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ORATION

PRONOUNCED

BY SAMUEL H. SMITH, ESQUIRE,

IN THE

CITY OF WASHINGTON,

ON

MONDAY, THE FIFTH OF JULY, 1818,

BY

**REQUEST OF A GENERAL MEETING
OF THE CITIZENS,**

AND

**PUBLISHED AT THE DESIRE OF THE COMMITTEE
OF ARRANGEMENT.**

WASHINGTON CITY

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1813.

ORATION,

WE are assembled, fellow citizens, to commemorate the great day which gave birth to our independence. In other regions, the multitude eagerly repair to splendid exhibitions, set off by the highest efforts of scenic art, to pay their homage to some mortal elevated by his virtues or crimes above subject millions; here freemen surround the altar of liberty, to pour out, with a simplicity characteristic of our institutions, the effusions of gratitude to the Ruler of nations for the inestimable blessing of governing themselves. In the one case man, in the other, principle is the object of homage. It is unnecessary, before such an audience, to dwell on the superiority of the one to the other, or to trace the contrasted influence of each on the moral character or physical condition of man. It is sufficient for us that we are conscious of the dignity of our lot, and that we unhesitatingly prefer it to the trappings, however gaudy, of those who draw the regal car.

It is the remark of a distinguished historian, that freedom makes men grave. The remark is verified by universal experience. He who has much to lose will be naturally solicitous and habitually employed in devising means for its preservation. On this day we are especially called upon to cherish high and solemn reflections. Whether we look back upon the solemnity of the scene that ushered us into existence, the portentous circumstances that preceded, or

the imminent perils that followed it, the bright glories with which it was achieved, or the rich fruits it has since bestowed on ourselves and the whole human race, we have abundant cause to awaken our most serious reflections. We are above all, interested in inquiring, what then made us an independent nation, that we may thence learn what is now best calculated to preserve our independence. This is the duty I have prescribed to myself on this occasion, which it will be my effort to discharge without blending with it any feelings derogatory from the dignity of the theme.

Union made us an independent nation in 'seventy-six; union has since preserved our independence; and to union we must be indebted for its perpetuation.

Acts of oppression, such as you have heard recited in the energetic declaration of our independence, convinced the patriots of the revolution of the necessity of appealing to arms in vindication of rights unblushingly violated by the rulers of Great Britain. They felt indignantly the wrongs and insults to which we had so long been wantonly exposed, and notwithstanding the smallness of their numbers, and the want of an established government, together with the destitution of provisions, clothing, and arms, they heroically determined to take the last step that remained, and either gloriously establish their rights, or nobly perish in the attempt. The cause was a just one; Heaven smiled upon their arms; the solid foundations of liberty were laid, and a superstructure erected, which has for thirty-seven years sheltered us from the fury of the blackest storms, and under

which we have continued, almost without interruption, to augment our stock of happiness.

It was union of sentiment that gave birth to this memorable act, and united councils, aided by united exertions, that carried its principles into effect.

Local partialities, personal attachments, discordant religious tenets, variant political institutions, customs, manners, and occupations subsisted among the American colonies in as great, if not greater strength in those days, than they do at present among the several members of our confederacy. But this apparent contrariety of interests opposed no obstacle to union. It was realised that the attainment of great ends invariably requires, not merely great exertions, but likewise great sacrifices; and such was the virtue of those days, that our progenitors courted danger and submitted to sacrifice with a magnanimity that justly esteemed peril and privation the truest tests of patriotism. It was not then the constant discussion which section of country endured the greatest evils; every section was proud of its ability to repel the common danger that menaced the country; every section promptly drew forth its resources in the common cause in which we were embarked, without any invidious comparison of relative claims or means.

