

*which is handwritten
from Bradford*

AN

ORATION

DELIVERED

AT

WISCASSET,

JULY FOURTH, A. D. 1808 ;

THE

ANNIVERSARY

OF

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

BY ALDEN BRADFORD, Esq.

HALLOWELL :

FROM THE PRESS OF N. CHEEVER.

1808.

WISCASSET, July 4th, 1808.

ALDEN BRADFORD, Esq.

SIR,

IN behalf of the *FEDERAL REPUBLICANS*, assembled to celebrate the day in this town, we return you our sincere thanks for the elegant, spirited and patriotic Oration by you delivered, and request a copy for the Press.

With sentiments of esteem.

We are, your most obedient servants,

SETH TINKHAM
JOS. T. WOOD
DAVID PAYSON, Jr. } Committee
of
Arrangements.

GENTLEMEN,

THE Oration, delivered at your request, is now submitted to your disposal, with the wish that it may contribute, at this momentous crisis of our national concerns, to awaken those sentiments of patriotism, which glowed in American bosoms in 1776 and 1798.

With sentiments of personal attachment and consideration,

I am, Gentlemen,

A. BRADFORD.

SETH TINKHAM,

JOS. T. WOOD,

DAVID PAYSON, Jr. ESQRS.



ORATION.



AFTER all the sacrifices and exertions made, after all the blood and treasure expended by our renowned Ancestors, to preserve our national rights and to establish our national Independence, and with all our attachment to liberty both from sentiment and habit, it may appear impertinent to enquire, whether we are still determined to be free? or whether we will submit to be slaves?—Another year has returned, and finds us as yet in possession of the invaluable blessings of Liberty. The sun of Freedom, which, in 1776, arose in splendid Glory on these *Atlantic shores*, has shed his cheering rays around our habitations during thirty two successive years: but the gathering clouds have lately intercepted his radiant beams; and we look with anxious solicitude lest they be totally obscured by the tempest of war and despotism, which has long hung over Europe's devoted land. Another year, and we may be obliged to join in pæans of adulation to a foreign despot, to mourn around the tomb of departed freedom; or slaughtered on the very threshold of our own dwellings in defending our families from insult and rapine. This may be our destiny, unless we should be an exception from the fate which has attended other countries. The *usurper* of the throne of *France*, the mighty conqueror of *Europe*, has stretched out his hand to America, and issued his imperial mandates to this independent—this *once* independent Republic. It may then justly be in-

terrogated, whether we are *resolved* to be *free*? or, are *willing* to be *slaves*?

FEDERAL REPUBLICANS! At your request, I once more address you on the Anniversary of the birth day of our country's emancipation from oppression and tyranny. In this appellation, by which you chose to be distinguished, you may justly glory. Attached to the elective, representative form of government, under which *we live* and were educated, attached to the federal constitution, which was formed, approved and supported by the immortal WASHINGTON, we need never be ashamed of our principles. We shall disregard alike the reproaches of ignorant, and the slanders of designing men.

I SHALL not attempt, on this occasion, to amuse you with empty declamation, to mislead you by sophistry, nor to dazzle you with the brilliant figures of oratory. I shall endeavour to give you a "*plain, unvarnished*" state of facts, as it respects periods past, and a just view of dangers which threaten us in future, without either *wishing*, or *fearing* to give offence. He who will not give his opinion, when his country is in danger, cannot be considered a patriot: and he who *dares* not give it, is *fit* to be a *slave*.

If there be any present, who cannot bear the truth, because it thwarts their plans, or militates with their prejudices, them I may *possibly* offend. If any who prefer the triumphs of a party to their country's glory, them I *may* offend. But to every independent Republican, truth and freedom are infinitely dearer than applause.

THOUGH it is not our desire to irritate party feelings, the time has come, when the love of our country requires us to speak with boldness. We sincerely lament, that there are political divisions among us : but the principles we now advocate are such as we have *ever* professed ; such as we know were approved by WASHINGTON, the great defender of our liberties ; and such, we *believe*, as involve the honour and happiness of our country. And our vindication from the aspersions which have been cast upon us, we conceive, is neither difficult nor improper.*

