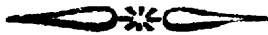


INDIVIDUAL AND NATIONAL
DEPENDANCE AND INDEPENDENCE,
CONSIDERED,
TOGETHER WITH OBSERVATIONS ON THE
PRESENT STATE
OF THE
TIMES.



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BY CHRISTOPHER MANWARING.

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TO THE READER.

THE following sheets, written in haste, were not intended for publication ; but from frequent solicitations, I submit them to public perusal. The sentiments they contain, whether correct or erroneous, original or acquired, are, by adoption, my own.

As an American, I conceive it a duty I owe the country where I have received my existence with the means of its continuance ; and the government to which I owe my liberty and security, to yield my love and attachment to the former, and my obedience and support to the latter. Union in these sentiments, must be viewed as highly essential both to public and individual peace, prosperity and happiness. To effect this—wisdom, interest and sound policy dictate : it therefore ought to be the endeavor of every American. This has been my main object both in *writing* and *publishing*.

I make no pretensions to literature, ornament or grammatical accuracy. Attainments of this kind my situation in life has necessarily precluded. How far this performance agrees with the original and professed design, is left with the candid reader to determine.

THE AUTHOR.

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FELLOW CITIZENS,

I SHALL not affect splendor or eloquence. My object is not merely “to play round the head; but to reach the heart.” To have truth appear in its native, simple form. To give an impartial statement of facts as they appear to my understanding. Impartial did I say? Yes: for if I know my own heart, I belong to no party, and that both in politics and religion, I act from my own judgment, and have no more partiality for one man than another, merely on account of birth, rank or estate. Long since have I been of opinion, that neither birth, rank, equipage or wealth, constitutes *the man*; but correct sentiments reduced to practice. This is the source whence originates *real* greatness, *true* nobility and *genuine* goodness. All other greatness is *comparative* littleness; all other nobility sinks into ignoble nobility; and all other goodness is but a delusion.

A sincere adherence to truth as represented to the mind, reduced to practice, is the only standard both for our civil and religious creeds. If they will not bear this test, our light is but darkness; our religion is but enthusiasm, delusion or hypocrisy, and our

political sentiments erroneous and *partial in the extreme*. If a conformity to the truth, agreeable to the information received, denominates a partizan—I acknowledge my error, and plead guilty.

For what was man sent into the world? is not an impertinent, but an *important* question. As a christian I would answer, to love his God with all his heart, and his neighbor as himself. This may be said to comprehend all the duties both in civil and religious life. But confining the question to a political sense—I reply, to *do* and *get* good—or in other words, by a virtuous life, to make himself happy, and by a continuation of the same mean, to augment the happiness of his fellow man. To faithfully discharge both duties, is the *great* business of a virtuous man's life. Every other species of virtue or happiness which has any other foundation, however beautiful and splendid in appearance, are in reality but empty names. We here find the distinction between wisdom and folly; virtue and vice; and I know not but greatness and littleness, as appropriate to man.

Respecting the term greatness, it is, in my opinion, frequently perverted in application to man. Solomon has thrown some light at least by informing us, that “greater is he who commandeth his spirit, than he who taketh a city.”—Reason is the distinguishing characteristic of man; and acting agreeable to enlightened reason, is what constitutes him both *good* and *great*. Separate goodness from his character, and he has but a *sorry* claim, even to the name of a man. He may be bulky as to his body, yet possessed of a *very* small soul. His estate may be large and extensive, but his mind narrow and circumscribed. Greatness and goodness I am sensible are words of different import; but greatness, applied to man, will hardly bear when separated from goodness.—I choose rather to join with the poet in counting “*those only, who are good and great.*”

In this life our wants are various : some natural and absolutely necessary ; some self-created, and from habit partially so ; others merely superfluous and imaginary. From these wants originate the various pursuits and employments of mankind. The utility of the business or occupation in which they are engaged, depends on the real necessity of the article which their industry produces. Hence we say the calling of the husbandman is the most honorable, because the produce of his labor is the most essential to our existence.

The next class in point of utility, is that of the manufacturer or mechanic. Among their various occupations, some are more, some are less useful, in proportion as the article made or manufactured is more or less necessary.

The third and last class I shall mention, particularly, are those styled merchants or venders of the produce or articles, after having passed through the hands of the farmer, manufacturer, or artisan. These men, in their employments, cannot be considered so necessary to the existence of society as either of the former. They never originated from necessity, but convenience. It cannot therefore, strictly speaking, be said that the merchant is a necessary, but a convenient man.

In addition, might be mentioned the employments of professional characters and others ; but I only observe, they are all useful when honorably pursued ; and each one must be viewed more or less so, as each province is more or less necessary.

