
Mr. LEONARD'S
ORATION,

JULY 5, 1802.

ORATION,

PRONOUNCED AT RAYNHAM,

MONDAY, JULY 5, 1802.

IN COMMEMORATION

OF THE

Declaration of the Independence

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY

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1802.

Oration.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,

I RISE to announce to you the twenty-seventh anniversary of American Independence. To a heart of patriotism, occasions like these are pleasant and joyous. With renovated gratitude we remember our birth-right, and the price of our freedom. The bosom of America burns afresh with the spirit of independence, and the enthusiasm of liberty. The free air that we breathe, as by a wonderful sympathy, becomes more soft and reviving. The fields, on which we tread, enliven their verdure and invigorate their sweets.

This is the festival, the jubilee of America. Shall the ancient Norse be said to consecrate a day to the victories of Owen, who avenged his country's wrongs ;...shall the native of the West, with savage hilarity, celebrate, on periodical occasions, the arms of a warrior who secured to his tribe the rude enjoyment of his freedom ;...and shall we, like a nation of stoics, be contented with empty retrospect and private possession ? Without the solemnity of occasion, the enjoyment will be too romantic and too solitary. This inestimable blessing of the nation we cannot appreciate alone. Thus was the formal Hebrew instructed by heaven to sanctify a day commemorative of his bondage and deliverance.

Before us is presented that solemn day, when the good patriots of '76, with their eyes upcast to Heaven---
with

with hands trembling with mortal diffidence, subscribed that sacred instrument, by which America renounced her infancy and assumed the ripeness of age. They were not deterred by the frowns of irritated majesty, nor the reprobatory acts of a disaffected nobility. The fulminations of the British artillery were disregarded, for HEAVEN had declared upon their side. Then saw they, with the anticipation of a prophet, a numerous progeny, smiling with approbation, all ready to adopt the transaction of their fathers. We behold millions now coming forward, eager to embrace their legitimate birth-right. Yet some, alas! like Ethu, would fain sell their inheritance---and for a more pitiful reward; ---not to supply the natural requisitions of body or mind, but the merciless appetites of lawless selfishness and restless ambition. Unmindful of the present blessing, and prospect of greater reward, they pine after the locks and onions of their former bondage: ---languish after dependence and connexion with Britain. They not only reject the donation of heaven, but vilify its messengers, who hold out the blessing; charging our political Moises of having a design against their welfare, intending ultimately to lead them to ruin: prephanely rejecting the truth, that Heaven, by his legation, is remunerating the people for the oppressions of a Pharaoh.

But some are anxious to make it appear that the last administration was not oppressive; prostituting argument to prove that it was the mild reign of freedom, a bright semblance of the latter age of gold. Blessings indeed! a standing army in peace; alien and sedition laws; and expenditures, that exhausted a treasury, supplied by the generous streams of a copious revenue.

Blessings indeed they may appear, when we view them the means of routing the community to demand

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mand a relief. Blessings! like the talk-burthens of Egypt, and the former oppressions of England.

To him who is conversant with the moral nature of things, the last administration must exhibit a political prodigy. History, he is assured, has not recorded an instance in which a government has transmigrated so suddenly from independence to despotism. He admires that the habits of society could admit of so instantaneous a transition. Measures, that were formerly the abhorrence of Americans, were brought forward, and, by a new act of patriotism, recommended as salutary to the union.

But, thanks be to Heaven, we now live under a government more auspicious. A brighter sun now shines upon the 4th of July. For a period past, this day has returned, but not with its usual splendour. The anniversary came, unaccompanied with the reality of the blessing which solemnized the day. Fain would the soul of patriotism attempted a song to independence, but the state of his captivity appearing, his harp was suspended upon the willow, and he wept at the remembrance alone.

Let us now, Fellow-Citizens, leisurely review our former administration. This cannot be entirely disinteresting to us, or incompatible with the occasion. I already feel the emotion of fear that my plainness of animadversion might approach to the spirit of sarcasm and bigotry; and thus, instead of the smile of approbation, extort a frown of censure, from some well-meaning friend. You must be sensible, Fellow-Citizens, that the way I am to pursue lies through the diversity of opinion and the collisions of party. That candour therefore is solicited, which, while it gives freedom and maturity to judgment, will assist and embolden inquiry.

We turn back a short time,----we behold our
country

country in tears, aggrieved with the depravity of patriotism and the apostacy of government. A spirit of inquietude pervaded a large portion of our citizens. But the canting empiric of federalism would fain have persuaded them that their jealousy was unfounded. Aping the insidious Briton, he compared their complaints to those of a child, "incapable of knowing whether it was aggrieved or not." Americans, in general, are an unsuspecting people: Loyalty and unanimity are among their distinguishing characteristics. A want of jealousy (if they committed a fault) was the reason of their error. Complaint, at that time, was not bred in the bosom of suspicion, but in the breast of true patriotism, anxious for the preservation of political truth, and the security of republican government.

