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AN
A D D R E S S

TO THE

CITIZENS OF NORFOLK COUNTY,

EXPOSING THE ABSURDITY OF THE ARGUMENTS MOST COMMONLY URGED AGAINST THE JUSTICE AND EXPEDIENCY OF THE PRESENT WAR; AND SHOWING THE NECESSITY OF ELECTING A MEMBER TO THE NEXT CONGRESS, WHO WILL SUPPORT IT.

BY A

CITIZEN OF NORFOLK.

DEDHAM:

Printed by HERMAN MANN.

.....
1812.

THE HISTORY OF THE

1719

REIGN OF CHARLES II.

IN THE YEAR 1685.

BY JOHN HUGHES.

LONDON, Printed by J. Sturges, in the Strand, 1719.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

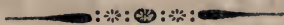
THE SECOND VOLUME.

1719.

1719.



AN ADDRESS.



CITIZENS OF NORFOLK,

YOU have had the best opportunity to observe the operations, and to discover the designs of American loyalists, and of disaffected citizens. Living in the vicinity of their head quarters, you have viewed their policy through the faithful medium of the sympathies, the public declarations and the private conversation of their leaders. The oracle of the federal party resided in the midst of you, and made an experiment on your minds of his favorite maxim in political warfare, that is "to hew down his adversaries by the *sharp edge of satire.*" These causes, peculiar to your local situation, together with the frequent disclosures of federal policy, which you have had the best opportunity to notice, have rendered your attachment to republican institutions uncommonly steady and ardent. The operations of the *Junto* before your eyes have excited your alarm and vigilance, and from time to time kept alive the fire that was kindled in your bosoms by the revolutionary contest, of which your own fields were the theatre of some of its most interesting scenes. There was no giving way when you were menaced with British forces. There was no desertion in the ranks of republicanism when you were attacked by the ridicule and the lying arts of the federal press. But you are again assailed with falsehoods, with sophistry, and with artifice. It is the design of this address to expose them. If weak arguments are frequently repeated, the answers must be as frequently given. If falsehoods are circulated, their antidote, the dissemination of truth, must be as often applied. If artifices are employed, they must be frequently exposed. This is my apology for troubling you with this address. They,

whose duty it is to support public measures, have a double task. They have the arduous duty in all cases to perform, of showing that the measure adopted is better than any other measure that could be proposed; and of answering all the various arguments against it, addressed to the vices and prejudices, as well as the understanding of men. They, who oppose a measure, have no comparisons to make, no other means to propose; they have nothing to do but find fault. Your opponents have adopted an artful manner of finding fault with this war, by frequently asking *for what is it declared?* Although public documents answer the question in a triumphant manner, and shut their mouths on this topic whenever they are appealed to, yet their object is to divert your attention from the real and acknowledged causes of this war to such as exist only in their imagination. Let us not be amused; let us recall the attention to the causes and end of this war, and keep it fixed there, as steadily as the needle points to the pole. The impressment of American seamen, and the destruction of our commerce under the orders in council, are the two great causes of this war, which I shall notice with a view only of answering some of the common arguments against their being a justifiable reason for the war.

THE impressment of American seamen from American ships has existed during every administration of the general government, and has loudly called for the vengeance of this nation. Your own government cannot touch a hair of any free-man for the purpose of pressing him into the service of his country, let the demand for his services be ever so great. The insulted and enraged community, which should witness an attack on an individual for that purpose, without any legal precept, would promptly arrest the assailant. By our own laws the persons of free-men are sacred. What then should be your sensations when the brutal agents of a foreign power put violent hands on your fellow citizens, and press them into their ships of war?—Ships destined to violate the law of nations, to destroy your own commerce, and maintain a piratical system under the disguise and name of British naval superiority! Our seamen are taken from the decks of our ships, which ought to be as free from the footsteps

of British press gangs, as our soil itself. They are not carried into slavery with that gentle hand, which smooths the severity of stern authority, but with ruffian violence. They are borne away from their country, their friends and their liberty, where their generous countrymen can neither sympathise in their sufferings, nor make an effort for their relief. As they are carried away, they are threatened with hunger, stripes and death; insulted for their attachment to a free government, and many times stigmatized as rebels to old England! It is of no avail to produce the proof of their citizenship. It is of no avail that they cry out, that they are American citizens, for their judge is commonly both destitute of humanity and justice. The poor victims of this horrid barbarity, far from their country, sink, unfriended and unknown, into a cruel servitude. If they address themselves to the compassion of their oppressors, they are spurned and insulted. If they attempt to escape, they are brought back and chastised. If they apply to the British Lords of Admiralty, their Lordships require of them the evidence of their citizenship, which British manstealers have previously destroyed. If they apply to their American friends for the necessary evidence, this cannot be forwarded before they are removed to a foreign station. Thus are they beyond the reach of judicial redress, when they can show themselves entitled to it. Yet, when these unfortunate men demand the interference of our government, there are men unfeeling enough to excuse all this, and oppose the interference of the nation. The topic of excuses for these enormities are,

1st. That the number of impressed seamen is less than is pretended by government.

