

AN *from his friend*
B. Page

ORATION,

COMMEMORATIVE

OF

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

PRONOUNCED AT HALLOWELL,

JULY FOURTH, 1809.

BY WILLIAMS EMMONS, A. M.

Quo amore inflammati esse debemus in ejusmodi patriam, quæ felicissima in omnibus terris domus est virtutis, imperii, dignitatis? Cic. de Ora.



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1809.

MR. WILLIAMS EMMONS,

SIR,

HAVING been appointed a committee for the purpose, by the Federalists assembled at Tilton's Hall on the 4th inst. we tender you their thanks, for your excellent Oration, that day pronounced, and request the favor of a copy for the press.

CHANDLER ROBBINS,
NATHAN MOODY,
JEREMIAH PERLEY. } COMMITTEE.

Hallowell, July 5, 1809.



Hallowell, July 5, 1809.

GENTLEMEN,

REGARD to the respectful notice and the wishes of the Federalists of this town, which induced me to pronounce the Oration, prevails on me to yield it agreeably to your request.

With due consideration and respect,

*I am, Gentlemen, your
humble servant,*

WILLIAMS EMMONS.

To the Hon. CHANDLER ROBBINS, Esq. } Committee of the Fed-
Mr. NATHAN MOODY, } eralists assembled at
JEREMIAH PERLEY, Esq. } Tilton's Hall.

ORATION.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

THE patriot delights to contemplate the freedom and independence of Empire. The sublime and complex objects of a mighty nation expand his soul, warm his imagination and awaken his philanthropy. He rejoices at the recurrence of a day commemorative of the birth of liberty and Independence to his Country. The pure joys and sublime contemplation of patriotism emanating from this source, we believe, are not alien to your bosoms. The behest of God and the propension of *man* alike actuate and justify you in the indulgence of patriotic emotions and the observance of a national jubilee. To resuscitate the noblest sensibilities of our nature, to awaken the choicest recollections of the past, and to excite the best resolutions as to the future, is the purpose of this joyful celebration. In aid of this purpose, muse on the toils, and woes and sacrifices of the Heroes, whose deeds achieved our Revolution ; whose names will burnish the page of history ; and whose characters adorn human nature. Ponder on their virtues, and their patriotism, and their prowess, and their meeds, and their glory. Cherish a vivid and operative remembrance of the grand object, which inspired their ardour and invigorated their efforts. Deeply imprint on your memories a lively conviction of the oppression of Great-Britain in the imposition of taxes upon the American Colonies, without their representation or consent. Perpetually keep in view, the various and particular grievances and cruelties, which our Country then sustained ; lest you suffer yourselves, by usurpation, corruption, or fatuity, to be divested of your civil immunities.

The history of our Revolution is so familiar to every citizen, that we esteem it more apposite to existing circumstances,

to descant on the means of conserving our Independence and promoting our Country's prosperity, than to recount the memorable transactions and events which conduced to the attainment of liberty.

Be it then our grateful task to canvass and recommend that system of national policy, which, we believe, will most efficiently and infallibly contribute to the glory of our nation.

The glory of their country has ever been the notable and supreme object of all ancient and modern nations. Happy for themselves, had they invariably pursued the path which their best convictions and dearest experience have designated.

The true interest of our nation points to external commerce as the primary and most efficient means of securing her highest glory and felicity. Though her progress in civilization and refinement has been without a parallel; yet she is still in her adolescence and the immaturity attendant on that tender age. It is incumbent on us to use every precaution to prevent the retardment of her growth or the diminution of her magnitude. Possessing every natural advantage for commerce, agriculture, and the mechanic arts, she claims the adoption of every expedient, which is adapted to carry these grand national objects to the highest perfection. This great end we cannot attain, without presenting incentives and opportunities to elicit and cultivate the genius and enterprize of our citizens. The powers of our minds have an elastic quality and will ever remain in a state of inactivity without a motive sufficiently efficacious to draw them into exercise. Paucity of objects having such influence narrows the sphere and weakens the force of our exertions. Multiply the persuasives to effort and you enlarge the field of action, you give new vigour to our physical and intellectual capacities. The most perfect bodily faculties are devoid of utility asunder from the impulse and guidance of intelligence and curiosity. Whatever opportunities we may have to exert and improve the former, will be of little moment, while we are destitute of scope and motive to exercise and perfect our genius and invention. The character of the savage exemplifies these remarks. His inability to achieve any great and important enterprise is universally known. His physical en-

ergies have the utmost perfection ; but his mental strength scarcely merits the appellation of ability. Unfold to his view the utility and sweets of civilization and you behold his intellectual faculties swell into gigantic vigour.

