what we call eternal rock :
 “ A distant age asks where the fabric stood ?
 “ And in the dust, sifted and scratch’d in vain,
 “ The undiscoverable secret sleeps !”

Mankind have one common nature. They have the same faculties, wants, weaknesses, inclinations and desires. They have need of mutual aids and protection. Their weakness and wants naturally incline them to each other, and form an imperfect state of union and society. Natural society is a state of liberty founded on the equal rights of

Every individual, who is dependant on God alone, as his Creator, Preserver and bountiful Benefactor.

Mutual acts of benevolence naturally produce a state of union and peace. Mutual injuries, malice, hatred and revenge, a state of war.

The most natural and ancient of all societies or states is that of families. This is really the foundation of all national and legitimate governments ; which are no more than assemblages of families confederated together by compact. Many are of opinion that the first species of government was patriarchal ; and originated from the natural weakness and uncommon duration of our infancy : That fear and our common wants induced a number of families to unite together under one general head for mutual protection and assistance, in their reciprocal wants ; which produced the various forms of national governments. Others contend that monarchy is of divine right, and the only legitimate government. One principle is evident, that in the formation of all governments, we are obliged to give up, in a qualified manner, some of our natural rights to obtain greater security and protection.

Sacred history informs us of no form of government of divine origin, except that of the Jews. This was a Republican Theocracy ; and was formed and delivered by God himself upon Mount Sinai. The promulgation of this government and its laws were made to the children of Israel, with thunder and lightnings, and the sound of the trumpet of the great Law-giver of heaven and earth ! The mountain became fire and smoke ; and " trembled at the presence of the God of Jacob !"

Moral and political laws were blended together, and formed an union of Church and State ; but each was administered by different persons. The decalogue, or ten commandments, was their constitution ; and may be summed up in these two great moral and political precepts—*Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart : and thy neighbor as thyself.*

The tribe of Levi was set apart to serve the people at the altar, and was to live by the altar.

"Able and discreet men, such as feared God ; men of truth, hating covetousness," were chosen from among their respective tribes, to administer distributive justice, and execute the laws. Upon their appointment, they were charg-

ed, as from the mouth of God himself, "to hear the causes between their brethren, and judge righteously between every man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him."

"Ye shall not respect persons in judgment, but ye shall hear the small as well as the great.

"Ye shall not be afraid of the face of man, for judgment is God's."*

This government was organized by the hand of divine wisdom; its officers instructed from the oracles of ETERNAL TRUTH, and the people protected and fed by the God of heaven: Yet they rebelled against the laws of heaven; and murmured against Moses, the meekest man on earth, and against Aaron; who were their deliverers and friends, and the faithful servants of the LIVING GOD. Restless demagogues easily stirred them up to disown their rulers and friends, and to abuse their benefactors; to disrespect their government and oppose the equal and just execution of the laws. They thought Moses and Aaron were promoted above them; all wanted to be rulers; and having just been delivered from bondage, by these very men, they were much better pleased with commanding than being commanded; and moved with envy and an insatiable thirst for office, assembled together and accused them of usurping power and authority, saying, "Ye take too much upon yourselves, seeing all the congregation are holy every one of them: wherefore then lift ye up yourselves above the congregation of the Lord?"

Moses and Aaron were brothers; and were at the head of the civil and ecclesiastical departments of the government. Through the fallacious medium of ignorance, envy and vice, many saw a dangerous union of Church and State, until they rejected Moses, and disowned their God, and their fathers' God: and even while he protected and led them in a miraculous manner through the wilderness by a pillar of a cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night; and daily fed them from his bountiful HAND. They made a *calves* for their leader, and bowed the knee before an image of the weakest of brutes, as their God!

* Have we had, for years past, men of the above description for judges and rulers? And have they performed their several duties according to the charges given by God, to the judges and rulers of his chosen people? Has not FOLLY been placed in the seat of judgment? Have not persons been respected in judgment, and have not some been afraid of the face man, or rather a party of men?

This race of ingrates, while all the blessings of heaven were showered down upon them, waxed worse and worse, until God said to Moses, when interceding for them, "Let me alone, that I may consume them as in a moment."—And God caused their carcasses to perish in the wilderness, and never suffered one of them, who came out of Egypt, to enter the land of promise. HE thereby taught them lessons of wisdom by *their* sufferings, which they would not learn from His goodness.

This nation continued under that form of government until the death of Samuel; when they chose a king to rule over them; against the will of God, and incurred His denunciations for their folly.

In their elections, they often preferred the libidinous and vicious sons of their hand-maids, to the virtuous and legitimate children of their deliverers and benefactors, and were as often chastised by the objects of their choice, for the abuse of their liberty and their ingratitude. The history of that nation demonstrates the fact, that national calamities are inseparably connected with national sins, and the abuse of freedom: *That when the wicked rule, the people mourn: and that righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.*

To punish them for their national sins and ingratitude, God often took away from their councils, "the mighty man and the man of war, the judge and the prophet, and the prudent and the ancient; and gave children to be their princes, and babes to rule over them:" To the end that the people might oppress and punish each other, and "that the child might behave proudly against the aged, and the base against the honorable." Divine revelation thus clearly shows that monarchy, or the abuses of any government, never met with Divine approbation.

All nations agree that some form of government is absolutely necessary for their peace, happiness and safety; and that a supreme power constitutes the essence of government. The vesting of the supreme power designates the form; which is either simple or compound.

The simple forms of government are Democracy, Aristocracy and Monarchy.—All other forms of government are compounded of these.

In a Democracy, the supreme power is vested in the whole body of the people. They are considered as an ideal, or mor-

al person, having but one will; must have stated times and places for the whole body of the people to meet together to deliberate and express that will, which is the law of the land; and their judgment, thus met, is the sentence of the law. The will of a majority must be considered as the will of the whole.

In an Aristocracy, it is vested in some of the principal men in the nation; and is either hereditary, or elective. In an elective government any party, or set of men, claiming or exercising an exclusive right of office is an aristocracy.

In a Monarchy the supreme power is vested in one man; which is either elective or hereditary: And wherever the sovereign is, there is the government.

Each form has its defects and excellencies. The defects are generally in the rulers; and sometimes in the government itself. A bad government, well administered, is better than a good government badly administered.

