

Political

AN ORATION

Delivered before the Washington Benevolent Society of Massachusetts, on the 30th day of April, 1813, being the anniversary of the first inauguration of President Washington.

BY JOSTIAH QUINCY.

(Concluded.)

Is it wonderful then, that our navigation and commerce are destroyed? Animosities to them is the very basis of the power of these men, and the condition of its continuance. Can it be denied that a settled system, to prostrate these our vital interests, is in operation, when every occasion is seized to embarrass it? and when we hear, not only in private conversation, but on the floor of Congress, language to this effect, and almost in these terms, used by men from those quarters? "If your capital want employment, we can employ it. Capital is what we want. Let your seamen take to the spade. We have land enough for them all. Suppose your cities are destroyed, liberty will find refuge beyond the mountains." For myself, I cannot conceal my conviction that a systematick embarrassment of commerce is the policy of these men, and of the influences, on which they rely for support. War, in Canada, in support of seamen's rights, and a mission to Russia, for the purpose of negotiating concerning them, are perfectly characteristic. The chances and occasions of irritation are multiplied, and the commercial states are kept amused, with obscure and distant hopes, while ruin and impoverishment are gradually stealing over them.

Peace itself, these proportions of political power continuing, will not restore commercial prosperity. The system of police, will be modified not abandoned. It is a state of things, which ever since the year 1794, those influences have been labouring to effect, and they will not permit the advantage they have gained, to be lost. By high duties smuggling will be increased: and regular commercial industry discouraged. By the multiplication of vexatious laws, the upright merchant will be perpetually dragged as a culprit to the bar of the treasury, and be taught that he holds his property, not by the tenure of known laws, but by the arbitrary will of an individual.

The fitness of commerce will be continually thrown to the vultures of party, and these birds of prey will be enabled, not only to strip the merchant, but to pick clean the bones of the mechanic and the labourer. By sudden and unanticipated changes in the laws, the uncertainty of that mode of industry will be increased; and occasions, perhaps, will be seized to admit other nations into an equality with you, in your own markets. By these, and a thousand other schemes, your navigation will be harassed: The capital, once employed in it, turned inland: Your population, discouraged from looking to the ocean, will turn to the west: And they will grow rich, powerful and prosperous, on the ruins of our greatness. Whatever may be the real interests of the people of the south and the west, this is unquestionably the system of those, who flow guide their political influences. And, so long as your weight bears no proportion to your real interests, this quarter of the country will be the victim of such a policy.

Perhaps it may be objected, that this course of remark is at variance with that advice of Washington, which warns us "against characterizing parties by geographical discrimination; northern southern, eastern and western; whence," says he, "designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views." But let it be remembered, that this warning voice of Washington was uttered in the conscious integrity of his own administration, and in the anticipation and hope that a like integrity would characterize the policy of his successors. Let it be remembered, that it was uttered, as the history of his times will evince, by way of warning against these very men, and their partisans, who began, in his day, to excite these local jealousies, and to lay in them the foundations of their future elevation. By cultivating jealousy of commerce, hatred of a navy, propagating unfounded suspicions in the western states relative to the policy of his administration and of the Atlantic states, these men arrived at their present eminence. Power must be preserved by the means through which it was obtained. A party which laid the foundation of its power in local views must be local in its policy. An administration local in its policy makes inevitable local jealousies in the oppressed sections; and such jealousies become as just as they are inevitable. Hear the criticisms of that absence of local view in a government which should deprive jealousy of its grounds, enumerated by Washington: "The north in an unrestrained intercourse with the south shall find a great additional source of maritime and commercial interest." The south, in the same intercourse, shall see its commerce expand; its particular navigation invigorated, and shall contribute to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation. These are Washington's criterions of that absence of local view which should remove all jealousy. If expansion of commerce, encouragement of navigation, and promotion of intercourse be the evidence of liberal dispositions, are these evinced by restrictions, non-intercourse, embargo, & war with the only nation on the globe capable of annihilating our navigation and commercial prosperity? Were Washington to speak from the grave, could he express in stronger language that their rules are local in their views, and geographical in their policy? To encourage confidence and affection among the sections of the country was undoubtedly the policy of Washington. And what are the grounds he enumerates as the foundations of this mutual confidence and affection? "That we had the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles; that in a common cause we had fought and triumphed together; that our liberty and independence was the work of our joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes! Now I ask, how do these reasons apply in favour of mutual confidence,

Washington's Valedictory.

or affection, or indeed, in favour of the Constitution, after our liberties have been multiplied by the admission, as it is called, of Louisiana into the Union? In what field did the inhabitants of that country fight and triumph with us, for independence? In which of our councils, or efforts, or dangers, or sufferings, or successes, were they united? What sympathy have we for the Frenchmen and Spaniards, and Creoles, beyond the Mississippi? When did Massachusetts agree that her destinies should be thrown at the mercy of those people; and that her political rights should be annihilated, as they will be, indeed as they now are, by Louisiana, and that odious brood of states who is hatching in her bosom?

