

AN

*The Month*

# ORATION

PRONOUNCED JULY 4, 1814.

BEING THE THIRTY-EIGHTH YEAR

OF

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE;

AT REQUEST OF THE

REPUBLICAN CITIZENS OF PORTSMOUTH.



BY DANIEL AUSTIN, JR.



The spirit and strength of the nation are, nevertheless, equal to the support of all its rights, and to carry it through all its trials.

MADISON.

O fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint! ~~.....~~

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*Memorandum of the Committee of Arrangements*

*Anniversary of American Independence.*

PORTSMOUTH, JULY 4, 1814.

THE Committee of Arrangements for Celebrating the Anniversary of AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, beg leave to present their thanks to Mr. AUSTIN, in behalf of their fellow-citizens, for the very elegant and patriotic ORATION pronounced by him this day, and request a copy for publication.

With sentiments of much esteem,  
We remain, very respectfully,

Your most obedient servants,

BENJAMIN PENHALLOW,  
EBENEZER WENTWORTH,  
ENOCH G. PARROTT,  
ANDREW W. BELL,

} Committee.

PORTSMOUTH, JULY 4, 1814.

GENTLEMEN of the Committee of Arrangements, will please to accept my thanks for their unremitting attentions. The juvenile object of your polite request, you have styled patriotic. Whatever is patriotic is useful. I am therefore no longer reluctant. And whatever is useful in a production of this class, which cannot hope to be otherwise than ephemeral, plants an evergreen upon its grave.

With the highest consideration,

I remain, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

DANIEL AUSTIN, JR.

Messrs. BENJAMIN PENHALLOW,  
EBENEZER WENTWORTH,  
ENOCH G. PARROTT, AND  
ANDREW W. BELL.

## ORATION, &c.

**THERE** is a kind of pride that mingles itself with the acknowledgment of diffidence, before an audience so numerous and respectable. How shall we address an assembly of Freemen—an assembly of Freemen! upon a subject reciprocally familiar and warmly cherished; which from infancy to age has entwined itself around our best affections; grown with our growth, and improved by time into vigorous principle:—upon a day, too, the anniversary of a period to be recorded as the birth-day of AMERICAN LIBERTY, by successive historians; immortalized in the songs of the bards; and welcomed and gladdened by the grateful acclaim of millions.

We come not now, fellow-citizens, from having traced the windings of the human heart, and found a spring, subtle in its operation, but powerful in its effect, to wake that spring into action, hostile to the union and best interests of this country. We leave that to its enemies. Honored by your attention, and inspired by the occasion, be it ours if haply we may throw a ray of light upon the subject of rational liberty; a theme which in remotest time, wherever tyranny is to be resisted or right maintained, shall light up the brow of victory, and glow upon the lips of expiring patriots. On this theme my emotions are unutterable: would to Heaven I could impart them. Impart, did I say! Pardon me my countrymen; I know that, in unison with mine, your hearts already burn within you, at the very sound of Freedom! Come, then, let us mingle our aspirations, that they may ascend together in gratitude to Him who has given us to be free.

**Rational liberty, the wish of patriots, and the anticipation of the wisest and best among all legislators ; let us, for a moment, inquire into its nature and residence, its advantages, and its probable duration. Its nature, then : is it a mere regard to self interest ? Not sordid, it is exalted principle. Is it a ferocious consciousness of power without right ? Such a consciousness is the predisposition to insanity. Something more than the dream of the prisoner, yet neither intemperance nor lawlessness, it is the preference of universal to particular good ; the political acknowledgment of the natural equality of all men, and at the same time, of the unavoidable disparities of education, as well as of the necessary superiority of station in civilized society. It regards humanity, however circumstanced, and hails every *useful* member of the community, as a friend and brother. As it displays itself in the conduct, it is that "proud submission," which does not voluntarily bend but to the Deity, and to that system of government, and *that only*, which, proclaiming to man his inherent rights, guarantees and defends them.—And what is that system of government ? Can it be a monarchy ? Where have we seen the spirit of monarchy holding forth the charter of natural rights ? The spirit of monarchy, on the contrary, wheels its oppressive throne over the necks of the people, and like its own permitted instrument of cruelty, the ponderous tower of Juggernaut, crushes to the earth the beings whom God does not refuse to raise and dignify.**

