

AN
ORATION,

PRONOUNCED AT

PELHAM, NEW-HAMPSHIRE,

JULY 4th, 1805,

THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE

DECLARATION

OF

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

By JOHN HUBBARD CHURCH.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

HAV'RHILL, (Ms.)

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Oration.

FRIENDS and FELLOW CITIZENS,

TWENTY-NINE years have rolled away, since we were declared an independent people. But this event is still interesting to every American, and worthy of being commemorated. This being our present design, it will be peculiarly happy to possess correspondent views and feelings. We shall then unite in social and devout affection; our rejoicing will be virtuous, and free from every thing indecent and unbecoming; we shall gratefully respect those who were the happy instruments of establishing our Independence, and piously acknowledge the overruling Providence of the Almighty. If we suitably contemplate the peculiar favor of Heaven, and the great expence of blood and treasure, by which our Independence was purchased, we may estimate more highly the blessings and privileges we enjoy. And to preserve a remembrance of these things may have a happy tendency of perpetuating our civil freedom.

WITH this object in view, let us attend to some things which happily conspired in effecting our revolution.

To enjoy civil liberty, was one design of our ancestors in coming to this land. Their descendants kept the same noble design in view. New-England became the residence of virtuous, enlightened freemen. Habits of industry, sobriety, and subjection to civil government were formed; but at the same time, the people of these Colonies kept a watchful eye upon the Government of their parent Country. When Britain attempted to tax us without our consent, it was not a spirit of opposition to government, *as such*, but a conscientious

scientific regard to our invaluable rights, which led us to oppose their arbitrary measures. We knew, we felt that the principle, which they adopted, was subversive of civil liberty, so that if we acceded to it, the way would be prepared for us to be completely enslaved. Like virtuous freemen and loyal subjects, we modestly claimed the privilege of being represented in the Government who should impose on us taxes. We contended for the privilege of electing those who should have command of our persons and property. Our feelings, habits, and principles, dictated the propriety of a representative Government. Had we fully enjoyed this privilege under the Government of Britain, we should have felt, perhaps, no uneasiness in remaining British Colonies. But this privilege we were denied. And in declaring ourselves an independent people, we proclaimed our attachment to an elective, representative Government.

BUT in asserting our right to be free and independent, we did not adopt the principles of political licentiousness.—Previously to the declaration of our Independence, these Colonies had Governments, which were composed of separate branches ; a Governor, a body of Senators or Assistants, and a House of Representatives. It was the design of our revolution, not to destroy, but to establish such forms of government ; for such have been continued or adopted in all the States. In forming State Constitutions, since our Independence was declared, it has evidently been designed to establish an efficient Government, of separate, distinct branches. Witness the Constitution of this State, of Massachusetts, and others. Hence an essential change of the form of our Government was not our object in declaring ourselves an independent people. We did not seek to be freed from the salutary restraints of a duly balanced, energetic Government. But such a Government we have manifested a resolution to maintain. This is further confirmed by the adoption of our Federal Constitution. In framing and adopting this Constitution, it was intended

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ed to establish a republican Government of separate branches, each of which should have a negative on the other. It was also intended to preserve a distinction between the Legislative, Judicial, and Executive Powers. This form of government is undoubtedly the best, men have ever devised : It was dictated by the principles of our revolution, by the sentiments and habits of a great body of the people.

A SPIRIT of patriotism was eminently displayed in effecting our revolution. Had not this been the case, the declaration of our Independence would only have involved us in greater difficulties : it would have betrayed both our weakness and consummate folly. But a great proportion of the people willingly sacrificed property and hazarded their lives for the good of the community. We had then no general, energetic Government to levy taxes and organize an army. In the Colonies, the people were more or less embarrassed by the existing Government. This was particularly the case in this State and in Massachusetts. General Gage, the Governor of Massachusetts, espoused the British interest. In 1774, he issued writs for holding a General Assembly at Salem ; but afterwards counteracted the writs by proclamation. The members, however, convened, and after waiting a day or two for the Governor, they voted themselves into a provincial Congress, and chose John Hancock, President. They proceeded to attend to the situation of the country, notwithstanding the Governor stiled their proceedings illegal and unconstitutional, and warned them to desist. " Under the simple stile of recommendations, they organized the militia, made ordinances respecting public monies, and such further regulations as were necessary for preserving order, and for defending themselves against the British troops." These recommendations were so congenial with the minds of the people, that they had the influence and authority of laws.

