

AN

ORATION

PRONOUNCED BEFORE

THE INHABITANTS OF PORTLAND,

JULY 4th, 1805,

IN COMMEMORATION OF

American Independence.

BY JAMES D. HOPKINS.

“THE habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a *real despotism.*”

WASHINGTON.

PRINTED AT PORTLAND.

.....
1805

PORTLAND, JULY 5, 1805.

SIR,

THE SELECTMEN OF PORTLAND present you their thanks for the spirited Oration you delivered yesterday to the federal citizens of the town, assembled to celebrate the anniversary of American Independence...and request a copy for the press.

Your portrait of the different administrations of the national government since the adoption of the federal constitution cannot but be interesting to every true republican.

Your observations are pertinent, and, under existing circumstances, must meet the approbation of all who hear them...for Political Truth cannot be too generally diffused.

SAMUEL FREEMAN,
JOSEPH H. INGRAHAM,
JOSEPH TITCOMB,
JOSHUA ROGERS.

JAMES D. HOPKINS, Esq.

PORTLAND, JULY 5, 1805.

GENTLEMEN,

HOWEVER unconscious I am of deserving the approbation you are pleased to bestow, the very flattering expressions of it cannot but excite the most pleasing and grateful emotions.... A rigid adherence to Truth has been my aim, and with this object in view, if I have given you satisfaction, I have an ample, a rich reward.

The address yesterday delivered, at your request, before the inhabitants of the town, again solicits their candor and indulgence.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES D. HOPKINS.

To the SELECTMEN OF PORTLAND.

AN ORATION.

NATIONAL honor, public welfare, and individual rights are the great objects of government, which to establish, preserve, and perpetuate upon the most solid foundation, is the ultimate end of jurisprudence, the perfection of political wisdom.

AMERICANS.....Our constitutions have justly excited the envy and admiration of the world. The experience of past ages, the history of empires, nations and states--- of governments erected upon erroneous principles, and founded in a weak, or wicked policy, afford only melancholy reflections upon the folly and imbecility of the projectors.....How many, and how various are the modifications of government, which the history of past, and present times presents to our view !....We have seen despotisms, whose tyrants, swaying a rod of iron, rule their vassals by their fears. We have seen kingdoms, whose monarchs govern by fixed laws, supported by the principle of honor, and love of fame. We have seen great diversity of organization, and a greater or less degree of freedom, in proportion to the improvements in knowledge, and the



prevalence of virtue. But no monarchical government has satisfied the American people, as being competent to secure happiness to man in a state of society. We have seen aristocracies, and democracies, in their origin, progress, and speedy dissolution. Experience has shown, that where virtue is not the predominant character of a people, such forms of government have proved too weak and inefficient to preserve the political state. Factional demagogues, seeking their own aggrandizement, by any means, however hostile to public welfare, elevate themselves by specious flatteries and artful wiles upon the ruin of the best characters in such a community. False insinuations, and hypocritical pretences, have often proved the successful means of destroying the purest reputation; and a life of virtue and public services has been requited with vile ingratitude, and public degradation. What confidence ought a people to have in the rulers of their choice, if insidious and ill-designing seekers of popularity can elevate themselves to power, by the depression of talents, integrity, and virtue? And when flattery and sophistry have been thus successful, how short, how very short, is the progress to falsehood, and violation of principle! How often has the name of republicanism been prostituted by the specious hypocrisy, which has robbed a people of their rights, and beguiled them of their liberties, under the pretence of extending them. To this danger is every free government exposed. To this fatal source may we trace the fall of republics. Where are the popular governments of Greece and Rome? Blotted out from the list of nations, they ex-



ist only in the page of the historian. Exposed to the evils we have mentioned, and destitute of those checks in government which preserve the political balance, Faction made an easy triumph over Virtue, and they became the prey of demagogues.