**The love of liberty is natural to man. Arbitrary governments therefore originated in a mistake, or surrender of nature's charter. The people under such governments, tricked by their tyrants, with a semblance of liberty, pursue the *ignis fatuus* through the very rings and bolts of slavery—then wake to their chains—while every unsuccessful effort, for emancipation, rivets their fetters.**

**An aristocracy is a multiplication of the congregated miseries of monarchy. Its form is, in some measure, republican, but its spirit is despotic. It must have been in or-**

der to deceive and enslave mankind, that aristocracies, and even despotisms, have been sometimes denominated republics. Rome was called a republic, alike after the expulsion of the Tarquins, and during the tyranny of Augustus and Tiberius. France was called a republic, under the directory, the committee of safety, and the consulate. Venice, though the government was entirely independent of the people, affected the same title. Poland was called a republic, although it was governed by a king, who was elected by nobles, and the people were all slaves !\* Now these non-descript governments were no more free, compared with a republic, than, for example, a British *subject* contrasted with an American *citizen*. Even the little republic of St. Marino, in Italy, which has maintained its political system for so many centuries, is hardly entitled to its name. And what is understood by a *pure unmixed* democracy, such as existed at intervals of the French revolution, if government it can be called, is, decidedly, the worst of all possible governments.

It is plain, then, that rational liberty as we have defined it, is to be recognized only in a republic—an elective republic—where the faculties of government, originating in the people, after an intentional circle of beneficence, return to them again, and again, in a thousand concentric circles, for the general good, resembles the starry system above us ; the congressional planets, with the state governments, their satellites, are continually revolving about their sun and common centre, the people ; in whom, as long as virtue, like the light and heat of the natural sun, shall exist, will keep up its splendid round.

In such a republic the silken filaments of the affections love to grasp, like tendrils, the principle of universal philanthropy. At first supported by it, they grow at length hardy enough to strengthen and support it. Rational or “temperate liberty, is like the dew as it descends, unseen, from its native heaven. Constant, without excess, it finds

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\* For these three or four facts, I am indebted to an epitome of historic information.

vegetation thirsting for its refreshment, and imparts to it the vigor to take more." The government of a people, with the divine spirit of liberty thus descending upon them, is instinctively impelled to stretch forth its fostering arms over a country, however extensive; and nourishing, and cherishing, equally, individual as well as national interests, is enabled to derive its resources from even the most minute corner of the same, concentrate its energies, and maintain its greatness.

If we seek for the *particular* residence of rational liberty, the historian will tell us that in *ancient* times, under a *form*, however, *less pure and dignified*, because varying with climate, disposition and circumstance, for a while she resided at Athens, as the nurse of philosophy and the patroness of arts and arms; that again she was seen at Rome wielding the councils of the commonwealth; that it was she who presided over the pen of TULLY, and gave that irresistible power of persuasion to the rhetorical champion of Greece; that it was she who in after time called up De Witt, De Ruyter, and Van Tromp, and immortalized them in the service of their country; that it was she who inspired the magnanimous Swiss to evidence to the world that "there is no rampart like the breasts of a free people;" that it was Liberty, in fine which in the day-dreams of our forefathers, while in their native country, was constantly presenting to their imagination the distant land, "where a tyrant never trod—where a slave *was* never known—but where nature worship'd God, in the wilderness, alone."

Disgusted with religious and political intolerance, and seeking for quiet without interruption, they longed for these solitudes though ever so dreary, where it was cheering to think they might awaken nature from her reverential silence of ages, into a vocal expression of the high praises of the Divinity they delighted to adore. But they must first set sail upon the untried ocean, for an unknown clime. Persecuted, branded outcasts! whither shall they betake themselves! Despair is on every countenance. The ge-

nius of liberty dissipates the gloom. *Come*, said the delightful vision. *We will come*, responded the noble sufferers. Behold at length you speck upon the ocean. They have bid adieu to all they loved, necessitated to give themselves to all they dreaded. It is the ship of destiny. It bears the embryo of a powerful nation.

*“By spirits unseen its sails are wifw’d,  
“And the hand that guides is not of this world.”*

But I need not spread upon the canvass for the thousandth or ten thousandth time, the persecution, the perils, and the sufferings of our forefathers. It were but adding a rude miniature to a gallery of exquisite, full length portraits. Besides, I trust the story is familiar to your children as yourselves: And let it never be forgotten; but point them to the principle, rather than the fact, and distil upon their opening intellect the salutary, invigorating truth, that it is by our own virtues rather than by a gorgeous display of theirs, that we can best consecrate the monuments and embalm the memory of our Ancestors.