JOHN WENTWORTH, the Governor of this State, was likewise engaged in the cause of Britain. At a meeting

meeting of the Representatives, declared illegal by the Governor, and after they were commanded to disperse, they requested all the towns in the State to send Deputies to hold a Convention at Exeter, who should choose Delegates to attend the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, in Sept. 1774. They also requested the towns to raise money to defray the expenses of their Delegates to Congress. A ready and prompt compliance with these requests, manifested the patriotic spirit of the people. So ready were the people to contribute for the support of the common cause, that about 100,000 dollars are due to this State, and about a million dollars are due to Massachusetts from the Continent, for what these two States advanced above their just proportion, in prosecuting the war.

As the royal troops were first stationed at Boston, and hostilities commenced in that vicinity, the inhabitants of that flourishing, commercial town were greatly distressed, before the people of other Colonies so deeply felt the oppressive measures of the British Government. But the people of Boston were regarded as sufferers in the cause of liberty; and liberal contributions for their relief were raised through America. Great, after all, were their inconveniences and hardships; but these were borne with patience and inflexible fortitude.

It is not in the power of the speaker to detail particularly the sacrifices which individuals made for the good of the Country. Many left their farms and lucrative employments, and what were vastly dearer, their partners and children, and took up arms in defence of their Country, not knowing what sufferings they might endure, nor what irreparable losses they might sustain. Love to their Country inspired them with such bravery and fortitude, that they acquired great honor, in the field of battle, even in the view of their enemies.

THE disinterested, patriotic virtue of WASHINGTON ought never to be forgotten. He readily obeyed the call of his Country, to espouse her cause, however

dark and gloomy her prospects. He generously refused any compensation for eight years laborious services, as the General of our armies. His patriotism did not consist in the flattering professions of designing, ambitious men ; but his whole conduct manifested his pure and fervent attachment to his Country's glory and prosperity. His patriotism, his commanding, well-directed influence, were happily displayed in the following instance. " When the war was nearly terminated, the army having been but inadequately compensated for their services, an artful attempt was made by anonymous publications, to persuade them to redress their own grievances, while they had arms in their hands. As soon as this became known to General WASHINGTON, ever attentive to the interests of his Country, and jealous for its honor, he convened the officers, with many of whom he had taken pains previously to converse, and made an eloquent, well-adapted speech, in which, to use his own words, he ' conjured them, as they valued their honor, as they respected the rights of humanity, as they regarded the military and national character of America, to express their utmost detestation of the man, who was attempting to open the floodgates of civil discord, and deluge their rising empire with blood.' No reply was made—none could be made. The hearts of the brave were softened, the base, intimidated. A resolution was immediately adopted, in which the most marked contempt and abhorrence of so vile and disgraceful a proceeding was unanimously expressed." How different was the conduct of WASHINGTON in this instance, from that of some other Generals of modern times ?

Does this patriotic spirit still prevail in our land ? Is the same regard to the welfare of the community now manifested ? Look abroad and impartially observe the prevailing spirit of the day. Can you clearly trace, in the transactions of the present day, the patriotic spirit of '76 ? Alas ! alas ! my Country ! O land of Freedom ! Where are thy sons ? Where are those who possess the patriotic virtues of WASHINGTON ?

THE unanimity of '76 ought to be recollected with very grateful sentiments. The people of these Colonies had their local feelings and manners ; their different interests and pursuits ; they had also been agitated with local prejudices and jealousies. But with surprizing unanimity, they concerted and executed measures to establish our civil liberty. No sooner did they resolve to oppose the arbitrary power of Britain, than "the pulpit—the press—the bench and the bar, severally labored to unite and encourage them. The Clergy of New-England, were a numerous, learned and respectable body, who had great ascendancy over the minds of their hearers. They connected religion and patriotism, and in their prayers and sermons, represented the cause of America as the cause of Heaven. The Synod of New-York and Philadelphia also sent forth a pastoral letter, which was publicly read in their Churches. This earnestly recommended such sentiments and conduct as were suitable to their situation. Writers and printers followed in the rear of the preachers, and next to them, had the greatest hand in animating their countrymen. Gentlemen of the bench and of the bar denied the charge of rebellion, and justified the Colonists."* The people united, and, in various instances, bound themselves to one another by the sacred ties of honor, religion, and love of country, to perform whatever should be judged expedient to promote the common cause.