In a monarchy the defects of the person or rulers, are when the king, or sovereign has not the necessary qualities to govern; to wit, genius, wisdom, integrity, virtue and love of the people.

In an aristocracy, when by hereditary right, or by intrigue, faction, or any corrupt means, weak or wicked men become, or are elected, members of the national councils, to the exclusion of men of merit and information.

In democracies, the defects are in the people themselves. A majority of them often become corrupt, turbulent and licentious. Blinded by hatred and prejudice; or by inordinate love and attachment.—Deceived by flattery and falsehood they become incapacitated to deliberate with coolness, to reason with candor, to judge correctly, or to profit by the advice of their real friends. Whenever this is the case, they are too often impelled, by envy, prejudice, hatred and revenge, to act with impetuosity, and, like a mighty torrent, sweep away the wise, prudent and just; oppress merit, and drive public virtue into exile. Divisions and anarchy ensue; and the body politic becomes distracted: then a military despotism often springs up out of confusion; and, with its mighty arm, lays prostrate in the dust all that is dear to man, and sweeps away from the people every vestige of liberty;—and they become *the empty skin of an immolated victim!*

These defects in the persons of the rulers are often caused by the defects in the government; in not having proper checks and balances of power, to prevent its abuse, to invigorate and regulate its operations and movements in the body politic.

To remedy these evils and defects, to obtain and preserve greater security in the enjoyment of the civil rights of man, compound or mixed forms of government have been instituted. These are compounded of the three simple forms, or either two of them:—each forming and operating as a check or balance of the power of the other. These forms are generally limited monarchies, as Great Britain, and are generally compounded of the three simple forms, and may be hereditary or elective:—or republics, which are compounded of the aristocratic and democratic forms. The people, in republics, generally act by their mediate or immediate representatives; and not by themselves, as in democracies.

All governments are professedly instituted, and ought to be practically administered, to promote the peace and happiness of the people, and to preserve national liberty.

Liberty, or free governments, have two mortal enemies, divisions and licentiousness. Out of these, disorders, confusion, political intolerance and an implacable spirit of party, in the people, often arise, and the consequent oppression in the rulers; especially, if elected by an organized party. In all free and elective governments, these evils very often, if not always, generate each other; and, if not speedily remedied, will inevitably end in the worst of tyranny.

It has been the laudable study of political writers to find that happy temperature in a mixed form of government, so as to check, controul and remedy these evils. They have endeavoured so to frame and compound them, with proper checks and balances of power, as to preserve union and energy to act, to guard against division and licentiousness; and yet secure the people against the abuse of power, and in the uninterrupted enjoyment of all the rights and blessings of freedom and independence.

This great desideratum, I fear, has never been found, so as to perpetuate any form of government without frequent changes and revolutions, which are generally injurious to the community. England and the Swiss Cantons have remained the longest, in modern times; and one of them is

now no more. The liberties and national existence of the brave and virtuous Swiss have been perfidiously seized by the *hellish grasp* of the scourge of nations. How long our happy form of government will remain, God only knows. Notwithstanding, it was formed by the united wisdom of the nation, which had been purified from her dross, in the furnace of adversity, and taught in the school of virtue and patriotism; and was organized by the cementing hand of him, in whom the perfection of mortals dwell; yet we have great reason to fear that the seeds of discord and division have been already sown, and are too fast springing up in this free and once happy government;—that we have too many exotic plants of a strange vine in this vineyard of our freedom. Their luxuriant growth forebodes no good, but evil. My fears increase with their numbers, and strengthen with their strength. Hope of future union, peace and happiness sickens at their influence. Their native countries disgorged many of them as loathsome pests, or restless burthens to their body politic, upon our peaceful and more than hospitable shores. Too much caressed and patronized, by many, as the innocent victims of tyranny and the exiles of freedom; they have assumed a bold and dictatorial tone, and have borne the *grapes of Sodom, and clusters of Gomorrah*. The daily conduct of many of them demonstrates to us, that they are more conversant with the excesses and practices of a mob, than the fruits and principles of civil liberty. Some of our leading presses, conducted by foreign editors, have groaned under the weight of the grossest slander and abuse of the best of our revolutionary characters, whose lives and fortunes have been cheerfully devoted to, and spent in, the service of their country. That influence in society, which had been justly acquired by their virtues and integrity, and remained to them as the crowns of their glory, has been plucked away, and trampled in the dust of detraction! The laurels of merit have been surreptitiously taken away from the just claimants, and placed on graceless heads, or the turbulent brows of foreigners. “The chair of State has not been too high, nor the humble cottage too low,” nor the intermediate walks of public and private life beyond the reach of the rancorous teeth of emulation. These horrid evils originate, in a great degree, from the unhappy state of parties in our country. If we drink much deeper of this cup of humilia-

tion, the deleterious draught may soon end the days of rational liberty, and invite "swift destruction to come upon us as an armed man!" **IF WE PERISH, WE PERISH THE LAST REPUBLIC ON EARTH.**

Monarchy, in the hands of a wise and virtuous prince, has many advantages. It has less necessary expence, more energy, activity and dispatch. But it is very dangerous to the rights and liberties of the people. Man, thus elevated above his fellow men, has many objects to divert his attention from the publick good. Power places him above seeing and feeling the miseries and misfortunes of others; and benevolence loses its force on the mind. Pride seduces; pleasures tempt; and flattery and falsehood, the twin sisters of deception, betray and injure him more than all the rest.

A government, thus hazardous to the rights of the people, will not interest and secure their affections and attachments: Wherever the people have a great share in the administration of the government, they will exert themselves for the general good. They will feel the successes and losses of the nation. This will make men active and generous; will inspire them with pure patriotism and invincible courage; and will elevate their souls "to deem it glorious to die for their country!"

It was this that protected the Roman Republic against the heroic army of the victorious Hannibal, at the very gates of Rome; and preserved her from impending destruction. It was this that guarded her citizens against the bribes of Pyrrhus, and the plots and intrigues of Cataline. Surrounded by complicated difficulties and misfortunes, it caused strength to be acquired out of weakness: and seeing the evils which awaited them, it consolidated and united the different and discordant parts of their government.

