

AN

ORATION,

*John*

DELIVERED IN

*Wilkes*

St. PAUL'S CHURCH,

AUGUSTA,

ON THE

FOURTH OF JULY,

EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND ONE.

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BY JOHN E. ANDERSON, ESQUIRE.

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and Volunteer Corps of INFANTRY & RANGERS  
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*At Eleven o'clock, the VOLUNTEER COMPANIES of Augusta, being assembled in St. PAUL'S CHURCH, together with a large Collection of the Citizens ; the Ceremonies of the Day were commenced by the Reverend Pastor, who offered up to ALMIGHTY GOD : the following appropriate PRAYER.*

LET us enter into the Gates of the most High with thanksgiving, and into his Courts with Praise : Let us be thankful unto him, and bless his name !

HOLY, holy, holy Lord God Almighty, who art, who wast, and who art to come ! Who only hast immortality ; who dwellest in light inaccessible and full of glory ; whom no mortal eye can approach, whom no man hath seen, or can see ; to whom be honor and power everlasting !

Blessed art thou, O God of our fathers, and blessed be thy holy and glorious name forever ! Let the Heavens bless thee, and all thy creatures ! We would extol thee, O our God ; our souls shall praise the King of Heaven, and shall rejoice in his greatness. Thou art he, at whose reproof, the pillars of Heaven tremble and are astonished ; who spake, and it was done ; who commanded, and all things stood fast ! Would we comprehend thy greatness, O God, our conceptions are vain, for the Heavens and the Earth are full of it ! We would understand thine omnipotence, but the thunder of thy Power none can comprehend ! We would feel thine omnipresence, but all nature containeth thee not ! Yet would our inmost souls be stirred up to magnify and bless thee, the uncontrouled Sovereign of the Universe, though thy judgments are unsearchable, and thy ways past finding out, that there is a God in Heaven, who will direct our steps, to whom we may commit our ways ; a God, full of compassion, slow to anger, and of great mercy ; a God, who will, when all things have run their stated course, judge the world in Righteousness ! Shall not the judge of all the earth do right ?

Approaching thy Alter of spotless purity and holiness, be thou pleased, O God, to overlook our unworthiness ! Be thou pleased to sanctify, by thy grace, our hearts, and renew right spirits within us ! Enable us to render unto thee the homage, due to thy Heavenly Majesty : to approach thy Throne with that reverence and Godly fear, with that delight and love, which matchless perfection, and never-failing mercy inspire ! In the name, and through the mediation of thy Son and our Saviour, we beg that we may be cleansed from all our Sins ; that thou wouldst receive the offered sacrifice of our hearts, unworthy as it is ; and that thy blessings and favours, which we have received without number, may be also without end !

On this auspicious day, O God, rendered sacred by the event which it commemorates, with hearts united by gratitude, with voices uplifted by joy, we, the conspicuous objects of thy bounty,

would render unto thee, the great Ruler of the world, our humble, yet hearty thanks! As a portion of this mighty nation, this exulting, yet adoring people, we desire to be heard in mercy!—Led back, by the faithful spirit of memory, to the æra of national Independence, our feelings rise, in spontaneous joy to the Throne of Heaven! We contemplate, O thou protecting God, that day as the period, when every thing, that was honorable, was asserted; when every thing, that was valuable, was secured: And we adore thee, as the gracious Author, as the great designing Cause! We would bless thy mighty name, O God, that, by the events of that day, whose return we celebrate, our rights, as men and as a nation, were claimed; that a spirit was diffused, which tended to maintain them; that a voice was sounded in the ears of an injured people, which awoke them from a blamable inactivity, and roused them to a virtuous resistance. We would express to thee, the Father of mercies, our grateful acknowledgments, in that, thereby, the blessings of civil and religious liberty have been secured; that man may here indulge the dignifying consciousness of his importance in the scale of creation; that, boasting himself of the rights of man, he will be cautious to sustain man's character! Under thy Providence we rejoice, that the benefits of our circumstances and situation are enjoyed equally by all! Under thee, O God, whom we worship, we claim the privilege of rejoicing, that, many as are the mansions in house, they are open and accessible to all, that none can claim the precedence in entering! We would bless the Lord of Earth and of Heaven, that, in civil affairs, we submit not to the will of caprice, we obey not the nod of a Despot, we bow only to the supremacy of the laws, to the dignity of constituted authority! In spiritual matters, in things which concern our eternal welfare, we call no man master on earth, save Jesus; we bow only to the majesty of Heaven; we are guided only by the authority of the Gospel!

Having put an end to the conflicts of party, and the evils of war, we would rejoice, O thou God of Love, that the spirit of animosity and revenge has subsided; that thou hast disposed the minds of thy People to Peace; that the destructive operations of war have been succeeded by those arts, which tend to harmonize the feelings, and civilize mankind; that that Peace, which hath visited our land, hath given rise to those improvements, which expedite the progress of Society, which render man happy and nations respected!