*“Ghosts of the mighty dead your childrens hearts inspire,  
“And while we on your ashes tread rekindle all your fire.*

The appearance and condition of these voluntary exiles from the time of their landing in 1620, to the war of our revolution is such that we are astonished at the rapidity of their progress, increase and improvement. It is wonderful! and will be almost incredible to those who may come after us, that infantile weakness should so soon assume the features and the powers of muscular manhood—that Hercules should leap so soon from the cradle—that a nation should be born in a day!

But when we contemplate the children of such sires, our fathers of the revolution—a revolution, provoked by the malignant insolence of envious Britain; yet conducted with so much moderation that it can hardly be classed as a revolution; and which for its propriety stands alone in the history of the world’s political changes—a revolution

which called forth for universal benefit, admiration and love, **WASHINGTON**, the illustrious Father of his Country, at the head of that immortal band of patriots, who brighten as they thicken, in succession, upon the memory—a revolution which wrote in the justly spilled blood of its enemies, the invincibility of the champions of liberty, which threw back the chains of the oppressed at the front of the oppressor; which enfranchised nearly three millions of people; and compelled their trembling tyrant to acknowledge them free, sovereign, and independent!!!—**We lose ourselves in the magnitude of the subject. What a revolution!** And what a heart must that man have, who does not, upon this day, feel ennobled at the recollection of such valor, prudence, perseverance, and success.

It is impossible here to omit, much more to forget the Declaration of Independence—the manual of every true republican, which will descend to other times with the fame of its draughter, the Sage of Monticello, an exemplar to other nations, as well as that to which it gives energy.

The revolutionary war, after an interval of almost *four years*, during which, the State governments, although like so many separate principalities, continued observing among themselves, except in one instance, perfect order to exist together in perfect harmony, was at length consummated by a national compact styled the Constitution of the United States of America. It was a magna-charta conceived with great spirit and breathing liberty; yet materially deficient in some of those cautious checks to the encroachment of ambition, inadvertency, or power, which many years experience of the afterward incorporated Amendments to the Constitution has shewn, are now to be relied on as the breast-work of its defence.

Notwithstanding its original imperfections what comparative harmony was displayed in the *adoption* of this national code. How unlike the Diets of Poland and the



conventions of France. Yet what more momentous than a decision upon the interests of future generations ! It remained with a few delegates to suffer the sun of liberty, shorn of its beams, to glimmer a twilight, or to shine forth in full radiance, diffusing light and joy. The return of this day's happiness is a consequence of their decision.— We, fellow-citizens, are among the number of those who glory in our gratitude to these establishers of equal laws and equal rights.

The Constitution under its present form is acknowledged an exquisite structure. Collecting the useful only, from every system of ancient legislation, and improved upon every modern statistical theory, it combines utility with grandeur, and beauty with strength. Of monarchies, the excellence is power ; of aristocracies, wisdom ; and of republics, freedom. Your constitution concentrates these, and in such a manner, with such mutual checks and balances, that it has surprised mankind with a precedent of power supporting wisdom, and of wisdom at the same time enlightening liberty. Nor is it among the least of its advantages, that while the inhabitant of almost every European country is obliged to search often for a most trivial precept of his constitution, through folios on folios, which are daily encreasing, we have ours legible and intelligible ; in a form so wonderfully compressed and definite, that it may accompany the freeman whether he walk, or journey, at home or abroad ; instructing him at a glance with the nature of his rights and their extent. And although nothing of human origin is perfect, yet to be amended progressively by the wisdom of successive legislators ; we know of nothing human entitled to hope for nearer access to perfection.

Here then at length is found that liberty whose nature we defined, and whose residence we have sought in united America. Here it is then that rational liberty, pure and unalloyed as the breeze that is this moment playing around our flag-staff, is to be enjoyed. America continues an

asylum for the persecuted and unfortunate of all nations. No matter of what country, age, sex, sect, birth, or persuasion, here protected by the same equal laws, entitled to the same immunities, offered the same political advantages, and recipients of the same general blessings : though poor and miserable and naked, on their coming to our shores—escaped from wrong and outrage and oppression ; here in a few years of honest industry, they become comfortable, rich, and respectable.

