

OBSERVATIONS, &c.

MANKIND may amuse themselves with theoretic systems of liberty, and trace its social and moral effects on sciences, virtue, industry, and every improvement of which the human mind is capable; but we can only discern its true value by the practical and wretched effects of slavery; and thus breadwill will they be sofered when the inhabitants of the Eastern States are dragging out a miserable existence only on the gleamings of their fields; and the Southern, dressed with a razer and more fertile climate, are languishing in hopeless indolence, and when asked, what is become of their crop, and the rich produce of their farms—they may answer, *her hapless squire*, the Ma of *La Mancha*—“The steward of my Lord has seized and sent it to *Madrid*.”—Or, in the moral literal language of truth—the *exigencies* of government require, that the collectors of the revenue should transmit it to the *Federal City*.

Animated with the firmest zeal for the interest of this country, the peace and union of the American States, and the freedom and happiness of a people who have made the most costly sacrifices in the cause of liberty—who have braved the power of Britain, weathered the convulsions of war, and waded through the blood of friends and foes to establish their independence, and to support the freedom of the human mind. I cannot silently witness this degradation without calling on them, before they are compelled to blush at their own servitude, and to turn back their languid eyes on their lost liberties—*to consider*, that the character of nations generally changes at the moment of revolution: And when patriotism is discarded, and public virtue becomes the education of the sceptic—the every man of liberality, firmness, and penetration, who cannot lick the hand stretched out to oppress, is deemed an enemy to the State—then is the gulph of despotism set open, and the grades to slavery, though rapid,

are scarce perceptible—then genius drags heavily its iron chain—science is neglected, and real merit lies to the shades for security from reproach—the mind becomes enervated, and the national character sinks to a kind of apathy, with only energy sufficient to curse the breast that gave it milk, and as an elegant writer observes, “To beheld every new birth an increase of misery, under a government where the mind is necessarily debased, and talents are seduced to become the pageantry of usurpation and tyranny.” He adds, “That even sedition is not the most indubitable enemy to the public welfare; but that its most dreadful foe is despotism, which always changes the character of nations for the worse, and is productive of nothing but vice; that the tyrant no longer excites to the pursuits of glory or virtue, it is not talents, do we find the purple dye that flowed from the veins of her martyred heroes; and here every uncorrupted American yet hopes to see it supported by the vigour, the justice, the wisdom, and unanimity of the people, in spite of the deep-laid plots, the secret intrigues, or the bold frontings of those interested and avaricious adventurers for place, who, intoxicated with ideas of distinction and preference, have prostituted every worthy principle beneath the shrine of ambition. Yet these are the men who tell us, republicanism is dwindled into theory abolish this primary principle, the immediate gift of the Deity, and the security of national liberty, is no longer under the control of a civil authority; but at the discretion of foreign dominion. But there are certain seasons in the course of human affairs, when Genius, Virtue, and Patriotism, seem to nod over the vices of the times, and perhaps never more remarkably than at the present period, or we should not

love for the public good, a profound reverence for the laws, a contempt of riches, and a noble haughtiness of soul, are the only foundations of a free government. * Do not these dignified principles still exist among us? Or are they extinguished in the breasts of Americans, whose fields have been so recently crimsoned to repel the potent arm of a foreign Mönarch; who not pliant to the insults of slavery in every toy, will resign to the ease the vestiges of freedom in this his last asylum. It is to be hoped, for the honour of human nature, that no country, whether by foreign, or domestic influence, have thus darkened this Western hemisphere. On these shores Freedom has planted her standard dipped in the purple dye that flowed from the veins of her martyred heroes; and here every uncorrupted American yet hopes to see it supported by the vigour, the justice, the wisdom, and unanimity of the people, in spite of the deep-laid plots, the secret intrigues, or the bold frontings of those interested and avaricious adventurers for place, who, intoxicated with ideas of distinction and preference, have prostituted every worthy principle beneath the shrine of ambition. Yet these are the men who tell us, republicanism is dwindled into theory abolish this primary principle, the immediate gift of the Deity, and the security of national liberty, is no longer under the control of a civil authority; but at the discretion of foreign dominion. But there are certain seasons in the course of human affairs, when Genius, Virtue, and Patriotism, seem to nod over the vices of the times, and perhaps never more remarkably than at the present period, or we should not