THIS unanimity was very observable in adopting the important resolution which we this day commemorate. For several months after hostilities with Britain commenced, the people of these Colonies did not entertain an idea of becoming independent. They sought redress of grievances, and reconciliation with the parent Country. But when this was found to be in vain, "a total change of the public opinion" was soon effected. "Independence became the general voice of the same people, who but a few months before

* Ramsay, Vol. I, page 199.

fore had petitioned for reconciliation." The people in most of the Colonies became so convinced of the necessity of dissolving our connexion with Britain, that they requested their Delegates in Congress to declare us an independent nation. A few weeks before this event took place, a committee was chosen by the Assembly of this State, "to make a draught of a declaration of the General Assembly for the INDEPENDENCE of the united Colonies on Great-Britain, to be transmitted to our Delegates in Congress." The motion for declaring the Colonies free and independent, was therefore made in Congress, in unison with the general voice of the people. The member who first introduced it, followed the instructions of his constituents. The debates of Congress on this important subject were calm and deliberate, although very animated. In these debates, John Adams and John Dickinson were leading men. Mr. Adams strongly advocated, and Mr. Dickinson opposed the motion. But Mr. Dickinson did himself much honor in the manner of his opposition. In beginning a speech on the subject, he "solemnly invoked the Governor of the Universe, so to influence the minds of the members of Congress, that if the proposed measure was for the benefit of America, nothing which he should say against it, might make the least impression." After a full discussion, the motion was adopted by almost an unanimous vote. The declaration was publicly read in all the States, and received with joy. It tended to confirm the union of the people, and to increase their order in deciding by force of arms, *Whether we should be conquered Provinces, or free and independent States.*

HAPPY are the effects of union. It is the glory, and, under Heaven, the defence of a nation. A divided nation must fall, either by internal faction, or foreign invasion. How distressing would have been our condition in '76 and afterwards, if we had been a divided people; if dissension, jargon, and angry, inflammatory debate had prevailed in our public Councils? Happy, inconceivably happy for us, that a
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spirit of party did not then prevail; that the vilest men and the enemies of their Country were not exalted, caressed, and honored; but that the wise and patriotic had the confidence and suffrages of the people, and our civil affairs were conducted with becoming moderation, with uprightness and unanimity.

RELIGIOUS sentiments had happy influence in procuring our Independence. A deep conviction that all men are to enjoy the right of private judgment and liberty of conscience, led to the first settlement of New-England. These Colonies were mostly settled by those, who were denominated Dissenters. Their religious tenets and their views of ecclesiastical discipline disposed them to acknowledge God only as supreme, and to believe that all men have an equal right to enjoy the security and protection of civil government. Hence they considered civil government to be designed, not for the aggrandizement or private advantage of a few, but for the safety and welfare of the whole community. Inspired with such sentiments, they could boldly assert their rights, when Britain began to oppress them; they could declare themselves free and independent, and appeal to Heaven to maintain their cause. A belief that their cause was just, and a hope that Heaven would approve their exertions, gave a powerful stimulus to the American people. Every breast, influenced by these sentiments, possessed a zeal which could not be easily overcome. Such sentiments animated the noble WASHINGTON to approve "the Declaration," confidently believing that it was "calculated, under the smiles of a gracious and all kind Providence, to secure us that freedom and those privileges," of which Britain had attempted unjustly to deprive us. His mind was inspired with heroic fortitude, with undaunted courage. Never before, I think I may say, was a General placed in so trying a situation. At the commencement of our revolution, we "had not a regular regiment, nor a fortified town, nor a ship of war; we had neither money, nor arms, nor military stores," sufficient to prosecute

