

*The True Colours of the Milliken
and Cheever, presented to
- AN
their benevolent
ORATION, The Author*

DELIVERED AT PITTSFIELD, BEFORE THE

WASHINGTON BENEVOLENT SOCIETY

OF THE

COUNTY OF BERKSHIRE,

ON THE 4th JULY, 1812.

BY WILLIAM C. JARVIS, ESQ. A. M.

"But let us not neglect, on our part, such means as are in our power, to keep the cause of truth, of reason, of virtue, and of liberty alive."
PATRIOT KING.



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At a meeting of the WASHINGTON BENEVOLENT SOCIETY, of the County of *Berkshire*, on Saturday evening, July 4th, 1812,

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to WILLIAM C. JARVIS, Esq. for his able and eloquent Address this day delivered before the Society, and request a copy thereof for publication:

Attest,

A true Copy,

JAMES BUEL, *Secretary.*

ORATION.

THE return of this Day, my Brothers, never ceases to excite in the bosoms of American Patriots, the most elevated sentiments. It recalls to the memory of many among us the recollection of scenes, which attaches them to the liberty we enjoy;---scenes, the recital of which, renders us all anxious to perpetuate the blessings of freedom to our most distant posterity.— To-Day, the gloomy hours of our revolutionary war, serve to teach us the value of a Constitution free in its principles, and calculated to be equal in its operations; and if upon this occasion, a sigh escapes us for some of those brave men, who purchased our liberty with their blood; we embalm their memories with a tear, and even rejoice that our Country can boast of virtue like theirs.

Influenced by sentiments and feelings like these, the mind passes rapidly over the events of the revolutionary war, and surveys an interesting, but an agitated picture of bleeding defeats, and joyous triumphs; of images depicting fear and despair, confused with the brighter figures of Constancy and Hope. In one place, we behold the American ensign, tattered and drooping over the breathless remains of Montgomery; and in another,

we see the banner of our country, erected by Gates and Lincoln, waving in triumph over the dejected Burgoyne.

Although the events of the conflict have passed away; yet we cherish with honorable piety the remembrance of our troubles, and the memories of those men who fought for our country. Hence, at this distant period, we have a disposition to linger upon the spot, which shelters the remains of some early patriot; and to pass a melancholy hour under those willows, which weep over the sacred ashes of some revolutionary hero.

Swayed by these generous affections, our minds frequently stray to those shades which rest on the bosom of Mount Vernon;--to those groves which impart an air of peculiar melancholy to the tomb which contains the remains of an Hero. How silent is the grove which shelters this tomb? and how mournful the appearance of the cypress which shades this sacred urn? Even in the high top of this tree of sorrow, the dejected eagle sits the live-long day; and as the dark boughs around him sigh to the sudden breeze; startled, he stretches forth his brooding wings, and darting his angry eye through every region of the Heavens, seeks to shield from harm, the hallowed remains of Washington, slumbering on the banks of the Potomac.

Around this sacred sepulchre, my Countrymen, how many sorrows have been shed? How often at this place, have the firmest of our friends melted into grief? Even the traveller from distant climes, as he passes over the waves of the Potomac, will lower his sail as he approaches this solemn eminence; and leaving his shallop on the shore, will pace the ascending bank, to inscribe upon the mausoleum of our revolutionary leader, a tributary line.

But while we recollect with grief and gratitude,

Washington, and the toils and dangers he encountered to free his country from bondage ; we shall but faintly testify our respect for his character and virtues, if we forget his counsels and neglect his admonitions. Upon this day, therefore, the anniversary of a nation's birth ; while we rejoice in the independence of our country ; let us not forget the example and precepts of the illustrious man, "who was first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." America would indeed be ungrateful, should she forget the admonitions of her dearest friend, to whose activity, discretion and constancy, she is indebted, in a great measure, for the independence she enjoys : and to whose persuasions, at the end of the war, she is in a great degree obligated for the political fabric, which now constitutes her a nation.

At the close of our struggle for independence, many of those men, who had assisted in achieving the emancipation of our country from the dominion of Great-Britain, were convinced that liberty could not be secured to us, without a government capable of combining and controlling the people of the several states.— Therefore, at a period when many thought that our country had overcome every obstacle in the road to her happiness ; the discerning eye perceived still arising, in heavy succession, steep difficult of ascent, and mountains of trouble. The political prospects of our country were in reality sad and disheartning ; and our political horizon seemed full of angry storms, between the peace of seventeen hundred and eighty-three, and the adoption of the federal constitution.