Conscious of the great and manifold blessings we enjoy, may we know how to appreciate them! Do we consider ourselves peculiarly favoured by thee, our God, may our gratitude and our praises be proportionate! Have we, by thy kindness, been blessed with a government, the most equitable, and the most likely to ensure permanence, may our conduct also be more correct, may our virtue be the more conspicuous, may our religion be, indeed, pure and undefiled! May we, by no improper practices, commit the character of our nation, or government! May our strength, as a people, not be weakened by faction! May we, in private life, be virtuous and sincere; in public, faithful and upright stewards of the trusts which we hold!

May we do justice to our Fathers, to ourselves, and to posterity, by guarding that constitution, by preserving pure that government, which *they* so dearly purchased, which we so warmly approve, and which our children will consider as their best inheritance!

As subservient to these happy ends, do thou, O Almighty God, order every irregular affection, do thou regulate every inordinate passion, and suppress the spirit of contention amongst us! Help us, we beseech thee, to put away all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil-speaking with all malice! Teach us to live in Peace, and to love in Truth. May all bitter resentments be banished from our minds! May the Law of kindness be upon our Tongues! May a spirit of conciliation exhibit itself in our conduct! May we cease to provoke one another to wrath, and may we love one another as Brethren, as Children of the same Parent and Benefactor!

Superintend, we pray thee, thou God and Father of all Nations, that Government, which has been established amongst us! Thou hast graciously vouchsafed to us our Independence, we would invoke thy blessing, that it may be continued. As the result of our wisdom, and as the object of our approbation, may our Government be lasting and secure! May it be guarded by vigilance, and may it be administered with discretion! May it operate in establishing right, in promoting order and in punishing transgression!

Be thou pleased, thou Supreme Ruler and Guardian of the world, to take under thy especial protection the presiding Magistrate of these States! As he hath been exalted to superiority in station, as he hath been made to differ from others in dignity, may he excel also in every quality, which supposes merit, or can secure respect! Fearing thee, the Lord, may he be careful to execute that which is righteous in thy sight! With all faithfulness may he discharge his trust, as one that is himself hereafter to be judged, and shall receive that measure, which he himself hath wiled out! Having received all the confidence and honour, which a powerful Nation can bestow, may he be zealous in performing all the good, which wisdom and integrity can suggest, which the obligations of duty and of gratitude can impose, or the extent of his power and authority can effect!

Let thy blessing, O God, accompany also all those in authority under him and over us! May they, that institute *our* Laws, be careful not to violate *them*! May they, that hold the Scales of Justice in our Land, consider, with solemn seriousness and awe, that thou art, one day, to hold them in Heaven! May the young of this Nation be trained up in thy Fear! May they, by their acquirements in knowledge and in virtue, dignify the character of man! For this purpose, prosper, we entreat thee, O God, all those institutions, where knowledge is imparted, where virtue is inculcated, where principles of conduct are established, and habits of social life are formed! May the ministers of thy Son's gospel, of every denomina-

nation be sincere, if they would be acceptable servants of him, who must be worshiped in Spirit and in Truth! May they act in a manner becoming their Sacred Office, and the religion they would recommend!—While on Earth, may the Profession of our Faith be Christianity! May our eternal residence be thy Kingdom above!

Hear us in Heaven, where thou sittest enthroned in Majesty inaccessible, and do thou, who art Perfection itself, forgive what thou seeest amiss in Beings imperfect and sinful as we are, and we shall ascribe unto thee, through the Son of thy Love, all Dominion, Power and Praise! AMEN!



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# AN ORATION, &c.



AMERICANS, FRIENDS, FELLOW-SOLDIERS,

SUMMONED again, to be the organ of your feelings on the auspicious anniversary of our nation; it is with accumulated embarrassment, and humility, I yield to the honorable mandate. The exquisite emotions, excited by a contemplation of the event we celebrate, are calculated to expand the mind beyond its ordinary sphere, and to embellish it with images, which must lose their lustre in the drapery of expression! While therefore your hearts are attuned to the rapturous vibrations of the mighty theme: let your benevolence harmonize, the discordant tones, of the feeble instrument you have chosen!

AMONGST the variety of human concerns which have employed the genius of the moralist and politician; in the infinite series of events, which have resulted from the conduct of the human race and swelled the historians page; we are not presented with a subject so extensive in contemplation, or an event so important in its consequences, as the *American Declaration of Independence*.

WHEN we view in retrospect the destinies of other nations, the moral and physical evils, which have marked their progress from the earliest periods of their social existence—When we behold so large a portion of the human family bowing their necks to the yoke of tyranny and languishing in chains;—When we see the dignified faculties of man subjugated by power and sullied by fear, deaf to the voice of liberty and dead to the energies of nature!