No measure, while pending, was, perhaps, ever combated with more warmth, than the act of independence itself. The best men differed with regard to its policy. Such was the collision of opinion in Congress, that the issue long hung in suspense. But the sacred die was finally cast, and the colonies declared independent. It was then that that union of sentiment and action, which is the vital principle of

a free state, shone forth with a splendor that ought to irradiate the present times. The boldest opponents of the measure instantly became its active friends; and their voices were raised or their swords drawn in its defence. They never dreamt of courting the forbearance or flying to the standard of a foreign power; but resolutely staked their all on the issue. One part of the continent might readily have found a paltry present gain in making open terms with the enemy, or in withholding its quota of men and money. But such a derogatory idea was no where harbored. No narrow views or local jealousies obscured the clear perception of the great eventual benefits that would flow from the establishment of an entire independence of any foreign dominion. No sooner had the American people assumed a station amidst independent nations than every foreign predilection vanished. An honest, sometimes a vehement diversity of opinion prevailed within the walls of Congress; but there it terminated. The extent, to which it was often carried, is but little known. A distinguished member of that illustrious band of patriots has assured me, that to such a degree was it indulged, that while participating in their deliberations, he was often led to fear the issue of our contest; but no sooner had he mounted his horse and mingled among the people, than their undaunted courage and confidence of success dissipated every doubt. Here, in the great body of the people, was the redeeming virtue, the perennial spring, the exhaustless fountain of a thousand streams, whose collected force poured the mountain torrent on our foe.

There were, it is true, even in those honest

times, men, neither few in number nor inconsiderable in influence, who opposed openly or insidiously the will of the majority. Did this appal their spirit, or impair the vigor of their measures? On the contrary, it transfused new spirit into their hearts, and imparted additional vigor to their measures. They wisely deemed it proper to apply a force proportioned to the increased resistance, whether from within or without. They did not permit their course to be impeded, or their arm stayed by internal disaffection. The will of the majority, clearly expressed, was the law of the land, and they felt that there was no alternative, but that of enforcing this law, or of suffering it to be trampled under foot; thereby substituting the will of the few for the dominion of the many. They did not hesitate a moment, but crushed the hydra of faction to death, with a vigor that taught treason to beware of the danger to which it was exposed.

It is difficult, if not impossible, for us to form an adequate conception of the sublimity of the spectacle then presented to the world. If a great man struggling with adversity is an object worthy of the contemplation of Deity, what august honors, what dazzling glories encompass the community, that, without numbers, without money, without clothing, without arms or military stores, without an organized government, breasts the storm of war with one of the most colossal powers of the world, and through a seven years conflict pursues, with unabated zeal and unbroken fortitude, its lofty purpose, amidst disasters and defeats, amidst blighted hopes and sinking fortunes. Holy spirit of liberty! who, after such a struggle and such an issue, will undertake to

assign limits to thy power? The impetuous torrent, the mighty whirlwind, the roaring sea, and the raging volcano, are the sublime terrors, with which nature displays her energies; but what are they in their united force, to thy magic power, that gave to an infant people wisdom to plan, and strength to effect the conquest of a nation, the valor of whose arms resounded through the universe, whose empire extended to every quarter of the globe?

This sentiment of union, energetically enforced, achieved our liberties, and gave us peace and renown. The same sentiment, displayed with equal lustre, gave us the system of government under which we have so long flourished. In the illustrious body that devised it, a sublime spirit of patriotism animated the sages of which it was composed. No member carried his particular ends; but a godlike compromise crowned their united labors with success. Personal rights were sacredly respected, and in the distribution of powers, a magnanimous policy on the part of the great states, by bestowing on the weaker members of the confederacy larger portions of power than their relative numbers or wealth entitled them to, had the double effect of bringing them cheerfully into the system and strengthening their sovereignties. In this system of government, which, from its harmony, simplicity, and comprehensiveness, would seem to be the offspring of a divine mind, concession is stamped on every feature. Yet the body that framed it was, we all know, torn with dissension, and its most sanguine members often despaired of the result. But no sooner had a majority concurred in its adoption, than the scene

brightened, and nearly all its members honorably aided in its ratification.

