## ORATION,

DELIVERED ON THE

Fourth day of July, 1812,

TO THE CITIZENS OF

PENDLETON DISTRICT,

AND

PUBLISHED AT THEIR REQUEST.



RY

Edward Darrell Smith, M. p.

OF PENDLETON DISTRICT, (S. C.)





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.....1812.....

# PENDLETON COURT-HOUSE, S. C. July 8th, 1812.

DEAR SIR,

IN obedience to a resolution entered into by a large and respectable portion of the Citizens who attended here on the late Aniversary of American Independence, we beg leave to return you their thanks for the very appropriate and excellent Oration you delivered on that occasion, and to solicit a copy for publication.

We anticipate, with the utmost satisfaction, the extensive benefit, and the permanent gratification, which will result from your compliance with our wishes, as well to those who had, as to those who had not, the *pleasure* of hearing that excellent performance.

We are with respect, And esteem, Yours, &c.

JOHN T. LEWIS, ELAM SHARPE, G. A. BOLLES,

To EDWARD D. SMITH, M. D.

### TO THE COMMITTEE.

GENTLEMEN,

than with the dictates of my own judgement, I now consent to the publication of my Oration—I would only observe, for the information of those, who may honor it with a perusal, and may be ignorant of the circumstances with which you are acquainted, that a previous notice of only two or three weeks, together with the pressure of many other duties, render the composition less satisfactory than I could have wished.

With much respect,
I remain your Friend
And Fellow-Citizen,

EDWARD D. SMITH.

July 3th, 1812.

## ORATION.

#### FELLOW-CITIZENS.

AT the request of a respectable number of you, I now come forward to supply the place of that worthy citizen (Col. Pickens,) whose public duties prevent him from complying with your former appointment—I trust that you will believe me to be sincere when I say, that I would rather have been the hearer than to be the speaker; but encouraged by your favorable opinion, and deeming it the duty of every friend to his country, when called upon, to bring forward his mite upon an occasion like this, I will endeavour to contribute mine.

THIRTY-SIX years have elapsed since the declaration of that Independence, the return of whose anniversary we have this day assembled to commemorate. At that eventful period many of us had not entered into being; many were of an age too tender for its recollection; many, who were engaged in its establishment, have gone down to the silent tomb; but there are some still remaining, who bore a part in its glorious accomplishment. With sentiments of pleasing respect I recognize some of them in this assembly—Venerable Patriots! to you and to your departed brethren are we indebted for the inestimable privilege, which we this day enjoy! By your example and by your precepts have we been instructed in the knowledge and value of those sacred rights, which were obtained by your painful sufferings and privations—The ardour, which animated your breasts, has, we trust, been transfused into

ours; and we fervently pray that you will never have to grieve, that a worthy stock has produced degenerate scions—We firmly hope that we shall be enabled, to our latest breath, to guard those cherished institutions, which were procured by you and transmitted to us, and which we regard as the pride and blessing of our temporal possessions—A gracious Providence was pleased to make you the happy means of emancipating yourselves and your posterity from the iron hand of tyranmy, and we would humbly and earnestly implore, that the invaluable boon may be continued to the latest generations—It must now afford you an indescribable satisfaction to behold your descendants taking the stations which you once occupied; cherishing the sentiments which you hold dear; and honouring the day, that will ever live in your mortal remembrance—With grateful joy we hail your presence amongst us upon this auspicious occasion—We feel encouraged by your approbation, and ambitious to deserve its continuance; and although your filvered locks proclaim to our feelings that your earthly course is nearly run, yet will the memory of your virtues be embalmed in our hearts, and the recollection of your examples prove an incentive to us in the paths of duty! How many of your fellow-labourers in the cause of LIBERTY, have long since reached their mortal goal! To pay but a passing tribute to each, or even to the most eminent, would be an attempt far beyond the limits of a day's performance.— Although a melancholy, it would be a grateful duty; but subjects, more urgent, more interesting at the present juncture, demand our attention—Let me hold! Can Americans! Can those in whose veins the blood of the Revolutionary Patriot still flows, meet together upon this interesting day, at this solemn crifis, without even mentioning the name of Him, "who was first in peace, first in war, first in the hearts of his countrymen!" You all know whom I mean-The mantling blush upon the cheek, the liquid lustre of the eye, the

throbbing motion of the heart, irresistibly proclaim that the greatest of Heroes, the illustrious Washington was enthroned in the love of his nation, and is now larmented by their tears—O! Let us pray that his mantle may fall upon some one, and thus enable him, under a superintending providence, to guide us safely through the dark and intricate paths into which we have fallen.