While we breathe the trembling sigh of honest commiseration, our hearts dilate with gratitude, to that munificent being, through whose providence WE ARE FREE.

IN the peaceful occupation of rational liberty, it becomes us to appreciate the blessing by enquiring for the moral causes which produced it, and to secure its continuance, by learning the modes of its operation.

THE great Architect of the universe in peopling this little world, hath evinced by the formation of its inhabitants that they are all equally entitled to the privileges of their habitation. Endued alike with reason, affections and appetites, the liberal banquet was spread for them all—the beauties of his workmanship were displayed before them, that the whole race, erect, might wonder, enjoy and adore!

COMING thus from the hand of his Creator, and placed in the unrestrained participation of the blessings that surrounded him; man rejoiced in existence! His arm nerved with strength—his heart susceptible of the finest sympathies and emotions—his soul glowed with virtue—he breathed the spirit of *Independence*.

\*BUT it was the ordinance of heaven, that the constitution of humanity should not be perfect, that many natural evils should be mixed in the cup of life:—That man might be impressed with a sense of dependence on his maker, and feel the necessity of aid and protection from his fellows.

THE mode prescribed by the laws of nature for multiplying the species, impelled the sexes to a union of affections, the results of which superinduced the first notions of society and exemplified its advantages. The reciprocal comforts derived from this natural association, gave ardour to the innate desire for happiness, and condensed a plurality of families into one body politic, in which, as there was no essential dependence or connection, it became necessary to supply the defect by laws. Hence originated political society! Emanating from parental coercion, it



was first ushered into the world, in the form of despotism ! And although a sense of the inherent rights of nature, restrained for a time, the exercise of inordinate controul, and limited the effects of subordination : the mind of man soon lost its energy in the exertion, and yielded to the successful efforts of exacting authority : and the mild and benignant countenance of the *Father*, was changed into the awful and frowning aspect of the *Tyrant*.

Thus propelled by the instincts of nature in pursuit of good, did man stumble at the threshold of happiness, and hastening with eager steps into the sanctuary, fell prostrate in the vestibule. Thus while he sought with solicitude for reciprocal aid and protection in a social union : he subjugated the dearest rights of his nature ; and the fountains from whence he was destined to draw his felicity, were thus poisoned with the germins of misery and death.

As the human race multiplied and extended the limits of population, they became divided, into separate tribes, states and nations, which in the exercise of exclusive sovereignty exhibited to each other external relations of friendship or enmity. This state of the world was calculated, to awaken the most ferocious passions of the human heart, and to increase the turbulence of despotic sway. The pride and ambition of independent tyrants, generated new monsters for the destruction of man, and war with grim and redened visage, began to howl for his prey ! Scenes of destruction and piteous massacre—alternate vanquishings and victory, has marked the experience of nations, and written their history in blood !

WHETHER we trace the conduct of states, enlightened by the rays of science, or pervade the gloomy eras of uncivilized and barbarous nations : we discover the same deviations from the path of nature—the same scenes of jealousy, carnage and desolation ;—That despotism had grasped them all in his rude embrace and in struggling to get free, they have expired upon his bosom ;—That the fertile earth teeming with abundance, to supply the wants of man, has been converted into the theatre of his tragedies, and its green luxuriance crimsoned with his gore !

THE efforts of injured nature, against the incursion of these evils, only served to awaken the vigilance and quicken the acuteness of tyranny. In the recels of war, other powerful auxiliaries were enlisted into its service, thro' the aid of which, its authority has been extended from age to age; until that chain, which at first was forged to curb licentiousness, bound up the sublimest energies of the human intellect.

“MAN is by nature, a religious animal.” The wonderful organization of his own frame—the stupendous structure and revolutions of the heavenly bodies, and the various phenomena of the natural world: are irresistible evidences of an omnipotent and final cause.—The idea of a creator inevitably suggests the duty of observing his commands and the power of punishing disobedience. The effusions of the heart designate the relations and duties of man, and his deviations from the path they prescribe, are pursued with the vindictive stings of conscience; he therefore acquired early notions of the immortality of the soul—of a future state of reward and punishment, and discovered in every new appearance of nature, the complaisancy or the frowns of heaven!

THE acuteness of despotism soon discovered this strongest motive of the human mind, and converted the devotions of religious fear, to the purposes of tyranny and oppression.—A knowledge of physical causes and effects as connected with moral sanctions, was confined to the minions of authority, who dressed in ecclesiastical mystery—thundered anathemas against the breach of the tyrant's will, and alarmed the trembling culprit with equal curses, for disobeying the commands of his sovereign or offending his God.