The tyranny of a monarch gave birth to the freedom of Rome; and rational liberty made her mistress of the world. Yet *that freedom* perished in the hands of the people.— They ignorantly hewed out their own yoke, and the courteous Cæsar *lovingly* put it on their necks. Intoxicated with his professions of love and regard for *their happiness*, they, once jealous of their rights and liberties, never felt its galling weight until the sinews of liberty were destroyed.

The Senate of Rome freed her from regal power; the tribunes of the people gradually usurped the authority of

the Senate; relaxed discipline and the execution of the laws; demanded a division of property, acquired by industry and preserved by œconomy; lessened respect for the experience of the aged, and the constituted authorities; regarded not virtue, and smiled at vice; until licentiousness and divisions reared their snaky heads, and often led the mass of the people to Mons Sacer, to destroy the authority of the Senate; and thereby hissed public virtue and integrity from the Councils of the Republic. Corruption seized the body politic; a fatal gangrene ensued and dissolved the morbid mass; and the despotic power of Caesar sprung out of the polluted remains.

The same interest preserved, protected and regained from time to time the government and liberty of the Athenian Republic, against the formidable invasions of Xerxes, the great; the arts of the ambitious; and the subtlety and power of Phillip.

It was this interest that enabled the states of Holland, the Swiss Cantons, Geneva, Genoa, and other European republics to preserve, amid the greatest distresses and dangers, the rights and liberties of free and independent nations. They enjoyed peace, prosperity and happiness until they became licentious and divided. A great part of the people were then serenaded into a fatal lethargy, by the Syren songs of modern philosophy and French liberty; and soon, very soon, they received the fraternal embraces of that French government, whose embraces are the embraces of death, and whose alliance is the alliance of absolute slavery.

The same interest enabled us, and our fathers, to brave the greatest dangers, and rise superior to the greatest power in Europe, in defence of our rights, and to establish a free and independent government.—And God grant that it may be PERPETUAL!

Our present form of government is a Federal Republic: which gave the name of FEDERALISTS, to its framers, advocates and supporters. It is an union of sovereign and independent states, under one FEDERAL HEAD, with many checks and limitations in the exercise of sovereign power. Its form has more of an elective Aristocracy, limited in point of time and extent, in holding and exercising offices and power, than of the other simple forms of government. These limitations are powerful checks to the abuse

of power, so long as the people are well informed, virtuous, and know their own good.

Two excellencies of our constitution, I cannot forbear mentioning; the independence of the Judiciary; and power of making war and peace. The Judiciary is the main pillar of the charter of our liberties, and the surest palladium of our personal and civil rights. All power is delegated, held and exercised under the authority and controul of law. It is purely a government of laws, and not of men. It is therefore of infinite importance, that the construction and application of those laws relative to governmental, official, or individual rights be confided to men of talents, integrity and science. To preserve impartiality in their determinations, the judges are placed above the fear and controul or patronage of the executive, or any officer of government, or the government itself, or any man or party of men.

The power of declaring war, and making peace is wisely placed in the two houses of Congress, with the assent of the president. It is reasonable that they, who support the burthens and calamities of war, should, by their immediate representatives, have the power of declaring and ending it. If the representatives of the people make war unjustly, or against the interests of the nation; or refuse peace, when offered on beneficial terms, once in two years, the people can apply that powerful, peaceable, and beneficial remedy, *the ballot boxes*. This is an infallible remedy, when they are correctly informed, and are not governed by love, hatred and prejudice.

The Ides of March kept the ambitious lovers of power and office, in the Roman Republic, in awe of the majesty of the people, and within bounds, so long as virtue remained among a majority of the citizens. The ballot boxes, I presume, have preserved us, for several years past, from the enormous expences and indescribable horrors and calamities of war. Had the power of declaring war been confided in the executive, and he no way dependent on the people for his election into office, we should have been probably plunged into that destructive contest, which has desolated the fairest part of creation, steeped the plains of Europe in blood, and swallowed up in its fatal vortex every Republic in Europe; and every mixed form of government, Great Britain excepted, where there was the least

semblance or shadow of liberty remaining in the people!

Thousands of our friends, relatives and companions would have fallen a sacrifice to the mad ambition of some bold, and aspiring leader; to gratify the implacable hatred, malice and revenge of some man or party of men! Instead of celebrating the birth day of our FREEDOM and INDEPENDENCE with our companions, children and friends around us, we might have cultivated fields, not our own; have felt the lash of servitude: and many of us might have become confectioners, cooks and servants to some hellish tyrant; or have become *hewers of wood and drawers of water* to some foreign nation.

The political histories of all free states and governments show that the people have generally lost their liberties, by placing too much confidence in their professed friends.— They begin their career to obtain power, by paying obsequious court to the people. They will first create divisions and parties, and then insinuate themselves into favour of the dominant party; detract from the merits of their opponents; and destroy the influence of men of truth, virtue, talents and integrity. In short, they will commence demagogues and end tyrants!

The Republic of Athens, the asylum of liberty, the seat of science and the cradle of heroes, lost her freedom, even in the days of Solon, by division, party spirit, and the popular arts and professions of Pisisstratus. "He was courteous, affable and generous without ostentation. Two or three servants constantly attended him with bags of silver and gold: and when he saw any man out of health, or heard of any person in debt, he was ready to do every thing in his power to relieve them." He always appeared to the people, as a lover and advocate of equal rights, and a firm supporter of the laws and constitution. He thus, like Absalom, *stole* away the hearts of the Athenians. But the sagacious and venerable Solon, with many others, saw through his designs, and often warned the people of their danger, saying, "was it not for this ambition, he would be the best citizen in Athens."

In the absence of Solon, this man nearly obtained the summit of power by his dissimulation; but the return of Solon could only check his career. Parties had taken too deep root in the government to be reconciled, or plucked up, even by that venerable statesman and legislator; whom

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the Athenians once adored as a god among men. In vain did he attempt to moderate the spirit of party, and conciliate the disaffected. Reason and the authority of the laws, were not able to quell the unruly passions; nor to direct the helm of government in the storm, "on the tempestuous sea of liberty!"