To a nation these observations are equally referable. Inducements must be offered to the public mind to educt its energies and invigorate its efforts. The *mighty*, the *irresistible motive* which must be addressed to our citizens is *external Commerce*. This is the centre of gravity in our political system. This will furnish plenary opportunity for improving the natural advantages, which this country possesses in richer profusion than any other, and of reaping the best and most abundant fruits from these privileges. Through this inlet will be an influx of wealth which will enable our citizens to cultivate and perfect those great national objects, which induce strength, splendour and magnificence. Without a certain portion of opulence we can never attain enviable perfection in literature and the sciences ; or excellence in the arts of utility and elegance. Wealth must have a general diffusion among the people. Men of genius and enterprise will then have the means of indulging their curiosity and gratifying their predominant inclination.

Our affluence, however, will accrue chiefly through the medium of commerce. But affluence alone will not insure us eminence in the department of the sciences or province of the arts. The public mind must be embellished, its taste refined, and itself rendered susceptible and solicitous of every species of improvement. An inextinguishable spirit and invincible desire of excellence, influenced by a pure regard to their country's glory, must pervade and actuate every portion of community. Ere the public mind is thus electrified and propelled no nation will ever obtain preeminent distinction and unperishable renown. Bœotian stupor and listlessness will preclude Attic enterprise and activity. By mingling with the artists of other Countries, ours will realize an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the various modes of mechanic operation ; contract a taste and desire of excellence ; and be stimulated and conducted to inventions in their respective departments. Emulation will be aroused and every faculty exerted to equal or surpass the manufactures of other nations.

With minds devoid of care and solicitude respecting "what they shall eat and what they shall drink, and wherewithal they shall be clothed," men of talents and education will devote themselves to the cultivation of letters and make that proficiency which will procure them eternal celebrity and shed glory on their country. To verify these positions we will cite the example of Russia. Anterior to the appearance of Peter Czar the Muscovite, his country was in a state of barbarous incivilization. The influence of his mighty genius and character, accompanied with his own personal exertions, imparted life and vigour to the dry bones of his countrymen. Commerce awoke, agriculture revived, manufactures flourished, and science speedily illumed the country. This bright and glorious change was effectuated by the very means, which we have just recited.

It will scarcely be needful to shew the necessity and conduciveness of Commerce to the prosperity of Agriculture. The former opens an outlet for the discharge and disposal of the commodities of the latter. The agriculturist is influenced by no other incitement than what commerce affords, to procure from his soil a greater quantity of produce, than domestic consumption demands. This yields him encouragement to augment his surplusage in proportion to the width and unrestraint of the avenue through which it is conveyed. Commodities, for which there is no vent, are destitute of value; and of this description is the superfluity of the husbandman, which does not meet with demand for exterior consumption.

From commerce we derive the principal portion of the national revenue. Since the abolition of internal taxes, this has become almost the only considerable stream, which supplies the pecuniary reservoir of the nation. Dry up this stream and you will find that the reservoir is not a perennial spring fed by unseen rivulets. How unwise soever it may be deemed to obtain the most considerable share of the revenue from this source, we shall, still, realize it a prolific means of augmenting the national treasury.

That we may justly appreciate the benefits of commerce to this country, we will contemplate the effects which would accrue from its entire abolition. Our citizens would then,

either revert to the vague indifferency and barbaric ignorance of the aborigines, or sink into profound indolence and unprogressive ease. Industry would no longer be known. Emulation would be excluded from every bosom. Agriculture and manufactures would in vain solicit improvement. The nation would speedily become the vivid and terrific picture of China. I need not apprise you that the Chinese were once distinguished for refinement and letters; but are now immersed in ignorance and lethargy, shorn of their glory, without the faintest desire to regain their pristine grandeur. This sorry condition they have induced by refraining from intercourse with other nations and treading in the hackneyed path of custom and ancestral practice.