WHEN the government of England became arbitrary and oppressive in its demands upon this country, our brave and patriotic fathers refused to submit. Though they acknowledged allegiance to the government of Great Britain in return for protection afforded them, they contended that it must be a reasonable allegiance ; and declared, that, when burdens were laid on them without the consent of their representatives, or when their charter rights were violated, their submission and allegiance could no longer be justly claimed by that government. And when they found petitions and remonstrances were vain, when insolence was added to oppression—without counting the cost, or fearing the consequences, they magnanimously resolved to be *independent and free*. They were not intimidated by the threats of a corrupt and venal administration, nor by the

* AN Oration had been delivered to the democratic Republicans of Wiscasset, on the same day and in the same place, by a gentleman from the county of *Kennebec*. This recollection will show the propriety of some paragraphs in the Oration, though it was written under an impression of the charges *generally* brought against *Federalism*.

powerful fleets and armies of *Britain's King*. They dared to resist. They appealed to Heaven for the justice of their cause ; and by the *hands of the Mighty God of Jacob*, they were made strong in battle, and their patriotic exertions crowned with success.

AFTER this calamitous struggle, and this glorious victory, the friends of liberty were confident of enjoying perpetual felicity ; and ventured to predict the future glory and prosperity of their country. Discontents and disorders, however, soon appeared ; opposition was made to the government and the laws ; and civil war threatened to desolate the land. But under the direction of a patriotic band, most of whom had been actors during the revolutionary contest for independence, with WASHINGTON at their head, a constitution continental and federative was formed, whose principles united the enjoyment of liberty with the support of law and order, and which restored the credit, the honour and the respectability of the nation. Yet this constitution and form of government, so necessary to prevent disorder and anarchy, and to perpetuate the blessings of liberty and peace, was opposed and censured as an instrument of tyranny.—Though it was the direct object of the federal constitution to secure the freedom and promote the happiness of the people, though the federal government provided for the payment of the national debt, incurred in our struggles for independence, and gave unexampled prosperity to our country, men were found ignorant or base enough to condemn both this constitution and this government. A faction was soon formed, which by private slander and open opposition endeavoured to destroy this palladium of our liberties. In our Commonwealth this faction was at first but small : In

the southern states, the discontented were more numerous ; and by uniting with a foreign influence, became formidable to our national government, and both openly and secretly opposed the policy of the illustrious WASHINGTON, by whom it was then administered. Measures necessary to establish the credit of the nation were represented as oppressive ; and it was wickedly attempted, in many parts of the country, to render the people dissatisfied with their rulers. The crisis was interesting. Two powerful nations of Europe, with whom we had treaties, and with whom it was our wish and interest to have commercial intercourse, were engaged in furious war. Though our prejudices against *England* and our partiality for *France* were powerful, it was clearly the interest and the duty of our government to maintain a neutral situation. WASHINGTON, who was wise and prudent as he was patriotic and brave, adopted this policy. But by the blind partizans of *France*, he was opposed and slandered. Every means were used to excite clamours and discontents.—At this time also the *British* interrupted our navigation and captured and detained many of our vessels trading in the West Indies. By men of a certain description, this circumstance was eagerly seized as a sufficient pretext for war with *England*. But the firmness and prudence of WASHINGTON resisted the evil. He instituted a negotiation with *Great Britain*, demanding reparation for injuries done, and proposing commercial regulations which should preserve the peace and interests of both nations. This pacific policy was highly successful. Reparation was made and a treaty formed, under which our commerce increased and prospered beyond all former examples.—But this conduct of Gen. WASHINGTON, necessary as it was to save the country from war, was censured by

some with unusual severity. The treaty was condemned before it was made known ; appeals were made to the people to interfere in the affair ; and it was pretended to be arbitrary for President WASHINGTON and the Senate (though the constitution made it their duty) to sanction the instrument.

FROM this period, 1795, we date the great increase of the *antifederal party*. Under the plausible guise of Republicanism, your constituted rulers were vilified and opposed, because they would not authorize measures, at the suggestion of the *French Envoy*, which would have compromitted the peace of the nation and plunged us into the vortex of foreign war.