At length, however, the States, greatly influenced by the opinions of the beloved Washington, embraced the form of government under which we now live ; and then the sullen and portentous clouds which hung over the trembling land, began to disappear ; and fairer and brighter prospects opened on the view.

At this period the political theorist was flattered with the expected glory and happiness of our country ; and those politicians who accustomed themselves to contemplate the fairest side of the human character, were particularly pleased with the future prospects of our infant Republic. Already had the projected operations of the Federal Government promised to the fervid imaginations of our patriots, a successful and a brilliant career to the nation ;---already had Fancy, with her animating pencil, painted pictures of greatness, and inscribed upon them the name of Columbia.

But still to the reflecting mind ; to the cautious eye of experience, the pictures of fancy were not the testimonies of truth. The men who had studied human nature the better to understand the merits of civil government, were not without apprehensions for the happiness of their country, even under the operation of the federal constitution :---And if any ventured to hazard an opinion, which seemed to doubt the existence of an intrinsic strength in the constitution, calculated to withstand the shock of foreign war, and the assaults of domestic faction ; this opinion, perhaps, proceeded not so much from a love of arbitrary power, as from an attachment to rational liberty.

Yet, be this as it may ; most of the reflecting men of every denomination in politics, without betraying an unjustifiable want of confidence in the political institutions of their country, considered our system of polity as a political experiment ; the success and advantages of which depended essentially upon the manner in which the government was to be administered.

This opinion, my Brothers, was entertained by your beloved Washington ; and it commends itself therefore to us all as the offspring of wisdom and virtue.—As he was conscious that the usefulness of the constitution depended much upon the manner in which it

was to be administered ; and knowing also, that the administration was frequently to emanate from the people, he was induced, when he retired from the cares of public life, to the bosom of his family, and to the shades of Mount-Vernon, to leave for his countrymen a Legacy more precious than rubies. You all know to what I allude ! This sage and pathetic address is fraught, my Brothers, with precepts which will ensure to you happiness and greatness, if you diligently observe them :---The invaluable gift contains the admonitions of a wise and cautious statesman, and it is full of the counsels of an affectionate parent.

If then, Gentlemen, you value the independence you this day celebrate, and wish to preserve it for your little children, who are now slumbering innocently in their cradles—profit by the advice which Washington has given you ; and in this event, your constitution will receive an energy, which will enable it to bid defiance to the shock of foreign war, and to the intrigues of any turbulent faction, that may rise among the people.

In discharging the duty which you, Gentlemen, have so politely assigned to me this day, the exhortations and admonitions of Washington, the illustrious hero and sage of our country, are kept in view. And in order to discourse intelligibly upon some of the principles which ought to operate in the administration of our governments, it will be necessary to premise a few remarks in relation to the nature of our civil institutions.

It may be said that the polity of the United States combines two great and leading features, and recognizes among the same people and in the same nation two separate sovereignties ; the one, asserting the rights and privileges of the state governments, and the other, the rights and privileges of the United States. Although for wise purposes these several sovereignties are jealous of each other in many respects ; yet there are

many points in which they seem to assimilate and combine, mutually aiding and assisting each other. In effect, the federal system of government is one well connected whole, composed of various parts, happily united by the various interests of the separate States; and calculated to promote the general liberty and happiness of all the people, and to watch over the concerns of each particular Commonwealth.

From these observations it may be inferred, that the continuation of our liberty depends upon a well regulated administration of the state governments, as well as upon a wise, firm and dignified administration of the federal constitution.

Taking this point, therefore, to be conceded, it may be remarked, that in a government constructed like ours, a large share of virtue and information ought to exist, and be diffused among the great mass of the citizens; in order that they may know how to select their rulers, and have at all times a disposition to oppose and restrain vicious and designing demagogues.

A similarity of manners and habits ought also to characterize the people of the nation; so that the citizens may possess, as much as it may be possible, the same views and feelings upon every subject important to their national welfare. In a word, the population of the United States ought to, be if practicable, homogeneous, and not a variegated composition, characterized by an infinity of habits and sentiments, the aggregate product of every particular country in the world.