UPON this occasion, my fellow-citizens, it seems to me that it would be more instructive and more appropriate to delineate the causes, which have led to our present political situation, and to consider what that fituation is; than to retrace the scenes of former days, which are already described in the faithful page of history, and have often been depicted in the glowing colours of Eloquence and Truth, on occasions similar to this—At former celebrations of this momentous era. you have been accustomed to hear the pleasing prospects of our beloved country, pourtrayed with grateful acknowledgments of the bleffings of peace and tranquility—Plenty smiled around you, and every man "sat under his own Vine and his own Fig Tree," enjoying the fruit of his labours, and with none to make him afraid—The prize, which our revered ancestors so hardly earned, appeared to be ours by inheritance; and, far removed from the corruptions and intrigues of the old world, we flattered ourselves with the delightful hope of enjoying our birth-right in innocence and ease -But from a most unerring source we have been taught, that uninterrupted happiness is not the lot of man, and human experience continually confirms the painful truth—Within a few years after our INDEPEN-DENCE was confirmed and acknowledged, Europe began to exhibit figns of that commotion, which has since agitated almost all its inhabitants with but little interruption—In France the crimes and oppressions of the titled orders occasioned such misery among the common people, that, together with the successful example

set by the United States of America, they incited the sufferers to a violent exertion for redress of their intollerable grievances—There is a point in human nature, beyond which suffering cannot be endured—And if power be placed in the hands of the sufferer, the vengeance will be terrible—Hence proceeded that dreadful anarchy and confusion, that torrent of blood, fhed both in war and by public and private murders, those innumerable scenes of wretchedness, and in short all the horrors, that can be produced by the unrestrained indulgence of ferocious and ungovernable passions, which so long desolated France, and which perhaps cannot be paralleled in the history of mankind-And after all her indescribable calamities, after all her incredible struggles for Liberty, unhappy France now reposes in the calm of a military despotism, which has also subjected almost the whole of continental Europe to its formidable sway—All the Nations, who engaged in the fierce conflict, either in the early stages of the Revolution, or subsequent to that period, have been compelled to retire or submit, with the exception of that power, which holds an unrivalled dominion upon the ocean—Between these the contest has been maintained for more than twenty years, sometimes in a vigorous and at others in a languishing manner; but always with an implacable animofity—The United States of America, averse from contention and desirous to remain in harmony and friendship with all, maintained a wife and peaceful policy, and endeavoured to obferve the strictest neutrality towards the belligerent powers—For some time they were permitted to pursue their tranquil track without any flagrant infringements, and increasing wealth proved the propriety of their prudent conduct—Their commerce extended to every clime, and the ports of both the hostile nations were open to its exercise—These halcyon days were soon beclouded—Each power conceived that its adversary derived strength from its neutral friend, and both concurred in devising schemes of injury and oppression—It is unnecessary to inquire here which commenced the invidious practice—Both pursued it and endeavoured to fix the odium upon each other—Great-Britain had long been in the habit of kidnapping the free born sons of America, under the pretence of their being her own subjects, and compelling them to fight her battles—Their remonstrances obtained unavailing promises of redress, and the practice was continued, whenever opportunity served—This alone was a sufficient cause for the deepest resentment—The citizen, who seeks his bread upon the ocean, in the pursuit of lawful commerce, is entiled to equal protection with him, who is employed in Manufacture, Trade or Agriculture, within the bosom of his country.