prosecute a war with one of the most powerful nations on earth. How we should obtain the necessary supplies for an army, no one could tell. The feelings of people were liable to change, and they might soon abandon that cause, which they had engaged to support. What then but a conviction that our cause was just, and a confident hope that Heaven would smile upon our efforts, could induce a man of WASHINGTON'S discernment, modesty, and cool deliberation, to take the command of our feeble, undisciplined troops, and appear in opposition to able Generals and "troops equal in discipline to any in the world." Without any appearance of boasting, he says, in an official letter to Congress, dated at Cambridge, Jan. 4, 1776, "It is not in the pages of history perhaps to furnish a case like ours :—to maintain a post within musket-shot of the enemy, for six months together, without [powder,] and at the same time to disband one army and to recruit another within that distance of twenty-odd British regiments, is more, probably, than ever was attempted." Many unforeseen difficulties arose; and numerous were his embarrassments for want of ammunition and those things, which, in time of war, are essentially necessary. But he possessed a spirit of unconquerable perseverance; for his ultimate dependence was placed on the eternal God. "The superintending Providence of the Most High he ever acknowledged. To this he ascribed his successes, not to his own skill and prowess; to this he ascribed the prosperity of the United States, not to the wisdom and labors of their rulers. On all suitable occasions he expressed a becoming gratitude to God for his kind interpositions in behalf of the army or the nation; and when defeated in any of his expectations, he devoutly acknowledged the same Providence, and submissively bowed to the rod."

BUT WASHINGTON was not alone in placing dependence on the Supreme Being. Thousands daily implored the Father of Mercies to prosper the cause of injured America. They knew that Heaven must peculiarly

peculiarly succeed their efforts, or their cause would sink, their liberties be destroyed, and tyranny ensue.

OUR first resolutions for organizing an army were accompanied with an appointment of a day of public humiliation, fasting, and prayer to Almighty God, that the Colonies might be ever under the care and protection of a kind Providence, and be prospered in all their interests. When prospects were dark and threatening, such appointments were repeated; they corresponded with the feelings of the people, and were followed by the kind interposition of Heaven. An instance of this may not be improperly mentioned. After our army, in August 1776, had been defeated with great loss on Long-Island, and General WASHINGTON had been obliged to retreat from that place and from New-York, the troops under his command were universally dispirited. The militia ran off by companies, and their example so infected the regular regiments, that there did not remain 6000 troops, on whom dependence could be made for the campaign. WASHINGTON acted on the defensive, and was compelled, by a superior force, to retreat through the Jerseys, to the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware. The British were every where successful; and the prospects of the Americans were very gloomy and distressing. The retreat of their army through New-Jersey was attended with almost every circumstance, which could occasion embarrassment and depression of spirits. It seemed to many that America must be conquered, and that the declaration of Independence would only be remembered as matter of reproach. But as difficulties increased, Congress made greater exertions to rescue the nation from tyranny and oppression. They addressed the States in animated language, and recommended "a day of solemn fasting and humiliation, to implore of Almighty God the forgiveness of their many sins, and to beg the countenance and assistance of his Providence, in the prosecution of the present just and necessary war." Soon our prospects were changed. WASHINGTON was inspired with the
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bold design of crossing the Delaware, with the small force of between two and three thousand men, and attacking that part of the enemy which lay at Trenton. This he accomplished on the night of Dec. 25; he came upon the enemy at break of day, and so completely surprized them, that they soon agreed to surrender, to prevent immediate death. The British troops, immediately upon this, collected at Princeton, only 12 miles from Trenton, and came forward in great force, hoping by a vigorous attack on the Americans, to repair the injury which they had just sustained. Behold, at this juncture, the critical situation of our army. In their front you behold the powerful army of Great-Britain; in their rear, the river Delaware, and this so filled with floating ice, that a retreat is extremely difficult, if not impossible. The British take possession of one part of this small town, while the American army is confined in the other; and nothing separates the two armies, but a small creek, in many places fordable. Can you conceive the fate of an army or of a nation to be more hazardous? Had the British, on coming into Trenton, immediately attacked our feeble band, as Sir William Erskine is said to have advised, it might have been a fatal blow to our cause. But this they delayed, thinking they had all possible advantages, so that in the morning they could easily conquer the American army. But when the morning came, and they were just on the point of attacking the Americans, they received the mortifying intelligence, that WASHINGTON and his army were at Princeton, and had killed, taken and dispersed the forces which had there been left. By the favor of Heaven, this sudden movement of the American army was effected. The weather had been warm and moist, and the day before, the ground was soft, and the roads scarcely passable; but suddenly the wind changed, and the ground was soon frozen, so that when the Americans began their march, at twelve o'clock at night, the road was as firm and smooth as a pavement. By a

circuitous

circuitous route, they came upon the enemy at Princeton, early in the morning, and performed an exploit which filled the British with consternation, deranged all their plans; inspired the Americans with new courage and resolution, and greatly contributed to the establishment of our Independence. How then can we celebrate this Anniversary, except our hearts arise in grateful acknowledgments to the Almighty for his wonderful goodness to these American States?