To accomplish his end, Pisistratus wounded himself with his own hand, rode into the public market place, showed his mangled and bloody body to the people; and, as their friend, claimed their protection against his enemies. A general assembly of the people was convened, who considered him as their friend and a martyr in their cause: and they, against the warnings and remonstrances of Solon, and his aged copatriots, and in violation of the laws, granted him a guard of armed men for the security of his person.— As soon as he had obtained and organized his guards, he seized the citidel, and proclaimed himself sovereign of Athens!*

No wonder Solon told the Athenians, when they offered him a crown and the sovereign power of Athens, and he refused them, "that it represented a fair garden: it was a beautiful spot, while we are within, but it wants a way to get out."

In all elective and free governments, similar instances have taken place, or attempts made in every age of the world. They warn us of our danger, and show us that the best constitution and laws, ever devised by the wisdom of men, or of God, to shield our rights and liberties, may be vilely cast away, like the shield of Saul, upon the mountains of Gilboa! They admonish us that public virtue is not to be found where there is no private! That he cannot love the whole, who loves no part, but himself; nor be a nation's friend, who is a friend to no man in it! Freemen cannot endure chains any where patiently, but chains at home, where they were born free, are not to be borne! The experience of ages demonstrate this solemn truth, that unless our government and laws are guarded and administered by the hand of virtue, wisdom and integrity, our dearest rights and liberties will hang suspended over the pit of destruction, as

* Did a certain ex-governor ever read the history of Pisistratus and follow his example, pretending that he was in danger of assassination for his late patriotism, and issue his proclamation offering a reward to discover persons who never existed?

by a single thread, and that many will stand ready to cut it!

" Do I forebode impossible events,
 " And tremble at vain dreams? Heav'n grant I may,
 " But the age of virtuous politics is past,
 " And we are deep in that coil and pretence.
 " Patriots have grown too shrewd, to be sincere,
 " And we with virtuous care must watch them.

" There was a time when tempered blades
 " Dispersed the shackles of usurped controul,
 " And hew'd them link by link :—then our brave sons
 " Were sons indeed : they felt a filial heart
 " Beat high within them at a father's wrongs,
 " And shining each in his domestic sphere,
 " Shone brighter, still, when called to public view."

Men and brethren, a reluctant compliance with your request has placed me as a watchman upon the walls of our liberty and independence. Would to God, that I could discharge the duty incumbent on me without offence to any one! It is an indispensable duty I owe to you, to my country and to my God, to "speak the words of truth and soberness, whether you will hear or whether you will forbear."

May we all feel and act upon the principles which are contained in the declaration of our independence. May we, as a nation, and as individuals, *impartially* hold and consider all mankind "*enemies in war, in peace friends.*" May we like our fathers, place "a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence for support, and the preservation of our liberties and independence."

Many of us have seen this great nation, weak and helpless; leaning upon the arm of her mother country for protection and support. We have seen that arm threaten and smite us with the rod of oppression; which caused our separation. We have seen the American people united, as a band of brothers, in the tented field; or in the wise councils of the nation; or in the industrious walks of private life. Some of us have seen *garments rolled in blood*, and our dearest friends snatched from us in a moment of time; or led away captive and immured within the walls of loathsome prisons, or pestilential confinement! Some of you have fought by the side of the immortal WASHINGTON and

his heroic companions in war, many of whom gloriously fell in the cause of liberty.

Many of you have endured hunger, cold and nakedness in the service of your country; and with others, have felt the ungrateful returns of malignant abuse from her degenerate children. You finally felt the inexpressible joy of lasting victory; and have tasted the sweets of a **FREE** and **INDEPENDENT NATION**!—You now see those enjoyments and blessings in danger!

Freedom is easier obtained than preserved in its original purity. It could not be protected by the old confederation. The body politic was like a man, full of muscles and bones, clothed with sinews and flesh, with a symmetry in every part, begging support from his children, without the vital powers of life and action to help himself, or command help from any one. In short, the old confederation lived on charity; and many of the states were uncharitable, and even avaricious.

The voice of wisdom summoned together her favourite **SONS**: and the **FATHER** of his country presided in council, and the majesty of wisdom and virtue sat on his brow.

The deliberate and united counsels of the great and good produced a constitution, as coming from the hand of wisdom and reconciliation. Nothing but a display of that sublime virtue, which united the hearts of all, in the hour of danger, could have brought these arduous and important labours to a final and happy issue. Though this work of wisdom was readily adopted by almost all the states, yet it had many and powerful opposers. In spite of all opposition, and the opprobrious epithet of *The Lilliputian Ties*, which was cast upon it by a powerful hand, yet it diffused its blessings upon the American people, like the dews of heaven upon the tender grass.

Washington then lived:—He lived in the hearts and affections of the people. Though many envied his merited honours and spotless fame, “for envy will grieve at the good of another,” yet the tongue of slander had not then dared to whisper detraction; it remained in the malignant corners of the heart. He was unanimously elected President. He reluctantly obeyed the voice of a grateful people, who had just then been saved from servitude and anarchy by his valour and wisdom. Like Cincinnatus, he ardently loved retirement and domestic happiness; but he

loved his country more! Outward honours he wanted none;—to him these were baubles of no worth! Of the inward satisfaction of having filled up the measure of his days with usefulness, in the cause of virtue and his country, he had more than abundance! He confidently and sincerely declared, that his movements to the chair of State, were like the reluctant feelings of a culprit, going to the place of execution. “So unwillingly,” says he, “am I in the evening of life, nearly consumed in public cares, to quit a peaceful abode for an ocean of difficulties, without that competency of political skill, abilities and inclinations, which are necessary to manage the helm. I am sensible I am embarking the voice of the people with a good name of my own on the voyage: but, what returns will be made for them heaven alone can foretel. Integrity and firmness are all I can promise. These, be the voyage long or short, shall never forsake me. Though I be deserted by all men, yet of the consolation derived from these, the world cannot deprive me.” Little thought the magnanimous hero, that his countrymen, in their national capacity, would have refused him, when sleeping in the dust, an humble monument to point out to the inquiring traveller, where the precious remains of the CHAMPION of their Liberties and their renowned STATESMAN were laid! How much less, that the very man, whom he delighted to honor, and attempted to conciliate, should create a division, for the spirit of party in the hearts of his countrymen, and patronize the malignant slanders of his official conduct and well earned reputation; because, like Job, he held fast his integrity, and would not let it go!

Oh ingratitude, ingratitude! thou child of envy, when wilt thou cease to breathe thy malignant breath among men!