Nor was the French Government slow in imitating the flagitious example of violating neutral rights—On the one hand the most iniquitous Decrees, and on the other the most unjust and degrading Orders in Council, soon reduced our once flourishing Trade to such a dilemma, that our Government was compelled either to abandon it or to arm for its defence—Negotiations were multiplied in vain, and nothing but ruinous submission to the most glaring impositions would be accepted—At length, it was deemed expedient by the constituted authorities of the Nation, to try the effect of a total fuspension of Commerce, by imposing a strict and permanent Embargo—But the unprincipled conduct and intrigues of some individuals prevented the good effects, that were hoped to refult from that measure—Clamours were excited, which induced the Government to substitue a Non-Intercourse Law, which was intended to operate upon those only who continued to violate our Neutral Rights—Soon after the adoption of this measure, the British Minister, Mr. Erskine, offered an arrangement of the difficulties with his Government, which was deemed fatisfactory, and accepted readily—

This prompt acceptance, on the part of our Administration, proved to the world the falsehood of the charge which has been often made against it—That it was partial to France-The latisfaction of the people also evinced that they were impartial to all nations—that they were willing to recieve as friends those, who would treat them as such, and to observe a contrary conduct towards others—But the pleasing delusion was soon dispelled-The British Government disavowed the act of its own Minister, and continued to practice all its hostile measures towards our Commerce-Insult was added to injury—A bullying Envoy was fent out to threaten us: but the firmness of our Executive quickly repressed his insolence, and procured his recall-Since then to the present time, the farce of friendly professions has been kept up; but the former offensive practices have not been abandoned.

And what has been the conduct of France? By the most iniquitous and unjustifiable decrees she has feized an immense property belonging to our citizens, and the most of it too in her own harbours, whither it had been carried under the expectation of a friendly reception—Thus destroying the most facred obligations of honour, justice and hospitality-Our Merchants were decoyed to their ruin and then left to bewail their infatuation—Nearly two years fince however she entered into an agreement, which had the semblance of doing us justice—The Decrees, which oppressed our rightful Commerce, were faid to be repealed; and in addition to the promife of doing no injury for the future, a prospect was held out of indemnification for the past—But more than one instance has occurred of late of her public vessels of War burning our Merchant ships upon the high seas, under the same pretexts, formerly used for their capture-If her ruler should continue to permit, and refuse to make reparation for such barbarous proceedings, what faith can

be placed in his promises? Will we not have a right to conclude that the revocation of his edicts has been only in name and is intended to deceive? For more than fix months past we have had a Minister Plenipotentiary at his Court, fent out with the special view of terminating all differences and forming a treaty of Commerce, that will be advantageous to both nations. What has been the result of his mission? He has been amused with empty protestations and his patience tried by vexations and unnecessary delays-And he is probably no nearer to the attainment of his object than at his first arrival—More than sufficient time has elapsed to discuss every topic, connected with his negotiation; and if there were a disposition to do justice, there is no reasonable pretext for delay-A reference to the instructions given by our government, will shew the firm attitude which it has taken upon this subject, and which we trust it means to maintain—an impartial conduct to all is most confishent with the dignity, policy and true interests of our country—It will be the most fatisfactory to the people, and will furely unite in one fentiment all those, who are real friends to the prosperity and honour of the nation—Thus fellow-citizens, have I endeavoured to give you avery general view of the causes, which have led to our present fituation—Its tediousness will, I hope, meet with your indulgence, from its close connection with the subject before us. I will conclude this part of my discourse with an appropriate extract from a very nervous address, delivered lately in Philadelphia—"It would be easy to magnify this retrospect with many other indignities, and with the hideous details of those thus cursorily noticed— But the volume is already overcharged and it is necesfary to break off the narrative, which has been fo often. so much more strikingly unfolded, that its images must be engraven on the memory of every lover of his country—We might else carry your attention from the sea to the land; and, arresting it first on the frontier,

where the tomahawk of the savage is prompted to the butchery of our unconscious settlers, by the infernal stratagems of ruthless England—Direct it afterwards to the more civilized departments of the union, to our cities, to our fire sides, where the mode of attack again appears adapted to the scene of its operation—and a glozing, civilized British Spy, is found like the Serpent in Eden, tempting our weakness with untried changes, and with all the wiliness of his nature beguiling us to our perdition."