In the several bodies that ratified it, as well as in the nation itself, while its adoption was pending debate ran high. The human mind boldly asserted its high prerogative of independent thought. It was vigorously opposed. A majority of the states, however, gave it their sanction; and we again contemplate an illustrious display, on a broader scale, of the vital principle of a free state, the prevalence of the will of the majority clearly expressed. All united to carry its provisions honestly into effect. He, whose valor had achieved our independence, was wisely placed at the helm. Public faith revived, agriculture and manufactures were quickened into new life, commerce whitened the ocean with our canvass, and the national character shone with new glory.

The harmony of sentiment and action, that produced this interesting result, guaranteed its perpetuity by laying the foundations of an indissoluble union of the states that compose our confederacy. I say indissoluble union, because I firmly believe that it contains within itself, as much as any human institution can, the imperishable elements of self-preservation. Does it not seem, indeed, to be stamped with the seal of Heaven? In the material world we behold with pious rapture the splendid orbs that compose our system revolving round the bright luminary that gives us light and life, all occupying their assigned places, moving and acting on each other in harmony and peace. In our political system, we behold the general government uphold-

ing and upheld by the state governments, all moving in their allotted orbits, reciprocally imparting and receiving benefit. The mysterious principle of gravitation maintains the one; an enlightened sense of common interests supports the other. Both are the emanation of Divine beneficence; and may not the same Almighty power, that has fixed the period of the one, give equal duration to the other?

To maintain their liberties, the American people must be habitually impressed with their value and the felicity of their lot. They must, too, in the bosom of enjoyment, be alive to the dangers that surround them. Vigilance will generally avert them; but they must be ready, in the last resort, to subdue them by physical force. Profiting by experience, misfortunes, which will inevitably sometimes befall them, as they have befallen every nation, will shed new light on their future policy. The best fashioned theories must yield to stubborn facts, and practical principles alone be the statesman's guide.

On this solemn occasion, then, fellow-citizens, let us, drawing on the wisdom of our forefathers and emulating their virtues, seriously revolve in our minds, and resolutely determine to discharge, the duties imposed upon us by the imminent posture of our affairs.

The first and highest duty imposed upon us is, energetically to carry into effect the national will. That will has proclaimed a great and powerful nation our enemy. Having sued for justice, until the world began to doubt whether any insult or injury could induce us to unsheath the sword, let us, now it is unsheathed in as just and noble a cause as ever

fired the breasts of freemen, show our enemy the strength of our arm, and bring her back to a sense of justice by the only remaining means in our power. War is unquestionably

. . . . "A monster of so frightful mien,
"As to be hated needs but to be seen."

But it is a monster which tyranny and rapacity have been prone, from the commencement of the world, to let loose upon the honest and defenceless, whenever their riches offered a prize for cupidity, and which can only be kept in subjection by force.

The enforcement of the will of the majority, clearly expressed, as has been observed, is the vital principle of a free state. Where the observance of this principle ends tyranny begins. For, if a minority, however respectable, can once successfully oppose it, a precedent is laid for subsequent invasion, until finally a few men, if not a single man, shall control the whole nation. It becomes us, therefore, to watch over this principle with unsleeping vigilance. This is our duty at all times; at this time it is a duty of the most sacred obligation. A war, in defence of rights inseparable from national sovereignty, is waged against an enemy too ready to employ every kind of means against us; a war that demands the whole physical force of the nation. An effectual resistance to this principle, by diminishing the quantum and impairing the vigor of our physical force, tends directly to co-operate with the enemy. Whatever the motives may be of those who resist it, the effect is obvious. This solemn consideration should and must arrest the spirit of opposition in its