The dissolution of governments, and the fall of nations are not adventitious. They are inevitable effects of certain causes, necessarily resulting from the laws of nature, and the relation of things. Destroy, in the slaves of a despotism, their fears of the tyrant, and he falls a speedy victim to their fury. Destroy the principle of honor in a monarchy, or virtue in a republic, and, like a baseless superstructure, the tottering edifice must sink into ruin..... But let us turn our attention, from the contemplation of other nations, to the history and government of our own.

The pious principles and virtuous habits of our fathers inspired them with the fortitude to defy the perils of a pathless ocean, to brave the dangers of a howling wilderness, and the enmity of savage foes. Expatriated by religious persecution and *political intolerance*, they sought, in the wilds of America, the retreat of civil and religious freedom. Unsheltered from inclement seasons, and without defence against the hostilities of a barbarous enemy, they sought a precarious supply of food in the spontaneous fruits of an uncultivated soil, the beasts of the forest, and the fishes of our seas, scantily aided by the accidental supplies of a few foreign adventurers.... But tho' surrounded by famine, disease, and death, under the special guardianship, and protection of heaven, they



were preserved, and destined to be the founders of a mighty empire. Far removed from the vices of the old world, exemplary piety, and virtuous industry were the prevailing traits of their character. Their wants and necessities stimulated invention. That soil, which had scarcely supported existence, soon rewarded labor with plenty and abundance. Increasing numbers, industry, and enterprize, gave the faithful promise of an extensive commerce with other nations.

The colonies now, an object of importance to the parent country, yielded, unreluctant, the monopoly of their trade, and justly considered it as the price of her protection. And had England pursued the wise and virtuous policy, so consistent with her interests, she had retained, perhaps at this day, in a colonial state, an extensive and rising empire, abounding, even to rich profusion, with the necessaries and luxuries of life, whose commerce, freighting every sea, superadds the riches of every clime, from the torrid to the frigid zones.

But kings have the same passions and propensities as other men; and when no opposing check intervenes, they grasp at absolute dominion, and arbitrary power. The ease with which the colonies had yielded to Great-Britain an exclusive commerce, and surrendered the advantages of a competition with other nations, suggested to a wicked and venal ministry the plans of other exactions, to which, a people, enlightened to perceive, jealous to assert, and resolute to maintain their rights, refused to submit. Treated as rebels, although loyal subjects, they rejected, with a

firm, and virtuous fortitude, the doctrines of "passive obedience and non-resistance," and refused, "unrepresented," to be "bound in all cases whatsoever."

The limits of a short address preclude a detail of the obstinate exactions of arbitrary power, and the ineffectual remonstrances of loyal subjects. A corrupt ministry, "feeling power, and forgetting right," pursued their system of tyranny and cruelty, until the colonies, robbed of their chartered rights, threatened with the total prostration of their liberties at the feet of an inexorable sovereign, and resolving no longer to endure the reiterated cruelties, and accumulated evils of their fate, with one voice, declared themselves free, sovereign, and independent.*

Glorious was the enterprize, sublime the enthusiasm, which animated our fathers, when, sudden as an electric spark, union inspired three millions of men, with the magnanimous resolution to be free, or die. Patiently they endured the evils of a seven years war. To the regular and well disciplined veterans of Great-Britain, she added foreign troops, educated to cruelty, and "principled in blood." She exhausted her treasury in the vain

*July 4, 1776, R. H. LEE, seconded by JOHN ADAMS, late President of the United States, made the following motion :... "Resolved, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states, and that all political connection between them and Great Britain is, and ought to be totally dissolved."...Yet the hollow hearted abusers of Mr. ADAMS have raised themselves to political power by the ridiculous assertion that he is an *old tory*!! Thus easily can artful demagogues dupe the people.

attempt to reduce Americans to obedience. The ill-fated monarch of France, urged by his strong interests to humble the pride, and lessen the power of a potent rival, afforded some succours to the infant colonies, which, unskilled in the savage arts of war, and almost destitute of arms and ammunition for defence, trusting in heaven for the support of a virtuous cause, contended against the power of a mighty nation. They trusted not in vain..... Many heroes, who now realize the immortal rewards of virtue, purchased our emancipation with their blood. The sword of the Lord, and of Washington, gave us freedom, independence, empire....Gazing nations, who had witnessed the unequal contest, and almost miraculous victory, beheld, with mingled astonishment and admiration, the dawn of freedom in the western world.