YOUR recollection must be awake to the period and the events, to which I allude. Commissions were issued by the Minister of a foreign court, then resident here, to raise troops and equip privateers in our neutral ports to serve against a nation with which we were at peace. President WASHINGTON published a proclamation of neutrality, for which he was censured and insulted—his policy in favour of peace was basely stigmatized as *insidious* and *cowardly* ; and he was denounced as an enemy to republican freedom. Addresses were made to the prejudices and passions of the people to excite their opposition to the administration, and to intimidate the President himself. But he was as immovable as the sturdy oak of the forest. With the constitution as his guide, and determined once more to save his country, he braved the storms of faction which gathered round the government.—He was ready to admit, and so did all the federalists of that period admit, that the French king and nation had assisted us in our revolutionary war ;

and though that patriotic prince had been dethroned and decapitated, we felt grateful for the former services rendered us by that nation under his auspices. Whilst they appeared seeking for rational freedom, we gave them our best wishes, our devout prayers—yet it was the language of WASHINGTON, that neither this consideration nor these feelings, would justify our joining in a bloody European war.

EVENTS have most fully proved the wisdom and prudence of this political conduct of General WASHINGTON and our other federal rulers. The most enlightened statesmen in *France* acknowledged that we were not bound to fight their battles for them. And had we engaged in the contest, our property, and probably our liberties would have soon been annihilated. Factionous and ambitious individuals, however, were dissatisfied with the firmness and impartiality of WASHINGTON, and mortified at the success of his measures; and from that moment they became more clamorous, more bold and more systematic in their opposition. Your President, the leader of your armies, the great instrument in the hands of Providence, of establishing your independence, was reproached and insulted in the capital by foreign emissaries—and many in your own country were depraved enough to join in the insolence which was heaped upon him. It is in vain to dissemble. The facts are recorded by the pen of the faithful historian, and can never be obliterated.* The editor of a public paper printed at *Philadelphia*, began the shameless and libellous attack; and his slanders were republished in various other parts of the country. *Jacobin* societies were also formed in many places, (very few indeed in N. England) which undertook to criminate all the measures of the federal government; and had the effrontery to call themselves the

* See Vol. 5th, of Judge Marshall's History.

people ; when not one of a hundred, not one of two hundred of the people were members of these societies. They censured the measures of WASHINGTON, and applauded the rash and insolent conduct of Genet. Blindly infatuated with party zeal, they seemed ready to prostrate our own government, and to relinquish our own rights and independence in building up a foreign nation.

OF the sensibility of Gen. WASHINGTON, to the calumnies against his conduct, with which the press at that time abounded, the following extract from one of his letters to Mr. LEE, governor of Virginia, is sufficient evidence. “ That there are in this, as in all other countries, discontented characters, I well know ; some of whom no doubt are honest, supposing the measures of government to be really improper : but some of them are bad, as they mean to destroy the confidence which it is proper the people should have in their rulers. In what will this abuse terminate ? As it respects myself, I care not—I have a consolation within, of which nothing earthly can deprive me.” I cannot refrain from reciting a paragraph in another of his letters written at the time of his retiring from public life, and addressed to the late Gen. KNOX.—“ To the wearied traveller, who sees a resting place, and is bending his body to lean thereon, I now compare myself ; but to be suffered to do this in *peace* is too much to be endured by *some*. To misrepresent my motives, to reprobate my politics and to weaken the confidence which has been reposed in me, are objects which cannot be relinquished by those, who will be satisfied with *nothing short of a change in our political system*. But the consolation which arises from conscious rectitude and the approving voice of my country, deprives their sting of its poison, and places in full view both the weakness and malignity of their efforts.” In the

case of the equipment of a privateer by the order of *Genet*, contrary to the President's proclamation, and at Philadelphia under the very eye of the government ; on his return from a visit to his family in Virginia, his language in a letter to the secretary of state, Mr. JEFFERSON, was as follows—"What is to be done in this affair ? Is the French Minister to set the laws of our government at defiance with impunity ; and then threaten the executive with an appeal to the people ? What must the world think of such conduct ? What must they think of the *American people for submitting to it ?*"*

YET for this independent, impartial and upright conduct, Gen. WASHINGTON was represented by many as the enemy of liberty and the friend of monarchy.—When this illustrious patriot retired from office, the people were called upon, by the editor of a public paper at Philadelphia (you will blush, oh ! my countrymen at such baseness !)—to keep a *Jubilee* on the occasion—and this great and *God like* man whose whole life had been devoted to the cause of liberty and his country, was called a *traitor*, an *apostate*, a *tyrant*,†

THE administration of his successor was opposed in every instance. Mr. ADAMS was charged with being an advocate for monarchy and aristocracy, though he had written expressly in defence of republican govern-