Well we remembered the story of our ancestors.* Warned by a directing Providence, they found this land a happy asylum from oppressive ambition. They planted it first under the banners of liberty, dependent only upon the goodness of Heaven. With one
hand

* A certain man, renowned as a "federalist" remarked with a sneer of contempt that the ("Democrats") Republicans loved to recollect the "unpleasant scenes" of the late war, which, like all other animosities, "ought to be buried in oblivion." This demonstrates that the gentleman felt himself estranged at least from the cause which was then espoused by the patriots of the day. The God of Israel, to preserve his people in the spirit of his religion, uncorrupted with the heresies of the surrounding nations, called their attention to his commandments, by declaring himself "the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." They were taught, by precept and institution, ever to abide in that just and solemn cause which the Lord himself espoused. David remembered his God from the hill Mizar, and his soul revived that was cast down within him. The institutions of the Gospel are only rememorative of those solemn achievements upon which the Christian faith is founded. Yes, Fellow-Citizens, without opening the wounds afresh, we *will* remember those patriotic "scenes." By recollecting the price, we will learn to value the blessing, of Liberty. For what other end was the history of our revolution written? For what other end are sacred monuments erected to the memory of a WARREN, of a MONTGOMERY, of a WASHINGTON? Yes, our thankful oblations, for the continuance of our liberties, shall be enkindled by a portion of that spirit, which at first emancipated America.

hand they held the utensil of husbandry, with the other the weapons of defence. Thus they taught their children to reverence republican liberty; and their children, with filial zeal, panted to inherit the blessing. Happy they sat under the beech and the elm, without any to molest. Not long ere corruption envied their happiness, and sacrilegiously attempted to ravish their palladium. Their independent spirit was roused. The invasion was repulsed, and Britain obliged to retire, baulked of her design. Seven long years the explosions of war spread desolation in the infant empire; but the ark of republicanism was preserved unpolluted. All the while, our prayer to heaven intreated, that the same scourge, whose lash we sensibly felt under the paternal reign of an Adams, might be averted in mercy, and we be indulged with the fruition of our birth-right.

Educated then under an economy like this, the people of America could not fail deeply to imbibe those pure sentiments which have ever supported the freedom and prosperity of nations. To the question, then, "Whence the uneasiness of the people at that time?" this may afford a temporary reply: Because we were the legitimate offspring of our progenitors; attached to our liberties as by a family tie; under a blood allegiance to our country; sworn, like the young prince of Carthage,* never to be on terms with despotism in its most winning disguise.

It may be profitable, on this occasion, to inquire into the source of these corruptions. The grand parent of them (pardon me if I err) is Great-Britain. Let that sink of pollution be thoroughly cleansed, the governments of most of the world would be materially relieved from their present embarrassment:--- They would not at first, like a thrifty vine, come forth flourishing, promising to the cultivators a large vintage of political happiness, and soon exhibit symp-

toms of blight, and put forth the crab-fruit of despotism and the thorns of oppression. The freedom of a country, familiarly known to Britain, embarrasses their policy. But an affectionate parent never envied the glory of a son. England envied our prosperity, because she was an enemy. Though our prejudices, begotten in the contest, were reasonable and sanguine, yet time diminished their operation, and they insensibly yielded to those tender endearments which the involuntary recollection of past friendship obtrudes upon the unprincipled mind. These circumstances exist not to affect or contaminate any other nation upon earth. Her jealous eye saw the American flag floating peacefully on every sea, and our splendour increasing with the rising sun. Her paralytical ministry was immediately in ambush to impede her career. They soon discovered that this could only be effected by instituting, in some way, an order or party professedly British. This, it was thought, would operate unseen, and elude the vigilance of republicans. She acted, therefore the part of a friend and counsellor at the formation of the federal government; for the states, collected in a head or group, would present a concentrated mark, against which she could more successfully level her engine.

Her next measure was to disseminate her poison among the various ramifications of government, by corrupting the fountain. Her object in this, was gradually to annihilate the republican sentiment, and "re-colonize the American character." She saw and was resolved to intercept the growing connection between the United States and the republic of France. Such was their hurried concern that they even resorted to the discussion of councils to attain the most eligible method to check our commerce. In the event of their policy, we found our rights of neutrality violated, our seamen impressed, and an insolent, predatory war commenced against our commerce. But, perceiving these

these measures were impolitic, and calculated to precipitate us into a close union with France, they motioned to redress the grievances of the states. Our executive commissioned an ambassador, (one after their own heart) who, under the pretext of obtaining retribution for adjudicated property, returned, forsooth, with that execrable treaty, which proved the cause of many consequent evils, and which will commemorate to posterity an astonishing instance of the imbecility of government and national ingratitude.

The ratification of this treaty commenced a new era of aristocratic influence in America. Confidence was gained by success, and their measures became more naked, as their successes were multiplied. The progress of corruption was announced by the recall of Munroe, the embassy of Pinckney, the resignation of Washington, and the edition of Porcupine's Gazette.