THUS were the principles of religion and government conformed—thus did power and mystery support each other in enslaving the world. The dignified duties of devotion, every motive to the practice of virtue, which elevates and beautifies the human character, were thus poisoned in the malignant atmosphere of superstition, and

condensed into the narrow limits of servile fear and coward submission.—The world which was intended for the magnificent temple of sublime devotion—which was illuminated and adorned for the communion of God with his creatures was thus degraded by the *orgies* of corruption : and man, the image of his maker, degenerated into a reptile, to feed and sicken on the tainted fragments, which fell from the altar !

In the internal relation between the governing and the governed, all nations have furnished examples of violence, offered to nature : racks, dungeons, gibbets, whips and chains, were the refinements in policy, to maintain dominion and coerce obedience. And although the spirit of native liberty, has occasionally roused mankind from their degrading lethargy, and prompted a glorious struggle for emancipation, the impetuous torrent of their awakened passions, has again born them back into the gulph of despotism, and their new-born giddy freedom, has again been swallowed in its yawning vortex.

THE science of government, so far from expanding the faculties and ameliorating the condition of man, has maintained a warfare between liberty and despotism, in which, their alternate successes have produced nothing, but slavery or licentiousness. Each succeeding generation, instead of profiting by the fatal experience of their ancestors, made but a transit from one form of slavery to another ; or shook from their orbit, by the volcanic struggles of a revolution, were thrown in shattered fragments, into a political *chaos*.

THIS was the melancholy state of the world—this was the fate of degraded man, at the arrival of the glorious era we now commemorate. By an habitual acquiescence in the measures of tyranny, mankind had forgotten, that nature made them free ! All the revolutions of society, had made no change in their condition—all the blood poured upon the altar of freedom, had been consumed by the flame of discord—a fable cloud was drawn over the reason of man, and the whole horizon of human society was enveloped in undistinguished night ! Momentary

flashes of intellect were seen amidst the dark turbulence of nations, which added horror to the dismal prospect and discovered the human faculties, crushed between sacerdotal tyranny and military despotism : and the devoted race, awaiting in tears of blood, the moment, when the bursting forth of light, should discover the rights of afflicted humanity,

AT length, when the fullness of time was accomplished, the archieve of mysterious fate, was opened and disclosed the happy destiny of AMERICA ! The genius of Columbia, issuing forth from the west, in her glittering car ; cloathed with "*parental glory and creative might*" rode wide into the chaotic abyfs of despotism ; and with the compass of the rights of nature, described the limits of the continent—" *Silence ye troubled waves, and peace ye warring elements, your discord end !*" Thus far let freedom's empire come—these be thy bounds America ;—and hence oh ! tyranny, be thy proud billows stayed ! "*Let there be light ! and at the omnific word, the light sprang forth !*"—The sun of freedom emerging from the gloom, in bright refulgence, arose upon the new formed world, and blessed mankind, with this auspicious day ! ! Roused by the dawn, the sleeping nation awoke to renovated life, and in the commanding voice of nature, declared their INDEPENDENCE.\*

FROM this splendid *era*, as from a new creation, the mind of man assumed its natal dignity—freed from the iron sceptor of imperial pride, a generous emulation fired his heart and led him on to virtue and to glory ! While human excellence in other climes, crept slyly on "with timid caution, through the gloomy vale of obscurity, dreading, the prison, the dagger, or the poisoned bowl ;" here it boldly walked upon the illumen'd stage : conscious of merited applause and dignified pre-eminence. The natural objects which surrounded them, the rugged mountains, the unlimited forests and expansive plains, inspired Americans with a sense of primæval liberty. Far from the clamours of the eastern world, the willing soil was culti-

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\* Here the Declaration of Independence was read by Colonel WATKINS.

vated, and yielded in luxuriance to the labours of industrious agriculture. The mind emancipated from the yoke of fanaticism, paid its religious adorations, according to the dictates of conscience, and *Science* no longer veiled in the mysteries of superstition, cheered the human intellect, with her animating smiles. Under the influence of these moral and physical causes, the right of establishing rules of civil conduct, presented itself to Americans, as an inseparable appurtenance to their nature and necessarily connected with the means of happiness.

In pursuit of this great object Americans associated their moral energies, and as the happiness of every man depended upon the acquisition, the efforts of all were engaged. Animated by example, and glowing with ardour in the mighty purpose, they pledged their "lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor" for the maintainance of their Independence! And this declaration evinces the solemnity of the compact—it is couched in the nervous language of nature; it contains not the accents of phrensy, or the frothy ravings of riotous licentiousness: But the serene and solemn stile of calm philosophy.—We see not therefore upon this event the passions of Americans, swelled into a torrent by the impulse of their wrongs, and with resistless rapidity inundating the mounds of private virtue and social order; we see not the citizens like bands of assassins reeking with blood—piercing with ruthless cruelty the bosoms of defenceless females and bearing their wreathing infants in agony on their spears! Nor do we see licentiousness dancing to the jargon notes of civil discord, and trampling the sanctions of religion in the dust! No: We behold a number of independent circles, relinquishing all local considerations, peacefully and solemnly confederating their powers for common defence, and joining in a solemn league for mutual preservation. And although in this league there was no provision for national legislation: as they were all actuated by the same spirit and in pursuit of the same objects: the bonds of social order and private right were preserved; while under the guidance of the mighty *Genius* of their common country, they resisted the intrigues of Despotism and maintained their *independence*, through the struggles of an arduous war.