These observations have been made partly for the purpose of shewing what particular men are the most useful in society. The principle is this—that the business or occupation that is the *most necessary* is the *most useful* ; and if the word honor can be applied to callings, or men on account of their callings, it in a peculiar sense applies to the most necessary. But by what principle in philosophy or religion, man-

kind judge that there is more merit and attention attached to a *ribband* or piece of *guaze*, than to a *bic* or a grid-iron, I am at a loss to determine. Or why there should be more honor or respect given the man who stands behind the counter and vends the articles, than the husbandman and manufacturer is equally unaccountable. But such is the vanity of the human mind, that when it leaves real substances it pursues shadows; while on the flight, not unfrequently lights on equipage, parade and external show; and in its rage for gratification, how often is real utility sacrificed to vanity and extravagance.— With respect to the honor attached to men on account of their employments in life, it very much depends on their acting well their part in the station they fill, or calling they follow. Agreeable to the words of the celebrated Pope—

“ Honor and shame from no condition rise,

“ Act well your part, ..there all the honor lies.”

From what has been said we also infer, that from the absolute wants of men originate their mutual dependance. Man in the strictest sense is dependant. He comes into the world more helpless than any other being, and longer needs the assistance of those from whom he derived his existence. Even when arrived to full strength of body and mind, he has wants, which considered in himself, he cannot satisfy. As old age advances, assistance from others increases. Thus, *from* the moment he draws his infant breath; *from* the cradle, through the whole bustle and business of life, and I might add till he is deposited in the “*deep, damp vault*” is he dependant on his fellow man.

This lesson of mutual wants and dependance, if duly attended to, would do much towards regulating our conduct towards each other in society. It addresses every individual thus—“ Man behold thyself. Consider well thy existence; thy condition; the relation in which thou standest to thy fellow man.

What is thy life? The brevity of which may be justly compared to a vapour lost in the air! a flower fading in the sun! a dream vanishing in the morning! What art thou? but a being of yesterday, possessed of a body liable to infirmity, disease and death. A mind knowing comparatively nothing: happy only in embracing the truth, but prone to err; putting light for darkness, and darkness for light; wandering in the mists of error, ignorance and delusion. With discordant and contending passions; which if let loose, will scatter death like a whirlwind—issuing in the destruction of thyself and others. Alone in the world, thou findest thyself a poor, forlorn, destitute, forsaken creature; having wants thou canst not supply; having desires thou canst not gratify—pining for society, and languishing out a miserable existence. Then consider well the relation in which thou standest to thy fellow man. In society thou mayest be sheltered from the heat and cold—thy hunger and thirst allayed. Here thy sorrows may be soothed—thy joys participated—thy tears sympathized—thy pains alleviated. Learn then from thy need of others to administer to others. Go visit the sick—feed the hungry—clothe the naked. As thou wishest for the enjoyment of thine own right, learn to respect the rights of thy neighbor. Dost thou wish others to rejoice in thy prosperity and happiness? rejoice then in the happiness and prosperity of others. Finally, do as thou wouldst be done by.”—*Thus* it becomes every man to think, *and thus* it becomes every man to act—and were this the case, my brethren, what a happy change would be wrought in our world. Instead of the tyger-like spirit of revenge, we should discover the lamb-like spirit of forgiveness. In the place of falsehood, slander, envy, hatred persecution, malice, fraud, and the whole train of vices, we should find truth, candor, sincerity, love, toleration, meekness, honesty, and the whole train of virtues.—But we

pause—and say, *O ! how happy !* were it so !—We think, and *wish* it were so :—we think again, and *lament* it is not so—then end with the sad reflection—*Alas ! poor human nature !*

Having evinced the dependant state of man, also the natural and moral obligations resulting therefrom, I would here observe that his independence in a great degree originates from his dependance. The absolute wants of man, while alone, point him to society. His wicked and imperfect state in society, convinces him of the necessity of civil government : it consequently follows, that his independence is inseparable from the nature of the government, together with the union and strength of the society or nation of which he is a member. I shall therefore proceed to take into consideration independence in a national sense.

Independence in a political sense, when applied to a people or nation, consists in their possessing the sovereignty within themselves ; that is, the power of electing their own rulers, and all other officers relating to their established form of government, independent of any other nation. But this cannot, strictly speaking, be termed independence only in a limited sense. For notwithstanding their political freedom, they may be in want of the absolute necessaries of life, and in this respect dependant on other nations. Then only can a nation be termed independent, when in addition to their internal freedom, they possess within themselves the means essential to their existence. For the support and continuation of their independence, they must depend on union and internal strength. Thus what constitutes national independence in the most perfect and unlimited sense, are political freedom—possessing within themselves the actual necessaries of life ; together with internal strength and union.

In almost, if not in every respect, is America the most free and independent nation on earth. Here

the sovereignty exists in the people; the rulers proceed *from*, and are chosen *by* themselves; at their will they both *rise* and *fall*.

The constitution is calculated to perpetuate the representative system in every part. Laws when found defective can be amended or altered, as best to subserve the interests of the people.

Here also we are free from ecclesiastical intolerance*--from the oppression of unnecessary taxes.--Free in the exercise of the faculties of the mind---in speaking, writing and publishing our opinions---also in the pursuit of our innocent occupations.

As it respects the possessing within ourselves the real necessaries of life---as a nation we stand unrivalled.