His neighbours truly said, when he left Mount-Vernon, “the aged lost their ornament; the youth their model; agriculture its improver; their commerce its friend; their infant Academy its protector; and the poor their benefactor!”

His way to Congress was unavoidably attended by the grateful acclamations of thousands. At Philadelphia, a triumphal arch was erected across a bridge, where he necessarily passed, and, unperceived by him, a civic crown of laurel was let down on his head. People had then a heart

to force grateful honours by stealth upon him : but now it creates envy and persecution !

What must have been the feelings of the immortal hero, and those he met, when he came to the bridge at Trenton ?—At the spot, where, he, in that stormy night of the gloomy winter of seventy six and seven, when despair had seized almost every heart, buffeting the very elements with his little band of Spartan heroes crossed the river and undauntedly met a numerous foe elated with recent victory ? Instead of meeting a powerful enemy with despair and death staring him in his face ;—he unexpectedly saw the most honourable emblems of peace ! An arch ornamented with laurels and flowers, supported by thirteen pillars, twined by evergreen ! On its front, the inscription, **THE DEFENDER OF THE MOTHERS, WILL BE THE PROTECTOR OF THE DAUGHTERS !—** And then met the same mothers, he there once defended, with his life in his hand, leading their little daughters dressed in white, carrying baskets of flowers strewing them in the way, and with innocence and exquisite harmony singing :

“ Welcome mighty chief once more,

“ Welcome to this grateful shore :

“ No mercenary foe

“ Aims again the fatal blow ;

“ Aims at Thee the fatal blow.

“ Virgins fair and matrons grave,

“ Those thy conquering arms did save ;

“ Build for thee triumphal bowers,

“ Strew, ye fair, the way with flowers :

“ Strew the Hero's way with flowers.”

How honourable and happy are the feelings of grateful hearts ! How much more honourable and satisfactory it is to live in the hearts and affections of virtuous freemen, than to silence their tongues and controul their actions by deception, power and the tyranny of the sword ?

The operation of the first acts of his administration were propitious ; tended to unite and conciliate the discordant interests and feelings of the people ; strengthen the bonds of the union ; apparently attached almost all men to the wise and just administration of the government ; and promised future happiness and lasting prosperity to the

United States. But alas! the demon of party then lived, and the malignant viper lay concealed in too many bosoms. The friendly part which France had taken against her natural enemy, in our revolutionary war, whatever were her motives, naturally produced in the minds of the people, a strong attachment in her favour; and an implacable enmity to Great Britain. Experience shows that family quarrels and controversies are more malignant and lasting than any other. These feelings found their way into the cabinet and national councils; and naturally produced an evident partiality in favour of France. A consequent division of sentiments and feelings, between those who wished and advised the executive to preserve an impartial neutrality, between the two belligerent nations, and those, who wished to favour and aid revolutionary France, took place. As soon as the revolutionary heat, and disastrous contentions among the nations of Europe, had reached our happy and peaceable shores, it warmed the reptile in many parts of the United States, and brought it into action. That wise and sagacious statesman and lover of his country, agreeable to the spirit of our declaration of independence, and existing treaties, with the advice of a majority of his cabinet council, formed in his comprehensive mind, that system of neutrality, which he afterwards rigidly pursued; and thereupon issued his proclamation of neutrality on the 22d day of April 1793. This system of neutrality, to which we wholly owe the happy peace, and unparalleled prosperity, that we have so long enjoyed, thwarted the views and wishes of many of our citizens, some of whom were perfectly honest in their feelings and sentiments, and completely defeated the plans and machinations of revolutionary and revolutionizing France, and her partizans in America. This gave umbrage to many; and the President, "though hitherto shielded by the affections of the people," was openly and publicly denounced as a monarchist, and attached to Great Britain. Democratic societies were organized throughout the United States, under the auspices of men of influence, aided by that bold, assuming, and active minister of France, Mr. Genet, who married into one of the most respectable opposition and anti-federal families, and has ever since resided in America.

These societies were not formed for the purpose of preserving and defending the constitution, and the regular ex-

execution of the laws ; but for the avowed purpose of watching and publicly censuring the administration of government, and many of its laws. This produced a formidable opposition, and an open rebellion against government ; and this, I consider, as the true origin of the unhappy parties, which now exist among us.

The same party continued a systematic opposition to the administration of government ; seizing every opportunity and incident which fell in their way, to increase their party, by exciting prejudices and stirring up the passions ; and by cherishing and increasing an implacable hatred to Great Britain, and an inordinate attachment to France ; until from some of the imprudent and impolitic proceedings of the majority, in the time of Mr. Adams' administration, they obtained a majority, and placed their favorite leader in the chair of State.

At this time, all the Indian and expensive wars ; commercial contentions and embarrassments, were ended ; and finally adjusted by existing treaties. A gallant little navy was built, which asserted and maintained our rights on the ocean, at the mouth of their cannon ; under an average revenue from the commencement of the government, of about seven millions of dollars. Peace was established with all the world ; our commercial canvases whitened every port ; and the wilderness " blossomed as the rose." Our revenue fast increasing produced under Mr. Jefferson's administration the average annual amount of more than thirteen millions and half of dollars ; and he officially said, that " government was in the full tide of successful experiment." — He promised much ; and flattered the expectations of almost all, that we should become an united and happy people ; but nothing was done to conciliate and unite. Let me ask the question, — during his administration of eight years of profound peace and commercial prosperity, the natural result of former arrangements, what was done to promote union, secure peace, protect our rights, or increase our prosperity and interests as a nation ? Part of our little navy has been disposed of for the expensive and humiliating experiment of a gun boat system, which has served only to fill up our harbours with the monuments of weakness, and to rot in our docks. It is true, that the public debt has been annually paid according to the sinking fund, systematized and devised by the wisdom of Hamilton, and es-

established and acted upon by the former administrations.— Though the *necessary* expenses of government have been less than under the two first administrations, and the annual average nearly double, yet that boasted œconomy, of which we have heard so many encomiums, has completely exhausted the treasury, and we are now obliged to borrow money, (which has failed) or issue exchequer bills to supply the necessary expenses of government! Has freedom of opinion, or speech, or the equal rights of mankind been better protected; or have political intolerance, or persecution been done away, or their evils lessened?—No; unless it is because there are now no more official objects left, whereon to operate! In this respect, the little finger of the late administrations has been thicker than the loins of the former.