I know that in reply to the suggestion of a local interest and of a party intent upon the ruin of commerce, it is said that the most obstructive, and the most violent clamours, in favour of navigation and commerce, are uttered by men from the south and the west; and it is asked, how is this consistent with a purpose to destroy them? I admit the fact. It is undeniable. The floor of Congress exhibits perpetual proof of it. There a man's zeal in favor of commerce, is generally in an inverse ratio to his interest in it. There, for the most part, he talks the most about it, who knows the least; and has its interests nearer his tongue, in proportion as they are distant from his heart. You may, almost every day, see some half bred lawyer, "raised" a thousand miles from the seaboard, who knows no more of a sailor than he does of a salamander, and who has seen, as many of the one species, in the fire, as of the other on the water, stand up on the floor of congress, and wipe his crocodile tears, and wine and clamour, in favour of "seamen's rights," an hour by the dial. And all this stage trick and bluster, in support of restriction, or of embargo, or of war, on the frontier, or for invasion of Canada, or of Florida; in support of every measure, which has a direct tendency to make the seamen's condition more desperate and miserable.

All this is true; and all is demonstrative of the settled policy of these men and of the influences, which they support. If it were their real purpose to encourage commerce, would they not adopt a policy more conformable to the known wishes of the commercial states? Were it their purpose to annihilate it, is not this the only course, they could adopt, with any chance of success? Were men, from the south and west, to come forward and say to the people of New York and New England—"You must abandon your modes of industry—Your prosperity sickens us. We envy your wealth. We fear your greatness. What you employ, on the ocean, we want on the land. We have every thing else, except population and capital. Come, be weighed in a land scale, and then we are sure of perpetually preponderating." Were these men to make such an explanation of motives, would not their policy be at an end, in a moment? Would the commercial states endure it? Certainly not. The only course such men have to pursue is that, which they have adopted. To be clamorous in favour of every extravagant commercial claim, and to embarrass commerce, by pretending to defend it.

Accordingly, these are the men, who talk about the sacredness of the flag,—that "it shall cover every thing and every body," that "the ship is but an extension of the territory," and that "the rights of naturalized citizens are as prefer as those of the native." Principles, which they know well, if enforced, would be, in the relative condition of our maritime power, a perpetual embarrassment of commerce. These are influences which, in defence of the carrying trade, granted a specific non-importation; which, as a security for our seaports devised gun boats; which, "to save our essential resources," bestowed upon us an embargo. Last of all, as a sovereign panacea for all commercial ills, they have prescribed war; and this too, which, from the power of the adversary is a total annihilation of our prosperity, is made, if you believe these men, for our special accommodation and relief!

This, then, is the undeniable condition of the U. States. A sectional cabal governing them, not according to the true interests of any part but solely according to the interests of their own ambition; deceiving and misleading the inland influences, corrupting and depressing the commercial. The basis of their power not temporary, but permanent, because it rests upon changes which time and usurpation have made in the relative proportion of the powers of the constitution. What are the remedies? The spirit of Washington answers! "Submit to no change by usurpation. If the distribution or modification of the constitutional power, be wrong let it be corrected in a constitutional way."

But how is this to be effected, weak, divided and oppressed, as are the commercial states? I answer.—Let them be ashamed of the past—Be wise for the future. Put away these divisions. Let common interests cement your affections. Out, from your councils, and out from our confidence, be all who oppose the old foundations of New England prosperity. Follow no longer after, the doctrines and commandments of men, from the mountains. Contend earnestly for the commercial faith, delivered by your fathers. And let him, who will not stand up for it, be to you worse than an infidel.

Let ancient divisions cease, and the poor triumphs of party be forgotten, in the contemplation of the interests of Massachusetts. The venerable name of government, the respect due to authority, the obtrusive pretension of imposters in power, have misled many. Thank Heaven! the scales are fast falling from the eyes! The snare of the fowler is broken, and New England is escaping.

But remember, it is not relief from commercial restrictions; nor yet the attainment of peace; nor yet the change of your rulers, that is to be the object of your struggles. Doubtless the jugglers will shift their hand when they see the old game is discovered. They understand well that the commercial influences are not to be crushed, in a moment. Although the Leviathan is hooked he cannot be drawn, at once and spared, to the land. He must be played backward and forward, at the end of the line. Now a little given, and then taken away. Until exhausted by idle efforts,

the strength and adhesion of his parts goes; the fat shall be transferred to the mountains; and he shall remain, the skeleton of his former greatness, the scorn and sport of his spoilers.