the virtues and vices of a people, when a revolution happens in their government, are the measure of the liberty or slavery they ought to expect. An heroic

see such a passive disposition prevail in some, who we must candidly suppose have liberal and enlarged sentiments; while a supple multitude are paying a blind and idolatrous homage to the opinions of those, who, by the most precipitate steps, are treading down their dear-bought privileges, and who are endeavouring, with all the arts of insinuation and influence, to betray the people of the United States into an acceptance of a more complicated system of government, marked on the one side with the *dark, secret, and profound intrigues* of the statesman, long practised in the perfidious of despotism; and on the other, with the ideal projects of *young ambition*, with its wings just expanded to soar to a summit which imagination has painted in such gawdy colours as to intoxicate the *inexperienced votary*, and send him rambling from State to State, to collect materials to construct the ladder of preferment.

But as a variety of objections to the *heterogeneous phantom*, have been repeatedly laid before the public, by men of the best abilities and intentions, I will not expatiate long on a Republican *form of government*, founded on the principles of monarchy—a democratic branch with the *features* of aristocracy—and the extravagance of nobility pervading the minds of many of the candidates for office, with the poverty of peasantry hanging heavily on them, and insurmountable, as their taste for expense, unless a generous provision should be made in the arrangement of the civil list, which may enable them with the emptions of their cause, *to sail down the new Pactolus* without being troubled with the incumbrance of a more complicated system of government, marked on the one side with the *dark, secret, and profound intrigues* of the statesman, long practised in the perfidious of despotism; and on the other, with the ideal projects of *young ambition*, with its wings just expanded to soar to a summit which imagination has painted in such gawdy colours as to intoxicate the *inexperienced votary*, and send him rambling from State to State, to collect materials to construct the ladder of preferment.

without a name, had not Mr. *Wilson*, in the fertility of his genius, suggested the happy epithet of a *Federal Republic*. But I leave the field of general censure on the secrecy of its suffering, it is the rapidity of its growth, and the fatal consequences of its birth, and it will participate some of the most weighty objections to its passing through this continent in a gigantic size.—It will be allowed by every one, that the fundamental principle of a free government, is the equal representation of a free people.—And I will *first* observe with a justly celebrated writer,

That the principle aim of society is to protect individuals in the absolute rights which were vested in them by the immediate laws of nature, but which could not be preserved in peace, without the mutual intercourse which is gained by the institution of friendly and social communities.

—And when society has thus deputed a certain number of their equals to take care of their personal rights, and the interest of the whole community, it must be considered that responsibility is the great security of integrity and honour; and that annual election is the basis of responsibility.—Man is not immediately corrupted, but power, without limitation, or accountability, may endanger the brightest virtue—whereas a frequent return to the bar of their constituents is the strongest check against the corruptions to which men are liable, either from the intrigues of others of more subtil genius, or the propensities of their own hearts—and the gentlemen who have so warmly advocated in the late *Convention of the Massachusetts*, in a letter to Lord *Hillsborough* elections, may have been in the same predicament, and perhaps with the same views that Mr. *Hutchinson* once acknowledged himself, when in the charge to Lord *Hillsborough* he observed,

that the grand difficulty of making a change in government against the general bent of the people had caused him to turn his thoughts to a variety of plans, in order to find one that might be executed in spite of opposition.

and the first he proposed was, that “instead of annual, the elections should be only once in three years;” But the minister had not the hardness to attempt such an innovation, even in the revision of the charter. Nor has any other plan, which was proposed either in the British House of Commons, or in the debates of provincial assemblies, on general and free principles; But it is unnecessary to dwell long on this article, as the best political writers

have supported the principles of annual elections with a precision that cannot be confuted, though they may be darkened by the sophistical arguments that have been thrown out with design, to undermine all the barriers of freedom.