"But it is unnecessary, we repeat, to dwell one the host of excitements, which march before and beckon us to the combat—we have borne more than ever any people did, without an appeal to arms— We have left unattempted no striving for adjustment —We have expended all the stores of pacifications, and do not brandish the sword with the right hand, till the olive branch has withered in the left-We have deprecated long enough our unappeasable, infidious affailants, more dreadful, more pernicious in their ambush, than they could be in flagrant war-We have been more plundered of our treasure, while suing for accommodation, more abused, more injured, than we should have been in the same period of hostilities, and the current of our national character, of our national existence, is gliding out of view, while we linger on the shore, vainly imploring the monsters of the deep to spare us." Are we not then Fellow-Citizens, arrived at a momentous crisis? Since the conclusion of our revolutionary struggles has there been a state of things. so solemn, so impressive? Do not the portentous clouds of war enshroud, with gathering gloom, the return of that day, which has heretofore been gilded by the sun-shine of peace and prosperity? not engaged in open war with one, and perhaps shall soon be with another, of the most powerful

nations of the world? Has not the murderous savage already begun his infernal warfare upon our defenceless borders and flaughtered, with cruel hand, the feeble woman and the helpless infant? Is not our foreign commerce ruined, and are not the productions of our ferms lying useless or wasting upon our hands? Surely these are solemn facts and deserve our most serious consideration—Resection upon them is sufficient to alarm but not to terrify—it should instigate Americans, not to submission, but to vengeance upon their ruthless oppressors.—In such a situation there is no alternative, but to live retired within ourselves, in the privation of those comforts to which we have been long accustomed, and to which we have an indisputable right-to submit to the insufferable requisitions of implacable rivals—or manfully to breast the rising form. Long habits of peace and aversion from the horrors of war, have already made trial of the first expedient—it was practised in the well known period of the embargo—and the result is known—a kind of submission has been long endured—so long, that the indignation of the people has at length been aroused, and by the voice of their Representatives in the National Councils, has unequivocally declared that it can be practised no longer—what then remains but the dire appeal to arms for the preservation and maintainance of those rights, which we have afferted to be as dear as existence itself, and for which we are ready to encounter every hazard—Expecting then this last decision, it will not be uninteresting to bestow some considerationupon the foes with whom we shall have to contend. and also upon the ability, which we have for the contelt.

THE population of the British Empire in Europe is perhaps more than double that of the United States of America; and she has more than a thousand ships of war, and upwards of six hundred thousand men in

her army and navy—This statement, which is believed to be correct, gives her the appearance of being a very formidable power; and there is no doubt that she would be so, if but a third part of this immense force could be applied to any one point—But let us examine the reverse of the picture—There are so many places to be defended, and such constant employment from her enemy, that no confiderable force can be detached to one quarter, without producing a dangerous weakness in another—If it were not so, why is it that in some of the most important naval engagements there have seldom been more than thirty ships of the line employed; or why is not such a large reinforcement of troops sent to the Peninsula of Europe, as to terminate at once the expensive and tedious contest that has been so long carried on there? And what effect has this enormous military and naval armament produced upon her domestic situation? It has produced a host of Pensioners and Officers, who fatten upon the spoils of the people—it has produced misery and despair among a great multitude of the inhabitants—it has occasioned a public debt of more than three thousand millions of dollars, and an annual taxation of more than three hundred millions.—It is stated, upon good authority, that the Princes and Princesses alone cost the nation more than five millions of dollars annually, which exceeds the whole amount of the peace establishment of the United States—The people have not the liberty of electing their rulers—Their Senate is perpetual and hereditary—Their House of Commons is chosen by a small part of the nation-They continue in office for seven years, and the majority of them, by bribery and corruption, is always placed at the disposal of the ministers; of course the voice of the people is not heard or attended to, and when they dare to remonstrate against oppression, as they are now doing, being goaded on by hunger and despair, their petitions are disregarded, or a military force is called

out to suppress their louder clamours. The enormous annual amount of taxes must be furnished in a great measure by commerce, which confifts principally in the manufactures of the country, and therefore whatever tends to restrain the one, must have a corresponding influence upon the other—Two of the most considerable articles of manufacture have been sheep's wool and cotton wool, the former raised mostly in their own dominions—the latter supplied principally by the United States of America—Already cut off from exporting to most parts of the continent of Europe, they wanted nothing but a rupture with these United States to bring their commerce, as it were, to a state of annihilation— If there can be no trade, manufactures must decline, and the thousands, who depend upon daily employment for daily bread, must feel poverty and famine advancing upon them with rapid strides—Add to this that the country is fo much over-peopled in proportion to its extent, that the cultivation of all the lands is not generally fufficient to supply food to the inhabitants -They must therefore necessarily depend upon other parts of Europe or upon this continent, for subsistence—To be excluded from both these fources must constitute the climax of their miseries—Add also to this that Ireland, long oppressed, impatiently waits for a favourable opportunity to affert her rights, and to feek. deliverance from that deplorable vassalage, in which fhe has fo long indignantly lain.