BUT as the progress of rational liberty, emerging from bondage, must be gradual, the American states experienced, the imbecillity of their federal compact. A congress of delegates were therefore selected from the mass of the nation, and assembled to deliberate upon a permanent form of government.

THE science of constructing a social compact, being experimental, was difficult of discussion *a priori*.—In looking into the experience of humankind, on this important subject, all nations presented them with the melancholy scene of command and submission; all their social organizations were animated by the spirit of despotism, and exhibited either the grisly forms of *Tyranny* or distorted *Licentiousness*.—Actuated however by the pure motives of patriotism and universal philanthropy, they pursued with ardour the accomplishment of a plan, that should have *justice* for its object and *happiness* for its end.

IT was discovered, that the passions and affections of human nature, had operated in all ages, to the prejudice of *order*—and the exactions of authority in derogation of *right*, it became an object therefore to ballance these discordant principles in a political machine, that should move with harmony to their reciprocal impulse.

As the authority of this congress did not extend to the delegation of national sovereignty; the principle of equality, as resulting from the nature and constitution of man was held inviolate: It was therefore contemplated, that every individual whose rights were involved in the fundamental regulation should give his voluntary consent to the instrument.

WITH these exalted views of the subject, the wisdom of the nation was exerted, and at length presented a compact, containing the public will;—a solemn designation of powers proceeding from the voice and consent of the people to be governed, before their coercion was exercised; a code of fundamental maxims, which were not left in the discretion of public functionaries, to make ~~irregular or contingent improvements, and to “disturb~~

the social order of the subordinate community, by dissolving it at pleasure, into an unconnected chaos of elementary atoms: but it was a permanent and reciprocal contract made by the whole community;—a partnership in all science—in all art—in all virtue, not only between the living, but between them and all posterity;” its *staples* are public peace and private security, and its *gain* the happiness of all.

THIS was the organick constitution of the American *Body* politick; framed upon the principles of nature, its Herculean limbs were formed for strength and activity—its heart was strung for the region of a mighty soul, and its head enlarged for the Temple of wisdom! Thus formed and modified, the nation breathed into it the spirit of life—it arose with majestick port, and standing upon a rock in the attitude of defensive firmness: it shields the rights of man against the assaults of despotism.

IN the exclusive enjoyment of political security, it cannot be an unpleasing task for Americans, to examine the structure of a government, in the administration of which they enjoy such distinguished prosperity.

THE sovereignty or supreme authority in this government exists only in moral contemplation, and resides in the broad based *Fabrick* of the whole nation; it combines therefore “the beneficence, wisdom and power of society in its primary capacity,” and the mind of each member, forms an integral part in the combination of these attributes, and participates equally in their aggregate exercise.

IN the physical application of these principles, the constitution prohibits all hereditary orders, and confining honor to the meritorious, refers the choice of publick functionaries to the voice of the nation. Thus secured against the strides of usurpation, the exercise of the political will is delegated to three co-ordinate departments: the one to prescribe rules of civil conduct, another to enforce the observance of these rules, and a third to execute the will of the nation in her foreign and domestic relations; and

these several departments of physical agency are so limited and modified, as to act in coincidence, in giving full effect to the volition of the national entity.

THE Department for legislation is composed of persons from every part of the nation; who being called to the exercise of the highest human authority, are selected by those on whom that authority is to operate; this body consists of two branches, each of which occupy *exclusive*, as well as concurrent trusts.

THE House of Representatives being the more immediate choice of the people, are solely entrusted with the affairs of the revenue, as all bills concerning that subject are required to originate with them. This being the popular branch of the national congress, represents the feelings and interests of their constituents, and from the shortness of the period for which they are elected, the local circumstances of every part of the nation are intimately known and communicated: so as to apportion the burthen of national expenditure, according to the circumstances of each particular class of individuals.

As it is of importance to social justice, that the people should possess the power of arraigning public functionaries for acts of official enormity, and as this power could not be exercised by the mass of citizens, without endangering the peace of society; it is conferred on that branch which representing their feelings, are most susceptible to a sense of their wrongs. The House of Representatives have therefore the sole power of impeachment, in the name and behalf of all the people, and no public *officer*, however powerful by delegation, however elevated by confidence, who may not for a breach of his trust or an unconstitutional exercise of his authority: be stripped of his robes and arraigned at the *bar* of national justice.