2. There is no security in the professed system, either for the rights of conscience, or the liberty of the press:—Despotism usually, while it is gaining ground; will suffer men to think, say, or write, as they please; but when they have done their utmost exertions, they will find themselves in the first instance, and an *impresario* on the press in the next, may silence the complaints, and forbid the most decent remonstrances of an injured and unoppressed people.

3. There are no well defined limits of the judiciary powers, they seem to be left as a boundless ocean, that has broken over the chart of the supreme lawgiver; “*thus far shall thou go and no farther,*,” and as they cannot be comprehended by the clearest capacity, or the most sagacious mind, it would be an Herculean labour to attempt to describe the dangers with which they are replete.

4. The executive and the legislative are so dangerously blended as to give just cause of alarm, and every thing relative thereto, is couched in such ambiguous terms—in such vague and indefinite expressions, as is a sufficient ground without any other objection, for the reprobation of a system, that the authors dare not hazard to a clear investigation.

5. The abolition of trial by jury in civil causes.—This mode of trial, the learned Judge Blackstone observes,

has been coeval with the first rudiments of civil government, that property, liberty and life, depend on maintaining in its legal force the constitutional trial by jury.

He bids his readers pause, and with Sir *Matthew Hale* observes, how admirably this mode is adapted to the investigation of truth beyond any other the world can produce. Even the party who have been disposed to swallow without examination, the proposals of the *secret conclave*, have started on a discovery that this essential right was curtailed• and shall a privilege, the origin of which may be traced to our Saxon ancestors—that has been a part of the law of nations, even in the sedatory systems of France, Germany, and Italy—and from the earliest records has

been held so sacred, both in ancient and modern Britain, that it could never be shaken by the introduction of Norman customs, or any other conquests or chance of government—shall this inestimable privilege be relinquished in America—either through the fear ofquisition for unaccounted thousands of public monies in the hands of some who have been chargeable in the fabrication of the *whited skin system*, or from the apprehension that some future detraction, possessed of more power than integrity, may be called to a trial by his peers in the hour of investigation?

6. Though it has been said by Mr. *Wilson*, and many others, that a standing army is necessary for the dignity and safety of America, yet freedom revolts at the idea, when the *Divion*, or the despot, may draw out his dragoons to suppress the whimmers of a few, who may yet cherish those subtle principles which call forth the exertions, and lead to the best improvement of the human mind. It is hoped this country may yet be governed by milder methods than are usually displayed beneath the banners of military law. Standing armies have been the nursery of vice, and the bane of liberty, from the Roman legions, to the establishment of the artful *Ximenes*, and from the ruin of the *Cortes* of Spain, to the planting the British Cohorts in the calipats of America.—By the edicts of authority vested in the sovereign power by the proposed constitution, the militia of the country, the bulwark of defence, and the security of national liberty, is no longer under the control of a civil authority; but at the discretion of the monarch, or the aristocracy, who may either be employed to exert the enormous sums that will be necessary to support the recall list—to maintain the regalia of power—and the splendor of the most useless part of the community, or they may be sent into foreign countries for the fulfillment of treaties, stipulated by the president and two thirds of the senate.

7. Notwithstanding the delusory promise to guarantee a republican form of government to every state in the union—if the most discerning eye could discover any meaning at all in the engagement, there are no resources left for the support of internal government, or the liquidation of the debts of the state. Every source of revenue is in the monopoly of Congress, and if the several legislatures in their enfeebled state, should against their own feelings be necessitated to attempt a dry tax for the payment of their debts, and the support of internal police, even this may

be required for the purposes of the general government.