Peace restored, we contemplate thirteen independent communities in a new, and more interesting character.... We behold a people, enlightened, brave and free, liberated from the shackles of a transatlantic dominion, and governing themselves. With a knowledge of the errors of other communities ; with habits more pure, than perhaps has been the lot of any other people ; with minds more informed, and with hearts better attuned to the duties of private, and social life ;...it was reserved for Americans to make the glorious experiment of a republican government, founded upon the basis of equal rights, and equal laws ; which, supported by public virtue, should recognize no distinctions, but those which merit, talents, and public services create ; which, true to the purest

principles of political freedom, should give to every citizen as much liberty as is consistent with the rights of others, and the principles of immutable justice. But the establishment of independence introduced no new doctrines, in religion, morals or politics. That admirable system of jurisprudence, the customs and maxims of common law, founded on the basis of christian morality, and eternal justice, approved and sanctioned by the experience of ages, and justly denominated the perfection of reason, was claimed by Americans as their dearest birth-right. The only revolution produced by the war, was a transfer of sovereignty over the colonies, from the king of Great-Britain to the American people. Eternal glory to Washington, that it was not a revolution of principle!

But effects cease, when their causes no longer exist... That union, which had resulted from the common exigencies of war, was soon lost in a collision of the various real, or imaginary interests of thirteen separate communities. Utterly feeble, and ineffectual were the articles of confederation to restrain those passions, and propensities, which the author of our being has not limited. The system of the confederation was a lifeless body without activity ; defining rights, obligation, and duty, but wholly destitute of coercive power. Communities, as well as individuals, when unrestrained, will soon become unjust, oppressive, tyrannical. How soon ! Americans, did we realize the important truth, that private rights, and public welfare, can be secured only in a well-balanced government. Deplorable indeed, was the state of our country,



at a period, when private justice, and public faith were violated at the dictate of ambition, interest, or caprice ;.... when individuals, and states could infringe the rights, and hazard the peace of other states with absolute impunity, and smile in derision, at the mere cobweb ties to the obligations of moral, and political justice. Public faith was soon at an end, and public credit worthless as rags.... Without respectability abroad, and without energy at home, our government was the scorn and contempt of other nations. Universal discontent among our citizens, public opposition, and actual rebellion against the laws, seemed but the prelude to anarchy and disorganization ;a fate far more to be deprecated than the evils of despotism, as the oppression of a single despot is far more tolerable than the desolating tyranny of a licentious mob. Ours was but the twilight dawn of freedom. The gathering clouds of faction darkened the morning of our day, and threatened an overwhelming tempest ;...when lo ! the sun of federalism arose, in the mild splendour of its majesty, dissipated the threatening storm, calmed our despairing fears to peace, and cheered us with its genial rays.

He who had led our patriots and heroes to victory and independence, now directed the councils of our statesmen and sages to the establishment of those principles, by which alone, that independence could be secured. The former was but the contest of arms ;....this the more glorious contest against those unbounded passions and propensities, which, unrestrained by proper checks, must

sink a community into that deplorable state of anarchy and licentiousness, which seeks its only relief in despotism. Arduous was the conflict of federalism with the open and secret foes of a government, which is the pride of patriotism, the boast of virtue : But principle was victorious, virtue triumphed, and the constitution was ratified.

The unparalleled prosperity of our country, under the federal administration, seeks not the aid of eulogy... And, if time permitted, feeble indeed would be the powers of the speaker to delineate the glowing features of the picture, in the brilliant colours of truth. He will only solicit your attention to the more obvious points of contrast, which our country exhibited at the commencement, and at the close of the Washington and Adams administrations. This was faithfully, and very briefly described, at the latter period by an abler hand.