People of Massachusetts! People of the commercial states! Look into the foundations of your security. Strive to bring back the principles and proportions of the constitution to the standard of Washington. Nay more, by a great consentaneous, and constitutional effort, strive to bring it back to the principles of wise and honorable safety. Look at the fact, that, by the operation of the slave ratio, in the constitution, and by the unlimited power of making new states, partly the result of the provisions of the constitution, partly of usurpation, the proportion of your real interests.

Reflect that this state of things is daily growing worse. Remember, that the very blacks of the southern states are equal in weight in the political scale, to the whole state of Massachusetts. Is this a condition of things patiently to be born by freemen; at least without one constitutional effort? If it be, we deserve what we endure. We deserve to be, what we are,—of no more weight than slaves.

But it is said, that the southern and western states will never accede to any relinquishment of their power, be it constitutional or usurped.—Will, then; if we are destined to be slaves, let us, at least, show that we know our condition; and that we are not of that brutal kind, "so perfect in their misery, not one perceives his foul disfigurement." Let the commercial states by a constitutional exertion prove, at least, that they have the will to be free; that if they are not, that it is necessary, not choice. Every day the weight of the commercial states, particularly of New-England, is growing less and less; and the security of their rights is constantly diminishing. Not an hour that does not put a new rivet into their chains. Every man who opens his eyes sees it. Every man who reflects must feel it. A state of things is advancing which will be absolutely insupportable. It is impossible; Nature does not permit that great, powerful, intelligent sections of country can long be content with a state of things in which their interests and rights are holden in subjection, and managed at the caprice of men living a thousand miles inland; who know nothing about their interests; who care nothing about them; and who make or mar the fruits of their industry, not by any known rule or standard, but as whim, or passion, or political intrigue dictates. It is impossible. Nature does not permit a long continuance of such a state of things. The people of this country have but two events between which to select, and that at no distant period of time: either to put an end to this oppression, and the chance of its recurrence, by a new and amicable modification of the proportions and powers of the constitution, or worry along a little further, until the weight of grievance produces convulsions which will put an end to the constitution.

Let no man think, that an amicable modification cannot result by a systematick and consentaneous action of the commercial states. There exists through the whole extent of the southern and western country, a generous, intelligent, and virtuous class of men; depressed, indeed, and ground to the dust, in point of political importance, by the prevailing influences of that quarter, but who feel as strongly and see as plainly the consequences as we of this system of things. These men can do nothing, while the commercial states are divided. It cannot be expected, that they should lead up a phalanx in defence of commercial rights, so long as we are time serving, and truckling; looking after our farms and our merchandise; and permitting six dollars-a-day patriots to barter away our birthrights, on the floor of Congress, for offices, contracts, appointments, and every mess of pottage, corrupt men can proffer. If relief come, and permanent security, it must emanate from ourselves. It must proceed from a concentration of the sentiment of the commercial states, and a consentaneousness of constitutional action having for its subject, not a temporary relief; but such modification of the principles of the association as will give security for the future. It is certain, that the existing principles, usurped, and constitutional, by which the proportion of political power is regulated, in these states, have thrown into relative insignificance the power of the commercial states to protect themselves. Bound hand and foot, they are delivered over to be scourged, by the interior influences. If the commercial states are true to themselves, this state of things may be changed, in a constitutional way. Changed it must be, or our prosperity is a shadow; and our liberties a name. The spirits of our fathers will disown those as their children, who stand by in apathy, while the deep and ancient foundations of the prosperity of their state is overturning. And the spirit of Washington, himself, shall grieve at the successes of "encroachments," which he declared to be "whatever the form of the government, a real despotism."

MENDHAM, (N. Y.) May 17.—A most distressing event occurred here yesterday. At the close of the morning service, there appeared a shower rising from the West, which prevented most of the Congregation from leaving the meeting house. The shower began with hail and rain, about half past 12 o'clock, and about a quarter of an hour before 1, a stream of lightning was seen to descend from the cloud to the lightning rod on the meeting house, and by the rod down, to within about 8 feet of the ground. The lower part of the rod having been for sometime past broken off and lost, the lightning there burst, and one portion of it entered a window, to a pew, where several people were sitting; Mrs. Martha Drake, wife of Mr. John Drake, and daughter of David Thompson, Esq. was struck dead. Eight or ten others were injured, some of them very much. We hope, however, that they may all recover. No injury was done to the house; and scarcely any trace of the lightning is to be seen on any part of it.