But that which was the grand motive to the settlement of this country, and which as it partly forms the basis of our Independence, can never enough be estimated, is *religious freedom*. No established church here predetermines and commands our faith. No barbarous Inquisition here suffers hardy villainy to escape while it tortures trembling innocence into confession of crime. Our religion is the religion that recommends itself to every man's conscience. Our religion, like our country, needs no *Strong-denominated Bulwark* to defend it. Who that possesses the sensibilities of a man and a freeman, can speak without apparent enthusiasm upon the subject of American liberty. It were easy therefore to amplify upon our advantages. But I check myself ; lest without informing the understanding, I should fatigue the attention of those whom I have the honor to address. Waving then in civil matters, the liberty of conduct, and in speculative, the liberty of discussion, and reserving the right of suffrage upon which hinges all our present safety and future glory, let us come at once to that part of our oration which embodies more principles as it comprehends more facts : the probable duration of our Republic.

We have been told, my countrymen, with a degree of assurance which would do credit to a heathen oracle, that our constitution is utterly defective—that it cannot last—that other republics having fallen, ours too contains within its germ the seeds of dissolution, and must soon be buried under its own ruins ; and that every measure of the pres-

ent administration hastens the declension. Do we believe all this? Do we credit any part of it? Have we not proofs powerful enough to convince us that it is the intention of those who tell us these things; who constantly look upon the dark side only of every political question; who seem to delight to "foresee evils in their embryo; who accumulate upon the present moment all that is bitter in the past, or terrible in the future; by whom a whole people are made sick with the diseases of the imagination; who see a Monarch in "MADISON," and conspirators in their patriots; who would turn their best men out of office on the strength of their suspicions, and trust their worst men in spite of their knowledge of them;" who would overturn law to trample upon right; who enter the halls of the Judiciary and disperse the Judges, and expel the Sheriffs unheard; who rejoice *only* at foreign victories; who, in fine, cherish the secret enemy of liberty in time of peace, and covertly comfort and nourish the open enemy in time of war; have we not proofs, I say, that it is verily the intention of such men to bring about the lamentable issue they *pretend* to predict. This is not declamation but fact. *We name no party.* Such men whether or not the *leaders* of a party, we believe for the honor of the country to be few. Nor do we lay before you in retort of their own practice a high colored detail of such facts as the few following—viz: You have known members of Congress in the scrupulous discharge of public duty, publicly insulted; Collectors of the customs injuriously assaulted; riotous attacks upon the houses of private individuals; Catalinarian caucusses at which were appointed a committee, *deliberately* to enquire into the practicability of dismembering the union of these States; (a union happily strengthened by thirty-eight years mutual good offices;) and of raising an army of thirty thousand men—for what purpose? To menace the confederation? Or to assume to themselves the supremacy, by ousting the President and Congress out of their chairs? It would have been like the going up of the younger Cyrus against his brother king Artaxerxes. But instead of the wonderful "retreat" of a second "ten thou-

sand," history would probably have had to record the hapless destruction of all, save those only whom the caves and dens of the earth might secrete from their pursuers, and the sacerdotal robe, like the horns of the altar in other countries, might protect.

It was necessary to hint these facts, my countrymen, to shew that if liberty shall ever become extinct in this western world, which Heaven forefend, that it will have had its incipient cause not in the nature of our government, but among those corruptors of its principles, and distractors of its councils, who seem willing, at any time, to subvert it; consequences of whose *secret associations* are these disorders.

\* It is related of Hamilton, that once inadvertently dropping an opinion of the Constitution, that it was "too weak to last," his eye encountered the stern rebuke of Washington's and sunk abashed. The opinion however, has been adopted and reiterated by the melancholy madness of party-spirit. Upon an opinion of the strength or imbecility of the American Constitution, which depends perhaps less upon the decision of time, than upon the already expressed approbation of the most eminent Statesmen—argumentation were almost vain.