WHERE, my fellow citizens, shall we find a people, at least in modern times, who have been so distinguished by the smiles of Heaven, or so favored with exalted privileges? In no other nation, can we find so excellent Constitutions of civil government. Our National Constitution establishes a Government both energetic and wisely calculated to preserve the rights, and promote the interest of the people. It is truly federal, as it unites the people of these States under one Government; it is also truly republican, as it establishes an elective, representative Government of distinct branches. Our State Constitutions are likewise truly republican.

As our privileges are great, let us guard them with a candid, but watchful eye. Millions of dollars have been expended, and the blood of many heroes and fellow citizens has been shed in the field of battle, to procure us the blessing of an elective Government. Shall we then lightly esteem this blessing? Shall we neglect the invaluable privilege of electing our rulers? Shall we suffer this privilege to be taken from us? Or, in effect, renounce it, by listening to the flattering professions of an aspiring demagogue, or by giving our suffrages for a candidate, chiefly because he ranks with a particular party? Let us rather maintain our privilege, and elect those for rulers, who are well qualified for the important station. Where is our freedom of election, if measures be taken to prevent our voting, except we will join with a certain party? Is this liberty? Is this equality? Whatever others may do, let us, my fellow citizens, support the
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dignity of independent, enlightened freemen, and distinguish real worth and integrity from the insinuating adrools and captivating declarations of those, who thirst for popular applause, and pursue selfish, ambitious designs.

It is peculiarly happy, as an eminent character* observes, that "the system of national government appears to be well calculated to preserve itself and perpetuate the rights of the people. The arrangement and independence of the Legislative, Judicial and Executive Powers form the best security, that could be devised, against the encroachments of either; and as long as the Constitution is unimpaired, and the Legislative body is actuated by a spirit of integrity and moderation; as long as it shall leave to the Executive and Judicial Departments the authority vested in them respectively by the Constitution, and shall patiently acquiesce in the exercise of that authority; so long we may hope that the National Government and the rights of the citizens will be preserved.

"BUT the experience of other nations will convince us, that whenever the Legislature assumes to itself the other powers of Government, liberty is subverted. This assumption can be more easily effected by that body, if unrestrained by principle, than by either of the other branches: The Legislature is the supreme power; the members are from every part of the territory; their number and influence will enable them, on frequent occasions, to excite popular envy and resentment against the Executive and Judicial Powers; almost every man, from a connexion with some members of the Legislature, feels a peculiar interest in that branch of Government, and a strong prejudice in its favor. But instead of being influenced by these prepossessions, we ought to reflect, that in free States a change in the frame of Government is attended with hazard, and that our only safety consists in a firm and inflexible adherence to the principles of the Constitution."

OUR

*Governor Strong.

Our State Constitution should be guarded and maintained with equal vigilance. For if one be destroyed, it is hardly probable the other will be preserved. Let us then strictly adhere to our republican Constitutions. Let us beware of every measure, which tends to alter them *essentially*; to blend the branches of Government, which are designed to be kept distinct; or to increase the power of one branch by depressing or destroying another. We must condemn every attempt of this kind, so long as we maintain the dignified character of genuine republicans. For should our present Constitutions of government be essentially, though gradually, altered, they will soon be destroyed; and then we must expect to endure the evils, first of unprincipled licentiousness, and then of unfeeling despotism.

To maintain our Independence and preserve our republican Constitutions, virtue and religion are indispensably necessary. Our revolution was not accomplished by denying the Being and superintending Providence of JEHOVAH, by renouncing his word, or abolishing his Sabbath. The blasphemous sentiment that every Republic is a chimera, except a Republic of atheists, was never advocated, nor explicitly sanctioned in our public Councils. It was not the design of our civil Fathers and Generals to erect the standard of infidelity in our land; but to establish the religion of the Gospel, which ascribes glory to God in the highest, breathes good will to men, and promotes peace on earth. The happy effect of this religion we experienced, in the surprizing degree of order and regularity which prevailed in the commencement of our revolution, when thousands were in a state of nature, as to civil government, being destitute of legislative rulers, civil magistrates, or executive officers. Let this religion universally prevail, and have its due influence on the hearts and lives of men, and you will behold virtuous citizens, good subjects, and faithful rulers: You will behold a happy Republic. But let this religion be banished, and you will behold the

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the selfish, malicious passions of depraved nature prevailing, and filling our happy land with discord and contention, cruelty and distress.