2d. That they are given up on proof of their citizenship.

3d. That Great Britain, in exercising her own right, without intention, does this wrong.

First Excuse.—The number of seamen impressed is less than is pretended. The official return of impressed seamen is 6257! A great number are impressed, whose names never reach the department of state, and are not included in that number. I leave it to your generous feelings to decide, whether the British argument, that there

may be a few less impressments than the official returns, abates your abhorrence of the thing, or whether it can materially diminish the obligation of the nation to protect their lives and liberties! a war to protect one individual, wickedly and deliberately deprived of his right, would be just, although it would be impolitic.

Second Excuse.—Our seamen are restored on proof of citizenship. This apology for British impressments, the most insulting to the unfortunate seamen, and the most unworthy of free citizens, excites in the mind a train of indignant sentiments. If the impressed seaman should succeed in making his own friends hear the cries of his distress, and the necessary evidence of his citizenship is forwarded to the Lords of Admiralty in England, what is commonly the result? Sometimes their Lordships object to the regularity or competence of the evidence. Sometimes they reply, that they know nothing of the man; or he is dismissed; or he has enlisted; or he has become a British subject; or he was killed fighting for the king. It is possible a few of our enslaved seamen, after years of impressment, after they have lost their health, their limbs and their wages, and are no longer serviceable, may receive the poor pittance of justice by means of this tardy process. The delay of justice is in this instance worse than the refusal of it. The miserable men, who, at one time are consoled with the hope of immediate relief, are superlatively wretched: when at another time, that hope is destroyed by new instances of oppression, and new pretensions for withholding them. Our municipal laws punish with severity a false imprisonment of one hour. The jury would give an exemplary verdict for the shortest illegal imprisonment, could no other excuse be given than the shortness of its duration. On a late rumour of commodore Rogers impressing fourteen American seamen, those who apologize for British impressments discovered a manly sensibility. The story was false, but the sentiments it excited were correct. If our own seamen impressed by our own officers merit our sympathy, why do not the prisoners of British officers, forced to fight against our own country, equally deserve our commiseration? An American seaman impressed is free the first moment he touches the A-

merican shore, and his oppressors are amenable to the law. Is it the habitual and indiscriminate condemnation of every measure of the government, that has hardened those writers, who excuse these impressments? or has the baneful influence of commercial speculation touched and benumbed all the generous sympathies of their nature?

Third Excuse.—G. Britain has a right to take her own seamen; and in exercising that right, her officers take Americans through mistake. The British right to impress her own seamen gives them no right to take them from our decks; or what is the same thing, our territory. Great Britain cannot distinguish between American and British seamen; therefore, she shall not take any men from our ships when her agents have no other guide than their caprice or their interest. Her officers, while on the decks of our ships, become the arbiter of the lives and liberties of American citizens. If the Judge (commonly an irresponsible under officer) be guided by passion or interest, or if he err through mistake of facts, his decision is fatal to the liberties of his victim, because there is no higher and purer tribunal, to which he can appeal. Merchants have been more provident of their goods and property; for in every civilized country there are courts of admiralty, where their disputed property can receive an adjudication upon a full and impartial enquiry.

The British argument, that the right of impressment is founded on their necessity, should not come from the mouth of a British subject till he ceases to boast of their policy of supporting their naval superiority; much less should it come from an American; from Americans too, who pretend to be friendly to seamen and navies. They, who urge this argument of necessity, should, to be consistent, sing at their festivals, "Rule Britannia, Rule the Wave."

I pass to the piracies committed on our commerce under the orders in council. Your Government has ably exposed the enormity of British policy on this subject.

It would abuse your patience to recapitulate the numerous expositions, which have been given. No one justifies the orders in council in this country. They appear to every man a most atrocious violation of the law of

Nations: Under these orders American property to a vast amount has been swept from the ocean, while on its legal and innocent passage. A great portion of the 917 vessels taken from us by the British since the commencement of the present European war, were arrested by virtue of these piratical orders. Yet it is asserted by men in this country, that this is not a sufficient cause of war: The arguments that are commonly urged against this cause of war are, 1st. That G. Britain ought not to be selected as an enemy when France practises similar aggressions. 2nd. That we ought to have waited to try the effect of further negociation. 3d. That the orders being now repealed, this cause of war is extinct. 4th. That war, being an attempt to protect commerce, will in fact destroy it.