But I forbear: I would not draw invidious comparisons, nor excite party feelings. For it is time for every real patriot, on both sides, to look candidly back upon past events, retrace his steps, *sit down in dust and ashes*, and weep for our national sins, abuse of our privileges, former ingratitude and implacable divisions. Two great political parties have unfortunately arisen and now exist among us. These threaten our peace and safety, and engender implacable hatred, which may, sooner or later, produce, the worst of all evils, civil war. They already appear like two great armies, drawn up in battle array against each other, with their *heralds* of crimination and recrimination. Nothing has been done by the party in power, to allay the spirit of party, only to *threaten* and invite their opponents, who are honest in their sentiments and views, to surrender all and follow them. All good citizens will submit to the laws of their country, although they contain partial evils; but real Americans never learned the humiliating lesson of unconditional submission to any man or party of men! They will ever rally around the standard of their government, whenever constitutionally unfurled, and support the majesty of the laws, whenever legally required, whether they approve or disapprove. Our government is a government of laws, and not of men; and therein our safety dwelleth: and there is too much dignity in her laws to be tarnished by the bickerings of party!

Fellow citizens, we never met to commemorate the day of our independence, with such mingled emotions of hope,

fear and dismay ! Clouds and thick darkness hang around us. The clarion of war is heard in our land, without an invading foe. Napoleon's declaration, "*I will have no neutrals,*" is now confirmed by a solemn act of the legislature ! and we must obey ! This act has declared a powerful nation our foe. "The die is cast, and the scabbard thrown away." Soon, very soon, we must again see towns and cities smoke in ruins ; our sons, brothers and companions exposed to the devouring sword ; and see garments rolled in blood ! Are we prepared for such scenes as these ? Pause & candidly reflect, reflect, and reflect ! Where are the swords of the saviour of his country, which once leaped from their scabbards to repel an invading foe ? Alas, they drop their feeble points ; for the dying injunctions of their hero to the owners were, "not to unsheath them for the purpose of shedding blood, except it be for self defence, or in defence of our country."

Are our commercial rights invaded on the ocean ? Then the thunders of our Truxtons, Rogers and Decatur's ought to have taught the aggressors to respect our rights, as they did in ninety seven and eight ; and our commerce would have remained and prospered, and our revenue increased.

Is it not mysterious, that we should make an offensive war on the land, to defend our neutral rights on the ocean ? All the commercial states are against the war ; and consider it as an unreasonable sacrifice of their interests. In this opinion almost every regular foreign merchant in the United States concurs. Do not mercantile men and states better know their rights and interests, than men who are wholly ignorant of, and unconcerned in, any commercial intercourse ; or the states which have not so much as a bark canoe concerned in foreign commerce ? By this war we give up an export commerce with Great Britain and her allies to the enormous amount of thirty-eight millions, five hundred seventy four thousand, six hundred seventy seven dollars, to secure an export trade to France, and her dependencies to the pitiful sum of less than one million and an half of dollars !

It is also very singular, that our administration, the most southern and western States with the State of Vermont, which have little or no foreign commerce, and have been unfriendly to it, should be so much more alive to defend its rights on the ocean, at so great and necessary expense of treasure and blood ; than the northern States whose com-

mercial rights and interests alone will be affected ! The votes of the members present from the States north of Pennsylvania were 35 against the war and 17 in favour ; three of the latter were from Vermont. Five absent members from New-York and Massachusetts, it is confidently asserted, are against the war : which, if correct, will place the members in the house forty against seventeen ; and in the great commercial State of New-York as fourteen to three ! In the Senate they stand as nine to five !

Whatever may be the justice of the war as to Great Britain, it is a great departure from our neutrality ; and its relative justice, to France and Great Britain, is very questionable. We have forsaken our old ground of neutrality, and virtually complied with the imperial mandate of Bonaparte, " I will have no neutrals." It virtually makes us an ally to him, to fight his battles, and aid him in his great system of universal subjugation, the annihilation of foreign commerce, and the final destruction of Great Britain ; which will remove the last obstruction to his universal dominion both by sea and land ! French aggressions, on our neutral rights, have been more flagrant and abusive ; and in many instances, since the promised repeal of her tyrannic decrees. If the decrees have been repealed, where is the official evidence ? A repealing act must be passed by the same authority, and with the necessary forms, as the act repealed.— This, certainly, has never been done to our knowledge. This repeal existed only in promise ; and that promise was conditional, and has never been performed ; although the conditions have been fully complied with on the part of our government. The promise of a sovereign to repeal a law, does not annul it ; it remains until repealed by the same authority and with the same solemnities as passed.*

* The repealing act of the decrees has since appeared, under the authority and with the formalities contended for, agreeably to the usages and universal practise of all civilized nations. It is dated five months, and twenty eight days after the issuing of the President's proclamation, declaring their actual repeal, so as to give their repeal effect according to the Act of Congress of May 3, 1810, commonly called the *non-intercourse* Act ; which was confirmed by another Act, dated March 2, 1811 ; and is a performance of the conditions of the repeal of the decrees. This famous state paper is as follows, " Palace of St. Cloud, April 28, 1811. Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the confederation of the Rhine, Mediator of the Swedish confederacy ?

" On the report of our minister of foreign affairs :

" Being informed of a law of the 2. of March 1811, by which the Congress of the United States has decreed the exemption of the provisions of

The French decrees are prior to the orders in council, and more unjust and flagrant in their effects and principles. The British orders in council subject all vessels bound to France or her dependencies. The French decrees all, having articles of British commerce to whomsoever belonging, having touched at an English port, or having been searched by a British man of war, (which they had no physical power to prevent) wheresoever bound.* The decrees and orders in

the Act of Non-intercourse, which interdicts the entry into American ports of the ships and the merchandize of G. Britain, her colonies and dependencies :

“ Considering that the said law is an Act of *resistance* to the arbitrary pretensions advanced by the British orders in council ; and a formal refusal to sanction a system hostile to the *independence* of neutral powers and of their flags :

“ We have decreed and do decree as follows :

“ The Decrees of Berlin and Milan are definitely (from the first of November last) considered as no longer in force as respects American vessels.

