

AN
ORATION,
PRONOUNCED
AT THE
REPUBLICAN CELEBRATION
OF OUR
NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE,
AT POULTNEY, (VT.)
JULY 4, 1810.

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AN
ORATION.

Fellow Citizens,

NOW cast your eyes over assembled America. See millions of rejoicing freemen shouting hosannas to the God of American victories, for the plenitude of the blessings they enjoy.

Frenchmen may shout the glory and magnanimity of the enslaver of mankind ; they can describe to you with lofty tongues his vast and comprehensive genius ; they can paint to you with crimson pencils, the skull-paved fields of of Hohenlinden and Marengo ; they can point to you *destruction, death* and *Napoleon*, riding triumphant over Austerlitz, Jena and Friedland. They can show you the last hopes of Europe expiring on the fields of Esling and Wagram, and rend the air with redoubled acclamations, the offspring of barbarous transports.

Englishmen can light up the countenance of festivity and joy, on the return of their tyrant's birth-day ; they can recount the grand exploits of their nation ; how many oceans they have stained with blood ; how many Copenhagens have become the funeral piles of their wretched inhabitants ; how many millions have been sent to an untimely grave. They will tell you, that with a fleet, that can *Nelsonise* the world, *Brittania* rides, the triumphant empress of the ocean ; *all this*, while the ears of royalty are daily stunned with the tumultuous cries of poverty ; while the nation is bankrupt ; while *Corrunna, Talevera* and *Walcheren*, in reverberating thunder, spread their shame and disgrace

throughout the world. Yes, the minions of the British throne, can yet proclaim to their people, "you are the most happy, the most enlightened, and the most powerful nation on the globe!!"

But it is the son of freedom, who can celebrate a nation's birth-day without fear or control. He does not dread the sword of the tyrant's will, nor being dragged, a victim, to the Bastile or Tower.

When we see our country flourishing under a government, the choice of the people, with civil, religious, and political rights, as free as the air we breathe; all the wants of nature supplied by the bounteous hand of God, what are the reasons of complaint? Who can be so depraved, so lost to all reason, so outrageous with the wildest paroxisms of insanity? And when the condition of foreign nations is brought in full view before us, base and audacious must be that wretch, who has the impiety to complain.

Look at France: millions of cutthroats, with the instruments of death in their hands, ready to commence their horrid work. Woe to the miserable suppliant who murmurs a complaint.

Look at England, the residence of British freedom.— See her citizens dragged from their homes, to grace the triumphs of the Corsican, to add to his blood stained laurels, or to deposit their bones among the bogs of the Scheldt. Are any of you, fellow citizens, ambitious of the *renown* of marching under her banners? of dividing, with her soldiers, the *glory* of her arms, or the *wealth* of her conquests? Or would you prefer the less hazardous employment, of contributing your portion of four hundred millions of dollars, the yearly requirement of the administration of the "stupendous fabric of human invention?" Or would you choose to become the companions of the *million and a half* of paupers, who would devour the walls and fences, if permitted, to satisfy their hunger.

Look at Spain, a mighty empire of ruins. Her citizens, driven from their peaceful homes, now travers

ing in chains the Pyrenean tops, turning back their swimming eyes, bid an everlasting adieu to their fading country. Her Andalusian summits, once crowned with orange groves and vineyards, the residence of rural felicity, now blushing to heaven, with the crimson life stream of their once happy possessors. Conflagration, desolation and anarchy on all sides prevail, fitter to be the residence of devils, than of the children of men.

See Germany, dismembered of her ancient domain; after shedding Danubes of blood, she accepts the condition of national existence, from her blood-thirsty conqueror.

Now, fellow citizens, who is so ungrateful as to complain that fortune has placed him on the shores of America?

Independence is the legacy left us by our venerable fathers. To guard it and defend it are the remaining duties of the citizens of America. Every measure of government; every action of an officer of government, ought to be the constant subject of examination by the people. They are the final tribunal before which all must appear. Their decision admits of no appeal. Demagogues may for a moment blind by falshood, knavery and deceit; the passions of community may be excited by the clamors of party; but, like the luminary of heaven which drives and scatters the storms and vapors of the horizon away, the intelligence of the people will dispel those darkening clouds, which wickedness and depravity may have cast around them.