First Objection.—The French decrees, so long as they existed, were in point of principle considered equally as unjust as the orders in council. But the Berlin and Milan decrees were repealed on the 1st of Nov. 1810. The evidence of this repeal is a public and official declaration of the French government, signed by the *Duke de Cadore*, the French Minister, and is dated the 5th of August 1810: The President issued his proclamation, announcing this repeal on the 2nd of November, one day after their repeal. The official letter of the French Minister, informing our government of this repeal, was formal and authentic. To say it ought not to have been believed, would have been in point of principle cutting off from this nation every possible means of settling our difficulties abroad. *What*, ought the President to have made the reply to that letter, that he would give it no credit or respect? The President treated it as was his duty; he considered it the formal and solemn declaration of one sovereign power, which must be received and believed by an other sovereign power, to which it was made. And has he been deceived? No! The proclamation declaring the repeal of French decrees, as respects America, was literally and strictly true in point of fact. The circumstance that they have ceased to operate, is additional evidence of that fact and perfectly conclusive. That the decrees of France were really repealed on the 1st of November, 1810, is proved by the

letters of Mr. Russel and Barlow on this subject. These Gentlemen have in separate official letters declared, that not one instance could be found wherein the French decrees had operated since the 1st of Nov. 1810 ; but that numerous cases existed wherein they must have operated had they been in force. They, who have denied the repeal of these decrees, have been challenged to produce an instance of their operation. They have not done it, they cannot do it. They did indeed last summer pretend, that the *Grace Anne Green*, and the *New-Orleans Packet* had been condemned under the decrees since their repeal ; but these vessels returned, and thereby furnished new evidence of these decrees having actually ceased to operate. And now what evidence can be opposed to all this ? Why it is stated, that the French decree, annulling those of Berlin and Milan, was dated nearly six months after the President's proclamation announcing the fact. When France first informed our government of the revocation of their decrees, it was conditional only. There were two conditions ; one of which was, that America should resist the British orders in council according to the provisions of our nonintercourse. America performed the condition ; and France, on receiving official notice of it, revoked her decrees absolutely, and unconditionally, by her annulling decree of the 28th of April 1811. It was asked, why this decree was not sooner communicated to our government ? I answer this question by putting another one—Why need it ever have been required ? The official notice given our minister of the substance of this decree had every title to complete confidence and credit as the decree itself ; both were the solemn official acts of the French government, equally formal and authentic. Whether France conducted with good faith in this process of repeal, is a question, of which I have nothing to say in this place. Whether our minister ever inquired for the annulling decree of the Conservative Senate is not material. If by this repeal (which is not disputed) France has only done us partial justice, that is better than a total and positive denial of it, as was the letter of Mr. Foster on the subject of the orders in council, which contained a direct and specific refusal to repeal them. After all this accumulated evidence

from French and American documents, from facts, and last of all, the publication of the French annulling decree, that the ground assumed by the President in this affair was correct; yet he is accused of using deception and fraud. There is an obstinacy and perversity in human nature, which sometimes refuses to yield to the most obvious and glaring truths. So it is here. The obstinate opponents of the President in this thing, convicted and confounded, have attempted to avert the just odium of the public from their repeated declarations, that the decrees of France were not repealed. How do they attempt to do it? Not by an open, ingenuous confession, but by making another charge against him. For they have asserted, that the President either suppressed that decree, or was accessory with Napoleon in ante-dating it. This charge is not supported by any evidence, except mere suspicion. Let us inquire who they are, that deserve the most suspicion? Whether it be the responsible, virtuous ruler of a great nation, whose official station requires of him the most patient investigation, and the greatest accuracy, or whether his accusers in this case be not the more proper objects of suspicion? That tribe of men, who surround the press, whose names are not published, without responsibility, without correct information, are they, who unblushingly repeat this charge. I have now exhibited to you both the accusers and the accused; and which party ought to be condemned on the evidence of suspicion—Judge ye.

Second Objection.—Our government ought to have attempted further negotiation. My heart sickens at this loathsome argument. More than NINE HUNDRED of our vessels have been taken; more than SIX THOUSAND of our seamen have been captured. We have remonstrated, negociated, and been promised redress; and have been deceived. Our enemy, actually at war with us, flattered or insulted us, as suited their caprice, or their interest. Our own citizens, the very men, who now complain, branded our administration with the epithets of cowardice and pusillanimity; and in the most opprobrious terms of party malediction declared, that Congress could not be kicked into a war. At this very crisis, when further delay of rendering retributive vengeance on our part

would have discouraged the real and active citizens, our government brought negotiation on this subject to an issue. An issue, in which Great Britain, by her Minister here, made a direct, positive and specific denial of justice. Mr. Foster declared that his government would not repeal the orders in council, even if we could prove the repeal of the French decrees, as respects America. Had our Secretary written another letter renewing our request of justice, the substance of the reply must have been, the American Government has been once denied, and that is a sufficient answer to this second officious and disgraceful application.

Third Objection.—The orders of council are now repealed, and of course this cause of war is extinct. Not quite so fast. When G. Britain has in an official manner notified our government, that her orders in council are in fact repealed, and made reparation for the injuries committed under them, then this cause of war will be extinguished, and not before. Her apparent abandonment of the ground she had taken is the first fruits of the manly, decisive and correct policy adopted by our rulers.

Fourth Objection.—This war, waged for the protection of commerce, will destroy it. This argument is addressed to such men only as are supposed to have no impressions but such as the last words of the present speaker excite. War will undoubtedly injure commerce so long as it continues ; but it is intended, to restore it to a state of permanent security, to its natural and just extent, to its honourable and profitable courses.