“ The federal administration found our union dissolving, like a rope of snow. *It left it stronger than the three-fold cord.* It found us bankrupts in estate and reputation. *It left us unbounded in credit, and respected throughout the world.* It found our treasuries empty. *It left them full, and overflowing.* It found us at war with the Indian nations. *It left us at peace with them all.* It found the aborigines of the soil inveterate enemies. *It exercised toward them justice, and generosity, and left them fast friends.* It found Great-Britain possessed of our frontier posts. *It left them in our own possession.* It found our coasts defenceless. *It left them fortified.* It found our arsenals empty, and our magazines decaying.



*It left them full of ammunition, and warlike implements. It found us dependent on foreign nations for engines of defence. It left us manufactures of cannon, and muskets in full work. It found us at war with Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli. It left us at peace with them all. It found American seamen in Turkish slavery, where they had languish for years. It ransomed, and set them ALL free. It found the war-worn soldier begging for want. It left ample provision for the payment of his pension. It found our commerce confined almost to coasting craft. It left it whitening every sea. It found our mechanics and manufacturers idle, for want of employ. It left them full of business, prosperous, and happy. It found our yeomen oppressed with unequal taxes, their farms, houses, and barns decaying, their cattle selling at the sign-posts, and they driven to desperation and rebellion. It left their coffers in cash, their houses in repair, their barns full, their farms overstocked, and their produce commanding a high price, and ready money. It found us in a ruinous alliance with France. It has honorably dissolved the connection, and set us free. It found us without a swivel on float for defence. It has left us a navy of thirty-four ships, mounting 918 guns, and manned by 7350 gallant tars. In a word, it found us disunited, poor, insolvent, weak, discontented and wretched. It left us united, wealthy, respectable, strong, happy, and prosperous.**

* Should these pages chance to be honored with a perusal by the elegant writer of the above paragraph, it is hoped he will pardon an abridgment, which the author was led into, with the view



Memory bears ample testimony to these important truths. Shall we not, then, for our public blessing, for *all our national prosperity*, own our obligations to the federal administration?....Or is public gratitude entombed with the ashes of our Washington?

They were the same principles, which established the federal constitution, and raised the fallen fabric of our national respectability, which now call upon the friends of virtue, and good government, to check the demoralizing progress of political error. Americans! it is a solemn call. The antifederalists, though defeated, were not subdued. Aided by the wicked arts, falsehood, hypocrisy, and slander, they have gained in influence, and increased in numbers, to a degree which threatens the subversion of our rights and liberties, and the dissolution of our independence. Upon every important national question, the journals of Congress exhibit the strength of hostility to sound principles, from 1791 to the present day. And, had we lost the recollection of recent wants, we should there find incontestible proof, that the dominant party in our country is the same faction, which unsuccessfully opposed our constitution. Uniform, and constant has been their opposition to the principles of that system of policy, which is the sublimest effort of human wisdom, and man's last hope of a free republican government.

Let us briefly compare a few of the contrariant principles of *genuine*, and *counterfeit* republicanism.

of compressing this production as much as possible. To the public he owes no apology for the quotation.



In the reign of federalism, that provision in our constitution which prohibited the designation of offices, by the electors of president and vice-president, was the wise and salutary check, which prevented the larger states from infringing the equal rights of the smaller. In the reign of antifederalism, the combination of a few large states can reduce the electoral rights of the rest of the union to a mere name. The former was an effectual check against bribery and corruption. The latter renders it but too possible, that bribery, corruption, or force may elevate powerful demagogues to the first offices in our country.

In the reign of federalism, the independence of the judiciary was the solid foundation of our rights of life, liberty, and property. In the reign of antifederalism, that independence has been assailed by legislative power ; and the mad fury of political fanaticism threatens it with annihilation. Dangerous, (and heaven grant we may not say, fatal) innovation ! This was one of the evils which oppressed our forefathers under the British government. O Americans ! whenever your judges become subjected to the executive, or legislative power, from that moment your rights of life, liberty, and property, are levelled with the dust, and freedom is at an end.