From this prolific seed sprang those acts of oppression so repugnant to the spirit of the constitution; the ultimate object of which was, to consolidate the federal government, and assimilate it to that of Britain. Nor would their ultimatum have been accomplished short of a reciprocal alliance offensive and defensive. Thus, under the delusion of advancing toward political perfection, we should have found ourselves retrograded to our old state of dependence and colonization. Controlled thus by aristocratic influence, the use of our troops, our ships, and our money, would have been sacrificed to gratify the caprice of the wedded tyranny of Great-Britain and America. Though the oppressive measures of the last administration were the effects of propositions suggested by the selfish policy of England, yet they were seconded by men actuated by similar motives. Men who hoped, under this patronage, to inherit that ease and glory which royalty presented to their fascinated view.*

* Mr. Bayard doubted the belief of Mr. Giles, that there "existed in this country an anti-republican party." We are not, however, inclined to

Enough has been said to convince us, that Britain, in her monopolizing policy, had every inducement to interrupt our commerce and Anglifie our government. The means for effecting these purposes are not less than her motives. Her command of money to be appropriated for the distribution of emolument at home and abroad. Another conduit is the press. Under the pretext of conveying commercial information, a large portion of their influence has stolen into the public prints, and circulated under this passport. Another engine is the bank of the United States. A great part of their capital appertains to Britons, or to proprietors interested in their favour. Another means is furnished by the unity of our language. Hence the associations of their ambassador became intimate and extensive. Lastly, the great "flood-gate" of this influence, is British commerce. Our merchants who are connected with them, owe them a sort of "pecuniary homage." They are intently duped into their politics, and, with the manufactories of the nation, vend, by wholesale and retail, an extensive assortment of their politics. The community, who partake of her sins, partake also of her plagues.

These together form a broad avenue for the ingress of British corruption. And shall any be so possessed in favour of that nation as to be blind to their machinations? Their respect and influence in this country is great, and those who are not wholly transformed by the most servile prejudices, are deeply sensible of the baneful effects. If other governments, more remote by circumstance, have felt their contaminating influence, why not the *American* government? If they could induce a *coalition* against the liberties of France, why not succeed in the *same* cause in the *United States*? In
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to think, that the many aspersions against republican principles are either handed from above, or are wholly transatlantic productions. We have no reason to doubt the sentiments of those who have explicitly disclosed their minds upon the subject, since their conduct has never contradicted their professions.

the mass of the most enlightened and free people there will ever be found a proportion of aristocratical alloy ; men, that will easily be captivated with the trappings of monarchy. Whether our agents, in the late administration, stand as their pusillanimous dupes, I submit it to the judgment of an enlightened republic. But certain it is, that they have been left, in the frailty of nature, to depart from their character as guardians of our constitutional rights, and have unfortunately but little else to justify their conduct than the pretext of necessity, and the disguise of expediency.

The late measures of government present to the unbiassed politician a fourfold design, interwoven like a lattice. 1. To degrade and eradicate republican principles. 2. To effect a close propinquation of our government to that of Great-Britain. 3. To annihilate the sovereignties of the states, or reduce them to mere subject incorporations : And, 4thly, to consolidate the federal government to a power that would have furnished energies, which they were then obliged to extract solely from implication, inherency, and post-humous patronage.

These are features, Citizens, which, if retraced in serious reverie, will grow more prominent and defined. Let your reflection then supply the ellipsis and brevity, which I must necessarily use in this limited address.

The scene is now reversed. The people have demanded, through the organ of elections, a relief from these oppressions. Their voice has been heard—their voice has been obeyed. Public opinion has greatly reverted to the old whig principles on which the republic arose, and from which have been derived its inestimable energies. The chief of “federalism,” (mistakenly denominated) has retired to the “repose of private life ;” and Jefferson, illustrious for talents, moderation, and firmness, is now at the helm of our propitious government.

Before

Before we proceed to a review of some of the important measures of the present administration, we will recapitulate a few arguments adduced against that odious statute the sedition bill ; that we may be habitually taught to hold sacred the liberty of speech and of the press.

This bill was essentially repugnant to the spirit of the constitution. It was the original intent of that instrument that the sovereignties of the states should only be abridged by certain specific powers delegated to Congress. But "federalism" could take vague recitals, used only by way of preamble, to express the intentions for which the constitution was first formed, and construe them into a delegation of power ; when the constitution expressly abjures the right of legislating against the freedom of speech or of the press. Calumny, whether directed (as is daily the case at present) against private citizens or public agents, is an evil which the wisdom of government has never been able wholly to suppress. The common law, however, was adequate to every purpose of legislation in this respect. It was allowed, by the advocates of that bill, to ameliorate the common law ; to operate, therefore, as an inferior power to the greater one possessed by the states. The ridiculous absurdity of a plea like this, must have extorted a smile in the most "serious moments of argumentation." It exposes itself to the inquiry....If this be a minor power, whence the *expediency* or *necessity* ? Preposterous indeed to pretend that a smaller could accomplish what a greater had failed to perform. A true reply might have been this :— "That it might have the full honour of legislative authority, of issuing from the federal head, designed to beget among the states an habitual obedience to the decrees of that Congress, that a consolidation might the more easily be effected.