BUT as the purity of justice, admits not the *accuser* to be the *judge*, the constitution invests the senate with judicial cognizance of all crimes and misdemeanors of which public functionaries are charged by the House of Representatives. “The Senate shall have the sole power of



trying impeachments." An assemblage of sages selected from the several states, for their wisdom, experience and integrity, hold the *scales* and the *sword* of political justice to weigh the accusations and punish the crimes of the official culprit.

THAT this exalted court might administer equal justice to the nation and the accused, and occupy the judgment seat, unawed by the turbulence of accusing vengeance, its members are not dependant on the immediate suffrage of the people, and hold their seats for a longer period than the popular branch. And that the door of vindictory justice might at all times be open to the accusing voice of the nation; one third of this body are biennially elected to fill the places which become vacant: whereby it assumes the stability of a permanent body without the danger of aristocracy.

THIS dignified assembly, have other important trusts committed to their charge: they have a voice in the appointment of publick officers in co-operation with the Executive branch:—which while it provides for an equable distribution of publick honors, gives energy to their judicial functions.

THE Senate also form an essential feature in the political aspect of the nation, in her exterior views of other nations.—It is necessary for the harmony of the world and for the peaceable attainment of national justice, that the body politick, should be at all times accessible to the applications of other powers, in the course of diplomatick negotiation.—That the wisdom of this nation may be deliberately exercised on the expediency and policy of compacts, that the state sovereignties might have a voice in the exterior concerns of the nation, that her dignity might not be prostrated by the imbecillity, or her wealth dissipated by the folly or corruption of a single man: the senate in relation to this subject of political œconomy, have deliberative and controuling authority over executive measures.

BUT in addition to the separate and exclusive functions of the two branches of the legislative order, they are of

reciprocal importance, when acting in coincident deliberation. As the congress of the United States, the essential subjects of national legislation, embracing the whole municipal concerns of society, are expressly designated, and referred to them, in the fundamental compact.

In the highly important exercise of this authority, no rule can pass into the solemnity of a law and derive obligatory sanction, but by the concurrence of both branches. While this provision adds solemnity to their acts by affording "time for deliberation and discussion;" it furnishes an ample security against factious and inflammatory measures in the check which one branch maintains on the other.—In this distribution of authority, the sovereignty of the weaker states is preserved by the Senate, against the influence of the more wealthy and populous; and the House of Representatives holding the resources of revenue, maintain a controlling influence over all measures of senate, which contemplate public expenditure.

By this happy organization of the legislative authority, we are equally protected from arbitrary exaction and from licentious relaxation—by this are the rights of every state secured upon the scale of empire—and by this is the dignity of the nation maintained in her exterior and foreign relations.

With this view of the subject, who would declaim against the policy of two branches in the legislative order, and brand the senate with the epithet of aristocracy? Would they confide to a single chamber, the attributes of accuser and judge? Would they keep this chamber in continual session for the purposes of appointing public officers and concluding compacts with other nations, or submit to the expence of calling a vast body of Representatives together for these occasional purposes?—Or would they commit these important concerns to the exclusive discretion of the executive branch?—Would they give into the hands of one body of functionaries, the publick purse with privilege of unrestrained expenditure? Or in fine would they withhold from the state sovereignties their constitutional agency in national measures? Such a policy

would dissolve the most salutary checks on authority—it would weaken the reciprocal attraction and repulsion which preserves the harmony of the system.

THE legislative powers, being thus limited and defined in the primordial contract; the rights of nature are secured under the exercise of the highest authority. No rule of civil conduct is prescribed but by the free consent of those who are bound to observe it; and when prescribed it operates with equal obligation on the governing and the governed;—the high and the low, the rich and the poor are embraced in the provision with equal protection and controul, without regard to wealth or indigence, eminence or depression! Nor are these rules when made, left to a capricious or arbitrary operation: A Judicial tribunal is provided for their equable and universal application.

IN the exercise of this authority, the Judicial department have cognizance of all questions where the national interest is concerned—where the contracts, the commerce or authority of the empire come into forensic litigation;—and of all cases between individuals, which arise under the national laws and constitution. And in addition to the dispensation of distributive justice, these functionaries form a salutary check upon the exercise of legislative power, by their judgment of the constitutionality of its acts.—If thro' the clamour of popular prejudices—if in the heat of conflicting interests and zeal of contending parties; a law should pass the deliberative departments, in derogation of the fundamental compact—in despite of the written will of the nation: its fermenting mischiefs are neutralized in the *alembic* of Judicial authority.

THAT justice might not be subject to the perturbation of human passions and prejudices;—that its administration might be uninfluenced, by popular motives—by wealth or the menaces of legislative inquisition; its functionaries are placed upon the eminence of integrity and honor—the tenure of their office is the performance of their trust.