8. As the new Congress are impowered to determine their own salaries, the requisitions for this purpose may not be very moderate, and the drain for public monies will probably rise past all calculation; and it is to be feared, when America has consolidated its despotism, the world will witness the truth of the assertion—

that the pomp of an eastern monarch may impose on the vulgar who may estimate the force of a nation by the magnificence of its palaces; but the wise man judges differently, it is by that very magnificence he estimates its weakness. He sees nothing more in the midst of this imposing pomp, than a sumptuous and a judicious and mournful decoration of the dead; the apparatus of a fastidious funeral, in the centre of which is a cold and lifeless lump of unanimated earth, a phantom of power ready to disappear before the enemy, by whom it is dispelled!

9. There is no provision for a rotation, nor any thing to prevent the perpetuity of office in the same hands for life; which by a little well timed bribery, will probably be done; to the exclusion of men of the first talents, and their share in the offices of government.—By this neglect we lose the advantages of that check to the overbearing insolence of office, which by rendering him ineligible at certain periods, keeps the mind of man in equilibrio, and teaches him the feelings of the governed, and better qualifies him to govern in his turn.

10. The inhabitants of the United States, are liable to be dragged from the vicinity of their own county, or state, to answer to the litigious or unjust suit of an adversary, on the most distant borders of the continent: In short, the appellate jurisdiction of the supreme federal court, includes an unwarrantable stretch of power over the liberty, life, and property of the subject, through the wide continent of America.

11. One representative to thirty thousand inhabitants is a very inadequate representation; and every man who is not lost to all sense of freedom to his country, must reprobate the idea of Congress altering by law, or on any pretence whatever interfering with any regulations for the time, places, and manner of choosing our own representatives.

12. If the sovereignty of America is designed to be elective,

the circumscribing the votes to only ten electors in this state, and the same proportion in all the others, is nearly tantamount to the exclusion of the voice of the people in the choice of their first magistrate. It is vesting the choice solely in an aristocratic junta, who may easily combine in each state to place at the head of the union the most convenient instrument for despotic sway.

13. A senate chosen for six years, will in most instances, be an appointment for life, as the influence of such a body over the minds of the people, will be coeval to their responsibility, is totally equippant to every grade of a free government.

14. There is no provision by a bill of rights to guard against the dangerous encroachments of power in too many instances to be named: But I cannot pass over in silence the insecurity in which we are left with regard to warrants answered by evidence—the daring experiment of granting *writs of assistance*, as a sooner arbitrary administration is not yet forgotten in the Massachusetts; nor can we be so ungrateful to the memory of the patriots who counteracted their operation, as to affirm their many exertions to be such a detestable instrument of arbitrary power, to subject ourselves to the insolence of any petty revenue officer to enter our houses, search, insult, and seize at pleasure. We are told by a gentleman of too much virtue and real probity to suspect he has a design to deceive—“that the whole constitution is a declaration of rights;”—but from mankind a discussion of office, which may either be employed to exert the enormous sums that will be necessary to support the recall list—to maintain the regalia of power—a perversion of the rights of particular states, and of private citizens—But the gentleman goes on to tell us,

that the primary object is the general government, and that the rights of individuals are only incidentally mentioned, and that there was a clear impropriety in being very particular about them.

But, asking ground for dissenting from such respectable authority, who has been led into several mistakes, more from his predilection in favour of certain modes of governments, than from a want of understanding or veracity, the rights of individuals ought to be the primary object of all government, and cannot be too securely guarded

by the most explicit declarations in their favour. This has been the opinion of the Hampdens, the Pym's, and many other illustrious names, that have stood forth in the defence of English liberties; and even the Italian master of politics, the subtil and renowned Machiavel acknowledges, that no republic ever yet stood on a stable foundation without satisfying the common people.

15. The difficulty, if not impracticability, of exercising the equal and equitable powers of government by a single legislature over an extent of territory that reaches from the Mississippi to the western lakes, and from them to the Atlantic ocean, is an insuperable objection to the adoption of the new system.—Mr. *Hutchinson*, the great champion for arbitrary power, in the multitude of his machinations to subvert the liberties of this country, was obliged to acknowledge in one of his letters, that “from the extent of country from north to south, the scheme of one government was impracticable.” But if the authors of the present visionary project, can by the arts of deception, precipitation and address, obtain a majority of suffrages in the conventions of the states to try the hazardous experiment, they may then make the same ingenious boast with this insidious politician, who may perhaps be their model, that “the union of the colonies was pretty well broken, and that he hoped never to see it renewed.”