It might have been the design farther to preserve
unpolluted

unpolluted their personal characters,—to create in America, as in England, an habitual reverence for their “personal attributes,” an implicit confidence in their “princely integrity,” to inculcate the doctrine, that it is political blasphemy to doubt their probity, or scrutinize their conduct. The common law, by affording general protection against calumny, pre-supposed the character of a private citizen as sacred as that of a public officer. This favoured too much of republicanism. It was therefore thought that a law founded in the presumption that the then present minority were unhallowed and censurable, and that the majority were free from every sinister motive and above the frailties of man. How different this from the conduct of the same “party” at the present day. In short, they had forfeited the confidence of a free people, and therefore “languished for the protection of a restrained press.” Men, high in office, as heinous as the vice may be, must occasionally be injured in their feelings and in their character. When this happens, let them remember, that in order to avoid public censure, is to avoid those actions which naturally provoke it. The citizens of America will not calumniate the character they love. I will be bound for their loyalty. They will rise with indignation to protect him.

The privilege, against which this bill directed its aim, a *free* people are unwilling to surrender : a right that is *never* surrendered, but when corruption is strangely successful. It subjects opinion to penalty, and under the patronage of law, emboldens the vicious and designing to trample upon the virtuous and unsuspecting.*

Hence the wide field for the free excursions of science are contracted to a mere span : reason is arrested in

* Mr. Bayard. “No innocent man ever did or ever could have suffered under the (sedition) law.” Whether this allegation be not so “bald” and destitute of truth as to forfeit every claim to apology, is submitted to the candid reader.

in her progress, the current of genius is repressed, and religion, like a trembling vessel, "placed in a state of dismay." With grief, equally poignant, we lament not the liberty, but the abusive licentiousness of the press. Our ears are assailed with billingsgate-detraction, directed with cynic madness, against those, who deserve well of their country; who revere the principles, and abide in the spirit of the revolution; who adhere to the republican faith, and are ever ready to espouse their country's cause.

But to return. After his inauguration, our beloved President made propositions for the improvement of the judiciary. "Federalism," in some of its last moments, began to entertain doubts of the approaching election. They were anxious to "seek for themselves some department of government, in which they could entrench themselves," should the republicans gain the election. The judiciary department presented itself for that purpose; not only because it was already filled with men of their own political creed, but "because they were to continue for an indefinite period, and consequently were remote from any responsibility to the people;"—(a favourite doctrine in the last administration.) Accordingly there was presented, on the 11th of March, 1800, a bill for the more convenient organization of the courts of the United States. This, we think, embraced for its object the gradual extermination of the state courts, "by increasing the number and extending the jurisdiction of the federal courts," and also afford a new protection to aristocratic principles, by marshalling a new corps of judges, who would naturally avow the principles of "federalism."—Waiting the event of the election, they did not pass it into a law. At the next Congress, when the result of the election was ascertained, it became enrolled as a law;—a law, as they thought, inviolable and incapable of repeal. They comforted themselves that this new establishment was a safe retreat of routed "federalism" during

during the devastations of a triumphant democracy. That the holy bench of circuit judges was never to be profaned by republican appointments—that these judges were to rule, and judge, and condemn forever.

But, since their sanctuary has been riled by the un-circumcised “democrat,” they are clamorous to their god, that he would avenge the profanation of his temple. They cry out, *trait-breakers!* Yes—men, who under the former administration could arbitrarily drag an indeterminate expression from the preamble of the constitution, and construe it into a positive grant of power;—men, who could assume the authority of legislating against the freedom of the press, of erecting a standing army at a time of peace,—these men have now the audacity to vociferate—**CONSTITUTION BREAKERS!**

But this sacred compact, we think, is not broken by its repeal. The constitution, indeed, says, “the judges shall hold their office during good behaviour:” but this clause does not aim against the repeal of the system, or any portion of the system, but solely to the excommunication of the judge demeaning himself well, during the existence of the statute which creates him a judge. Congress have not turned them out of office in a way by which the office is either left vacant or the vacancy supplied by another appointment.* This, indeed, would have amounted to an

* Mr. Bayard. “It is a principle in law, that what is prohibited from being done *directly*, is restrained from being done *indirectly*. Is there any difference but in words between taking the office from a judge and removing the judge from office?” Was ever a sophism so “bold”—so insulated by the spirit of impropriety and falsehood? So much of this argument as will apply in purpose to the Judiciary, will be found in direct opposition to the spirit and letter of legislation. Its fallacy is unveiled as this, *The law says thou shalt not kill,—therefore no man shall be hung or wilfully slain in battle.* This mode of reasoning would prostrate general principles at the feet of local opinions and local prejudices.