Now mark how inconsistent these men are, who declaim against this war, and at the same time complain, that our rulers are hostile to commerce ! they will not suffer commerce to be protected by embargoes, by non-intercourse, or by war. How then would they have it done ? They do not inform us. They cannot propose any other way. This mode of complaining exhibits them as a feeble and peevish patient, who, while he continually calls for a physician, will take no medicine, will suffer no application, will use no means, and yet he scolds because he is not cured. Was it ever said by a hearty whig in the revolution, that America ought not to contend for her liberties, because the lives of some of our brave countrymen would fall a sacrifice

to British Myrmidons? Who are these men, who make these complaints? Many of them are merchants, who during the continuance of this war will remain at home; they will sleep in soft beds, and set at a full table; their clean garments will not even be soiled with the rust of iron weapons. While they are not engaged in their pleasures or business, they will spend their time in calumniating their rulers, and those brave fellows, who are fighting to protect commerce. They carry this injustice so far as to ridicule those very soldiers, who expose their health to a Canadian campaign, and their bosoms to hostile weapons, for the defence of that commerce, by which their calumniators thrive.

If the impressment of more than *six thousand American seamen*, and the capture of more than *nine hundred American vessels* be not a sufficient cause of war, what can be a sufficient reason? Would twenty thousand seamen, supplicating us in the agony of their hearts to interfere on their account, authorize this war? To what extent must our losses increase? How many of our citizens must fall before it becomes our duty to resist? Is the spirit of America so low, so tame, so contaminated with a love of ease and a love of pleasure, that it must be tortured and agitated for twenty years before it can be roused into resistance? An unconstitutional tax of three pence per pound on tea roused our ancestors to the revolutionary contest. But what was that trifling tax compared to the impressment of our seamen and the capture of our ships? Our ancestors called the tea tax a demand of tribute. It was indeed an attempt to make us tributaries. But did we not pay tribute, an enormous, humiliating and distressing tribute so long as we submitted to the capture of our ships and seamen? Our enemy did not indeed receive our tribute in a three pence tax, but he "fed fat the ancient grudge he bore us" by taking the "*pound* of human flesh" in the room of the three pence. Must Americans be exhorted to resist these outrages? Are the souls and the hearts of our merchants bound up in their bails of goods, that they cannot forbear their profits till their brave countrymen drive away the pirates from the great highway of nations? Ungrateful men! Our citizens must have felt the inebriating influence of the books, the spies, the friends, the marriage alliances, the commercial connexions of Great

Britain in this country, if they are unmoved at these wrongs.

The story of our injuries is not yet half told. The manner, in which G. Britain has inflicted them, has superadded the most powerful motives to this war. We have been insulted with the alternate tone of defiance, or the deceitful professions of returning justice. Sometimes an agent, like *Rose*, has come out to answer our remonstrance with an artful but insulting excuse for denying us justice. Sometimes their minister, like *Erskine*, is instructed with the semblance of amicable policy to treat with us on equitable principles, without the least intention of sanctioning his conduct. At one time an ambassadour, like *Jackson*, is chosen, who will bully us and unmask the real deep fixed hostility of his cabinet towards us. At another time a courtly and polite negociator is selected, like *Foster*, who, with all the appearance of a gentleman, delivers the most hostile and wicked answer to our just complaints.

While their minister extends the right hand of fellowship to this nation, another of their authorized agents is secretly among us, whetting the dagger for a brother's bosom. This same enemy makes his proffers of peace, and his denunciation of vengeance. He exults in his power, and at the same time justifies his enormities on the stale argument of his necessities. He demands our pity, and in the same breath claims our unbounded respect. In all this there is a steady adherence to his wicked policy, and an attempt to deceive our citizens by arguments addressed to our prejudices and vices.

While G. Britain pretends to be fighting for the liberties of Europe, whilst she is represented as the defender of the faith, she forms alliances with the savages in the western wilderness, to scalp and murder our defenceless frontier settlers. This story will not move the determined friends of England. No. The painted naked savage with horrible feature, with vengeance painted countenance, must start up from the tall grass and brandish the warm and bleeding scalps of *white men* before their eyes; they must utter the war-hoop, that drowns the cries of women and children, before they can allow any weight in this argument of British cruelty.

The impressment of our seamen, the destruction of our commerce, the numerous and aggravated insults by Great Britain were not the only circumstances that rendered the war indispensable. They were the primary causes of it. But these created other reasons, that our government could not disregard. The Americans are a high minded people. The just estimation of their character is the source of our political prosperity. It is the duty of the government to cherish this noble and manly sentiment. Every thing that depresses or extinguishes this national pride is a real calamity. The rulers of a free people ought ever to be influenced by considerations of this kind. Our administration undoubtedly paid great regard to the prejudices and opinions of their constituents on this point. The voice of their friends could not be mistaken. They had for some time past imperiously demanded this measure. Their spirit, their number required the prompt compliance of their rulers. They uttered the voice of an indignant people. To disregard them, would be an abandonment of republican principles, that a majority should govern. In declaring this war the government paid deference to the opinions of their political opponents. Not to that single opinion, which they seemed very unnaturally, and contrary to the whole tenor of their former professions and policy to be forced into, on the question of war : the heat of debate, the spirit of contradiction, the habit of opposition might force the members of Congress to oppose this war, when it might fairly be presumed, that the great body of the Federalists, true to their former principles and professions, would warmly support it. For the federalists during twelve years past have invariably been the strenuous advocates for war, when the least reason for it existed. During Mr. Adam's administration they hurried on a war, even before negociation had failed. The hall of Congress echoed with war speeches at that time. An influential statesman of the Federal party declared, that we ought to wage a war of extermination against every man, woman and child in France. But what were the insults of the short lived directory of France compared to the series of British aggression for twelve years past? When the Spanish power interrupted the navigation of the Mississippi, Federal members of Congress were the decided advocates for a war to resent