Perhaps at this time, there is no nation which presents a population more incongruous in point of individual character, than the United States: Yet if Congress will pay a proper regard to this subject, the evil of which we have now some reason to complain, will

be eventually removed. But no effectual remedy will ever eradicate the evils which are connected with a population discordant in manners, habits and a turn of thought ; unless the national legislature render the time long which an individual has to pass among us, previous to his recognition as a citizen. Should the councils of the nation apply a sufficient remedy to the great evil in question, hereafter our ears will not be offended, nor Heaven insulted, by that discrepancy of sounds which too frequently ascends from our public assemblies. But the slight modulations which may prevail among the voices of the people, the consequence of a small but honest diversity of opinion, will ultimately produce the sweeter harmony in our public debates.

It is important also to the preservation of our liberty and independence, that the intention of our constitutions be at all times respected, in the administration of our governments ; and as our constitutions presuppose that our elective rulers and magistrates are the faithful representatives of the public will ; nothing can be more subversive of the principles of true liberty, than any measures calculated to give a disposition to the national, or state councils, different from a fair expression of the public mind. Nor can a republican government make a stride more flagrant and gigantic towards tyranny, than by perverting the intention of the law, in order to silence the voice of the people. And let the pretexts for measures of this sort be ever so specious ; let the disguise with which these acts of usurpation are attempted to be covered, be ever so fascinating—Yet, let me conjure you to view such machinations as the opening of a labyrinth, in which the liberties of the people are to be rendered up, to satiate the Minotaur of faction.

To follow this subject a little farther ; it is known to you that designing men, at various times, have ta-

ken measures to triumph over the will of the people ; and the means they have used have been perceived in efforts to change the power of temporary magistracies into permanent authorities. Thus have we seen the Roman Republic destroyed by making Cæsar perpetual Dictator ; and thus the English Commonwealth beheld her sturdy founder a perpetual tyrant, ruling the land with a rod of iron, invested with the simple title of Protector.

These, however, are not the only instances which present themselves to verify the justice of the observations submitted to you ; since the history of our own times furnishes another instance more impressive than either of the former. Bonaparte, who holds under his feet the continent of Europe ;—who hurls with irresistible force, through the nations around him, the bolt of war ;—who causes the waters of the Danube to crimson with the blood of Germany ; and melts the ices of the North with the tears of Russian matrons ;—who beholds unmoved, upon the banks of the Seine, the widows of France weeping their lords whose bones now bleach upon the fields of Jena and Austerlitz ;—He, ruthless chief, bridled the freedom of the Gauls by leaping from the chair of a ten years consulship, into the imperial throne of France ;—By snatching a sceptre which had descended in awful succession from the tenacious grasp of the Carovingians, to the feeblèr hand of the Bourbon.

Pardon, Gentlemen, pardon the emphasis bestowed upon this subject, since it is prompted by the recollection of a recent law in our own State ; which, though it be not calculated to give us a perpetual tyrant, yet places the Senate of the State in the hands of those who hold the reins of government in defiance of the public will, and the intention of the constitution.

What would Washington say, my Countrymen,

could he awake from his tomb, and survey the measure which at this time forces itself upon our minds? He would say that the act had contaminated the whole American continent—and, darting a gleam of indignation from his eye, softened with a tear for the calamities of his country—he would seek to hide his majestic brow once more in the silent mansions of the grave.

But perhaps too much has been said upon this subject, and the only apology which can be offered for detaining you so long upon this head, will be found to be intimately connected with the principles of our dearest liberties.

In investigating still farther the points of this address; it occurs to us that agreeably to the principles of a free constitution, offices of honor and profit are not the exclusive property “of any one man, family or class of men.”* It results, therefore, that in governments like ours, founded on the freedom of opinion, it is repugnant to the principles of the constitution to hurl from office every incumbent, who shall dare to dissent from the dominant party in political sentiments, and to bestow the places vacated by their expulsion, upon those who are willing to subscribe to the prevalent dogmas of the times. And here it ought to be distinctly understood, that while we deprecate a course of policy resembling this; yet we are far from condemning in any administration that honest partiality towards political friends, which operates to bestow upon them an equal share of the honors and emoluments of the state; provided that it does not introduce a system of expulsion and proscription, but only a system of partial exclusion.†

*Massachusetts Bill of Rights, Sect. 7.

†After the Federal Government went into operation, it was proposed in conversation among many of the members of government, to bestow the offices in the gift of the government upon the federalists; but it is understood from the best authority, that

A system of expulsion from office has a direct tendency to destroy those fine and elevated sentiments, which are indispensably necessary to the existence of a well regulated Republic; it operates to debase the minds of the citizens, by engendering low and sordid ideas; since it is merely a system by which a forcible appeal is made to the cupidity and fears of the people.