THE people have discerned the infatuation of their rulers, and have earnestly implored them to conciliate America, as the only means of their human salvation—As yet the numerous standing army and mercenary forces, at the disposal of the crown, have been able to repress the language of their despair; but perhaps they may not be able to do so much longer—Already does the government begin to manifest strong symptoms of an approaching inability to meet their in-

creafing expences. Nothing but the immense exertions of those, who own the national debt, and who apprehend a total ruin from a national bankruptcy, have maintained the struggle thus far-Laws have been enacted to make paper currency, equal in value to Gold and Silver; and the consequence has been, that an alarming and rapid depreciation has taken place, and specie has almost disappeared from circulation—Suspend, but for a short time, the means of hiring the soldier to murder his complaining fellow-citizen, and let him feel that he also was a citizen, and a revolution will not be far distant-Hunger and despair will even anticipate the period and urge the starving Manufacturer to rush upon the briftling bayonet, rather than behold his wife and little ones perishing around him-This, my countrymen, is no picture of the imagination—It is no exaggerated scene—At this time, we are informed, it is realized, and although our hearts may bleed with compassion for the wretched sufferers, we must detest the barbarous policy, which has brought them to such an unhappy state—And although the justice of Heaven may linger, will it not fall with dreadful vengeance upon the authors of fuch accumulated woe!

portunity of being so well acquainted with her internal fituation—We know that her form of government is an absolute Monarchy—and there can be no doubt that the continual wars, in which she has been engaged for so many years, and the vast armies (amounting, it is said, to at least eight hundred thousand men) which she is obliged to maintain, must require an immense annual expenditure.—For many years her internal commerce has been so much reduced, as to give but little aid to the revenues of government—Numerous confiscations of the wealthy estates within her own territory, together with the exactions, contributions and plunder of the most of Europe, and also of many millions of American

property, have hitherto furnished a fund adequate to the demand—But, notwithstanding her powerful armies and those directed by the genius and impetuosity of her. wonderful ruler, France is still compelled to carry on the fanguinary contest—She has not yet attained all the objects of her ambition—Subject to the most arbritrary despotism, her unhappy children must detest the infatize ble thirst for military glory and unbounded sway, which, rages in the breast of their Emperor; but still the chained confcripts march under his banners and figh in vain for the termination of the bloody 'fcene—But, my, country-men we have nothing to fear from his unpriacipled ambition or ferocious revenge—A kind providence has interposed an ocean of three thousand miles between us and the blood stained plains of Europe, and he has not the means of transporting his Myrmidons to our shores—And if he had, need we to fear him? Has not unhappy Spain given us a proof of what a nation. struggling upon their own foil for every thing that is dear, can do against a horde of disciplined invaders? Separated from her potent enemy only by a narrow ridge. of mountains, long enflaved both in civil and religious. rights, with many internal traitors, deferted by those who should have led the combat, and destitute of most of the requifites for war, she has gallantly maintained the unequal contest for more than five years, and the invincible Bonaparte yet possesses no more of her soil, than his armies can occupy—Six hundred thousand of his men have already perished by war or by disease; nor is it probable that he will ever be able to bow the. necks, even of an enflaved people, to his imperious yoite.

And shall I disgrace you, ye free born sons of Columbia, by comparing you with degenerate Spaniards, the slaves of monarchs, priests and nobles? Shall I compare your resources with those that they possessed? I feel an unshaken considence that, if ever the

occasion shall arise, let the foe be who he may, that shall attempt to invade our land of liberty, you will never suffer him to behold the misty ridge, which yonder mountains form.