BUT even this repository of sacred right, even this

holy sanctuary ; is not an assylum from the vengeance of an injured country. If by a profane prostration of judicial dignity, a judge should invade the rights of the nation or of an individual : he may be dragged from the judgment seat to the bar of his country, and constrained to participate in that justice which he unrighteously withheld from others.— Thus are the rights which result from social regulation effectually secured by impartial administration ;—thus are the principles of government physically applied to the promotion of human happiness, and thus does the attribute of justice, harmonise and controul the political powers of the nation.

BUT all the moral functions of the body politic, could not be performed by legislative and judicial agents : It was necessary that the political will of the nation should be represented by an *executive magistrate*, who should constitute the watchful guardian—the vigilant centinel over the repository of delegated right.

THIS honorable trust is confided to a President of the United States. But even this exalted functionary—the head of the political body, acts not from the impulse of his own will ! His duties, his authority and responsibility are designated and defined in the original contract. And altho' his powers are extensive and would in their unlimited exercise be dangerous to liberty : yet as they proceed from the voice of the people and are defined in their social regulation, they cease to be terrible ; particularly as this great officer like the rest, may be impeached for treasons against the *majesty* of the laws.—For this office is not the hereditary birthright of any favoured family—it is the offspring of national suffrage ! The President is elective once in four years, and if within that period he should deviate from his constitutional *orbit*, he may be hurled from his sphere, by the awakened vengeance of his country and pursued with the angry curse of perpetual disqualification.

BUT the American character, admits with reluctance, the possibility of seeing in the Presidential seat, an object of national wrath : and experience inspires the hope, that

the tenebrious event will never happen.—Already have the virtues of a *Washington*, sanctified the executive *Car*; —already has the unshaken *Adams*, directed its progress, thro' the tempest of faction and the labyrinth of intrigue; —and now does the philosophic *Jefferson*, hold the reins, on the *plane of publick tranquillity!*

IT is however our happy destiny my countrymen, to be governed by *laws* and not by *men!*—Our liberties depend not upon the virtues or vices of publick officers, —they are deposited in that inviolable sanctuary—the *Constitution!*—Why then should the publick mind be agitated, or domestic harmony be disturbed by the clamours of election?—Why should the native candour of freemen be veiled in the mystery of intrigue, and the spirit of dissension create invidious distinctions?—The alternate success of conflicting parties cannot change the immortal nature of our political existence, or would it have sickened and expired under the convulsive throes of domestic discord!—It is however degrading the magnanimous character which marks the formation of the social system, to abuse its authority; and evinces a fallen degeneracy, to disturb the peace of such a government, by impious heresies against its administration.

WHAT American, can look into the corruption and miseries of other governments—can behold his fellowmen, there devoted to the imperious commands of a master and marching into the jaws of death, under the awe of his frowns; without turning with complaisant approbation to the peaceful and smiling *aspect* of his own country.

OUR social system, presents to the contemplative mind, the utmost exertion of human wisdom!—In it we behold, upon the ruins of demolished despotism, a political *edifice*, so admirably framed and finished with such exquisite art, that we are lost in determining whether beauty or strength prevails in the order of its architecture!—An edifice whose base is the immutable principles of Justice—its walls rendered transparent with truth and

squared by the rule of natural right, are cemented with public spirit and love of country;—its apartments are illuminated by the rays of science—its portals are guarded by the arm of unanimity and its economy submitted to the empire of *virtue*

THE formation of this government presented to the astonished inhabitants of the east, a phenomenon in ethnicks:—*Aurora*, in the west, opening the gates of light upon the moral world!

A number of separate states, spread over a wide circumference of continent, having different local interests and various polity, condensed into a social mass—governed by general laws, and cemented by general interest: yet preserving their domestic regulation and independence.—A legislative, executive and judicial authority, exclusively exercised within each separate circle, without impeding the operations of the combined system of the nation! Like the order of the universe, each social sphere moves in its orbit, round the political *sun*, which turning on its axis in the centre of the system; preserves the harmony of their revolutions, while it communicates the genial influence of its rays.

THIS vast combination of sovereignty is apportioned and distributed upon the scale of *justice* and *equality*, and the exercise of its coercion, is consistent with the *rights* and conducive to the *happiness* of man.

IN the exercise of *Legislation*, we see not the despotic edicts of a *Tyrant*, issuing hot from the furnace of his passions and commanding submission and chains!—But we see a body of men, chosen by the free voice of their fellows, deliberating on and establishing rules for the regulation of conduct: rules which have for object, publick peace and private happiness.

IN the *Judicial* tribunal, justice is not dressed in the terrors of inquisition;—no racks and tortures to wring confessions from the trembling *Culprit*: the solemn goddets, clothed with integrity and independence, holding in

one hand the *scales* of reciprocity, and in the other, the *sword* of justice, with dignified mildness weighs the actions of men, by an established and universal standard: and when she smites the guilty, her face is veiled in tears.