that injury. What was the shutting the port of New-Orleans to our vessels, compared with the shutting up all the continental ports of Europe by the orders in council! When our carrying trade was interrupted in the year 1805, the Federalists were every where the advocates for energetic measures. "Millions for defence, and not a cent for tribute," was echoed from one end of the continent to the other.

The joint memorials of federalists and republicans from almost every large commercial town in the union breathed a spirit of determined resistance to British aggression on our carrying trade. But what is our precarious interest and disputed right in the carrying trade compared with the extensive, necessary and direct commerce between us and continental Europe? On the first promulgation of the French and English decrees, all classes of men said they must be resisted with force, unless they were repealed on our remonstrance. Even so late as the year 1809, the federal majority in the Massachusetts legislature advised Congress to unfurl the *Republican banners against the imperial standard*. Since that time Congress has been continually reproached for want of energy. A member of Congress declared in his seat, that the "*government could not be kicked into a war.*" Every speech maker, every rhyme dealer, every editor, every warm partizan in the hall of legislation, every pulpit politician, every individual, well informed or ignorant of one political party, repeated the same charge against the administration. It had been their standing argument for twelve years. It had even become a habit with them, and they said the government was pusillanimous, with the same unmeaning cant with which we pronounce our judgment on the weather. This class of men, who had thus expressed their opinions, who had boasted of being the richest, the best informed, the natural noblemen of the land, it might justly be presumed, would start with great emulation to join the front ranks of the army, and court the post of danger and glory. To have suggested the opinion, that they must have been borne up to do their duty, like subordinates, by means of legal coercion, would have been pronounced an illiberal reflection. Who could imagine it? The choice spirits, the well born, the pretended natural guardians of

the nation's rights remain unmoved and indolent, while the hardy yeomanry take the lead in this contest!! The administration, with an open hearted imputation of patriotic intentions to their opponents, believed their sense of duty would predominate over their pride of opinion; that their private judgment would, from the desire of union, give way to the public will. If Congress erred in its estimation of federal opposition, it made the mistake on the side of too much liberality. Thus it appears, that government consulted the feelings, the prejudices and opinions of both parties. The one, the habitual advocates for war, but accidentally and from foreign causes, opposed to the present contest. The other party, the real, hearty and acknowledged friends of pacific policy, but in this instance, forced by injuries and menaces of every description, to approve this war. There are other considerations, that must have led the government to expect the approbation of their former opponents in this measure. Do the federalists wish for a larger naval force—what will be so likely to produce a change in public opinion favorable to this measure as war? Do they desire a larger military establishment than we had before the commencement of this war? It has now become necessary. Do they fear the spirit of the nation will evaporate in the pompous resolutions and gasconade of Congress, as they pretended? This war will relieve their apprehensions. Do they really feel the force of their maxim so often, so loudly and so exultingly proclaimed by their writers on former occasions, that they had "Millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute." This war will give them an opportunity to prove their sincerity in this article of their political faith by the best of all proofs, by their *works*.

Thus is the administration fortified by arguments drawn from the great and acknowledged wrongs of England, by sound policy and by American feelings. Yet it has to oppose, in all its movements, a mass of influence, a body of heterogenous materials, which are drawn together and amalgamated by all the various vices and motives, which govern mankind. A restless ambition, incapable of subordination, is the moving principle, which operates on all the prejudices and vices of that body of people who can be

drawn into an opposition to this war. Is any man more desirous of saving a dollar than he is of supporting the dignity and honour of his country? He is to be drawn into the opposition by the fear of future taxes. Is any man in doubt from religious scruples? He is reminded of the wickedness of "exterminating the savages" and their English brethren. Are any timorous and weak nerved? To them the terror of British navies and British power is displayed. Are any disaffected with our rulers? The most palpable falsehoods are to be circulated to destroy the confidence reposed in them. Are any under our former colonial prejudices against France? these prejudices are nourished and inflamed. Thus avarice, religious scruples, cowardice, disaffection to government or individual rulers, British influence, all controuled by their master vice, *ambition*, have formed a league against a patriotic and virtuous vindication of our national rights and independence. Even this coalition may have allies of honest intention, but of mistaken views. Let us see by what artifices this confederacy is formed. Oh, that a mirror could be held up, which would show at one view the features of this coalition and the character of its leaders! they would instantly disperse and speak as many different languages as the builders of Babel. I can notice only one of the numerous artifices, that are employed to strengthen the opposition to government.—It is the clamour against *French Influence*. There is no French influence in this country. France has not any means of influence. Our ignorance of France cuts of the source of influence. Very few Frenchmen reside among us. Very few derive their origin from Frenchmen. Their manners, their religion, their language is different from ours; of course their access to us is difficult. Has Bonaparte any Editors in this country? No. Does any member of the legislature declare, that Bonaparte has done us no essential injury? The President has promptly exposed the injustice of the French Government. Where are the thousand mercantile agents of French merchants in this country? When then do we hear of French plots by secret agents? Where then are the symptoms of

French influence? They, who complain of its existence, know better.