16. It is an indisputed fact, that not one legislature in the United States had the most distant idea when they first appointed members for a convention, entirely commercial, or when they afterwards authorised them to consider on some amendments of the federal union, that they would, without any warrant from their constituents, presume on so bold and daring a stride, as ultimately to destroy the state governments, and offer a *consolidated system*, irreversible but on conditions that the smallest degree of penetration must discover to be impracticable.

17. The first appearance of the article which declares the ratification of nine states sufficient for the establishment of the new system, wears the face of dissension, it is a subversion of the union of the confederated states; and tends to the introduction of anarchy and civil convulsions;—and may be a means of involving the whole country in blood.

18. The mode in which this constitution is recommended to the people to judge without either the advice of Congress,

or the legislatures of the several states, is very reprehensible—it is an attempt to force it upon them before it could be thoroughly understood, and may leave us in that situation, that in the first moments of slavery the minds of the people, agitated by the remembrance of their lost liberties, will be like the sea in a tempest, that sweeps down without satisfying the common people.

But it is needless to enumerate other instances, in which the proposed constitution appears contradictory to the first principles which ought to govern mankind; and it is equally so to require into the motives that induced to so bold a step as the annihilation of the independence and sovereignty of the thirteen distinct states.—They are but obvious through the whole of the plan, and are not to be overlooked. Yet we are told, that the same reasons which induced the Convention to meet on our plains—or commerce and with gentlemen in the different states on the subject under discussion; till the trivial proposition of recommending a few amendments was finally ushered into the convention of the Massachusetts. The questions that were then before that honourable assembly were terminated by an importance, they were of such magnitude and extent, that the consequences may run parallel with the existence of the country; and to see them waded and hastily profounded by a measure, too absurd to require a serious reflection, the honest advocate for every true friend of a country, which by the most glorious and successful struggles, and by newly emanated from the scripture of foreign states thus precipitated to the adoption of a Constitution, that even the framers dare not risk to the hazard of revision, amendment, or reconsideration, last the whole principles on which the late revolution was grounded; or till the last traits of the many political tracts, which defended the separation from Britain, and the rights of men were consigned to (∞) oblivion. After the severe conflicts this country has suffered, it is presumed, that they are disposed to make a very reasonable sacrifice before the altar of peace. But when we contemplate the nature of men, and consider them originally on an equal footing, subject to the same feelings, stimulated by the same passions, and recollecting the struggles they have recently made, for the security of their civil rights; it cannot be expected that the inhabitants of the Massachusetts, can be easily lulled into a fatal security, by the declamatory effusions of gentlemen, who,

contrary to the experience of all ages, would persuade them there is no danger to be apprehended from vesting discretionary powers in the hands of man, which he may, or may not abuse. The very suggestion, that we ought to trust to the precarious hope of amendments and redress, after we have voluntarily fixed the shackles on our own necks, should have awakened a double degree of caution.—This people have not forgotten the artful insinuations of a former government, when pleading the unlimited authority of parliament before the legislature of the Massachusetts; nor that his arguments were very similar to some lately urged by gentlemen who boast of opposing his measures, “with *hailers about their necks*.”