The Judiciary, from the nature of the establishment, and its technical phraseology, was considerably elevated above common apprehension;—but, by the “dutiful” resistance against its repeal, which occasioned much debate, the subject in question has been so much converted about, that it is now within reach of common understanding, and has therefore received its merited disapprobation.

an infraction of the constitution. That instrument merely decrees, that so long as there shall exist an office, and a judge be actually appointed, and continue to behave well, so long he shall continue in that capacity.* For the spirit, as well as the letter, is intirely satisfied, provided one supreme court be established. If Congress, then, had presumed to repeal the whole
act

* The opponent, yielding for a moment to this mode of construction, inquires, "What right have Congress to abolish the office, since the constitution has not expressly authorized such a measure?" Reply first. This act, which was passed by the *late* administration, that abolished certain inferior courts, was either constitutional or unconstitutional. If it was constitutional, it is a precedent which justifies at least the same measure of the *present* legislature. If it is unconstitutional, it hardly needs the ceremony of a legislative act to repeal it, since it is completely void of itself. Secondly; the words, *as Congress shall from time to time ordain and establish*, fully imply the ordinary discretion of legislative powers, without which the constitution would become the *finished fabric*, and not a *frame* of government. This is the very construction which common sense would put upon them. An ordinance of Congress may *repeal* as well as *establish* the act in question. We have the same generic term to express both, that is, *legislation*. If this be not sufficient, let the word *legisabrogation* be supplied. Suppose it be asked, "How is the Federal Government to be known?" The answer would naturally occur, *by such measures as Congress shall from time to time ordain and establish*. This would not exclude the idea of there being among them, some acts ordained to *repeal* others. Had those, who formed the constitution, remembered to insert some clause, that would have amounted, in the view of "federalists," to a literal permission to repeal acts relative to the inferior courts, it would have evinced a wisdom more than human. It would have evinced almost a divine foresight of what a corrupt administration was about to transact. Can a pretext be furnished, from the spirit of the constitution or from necessity, that congressional acts, like those of the Medes and Persians, should become perpetual? The only perpetuity that can be acknowledged, must be annexed to the constitution, which has subjected itself, at short periods, to revision and amendment. If the constitution, according to its own permission, should undergo an amendment, the Judiciary would as likely be concerned in the alteration as any other department. If so, would not the independence of the judges be "immolated"? Perhaps these "nice politicians" have become as "nice" in their observations upon the subject of human nature; and have as clearly ascertained how long before those moral causes, which render the independence of judges necessary, will cease to operate; which period they may have destined to expire at the time the constitution is revised. The judges, then, must be considered dependent upon the Legislature, or supreme power of the land, who takes cognizance of constitutional amendments. Still their independence is urged with so much vehemence as nearly to approach that of the Almighty himself. It is but a moderate step from this doctrine to that which would inculcate that their tribunal was equal in majesty and impartiality to that of the Judge of the universe.

act relative to the judiciary, and had intirely demolished the federal courts, it would have transgressed the limits of their power. If what they have now done, amount to a transgression, there must have existed a continual transgression, or a more criminal neglect of a constitutional requisition, during the period from the first establishment of the federal government until the time the last act was passed in January, 1801. But, it is to be presumed, that the constitution was fully obeyed and satisfied during that period of twelve years. The external features, therefore, of the Judiciary are altered, not annihilated. If the former administration transacted any thing, relative to that system, which the constitution did not require or authorize, it *ought* to be repealed. But, if the act alluded to, was something relative to the inferior courts, which was merely discretionary with Congress, it *may* be repealed.

Again ;---the same section, which declares that the judges shall hold their office during good behaviour, ordains that they shall be compensated for their *services rendered*. Our constitution jealously prohibits the existence of all sinecure places. We read, throughout every part of it, *services* and *compensation* connected together, and we are to preserve their association in the construction. It would be *unconstitutional* to separate them. These services are to be rendered to the people, who, by their representatives, are the sovereign judges of the *necessity* of these services. Had the constitution prescribed the number of judges and inferior courts, it would have been such an oversight in the sages who formed it as could no where else be found. As well might they have prescribed the number of foreign ambassadors, when one hundred nations more than then were, might have arisen, or one hundred of the present might have become totally extinct.

Supposing no service is rendered ; the people require none ; of course no compensation is to be made. That
 argumentation

argumentation, which pleads for the existence of an office, and a compensation to be annexed to that office, when in fact no service is requested, needs not to be refuted at *this* time, nor at *any other*, in a free country. That system, as it now stands, is fully competent to the business it has to discharge. The erection, then, of a new tier of judges, was unpardonably oppressive. Our administration has happily repealed it, and thereby have absolutely effected an annual saving of 50,000 dollars. I will hazard a prediction, that if the gentlemen, by the rotations of fortune, should ever again arrive at the supremacy of power (which may God forbid) they would find means to make derangements of the present economy, as unconstitutional as the measure may appear.