They might with equal propriety get up a more terrible spectre to frighten us. A Turkish alliance, or a German alliance. Bonaparte is opposed by more than 400,000 Russians in arms, and yet his armies are feared in this country. He has almost all Spain and Portugal to conquer, and his army has met a defeat in those countries; yet the ghosts of French armies terrify some of our *weak-nerved*. The whole of Europe is watching an opportunity to rise against Bonaparte on the least reverse of his fortunes. The fertile fields of Turkey and the riches of Constantinople will tempt his ambition when nothing is left him in Europe to conquer. And yet we are instructed to live in terror of French armies in America. Bonaparte can scarcely send a ship to sea. He cannot get his army across the English channel in flat bottomed boats; after all, we must live in constant fear of French forces and French politics in this country! Will they come here in the air? Will they start up from the ground, like the men after Deucalion's flood? What an insult on our understandings! they think us fools and cowards, who would frighten us in this manner. From what quarter does this clamour proceed? From those to whom the Earl of Liverpool sent his secret agent, *Henry*, to execute a plot, for the annexation of New-England to Canada.—From the decided and open advocates of Great-Britain.—From those who exalt every thing *British*, and despise every thing *American*.—From those whom British influence, with its numerous and operative means, has made British subjects.

This clamour is the affection, the devotion of American citizenship perverted, and burning with its own disgrace and degenerated into British loyalty. It is a warm devotion to its mother country, England, in the disguise of hostility to France. How does this happen? Why do any of God's favoured people transfer their affection on Egypt? Our course is as plain and direct as though we were led by the cloud and the pillar of fire. Alas, Modern Egypt! The hearts of whose rulers are more wicked than Pharaoh, and whose task-masters are more cruel than the

tyrants of the Hebrews, has by means of her *gold*, her *books*, her *hired writers*, her *mercantile agents*, her *loyal connexions* here, her *intermarriages* and her *commercial intercourse* with our citizens, led away the hearts of some of our people! We speak their language, and it gives their spies, their writers an easy access to the mind of every citizen. We study British authors, and they breathe a natural hostility to France. Our merchants obtain credit with her subjects, and their hearts are bound up in alliances so profitable. Hence we hear it repeated, but more frequently acted, that British blood runs in our veins; that England is our mother; that she is the "bulwark of our religion"! "Kind Mother Britain"! Thy blood runs in the veins of thy American children! yet with thy own ferocious hands thou tore open these veins and spilt their blood in copious streams! No matter—they have forgotten it all!!!

Republicans of Norfolk Congressional district, you must soon elect a member to the next Congress. Your opponents have been very officious in dictating to you on this subject. You have been informed, through the medium of Federal Newspapers, that a moderate Republican candidate would not meet with opposition. This is plausible; but it is an attempt to deceive the friends of government, and to effect by artifice what cannot be done by open and fair means. From what quarter did this plan originate? From Federalists. By whom is it to be executed? By federalists, in conjunction with as many republicans as can be duped. What is the design of it? To increase Federal opposition. According to this plan, first suggested in Federal papers, a number of gentlemen, calling themselves *the peace party*, about twenty nine in number assembled at Dedham on the twenty-fifth of August last; and nominated their candidate. This meeting gave the most unequivocal proof of their determination to oppose the election of any Republican candidate. They nominated a gentleman previously recommended in Federal newspapers. They nominated him before there could be a fair and impartial selection, by consulting the wishes of all the electors. The candidate is recommended for his

opposition to this war. Those who recommend him, from every appearance acted in concert with the most violent and decided Federalists. The members of this meeting were almost to a man Federalists. It has been frequently asserted, that their candidate would be supported by Federalists. They called a convention immediately after the meeting of the peace party. That convention did not formally determine to support the candidate of the peace party, because an early declaration of that intention would disclose the whole design of this political farce.

Let us view this affair in another point. The pretended moderate Republican candidate is recommended for his peace-making principles. A peace-maker, opposed to this war, will contribute to its continuance; he will divide and distract the national councils; and hang, like a dead weight, on that active body of statesmen, who are now doing every thing in their power, to produce a speedy, honourable and permanent peace; a peace founded on mutual justice and common interests. Such kind of peace-makers only ought to have your confidence and support.