We were then told to hush, in all the soft language of assuasion, that no form of government of human construction can be perfect—that had the lenient hand to fear—and we had no reason to complain,—that we had only to acquiesce in their illegal claims, and to submit to the requisitions of parliament, and doubtless the nation of that government would redress all grievances, and remove the oppressions of the people. Yet we are told, that the same reasons which induced the Convention to meet on our plains—or commerce and with gentlemen in the different states on the subject under discussion; till the trivial proposition of recommending a few amendments was finally ushered into the convention of the Massachusetts. The questions that were then before that honourable assembly were terminated by an importance, they were of such magnitude and extent, that the consequences may run parallel with the existence of the country; and to see them waded and hastily profounded by a measure, too absurd to require a serious reflection, the honest advocate for every true friend of a country, which by the most glorious and successful struggles, and by newly emanated from the scripture of foreign states thus precipitated to the adoption of a Constitution, that even the framers dare not risk to the hazard of revision, amendment, or reconsideration, last the whole principles on which the late revolution was grounded; or till the last traits of the many political tracts, which defended the separation from Britain, and the rights of men were consigned to (∞) oblivion. After the severe conflicts this country has suffered, it is presumed, that they are disposed to make a very reasonable sacrifice before the altar of peace. But when we contemplate the nature of men, and consider them originally on an equal footing, subject to the same feelings, stimulated by the same passions, and recollecting the struggles they have recently made, for the security of their civil rights; it cannot be expected that the inhabitants of the Massachusetts, can be easily lulled into a fatal security, by the declamatory effusions of gentlemen, who,

he had no idea that all the wisdom, integrity, and virtue of the States was contained in that Convention, and that he wished to have corresponded with gentlemen of eminent political characters abroad, and give their sentiments due weight.

He adds,

so extremely foolish were they, that their proceedings should not transpire, that the members were prohibited from taking copies of their resolutions, or extracts from the journals, without express permission, by vote.

And the hurry with which it has been urged to the acceptance of the people, without giving time, by adjournments, for better information and more unanimity, has a deceptive appearance; and if finally driven to resistance, as the only alternative between that and servitude, till in the confusion of discord, the fraudulent should be seized by the violence of some enterprising genius, who may sweep down the last barrier of liberty; it must be added to the score of criminality with which the insidious usurpation at Philadelphia may be chargeable. Heaven avert such a tremendous scene! and let us still hope a more happy termination of the present ferment.—may the people be calm, and wait a legal redress; may the mad

transport of some of our inflated capitals subsided; and every influential character through the States, make the most prudent exertions for a new general Convention, who may vest adequate powers in Congress for all national purposes, without annihilating the individual governments, and drawing blood from every pore by taxes, impositions, and illegal restrictions. This step might again re-establish the Union, restore tranquility to the ruffled mind of the inhabitants, and save America from distresses dreadful even in contemplation.

The great art of governing is to lay aside all prejudices and attachments to particular opinions, classes, or individual characters; to consult the spirit of the people; to give way to it; and, in so doing, to give it a turn capable of inspiring those sentiments which may induce them to relish a change which is a liberation of circumstances may hereafter make necessary.

The education of the advocates for monarchy should have taught them, and their melody should have suggested, that monarchy is a species of government fit only for a people too much corrupted by luxury, avarice, and a passion for pleasure, to have any love for their country, and whose wishes the fear of punishment alone is able to restrain; but by no means calculated for a nation that is free, and the same time tenacious of their liberty—animated with a disgust of tyranny—and inspired with the generous feelings of patriotism and liberty, and at the same time, like the ancient Spartans, have been hardened by temperance and many exertions, and equally despising the fatigues of the field, and the fear of enemies;

—and which they change their ground they should recollect, that Aristocracy is still a more formidable foe to public virtue, and the prosperity of a nation—that under such a government her patriots become mercenaries—her soldiers cowards, and the people (∞). Though several State Conventions have assented to, and ratified, yet the voice of the people appears at present strong against the adoption of the Constitution. By the chicanery, intrigue, and false colouring of those who plume themselves on their education and abilities, than their political, patriotic, or private virtues—by the imbecility of some, and the duplicity of others, a majority of the Convention of Massachusetts has been flattered with the ideas of amendments when it will be too late to complain—While several