* AT that period, as well as at the present, the French Minister calculated upon a large party in our country which would approve of the most improper conduct. He even said, that Mr. JEFFERSON then held a language "*confidential*," as well as "*official*." The same game is now playing off.—But for the firmness of WASHINGTON, we had departed from our neutrality at that time ; we need another like him now to save our country. But alas ! "*We shall never look upon his like again.*"

† See Marshall's History, Vol. 5th. Also the numbers of the *Aurora*, of 1795, '96, '97, and '98.

ments, and though he had been a decided and zealous supporter of our country's rights, from the first moments of our dispute with *England*. All his conduct was viewed with prejudice and jealousy; and his patriotic efforts to support the honour and independence of the nation, and to place the country in a posture of defence, it was said, had for their object the slavery of the people and the establishment of an hereditary government.* It was pretended, that he and the other federal rulers wished to involve us in a war with France, though he once and again attempted to negotiate with that country. Whilst he proposed terms of peace and friendship, he did not abandon but wisely provided for the protection of commerce—and his magnanimous policy, supported by a majority of the people and fully approved also (let it be noticed) by the great WASHINGTON, declared to the world that we were not willing to alienate our rights for any consideration. When it was seen that we had spirit to maintain our independence, the tone of our boasting enemies was lowered; and both the honour and prosperity of our country were preserved. In general, it may be asserted with truth, that the measures of the federal government, adopted with a view to establish the credit, increase the prosperity, maintain the independence and preserve the peace of the country, were so grossly misrepresented, that many honest citizens considered those measures as designed to deprive them of their just and equal rights. This jealousy and opposition were much greater in the southern, than in the northern states. In New England, the people were

* By those very men, who now place Hon. JOHN Q. ADAMS at the head of Republicans in this state, it was declared, ten years ago, that he was to be the *future King of America*, and that his venerable father and other federalists, were advocates of a standing army to carry this plan into effect by force.

much longer attached to the federal government; and with the exception of a few individuals, possessed confidence in their rulers and cultivated harmony among themselves. But what was wanting in numbers was made up in zeal, activity and intrigue, until the poison infected some men in every part of the country. As Gen. WASHINGTON had predicted, a change was wrought in our rulers—in the policy and measures of government. Commerce has received less attention, upon the idea, that it is productive of great evils and calculated to engender disputes and contentions with other nations. Men attached to federal principles were removed from office for no cause but that very attachment—many of whom had enjoyed the confidence of WASHINGTON and fought under his command in defence of their country. The constitution has in many respects been altered—and measures have been adopted, which, though studiously involved in mystery, we have reason to believe originated in foreign influence, and cannot be pursued but by a dereliction of our own independence. When we consider, that a celebrated republican member of Congress has said openly and repeatedly in the face of that whole body, that he was told by one high in office in our government, *that France wanted money and must have it*—when we consider that millions have gone from our treasury to that country, though under the cover of purchases of lands without settled title or fixed boundaries—that it is the great plan of the *French Emperor* to prevent all commerce with England—that he has even laid his hands on our property, until he see whether we will be submissive enough to comply with his ambitious views in waging war with *Great Britain*—that the dispatches of our envoy at the court of France have been withheld from the people—that measures are adopted in consequence of them, fa-

ourable to the plans of *Bonaparte* of stopping all trade with *England*, and paralyzing the commercial enterprise of this whole nation ; * and that these measures have been passed solely upon the recommendation of the President, thus making your representatives the mere tools of the executive, have we not reason to believe, or at least to suspect that our national independence and our liberties have received a deep if not a mortal wound ?

IF there be any foundation for these suspicions and this belief, our situation in a national view is alarming and dangerous. If a foreign influence have a predominance in the councils of our nation, be it from a principle of affection or fear, we can no longer justly boast of independence. And when the *spirit* of a nation is prostrate, its liberties will be *trodden in the dust* by the despot, to

* RESPECTING the policy of a six or eight months' *Embargo*, we may spare many remarks—though some are labouring most ingeniously to support it. The people feel its effects, and will enquire into the necessity and advantages of the measure. It is in vain to call it an act of hostility, because we were not and are not at war with any nation. It was defended solely as a measure of *precaution*, of *preservation*. But facts show, that it was not necessary in this view. Notwithstanding the orders of the British Council (which we pretend not to justify, and which cannot be excused except as a defensive or retaliating measure against a former decree of the French Emperor) our vessels have returned in safety from England—they have not been captured when bound even to places actually blockaded by the English fleet ; but ordered to some other port. And several of our merchants have considered it a *privilege* to send away their vessels long since the *Embargo* act, upon permission : and those vessels have returned unhurt. How then can men of plain sense and honest minds account for the *Embargo*, but by considering it either as an act in compliance with the suggestions of the Emperor of France, or with a visionary plan of our total abandonment of all commercial pursuits ?