In looking abroad and contrasting the present period with that of '76, we are constrained to ask, Where is the unanimity which then prevailed? We were then an united, now a divided people. O my Country! how gloomy are thy prospects! Can it be, that we have so soon forgotten the admonitions of our beloved WASHINGTON! His discerning mind foresaw the evils which we experience; and he warned us, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of a spirit of party. He assured us that "it serves always to distract the public Councils, and enfeeble the public administration;—agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasionally riot and insurrection; and opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the Government itself, through channels of party passions." How many evils we might have avoided, if we had so regarded his admonitions as "to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, and guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism." How happy we should have been, if we had always duly observed this maxim of eternal Wisdom, that *a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand*. Disregarding such maxims and admonitions, we must expect to know by experience that "the alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, is itself a frightful despotism; that it perpetrates the most horrid enormities, and leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism." Then, O my countrymen, where will be our once boasted Freedom and Independence?

It is not the intention of the speaker to excite groundless fears, or unnecessary alarm. But he feels constrained to ask every friend of religion and of his Country this question, Have we not great cause to be alarmed

alarmed at the present spread of infidelity, and the prevalence of party spirit in our land ?

CAN any friend of religion avoid being alarmed, when he attentively beholds the rapid progress of infidelity among us ? We are not indebted to the principles of infidelity for our national blessings, our civil privileges, or religious institutions. But these tend to undermine our civil Government, to destroy our religious institutions, and overwhelm us in ruin. Let infidel publications and sentiments continue to increase and to circulate among us, as they have for ten years past ; and let the opinion be generally embraced that public virtue and private vice are compatible, that a man of no religion, and even one who is destitute of common morality in private life, may be a good ruler, and what will be our national character ? Will not the vilest men be exalted ? Will not the wicked walk on every side ? Will not every species of iniquity abound ? And what then will be our condition ? Our civil Constitutions will be overthrown, our religious privileges destroyed, and our land filled with all the dreadful evils which attend the reign of vice and irreligion. This none can doubt, who believe that righteousness exalteth a nation, and that sin is the reproach and ruin of a people. The history of the Jews and other nations infallibly teach us, that if, as a nation, we become vicious and irreligious—the vilest men be exalted—and vice and impiety be publicly countenanced—then national ruin will await us.

It is presumed that every honest man, every friend of his Country is alarmed that a spirit of party and discord so prevails. The division and discord, produced by party spirit, are awfully pernicious and destructive. They greatly weaken, if not wholly destroy the salutary tendency of civil Government. They prevent a calm and candid investigation of public characters and public measures. Under their influence, many will be more actuated by passion and prejudice, than by sound judgment and rational conviction. Designing men will constantly increase the
popular

popular ferment. Channels of information, being corrupt, will become vehicles of slander, calumny and abuse. Prejudice will be more and more headstrong and inveterate; and through the influence of ambitious men, measures, the most pernicious and the most subversive of social order and civil liberty, will be readily adopted, and approved by a majority of the people.

CAN any thing be done to prevent these evils? Yes: Only possess the requisite knowledge, zeal, prudence and integrity, and you can zealously advocate the truths of revelation; you can countenance virtue and piety, and discountenance vice and irreligion; you can decidedly frown upon every sentiment and practice, which tends to corrupt the morals of people, and increase the licentiousness and profanity of the present day; by virtuous examples, by holy lives, by conducting with fidelity in your respective stations, you can advance the honor and truest interest of the society and nation to which you belong.

It may exceed our power to remove, wholly, a spirit of party; but we may avoid being the designing, direct cause of increasing this evil. We may avoid those bitter remarks, passionate replies, and angry debates, which fan the fire of contention. We can cultivate, in the sphere of our influence, a spirit of candor, love and harmony. In doing this, we need not resign the right of private judgment, nor blindly assent to the opinions of others. With becoming independence of mind, we may discuss subjects, and form our opinion, and then decidedly maintain what we believe to be truth or matter of fact; and yet have our minds open to conviction; be cool and candid, upright and impartial, ingenuous and conciliating.