With the joy of the occasion, let us mingle our gratitude for the repeal of internal taxes. Odious and oppressive has this system been, consisting of excises upon stamps and other subordinate objects of revenue. The tendency of this has been, to divide the community, without benefitting the public; to swell executive patronage, without enriching the treasury; to multiply offices beyond the proportion of the amount collected. Duties on carriages will not admit of equal taxation. By the mode of just rating, men are solicited to pay according to their ability. Why should the fangs of excise grasp an article, which is subject also to direct taxation? If the article is *not* subject to direct taxation, why not make it so, and let it in that form render its tribute? If excise be the most eligible mode, let us make all domestic property excisable. But if a carriage be such a luxury as to give it the character of a foreign article, and thereby subject it to excise, why not a good horse, a painted house, a large, well cultivated farm? all which generally belong to the more affluent of society. But, perhaps, a vehicle is no more luxurious than dress or necessary food:—either becomes luxurious by appendage and superfluity,

superfluity, which no statute can assume the jurisdiction of suppressing. Some have clamoured against the repeal of the duty upon domestic refinement of sugars. This article is tributary to the revenue at its first importation. In short, let foolishness be answered with folly. There is no more reason that the home refinement of sugars should be subject to duty, than a *luxurious pudding*, of domestic manufacture, enriched with the dutiable articles of molasses and spices. This mode of taxation is so far from alleviating the burthen of the poor, by increasing that of the rich, that it exposes them to a greater disadvantage. We, say they, must be denied the privilege, because we cannot purchase the license. This mode of adding to the revenue, we view as a thrifty shoot of that principle which intitles to glory and happiness, because they are rich and can pay for the title.

The duty upon domestic distilleries is ultimately extorted from the farmer, who raises the materials. This accumulates a great burthen upon those who have emigrated into the interiors of the country. They have no market where they may procure their necessary supply of beverage, or dispose of the surplus of their grain. Their circumstances call for bounty rather than excise. If the quantity of domestic liquors be such as to make the article a luxury to the country, it will more than atone for the evil by diminishing the price or preventing the influx of foreign distillations.

It has been objected, that however the state of affairs may dispense with the repeal, still there may yet occur an occasion of resorting to the same sources of revenue. But our representatives find no reason to suspect that the exigency of government will very soon demand a recourse like this. War, indeed, or some other "federal" calamity, (which may heaven avert!) would be a just occasion. Even *then* monies may be raised, to meet the requisitions of government, on subjects,

jects, and by a mode, less offensive to the public mind. A free people will cheerfully submit to any reasonable mode, when a revenue is required for ~~defensive~~ purposes. And national credit now stands on a firmer basis *with* the repeal, than under the last administration *without* it. The reduction of certain establishments, offices and salaries, retains in the treasury a sum exceeding that raised by the excise repealed. We cannot but observe, that the internal taxes were not made perpetual till after it was determined that Mr. Jefferson would be chosen. These were before temporary, and *the most of them would have expired before this day, had not the desire of the party to preserve the elements of monarchy induced them to pass the law of the 25th of February, 1801, by which they were made perpetual.*

People of New-England, listen not to the objections against the repeal. They are not from respect for the poor, but from an inclination to embarrass your government. Nearly five hundred offices have been abolished by the repeal. Harken not to the insinuations that our present administration is sacrificing your interest at the shrine of southern ambition.*

Let us, my Friends, enliven the festivity of the occasion by calling to view another act of public economy. The hand of political wisdom has so directed the arrangement of affairs, that it has secured in prospect the
total

* Though the N. England "federalists" affect to reprobate the economy and retrenchments of the present administration, styling it a "narrow," "hypocritical policy," "aiming a death-wound to the constitution," yet it is remarkable that they have not yet been serious enough in their grievances to remonstrate by petition. Massachusetts Friends, "my word for it," before the revolution of one year, you will behold the present economy as popular in ours, as any of the southern states. On the late question of erecting a statue to Washington, who is above all praise that such puerile monarchical devoirs can bestow, there was a majority of two only in the House of Representatives. The motion for re-imposing the excise lately repealed was deferred till next session.

total extinguishment of the national debt.* We, who glory with humility in our national liberties, cannot subscribe to the monstrous doctrine, "that a public debt is a public blessing." We view it as a phenomenon of political corruption. If it be a *private* advantage to be uninvolved in debt, why not a *public* advantage? Who but individuals are responsible for the payment? Thanks to heaven, a generous provision is made by law, not only for the payment of the interest, but also for the eventual discharge of the principal. The revenue of the United States is in a flourishing condition. Last year was realized from duties on imports and tonnage, the sum of 10,120,213 dollars; the land-office produced 151,622 dollars; the post-office, 70,000 dollars. These, with products of less importance, without calculating upon their probable increase, have justified in Congress an appropriation of 7,300,000 dollars, for this important purpose. If such be the state of our finances as to authorize this great disbursement, surely, insinuations of injury done to public confidence and public credit, must be as unfounded as other "federal" misrepresentation. Secrecy and mystery do not, as formerly, characterize the administration of our government. Their transactions are generously exhibited to public view, and their constituents are thereby invited to pronounce judgment upon their economy. We need not the report of an investigating committee, that has attached to "federal" management the criminality of leaving an unaccounted-for balance of upwards of four millions of dollars.