THE *Executive* magistrate, presents not the direful frowns of a Despot, hurling angry vengeance at his humbled slaves, and chafing his devoted subjects with a rod of iron!—In him we see the careful affections of a father to his country, wielding no *scourge* but the *laws*—enforcing no *will* but the *constitution*.

In this organization of society, the principles of equal right and of equal justice are preserved in physical application, and the result is “social *liberty*.” The enacting, judicial and coercive authorities, constitute the “dominion of beneficence and peace.” The fountains of all authority originating in each social circle, after meandering through and refreshing the little communities whence they proceed, meet in mighty confluence, and form a vast ocean of distributive justice, which every individual in the nation has an equal right to navigate.

UNDER the auspices of such a government, where the sanctions of society, originate in the public voice—where the powers delegated, can only restrain licentiousness and not repress the exercise of virtue—where the point of right is attained in every modification of power and social happiness compleated in the fruition of reciprocal justice; the human mind acquires its native dignity, and expands under the influence of coercion.

HERE mankind adore the God of nature, in that form which conscience dictates;—no longer shook by the terrors of ecclesiastical fulmination, or startled by the fitting visions of mysterious fanaticism: his mind contemplates the wide scene of nature and is led through the immensity of the universe to nature’s God.—Acknowledging no natural superior but the King of heaven, the heart of man swells with gratitude and benevolence;—rejoicing in existence and the gifts of nature, his soul is elevated with piety and joy: “a virtuous independence is the sun which irradiates the

morning of his day—warms its noon—tinges the serene evening with pleasing variety, and on the pillow of religious hope he sinks to repose, upon the bosom of Providence.”—Here the gifts of knowledge are not confined to any order of men for the purpose of subjugating the rest: it is made an object of primal institution, “to promote the progress of science” The great Father and preserver of his country, hath made it his last request, that this object should be pursued with zealous assiduity by his countrymen; and may we not hope that under the auspices of his present enlightened successor, his benevolent wishes will be realized? That the shade of our beloved WASHINGTON, may behold with complaisance, the sons of Columbia, ranging through the circle of science, in a house dedicated to his name, and meet with rapture, the genius of his countrymen, soaring on nervous pinions, through the dazzling mazes of intellect!

BUT our social compact, not only furnishes the moral means of happiness—it provides us with physical resources! The extent and fertility of our country, suggest the advantages of agriculture.—With easy industry, the fruitful soil teems with abundance to supply our own wants, and a profusion for the wants of other nations; the constitution has therefore commanded the legislature “to regulate commerce with foreign nations.” It is commerce which gives a spring to the efforts of the industrious husbandman—it is commerce that softens his labour with the hopes of gain; and while it brings to his door, in exchange for the fruits of his toil, the comfortable elegancies of life; it enriches the coffers of his country and relieves him from the burthen of taxation.—Nor are the pursuits of commerce in this enlightened country, confined or monopolized:—The seas are open to the planter as well as to the merchant, who after collecting the abundance of his toils in the field, may adventure them in his own bark, upon the ocean. But experience dictates the utility of preserving a distinction in these pursuits. The agricultural and commercial interests, flourish most, in co-operation! The planter by experience, knows to order the efforts of his labour to greatest advantage;



and the merchant in his negotiations with distant ports, learns to dispose the staples of his country to greatest profit.—A fair and candid reciprocity between these classes of citizens, inspires confidence and promotes their mutual interest—nor does this distinction create a political difference between them: for like Rome we boast our *Cincinnatus*, who has,

“ Held the scale of Empire, ruled the storm

“ Of mighty war; then, with unwearied hand,

“ Disdaining little delicacies, seized

“ The Plough!” . . . . .

IN the present state of the world while war with rapacious stride is desolating Europe, and with hostile *trident*, adding turbulence to the ocean; it was wisely thought, a country so fruitful of the means of honorable and just defence, “should provide and maintain a Navy,” for the protection of the natural rights of commercial intercourse.—Preserving as we have done, amidst the clamours of war, a neutral situation amongst the nations of the earth, it became necessary to prepare for the maintenance of an inherent right, upon the exercise of which the prosperity of our country so much depended.—For altho’ the rights of commerce are universally acknowledged; a state of hostility is a suspension of justice; and our ships became the common spoil of belligerent nations.—But congress in obedience to the fundamental command, established a navy, under whose protecting thunder, we have derived the advantages of a right, which would otherwise have been infringed with impunity; and the American Eagle has flown triumphant, to the ports of every nation.

By this defensive regulation, commerce and agriculture have flourished, and by enriching our own country, have fed the inhabitants of an impoverished world!—The ravages of war have been repelled from our coasts—our national dignity has been preserved, and peace has embraced our happy continent in her fostering wings.—