Our country is extensive, embracing within its limits every climate and soil necessary to furnish us with the means of existence; and I might add of comfort and convenience. But in regard to the two things on which the continuation of freedom must depend, namely internal strength and union; it is impossible to ascertain to what degree of perfection they exist in this country. Still it is my opinion, however, that in an instance of foreign invasion, every man who considers himself, or deserves the name of an American, would arise at his country's call, and exert himself in her defence. This being the case, no kingdom, empire or people on earth could conquer us. Hence we conclude, that America *is*, and may still continue to *be*, the most independent nation under *heaven*.

The God of nature has seen fit to give us existence in a part of the globe in every way the best calculated to give existence and support to a free and independent people. He likewise has been pleased, in a wonderful manner to interpose in our behalf in relieving us from the oppressive yoke and galling

* Referring to the constitution and government of the U. States.

chain of a *foreign tyrant*--thus exalting us among the nations of the earth, by far outweighing every other in point of independence and happiness. The language of his providence now is---“ Americans, I have fought your battles, and crowned you with victory---I have made you a nation who were not a nation. Stand fast therefore in the liberty whereby you are made free---and *see* that you are not again entangled in the *foreign yoke* of bondage. I have given you a land to inhabit, which may emphatically be denominated the political Canaan---a land overflowing with milk and honey. Cultivate and improve it. Here is sufficient for yourselves, your children’s children, to the thousandth generation. Be contented and industrious---united and virtuous, and you shall be happy.” The voice of God and the voice of reason are the same. They both instruct us that the real interests of all the virtuous and industrious part of community unite, so far at least as to support the rights of the nation against foreign aggression or invasion.

Having sufficiently proved, that from the government, local situation and internal resources of America, she is the best calculated to exist as an independent nation, of any other---I shall now proceed to make some observations respecting the means by which her independence may be supported against the attacks and aggressions of other nations.

I would here observe, that it can never be the interest of America to engage in an offensive war with any nation.

For the United States to support an offensive war a navy would be necessary, of sufficient force at least to combat the power against which we had to contend. But as offensive war is a *sin of all others of the deepest die*, and the greatest of all offences committed against heaven or earth, we certainly cannot wish for a navy for this purpose: and would time permit, I might point out to you the disadvantages of a large

navy to this country ; and that were we possessed of one of sufficient force not only to combat but even to conquer the proud *mistress of the ocean herself*, it would be only a curse to us, totally incompatible with our local and internal situation ; and destructive not only of national but individual virtue, prosperity and happiness.

Nothing would justify war of any kind, but absolute necessity. To the feelings of a virtuous and reflective man, even the *idea of war is horrible!* What is it? It is not merely the loss of a few vessels, of a little property---not merely the sacrifice of an individual, or the destruction of a family or town ; but it is *emphatically* "opening a vein that bleeds a nation to death." For what purpose would America at this time wish for *war*? Would it be to increase her numbers, prosperity or happiness? Could her rights be defended or her grievances redressed? Certainly not. Would the honest farmer, the industrious mechanic, the fair merchant ; would the christian minister, the candid counsellor, the humane physician ; would the affectionate husband and father, the tender wife and mother---finally, would the judicious and patriotic statesman, or the true American, *wish for war*? Was the question put to the above characters, *do you wish for war*? Would they not with united voice exclaim---*Heaven forbid that we should have war! We are all for peace!*

But who are the men who wish for war? Generally speaking, the men who wish for unnecessary war, are those who, destitute of love to their country ; a relish for the sweets of domestic life---and having like Burr, out-lived their reputations and estates, would willingly recover themselves, at the expence of sacrificing the prosperity and happiness of their country.

The only war which America can be justified in maintaining, not only from motives of policy but principle, and every laudable consideration, is a de-

ensive war--and this is only necessary in cases of invasion. In an instance of this kind, our defence and victory must depend on internal strength and union.

But when the injury done by a foreign nation or nations consists in a violation of our commercial rights, sound policy dictates a different mode of redress. Here the most gentle means are the most effectual; and as long as they stand out, and discover no disposition to make ample satisfaction, the best mode of punishing it is, to suspend all intercourse and let them alone.---This part of my subject seems applicable to the present day; and perhaps I cannot better illustrate and establish the last mentioned principle, than by observations and remarks which naturally offer themselves on the present state of our country.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