Turn our attention to another act of public economy. View the standing army reduced to 3000 men. The propriety of this must be viewed by every one. God forbid that we should approbate the organization of

* Had not Mr. Adams, upon the sacred pledge of public faith, engaged to continue 6,500,000 dollars, at an unreasonable interest, till the year 1809, there would have existed but little doubt that the national debt would be extinguished short of the time now proposed by Congress.

of a regular standing army in time of peace, and thus place in the very heart of the community a despotic body, calculated to introduce despotism under a variety of forms. While an army stands the ostensible safeguard of a country, it serves only to viciate and enfeeble a nation. The people can no longer be styled independent, when, for protection, they are taught to appeal from their own strength to the strength of another. That body of men, which is employed and supported by government, whose home is the camp, and whose profession is the science of war, will soon become differently interested from the rest of society. Let us ever appeal, for defence, to a well-disciplined militia, informed by the principles of liberty and honour, whose boasts and interests are those of citizens.—Never let the banners of war be unfurled under the olive of peace. No, an army is not wanted now as an engine to enforce the measures of a corrupt policy.

We acknowledge the wisdom of Congress in the reduction of the naval armament. The hostile appearances of Barbary, indeed, called for the retention of a fleet adequate to the protection of our commerce in the Mediterranean. Let Algiers and Tunis imitate the example of Tripoli, and America shall divest herself of a tribute as unjust as it is disgraceful.

We view the amelioration of public affairs in the amendment of the law of naturalization. It has undergone in its leading features, an important change: Former acts have been corrected and the blessed privilege of citizenship rendered more attainable. Republicans believe not in any thing like an exclusive naturalization. They would *invite* others to participate in the blessing.

Compare this act with the alien bill of '98. A bill empowering a suspecting President to consign to abject
 exile

exile a large number of useful citizens. The humiliated foreigner could not avail himself of any humane provision allowed by common law. Suspicion was his judge and jury, his counsel and his evidence.

We are informed that a new State has been admitted into the Union. That extensive tract north-west of the Ohio, formerly denominated the North-western Territory. Though their population, by actual census, amounts to near 50,000, yet federal opposition was made to their admission. Cruel, indeed, that such a numerous class of citizens should be denied the participation of equal privileges; and very impolitic, as their numbers are rapidly increasing. We augur the cause of their opposition—suspicion that they would list too much to the republican standard.

We are verily this day independent as a nation. The utmost efforts of government are devoted to the happiness of the people. We have a second proof of the superior satisfaction to be derived from the influence of republican principles. As the patriarch Jacob for Rachel, so toiled the Patriots of America seven years for liberty, the object of their affections. But could hardly, at the close, be said to receive the object of their toils. A government of their own was allowed them; but, like a suppositious Leah, not the desire of their hearts. A second period of service must be borne, during the domination of Anglo-American tyranny, before they could be blessed with the Rachel of republicanism.* But let us fear that there is some insidious Esau, in whose bosom lurks the sanguinary design against American liberty.

Let the 4th of July be the annual roll-call of national patriotism; not only to re-number the list, but to see that we are furnished with the pure principles of freedom,

* No implication of Washington's administration is here intended.

dom, able to resist the incursions of the enemy, under what disguise, from what quarter hever he may commence the attack. He will approach sometimes under the plain protection of republicanism; at another, under the faintly garb of religion. But whatever disguise he may put on, his object is easily discovered. The idea of equal and reciprocal relations in society, he cannot bear. The hypothesis of an equilibrium of interest he is aiming to prove absurd. He contends to establish a subordination of the names of religion. His favourite proposition is, that mankind cannot endure a republican form of government. The more power he can accumulate in one man, or set of men, the more energetic the government. He betrays a grand concern that the people might be saved from their worst enemies, themselves. When his own party is dominant, his watch-word is "steady habits:" when found in the minority, "faction, revolt." When monarchy takes the lead, he adores the name of federalism: when it falls in the rear, he rallies for a division of the states! Proteus could not equal the number of his metamorphoses. So various are the changes of his toctin, so serpentine and tortuous his political courses, that to describe but a small proportion would transcend the limits prescribed by the occasion.

But we will revere the principles of our revolution. The same causes which struggled then, labour still. Though the giant of corruption has the ponderous mountain of an enlightened empire cast upon him; though he cannot throw off the weight; yet, in the torment of his soul he will often be shifting his position, and shake the mountain to its base. The constitution shall be the ark of our safety;—and the sacred instrument,* which we have this day recited, the testimony of our liberties. We will copy in our conduct,

its

* Declaration of Independence.

its ennobling sentiments. We are but a part of the common mass—Man is our brother. We revere the sovereignty and majesty of the people, and are not afraid of ourselves. These are sentiments founded deep in the common nature of man. Sentiments closely inculcated by our divine Legislator and his holy apostles: whom, without offence to the ear of piety, we rejoice to pronounce republicans. He admonished us not to grasp at exclusive honours, and usurp ascendancies over each other. Society under his laws will never be shooting into exalted authorities and marking out grades of unnatural distinctions. *All ye are brethren*, is a prominent trait of this heavenly system.