When such systems of administration are recognized by our government; in our enquiries concerning the qualifications of a citizen for the discharge of a public duty, we shall no longer ask, "is he honest? is he capable? is he attached to the Constitution?"† but our interrogatories will be comprised in the emphatic question—is he a violent partisan?

These reflections naturally introduce to our notice a lesson highly interesting and instructive in relation to the subject before us. It is related, and with truth, that the first symptoms, which were perceived of the decline of the Roman Commonwealth, were witnessed in an overweening zeal among the citizens to possess lucrative offices.‡

When this propensity had contaminated the minds of the Roman people, the magnanimous spirit, combined with the honourable poverty of the noble Fabricius, were no longer perceptible;—then, no more were seen the heroic valour and the rustic indigence of Attilius Regulus;—The spirits of these men fled the limits of the Roman world, when sordid desires engrossed the minds of the people. And surely, my countrymen, the genius of Washington must have been absent from the councils of our State, when they sanctioned the warrant for a general expulsion from office;—the spirit

the proposition was treated with indignation, by both General Hamilton and the illustrious Washington.

† Mr. Jefferson's Inaugural Speech.

‡ 1st. Vol. Ferguson's Hist. Rome—page 267.

of the hero who fought for his country without fee or reward, must have been absent from the bosoms of our rulers, when they extended rewards to their followers, and proscriptions to those who had the courage to differ from them in opinion.

A course of policy, however, like the one which has recently characterized this Commonwealth, is not peculiar to this state. The same course of policy has been frequently pursued in Europe, with an intention to overthrow the liberties of the people.--A celebrated writer* observes, that an artifice which all the Princes in Europe, who have aimed at arbitrary power, have made use of, has been a course of policy, which secured all the great offices of the state.

In addition to a multitude of evils, which will flow from a system of expulsion and favouritism, there is one, which will prove of great harm to a well organized government, and claims therefore our serious attention. Continual changes in office render the course and current of public things uncertain and fluctuating; and changes in our government ought to be avoided as much as possible, consistently with justice, a faithful administration of the laws, and a fair representation of the people. Old and familiar customs and laws, ought not to be wantonly changed, with a view to some small, but speculative advantage. Facility in changes opens a door to designing men, to propose trifling and specious modifications of the laws, which are intended only to accomplish some private advantage: And, moreover, age always carries an authority with it, which furnishes a strong objection to wanton innovations. Age creates a respect for the laws, and ancient customs and usages are cheerfully observed from habit, and its concomitant attachment. A reverence for antiquity seems to be, in some degree, natural to us; and habit imperceptibly begets an attachment

* Montesquieu.

toward those things, with which we have been for a long time familiar. The house which has sheltered us for a series of years from the storms of winter, though low and humble, seems yet our home, altho' the favors of fortune have advanced us to a fairer mansion.

A disposition to change the laws and customs of a state encourages every theorist to make innovations upon the polity of his country ; and as a destructive rage for improvement debauches the public mind, the state itself becomes a miserable patient, upon which political emperics are perpetually making experiments ; and the result of these experiments is, that the laws are enervated and misunderstood, and the community itself exhibits a disgusting scene of confusion.

But in guarding the community against useless changes, the rulers of the people must be careful, lest too strong an attachment to ancient laws and customs lead them to sanction absurdities, and to continue palpable inconveniences. The words of the illustrious Washington, contained in his invaluable legacy, will better express the duty of administrations in relation to the modifications of the laws, than any thing else which can be offered to you. The sainted father of his country emphatically says, " in all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of government, as of other human institutions ; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country ; that facility in changes upon the credit of *mere* hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion. And remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as

ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable.”

Having remarked thus much, upon the influence which age possesses in creating a respect for the laws ; and having sufficiently animadverted upon the dangers of innovation ; we are led by an easy transition to contemplate the influence which religion has in inducing the citizens to obey the civil ordinances of their country. But how shall I approach this sacred theme !— Religion, thou fairest daughter of the skies : You that descended from the clouds, like the gentlest bird of Heaven, seeking the world, to minister consolation to the distressed and way-worn travellers of mortality, how shall I speak of thee ? At thy bright face the weeping widow smiles, and casts her beaming vision to the skies ;—and where thy form is seen, the orphan turns his tearful eye from his dear parent’s grave, and says “there is rest in Heaven.” The influences of Religion are “sweeter than the perfumes of Arabia,” and her precepts “are richer than the gems of Gogonda.” The laws of society are founded upon the principles which she inculcates ; and the sons of men are made willing to obey the voice of the law from the doctrines which she reveals. It should, therefore, be the peculiar care of our rulers, to guard and protect a rational and true religion from the assaults of the licentious, and the attacks of fanaticism. And let those who administer our governments be careful how they tamper with the sacred institutions of our churches, lest they destroy the morality of their country, and do offence unto their God.