In the reign of federalism, every citizen was permitted to speak, and publish *truth*, concerning government, and its officers. This was considered the sacred right of Americans, and the best security of those liberties, which our forefathers achieved. Nay more, on the encouragement of free inquiry, and the promulgation of



truth, the success of federalism depended. In the reign of antifederalism, which has risen to power by the propagation of *falsehood* and *error*, the favorite doctrine is, that a man shall *not* speak *truth* of the powers that be ;.... yes, citizens, the maxim of faction is, “*the greater the truth, the greater the libel.*” Federalism prohibited the publication of *falsehood*, but expressly declared, that *truth* should be given in evidence as a *justification*. Antifederalism, dreading public scrutiny, *prohibits a free inquiry* into the conduct of our rulers. The former sought to restrain the *licentiousness* of the press. The latter seeks to destroy its *liberty*.

In the reign of federalism, it was the wise and virtuous policy of our rulers to tax the luxuries of life. In the reign of antifederalism, the duties are repealed on pleasure carriages, loaf sugar, and whisky, while, upon the absolute necessities of life, additional imposts are laid, which “take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned.”

In the reign of federalism, it was the wise and dignified policy of Washington to recal from France our ambassador Munroe, for the mean and dastardly conduct, which would sacrifice the rights of his fellow citizens, and our national honor to the rapacious avarice, and *fraternal squeeze* of a French Directory. In the reign of antifederalism, the man, who declared that his government would view, not only without complaint, but with pleasure, their piratical depredations on our commerce, if it promoted the interests of a band of cut-throats, is sent on another embassy ; the result of which, is a treaty, by which France

cedes Louisiana to the United States, for a full indemnity against our demands for their piracies, and the payment of 11,250,000 dollars. A territory, to which France has no right, not having performed, and being unable to perform, the condition upon which it was ceded to her by Spain. Where was our national honor, when fifteen millions were thus expended? when we engaged in a national speculation of buying a disputed title?...Such a speculation, as between individuals, in every state in the union, is considered, and punished as a crime against the laws?

In the reign of federalism, national economy was that policy, which protected the rights, and saved the property of our citizens from lawless depredation. It was that dignified system which upheld our national respectability, and saved our national honor. In the reign of antifederalism, \$32,000 are expended on the ship of an enemy, who has robbed us of millions. \$15,000 on Dawson's trip to Paris, of no other use, than to invite to our country, that pest of human society, the infamous Paine. \$9,000 by the recal of Col. Humphreys, and as an outfit for Mr. Pinckney. \$152,000, a loss in the unauthorized sale of our national bank stock, by a foreigner, who, after he had been a distinguished character in the whisky rebellion, is elevated to the department of the treasury. \$13,000 in the increase of salaries, which they declared were too high under the former administrations. A large sum to Duane, another foreigner, who received \$11,000 for services, which a native American would have performed with equal ability for two thirds of the money. \$30,000,000

the property of our citizens in the hands of French pirates, for which modern policy has given a receipt in full, while many of our honest merchants are thereby reduced from opulence to poverty. These instances, with others of a like kind, are to be added to the Louisiana bargain, which involves us in an annual debt to support its government, threatens a war with Spain, and extends an executive patronage, which had already endangered the union of the states. Is this saving the wealth of the nation? Or is a *pretence* of economy: the thin veil of plausibility, which political hypocrites have thrown over the motives, and the views of the party?