But uninfluenced by this plenitude of evidence touching the utility of *exterior commerce* to our country, many are inimical to its interest, and esteem it a source of much evil and unneeded expense. Such allege that the wealth-imported thro' this channel begets indolence, luxury, effeminacy, and corruption. This, say they, has been the effect in every nation on whom commerce has poured her treasures. This assertion, we conceive, is an error. What nations have fallen victims to these fatal maladies? We readily acknowledge that corruption and effeminacy had a deleterious influence on Persia, on Greece, and on Rome. Through what inlets did these evils introduce themselves into those nations? The Persians, in all their glory, were not famous for commerce; but magnificence of apparel, splendour of equipage, and indulgence of sensuality. And we are authorized to assure you that the subversion of that monarchy was accelerated by the luxury of an *effeminate Court* and not of a *voluptuous people*. Luxury which is diffused through the *whole* community, says an eminent writer, has not a baneful tendency; but is, on the contrary, the principal support of trade and manufactures and the grand stimulus to individual and national industry. To search for the source of Persian luxury and effeminacy is entirely nugatory, since we are confident, it can not be traced to extrinsic Commerce.

The Greeks were remarkable for simplicity of manners and purity of morals till Asiatic habits and indulgences prevailed among them. These eradicated that regularity of conduct and innocency of life for which they had been distinguish-

ed. But their voluptuousness and sloth we must attribute to sudden and splendid victories over an opulent and corruptive people. Having contracted a taste for the pleasures and enjoyments of the Persians, they at once reclined into the lap of effeminacy and imbecility. To the gold of Philip they then easily succumbed. They were no longer worthy to be called the descendants of the invincible and immortal Greeks, who procured deathless fame to their country on the plains of Marathon and at the Straights of Thermopylæ.

Rome has also been adduced as an example of the evil effects, which result from Commerce. But we have no credence in the pertinency of this example. We readily recognise, that in a certain stage of her existence, Rome was deeply tainted with effeminacy and corruption; but deny the position that these originated from affluence emanating from the source in contemplation. You well know that Rome obtained her riches by conquest; that her citizens were exonerated from taxes and supported by public contributions; that they were saturated with extravagant spectacles, corruptive amusements, splendid triumphs, and the rich boons of those, who solicited their favour. These were the means of contaminating her morals and of begetting that laxity of conduct and irregularity of desire, which proved her ruin. To evils accruing from such sources we are not exposed.

Of all ancient Republics or Nations Carthage derived the greatest wealth from Commerce. But the opulence she thus obtained, was not, *on account of its source*, the cause of her destruction. Her commerce, wealth, and competition, exposed her to the incursion of the Romans, who always had reference to the property or potency of the people, whom they attempted to subdue. In this way the affluence of Carthage might have been conducive to her ruin. But the concession of this fact does not militate against the general sentiment, which we have essayed to evince. Carthage was a place of inconsiderable extent, and the inhabitants procured their subsistence principally from Commerce. Receiving great wealth in copious and sudden streams, without sustaining the usual toil and care of its acquisition, they soon became addicted to the gratification of the baser appetites and passions of our nature. Our situation has no similarity to that of Carthage.

We have an extensive territory, without inhabitant or culture, which will long attract the attention and require the labors of our citizens.

Need we proof, that the wealth which results from commerce is not alike prejudicial with what accrues from conquest, discovery or casualty, let us advert, for a moment, to the situation of England. By the unprecedented prosperity and success of her commerce with every section of the world, she has amassed immense wealth, which, to our knowledge, has never had a ruinous effect. To *commerce* must she ascribe her present potency and grandeur and glory. Think of the character and circumstances of Holland antecedent to her present vassalage and debasement. With her history you are acquainted. It is fraught with the choicest instruction on the article of commerce. To the *peculiar circumstances* of the people and the *peculiar mode of its acquisition* must we attribute the baneful effect, which opulence has had upon any nation. If a people, by easy and sudden means, get possession of great wealth, it is morally certain, that *this* will have pernicious influence and operation. To corroborate this position, recollect the effect which the discovery of South America had upon Spain. The evil consequences flowing from the sudden increase of wealth will probably be coeval with the existence of the nation.