The pretended peace-party recommend their candidate for his moderation. Moderation is a necessary qualification in a republican statesman. But you ought to take good care that you are not deceived by a counterfeit of it. Moderation consists in using the mildest means to effect a lawful object. Mr. SEAVER gave a specimen of true moderation when he abstained from the use of all violent means in resenting the insults offered him in Boston. Because a man is silent on political questions, he does not merit the reputation of moderation. If he refuses to publish his opinions, he is either cunning and selfish in refusing to be responsible for an open avowal of them; or he is a weak and indolent man in not having any opinion at all. A man who has concealed his political opinions, at such a time as this, affords a pretty strong proof either of indifference at the wrongs of his country, or of a cold calculating, selfish temper, that induces him to lie by to take advantage of events.

How ought the gentleman nominated in this manner to conduct himself? If he is really a friend of the govern-

ment, he should inform the Federalists, when they tender him their support, that he declines the honor of their suffrages, because he cannot give such votes on national questions as they expect of him. There is a species of deception and double dealing in a standing candidate at an election, when he intends at the same time if elected, to oppose the wishes of his supporters, that is altogether unworthy of a republican ruler. We have a right, it is our duty, to call on the man, who consents to stand candidate for our suffrages, to avow his political opinions. Let him do it promptly, and deal with us in republican simplicity. Otherwise he cannot have your confidence; especially when he is brought forward in such suspicious company, with his mouth sealed, and his Federal friends all the time advertising him as a *democratic republican*. He is exhibited in this political masquerade as a man of straw. He cannot have their confidence, for he is represented as a republican. He cannot merit your support, for he suffers himself to be the *mock-man* of your decided opponents.

It ought to be observed, that these observations are not personal; they are not intended to oppose Mr. *Ruggles* in particular. My regard to the interests of the country and my respect to the electors of this district would compel me to make the same observations, let who would have been in his situation. The presumption is, however, that Mr. *Ruggles* will fully explain himself before the election. Otherwise his silence must be considered as a determination on his part to stand the Federal candidate.

In that case, you have nothing to do but support the best candidate, that you can select. Union is necessary at this time if ever. The great point in making a selection is, will the candidate be *for* us, or *against* us in this second struggle for our independence? If Mr. *Seaver* be again selected for a candidate, let us support him with zeal and unanimity. His public conduct is fully known and approved by his republican friends. It is not Mr. *Seaver's* title to personal favours, it is the cause of our country that requires of us union and exertion in supporting him. He is violently opposed; so is President MADISON; so is every open and decided republican in this

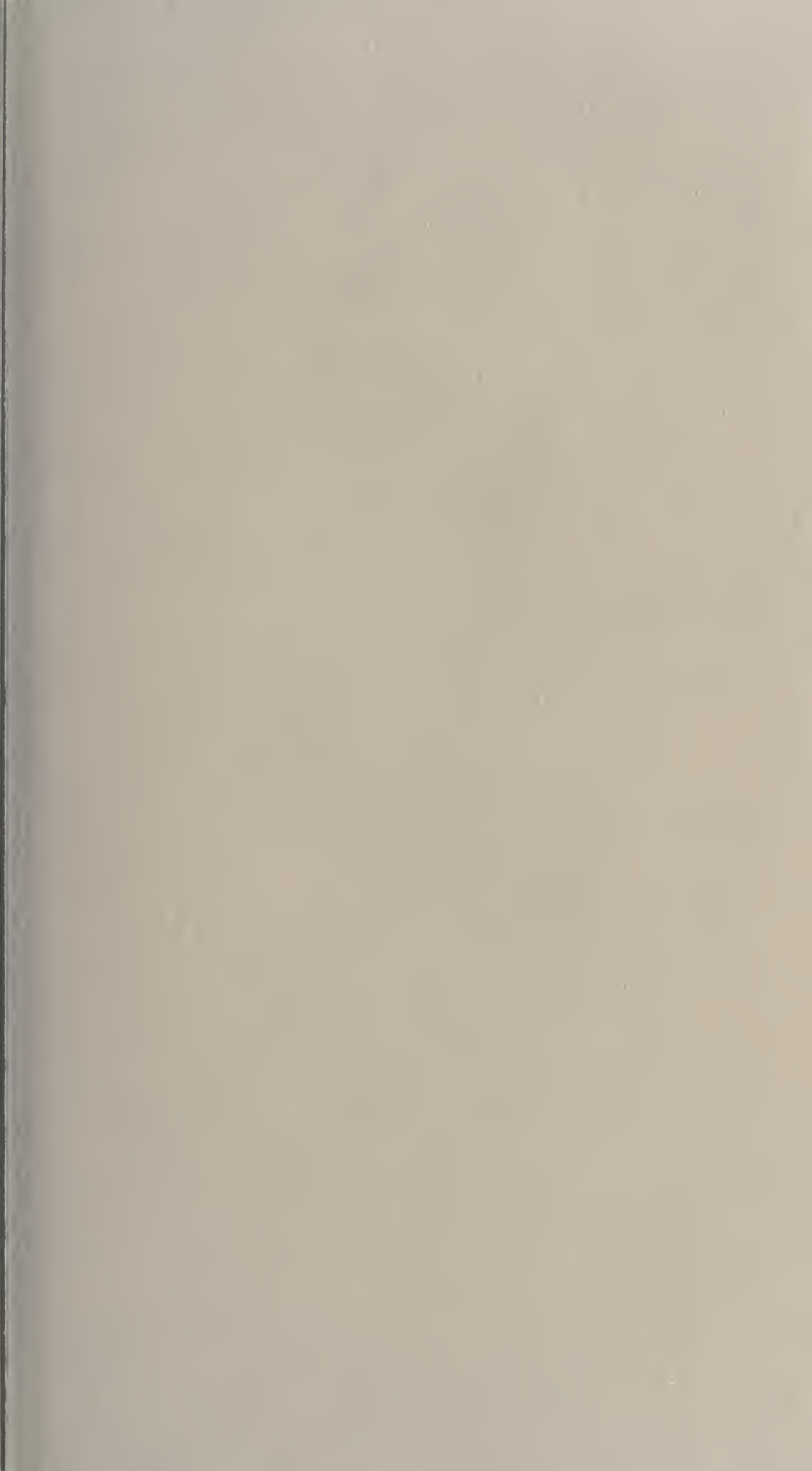
country. His opponents have published a statement of his votes in congress. Whether you believe his official conduct correct, is determined by the opinion you may have formed of the administration, for he has on all important questions voted on their side. His conduct has been consistent and uniform. He does not decline the responsibility of openly avowing his own opinion and acting on his principles.