In the reign of federalism, national gratitude to our political father was cherished as a republican virtue; and WASHINGTON, as a warrior and statesman, was revered by grateful people as the first of men. In the reign of federalism, the sage, to whose enlightened mind we owe the investigation of the most important principles of our government; the venerable ADAMS, who saved our fisheries, and who created our navy, received a just tribute of reward in the respect and gratitude of his fellow citizens. In the reign of antifederalism, how degrading is the melancholy reverse. An Aurora of March, 1796, speaking of Washington, says, "The man, who is the source of the misfortunes of his country is this day reduced to a level with his fellow citizens, and is no longer possessed of the power to multiply evils on the United States." Again, "Every heart in unison with the happiness of the people ought to beat high with exultation, that the name



of Washington, from this day, ceases to give a currency to political iniquity, and to legalize corruption.”*

A letter from the infamous Paine to Washington in 1796, says, “In what a fraudulent light must Mr. Washington’s character appear, when his declarations and his conduct are viewed together.” Again, “It is laughable to hear Mr. Washington talk of his sympathetic feelings, who has been remarkable, even among his friends, for not having any.” Again, “As to you, Sir, (Washington) treacherous in private friendship, and a hypocrite in public life, the world will be at a loss to decide whether you are an apostate, or an impostor; whether you have abandoned good principles, or whether you ever had any.”†

In a work entitled the “Prospect before us,” we read, “Mr. Adams has only completed the scene of infamy which Washington began.” Again, “This hoary headed incendiary (Mr. Adams) bawls out to arms.” Again, “We have been governed by the most execrable of all scoundrels.” Again, and mark it, Americans!.... “The federal constitution was crammed down the gullet of America....the longer we examine, the harder we shall find it to prove what America has gained by this government.”‡

*The Aurora was edited by the same Duane, who received from the present administration the trifling sum of \$11,000 for a year’s services.

†This wretch was invited to our country in a national ship

‡This work was written, and published by the same Calendar, whom Mr. Jefferson pardoned for the publication of a *false, scandalous, and malicious* libel upon his predecessor. It

Does any man doubt, knowing these truths, that the object of faction is to destroy our national constitution?... Let him reflect upon the proposed amendments of Randolph and Nicholson, at the last session of congress.... Still has he doubts?... Let him read Elliot's letters to his constituents, or the confessions of democrats in Pennsylvania, and every doubt will be lost in conviction.

In the reign of federalism, although every citizen was permitted to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, yet we behold the principles of christianity pervade the whole system of our civil policy: not in theory only, but in practice. In every department of government, our public officers are bound to the upright and faithful discharge of their several duties, by a solemn oath, to which, a belief of the christian religion constitutes the only obligation. The standard of right, and wrong; the measure of justice between a man and his neighbor; nay, our whole jurisprudence was established on the basis of that system of morality, which impresses the glorious precept.... *As ye would that others should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.* And, in all our courts of justice, the evidence of truth rests upon the solemnity of an oath, obligatory to him, only, who reverences the divine command, *Thou shalt not bear false testimony against thy neighbor.* In the reign of antifederalism, a race of men, was published at the expence of the faction. And let truth answer the question.... Have we not sufficient proof, under Mr. Jefferson's own hand, that he contributed, at two several times, a *fifty dollar bill* towards these "useful labors?"



who call themselves philosophers, rise up, to deride our holy religion, and blaspheme the God of our fathers ; who boldly assert, that it is of little importance to society, whether a man worship twenty Gods, or no God ;...who impiously declare that the bible is a heap of absurdities, nonsense, and lies, containing immorality and blasphemy ; who, shamelessly avowing their profligate principles, are advocates for the doctrine, that the free and unbounded indulgence of our passions will realize the delusive dream of “ *human perfectibility* ;” whose maxim it is, that the rights of man are abridged by civil, moral, and religious restraints of licentious passions ; and, whose object is, to annihilate moral and religious obligation. O, Americans ! Are these the “ lilliputian ties,” which modern philosophy is to “ break asunder ?” They constitute the best support of all our rights ; and property, life, and liberty, with them must stand or fall. On these rest the only protection of our sisters, our wives, and daughters, against lawless passion, and unbridled licentiousness. They afford to man the only solace against the afflictions, which a mysterious, but unerring providence has made his lot ; and often, alas ! they afford the only balm, which can assuage the bitter anguish of sorrow, by exhibiting to the elevated soul the view of “ another and a better world.”