Nations and individuals are in like manner affected. The man on whom fortune pours her bounty in an instantaneous shower, unless accustomed to her gifts, is rendered indolent, fastidious and effeminate; but he, whose ceaseless efforts procure him wealth, is happy with contentment contributes to national strength, and becomes the efficient instrument of general utility. Let the midday sun pour the plenitude of his rays into the eyes of him, from whom the films have just been removed, and vision is drowned in a flood of light; but if ray after ray gradually reach his eyes, his sight waxes stronger and stronger until it brightens into perfection. Having such plenary evidence and strong conviction of the utility of commerce to *our country*, let the people "with full purpose of heart" demand the liberty of the ocean, and she shall at once rejoice in the multitude, variety, and richness of her prizes.

But the patronage and advancement of this great object will not alone secure the highest glory of the nation. The cultivation of letters claims serious consideration and perpetual efforts. The United States have the preeminence over every other country in regard to extensive dissemination of knowledge. This very happy and ardently to be desired circumstance conduces to the conservation of our government in its pristine purity. But to men of great talents and profound erudition must we look for that vestal flame of glory which will reflect light to future ages. While we cultivate and revere superficial knowledge, we shall never obtain that variety and profundity of learning, which have so justly procured celebrity to ancient nations. Ere men will give that application and industry to the study of the arts and sciences, which will insure their votaries immortal fame and confer unfading lustre on their country, they must be allured to such efforts by wealth, honor or distinction. These a nation will not incline to proffer or bestow prior to no trivial refinement and opulence. At present, we shall in vain supplicate Minerva, however fervent our importunity, to bedeck with her garlands many literary sons of America. She may vouchsafe the oaken leaf, but as the Roman General the oaken crown, we hope they will aspire to reject it. But *our* horizon of letters is not *devoid* of lights. To promote the progress of estimable knowledge, avarice must be extirpated from the bosoms of our citizens; a longer period must be allotted to the study of the abstruse sciences; greater assiduity and inclination must be devoted to their culture; ancient books of various lore must be turned over with a constant hand; and public honors conferred on those, who eminently excel in the several provinces of learning. Fugitive publications of no merit, abridgments of treatises on the arts and sciences, which are designed and adapted to render men* *erudite and sapient* without application of mind or effort of industry, ought to be frowned into oblivious

* *The author refers to the spirit, which actuates many in our country, who claim to be the favorites of science, to get a smattering of a variety of subjects, by which they can produce a butterfly dazzle, which may astonish those within the compass of their excursion. Such a spirit is absolutely poisonous to that which is calculated to heighten the literary character of our country.*

contempt. Men of this sort of knowledge, like Jonah's gourd, have an instantaneous growth and decay.

The mechanic arts are of such high moment to this nation, that its glory is intimately connected with their improvement and perfection. To institute and perfect these of every description, we have, or can procure all the materials, which are requisite. These arts already flourish as much as the infant state of the country will admit. The paucity of artificers, who can be obtained, presents insuperable impediments to the rapid progress and eventual perfection of our manufactures. But when the means of subsistence are more easily procured and our territory more generally inhabited, we may expect our artists will have greater skill and more exalted eminence. Our government should tender them every apposite incitement to augment their manufactural knowledge, improve their dexterity and remunerate their industry. But to extend the idea of encouragement to the exclusion or detriment of commerce, is highly preposterous. To anticipate that our artisans will make very great improvements, in their respective occupations, within a short period, is truly idle. For agriculture, whose excellency will redound to the glory of our country, will usurp the place of manufactures. The extent, variety and fertility of our soil proffer every incentive to perfection in its culture. The abundance of land and the facility of its acquisition will oppose a temporary barrier to agricultural improvements. But with a flourishing commerce and the various enticements, which national interference may offer, we presume, this feature in the national character will be correspondently grand and beautiful. In this tender age of our country it will be infeasible to present the richest boons on the altar of Ceres.