At a time when at peace with all nations, we have recently, in repeated instances, seen our sovereignty and independence treated with contempt---our national flag degraded--our commerce embarrassed and partially destroyed, by the detention and condemnation of our vessels, the spoliation of our property, the impressment of our American seamen and the murder of our citizens within the jurisdiction of the United States; and all this outrage and destruction, under circumstances of aggravated cruelty and insult, and by a nation "professing friendship and a *high sense* of national honor." And to finish the climax, two of the most powerful nations of Europe have by orders and decrees, operating in the total destruction of our neutral rights, cut off our intercourse with all nations. In this critical, injured and insulted situation, what was to be done? In what manner retaliate? How seek redress? Must we have recourse to armies and navies, and by opposing force to force, bring them to a sense of justice? No: we are not in a situation to do this. Had we a navy sufficient, and were we instead of an

agricultural and manufacturing, merely a commercial nation, and dependant for the necessaries of life on the nation or nations by whom we were insulted and injured, then with propriety might we have recourse to those kind of retaliating measures. But the case is far different, and the plain and incontestible fact is, that as a nation we cannot with propriety be denominated commercial, but agricultural; and those nations with whom we have intercourse, are *by far* more dependant on us than we are on them. This truth appears with full force from the consideration that this country to a great degree, in the commercial line, in the exchange for the actual necessaries of life, receives those which strictly speaking, may be termed superfluous. This shows that those nations instead of having a redundancy, are in want. In want of what? Not of the luxuries and superfluities, but the ordinary means of subsistence. Their wants are *real*, not imaginary. But quite the contrary with us. While they are "starving in a foreign land, we have bread enough, and to spare." Our actual wants are amply supplied. For the gratification of our partial and imaginary ones, we are in a degree dependant on other nations.

This contrast exhibits in a striking and convincing manner, the dependance and independence of this and other nations, in a commercial point of view. And while intercourse could be kept with the belligerent powers, upon mutual principles, we were willing to supply their actual wants, by delivering our produce at their own doors, and receiving in exchange articles, many of which were wholly superfluous to them in every other respect, and not less so to us. Hence we can exist without them; but they *cannot* without us.

Placed in these circumstances, can any one be at a loss as to our mode of redress, and weapon of defence. On this point the voice of God, the voice of reason, and the voice of our country, unite.

The language of scripture addresseth us thus :---
 “ Come ye out from among them ; be ye separate : for let favor be shown to the wicked, yet will they not learn righteousness : in the land of uprightneis will they deal unjustly. Come therefore my people, enter into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee ; hide thyself for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast.” More appropriate language cannot be made use of.

Listen now to the voice of reason, while it addresseth us in the following manner :

“ Americans, consider well your sovreignty, prosperity and resources. Although your internal strength, if united, is sufficient to repel the force of foreign invasion, still you are young---you are not in a state of preparation, (and if you were, it would not be consistent with your interest or happiness) to be implicated in the war of hatred, desperation and extermination of the old world. As a nation, you have internal resources, and are the best calculated of any other to live alone. Still you have neighbors at a distance with whom you wish to have intercourse. To this I do not object, provided it is conducted upon principles of reciprocity. But as those neighbors injure you, and insist you should take a part in their quarrels, my advice is, to stand aloof. You are better customers to them, than they are to you. You have the staff in your own hands ---make no use of it in threatening---but let them know that you do not wish to trade or associate with a band of robbers on the high seas, any more than on the common highways ; and if they do not desist from such unjustifiable conduct, you will withdraw all connexion ; and tame them as you would a tyger, by starving them.”

With the voice of both, coincides the voice of our government. On our government's having notice of the orders and decrees of Great-Britain and France, which operate in the destruction of our

commerce and neutral rights, what was to be done? Would it have been proper to have declared war against both nations? Prudence answers, no; this will not mend the matter. Our commerce, if possible, would be in a worse situation. Shall they go to war with England? This may be gratifying to the French; but of what advantage to us; our commerce still remains in the same embarrassed condition. The gain upon our side would bear but small proportion to the loss. But suppose they had levied war against France? I ask for what? Merely to gratify the British and their agents in this country; for surely we could neither get at them, or their property. Now in either case, our commerce would have been in a worse situation, if possible, than in consequence of the embargo. Not so, says the objector---“our government did not conduct wisely: instead of laying the embargo, they ought to have declared war against France---then Britain would have protected our commerce, fought our battles, and defended our rights against the universal Invader---who in his boundless ambition for extent of territory, is not confined merely to Europe, Asia, and Africa; but in his rage for conquest, is still fighting and grasping for America; and, *Collossus like*, stands with one foot on the old world, the other on the new.”

Here let any reasonable man, for one moment, *pause*, and reflect.---I *will not* go so far back as the commencement of the American revolution. I *will not* point you to the catalogue of grievances, just read, contained in the declaration of independence---nor would I remind you of the dishonorable conduct---the inhuman and savage cruelty of Britain from that time to the conclusion of the war. *Look* at her conduct since. When after relinquishing her right to govern us, and acknowledging the people of the United States, a free, sov'reign and independent nation. I ask, what has her conduct been since? Has she not, in repeated instances, trampled on our

neutral rights ; despised our flag, scoffed and jeered at our independence ; impressed our seamen ; detained and condemned our vessels and cargoes, and even murdered our citizens ; thus adding death to injury and insult ; and all these acts of outrage and injustice, not only countenanced by her agents and emissaries in this country but tolerated and sanctioned by their own government.