“ Signed, &c.

Napoleon.”

This is really a political curiosity ! The Prince Regent’s order in council dated the 21 day of April 1812, declares “ his readiness to revoke his orders in Council adopted upon the Berlin and Milan decrees, *as soon as the said decrees should be formally and unconditionally repealed*, and the commerce of neutral nations restored to its accustomed course.”

And further ordered, “ that if at any time hereafter the Berlin and Milan decrees, shall by some authentic act of the French government, publicly promulgated, be absolutely and unconditionally repealed, then the orders in Council are officially declared from thenceforth to be *wholly and absolutely revoked*,” and all property taken after such repeal to be restored.

This State paper would reach Paris, at least, in three days. On the 25th of May 1812, this famous repealing decree of Napoleon, dated April 22, 1812, made its first public appearance, by communication of our minister, at Paris, to our Consul at London. It contains internal and conclusive evidence that the Berlin and Milan decrees were not repealed on the 1st of November 1810, for it embraces that time, by retrospective operation, and is predicated on the Act of Congress of March 2, 1811. If this public act of Napoleon was actually passed, at the time of its date, where has the important *public secret* been kept ? The instrument and concurring facts carry with them the evidence of the secret and mysterious arts of modern diplomacy ! Have we any right to expect any thing else but intrigue and deception from a government, whose ruling passions are intrigue, dominion, military glory, contempt of trade, hatred to the spirit of freedom, and free governments, and whatever is English, or American ; except it will be subservient to these passions ; which will trample upon his most solemn engagements. The influence of his power and government are as dangerous to Republics, as the Upas tree is to animal life. We ought to shun the one, as much as the traveller does the other.

* The Berlin Decree issued on the 21st day of November 1806, which declared all the British Islands in a state of blockade, all commerce and correspondence prohibited and all English merchandize forfeited, without a single ship of the line on the ocean to enforce it. To this decree succeeded the British order in Council dated the 7th of January, 1807, of similar import. On the 7th of Dec. 1807, the Emperor issued his Milan decree, de-

council, and proceedings under them, may be justifiable causes of war against both nations ; if war on land could be expedient against either, or will be an adequate remedy.

A wise and prudent people will ever strictly inquire into the justice and expediency of an offensive war, and will ever count the cost ; but in a defensive war, upon an invasion of territory, they will never come in question.

Whatever may be the difference of opinion, among the people, relative to the partiality, justice, or expediency of the war, the result of their collective sentiments must be left for them to express, which I hope may be done with candor, freedom and independence, according to the constitution and laws of our country. There is in our government, a sovereign, easy, and beneficial remedy to cure the inflammatory fever of many for war ; and to remove its numberless evils, and indescribable calamities, from the body politic. Will the freedom of that voice be prevented, or awed into silence, by the contemptible threats, on the floor of Congress, of *hemp and confiscation*, by a Wright ? and his promise to apply them ? Or by the laws, sentence and execution of a Baltimore mob ; who declare that the regular execution of the laws of our country are too slow & ineffectual to seal up the mouths of freemen ; to silence their presses, level their offices and houses to the ground ; to dismantle commercial vessels in our harbors, in aid and support of government ?* Will the dictatorial proclamation of the Boston Patriot, of June last, issued to the free born sons of old Massachusetts the cradle of liberty upon the election of that venerable patriot of the revolution, Gov. Strong, make the freemen tremble ? It declared that " when the nation rises in its might, and blows the solemn blast of war through the western hemisphere, then there will be no halting between

declaring " every ship of whatever nation, which shall have submitted to search, by an English ship, or to a voyage to England, or paid any tax to that government *denationalized and lawful prize*," &c. &c. In five days after this decree, the embargo was laid, which completed the circle of commercial hostilities ; and which has been so pleasing to Napoleon, that he congratulated his conservative Senate, upon our renouncing commerce ; or in other words, that we acquiesced in his measures. He has ever since been taking, sinking and burning almost all in his power.

* It is a new thing in the history of politics to have mobs in favour of government. When the operation or execution of laws partially affect any particular part of community, it frequently produces opposition, by mobs or insurrection ; but it is a *new thing under the sun*, to have mobs formed because the laws or government are *too free, just, equal, or lenient*.

two opinions. He that is not for us will be considered against us; *and terrible will be the day thereof!* And all the wisdom, coolness, and steadiness of Gov. Strong will be required to steer the ship of State in this tempestuous roar of the sea of Liberty!" Are these things, and this language, the voice of patriotism at so eventful a crisis? Is this the voice of wisdom in the gates of the cities of FREEDOM? Can this be the voice of rational liberty and independence to secure equal rights to the citizens? Can this be the call of virtuous FREEDOM, for which our fathers fought, bled and died, to unite the energies of her free-born sons against a formidable enemy? Is this war, then, to be a war of party, and thereby stain and pollute the land with each other's blood?—Forbid it Heaven!—Forbid it, O my country!

We have need of the meekness of a Moses, the patience of a Job, the wisdom of a Solomon, and the prudence and firmness of a Washington, to regulate our words and actions, to heal divisions, to allay the spirit of *party*, and to unite our hearts to bring the unhappy contest to a speedy close. No man will relinquish his rights, or the rights and interests of the nation, to the bickerings of a party! We must all adopt the language and feel the sentiments of a naval hero, and determine that whether a Madison or a Pinkney, a Clinton or a King occupies the chair of State, it matters not, as to defending ourselves and the invaded rights of the nation; *America is here*, "and, for her, we are resolved to conquer." These united sentiments, and this spirit will renovate our national glory, dispel the clouds and tempests, which hover around us; and, above all, preserve us from the polished grasp of Napoleon; from the ~~awful~~ fate of Switzerland, and the plagues of Holland!