We will now take a brief review of the measures of the different administrations ; and ascertain how far they have respectively been conducive to the glory and felicity of the nation. In reviewing the steps which have been taken in the different stages of our Government, we will not revert to those of the *Confederation*, when every move exposed the inexperience and fatuity of the public mind. At this lurid juncture of our national existence, a torrent of discontent and turmoil arose, which threatened to sweep away our dearest interests

and inestimable rights ; the happy fruits of Independence. Few men of just views, pure patriotism, and sufficient energy, could then be found, to discover and press the adoption of those measures which made for our political salvation. But happy for our country she was rescued from the mighty torrent and the *Federal Constitution*, which was deemed a barrier to future freshes, was framed and eventually adopted. Then the SAVIOUR OF HIS COUNTRY appeared as an earnest that no similar inundation of inquietude and disturbance should occur during his appearance in the horizon of State. I mean the immortal WASHINGTON. The halcyon days of his presidency are so deeply engraven on our memories that the lapse and efficacy of time shall ne'er be able to efface the remembrance. The first administration pursued the path which conducted to the honor and felicity of the nation. They found the country beset with evils on every hand. To them was intrusted the management of a nation surcharged with the debts of an expensive war, destitute alike of funds and credit, without a treaty with England, at variance with Spain, harassed by the incursions and massacres of ruthless savages, and agitated, deeply agitated with the *disaffection* of many of her own citizens to the *Federal Constitution*. But the wise measures which were adopted tranquillized the public mind and disarmed opposition to government of all its terrors and all its stings. — The illustrious and ever to be lamented HAMILTON, under the auspices of WASHINGTON, projected a system of finance, which at once regenerated public credit, created a fund adequate to national expenditures, and secured the means of a gradual and entire extinguishment of the public debt. Counter to the opinion and wishes of no inconsiderable portion of community, government appointed a minister to negotiate a treaty with Great-Britain. He achieved his object. To this instrument the most virulent opposition was manifested ; assemblies were held in various seaport towns to express dislike to its provisions ; and the worthy MINISTER was vilified with the blackest of bilingsgate and the foulest of ribaldry : but contrariant to the disapprobation and remonstrances of its opponents it obtained the requisite sanctions. Recompense was procured for spoliations on our commerce and many commercial immunities secured. The blessings of this treaty we are unable to compute. Under this administration, the dif-

ferences between this country and Spain were happily adjusted ; the free navigation of the Mississippi was secured ; the hostile disposition of the Indians converted into pacific assurances, and a pledge of their amicable conduct in future was obtained. But the half of the evil is not told. In prosecuting the war against England, France solicited the aid of our country. She pressed her entreaties by the most moving representations of her "labours of love" in our revolutionary contest ; of the vile ingratitude and ineffable cruelties of our adversary ; of the aggression of Great-Britain in the existing war ; and the warmest protestations of the rectitude of her own cause. Her's, said she, was the cause of liberty and self defence and the rights of man. But unmoved by such passionate compellations, Washington issued a *Proclamation of Neutrality*. This act was like the Hebrews, refusing to fall down before the idol of Nebuchadnezzar. For this refusal the French were determined to destroy Administration. Their ministers attempted to sap the confidence of our people in their rulers and excite rebellion against them by appealing from the President to the nation. But the God of our fathers did not permit. *In all this, WASHINGTON erred not ; but appeared like himself.* After having concluded treaties with Algiers and Tripoli, and obtained security to our navigation of the Mediterranean this Administration was succeeded by another, which pursued the same system. Then happy and prosperous was our situation, save the disquietudes and turmoils, which French conduct and chicanery produced and sustained. Dissatisfied with the treaty which our Government had negotiated with England and under the pretext that this instrument infringed her rights, France commenced a most unjust capture of our ships and depredations on our commerce. To prevent a reiteration of such proceedings and procure indemnity for our losses, Administration took the wisest steps to obtain a happy accommodation. But the Ministers sent for this purpose were *refused* to be *accredited* as the EMBASSADORS of an independent people and *constrained* to return without accomplishing their object. Justly and highly incensed at the insufferable indignity, which the French had poured on our whole country, Government adopted those measures, which were adapted to mollify the wounded honor and maintain the rights of the nation. The opposition, which was exhibited to these