Can the propagation of blasphemy be justified, upon the principle of religious tolerance ? The same doctrine would authorize murder, with impunity, upon the idea of supporting liberty. Have we so soon forgotten, that the unchecked controul of modern philosophy has led a de-



based people to establish Atheism by law ?....Need we ask, what are the effects of such principles upon communities, and civil government, when we have so recently viewed them, in the “ full tide of experiment.” over desolated France ?....Alas, Americans ! has not that devoted country fully exemplified the fatal truth, that there is but one step from the “ tempestuous sea of liberty” to the “ calm of despotism.”

But, notwithstanding the evils which threaten private rights, public welfare, and national respectability, our country is still prosperous. We have not yet seen the time, (heaven only knows how soon we may,) when the dangerous principles of modern ethics, and political error, may vandalize the intellectual, and the moral world. We are still prosperous ; for enmity to sound principles, could not, *so soon*, destroy the public blessings, we owe to federalism. These principles were the good seed, and tho’ an enemy has sown tares, we yet partake of the rich harvest of national prosperity. And while we believe in a providence which fixes the bounds of human action, and rules the destinies of nations, let us also believe, that the principles of virtue will not always, be despised, nor the voice of truth be forever disregarded.... To encourage this virtuous hope, we have the consolation to perceive, that, in the southern states, where modern philosophy shows its *cloven foot*, the more moderate opposers of federal principles already shudder at the horrid precipice, to which dereliction of moral and political truth has conducted them.... And, in some parts of the union, where the “ loaves and fishes” of government can-

not, without a miracle, feed the *greedy multitude* of office seekers, we find *Satan's kingdom* divided against itself.

Among ourselves, we have some reason to believe, that many of the opposers of federal principles are not the advocates of political error from wicked motives. As the deeper designs of faction are developed, the more moderate northern democrats shrink with horror from the desolating prospect before them; and many have virtuously resolved to retrace their steps. When the veil of delusion is removed; when faction shall stand confessed in its real character, we shall find few instances of the mortifying truth, that Virginia can increase the number of her slaves among the *freemen* of New-England...Connecticut is an asylum of sound principles in the worst of times. And the bright honor of Massachusetts has never yet been tarnished. It is still the boast of good men, that the wise and virtuous Strong presides over the councils of our state: and, though all the powers of faction, and all her engines of falsehood have been kept in constant and vigorous operation, they have harmless spent their force.

Carefully to preserve the precious fragments of our constitution, which remain, let no modern philosopher, or reviler of Washington be elected to office. Bestow your confidence on those who *merit*, and not on those who *seek* popularity. Manfully assert your rights of free inquiry into the public conduct of your rulers. Cherish the principle, that the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government must be *independent*, and *mutually* check upon each other, as you would avoid the despotism, which the too prevalent principles in our country,



have already established in France. Encourage education, and disseminate useful knowledge. Support moral and religious obligation against the pernicious doctrines of modern philosophy. On every important public measure, let us recur to first principles in government ;.... this, like the miraculous pillar which conducted Israel of old, will lead us, through the paths of danger, to political safety, and national happiness. By these means, and these only, shall we restore the “harmony of social intercourse,” and avoid “a political intolerance as despotic as wicked.” We shall, then, return to that correct system, which made “honesty, capability and faithfulness to the constitution” the requisite, and sufficient qualifications for office ; and “the doors of honor and confidence” will again “be opened” to merit, talents and integrity. Then shall the voice of truth, and not the cant of hypocrisy, declare....*We are all federalists. We are all republicans.* By these means, and these only, shall we transmit to our children the fair inheritance of republican freedom, which we derive from our fathers ; and unborn millions shall proclaim it a maxim in policy, that virtue may be the *permanent* principle of a government, and that the *American people* can rule themselves.

THE END.