I now ask any candid American, whether this is the nation to entrust with the protection of our liberties and neutral rights ? If so, I exclaim, *O unhappy and ill-fated America !* — We may forgive, but to confide in or forget them we *never* can. The man who in repeated instances has broken into your cellar and robbed you of your provisions, you may, perhaps, wisely forgive ; but afterwards to entrust him with the *key*, would be consummate folly.

For my own part, I have no particular partiality for George the 3d, or Bonaparte, and think all our apprehensions, respecting either, are groundless, provided we are united among ourselves. Still there are some who think we have much to fear from France, and that we are in jeopardy unless protected by the British navy ; thus intimating, that she is fully equal to the conquering of America ; and were it not for the English, Bonaparte would at this moment be employed in the work of subjugation.

To such characters I reply, are you sure but France may conquer England ? It is answered, no. Well, one thing is pretty certain, that at our distance from England, we can be of but little use to her in subduing France ; and after all France may possibly come off victorious ; in which case, *think ye*, we should fare much the better in consequence of our friendly aid to Britain. If Bonaparte is such a *terrible creature*, is it not sound policy to let him alone ?

But suppose for instance (for you know it an age of wonders,) that by the assistance of America, England should humble France, could we expect to

find more liberal friends in the characters of George the 3d and his ministry? We have tried them *again and again*, and if at last we should succeed, I should be almost ready to pronounce it the *wonder of wonders.*" Hence we conclude, that the best, and I presume the safest way, is, to leave the King of England and the Emperor of France to fight their own battles. If they do not use us well, withdraw all connexion, and have *nothing* to do with *either*.

This was the policy adopted by our government in laying the embargo; the only safe and effectual measure which at the time, could have been taken; and will, in my opinion, if *strictly* adhered to, soon convince, both England and France, of the vast utility of American commerce.

But it is confidently asserted by some, "that the *embargo* is a war measure---forced upon us by our government, in compliance with the mandates of the French Emperor, for the purpose of bringing us into a war with England."

Let any impartial man read the British orders of council of the 11th of November, 1807, together with the retaliating decrees of France, and he will see sufficient cause for an embargo, separate from the *secret mandates of Bonaparte*. In addition to these, there is another order of council, sanctioned by the parliament, laying a tax on goods landed in England by neutrals, of over 30 per cent. called a *warehouse duty*.---Were ever the rights of neutrals so violated? *Was ever* the commerce of a neutral nation thrown into a more *injured, perplexing, embarrassed* situation? *Was ever* a government called upon to interfere at a more critical crisis? *At a time*, when our commerce was extended to a greater degree than at any former period---*at a time*, when from the united impulse of self-interest, foreign influence and party spirit, jealousy and suspicion, had arisen to the highest pitch. *At this critical, this alarming juncture*, was our government called upon by a sense of na-

tional honor; by the sovereignty and independence of their country; by public and private interest, *to interfere*. The government did *interfere*. *It was their duty to interfere*. The result of their discussions and deliberations was the embargo. It was the only mean to prevent greater evils than we had experienced. But it is asked, is not the embargo an evil? Simply considered, I know not but it may be termed an evil; but as the only remedy to prevent greater, I do not think it is. But admitting it an evil in every sense, from whom did it originate? *Not from the secret mandates of Napoleon; but from the open, avowed and published decrees of both England and France, operating in the destruction of our commerce and neutral rights.*

But it is replied, that Mr. Pickering and other great men, who have possessed the means of information, are of different opinion. *They say "they believe it was merely a compliance of the administration to the secret mandates of Bonaparte, to plunge us headlong into a war with Britain, thus sacrificing the interests both of England and America on the altar of France."* *I know they say, they believe so.* Mr. Pickering has also given *us to understand* that he is a good man. President Adams, might however have been of a different opinion, when *he gave him to understand* his services were no longer needed as secretary of state. But, his goodness to the contrary notwithstanding, I think from the tenor of his letter addressed to the legislature of Massachusetts, he has no claim on the public to consider him as a *candid or impartial man*. For while he is *very* particular in alarming the fears and exciting the passions, by resorting to secret corruption and the imaginary terrors of the French Emperor; he is equally so in concealing the true interests of the nation, and the real causes of the embargo.

The secret corruption of French influence still remains *a secret*; and that the President's conduct was

governed with a reference to Imperial commands, is equally so. Neither Mr. Pickering's letter, or any other, throws any additional light on the subject—nor, in my opinion, ever will. But as Mr. Pickering's letter answered the end intended, it may be immaterial with some whether its contents were true or false.

But Bonaparte says, he will have no neutrals.—Well, admitting for supposition that he did actually say he would have no neutrals. What then? What is to be inferred? Why, the people must be told that France is our mortal foe—that England is our dearest friend. That France has threatened destruction to our commerce and neutral rights—that England is fighting France for the support of our liberties :—it is therefore the interest and true policy of this country to unite with England, and wage war against France : and if our government do not act agreeable to this mode of reasoning, it is the most convincing proof they are subject to the dictates of the French Emperor, and unworthy of the confidence of the people. Is this, fellow-citizens, the language of union, or division? Is it the language of peace, or war? Is it the language of a true hearted American, or of a false foreign faction? You will pardon my warmth—I am now upon a topic which affects my feelings; a topic on which every American ought to feel himself deeply interested.