I FEAR to tire your patience by the length of my discourse; but the truly interesting nature of the subject will, I trust, induce you to grant me your indulgence a little longer—I am fensible that I have the honor to address you at an awful crisis, in a situation of affairs, the like of which has never yet been witnefled by the most of us—Our country, injured and insulted. plundered and despised, is about to make the last solemn appeal, to enter upon that dreadful contest from which she has for years, earnestly, wisely, but (as it now feems) vainly striven to keep herself aloof—Is it not then requifite and important to us all to confider the preparations that we have made for the trying hour. and the bountiful resources, which a smiling Providence has bestowed upon us? Already has our government called upon the patriotifm of the nation, and foon shall we have the gratifying spectacle of one hundred and eighty-five thousand freemen in arms, ready to chastise the violators of their facred rights—To defray the expense of war-measures it will also be requisite that the contributions of the nation, for the support of their government, be increased—And here we hope to behold another evidence of the patriotism of our citizens, and that every individual will cheerfully bring forward his respective quota of the tax, which will be imposed by just and equal laws—Convinced that there is no alternative, he will without a murmer give up a portion of his property to secure the remainder, and to restore their accustomed value to the fruits of his labours—On this point the enemies of our administration have affected to triumph—They have fneered at the emptiness of the treasury, which has heretofore been supplied principally by the duties upon foreign com-

merce; and they have not acknowledged that the failure of these resources has been occasioned by the atrocious and unwarrantable depredations of the belligerents-But we hope to shew them that we have other and more abundant resources-The credit of the national government is unblemished-In a little more than ten years, more than forty-fix millions of dollars of the public debt has been paid off, and not quite as' much remains to be extinguished—Contrast this with the nations of the old world-With a fingle trivial exception, our general government has never yet had occasion to impose a direct tax; and now it will find in the possession and purses of its citizens, an ample fund to avenge their wrongs—It possesses a landed: property of fix hundred and fifty millions of acres, which, valued at the moderate price of one dollar per acre (and it is well known that a large portion of it is worth ten times as much) would be adequate to an expensive war of more than twenty years duration—Our country is also becoming rich in the establishment of the most useful manufactures, which will prove a most abundant source of national economy and of individual wealth—A recapitulation of these would occupy too much time at prefent.\*

\* It is supposed that it would be acceptable to give a short sketch of manufactures, &c. as ascertained by the last census, and at the same time it must be remembered that the returns are incomplete.

Of Sheep there are in Vermont, 450,000---in Massachusetts, 399,182----Connecticut, 400,000--- Pennsylvania, 1,469,918---- nearly half a million of pounds of Nitre are manufactured in the United States, and the quantity may be increased to any desirable amount—The article of Straw Bonnets in the mauufacture of only two States, yielded in one year, \$579,228.

The quantity of Maple Sugar, made in one year, in the States of Ohio, Kentucky, Vermont and East Tennessee, amounted to nearly seven millions of pounds.

WE possess within ourselves the seeds of growing greatness, which the jealousy of our implacable rival has long endeavoured to prevent from germinating; but which, in spite of all her efforts, will spring up and flourish, perhaps to her destruction-And, although it has not been deemed proper at this time to grant farther encouragement to our infant navy; yet, possessing in our forests, our soil and our habitations, abundant implements for its formation and equipment, the time is not very far distant; when we may be able to meet the usurpers of the dominion of the ocean, upon their own element—But we have the greatest safeguard in our free constitution, the happy privileges which it fecures, and in our own deep conviction of their ineftimable value-Inhabiting the only republic upon earth, and enjoying every civil and religious right, that is compatible with freedom and good government, we are stimulated by incentives, which no other nation can teel.

It is to be lamented, however, that there are some few amongst us, who are unworthy of the liberty, which they enjoy; for they are unwilling to defend it—They are either so much the friends of Britain, or so

The manufacture of Horn Combs in Connecticut, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, amounted in one year, to \$156,861.

The quantity of ardent spirits, distilled annually in the United States, makes the prodigious amount of 23,720,000 gallons.

The number of water and horse mills, employed in spinning Cotton, amounted to 230 in August, 1810, and worked 100,000 spindles---The Fulling mills returned amount to 1630----and the wool-carding machines, going by water, to 1835----The number of Looms returned exceeds 330,000, and the total number of yards of cloth, made of wool, cotton and flax, as returned, exceeds 75,000,000----Gun-powder mills 207, preparing yearly 1,450,000 pounds----530 furnaces, forges and bloomeries are enumerated-----Paper mills, 190.