If we cannot observe the republican principle of rotation in office, while we support Mr. *Seaver*, yet we shall observe another political maxim, quite as important, which requires us to elect the most experienced men for our rulers, in times of turbulence and danger. Mr. *Seaver*, by his long experience will immediately enter upon the business of his station when he arrives at Washington, and lend all his aid to prosecute the war with energy.

The present is no ordinary time. The republic is beset with dangers. Our extended frontier is harassed with the numerous savage allies of the enemy. Our sea coast is threatened by his fleets. To these dangers vigorous measures must be opposed. Let us therefore promote to the national councils men who will act with vigour, and support the rights and honour of their country. Withhold your confidence from men who cry *peace, peace*, when there is no peace.—Such men will weaken the measures of government; they will infuse their timid and imbecile spirit into the army, and into the breasts of the people at large; and in effect invite the *Prophet*, *Tecumseh*, and *Logan* with their numerous Sachem allies to lead their savage bands into our frontier settlements. They will invite G. Britain and the world to continue their injuries and insults. Withhold your votes from such men—they will dishonour the nation; they will distract the national councils. Federalists! if the triumph of party be more desirable than the success of your country, go on! oppose every measure of the government! Render all its measures weak and inefficient. Divide the people! Prostrate the honour of your country! Bring into disrepute republicanism itself! You have an excellent opportunity to do all this, when the hearty and sincere friends of their country

are engaged in defending the nation! If you see your opponent in the very act of struggling to avert from himself the tomahawk and scalping knife, seize the opportunity to gratify your revenge. By pursuing this system, it is possible you may regain your consequence! Oh, that you could be taught by the lessons of history. When the Grecians were threatened, as you now are, their artful enemy, by means of his gold and hired orators, persuaded the Athenians to pursue a pacific policy, till they were conquered. But you have an enemy more corrupt and artful than Philip. When Switzerland was lately beset with intrigues and hostile armies, her demagogues opposed all vigorous measures, till they lost their liberties. How much does their conduct resemble that of our violent peace-makers!—Republicans, you have determined to support your national rights, and will at the next election give a conscientious vote. Do you believe we may safely throw away our weapons, and submit ourselves to the mercy of our enemy; when every sea-gale and every western wind wafts to our ears the account of some new hostilities? You have heard it asserted with unwelcome officiousness by your opponents, that the best way to preserve peace was to exhibit a prompt disposition to support war. The maxim is now applicable. We are at war for the purpose of obtaining an honourable peace. The bravest, the most active men occupy the high posts in the army. When they are thus sent on to lead their countrymen against our enemies, shall we elect a feeble, faint hearted man to support them? He will withhold support from the army; he will contribute to chill the soldiers bosom with his complaints against the hardships of war; he will create discontent and murmurs in the camp; he will lay the foundation of defeat. If you will not even support your countrymen in arms, by displaying your votes in their favour, then may they say in the language of a Hebrew Patriot “Curse ye Meroz, (said the angel of the Lord,) Curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty.”

Should our unfortunate seamen hear that you vote for men, who will make peace without procuring their release from the British navy, and without a provision against future impressments, it would sting them more than the cruel stripes inflicted by British officers on their naked flesh. It would distress them more than the perils and hardships of the sea, for they could not view it in any other light, than a disposition in their countrymen to abandon them. In all their hardships and sufferings they have been cheered by the hope that their country would at last raise its voice on their account, but when they see their country, their only protector, the only power on earth that can save them, forget or disregard them in their distress, that must *quite overcome* them. Could these miserable men present themselves at the polls, and shew their emaciated persons, their mangled limbs, their dejected countenances, and relate the story of their hardships under British captivity, it must quite subdue your resolution to act against them. You would throw away your peace-vote, and swear to support a war, a war against every thing British, a war unrelenting and eternal unless our seamen are emancipated.







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