Permit me therefore, to call on any one present; to call upon the disaffected; to call upon foreign agents; to call upon one and all, to come forward and testify, as in the presence of the Judge of the Universe, whether you ever see any thing in, or heard any thing from Mr. Jefferson, either directly or indirectly, that had the most distant appearance of sacrificing the interests of this country to France. If it can be made to appear that he is guilty, I then say he has forfeited the national confidence, and is totally unworthy the trust committed to his charge; and

I will be found among the first to have him displaced ; to have his name recorded, and handed down to posterity, blackened with infamy and disgrace.— But if he is *not guilty*, *how* wicked ; *how* scandalous ; *how* infamous must that man be, who will invent and circulate such notorious falsehoods, for the purpose of blasting the reputation of the President, and destroying the confidence of the people in the present administration ?

Admitting Bonaparte had written, or even had in person *directly spoken* to Mr. Jefferson, declaring he would have *no neutrals* ? How could the President prevent his saying whatever he pleased ? What more could be done, than has already been done ? The proper answer in this case would have been,—“ You say, sir, that you will have *no neutrals*. Very well ; one thing you may rest assured of, *that is*, you shall reap *no advantage* from our neutrality.”

Sometimes it is confidently asserted, that Mr. Armstrong has *quit* France ; again it is reported as fact that he is massacred.

The next news, all *well* authenticated, is, “ that Bonaparte has limited Mr. Jefferson to 60 days to make war with England ; and if war is not declared by the expiration of the time,” “ *Then look out !*” Look out for *what* ? “ Why, *I don't know* ; but, *look out.*”

At one time Mr. Jefferson is represented as being afraid of the French Emperor, and will unconditionally submit to any injunction or command, for the purpose of keeping him at a distance. At another, he would make any sacrifice for the sake of getting him to this country ; and readily quit the most dignified and honorable station in the *known world*, for a *small appointment* from his imperial majesty.

When any of you, fellow-citizens, possessed of a handsome estate, with a wife and family, dearer to you, if possible, than your own lives, with every thing about you, convenient and agreeable, to render

life pleasant and happy, are willing to send over to Europe for a frenchman, and on his arrival, resign to him the sole possession, direction and management of your wife, children and estate, with all your secular and domestic concerns, and yourself turn *lackey*:—then, and *not till then*, may you believe, that Mr. Jefferson wishes to resign the presidency of the United States to become an *understrapper* to Bonaparte.—Now, for what is all this *stuff or trash*, retailed or circulated throughout the United States? Is it not the object to delude the honest and industrious part of our country, by imposing on them the belief that America has *no liberty, no property, no happiness*, separate from Great-Britain—that the President of the United States is a *decided Frenchman*, and that every other American ought to be a *decided Englishman*.—The men, who, with such indefatigable industry, circulate such monstrous absurdities, are the very same from whom originate the abuse of our government for laying the embargo.

But the embargo is on:—what the event will be, time alone must determine. The cause of it, was the conduct of the belligerent powers of Europe. The men who made the law, were those whom the people of the United States selected, by their suffrages, to legislate and manage the national concerns.—If there are any foreign agents, or members of a foreign faction, in this country, who dislike the measure, they will do well to consider, that the fault lies at their *own doors*—and if they do not like the government and laws of the United States, they are at full liberty to return home; and, as dutiful subjects, take their places at the *foot* of the sovereign to which they respectively belong: being confident that Americans can manage, at least, their internal concerns, as well without as with them.

Notwithstanding the embargo was a judicious measure, and the only alternative except war; still it must necessarily have a considerable effect on al-

most every kind of business. As a commercial nation, we had increased with surprising rapidity, and perhaps too fast, for the real prosperity and happiness of our country.—It is acknowledged that commerce is a spur to industry : but, at the same time, it will not be disputed, that it is a business, more hazardous, and attended with greater risk, than any other. It also, like every other business, may be over-done ; in which case it will not support itself. In both instances, to be conducted prudently, requires a capital, at least to the amount employed in trade, otherwise the business must partly be done on credit ; consequently, if not insured, at the risk of the creditor.

No event, it is believed, ever gave such a spring to American commerce, and agriculture, as what is termed the French revolution.—Soon after the conclusion of the American war, the price of lands, labor, produce, and almost every kind of article, both foreign and domestic, fell in price, to about the same they were previous to the war.

The revolution in France, and consequent wars, occasioned the demand of our produce, in foreign markets. This raised the price of produce, and necessarily of land. As some now supposed that all the lands in the United States would soon be in a state of cultivation, it opened a wide field for speculation. One after another, entered upon the business of jobbing. No young man, of an ambitious make, on seeing one of his poor neighbors, jump, as it were, into an estate, in a few days, could be contented to get rich by the dint of industry. It was a powerful stimulus to follow the example. One followed another, 'till it was discovered there was more land than could be occupied. The purchases being on a credit, pay-day come--no more wanted to buy--the price had fallen--titles were bad--one fell through after another--the fever subsided--and the business ended. Here was an *embargo*. What

was the cause of it? Why, the business was overdone. Why was it overdone? Because, it was done on credit.