Who can hear the sound of war in our land, and not recal to his mind the heroic days of the revolution; and the memory of its immortal heroes?—They are almost all numbered with the dead; or "are like shocks of corn fully ripe." Few, very few, remain, to teach their sons the use of the sword and spear in the day of danger; or inspire them with the love of rational liberty and their country. That love of country and spirit of freedom, which pervaded the American breast in that day of tribulation, like the electric fluid, animated and enlived the benumbed limbs of the body politic. It then kindled her holy fires on the altar of freedom, which caused all to unite with their lives

and fortunes in defence of their country, and the equal interests of community; but now, I fear, that that love is changed into a love of office, and that spirit, into the spirit of party to perpetuate power and proscribe one half, or more, of the American people.*

Who would have believed, when we obtained the honours and glory of final victory and Independence: and when a free Constitution was adopted and organized by the impartial hand of Washington; that from 1807 to this time, our commerce would have been almost constantly shackled with embargoes and non-intercourses? That a man or woman could not have civilly travelled, in a land of freedom, without having their travelling trunks opened, their private clothes and papers searched, in quest of property, used, or acquired, in the course of a once fair, open, beneficial, and legal commerce; and that by a set of fellows, who prowl the streets and highways in quest of sordid gain! In fine, who would then have thought of making war on the land, to defend our commerce on the ocean, against the wishes of its owners? But reasoning is too late:—The war must be supported according to law, by the united energies of the nation, until it can be honourably ended, consistent with the interest and happiness of the country. But supporting the war, when legally required, does not imply that we must support its advocates in office, or the men who have involved us in this calamity.

How astonishing is it to look back on the heroic deeds, wisdom, virtue and patriotism of the matchless Washing-

* In this ~~State~~ the universal practice, of turning every friend of the Washington administrations out of office, and preventing, *per fas et nefas*, the election of any one, has been justified, by many, upon the practice of the legislature in ninety eight. Many of the Federal Republicans, then opposed the proceedings, unless the person nominated, had been directly concerned in some seditious practices, as raising liberty-poles, burning effigies, placing the national cockades on dogs' necks, &c. &c. Those proceedings were then instigated by many men, who changed with the administration, and are now foremost in the ranks of the ruling party, in the glorious work of political intolerance and persecution for non-conformity in opinion and voting. If the procedure was wrong then, it is now. Changing hands does not make it right. The men then in power, upon candid reflection, restored many to office, the next year. In 1800, when there was a federal Governor and council, and a decided majority in the house, almost every one, whether more capable and honest, or not, were restored to their former offices. In 1801, the parties were nearly balanced:—In 1802, the present ruling party, gained the ascendancy. Every attempt to paralyze the spirit of party, by electing a share from each, has ever since proved abortive.

ton; who, when surrounded with gloom and misfortunes, shone majestic in adversity; bursting through the clouds of despair, like the meridian sun, let in the last ray of light upon his sinking country, and led us on to victory, freedom and independence! And above all, united us in a free and happy government, and preserved and promoted our peace, union and prosperity! And consider, that when he had thus served his country, for sixteen years, without pay;—“and his glorious race had run,” and his sun, in full splendor, had sunk in the west and left its effulgence behind, in his examples, and last address to the people, to increase our wisdom and confirm our virtue; that we, his ungrateful children, should refuse him a public monument, or slab of marble on his grave, to shew his copatriots and posterity where the SOLDIER and STATESMAN lay! The rude acts of the savages of the wilderness,

“Whose soul proud science never taught to stray,”

upbraided us for our want of respect and our ingratitude!*

The words of the poor soldier speak the language of severe reproach to our nation! He visited the grave of his old commander, accompanied by his faithful dog, leaning upon his staff.—He comes to the lonely place—looks around—and doubts the spot.—Tears of gratitude trickled down his furrowed cheeks and dropped on the silent tomb.—He stands transfixed with grief and astonishment! At length he cries out, “If it is here my countrymen have buried my general, where, in the name of God, will they bury me!!”

If Caesar wept upon seeing the mangled body of his enemy, the brave Pompey, dishonoured and neglected, how much more ought we to weep to see the envy and ingratitude of our countrymen towards our immortal chief, and those who delight to honour him?

The same party, who opposed a monument, urged as a reason, that he would live in the hearts and affections of the people. Yet, in this state, they refused him the humble mark of respect and gratitude, the calling a county by his name.†

* It is a practice with many Indian tribes, that when any one of them passes by the place where a renowned chief was buried, to lay a stone upon the grave, to perpetuate his fame, and shew where he was laid.

† At the session of our legislature, in 1810, a bill was brought in to organize a new county, to be called Washington county; an influential

Does not the opposition to the Washington Benevolent Societies, and the shameful persecution of its members, proceed from envy and a deadly hatred of the name, virtues, and political principles of the saviour of his country?— Although I am not a member, yet I know that its institution was, and is, upon the purest principles of moral and political virtue; and to honour, perpetuate, and cherish in the hearts of the American people, to the latest generation, the memory, virtues, benevolence, precepts and principles of that great man. The memory of the great and good is a national casket of precious jewels—the choicest treasure of freedom—above the price of rubies, and cannot be purchased by all the riches of the Indies.

A society can be instituted in honour of an Indian without opposition;* but one in honor of a Washington must be hissed at; and the malignant tongue of slander will not satisfy the hatred of many, without forging and publishing letters replete with falsehood and detraction.

No one has any reason to fear the effects of that honorable society, unless he hates benevolence; hates the constitution and laws of his country; hates rational liberty and the equal rights of man; and loves monarchy, aristocracy, tyranny, and the licentiousness of a pure democracy. “By their fruits ye shall know them. Men do not gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles.”

Whatever may be the final event of this important crisis of our affairs, there is one consolation left to every free and independent man:

“ I mean a liberty, unsung
 “ By poets, and by senators unprais’d,
 “ Which monarchs cannot grant, nor all the powers
 “ Of earth and hell, confederate, take away :
 “ A liberty, which persecution, fraud,
 “ Oppression, prisons have no power to bind :
 “ Which, whose tastes, can be enslaved no more—
 “ I mean, *the liberty of thinking* ”

member moved to amend the bill, by striking out the name of Washington, and inserting Jefferson; which was carried by the democratick party.

* I mean the Tamany Society, which was instuted, several years since, in the state of New-York, and other states. Its badge is a *buck's tail*, their presiding officer is called the *Sachem*, and the place of meeting the *wigwam*.

Finally, brethren, let us all unite, on just and equal principles, in the bands of brotherly love, as virtuous and independent freemen ;—and then we shall “ behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.”

“ It is as the dew of Hermon ; and as the dew that descended upon the mountains of Zion :—for there the Lord commanded the blessing, even life forevermore.”

F I N I S.

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