To investigate the conduct of political enemies and political friends; to expose what may appear to be erroneous and to point out whatever may be beneficial to the people, is the duty of a public speaker, on an occasion like this. This should be done with candor and fairness. To blacken and defame every American, who may differ from ourselves in his political belief, is as ungentleman-like as it is unjust. It is at once prostrating that freedom of conscience and opinion which forms a Corinthian pillar of political liberty. If I am in danger

of losing my life, because I may happen to advance doctrines obnoxious to my political enemies, Great-Britain and France would prove more happy abodes than my native country.

Should the term *federalist* or *federalism* occasionally occur, an application is intended to those only, who build their political faith upon the true *Pickering platform*, and *their* principles; to those who affect to believe that republicans are Frenchmen, and that "Britain has done the United States no essential injury."

The United States are doomed to endure the ravages of that old enemy of republics, party spirit. Republicans and federalists rally around their respective banners. Whose principles are correct? ought to be the earnest enquiry of every American.

The outline of Republican policy may be delineated in a few words. A protection of the individual and collective rights of the people. A determined opposition to all who would abridge them. An improvement of all the advantages which our own country affords us, in preference to all others. A desire to make the agricultural, the manufacturing and the commercial interests mutual supporters of each other. A complete and "universal emancipation" from all nations of the globe. "Honest friendship with all nations, and entangling alliances with none;" and war is considered as the greatest of calamities.

It has been the policy of federalists to limit the rights of the people. Their voice has been treated with contempt. Property, with them, ought to regulate the right of suffrage. A contempt for the resources of our country. An unlimited protection of foreign commerce. War seems to be a trifling evil; and extensive military and naval establishments are their favorite schemes.

Proofs of these remarks are every day before our eyes. Scarcely a day passes, but you hear disputations on the question, "ought property to regulate the right of suffrage?" Federalists are ever in the *affirmative* and republicans in the *negative*. Republicans contend that

every freeman, whether he possesses *one* dollar or *one* million, so long as he has not forfeited his right by his own misconduct, shall never be deprived of a single privilege. Is this erroneous? When by a solemn act of the legislature you take *one freeman's* right away, what security have the remainder?

To be independent of every nation on earth, is a characteristic principle of republican policy. What American, *in direct terms*, has boldness enough to contradict this doctrine? Yet, *indirectly*, it is assailed every day. To be beyond the reach of foreign influence and foreign corruptions, our necessities and wants must be supplied by ourselves. What nation is independent? Is it one which must look abroad for daily bread; for cloathing and the conveniencies of life? Is it a nation, which looks to another with anxiety and dreads the interruption of expected supplies? Which is agitated by every tumult, that may happen in that country from which the other derives its support? Or is it a nation attentive to the cultivation of its own internal resources and sets all those storms and commotions at defiance, which agitate the rest of the world? For years past we have looked upon the situation and affairs of other nations, as if they were our own. The battles upon the Danube and Vistula have excited as much interest, as if they had been fought upon the Hudson or Potomac. How long shall we enjoy our independence, if these influences remain? When the commercial interest can make our government tremble to its center; set its laws at defiance and excite treason and rebellion to promote its own emolument and gain, I ask, what security do we enjoy? Englishmen and Frenchmen can assume the characters of American merchants, vent their clamors and rage against our government, spread discord, disorder and uneasiness among the people, when a farthing of their profits are interrupted. But are these evils to be submitted to, if they can possibly be averted? I am not an enemy of commerce that is enjoyed consistent with the happiness, the honor and morals of our coun-

try. I believe *commerce* ought to become subservient to the good of the people, not *they* at all times and *their* interests to be sacrificed for the enjoyment of commerce. I wish to see our country so far independent of foreign nations, that when they see fit to issue orders and decrees, we can avoid the tempests of rebellion. I do not wish to see the *commercial rod* shaken over the backs of our freemen at the polls, or our administration and laws threatened with annihilation, if a foreign refugee starts from the rubbish of a dock and declares, that the rights of commerce are infringed. But how can we avoid it, when we should starve or freeze if commerce is interrupted? Then let us be independent in *fact*, as in *name*, of all the universe but God and the government of our choice. This would be the perfection of republican glory.