in *very*, after long endeavouring to reconcile it to their consciences, the hopeless indigestible *provision*, and, in a kind of sudden despondence, lent their signature to the deflection of the honorable state of their refusal to adopt a Constitution, that even the framers dare not risk to the hazard of revision, amendment, or reconsideration, last the whole principles on which the late revolution was grounded; or till the last traits of the many political tracts, which defended the separation from Britain, and the rights of men were consigned to (∞) oblivion. After the severe conflicts this country has suffered, it is presumed, that they are disposed to make a very reasonable sacrifice before the altar of peace. But when we contemplate the nature of men, and consider them originally on an equal footing, subject to the same feelings, stimulated by the same passions, and recollecting the struggles they have recently made, for the security of their civil rights; it cannot be expected that the inhabitants of the Massachusetts, can be easily lulled into a fatal security, by the declamatory effusions of gentlemen, who,

Though the virtues of a Cato could not save Rome, nor the abilities of a Padilla defend the seats of his Castle from its Declii, as well as its *Caesars*, and yet a *Tell* once suddenly rose from a little obscure city, and boldly rescued the liberties of his country. Every age has its Brutii and its Decii, as its Yorks and its Sejanis. The happiness of mankind depends much on the modes of government and the virtues of the governors; and America may yet produce characters who have genius and capacity sufficient to form the manners and correct the morals of the people, and virtue enough to lead their country to freedom. Since her dismemberment from the British empire, America has, in many instances, resembled the conduct for restlers, vigorous, but divided; then wisely emancipated from the chains of a tyrant, but without the experience

necessary to direct him to act with dignity or firmness. Thus we have seen her break the shackles of foreign dominion, and all the blessings of peace restored on the most honourable terms. She acquired the liberty of framing her own laws, choosing her own magistrates, and adopting manners and modes of government the most favourable to the freedom and happiness of society. But how little have we availed ourselves of these superior advantages! The glorious fabric of liberty, successfully reared with so much labour and assiduity, totters to the foundation, and may be blown away, as the bubble of fancy, by the rude breath of military combinations, and the politicians of yesterday.

It is true this country lately armed in opposition to regal despotism—improved by the expenses of a long war, and unable immediately to fulfil their public or private engagements, have been opposed in some instances with a boldness of spirit that seemed to set at defiance all authority, government, or order, on the one hand, while on the other there has been not a secret insub, but an open avowal of the necessity of drawing the reins of government more loosely, not only for republicanism, but for a wise and limited monarchy. But the character of this people is not averse to a degree of subordination: the truth of this appears from the easy restoration of tranquillity after a dangerous insurrection in one of the states; it also evinces the little necessity of a complete revolution of the government throughout the Union. But it is a republican principle, that the majority should rule; and if a spirit of moderation could be cultivated on both sides, till the voice of the people at large could be fairly heard, it should be held sacred! And if, on such a scrutiny, the proposed constitution should appear repugnant to their character and wishes—if they, in the language of a late elegant pen, should acknowledge that

no confusion, in my mind, is more terrible to them, than the stern disciplin'd regularity and vaulted police of arbitrary governments, where every heart is depraved by fear, where mankind dare not assume their natural characters, where the free spirit must crouch to the slave in office, where genius must repress her effusions; or, like the Egyptian worshippers, offer them in sacrifice to the calves in power; and where the human mind, always in shackles, shrinks from every generous effort.

Who would then have

the effrontery to say, it ought not to be thrown out with indignation, however some respectable names have appeared to support it. But if after all, on a dispassionate and fair discussion, the people generally give their voice for a voluntary dereliction of their privileges, and every individual, who chooses the active sciences of life, strive to support the peace and unanimity of the people, may be contented with the measure, and while the statesman is plodding for power, and the courtier practising the arts of dissimulation without check; while the rapacious are growing rich by oppression, and fortune throwing her gifts into the lap of fools, let the sublimar character, the philosophic lovers of freedom, who have wept over her exit, retire to the calm shades of contemplation; there they may look down with pity on the inconsistency of human nature, the revolutions of states, the rise of kingdoms, and the fall of empires.

FINIS.