“ Oh man, my brother, whom the cordial name

“ Of fond endearments kindles at thy name !”

Such is the competition of sentiment, that perhaps some minds may be found in the equipage of doubt, hardly determining which way to incline. Let such endeavour to find out who are the men, who act most in conformity to the principles of our revolution, the principles of reason, and reciprocal right;—where are found the dregs of that implacable spirit, which resisted, with unnatural inveteracy, the patriots of the times;—where are now the accomplices of those, who, when compelled to abandon their habitations, would take refuge within the lines of an enemy sworn to enslave or assassinate the colonists, availing themselves of the darkness of midnight, to return with a murderous banditti, betraying even members of their own families, leaving the village in flame. Mark also what divinity ruled in that momentous hour; what God accepted the oblation and answered by fire. If the Lord be God, follow him. Who is the Canaanite among us, whose extermination the potent genius of American liberties has apparently decreed;—who are they that are boasting in their attachment to their
ancient

ancient enemy, exhibiting even a grudge against the very soil that pampers them, because it will not spontaneously bring forth the exotic plants of foreign courts ;—what spirit ruled in the last administration whose councils have been veiled with duplicity and secrecy ;—whose management of public property is beyond the reach of apology ; whose conduct in the present day betrays the most disquietude of conscience. Mark the profession of him who is daily abusing distinguished virtue, persisting in obloquy and persecution ; labouring to disjoint, when they could not consolidate, our union ; (I wonder what they call federalism !) calling upon men to be fervent in prayer for the continuance of hostilities in Europe, having failed of inducing a war at home ; whose barbarous politics would insinuate to people that they are to themselves the most formidable foe. What shall be thought of these things ? Candor must judge and make the inference for itself.

Let the young American, who is forming his politics, employ much time in exploring the nature of man, and the exigencies of his nation. Good government, like dress, is an adequate covering for the nakedness of society. Salutary law is the guardian of our independence : But despotism is ever lawless, aiming at the licence to do as it seemeth good in its own eyes. Europe may justly boast of great illumination, but beware of her long established politics and of many of her enlightened statesmen. She has produced many philosophers, who have traced and exposed the machinations of despotism and have been the benefactors of man. Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Hume, Stewart and Smith, have, in their turns, admonished the tyrants of the world and preached to mankind. But, in describing the social compact and political economy, they have but blended profound truths with brilliant sophisms. They have all left in
 uncertainty

uncertainty the problem most important to the world ; which Heraclitus has thus well expressed : “ The only skill and knowledge of any value, in politics, is that of governing all by all.” Among the constituted governments of England, that of Alfred is the most venerable for its republican principles, approaching nearer to that perfect model of good government which resembles a moral being ; when the whole society is so organized as to produce general animation, general life, general will, general force, general judgment and general reason. Without a sympathy of these in all its parts there can be no liberty.

Discretionary power is tyranny, whether in the people, their representatives, their senate, or their president,—as the force and will of the body would be inconvenient and destructive, if wholly confined to the feet, the hands, or the head. An unnatural accumulation of power cannot act in sympathy with all the parts, but frequently operates in direct opposition to the general feeling, inclination or interest. A republic is the only establishment that has hitherto proved itself effectual to the purposes of government. Nevertheless, there will be found men of talents, whose mind, like that of Edmund Burke, Alexander Hamilton, &c. are so perverted with false philosophy, superstition and sordid selfishness, as to be found prostituting their powers in attempting to infuse into the common mind the pollutions of despotic courts. But even in Europe, a bold Williams can be found to come forward and daringly oppose, to the dominant principles of ministerialism, the ideas of organized constitutions suited to all climates.

But let us be serious and moderate ; and if I have offended against the principles of moderation and humanity I humbly ask forgiveness. I have aimed at nothing but the truth. Though it may appear to some

some that I have reared the standard of party, yet I have seriously endeavoured to vindicate, against the abounding heresies of the day, the principles of that Independence which we have assembled this day to celebrate. Heaven has prospered us in the election of a Jefferson : Still the sun as formerly rises pleasant in the morning, and the skies have not withheld their wonted refreshment : Laws against vice and immorality are sacredly executed : The priesthood, who sounded the trumpet of bigotry and alarm, are not discharged from the altar : Infidelity has not become the test of American loyalty ; the bonds of matrimony are devoutly regarded ; we have not become a tributary member of the French republic : We have peace with the world, and our eagle is respected by the nations of the earth. Happy people !—Let us offer to God a sacrifice of praise, that we have so goodly an inheritance. Let our prayers be ardent that heaven would sustain the arm of our Jefferson, and long continue him the counsellor of our nation—that the days of our independence “ may be long in the land which the Lord our God hath given us.”