“Honest friendship with all nations and entangling alliances with none” is another leading principle of republican policy. It is worthy its immortal author.—Never will republicans consent to become the foot-ball of other nations. Separated from the rest of the world we can defend ourselves. We want no foreign aid.—When the time arrives in which we shall need it, let the American name cease to exist. Republican principles must be disgraceful and abominable, when the devotees of despotism are called upon to protect and defend them. We seek no enemies to conquer—no empires to overrun with fire and sword. Do you wish to bind the destinies of America to France, fight her battles, and deluge the earth with blood? Do you wish to see your fathers, your brothers, your sons marching under the banners of Britain to the swamps of the Walcheren or the hills of Talavera?

Republicans dread the calamities of war. They are unwilling to see the farmer, the mechanic or manufacturer called from his peaceful employment to risque his life in fields of death, while the cowardly instigators of war are remaining by their fire sides, smoking their pipes with indifference and ease. They are unwilling

to sacrifice our citizens, to defend the villanies and forgeries of the *profligate* merchant and his infamous speculations, which are constantly devouring the fundamental principles of our government; though the fair and honest dealer should be protected as far as is consistent with the welfare of the country.

When these principles prevail, federalists commence their furious operations. English merchants and tory merchants join in the clamor. They proclaim that the "hand of Napoleon is in this thing." The country is ruined; our national character is destroyed, our reputation gone. These men seem to be tender, very tender guardians of our honor, character and reputation! But, fellow citizens, who ought to be the judges of these? Should we turn our eyes to our own country, we might find there an answer, which in times of reason and candor would silence all clamor and detraction, with their thousand tongues. Republican measures and principles have been, for ten years, canvassed by the people. Fifteen from seventeen states rise to the world, the thundering witnesses of their exalted value. They declare, that American honor and American reputation stand unrivalled on the globe. If not to *our own people*, to whom must we submit for a decision? Who, do the federalists fear, will form a contemptible opinion of our honor, reputation and government? They tell you *foreign nations*. They dread the *opinions* of French and English, of Russians and Germans, of Turks and Persians, of Algerines and Egyptians, of the whole tribe of monarchists and their slavish vassals. They fear that America will become the laughing stock of European corruption, depravity and despotism! That ribbons, stars, garters, great names, popes, dukes and Mrs. Clarks will annihilate the nation! They fear that we shall be treated with contempt, by tyrants and despots, and that we must *often* bend on republican knees to avert their overwhelming displeasure! Are these American principles; principles by which our fathers gained our independence? Did they apply to tyrants

And despots to learn whether *their cause* was honorable, magnanimous, or just? America was never so hated, despised and abhorred, as when humble Britain, prostrate before the genius of freedom, declared us to the world, free and independent states. And as soon will hell resound with celebrations of the bliss and joys of heaven, as that Europe, Asia and Africa will rejoice in the success and prosperity of republican principles in America.

How contemptible then ought the *opinions* of foreign nations to be in the minds of patriotic republicans! How weak must that man be who would hazard all we enjoy to gain their approbation! An approbation which exists only in name, for we are the objects of their abhorrence, and shall be so long, as freemen, we celebrate this sacred day.

Fear or interest may, at times, make nations respect our rights; but everlasting ruin to our independence, when we place reliance on their friendship. The question for every American statesman to ask himself ought to be, "*does justice and my country approve?*" If so, then let the universe besides condemn. Foreign friendship; foreign commerce and foreign connections ought to be placed on *this basis* forever—as far as *they can be enjoyed with security to our citizens and safety to the principles of our government*, let them be supported and *no farther*. This, I trust, will be sanctioned by the people, until tyrants and tyranny are welcomed to our country.