Away then with the assertion that the seeds of dissolution are inherent in our political system because it is republican. As if, indeed, every *other* government upon earth was secure from internal divisions or incendiary juntos. As if, indeed, it could be matter of *news* that monarchies and aristocracies have been repeatedly overthrown; that under the old French monarchy were nurtured the *seeds* of the well-begun, but finally, all-destroying French revolution; that Venice and the ecclesiastical State are no longer what they were; that every throne is raised directly or indirectly but upon the ruins of a former; and that

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\* This anecdote is given in an interesting pamphlet entitled "The whole Truth."

even England herself, "the fast anchored isle," has been *once revolutionized, and rocked to her very foundations.*

Away too with the assertion that because ancient republics have fallen, ours must soon add another to the catalogue. History will support the objection, that there is no more similitude between this government, in its structure, and theirs, than between theirs and the Persian despotism. Ours, indeed, in its popular branch to theirs, and theirs in its monarchical to the Persian. The supposition of a *near resemblance* has been founded upon a mistake, of effects for their causes ; the operating principles of a government in their consequences, for its organization. With equal propriety it may be asserted that the American resembles every government upon earth ; for it has been constructed upon the excellencies of all, within a mound raised against the dangers of their defects. The three constituents of civil polity are here nearly equiponderant. This is the grand distinction between our government and every other. Liberty is here so secured to the citizen that to desire to change his political condition, he must be not only a public enemy, but an enemy to himself. His geographical boundary thus becomes a magic circle. Blest while within it, stepping out of it he is lost.

But, for example, the Grecian republics, if republics they may be called, necessarily afforded to posterity only the crude materials of politics and the art of governing.— They sprung up, as it were, in the morning of history, and while as yet, jurisprudence was in its infancy. If longevity be denied them, (though five or six hundred years is no short time, and ours has not reached forty,) still it must be acknowledged that more was accomplished by them for the improvement of the world than by all their cotemporary governments, of whatever kind, collected. Even in this western hemisphere, then undiscovered, the lamp of science has borrowed its blaze at the sacred fires of the Greeks.

Indeed it is only in a Republic that science and the arts find a truly congenial soil. Where the mind is free, it be-

comes invigorate from every contemplation of its freedom. It ranges round its apparent, but illimitable horizon, and returns more original from every such excursion. To the freeman all things are free that surround him. He feels a kind of property in every thing he sees ; and from this double motive will endeavor to preserve to all their respective rights. His mind swells beyond itself, when its faculties, are employed in the public service, for the public good. The moment of their *earnest* employment to this end, the torch of patriotism is lighted, whose glare discovers the thousand wheels of industry just set in motion ; discovers the hand promptly executing every thing that the head can devise, for a country's benefit ; discovers every citizen becoming a Spartan, and ever warrior a hero.

Patriotism and virtue, among the Greeks, were synonymous. Not the sentiment of an individual ; it was the predominant feature in the character of the nation. In peace, the arts and sciences, agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, by this, flourished. By this, their cities were adorned with every species of architecture, and enriched with all the various labours of the loom, the pencil, and the pen. By this, the social virtues were every where recognized, and the dignity of human nature advanced.— By this, in war, with a certain consciousness of victory, they rushed upon the enemy with songs and with shouting. By this, too, we fondly hope the United States will be preserved from disunion, civil war, or successful invasion.

That, said an old philosopher, is the best popular government where an injury done to an individual is felt by the whole. In other words, that is the best popular government which is most tenacious of the rights of its citizens ; and which disdains to connive at a foreign insult, even to an individual, without an enquiring demand of indemnification.

Not for *one*, but for many, very many of your brave seamen, enslaved, nay scourged, nay more, detained till they

are now obliged to fight against their native land, against friends and brothers whom they love—shall I speak it—against the very authors of their existence!! Not for one but for thousands of Americans, floating in prison-ships and starving in their jails and dungeons, have we just concluded the second year of the war with Britain! Britain, no longer morally great. Britain, the persecutor of our forefathers—the contriver of chains for our fathers of the revolution, and for us their descendents. Britain, who for thirty-eight years has maintained emissaries among us to spy out our liberties, and to strike at our union, the vital principle of our political well being.

What modern nation has sown dissensions in all parts of the world, but Britain? What nation has been the instigator or accomplice in all the considerable European wars for a century past, but Britain? What nation has ever dared to insult the American flag, the banner of a sovereign people, but Britain? Yes, the Tripolitans and Algerines it is true: they are barbarians. France too, polished France, has done it. And no reparation? Reparation has been made in part, and it is owing to the necessary delays occasioned by the death of our plenipotentiary, and the fitting out of another, and more particularly to the internal condition of that country, that the result, expected to be conclusively favorable, is not yet obtained.