BUT why are we so divided? What are we likely to gain by division? It is confidently believed that every honest, well meaning citizen, through our Country, wishes for an energetic Government on truly republican principles; and that all real friends to

our National and State Constitutions are, in principle and in heart, genuine federalists and genuine republicans, or to use a more concise term, they are federal republicans. Why then are these names so used as to increase a spirit of discord and strife? For every one, called a federalist, who is really honest and friendly to his Country, must wish and exert himself to preserve our National and State Constitutions in their original, essential form, and maintain the union of the States, and thus support a truly republican and federal Government. And what more can any one honestly desire, who is now called a republican? By whatever names we are called, yet if we be honest and friends of our Country, we must be united in defence of our rights, and in supporting republican forms of Government. Let us unite in this important design, and act consistently, and instead of living in variance, and the strife of party, we shall promote union and harmony. For a republican Government cannot be supported, where dissension and party spirit prevail. "In the modern Republics of Europe, the scenes which were formerly displayed in those of Greece and Rome have been repeated. Dissension and party spirit were excited among the people, and their passions were artfully inflamed against the most able and virtuous citizens, and against those institutions and restraints, which wisdom had devised, and the experience of ages had sanctioned. These Republics one after another have lost their freedom, and have been subjected to domestic usurpation, or foreign dominion, by the intrigues of men, who affected the language of patriots, while they aspired to the power of masters, and who under the specious pretext of asserting the rights of the people betrayed and overwhelmed them."

TAKE warning, my fellow citizens, and shun the fate of other Republics. Lay aside prejudice and party feelings; examine with candor and impartiality, and you will more easily determine, whether the measures, which Government pursue, tend to preserve

or to destroy the freedom of the people. "It will be the aim of good Government to unite the citizens in the ties of friendship, and make the happiness of the State consist in the harmony of its several parts. Such a Government will be superior to selfish considerations and partial attachments; and will inspire respect by the equity and uniformity of its principles; by a constant adherence to good faith and probity in its measures, and by causing moral rectitude to be had in honor."

MANIFOLD are the blessings which result from such a Government. And pleasing have been our prospects that these blessings we should long enjoy. How distressing to every virtuous citizen, to every genuine patriot, that our happy prospects must vanish! O that it might not be! Must our republican Constitutions be destroyed! Must our civil liberty be subverted! O forbid it—forbid it, my countrymen. May Heaven still be propitious. May we still enjoy the smiles of HIM, who hath given us a rank among the nations of the earth, and crowned us with honor and prosperity. May our rulers be clothed with wisdom, moderation, and integrity, and every citizen be virtuous, candid and patriotic. May the spirit of party and discord, of tyranny and persecution be banished from this and every land; benevolence reign in every heart; and all enjoy the blessings of good Government, of friendship and peace.

APPENDIX.

NEAR the close of the last session of Congress, Mr. Randolph offered the following Resolution :

“ Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two thirds of both Houses concurring, That the following article be submitted to the Legislatures of the several States, which when ratified and confirmed by the Legislatures of three fourths of the said States, shall be valid and binding as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

“ The Judges of the Supreme and all other Courts of the United States shall be removed by the President on the joint address of both Houses of Congress requesting the same, any thing in the Constitution of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding.”

THIS resolution was succeeded by the following, presented by Mr. Nicholson :

“ Resolved, That the following article, when adopted by two thirds of both Houses of Congress, and by the Legislatures of three fourths of the respective States, shall become a part of the Constitution of the United States, viz.

“ That the Legislature of any State may, whenever the said Legislature may think proper, recal, at any period whatever, any Senator of the United States, who may have been elected by them ; and whenever a vote of the Legislature of any State, vacating the seat of any Senator of the United States, who may have been elected by the said State, shall be made known to the Senate of the United States, the seat of such Senator shall thenceforth be vacated.”

THESE resolutions, instead of being immediately rejected as subverting the Constitution, were so far approved by a majority of the House of Representatives as to be ordered to lie for consideration until the next session. Should they be adopted, will not

one branch of our National Legislature be, in effect, destroyed? And will not the Judges of our Supreme and other Courts be dependent upon the caprice of any number who form a majority of Congress? Will not the independence of the Judicial Department be destroyed, and the Judges be subject to removal, at the arbitrary pleasure of the Legislature, without impeachment or trial?—Let the subject be impartially examined.