On the other hand it is a maxim of federalism to make *property* the standard of political rights. This doctrine has been publicly taught in our colleges and schools. I have been the hearer of it, sanctioned by presidential authority. Thus the unfortunate sufferer would have no privileges, but those of seeing his liberty and his life, the sport of those, over whom he has no control. The *people* are described as a *monster* with a "hundred heads," whose breath was pestilence and whose hands swept with the besom of destruction.—

The *rabble* & the *mob* are often applied to our citizens when in the exercise of the most solemn privileges and rights.

The United States, for years, have been filled with clamors for the protection of commerce ; while every embarrassment, that ingenuity could invent, has been cast in the way of national improvement. Federalists contend, that the greater the dependence on foreign nations, the more abundant the streams of wealth will flow to our country. Wealth, riches and splendor are the grand objects of federal policy, at the expence of public morals and virtue. Nor has the simple enjoyment of commerce been *altogether* satisfactory ; “ it must be protected by the mouths of British cannon !”

If belligerents or pirates interrupt their prospects of gain, then every other interest of the country must instantly step forth to defend them. All must be swallowed up, in the overwhelming importance of commercial speculations. Their wrongs, however, must be avenged in their *own* way ; and does our government deviate from the line, drawn by the golden finger of commercial supremacy, all then is tyranny and oppression.

Say federalists, give us an army and a navy. Then our government would appear cloathed in all the tremendous terrors of energy. Britain would praise our *valor*, exalt our *honor*, *reputation* and *character*, while the imperious Corsican would supplicate our clemency, on bended knees ! Then and not till then we will glory in the name of Americans ! This is their *own* language ; they will not be displeased, I am sure, if I use it.

But them, I would ask, if all America was in their hands, could they possess the creative powers of Napoleon and the wealth of those nations under his control ? Yet Napoleon sends not a ship upon the ocean, but it is scented out by the naval blood hounds of Britain and destruction rewards its temerity. But they tell us they

do not mean to contend with Great Britain. That is unquestionably true ; but with whom will they fight ? with Laplanders, or Arabs or Tartars ? I would ask, *what advantages* would our country derive from a victorious flag, waving triumphant from the Atlantic to the Indian ocean, from Greenland to Terra Incognita ? An Englishman would tell you, “ a *thousand* millions upon the shoulders of the people, and a government rotten to the core and tumbling to pieces !”

Federalists are the great admirers of *military*, as well as naval glory. A brilliant army, to strike terror thro' the hearts of our foes beyond the atlantic, to grace the annals of our history, to raise our national character in the estimation of the European world, plays lively in their *warlike* imaginations. Then would some Duke of York, with his lovely, royal mistress compleat the exhibition of military skill, with a munificent distribution of princely favors !

But, fellow citizens, I would simply ask, with a fleet of an hundred sail of the line, with fifty thousand soldiers in arms, would your situation, as to independence, competence and ease, surpass what you at present enjoy ? Republicans say, NO.

A brief review of the conduct of our political opponents can never be useless, so long as they are striving for power.

Those measures, which the skilful enslavers of Europe have employed with success for thousands of years, were in rapid succession adopted. Invasion ! Invasion ! served as the watch-word for military preparations.— France, though hermitically sealed with the navies of Britain, was declared to be pouring myriads of *Sans Culottes* upon our shores ; already federalists see, or *seemed to see* an universal conflagration of villages, towns and cities from Georgia to Maine. Frenchmen, however, remained at home and the standing army stood the ready instrument of federal calculations ! Washington lived and our rights were not to be violated.— The foundation of a mighty navy was laid. Federalists

boast, that while in its infancy, it crushed the Hydra of France on the ocean. From their tremendous descriptions of naval victories, their effects should have lasted a century. But the chastisement must have been light, or Frenchmen are extremely prone to mischief, for they disregard our rights at this day, as much as ever.