Upon this subject, too, the immortal Washington has not been silent :—For you have read in the Legacy he has bequeathed, “that of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports.”

It would be honourable, gentlemen, to human nature, and to this country in particular, were the influence of moral and religious sentiments so widely diffused here, as to render the restraints of municipal regulations unnecessary. We should have, indeed, attained unto the golden age; could we say with the ancient inhabitants of Latium, that we are a people not just from the obligations of laws, but from volition, and the religion of our country. But since we have not arrived at a state of things so happy as this; and since human laws are necessary to protect us in the community; it is of great importance that we should have learned and upright judges to administer and explain them.

In this country, the legislative and executive branches of our government cannot be too careful of those departments under our constitutions, the functions of which are of a judicial nature. Our judicial establishments ought to be as free, impartial, and independent, as the lot of humanity will admit, and be placed far beyond the reach of faction, and popular collisions.

In a community where the judiciary power is dependent on the will of the people, it is easy to suppose that the judges will be naturally tinctured with the wishes and passions of a majority of their constituents, at whose mercy they are placed; and hence the decisions of judicial tribunals will be deeply coloured with the prevailing dispositions of the times. Whenever this becomes the case in any Republic, it may be said that the rights of the minority, under that government, are in a precarious situation.

In popular governments, where parties are apt to carry their animosities to too great lengths, the judiciary ought to be placed on a firm basis, and kept above the reach of popular enthusiasm and resentment; thus when the waves of the excited multitude run high, and rage and roar, the serene authority of the judicial

power, like a majestic rampart on the margin of an angry ocean, will confine and repress the hoarse surges of the main.

But, however great may be the advantage to the community, of a faithful administration of the laws ; yet it is essentially important to the welfare of a nation, that the laws themselves be judiciously framed. In legislating under our constitutions both state and federal, particular care should be at all times observed, that the laws be calculated to consult the natural and political state of the country. That they be made in reference to the agricultural and commercial interests of the people, as well as in reference to the fundamental principles of the constitution from which they may emanate.

In the formation and adoption of the federal constitution, an eye was perpetually fixed upon Commerce ; and the illustrious Leader of our revolutionary war, has explained to you in his parting admonitions, the importance of commerce to our country ; and the importance of the federal government, as the only sure mean of protecting that source of your happiness.

Situated as the U. States are for a great extent along the margin of the Atlantic Ocean, and upon a territory irrigated with a great variety of navigable rivers, the veins and arteries of internal navigation ; it would be certainly the extremity of folly to say, that the American nation ought not to be jealous of her maritime rights. As well might you go to the sea-beat shore, and there command the hardy sea-bird, who rides upon the top of every rolling billow, not to adventure with her young over the surface of the waves to obtain from the caverns of ocean, a support for her family :—as to command the American seaman to relinquish his maritime rights, to bid adieu to the main, and no more to im-

press the inviting bosom of the deep. Nature has destined this country to be commercial as well as agricultural; and that politician is insane, who wishes us to abandon those pursuits, which Heaven directs us to follow.

The natural trade of the United States, resulting from a capital created by the surplus produce of our country, ought to be fostered and guarded by every administration of the federal government with peculiar vigilance. The voice of the nation ought to speak to our seamen, with an emphasis loud enough to be heard throughout the world—Go ye children of the ocean, and bear in safety upon the mountains of the deep, the towering eagle of our land! Let your flag be seen in every clime where honest enterprise shall lead you, and the nation shall protect the ensign of these states, whether it play with the breezes of the monsoon, or flutter amid the cold and icy regions of the North.

The protection of commerce, however, gentlemen, cannot be complete without some pains and expence; we cannot vindicate rights which are attacked by fierce and rapacious belligerents without adequate means of protection.