infuriate career. Men, who have a common country, whose stake is the same in its prosperity, who must rise or fall with it, cannot, will not, long continue to do indirectly that which they would scorn to do directly. But should they resist the solemn promulgation of the national will, denounce their government, and instead of aiding, oppose, the measures adopted for giving effect to that will, the duty imposed upon the government and people is as clear as a sun-beam. They will join hand in hand, and move together. Rulers, deaf to the idle clamor that assails them, will call forth with vigor the resources of the nation. They will dare to do their duty, regardless of personal consequences. They will repose on the patriotism of the people as on a rock of adamant. Instead of entertaining fears of their disposition to contribute pecuniary or personal aid, animated by a generous confidence, they will boldly call for all that is required by the exigency of affairs. The candor and decision of those in power will awaken sympathetic feelings in an enlightened people, who will rally round servants of tried virtue, and carry them and their measures on the irresistible tide of popular opinion. The enthusiasm of a nation of freemen defending their rights is incalculable. Composed of the millions we count, it must sweep all before it. Let me not be misunderstood. I would not abridge the constitutional right of any man to speak or write what he pleases of the motives or measures of rulers, subject only to the regular animadversion of the laws; but, at the same time, I would not suffer the power of the majority to act to be infringed. In proportion as this power is invaded,

it should be enforced. Freedom of opinion belongs to every one; authority to act belongs exclusively to those whom a nation invests with it; and should those who are righteously employed in the exercise of this authority be defamed by bad men, good men must speak out in their defence, and unmask their traducers, not in the language of ribaldry, but in the tones of indignant virtue. A government, thus upheld, will, like the monarch of the forest, lift its head to Heaven, and strike its roots the deeper for the storms that beat upon it.

This, fellow-citizens, is no insignificant contest about subordinate or doubtful rights. On the issue depends the very independence declared in 'seventy-six. We are measuring our strength, in the maintenance of our rights of sovereignty, with the same nation which at that day, not only claimed us for subjects, but treated us as slaves; and which, in the arduous conflict that ensued, heaped upon us every species of injury and insult that unrestrained power and inhuman feeling could inflict. Were I to open the wounds that then bled; were I to point to the blazing towns and ravaged plains that disgraced her arms; were I to exhibit the floating dungeons of hell in which incarcerated thousands of the bravest spirits that ever animated the human form suffered an aggregation of horrors which no pencil can paint; I should but inadequately portray the sufferings which an unnatural parent inflicted on her children. In what force this ferocious spirit still lives, the shores of the Chesapeake, the defenceless towns of Havre, Frederick and George, the ruthless tomahawk of the savage sharpened by British ferocity,

the horrid scalp, the leading trophy of their council-board, emphatically proclaim. With such a foe, force, naked force, is our only champion. With such a foe the solid peace, we all wish, must be "achieved by the valor of our arms." This then is not a question about this or that administration; but it is a question whether you will support any administration that draws the sword in defence of your dearest rights. More—it is a question, whether your constitution, that proud monument of human wisdom, as you have fondly esteemed it, is adequate to the maintenance of your sovereignty. It is a question, whether a republic of confederated states, founded on the enjoyment of equal rights, can endure. This is the true question. Your government is legislating, and you are acting, not merely for yourselves, but for generations yet unborn. Concentrate your resources, apply them with vigor, push them home to the interests of your enemy, compel her to do you justice, and your reward will be peace, prosperity, and honor to yourselves, with the inheritance of liberty transmitted inviolate to your children, and through them to the remotest posterity. On the other hand, penuriously withhold your resources, use them with timidity, shrink from the terrors of the conflict, and you may obtain a peace, but it will be the precursor of disgrace and ruin, entailing upon your offspring the servility of slaves, or the hard task of breaking the chains you have forged for them. Gracious God! Is it necessary to hold this language to the immediate descendants of the patriots of the revolution? To talk of forging chains for freemen! Where is

the spirit of Washington and Franklin, and the whole host of our revolutionary heroes and statesmen? Has it ascended to Heaven with them? Have they lived in vain? Is their glory but the flash of an angry cloud, presaging storms and desolation? Is it the pestilent vapor, shining for a moment, only to betray us into ruin? No, fellow citizens, no. It is the pillar of fire, that, if we are not false to ourselves, will lead us safely through the perils that encompass us. It points the way to glory. Follow in its tract with undaunted souls and the roaring lion, with his howling savages, will fly for refuge to their deepest dens and thickest forests.