measures and the contumely, which was heaped upon Administration for their conduct, are more easily recollected than described. These steps, however undesirable and onerous, were demanded by the peculiar difficulties of the crisis. In this day of clouds and thick darkness, WASHINGTON appeared to assume command of the army which was levied. In the letter announcing his acceptance of the appointment he expressed the most unequivocal and cordial approbation of the measures which had been adopted. Discovering the disposition and state of our nation, the French changed their conduct and manifested such inclination to terminate existing differences, that Government sent another Deputation to France to negotiate a treaty. The treaty which they formed did not embrace any stipulations to remunerate our citizens for their losses. Remuneration they never have received. Under this Administration a Navy was built and supported; Commerce extended and prosperous; and the various affairs of our nation sustained a goodly aspect. We readily acknowledge, however, that several measures of this Administration were of questionable utility; but maintain that the *great principle* and *motive of official conduct* were dictated and sanctioned by sound policy and federal wisdom.

To this assertion we may safely assent, if we credit the declaration of Mr. Jefferson, who assured us, that this country, at the period of his elevation, was "in the full tide of successful experiment." The difficulties which had subsisted between this nation and France having been adjusted, and the *necessity* of the unpopular measures of the former Administration having surceased, Mr. Jefferson commenced his presidency under the most auspicious circumstances. But the policy which he adopted, was entirely unlike that, which his predecessors had pursued. He rose on *their destruction* and revelled in *their spoils*. The natural result of former measures was to replenish the treasury and enrich the nation. Of the fulness of the treasury he claimed the honor; and of the economy, which his contracted policy introduced, he challenged applause. But the plenitude of the treasury was not referable to his laudable measures; nor any economy practised which was entitled to commendation. Among the first steps of his administration was the sale of public ships and the introduction of a *Blesus-*

*Lucian** fleet, which a Gulliver might draw off at pleasure. To terminate the dispute with Spain respecting the free navigation of the Mississippi, to which we were by treaty entitled, Administration chose to purchase Louisiana without any settled boundaries. This immense territory, containing inhabitants whose characters, views and inclinations are uncongenial with, and repugnant to those of the other inhabitants of the Union, enhances national expenditures and yields ample opportunity to a foreign nation to transport and subsist an army for the purpose of invading and annoying our country. The warmest advocate of its acquisition can scarcely shew the least advantage which will result to the nation from its possession. The evils are past calculation. Government have permitted the Spaniards under the influence of France to interrupt our navigation and commit depredations on our property, in another section of the Union, without procuring reparation. Instead of receiving satisfaction, in an honorable way, for the injuries, which we had sustained from some of the Barbary Powers, Administration sanctioned the conclusion of an inglorious treaty. And when no reason of validity could be assigned, they interdicted, at the solicitation of France, all intercourse with St. Domingo. Our treaty with Great-Britain having expired and with it many commercial immunities, Ministers were appointed to negotiate another. They formed a convention with which themselves were satisfied, and which, in the opinion of the best of judges, was equal if not superior to the former. This instrument Jefferson rejected without submitting it to the Senate agreeably to the Constitution. The negociation of the treaty was greatly protracted by augmenting the points in dispute apparently with design to preclude final accommodation. The unjust and unauthorized attack of a British officer upon one of our National ships, the Chesapeake, which his government have ever condemned and for which they have ever professed a disposition to give full satisfaction, was improperly attached to the points of difference.

* *The Lilliputians had long been at variance with the Blefusucians and the measures, which the former adopted in regard to the latter, admirably represent the Jeffersonian policy towards Great-Britain. The history states, all intercourse between the two Empires was strictly forbidden; and the Emperor of Lilliput had laid an embargo upon all vessels whatever.*—Gul. Trav.