To crown the whole of this system of federal energy, all the legitimate offspring, of armies and navies, crowded upon the people in rapid succession. Notwithstanding the complete control of all the wealth and resources of the nation, embarrassments arose in every quarter. In ten years before Mr. Jefferson came into office, the national debt, a load upon the shoulders of the nation, second to none but slavery, received an augmentation of seven millions and a half! These measures were subject to the ordeal of public opinion. Federalists were too often exposed to the harsh voices of freemen, sounding through their ears. Judges were armed with unrighteous laws; they immersed our citizens in dungeons for exposing wickedness and corruption. The firm and dignified voice of the people was called the clamor of the mob and not entitled to the momentary notice of the "*well born* and those above the dull pursuits of civil life." Discord, disunion and uneasiness every where prevailed. The confidence of the people, in republican governments, began to decline and monarchy, with all its concomitant terrors, began to be dreaded by the friends of America.

When republicans assumed the helm, a new order of things arose. Economy and frugality were introduced; all useless expenditures were abridged and commerce restored under more favorable auspices. Wisdom and prudence were conspicuously displayed in the first hours of Mr. Jefferson's administration. During the first year *three & one half millions of dolls.* of the national debt was discharged, and this too under all the embarrassments of his imprudent predecessors; and as an everlasting boast of republican policy, we can now say,

that out of *eighty-two millions of dollars*, which Mr. Jefferson found upon the shoulders of the nation, he left but *thirty-six*.

Never did population, prosperity and happiness progress with such astonishing rapidity as now. Never were the prospects of *genuine* national independence so brilliant as they, at this time, appear. Though our foreign commerce has received a deadly wound from the aggressions of foreign nations, in whose eyes so many of our citizens are ambitious to appear respectable, dignified and honorable, yet Mr. Jefferson ought no more to be charged with a responsibility, than for the murders of the Chesapeake. He might as well have prevented the volcano or earthquake, the tempest or whirlwind, as the orders of England, or the decrees of France. Hence sprung the embargo, the spontaneous offspring of the situation of the country. This measure has been the subject of federal vengeance. It was the ladder on which they expected to rise to power; and a temporary cause of alarm to the people. But what has been their last and solemn verdict? An everlasting tribute of applause to that wisdom and foresight which recommended that measure. The embargo was removed by the seditions, rebellions and clamors of federalists. They now have the *supreme delight* of feeling the coals public indignation heaped upon their heads, by an incensed people; of seeing the hard earned laurels of political victory, of scarce *one* summer's growth, plucked from their brows; of seeing the ports of Europe filled with their confiscated ships. They now see, to their shame and disgrace, the destruction of millions of their property, which would have been willingly protected by our government.

To give you in detail the causes which produced that measure would be irksome to speaker and hearer.—Orders and decrees are lost among the sounds of national enterprise and improvements. The embargo stands confessed to be a measure of wisdom and prudence, but ceases to interest, as the causes which pro-

duced it are disregarded. The industry and patriotism of the people will turn orders, decrees and embargoes into the *real* and *substantial* sources of national wealth. Their effects have already illustrated in beams of meridian light, the truth of the republican maxim, that America can be *free* and *independent* in *fact* as in *name*. The *embargo* will yet be looked upon, as an important epoch in the history of our national freedom, and its advisers will rank among the heroes of Saratoga, of Monmouth, and Yorktown.

The attachment to foreign nations and their productions ; their broad cloths, their gauzes and gimps, at the expence of degrading the richest blessings which nature has bestowed on our country, republicans have opposed with all the powers of eloquence, of philosophy and authority. They wish to see the farmer, the manufacturer and mechanic, so united in their labors, so productive in their employments, that the crowned heads of Europe may thunder forth their orders and decrees unfelt and despised.

Federalists have ever represented these as idle schemes, as visionary speculations. They tell you to sell your raw materials to England ; she will supply your wants with her *cheap* manufactures. Labor is too high in America ; you will offend foreign nations and commerce will be at an end. But, fellow-citizens, cast your eyes over our extended empire ; there is not one solitary corner where you cannot discover some useful act in successful operation. Three years give the downright lie to all the predictions of the enemies of American improvements. And were republicans the authors of nothing but the encouragement they have given to improve the internal resources of their own country, they would be entitled to the eternal remembrance of all, who glory in the preservation of freedom.—These are the principles of republicans.—Flattering are the prospects of future years, when independence and happiness will stand on everlasting foundations.