As one of the best means of prosecuting with vigor the arduous contest in which we are engaged, as well as of insuring permanent security and defence, are we not solemnly called upon forthwith to lay the foundations of a navy commensurate with the present, and increasing with the expanding resources of the nation? Heretofore public opinion has been much and honestly divided on this head. For many years subsequent to the adoption of our present system of government, the majority of the American people were, it is believed, decidedly opposed to the establishment of a large naval force. Measuring the resources of the country with those of the great maritime powers of Europe, they thought that any effort made by us to meet force with force on the ocean would be chimerical. They were not insensible to the benefits of commerce, but they were of opinion that great as they might be, they would be more than counterbalanced by the ex-

pense of protecting it by a naval force, even if such protection were practicable. They, moreover, thought, that as our articles of export were chiefly of the first necessity to the maritime nations of Europe, while those imported by us were for the most part luxuries, they would find it their permanent interest to abstain from harrassing our commerce. At this period, too, the empire of the seas was warmly contested by rival powers, and it was natural to infer, that should either of those powers meditate serious aggressions upon us, we should, to a great extent, be shielded by the others. But this state of affairs has undergone a radical change. The dominion of the deep is usurped by one power, who, asserting over it a gloomy despotism, proclaims that not a flag shall wave but at her pleasure. This expected check, therefore, is gone, and we are left to rely on ourselves.

The policy, likewise, of leaving commerce to protect itself is abandoned. A large and respectable section of the country has called for naval protection. A respect for its convictions, and, above all, a devotion to the union, have induced the nation to enter into war with the greatest naval power of the world.

Do not these important facts entirely change the aspect of this question? An honest statesman bows to experience, justly esteeming it in politics the unerring test of truth. If it is settled that our trade is to be protected by a naval force, and if that force can only be found among ourselves, are we not imperiously required to disclose it with vigor? And do not the proud trophies of our prowess, which

have lit up so much joy in our own hearts, and have illuminated our national character with such dazzling glory, point to the efficient instrument for asserting our rights and avenging our wrongs? Further; can any measure be adopted, that is better fitted, while it insures us respect abroad, to increase harmony and union at home? Give the advocates of commercial protection all they demand; not a meagre navy, that can only distinguish itself, however gloriously, by occasional triumphs; but a bold flotilla that can strike as well as receive a blow. Rest assured that it will touch to the quick the vulnerable points of your enemy; and, if the era of civilization is to be polluted by the barbarities of gothic times, will teach their guilty perpetrators, by a dreadful retaliation, the policy of future forbearance.

The fate of Carthage, however tritely alluded to, is, on this head, pregnant with instruction. Her empire extended over the then navigable world, and her dominions were vastly superior to those of Rome, whose territory at that day was confined to Italy. Intoxicated with wealth and power, she became the tyrant of the ocean. Rome, for the first time, fitted out a fleet, which from ignorance was annihilated by a storm. Another fleet was sent out and was stranded. A third was destroyed by a storm. A fourth shared the same fate. A fifth was met by an inferior Carthaginian force, and was defeated. Undaunted by these reiterated calamities, Rome exerted her highest power, and fitted out a fleet of eight hundred gallees, all of which were again destroyed. A still more powerful armament was launched on the deep; vic-

tory at last crowned the Roman arms, and secured an honorable peace, after a contest of four and twenty years. The subsequent fate of Carthage need not be told. Let us hope, as I believe we all do, that it may not be that of Britain. No remark, however, is more true or awful, than that of a deceased revolutionary statesman, "That where nations raise themselves by proudly trampling upon others, although they may by bravery and management obtain the most conspicuous eminence, yet, by the immutable law of our nature that forbids the existence of happiness without virtue, the causes of declension constantly intermingle with their criminal excesses—

'Grow with their growth, and strengthen with their strength.'