whose interference it submits itself.—The danger is still greater if the people be kept in ignorance respecting the true state of things, and their reason blinded through party feelings and prejudices. If, when treated with contempt and threatened with subjugation, these menaces are carefully secreted, and the people fed with idle theories, and specious but empty professions*—when men rise to places of authority by defaming honest rulers, who had given full proof of their love of country and of freedom; by flattering and decieving the common people, and by exclusive claims to republican principles—and upon the obtaining of power adopt measures in secret, shrink from investigation, and condemn the doctrine (which they had before commended) of being watchful of rulers—require blind and implicit confidence in every measure of government, however strange or however oppressive—then is the *time of danger to your rights and liberties*: then must every *real Republican* be filled with concern and anxiety for the freedom of his country.—And I appeal to your cool unbiassed reason, to judge whether events of this sort have not recently taken place in America. It is impossible that the true patriot, divested of all undue prejudices, should not tremble for the ark of civil freedom.—I only ask you to consider the intrigues of 1794 and 1795, already referred to, when even WASHINGTON was at the head of your government. I only ask you to extend your view across the

* NOT only Mr. PICKERING, but Mr. HILLHOUSE, a senator from Connecticut, MESSRS. UPHAM, MASTERS, GARDENIER, QUINCY, ELLIOT, ROWAN, KEY, RANDOLPH and others, members of Congress, have often and publicly said that no official information was given to that body to justify the Embargo. And many *democratic* as well as *federal* representatives, declared it to be their opinion, that the measure was adopted in consequence of demands or threats from France.

Atlantic, and look at *Holland*, once the seat of commerce, of industry, of wealth and peace—now the residence of poverty, indolence, slavery and wretchedness. At *Switzerland*; the very birth-place of freedom; on whose sacred mountains, far from the corruption and servility of courts, the genius of liberty delighted to dwell, and shed on her sincere votaries the blessings of peace and plenty—now an oppressed, enslaved province of the modern *Cæsar*. At *Portugal*; formerly the peaceful, opulent and happy territory of an inoffensive, unambitious prince, who wished to keep aloof from the contentions of the world—at present, a plundered conquered country—the inhabitants of which have been striped of the greater part of their property to pamper the lusts of their haughty victors, and guarded at the very doors of their own houses by foreign mercenaries. Look at other countries in Europe, which have received the baneful effects of the protecting power of the Emperor of the Gauls; and say, whether they be more peaceful, more rich, more happy, or more *free* than before? Promising to give freedom to these countries, he has fastened the chains of despotism with new severity upon their submissive necks.

FROM this quarter, we believe is the greatest, if not the only danger. From *Great Britain*, indeed, we neither expect nor ask indulgence—we wish not her alliance nor her interference. For the preservation of our national liberty and independence, we ought to depend under heaven, upon our own resources and energies. Like most other nations, *Great Britain*, we know has interests of its own, and we presume will pursue them in preference to ours. And individuals among them may wish to plunder and oppress us—but it is certainly for her interest, and appears to be her policy at present, to preserve peace and maintain commercial intercourse with

America.* But *France* is without commerce; and whatever were the wishes of some of the leaders of their revolution in 1790 and 1792, to establish a free and republican government, that country is now groaning under a military despotism—and the ambition and aim of its powerful chief is evidently to conquer and command the world.

But with all our love of liberty, it may be said, there is little danger of our submitting to the arbitrary demands of any foreign prince. The danger however is, that, under the pretence of friendship and liberty, we shall be deceived and lulled into security, until there is no way of escape. It will be readily admitted, that the great body of the *French* nation have no wish to enslave *America*. It is also cheerfully acknowledged, that they were sincere in their professions of liberty and equality. But what are the *people of France*? They have *no voice* in deciding upon the conduct of its *mighty Chief*; and we have seen enough to convince us that he loves *power* more than *liberty*, and *war* more than *peace*—that *conquest* is his *glory*, and the *field of blood* the great *theatre of his pleasures*. And let it be remembered, that the nations, which he has hitherto subjugated, have first been prepared for his arms by the intrigues of jacobins and demagogues.