But why, clamoured some among us, why not war against France? She has destroyed your property, and burned your vessels! She has even imprisoned your seamen! True, and is not reparation still demanded?—But has she impressed them into her service, and ignobly shifted them from one vessel to another, to elude research—quenched, as it were, that last remnant to the afflicted, which under the repetition of every indignity, had whispered *hope*; *ye may yet once more behold the green fields of your country!*—Has France excited against us the merciless savages? Has she set a price of reward upon our very blood, by en-

encouraging, and purchasing of them the scalps of our frontier countrymen? No. But Britain has done *all this*, and more.

Where we have been unequally injured, by two or more nations, it is natural to *commence* hostilities with the one whose injuries have been the most enormous. Was this the case with France? Her commerce with us was neither extensive enough to be acted upon by our restrictions or hostilities. Nor had she territories adjacent whose *probable conquest* might in some degree indemnify us for her multiplied aggressions—and *terminate the war*. But this being the precise situation of Britain—with Britain we are now engaged in a just and necessary war.

War should be emphatically the last resort of nations for it is unquestionably an evil of the greatest magnitude to both parties concerned. In just cases it is the infliction of pains and injuries upon a foreign aggressor, when all other remedies fail of procuring restitution to the injured. An ultimate good in such cases is obviously intended—and not unfrequently obtained—and sometimes a greater good obtained than was reasonably to be expected. The war of our revolution was begun and prosecuted in this confidence, and with this success. At first seeking only for redress—as the English cabinet became more and more reluctant and opinionated, the colonists rose simultaneously from petitions to remonstrances, from remonstrances into demands, till at length the Independence of this country was declared, and afterwards acknowledged by that same power which had endeavored to repress patriotism by unmanly chastisement, and to glut its own bloated pride by a requisition of the valuable and increasing support of the colonists, without admitting them to a participation of the English hereditary freehold. Every act of that arbitrary power relative to America, from that time to the present, speaks a language not to be misunderstood. “*Hæret lateri lethalis arundo.*” And the consequence of that revolutionary wound has been a series of the most flagrant, unprovoked enormities against the very people whom she compelled in their own self-defence to inflict it.



These enormities are well known. They catalogue the causes of the present war. To obviate the objection of precipitancy in its declaration, a single fact is necessary. Let it be remembered, that among some of our own citizens, the opposers too of administration, its pacific intentions and long forbearance were *mistaken* for pusillanimity. Indeed to obtain justice merely of the great belligerents, the sea has become almost wearied with the incessant oars of our returning and departing embassies. Lord North seems revived in Lord Castlereagh. Negotiations have been therefore difficult and uncertain. Hindered and delayed by the British Ministry, our Commissioners, sent out, since the war, to treat upon an honorable and lasting peace, are yet at this moment in Europe.

Some observations will now be expected upon the advantages as well as the justice and propriety of the present war. Grateful for your attention thus far, we will endeavor to compress, into the smallest possible compass, our answers to the questions which naturally propose themselves.

Do the intentions of President Madison, whom the people have delighted to honor, and who is worthy of their highest confidence, differ materially from those of the sainted Washington, with respect to the support of commerce? Every dispassionate mind answers in the negative. The very end and aim of this war is commerce. Not however such as thirty odd years have shewn it, liable to insult and obstruction: but commerce upon a better foundation—commerce unshackled—commerce rooted in agriculture, nourished by manufactures, and supported by the mechanic arts. We know indeed, that the fisheries are the grand staple of New-England. And do they languish? You do not charge it to a secondary cause, the war—your views are more extensive. You behold in their sickly state the necessity of the war, intended, with other objects, for their pro-  
 tion and encouragement. So disproportioned have been our exports to our immense imports, that the United States may be said to have resembled some young commission

merchant, who transacts business upon a large scale with a small capital—whose business is laborious and extensive, without being very profitable or sure.