To the end that commerce may be protected, the nation at all times ought to be in a defensive situation. And to accomplish this, pecuniary means are required; and these means must be drawn from the people by the national government with temperance and wisdom.— And here it may be remarked, that parsimony and extravagance, in the conduct of our fiscal concerns, are equally to be avoided as two dangerous extremes. The first, as having a tendency to leave the nation destitute of sufficient pecuniary resources in a time of public necessity; and the second, as the mean by which the people may be made inimical to all taxes whatever.— But not to enlarge too much upon this head; let us recollect the important truth which the illustrious Wash-

ington has expressed to us, and which recommends to us to be at all times prepared for war ; but disposed to peace.*

Unfortunately, we know that nations too often forget to observe the principles of public law ; upon a strict observance of which, the good understanding which ought to subsist between independent states depends.—Knowing this, therefore, a nation ought to be prepared at all times to avenge the injuries which may be offered to it, as being one of the surest methods of maintaining unimpaired, its sovereign rights. But an ability to avenge an insult, is not the only advantage which results to a nation from its being in a defensible posture, since a state of continual preparation for war, has a direct tendency to preserve us from insults ; and thus furnishes the surest pledge of a lasting peace.

Perhaps, it would be unnecessary at this time, to attempt to particularize those preparations for war which ought to exist in this country, in times of profound peace ; yet I think that recent experience has taught us, notwithstanding the diversity of opinion which has hitherto prevailed among us upon this point, that a competent force at land, a respectable naval force, and sufficient frontier fortifications, are at all times indispensably necessary for the interest and honor of the U. States.

Hence, it ought to be the duty of every administration of the federal government, which is desirous to preserve the independence of our country, to have at all times a competent defence for the nation, of the kind suggested to you, taking care, however, that in making the requisite preparations, the physical resources of the country be never exceeded.

Had, gentlemen, strict attention been paid to this

*Washington's Farewell Address.

subject, we never might have seen the lonely seaman, musing in poverty along the murmuring shore, counting the pebbles as they rolled in before the indignant surge—nor beheld upon our frowning promontories, the lads of the main, extending their wishful looks over the interdicted seas, filling the gale with their sighs, and augmenting the very ocean with their tears. But,

Gentlemen of the Society,

The sentiments and reflections which have been offered to you at this time, together with the volume of experience which has recently been furnished to our country, ought to encourage you to hope for better days. The present period is, indeed, big with events. Your country is involved in a war, concerning the expediency of which, the public mind is divided. But however this may be, gentlemen, the war in which we are involved, has proceeded from the voice of your national counsels, acting under the constitution of your country. You have, by the constitution of your country, a right to exercise your judgment in relation to the expediency of the war: But you are bound, as you are pledged to support the federal constitution, to obey the constitutional mandates of your government. Should you think, upon reflection, that at this time the requisitions of your rulers are impolitic and at war with your interests, you must consult for your remedy the means which the constitution has pointed out for your relief. “The very idea of the power and right of the people to establish a government (says the immortal Washington) presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.”

“All obstructions,” he says in his Farewell Address, “to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe

the regular deliberations and actions of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principal and of fatal tendency.”

The Society I have the honor to address, which is pledged to follow these counsels; rests also on the fair foundation of Charity. Thus, while the Members aim to support the pure freedom of our country, they are studious so far as their ability extends, to become the sons of Benevolence and Philanthropy — The very intention of your institution therefore, is doubly laudable.

In acting up to the spirit of our association with sincerity, we shall endeavour to disseminate virtue and information, the two great pillars of a republican government: Hence we shall earn the love of our fellow-citizens, and should we now have enemies, they will become hereafter our friends, when they are convinced that the gentlemen of this Society are the real friends of order, religion, and good manners.

But, gentlemen, should we aberrate from the line we have prescribed to ourselves; should we suffer either personal, or party views to contaminate the fair objects of our association; we shall deservedly incur the censure of our countrymen, and justly become the theme of obloquy.

Upon this Day, gentlemen, allow me to say that I have received an elevated pleasure in discoursing upon some of those principles, by which, as a member of the body politic, I am willing to live, and to die. And I hope you will excuse me, if I have indulged myself, too long, in expatiating upon those principles, upon the faithful observance of which, depends perhaps, our own happiness, the happiness of your wives and children, and the prosperity and glory of our country. Your determination to support these principles, connected with a disposition to encourage virtue, to discourage

vice, to elevate the honest man, and to correct and reform the bad, seem to presage the future fame and happiness of this land. Emulous to do well, you will not be dismayed in pursuing the paths of virtue, nor cast down in endeavouring to do good. And hence perchance, the future American who may read of our institution, filled with admiration and a generous enthusiasm, will bestow a benediction on the spirits of those men, who are now attempting to make the name and principles of WASHINGTON immortal !