much terrified at the prospect of dangers, that they use all their efforts to magnify her ability, and diminish ours—They have even afferted that our measures are not intended for the defence of our just rights, but for unjust and unprofitable conquest—There is no doubt that Canada will be invaded, and as we hope, quickly subdued, but it will be strictly consistent with the princles of felf-defence, for we have no more effectual way of retaliating the injuries we have been so long suffering; and the possession of that country will be the most speedy mode of quelling the deluded savages, who are now carrying fire and murder through our extenfive borders—Self-preservation imperiously dictates the measure, and the British Empire will severely feel the deprivation of those provisions and naval stores, with which she has been furnished by her northern colonies— As to the actual losses by war, they will probably be less than they have long been—For hitherto with tame fubmission we have crouched to the plunderer, but now we will be prepared to inflict injury in return—Our maritime trade has for years, been suffering all the evils of war, without its name, and now that our veffels will be permitted to arm, we trust it will be seen that the adventurous spirit of the heroes of the revolution has not expired with them—At any rate our commerce cannot be placed under more difadvantageous circumstances than it has long been, and an incalculable benefit will even arise from this evil—the extension of old manufactures, and the creation of new ones—This will probably be one of the severest blows to the prof. erity of Britain; for we shall not only cease to be ourselves confumers of her manufactures, but in the progress of time, will be able to rival her at the foreign markets, which fhe used to supply.

IT has also been objected to our engaging in the contest, which we have now begun, that France has treated us with as much indignity and injustice as Great

Britain, and that we have therefore equal cause of refentment against her—Admitting the fact to be fo, and that it would have been more agreeable to the wifhes and feelings of a large portion of the American people. that hostile measures should have been adopted at the same time towards both nations; yet the failure of this, with regard to one, ought not to disarm us of our resentment against the other—But there is some small difference in the cases—Britain has positively refused to do us justice—France still holds out the semblance (although probably it may never be realized) of making reparation—It has therefore feemed proper to the Representatives of the nation to declare war, in the first place, against the one; but at the same time they have pledged themselves to proceed in the same manner, against the other, if satisfaction is not speedily obtained —We find then that we are now engaged in open war with that perfidious nation, from whom our fathers, thirty years ago, wrested that Independence, for which we are now to contend—Yes, my countrymen! It has been emphatically said that we are about to contend a second time for air Independence—and shall we shrink from the contest? Shall we fear to tread in the paths, which were made by our revered progenitors? They have not all yet departed from us—Some of them are even in this assembly, to honour us by their presence, and to animate us by that courage, the fire of which is not yet extinguished by age—With less than half our numbers, surrounded by domestic traitors, branded with the epithet of rebels, and destitute of almost every thing but their native valour and their trust in a righteous God, they nobly dared the combat and atchieved that Independence, around whose sacred standard you are now called to rally—And will you not obey the call? Will you prove unfaithful to the confidence that has been placed in you? Will you disappoint the high hopes that have been entertained of you?

AND you, who are now commencing your career in the world, unencumbered with the ties of domestic life, and having no portion but your native strength and spirit, will you neglect this fair opportunity of avenging the wrongs of your insulted country, and of promoting your individual interests? Will you not flock to the American standard, to that Eagle, which waves on youder hill, and invites you to the field of glory? Will you not range yourselves under the banners of those veterans of the revolution, who, obedient to their country's call, have left their beloved retirements, and are now ready to devote the remnant of their lives to the public service!

To you, citizen soldiers, who have so nobly volunteered to be the first defenders of the rights of the Republic, the most grateful acknowledgments are due—You have set a worthy example, which cannot be forgotten—Perhaps your services may soon be required, and we have no doubt that they will be rendered with alacrity—We believe you will be emulous of the deeds of your fore-fathers, and will prove to the world that the Militia of a free country are its safest bulwark— Remember Bunker's Hill, where the men, who but the day before had exchanged the implements of husbandry for those of war, drove before them double the number of the far famed British regulars—Go you and do likewise.

AND, finally, fellow-citizens, let us all be actuated by one spirit, a spirit of union, of obedience to the laws, of firm and unwavering confidence in the government of our choice, and of manly resolution in the defence of our rights—Let each of us, in his respective capacity and situation in life, perform the part that is assigned him, with honour, prudence and vigour, remembering that the proper discharge of individual duties is necessary to the promotion of the general welfare

—Knowing that the time for deliberation is past, let us now act as becomes conscientious men and lovers of their country—And above all, remembering that "the battle is not always to the strong, nor the race to the swift," let us humbly and fervently implore the favour of Almighty God upon the justice of our cause, befeeching him in his mercy, speedily to terminate the calamities of war, and to crown us with the blessings of a permanent and advantageous peace!

THE END.