During the rage among the speculators, all had land to sell---all wanted to buy; but none had any thing to pay. They were unfortunate men---they are *now poor*. They were *once rich*, and possessed of a *vast deal* of property; though, in reality they were never worth a *cent*.

Now, if at the height of this fever, it had become necessary for government to have passed an act, putting a stop to the business, how many of those speculators, who, notwithstanding their "golden views," were worth nothing, would have exclaimed, *I am ruined! I am ruined! O this cruel law!* it has *stripped* me of *all* my property! Ah! *how?* Has it taken from you your land, or your money? *O!* no; *but then*---But what then? *Why!* why---it has blasted my expectation. Yes, that's it. It has deprived you of property you never owned---and prevented your buying more, for which you had nothing to pay.

Thus, in some measure, has it been with the commercial and mercantile business. How many have quitted their industrious callings, and entered into trade and navigation, who had no business with it. I do not mean, by thus speaking, that a man ought, by law, to be deprived of pursuing any innocent or useful calling :---but I do not think it consistent with common honesty, or prudence, for a man to go into a sea-port, worth nothing; and, by telling some plausible stories, or by some other improper means, get his credit established, run in debt for a vessel or two, fit them out; set all this property afloat, incident to numerous risks---and, perhaps, continue the business for years, and the whole time the balance of trade is against him. I say, such conduct is inconsistent with prudence or honesty. Still, how many instances have we, in this country.

Of the failures that have taken place since the embargo, I presume not one in twenty have happened in consequence of *it*. What then has been the cause? Why, as doctor Franklin has justly observed, “*men may live by their wits; but they generally break for want of stock.*”

A man may commence trade insolvent, and continue to grow more and more so through a long life; but when death comes, the enchantment is broken, and his real standing becomes known: and if, by any accident or event, previous to his death, his business stops, it will have a similar effect in discovering his circumstances. It is not on the principle of putting a stop to credit, or of disclosing men's real standing in life, that I justify the embargo. But these observations have been made, merely to show that those who find the most fault with the measure, have, of *all others*, the least reason; and that it is *very ungenerous* to impute the cause of their failing to our government, when, in fact, they were worth nothing before the embargo. No man, in good circumstances, will continue a business which will not support itself; or when the risk of loss is greater than the chance of gain: but a man insolvent, may, for the purpose of concealing his poverty. Hence, men really possessed of property, object least to the embargo.

If there ever was a time when foreign intercourse might be suspended, for a season, without experiencing inconvenience for want of imported articles, it is the *present*.

Is there any want, at present, in this country, of articles of foreign growth and manufacture? Is there not an abundance, and, I might add, a superabundance? If there was a scarcity, would not the demand be greater? Do you not hear the same complaint from the commercial, as the agricultural character? I have property enough on hand; but there is *no sale*. What is the reason there is no sale

for imported articles? Why, there is no cash. That is a mistake. There is more real cash, that is, hard money, at this time, than has been at any former period; and no one will dispute, but there are as many bank bills. It is true, there is not so much money in circulation, neither is it necessary; the most it is now wanted for, is to pay debts. But there never has, in reality, been so much in circulation, as appeared to be. A ten dollar bill has frequently been made to count for an 100 dollars, in the course of a day, by shifting through ten different hands; still neither of the possessors was the real owner, and, after all, it was but a *ten dollar bill*.

The scarcity of money is not the grand cause why foreign articles are not in demand: but the reason is, the business has been over-done, and credit is at an end. The true state of the case is, the husbandman and mechanic, have been trusting the commercial part of the community; the banks and monied men have been hiring to the merchant and importer; and, in their rage for extending business, on the foundation of both domestic and foreign credit, they have been heaping upon heap, as though they were determined to export the *new*, and import the *old world*: and we sometimes have almost been persuaded to believe, that our produce, consisting of the actual necessaries of life, was of no use but to foreigners; and that Americans ought to live on *tea and rum*.

Money ought to represent industry: it is this, and this principle only, and not credit and speculation, that makes a dollar worth a dollar, and count for no more, and establishes a circulating medium.

It is much easier to write a note, or to get money from the banks by the assistance of a good endorser, of sufficient amount to purchase a vessel and cargo, than to raise enough, by industry, to pay for them. It is conducting business in this manner, and not the embargo, that causes failures. It is running in debt

further than they are able to pay, that makes bankrupts. The embargo has, for the present, put a stop to the business. Credit seems almost at an end.

The price of lands and produce may fall. But the farmer has no reason to be discouraged. Your lands and produce were in reality worth no more on account of the prices being enhanced, by holding the note of a bankrupt to the amount of 1000 dollars. They still remain the same, actually necessary, worth as much as ever. Cultivate, eat, drink, enjoy, the good of your labor. Complain not in consequence of the embargo ; but consider it more prudent to sacrifice the note of an insolvent debtor, than your best interests---the liberties and independence of your country.