"And at the period when their destroying glory reaches its greatest height, then precisely are they nearest to their fall."

In the mean time, so long as our naval force is unequal to repelling the enemy from our shores, or preventing her from seriously obstructing our internal navigation, we are under the highest obligations to push on with spirit every species of domestic improvement, and more especially roads, canals, and manufactures. War, with all its evils, properly improved, brings with it to a great nation, many benefits, which may not compensate, but certainly do greatly alleviate its calamities. It rouses the human mind from the torpor in which the calm of peace is apt to enlign it; it awakens its energies by the difficulties and dangers to be vanquished; it arrests its ordinary habits of thought by a recurrence to

first principles; it calls into the public service the concentrated powers of the whole community; it not only awakens, but creates talent; it supplants the debasing feelings of sloth and avarice by purer and nobler sentiments; and, what is infinitely valuable, it enables a people justly to estimate their strength. Acts omitted or errors committed are drawn boldly into view, and the deserted path of duty becomes prominently conspicuous from the elevated ground the public attention occupies. It is at such eventful periods that we expect, in a nation of freemen, errors to be exploded, and the solid and permanent interests of the people prosecuted on a scale of liberality and grandeur. The cold calculations of personal aggrandisement, the grovelling spirit of local prejudice, fade away before the effulgence of patriotism. The pressure of external danger binds together government and people, whose interests become identified, in the beneficent measures adopted by the one and the liberal support bestowed by the other.

Shall we then, fellow-citizens, suffer this propitious season to pass unimproved, without the accomplishment of some great domestic object, that shall atone, perhaps more than atone, for the complicated evils of the war in which we are engaged? Shall we neglect the immediate formation of a plan for insuring hereafter an easy and uninterrupted commercial intercourse by means of roads and canals? Shall we neglect the means of building up those important manufactures, whose products are essential to our comfort? Should the present war be protracted to an unexpected period, the accomplishment of

these great objects would more than indemnify us for all its evils. But they are also among the most obvious means of abridging its duration, of diminishing its evils while it lasts, and of averting future wars. Who will be bold enough to say, that this war would have existed, had these great objects been some years since effected on that grand scale, which every thing in our moral character and physical circumstances seems to demand? It was our avidity for British fabrics that we ourselves might have made, and our inability, without exposing ourselves on the ocean, to transport the varied products of our soil from one part of the country to another, that emboldened our enemy to believe that we had not virtue to dispense with the one, and that she possessed the power of interrupting our supply of the other. In what degree she had just cause for this belief, present as well as past incidents too well attest. How long we submitted to her wrongs from the dread of losing her fabrics, it is useless to say; but it is a fact, too stubborn to be disputed, that at this moment the greatest evil of the war flows from the blockade of our ports and coasts, and our want of a safe and easy internal channel of communication. Let us then seize the present period for carrying these great objects into effect. Let us, like a band of brothers, all unite in a measure, in which there is no party spirit, no foreign influence, no personal ambition, no local aggrandisement. Let us place our most important manufactures upon a solid and permanent basis, that cannot be shaken or undermined by returning peace, or the temporary sacrifices that may be made by our manufacturing

rivals. Let us, above all, and at any expense, secure by good roads and bold canals, that undisturbed internal commerce, which the greatest economist of the age pronounces to be always superior in value, in every nation, to its foreign trade. Had these two great objects been seasonably effected, the pressure of war would now be comparatively light. Manufactured goods would be better and cheaper, and our agricultural products would command higher prices. There would not be that great change in the value of articles of consumption, which so seriously affects our habits of living. Our commercial intercourse with each other, instead of being stagnant, would be invigorated by the great demands of war, and we should gain nearly as much from the augmentation of our internal, as we lost by the diminution of our foreign trade. A just nation, in proportion as she produces and possesses the means of interchanging the articles she consumes, will be exempt from war, when involved in it will feel it the least, and wage it with the greatest vigor. To what, but to this circumstance, are we to ascribe the relatively light pressure of war on England herself, and the vigor with which she invariably conducts it? That she is so constantly involved in war springs not from this cause, but from her insatiable spirit of avarice, that for its gratification has deluged with human blood the fairest regions of the globe.