In addition to the foregoing particulars, we learn that the electric fluid must have passed through a crack in a pane of glass, about 1 1/4 of an inch wide, as no other aperture could be found after the accident.

Navigation of Roanoke.

In conformity to an Act of the last General Assembly, entitled "An act for improving the Navigation of Roanoke River, from the town of Halifax to the place where the Virginia line intersects the same," the undersigned, Commissioners named in the said act for the city of Raleigh, have opened a Book for Subscriptions for Shares in the Capital Stock for accomplishing the said undertaking, which will continue open till the 1st of October, at the Bookstores of J. Gales and W. Boylan.

The proposed Capital Stock is limited to 100,000 dollars, to be divided into shares of 100 dollars each. A general meeting of the subscribers is to be held at Halifax on the 4th Monday in October next; and if 400 shares be not subscribed before, or at said meeting, all subscriptions made to be void. But if a sufficient number of shares be then subscribed, a Company is to be organized, under the title of "The Roanoke Navigation Company," and subscribers must then pay ten dollars on every share subscribed, and the remainder when called upon, except that more than 25 1/3 dollars on a share not be called for in any year.

H. SEAWELL, W. BOYLAN, J. GALES.

April 10.

Subscription Books are also opened at Edenton, Plymouth, Windsor, Halifax, Warrenton, Oxford, Rocksborough, Caswell C. House, Wrentham and Germantown, under the direction of three Commissioners at each place.

(BY AUTHORITY OF THE STATE OF N. CAROLINA.) SCHEME OF THE OXFORD ACADEMY Lottery.

Table with columns: Prize, Amount, Odds, Total Value. Rows include prizes of \$2000, \$1000, \$500, \$200, \$100, \$50, \$20, \$10, \$5.

1072 prizes, Not two blanks \$ 15,500. 2028 blank, \$ to a prize. 3100 tickets at 5 dollars each, is \$ 15,500.

The cash prizes subject to a deduction of fifteen per cent.

Stationary Prizes as follows:

First 500 drawn Blanks entitled to 6 dolls. each. First drawn Ticket, 200 dolls. Ditto on the 4th, 6th, 8th, and 10th days, 50 dolls. each. Ditto on the 12th, 14th, 16th and 18th days, 20 dolls. each. Ditto on each day from the 20th to the 30th inclusive, excepting the Tickets constituting Prizes, 20 tickets each. The said 20 prizes to consist of the Numbers from 101 to 500, inclusive; each 20 of the said 400 to be one prize, the first 20, of lowest Number for the 20th day, and so regularly ascending to the 39th. First drawn on the 40th day, Dolls. 500. Ditto, 42d day, Dolls. 100. Ditto, 45th day, Dolls. 500. Ditto, 48th day, Dolls. 1000. Ditto, 50th day, Dolls. 100.

The Managers present the foregoing Scheme to the public, in the confidence that not only the laudable object of the Lottery, but the great inducements held out to adventurers, will ensure a speedy sale of the Tickets. The proportion of prizes has seldom been exceeded, and they are so arranged as that the purchaser of a single number, by having the prospect of drawing twenty others, may calculate on his chance of obtaining two or three of the best prizes, for the trifling sum of \$5.

The drawing will commence on the first day of October next, and be finished without delay.

TH: B. LITTLEJOHN, WILLIAM ROBARDS, WILLIS LEWIS, THOMAS HUNT, WILLIAM M. SNEED,

Tickets at 5 dollars each, for sale at the Minerva Office. March 26, 1813. 66-till Oct.

State of North Carolina, PITT COUNTY.

Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, FEBRUARY TERM, 1813.

Simon Barney vs. Jonathan Fellowes. Original Attachment vs. Levied on a negro girl named Penny.

IT appearing, to the satisfaction of the court, that the defendant in this cause is not an inhabitant of this state, ordered, that publication be made in the Minerva three months, that the defendant appear at the next or succeeding term of this court, to be held for the county aforesaid, at the court-house in Greenville, on the first Monday in May and first Monday in August, replevy and plead, otherwise judgment will be entered against him.

90.6tp ALEXANDER EVANS, clerk.

The Baltimore Hospital Lottery. Is commenced drawing, and continues for the present once a week.

THE CAPITAL PRIZES ARE 1 prize of 30,000 dollars, 2 prizes of 20,000 dollars, 4 do. of 10,000 dollars, &c. &c.

TICKETS,

In the Baltimore Hospital Lottery, now drawing, may be had at the Minerva Office. Present price, \$11.

Highest prize \$30,000.

Letters, post paid, and enclosing the cash, will be attended to. April 20.

For sale, at this office,

A FEW COPIES OF THE BIBLE EXPLAINED. Price 27 1/2 cents.