* WHEN the *Chesapeake* was attacked, every one condemned the outrage. But when it was known, that it was not authorized by the British government—that they disapproved it—and when they instituted an Embassy for this particular offence, and declared they were ready to make reparation; the whole complexion of the affair was changed—and we have no doubt an amicable adjustment would have been made, had the spirit of WASHINGTON still presided in the cabinet.—Mr. MUNROE'S letter respecting the rejected treaty is before the public: we hope it will be read.

AMERICANS ! Would you preserve your freedom and *independence*, you must carefully watch the spirit of jacobinism ; which, though cruel and bloody as *Moloch*, is sometimes ready to assume the appearance of an *Angel of Light* : which, like the wonderful *Cameleon*, changes its hue with every changing scene of things : which, having its growth in faction, and nursed by ambition, is the advocate either of revolutionary phrenzy, or of gloomy despotism ; and approves alike of the outrages of a mob and the impositions of a tyrant. Today, its disciples insist, that republics should have no secrets—tomorrow, that our rulers should conduct the whole business of state in private : today, that all power should remain in the hands of the people—tomorrow, that unlimited authority should be possessed and exercised by one man. At one time, that the people should watch and suspect their rulers, lest they abuse their power—at another, that unbounded confidence must be placed in a single individual. At one time, that public men and measures must be scrutinized, and if they do not please us, opposed and censured—at another time, that we have only to acquiesce in the conduct of our rulers ; and that every one who doubts or disapproves, is an anarchist. At one period, the doctrine of equal rights among citizens is strongly inculcated—at a different period, that indulgences be granted to particular individuals, and a system of favouritism is approved, which would disgrace the most arbitrary government of Europe. At one time, we are told, that the minority must be active and bold—at another, that, if they whisper disapprobation of the conduct of men in power, they must be proscribed and persecuted. At one time, that the people or their representatives should be fully consulted, and their will obeyed in all decisions of the executive—at another

time, that the opinion and the wishes of the executive are sufficient apology for the most unaccountable and oppressive measures.*

IN this situation of things, our country distracted by party animosities, and threatened by a foreign prince, we have much to fear and much to perform. In proportion to the dangers which impend, should be our firmness and activity. By no means, however, will you think yourselves justified in oppugnation to lawful authority. *Federalists* have ever been the friends of constitutional order and submission. The errors of our rulers can never apologize for *insurrections* in the people. Should you ever be required to deposit your vessels in *dry docks* on the margin of your rivers, and a wall, like that in *China*, be proposed to be erected from *Schoodick* to the *Ohio*, to prevent all trade and intercourse with the rest of the world, you might be astonished or *amused* at the visionary plan—but you would not violently oppose the authority of government. Yet you will boldly investigate the conduct of those in power, and if you find it unconstitutional or oppressive, by your free suffrages you will place others in their stead, whom you shall believe more wise and patriotic.—When you see danger threatens your country, you will not fear to give the alarm ;—and as honest, independent republicans, you will never be backward to examine and judge upon the measures of your rulers. Your cause is good ; it is the cause of your country : it had the sanction and

* “ THE President has recommended the measure, and therefore I approve,” is often now the declaration of those, who have been the most zealous in favour of democracy, and who have pretended, that the *Federalists* wished to abridge the power and privileges of the people.

support of WASHINGTON. The means used to advocate and defend it, must also be lawful and proper: you will guard alike against the extremes of insubordination and servile submission. Truth, and reason and free elections are the weapons you will employ. More the friends of your country, than of any particular party, you will disapprove of the aggressions of every foreign power.—Though our danger at present appears most imminent from the Emperor of *France*, you will carefully guard against a partiality for any nation of *Europe*; and be ready to defend your freedom and independence as well from the assaults of *George the Third*, as *Napoleon the First*.—If consistent with the preservation of your liberties, you will endeavour to avoid war with all nations. You will not provoke *one* foreign power to gratify the ambitious views, or in subserviency to the unjust demands of another;—and you will remember, that to maintain your freedom, it is necessary you manifest a spirit of decision, of firmness and courage.—Endeavour to conciliate contending parties—give your fellow citizens correct information, and warn them of the intrigues of ambitious and designing men. Then, if the liberties of your country fall, you will be able to say, that you have done your duty; and the friends of freedom in every part of the globe will declare, that you deserved a better destiny.