But it is unnecessary, fellow citizens, to dilate on this topic. It is a topic, I trust, familiar to your minds. For many years past, the press has teemed with essays enforcing the same advice that is now

inculcated; the best and ablest men in the nation have urged it in every shape. On this very ground, but a short time since, we heard the warning voice of a good and great man,* now no more, whose virtues endeared him to his friends, whose talents recommended him to the high honors of his country, whose philanthropic pen had vindicated the cause of freedom on both sides of the Atlantic, and whose eminent attainments had brightened the literature of the new world; on this ground, in this very spot, we heard his warning voice, enjoining emphatically what I have so feebly urged.

But we may be told by a timid policy, peace is the season for effecting these objects, war calls for the whole pecuniary means of the nation. Nothing can be more untrue. This is the season. We have now a conviction of their necessity of which peace may deprive us; we have now virtue to adopt a plan on a disinterested liberal scale; we have vigor to prosecute it; and with regard to the means they exist in abundance. The coffers of our monied men are full, and would be cheerfully devoted to such a purpose, provided the national faith insured a fair remuneration; while the accomplishment of these objects, so far from diminishing, would augment the resources required for other objects. All that is wanting is a clear expression of the public will by the general government. The object is a great national one, and, if ever, must be effected by the constitutional interpreters of that will. They only can accomplish it in such a way as to embrace the interests of the whole community, without unworthy

*Joel Barlow.

sacrifices to local feeling. They only possess the power, or, if they do not, can obtain it, in a constitutional manner, by an appeal to the states.

Blessings will light on the heads of those legislators, who shall accomplish this inestimable object, which will cement our union, increase our enjoyments, ensure to us longer periods of peace, and render us invulnerable to the inevitable wars in which we may be involved. The remotest generations will cherish the memories of the illustrious benefactors of their country, who, with the divine spirit of the Author of our being, shall have thus drawn good out of evil. Their patriotic labors will diminish the inducements to war, while they invigorate the means of prosecuting it. They will teach the American people to unite a martial with a pacific spirit; to love peace, without fearing war. We shall thus have done all in the power of men, not repugnant to our just interests and our honor, to avert war from our borders. Come, as sometimes come it will, to disturb our repose, and injustice will meet its reward. A happy, united, and powerful people will promptly and effectually avenge their wrongs. Wars are unquestionably no less the disgrace than the scourge of the human race. But they seem, nevertheless, in the mysterious system of our being, to be the price invariably paid, sooner or later, for the blessings we enjoy. A nation that is able to defend her rights must maintain them even at the expense of blood. Her honor, which is beyond all value, commands it. This is the attitude we must take. This is the attitude we have taken. We have drunk to its dregs the cup of humiliation. It is—thanks be to God!—now dashed from our lips. Never,

never may its horrid contents again pollute them, and degrade us, not merely in the eyes of mankind, but what is infinitely worse, in our own. The spirit of a free people may survive the world's contempt, but it cannot survive its own. Self-respect is the elastic spring, without which the whole machine must stop. But, though we may be compelled sometimes to draw the sword, let us assiduously cultivate a love of peace. To this end, let us render ourselves as independent of foreign intercourse, and as invulnerable to foreign power as we can. Let us, by continuing to be just to all mankind, cling to the vantage ground on which we now so honorably stand. Having taken this ground, let us, by our conduct, proclaim to the world our resolution, to receive no wrongs without redress, no insults without atonement.