And when the British Government had sent a special minister to proffer plenary satisfaction for the indignity which that attack cast on the nation ; the President refused to revoke the proclamation which he had issued with particular reference to that event. The British Minister could not enter upon the execution of his purpose, till a measure, which itself assumed partial satisfaction, were annulled. This the honor of his nation forbade. During the pendency of the negotiation, our Government passed a law interdicting the importation of British manufactures into the United States. This measure was preeminently adapted to wake the irritable sensibilities of a magnanimous nation. By presuming that full latitude was not contemplated in its operation, Administration connived at and palliated *the Gallic Decree*, which most flagrantly violated *our* neutral rights and the obligations of a treaty purchased at the sacrifice of twenty millions.* And after Government had *ascertained* the extent of the execution of the *Berlin Decree* ; and had been assured by England that she, unless due resistance were made to French measures, must issue Orders unpropitious to neutral rights, they heeded not the kind monition ; nor rescued the country from incalculable embarrassment and ceaseless disrepute. Had they *then* complied with the suggestions of sound and impartial policy, the Orders of Council had not been known ; and our commerce would have been as destitute of restrictions as at the present moment. At this period and under these circumstances, when every absent American would desire to subsist on the *Lotus* and every present, on *Nepenthe*, Mr. Jefferson recommended a perpetual suspension of our Commerce, without assigning any reason ; but “ the great and increasing dangers, which threatened our vessels, seamen and merchandise.” But the most unequivocal proof can be adduced, that he had no knowledge of great and increasing dangers to our Commerce. Though the British Orders of Council had been issued, our Government could have had no intelligence of that event. *And even under the operation of the FRENCH DECREES and ORDERS of COUNCIL our COMMERCE might have been more lucrative than in time of peace ; and our vessels sailed with no inconsiderable security.*† But the embar-

* *Analysis.*

† See Pickering's speech.

go totally dammed this source of profit. To justify the EMBARGO its advocates and abettors have resorted to the most base subterfuges and palpable evasions. At one time, we have been told that it was a coercive measure ; at another, that it was a municipal regulation. If it were contemplated to have compulsory effect, it did not accomplish its object ; but if municipal effect merely, language cannot paint its turpitude. That it did not have coercive influence is abundantly apparent from the approbation which Bonaparte expressed of it ; and the pungent satire of Mr. Canning respecting the policy. But the effects which it has had upon our own country, are imprinted in sable colours on the bosom of the whole nation.

In the propositions which Administration tendered to France and Great-Britain to induce a repeal of their respective Decrees and Orders the greatest partiality was manifested. To the French they offered to give aid in prosecuting the war against their adversary and to rescind the embargo ; but to the English they merely proposed the repeal of that measure. To annoy France they merely suspended our commerce ; but to injure England they inhibited the importation of her manufactures into the country and the entrance of her armed ships into our ports. To their partiality, duplicity and folly, Administration conjoined contumacy by perseverance in their system. Act after Act was passed to enforce the restrictive policy, until the *famous* Act of the ninth of January, which contained an infraction of the Constitution and a subversion of some of our dearest rights. Your fellow-citizens were detached, without knowing the particular purpose of the detachment, to enforce the execution of *that law*. Your houses were exposed to the intrusion and inspection of unprincipled hirelings, at the mere suggestion of suspicion. Administration thus rendered the *military independent of, and superior to, the civil power ; quartered bodies of armed troops among you in time of peace after having cut off your trade with all parts of the world*. Such measures, you have asserted in the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, were among the reasons which *constrained* you to pro-

claim the United Colonies *free and independent States*. Did you, Fellow-Citizens, when the “blushing” privileges of liberty “were thick upon you” submit to such oppression? * No : But like firm and honest freemen, you implored the interposition of the State Legislature, after Congress had turned a *deaf ear* to your *complaints*.