But remove the obnoxious idea that though freemen at home, the Americans must be slaves every where else, by insisting upon the substitution, Free Trade and Seamen's Rights, for the odious, assumed rights of search and impressment ; and your ships laden with our own materials, will glide proudly through the waves, free as the breeze that wafts them. Obtain but this object of the war, and you will effect much also for the emancipation of the commercial world. What in this case is your interest, is no less theirs. The freedom of the seas—the common birth-right of all nations, though from necessity unequally defended by all, if restored to you, can with propriety be withheld from none. You are then at this moment, my countrymen, striving to secure future commerce upon a solid basis ; striving for an object necessary to the future repose of all nations. In a country comprehending such immense tracts of uncultivated territory, agriculture claims and has received the highest consideration of this and the preceding administration. Manufactures flourish in rather more than an equal ratio with agriculture—as the branches of a tree are observed to grow more rapidly than the stock ! These furnish the fruits for commerce ; and in passing through the hands of the mechanic, supply industry with the means of wealth. There is a bond of connexion which must not be broken ; all the growing links, however, must be preserved in due proportion. If commerce, without a proper capital, become excessive, agriculture being overbalanced, the former must be temporarily restricted, that the latter may be sustained, and the whole chain be kept bright : hence embargoes, hence non-importation acts : and if commerce by any foreign power be not only clogged but insulted—hence war. All these having a just foundation in an accurate survey of the nation's mutual economic relations and dependencies.

Next to elevating commerce, what are some of the advantages of the war? What! has it not increased your manufactures incalculably, suggested improvements and elicited inventions; so that no longer dependant upon foreign nations, America may be enabled hereafter to live of herself, and at any time to find resources copious enough *within* herself? Has it not checked luxury—luxury one principal cause of the downfall of all former republics—and which being properly checked, may ensure the duration of our own. Has it not ousted foreign influence? Has it not established your national character? That it has improved your soldiery, waking them from the false security of thirty-six years peace, needs hardly be mentioned. Brownstown, Tippecanoe, Sandy-Creek, Queenstown, Oswego, and on the southern border, the Talapoosee, where the powerful Creek Indians have lately, most bravely and briefly been reduced to amity, are sufficient evidences. The misfortunes of the army of the North are to be traced to a higher source than want of bravery in the *men*, as well as to unforeseen occurrences incident to any other army; *although* the names of Harrison and Boyd, of Jackson and of Pike, of Croghan, of Mitchell, of Covington, and other congenial spirits, have furnished a bright example of valour and of skill which has received less of encomium and reward than perhaps is merited.

On the water the war has effected much. What have you not done! But it is not because you have taken from the enemy upwards of a thousand vessels, for the loss of some hundreds—not for the capture of eight or nine of his first rate frigates and sloops—or for a whole fleet upon Lake Erie—oh no!—It is because you have met the mightiest existing naval nation—and in repeated instances, conquered him upon equal terms. It is for this that history will affix the note of admiration to the names of Perry, Decatur, Hull, Bainbridge, Jones, and numerous others—while is heaved the sigh of regret at the premature loss of the gallant Lawrence and Ludlow, Aylwin and Burroughs! Honoured be the memory of the brave who have fallen in

this contest. “Low in glory’s lap they lie—though they fell, they fell like stars—streaming splendour through the sky.”

The war appears to be near its termination. There is a rumour of peace. The intended meeting at Gottenburgh, is to take place at Paris. It was the British policy to protract that event till the issue of French affairs should determine the mode of arrangement with this country. Who indeed would have dreamed of such a change. Bonaparte, Emperor of the French and King of Italy,

*“ In the whirlwind of the war,  
“ High who rode in vengeance dire ;  
“ To his friends a leading star ;  
“ To his foes consuming fire :”*

who in upwards of fifty pitched battles risked his life for, the glory of France, and in the brief reign of ten years obtained for her innumerable laurels, has been compelled to abdicate the throne, and retired to the little isle of Elba in the Mediterranean ; while the eighteenth Lewis mounts his vacant seat !!!

The sudden news burst upon the nations like a clap of thunder in a clear sky. Europe was electrified. Even the stupid Turk for a moment forgot his calumet and stared wistfully. The remote Siberian stood amazed. A moment after, all Europe was in a ferment. Nothing was to be any where seen, but busy enquiring countenances ; nothing heard in the common phrenzy, but the ringing of bells, the discharge of cannon, and general uproar.