Fortunate for the United States, the interest which,

as a people, they formerly took in the affairs of other nations, is now rapidly declining. We are beginning to look at European events with more *curiosity* than *concern*. Americans are rapidly retiring within their own country and their alienated affections are placed upon their native land.

France, by her decrees excludes, seizes, confiscates and burns every neutral ship in her power. Every law of nations has become dead and extinct. And as for our government, she cares as little for it, as we do, for that of the Laplanders. Our ambassador firm to his trust, elevated in all the dignity of republicanism, speaks to Napoleon with a voice, that must make all tyrants tremble but Napoleon himself. But Napoleon, deaf to all remonstrances against his transgressions and wickedness, capers through France with his "*lovely, charming and beautiful bride,*" and disdains to give an answer !!

England, by her *orders*, destroys all that Bonaparte has left. From her we hear the doctrine of federalism continued. She tells us she means to do us ample justice. She never *does* fulfill her engagements and never *will*. She has told us she was waiting for *France*, who was, she declares, the *first* aggressor. She now acknowledges *that* to be false, and that *she* was the first violator of neutral rights. A new edition of fair promises is issued, for the consolation of America. Our ambassador (Mr. Pinkney) is tickled and coaxed & flattered; great folks and lords and dukes give Mr. Pinkney *sheep shearing* toasts and Mr. Pinkney makes *wine shaved* speeches, receives his nine thousand dollars a year for teaching the most noble marquis Wellesley, the *doctrine of inferences* !! Madam Pinkney, to embellish the scene adorns herself in "*Geraneum velvet,*" cap-strings, feathers and silver tassels, and away she twitters to a royal levee! Then the toasts and speeches, and velver and tassels, all find a way to the newspapers and *then* the American farce, at the court of St. James, is concluded! Thus this energetic

federalist squanders the public money and prostrates the dignity of his government. Thus stands our affairs with this most magnanimous nation, always *ready* and *willing*, say the opposition, to do us ample justice !

To relate the enumerable arts employed to destroy the confidence of the people in republicans and their measures, would require an age. I shall therefore call your attention to but few to show how irreproachable republican virtue and integrity remain ; and how desperate must be that cause, which depends upon such slender means to obtain a victory. French influence, in all stages of the political thermometer, has headed the long catalogue of infamous accusations against republicans. This charge has been hooted and howled thro' all the caverns of federalism. The president and his cabinet are described yielding to the terrific mandates of Napoleon, with countenances as pale as Belteshazzar's, when he read the "*mene tekil upharsin*" upon the walls of his palace ! But in what does this tremendous crime consist ? In declaring that France and England have neither integrity nor honor ? That they will both rob and plunder us when we are in their power ? Does it consist in excluding both English & French from all the benefits of our commerce ? and interdicting, indiscriminately, their ships from our harbors ? Or is it because that government will not sanction an abominable lie, sanction the true Prickering doctrine, that " G. Britain has done us no essential injury ?" and that Frenchmen are the only villains on the globe ? Or is it because our government has not volunteered a few thousand Greenmountain boys, to partake, with the English, the glory, the laurels and everlasting renown of Corrunna or the Walcheren ? Or was it because Gov. Gore was not appointed commander in chief of some grand expedition, that he might unfurl the republican banner against the imperial standard ?" Or is it because republicans *would have* called it ridiculous to have sent an army to France to pull the whiskers of Frenchmen and drive Napoleon back to Corsica ; to plunder Amsterdam and drown all