The proceedings of the legislature were marked with firmness imbued with caution and tenderness blended with energy. When the bosoms of our Citizens were perturbed with apprehension and suspense at the eclipse of their country’s glory, the Legislature, like Pericles of old, explained the phenomenon, and their fears vanished, joy thrilled their hearts and gladness brightened their countenances. The bill guarding against unconstitutional searches and seizures was an earnest of protection. *The remonstrance to Congress*, like the writing of Artemidorus, contained the means of salvation ; but unlike that, was communicated and had the desired effect. The disquietudes and exertions of the New-England States procured a change in the policy of Government which placed the two belligerent nations on an equality in relation to the United States. Great-Britain anticipating the movements of Congress and desiring a “speck” of peace in the Western Horizon, hastened to make propositions of full accommodation. Forgetting the things which were past and looking to those which are future, the President readily acceded to the propositions of arrangements. His conduct has received the commendation of the *good of all parties*, and their wishes have been, that he may go on in the ways of “*well doing*.” In giving this unfinished delineation of the most prominent features of the different Administrations we have not been actuated by a desire to increase the acrimony or fan the flame of party spirit ; but to enable you to derive practical utility from the comparison. You will perceive in the former “a beauty which makes” the latter “look ugly.” The former were characterized by sincerity, impartiality, energy and wisdom, which will embellish the page of history and reflect glory on the Country ; but the latter was marked with duplicity, partiality, weakness, and fatuity,

* *The inhabitants of Hallowell, influenced by regard to their country’s glory and prosperity, commendably addressed a memorial to Congress and then to the State Legislature.*

which will pour disgrace on our nation so long as the American history shall be perused. The former sought the promotion, the latter the destruction, of Commerce. And you can never forget, Fellow-Citizens, that the security and prosperity of Commerce were the grand motives which impelled to the formation of the Federal Constitution.

We congratulate you, Fellow-Citizens, on the removal of restrictions from our commerce and the fair aspect which has been suffused over her by recent transactions. Means, we are assured, will be exerted to guard her against "too much regulation" in future. Greater than oracular voice, even the voice of *nature* and *reason* proclaims that the glory and prosperity of your country are intimately connected with "wooden walls." Be not deceived. The resuscitation of federalism in the Eastern States and the election of a federal executive of this Commonwealth are equally causes of gratulation. The communication of his Excellency contains the correct and pure principles of federalism expressed in the mild and mollient language of conciliation. These, we believe, will guide and attemper his official services.

Quitting the fair prospects of own country devote a transient contemplation to the mournful destiny of Europe. Nation after nation is enslaved to appease the voracity of the Corsican Minotaur, who, like the grave, says not, *it is enough*. Elevated above the objects and pursuits of ordinary minds, he pants for the entire subjugation of States and Kingdoms and Nations—the World. Wonted to the horrors and agonies of martial death, callous to the tears and anguish of widowhood and orphanage, he fattens on the ruins of liberty and the miseries of human kind. The recent discomfiture and immense slaughter of the Austrians fill us with indignation at the stupidity of the vanquished; and apprehension at the success of the victors. We rue the folly and moan the destiny of the Austrians. Save the glorious efforts of the Spaniards, this destroyer of nations has received little check in the execution of his nefarious purposes. The memorable resistance of Spain excites admiration of valour and a tear of compassion. Our hopes of Spanish success deeply partake of apprehension and inauspicious bodings. But we most cordially wish them GOD SPEED. To the progress of the Corsican we can perceive

no limit. Give him in politics, what Archimedes lacked in physics, and he would speedily subvert the world. To the inscrutable counsels of Heaven we must refer for a solution of his successes. But there are, *who smile at the carnage and joy at the slavery of his arm.* With such "mine honor be not thou united."

In this conjuncture of your state and national affairs, Fellow-Citizens, endeavour to smooth the asperity and heal the wounds of party spirit. Aloof from political prepossessions, you should accustom yourselves to liberal, elevated and noble views as the best directories to political rectitude and the happiest inmates and solace of your bosoms. Let the pure maxims of Federalism sway you in the exercise of your civil immunities and in all your political transactions. Ultimate ruin is allotted to every cause, however good, which is aided and sustained by disingenuous and illaudable means. "Guiltiness will speak, tho' tongues were out of use." In his valedictory address WASHINGTON declares, that he holds the *maxim that honesty is the best policy* no less applicable to *public* than to *private* affairs. Listen not to suggestions to dispart the union. Supplicating the propitious interposition of our Fathers' God, to whom we are indebted for every national blessing, let us exert every virtuous and commendable effort for the conservation of our liberty and dearest rights. Should we not be able by such means to sustain our Country, we shall, when that falls, be suffused by our own, and the glory of WASHINGTON, HAMILTON and AMES, whose political virtues we would contemplate, but to admire, admire but to imitate, and imitate but to be happy.