Russia rejoices in remembrance of Moscow. Prussia creeps again into notice. Austria fresh from the fracture of old alliances is ready for new. And England, like her own sovereign at the removal of Pitt, feels relieved from the awe of superior greatness and the dread of superior power. She may now roam at large—insult the weak and tantalize the strong—bind the influences of the continent and urge her cupbrous way—a Leviathan through the world of

waters. Not so ! The magnanimous Alexander we trust has not forgotten his offer of mediation, even amid the concussion of empires. It may be that *America will be remembered in the project of a general peace*. And the balance of power in Europe being destroyed—it may, be too, that *England will be the next subject for the spirit of modern reform* ; and the probability is strong. Is it supposable that *professing to give peace to the world, and having so far succeeded in the intention, that the allies should suffer England to remain umpire—and at war with a nation no less friendly than useful to themselves. Russia has ever been a respecter of neutrals. Indeed she has interests, in some measure, inseparable from our own. Our commerce with that country has not been inconsiderable—nor does she conceive it so. The Netherlanders though perhaps not yet of the league, would hardly be willing to fall from French oppression under English tyranny. Sweden and Spain too will be very much of the same opinion. France is of the league, and the new king professes himself through his Minister, M. Serurier, quite as amicable toward this country as was his unfortunate brother Louis 16th. With Germany and Prussia, having no particular disagreement we are negatively at peace. And Denmark will certainly never forget Copenhagen.*

If, therefore, England is refractory, for it has been thought that England at this time could hardly endure a general peace, so numerous are her seamen, that she with difficulty, could find employment for them in her East India traffic, which is perhaps replete, or in her West India trade, which is crowded ; if England, I say, is refractory, the seat of the European war must be transferred to the British possessions, or to Britain itself. In that event, every petty power will be emulous of a navy, and Russia, among them, ride the proudest upon the waves.

If not *previously*, it will then become an object to invite America to a participation in the confederacy against—not the “*world’s last hope,*” but the *world’s last enemy.*—

America's having "fought against the allies, because she fought against England as one of them," will be remembered only as *a sophistical inference*; and absorbed in the idea that America has been *the first* in the assertion of her own rights, to curb the excess of that naval monopoly which shall have caused the world to arm itself. In her immense standing navy, England will be beforehand with the allies, and doubtless gain some considerable advantages. Russia will be the first to oppose her. Thus the arbitration of Europe lie again dependant between two powerful belligerents—and the old order of things be brought about by a parity of internal resources, in a mutual strife upon the same element. All however is conjecture.\*

Such is the most probable view we can, at this time, present. For what can be more improbable than that Britain, by the professed peace-makers, should be left at large to carry on a war with so considerable and *pacific* a nation as the United States.

But whether continued war or a peace, be the result of these changes—we can be prepared for the one or the other, only as we regard the injunction of our beloved WASHINGTON—be united. *It remains with yourselves.* There are, who have been willing, unknowingly, to disregard his injunction. We sincerely pity them. There is too, a small number, *though assuming his name*, who have knowingly erred from the truth. These, even *these*, let us consider not absolutely *lost*; but by an exposition of our principles, let us shew the solidity and immutability of their foundation. Let us exhibit in our conduct the effects of that liberty which pervading our physical system, expresses itself in our political; constraining us to feel that we derived it with our vital spark from the hand of the beneficent Creator.

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\* So rapidly successive are political mutations in Europe, that an opinion can hardly be predicated upon the present posture of affairs. Every moment is peculiarly eventful.

Be united. United, we can exercise our inestimable right of suffrage. A right, which is to the constitution, as the rudder to the ship. Broken away by the violence of faction, your constitution, excellent as it is, becomes the sport of winds and waves. A right which exercised only in support of virtue and knowledge, will insure the duration of our republic, its future greatness, its power, and its example, alike to our South American brethren and to the world.

I fear I have nearly exhausted your patience and politeness. Thanks to my respected audience, that age has condescended to listen to youth, that valour has a moment leaned upon his sword, and that beauty lends a smile to heighten the joys of our celebration. Having seen the nature, the residence, and the probable duration of American, which is rational liberty—the war partly in its causes and its advantages, and taken a rapid survey of European affairs, let us, my countrymen, thank God that we were born, born free, free to acquire, to possess, and to enjoy, in a clime unoppressed by uniform intensity of heat or cold—the dernier resort of liberty, the palladium of the rights of man. Already we behold the dawn of brighter days upon earth. Glorious prospect! delightful idea! the mind is filled with new conceptions, and animated at the future.