the Dutch, and to drive the *whole* French army into the straits of Dover, to give John Bull a chance to bombard them? Or is it because Frenchmen eat *frogs*, and Mr. Jefferson, unlucky wight, consented to receive a "*horned*" one, as a present, from Louisiana? These, surely, are the only evidences. For, no mortal can discover the least partiality for France, in all our conduct towards foreign nations. Every law, every measure of our government has placed them on equal grounds, even when the aggressions of England, far exceeded those of France.—Another grand charge against Mr. Jefferson is, a determined hostility to England. England, they say, is the only friend of America. She manifests her friendship every day. Rose was sent with all the plenitude of power and love to heal the wounds of national misunderstanding; but he was ungraciously received. Fellow citizens, you know the reasons. Mr. Erskine arrives and delivers his proposals to our government; they are honorable and just, and Mr. Madison receives them with readiness, and faithfully performs his engagements. Federalists then proclaimed, that this was the offspring of *their* noble exertions; that Massachusetts' resolutions had bro't democracy to its duty; that Mr. Madison was a genuine federalist. Say they, these are the offers that Rose carried in his pocket; these are the same which Rose offered to Mr. Jefferson, who refused to hear them. England was always ready to render us ample justice, when we would condescend to receive it. But, dreadful to relate, how deceived were federalists in the magnanimity of royal George! They were dreaming of political conquests, while old George & Canning were laughing in their sleeves to see *poor cheated* America! Erskine was recalled & we have waited to see his conduct meet with exemplary punishment. Yet, not however much to our surprise, he walks into the presence of his royal master, receives his smile of approbation, and is now on the high road to titles and splendid honors.

Next Jackson appears with the flames of Copenhagen around his head & the blood of her people on his hands.

While the groans of Pierce are yet undulating thro' the air; while Chesapeake rolls its waves, fresh with the blood of our murdered citizens; while ten thousand of American freemen are languishing in British prisons of living death; while the solemn engagement of a national ambassador has been violated without a pretext, Jackson, whose character like that of his country, standing on the apex of infamy, has the effrontery to tell our government he has come to receive proposals *from them*.— Then was the time Jackson ought to have been silenced. But our republican cabinet, anxious to restore harmony and good understanding, persevered until insult upon injury, compelled them to desist. Then rose the phalanx of federalism and again proclaimed the magnanimity of Britain, the depravity of our own rulers. They apologised the conduct of the British ministry in language that Englishmen despised. Erskine is condemned as a traitor & Jackson defended with all the zeal & enthusiasm of the enraged supporters of one common cause. Madison becomes initiated in all the mysteries of Napoleon.

Madison is loaded with abuses because he refused to acknowledge Don Onis, ambassador from the Junta of Spain. Federalists tell us he would have made us a fine present of eight millions of dollars; he would settle the boundaries of Louisiana and load our nation with wealth, to the skies. *Napoleon shook his head, and Madison disregarding all the interests of his country refuses to receive him!!* These are headed "*stubborn facts*" and bawled thro' the country! Where do this mighty "Junta" reside? What potent empire do they govern? Little should we imagine that the creators of ambassadors, this grand assemblage of authority, was cooped up in one single city, ready, with hats in their hands, to desert or surrender, as circumstances may require; exposed every day to the fury of a mob, without money in their pockets to procure them a lodging!! Yet to these men, federalists were looking for millions of wealth and mountains of treasure! Their condition, much resembling the situation of the devil, when he offered the world to our saviour.

These are specimens of the weapons employed against republicans, by these men too, who could look unmoved on the murder of Pierce and the slaughter of the Chesapeake ; who could see the solemn engagement of Erskine violated without a pretext, & declare, that the authors of such abominable conduct, were the "most magnanimous people on the globe"!! the "only defenders of the liberties of the world"!! Who can prate about French influence, at the same time tell Americans to take "protection under British cannon;" who can tell us of republican attachments to France, when the infamous Jackson is parading thro' our country, saluted with the *royal airs* of "*God save great George our King,*" and receiving reverential homage!

But to the immortal honor of republicans and their principles, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New York, tho' lately shaken by political convulsions, have returned, in rapid succession, to the standard of our government. Contentions, animosity and division are ceasing to disturb the happiness and repose of the people. And when they possess all that human nature can desire, they will, I presume, rest satisfied in securing those enjoyments to themselves and their posterity, by an unceasing diligence, in the exercise of all their rights and privileges.

Then under the guidance of Jeffersons and Madisons let those principles be defended which secured to us our independence ; which have received the almost unanimous approbation of the people, under Washington and the the republican administrations.

Set the slanders and clamors of political enemies at defiance ; let industry and every honest employment be respected ; stamp the highest value on every American production ; let the smiles and frowns of foreign nations pass by disregarded, and the day will shortly arrive when the splendor of the American name will eclipse the glories of Greece and Rome.