Once more, I observe, that the men who exclaim most against the embargo, make use of the most direct means for its continuance. It is most likely that the embargo will not be raised, until the belligerent powers are disposed to regard our neutral rights, and respect the flag of the United States as free and independent. These nations are well acquainted with the design or end of our government, in suspending all intercourse with them. As it is a measure which, in all probability, does not meet their approbation ; they, undoubtedly, will stand out, as long as possible, before they will negotiate on honorable terms. Meanwhile they are anxious to hear how the people of this country stand affected towards the measure. Now, if England and France are informed, that the people of the United States, instead of unanimously supporting their own rights and laws—are divided, and contending for those of other nations what will they infer ? Why, that there is a party in the United States, who place no confidence in their own government, and would give the preference to another. Is this the way to accelerate or retard negotiation ? To a question so plain, any one can answer.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

Are we a nation, or are we not?---If we are---let us support the rights and dignity of the nation.

*Have we a constitution of civil government, or have we not?---If we have, let us support this constitution.---Have we men, chosen by ourselves, to administer upon this constitution? If so, let us support this administration.---If constitutional laws are enacted, we are bound to yield subjection---if unconstitutional, a remedy is provided. Our elections frequently recur. The sovereignty is in the people: if they do not like the officers of government, shift them. Are the people divided? Elections are the test of strength. The majority *must* govern---the minority *must* submit. This is the *only* basis, the *vital* principle of all free governments. The man who does not hold this principle sacred, is no republican. This is the medium, the only safe course. In proportion as you deviate, you revert, on the one hand, to monarchy and aristocracy; and, on the other, plunge into lawless anarchy. A due deference to the constituted authorities, and the laws of the land, shows your submission to the *principle*, that the majority *must* govern. If the minority do not agree with the present legislature, and administration of the general government, they are at liberty to express this disagreement, by speaking, writing, or publishing. It can be done candidly and dispassionately; separate from slander, contempt or abuse.*

Particularly, all laws made and sanctioned by government, referring to the illegal conduct of other nations; bringing them to a sense of justice, and tending to the business of negotiation, ought to be *strictly* observed by every citizen of the United States.

The *least* violation of such laws, either *directly* or *indirectly*, is inconsistent with the character of an American; tends to rebellion, and the destruction of the union; had not ought to be countenanced by

any citizen, *much less*, by those whose particular province it is to guard the laws. If we do not regard our own laws, can it be expected that other nations will: in this case, we should not be united at home, or respected abroad.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

We profess ourselves a free, sov'reign, and independent nation. Remember, it is only in a national sense we can be so. Recollect, also, that it is *united*, we stand; but *divided*, we fall. At home, we are every thing; abroad, we are comparatively nothing. In an offensive war, we can make but a feeble resistance. In the defensive, if united, we can maintain our sov'reignty, independant of, and against any nation on earth. There is nothing wanting to complete and perpetuate our national happiness and prosperity, but union and virtue. Why should any of us be destitute of those means, within every man's reach—*means* so simple—so necessary—so easily obtained.—Is union and virtue less necessary in civil, than domestic life? Why should the family of America be divided, distracted, and rendered unhappy, by the interference of neighbors at so great a distance.

O shame to the American name!

Let the nations of the old world, laden with iniquity, experience the just vengeance of the Almighty, in discord, rapine and death: but America, young, virtuous and wealthy, enjoy in domestic quietude and national harmony, the *gracious smiles*, and *richest blessings*, an indulgent Heaven and bountiful providence bestow. The interests of Americans are the same, *all uniting* in order, peace, virtue, prosperity and happiness. Let not the love of party, or attachment to foreign nations, lead us to sacrifice the dearest interests of our beloved land. May the spark of generous patriotism glow in our hearts, and denominate us true Americans. Remember, that internal division and commotion, when carried

to the extreme, are evils, to which foreign aggression and invasion bear no proportion.

This is our country. *Here*, let us all unite. We have families—we are husbands—we are wives—we are parents—we are children. Do we wish to see them *happy*, and be *happy* ourselves? Then preserve order: this is “*Heaven's first law.*” Respect ourselves, and submit to the laws of our land. Teach surrounding nations, that in one principle, at least, we are united, namely; in repelling every foreign aggression, and resisting every foreign foe.

Americans--this day calls to our remembrance sentiments, which patriotism approves--which virtue justifies, and heaven rewards: *sentiments*, which the sages of our revolution labored, but not in vain, to inspire: *sentiments*, which our brave heroes bled and died, to establish! *sentiments*, which it is the interest and glory, of every American, to defend and perpetuate. The sentiments are, the love and independence of our country. *Here* is the beginning--*here the end* of genuine patriotism. Here Americans, whether denominated federal or republican, if ever they unite, *must unite*: and upon *these great—these grand—these all-preserving* principles, let the names of *French* and *English* be heard *no more*.