Sacred to LOVE.

THO" Bacchus may boaſt of his care-killing bowl,
And ropers in thought-drowning revels delight;
Such frenzy alas! has no charms for the ſoul,
When ſofter-devotions the ſenſes invite.

To the arrow of fate, or the canker of care,
Its potion oblivious of balm he beſtows
To the fancy, that feeds on the charms of the fair,
The death of reflection's the birth of all woes.

For who that poſſeſſes a dream ſo divine,
With riot would bid the ſweet viſion begone;
For *the tear that bedews* SENSIBILITY's *ſhrine,*
Is a drop of more worth than all BACCHUS's *tun!*

That tender exceſs, which enamours the heart,
To few is imparted, to millions denied
'Tis the brain of the victim that tempers the dart,
And fools laugh at that, for which ſages have *died.*

Each change and exceſs has thro' life been my doom,
And well can I ſpeak of its calm and its ſtrife;
Tho' my *bottle* may yield me a glimpſe thro' the gloom,
Yet *love's* the true ſunſhine, that gladdens my life.

Then come, roſy VENUS! and ſpread o'er my ſight,
Thoſe magic illuſions that raviſh the ſoul:
Awake in my breaſt the ſoft dream of delight,
And drop from thy *Myrtle* one leaf in my bowl.

Then deep will I drink of its *Nectar* divine,
Nor e'er, jolly God! from thy banquet remove;
Each tube of my heart, may it thirſt for the *wine,*
That's ripen'd by *friendſhip,* that's mellow'd by *love*

A CHARGE delivered to the Grand Jury for the diſtrict of Virginia, in the Circuit Court of the United States for the ſaid diſtrict, at the city of Richmond, May 23, 1796.

By JAMES IREDELL, one of the Aſſociate Juſtices of the Supreme Court of the United States.

(Publiſhed at the requeſt of the Grand Jury.)

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

AMONG the numerous means put into our power for preſerving the public bleſſings theſe ſtates ſo remarkably enjoy, perhaps none are of greater importance, certainly none deſerve a more ſacred regard, than thoſe which relate to the adminiſtration of juſtice. Liberty without law is anarchy; law without liberty is oppreſſion. A due mixture of both, can alone make any people at once proſperous and happy.

What may conſtitute the proper union of both, it is difficult to ſay in regard to any people until experience has given ſome ſanction to theory. The habits, manners, principles, and propenſities, differ ſo much in different nations, that it is impoſſible that the ſame kind of ſyſtem can ſuit them all. No people, however, can rationally deſire more than that they ſhould themſelves chooſe the government under which they are to live. There is no alternative between this, but no government at all, or one which owes its birth to uſurpation or accident.

The people of the United States not only were the firſt who enjoyed the high diſtinction of chooſing a government of their own, but in the courſe of many years experience of war and peace, they have had opportunities to put many principles to the teſt, and to appreciate their value accordingly. Thus it was found, that in time of war, when a vaſt majority of the people concurred in one common object, being actuated by a common danger, and having one great end only in view, the feeble articles of confederation were ſufficient to keep them together, to conduct them glorioufly through the trying conflict in which they were engaged, and at length terminate it with equal honour and advantage. But when this common object was obtained, when the danger of a foreign enemy was removed, then ſoon appeared the influence of ſelfiſh and contending intereſts, too many forgetting how neceſſary union was to preſerve what had been with ſo much difficulty acquired. The conſequences we well know. The voice of the union diſregarded; public debts not only unpaid, but unprovided for; private, as well as public credit, at a very low ebb; commerce languiſhing; agriculture diſcouraged; meaſures of diſunion every day adopting; an illiberal and malignant jealouſy taking place of a rational and manly confidence, and the moſt melancholy ſymptoms prevailing of a ſpeedy diſſolution of the union, or a diſgraceful and ungovernable anarchy. The magnitude of the danger alarmed all conſiderate men, and by one of the greateſt and moſt diſintereſted efforts ever made by public bodies, each making voluntary ſacrifices to accompliſh a magnanimous reformation, the preſent conſtitution of the United States was formed and adopted. The conſequences which have happened I need not depict. They are felt, if not acknowledged, by all. They have advanced the United States to a degree of proſperity and glory to which no imagination reached before the experiment was made. They leave ſcarcely any thing to wiſh, but that raſhneſs may not throw away what wiſdom has ſo nobly procured.

All governments depend more or leſs upon the confidence and ſupport of the people for whoſe benefit they do, or ought to ſubſiſt. But a free government more eſpecially does ſo, and the freer the government the greater ſuch dependence muſt be. Every citizen, therefore, of the United States, whatever may be his ſtation or ſituation, has an important reſponſibility attached to himſelf. He owes to his country, by all poſſible and honourable means, to promote its proſperity, and to do nothing either negligently or with deſign to counteract it. Conſidering himſelf as a member of a ſingle community, which is itſelf a member of another in a larger ſphere, he ſhould reflect that he is only one individual connected with a great number of others, whoſe authority ſeperately is equal, and each of whoſe ſentiments are entitled to equal deference with his own. That his individual intereſt, when it comes into competition, muſt yield to that of the ſtate in which he reſides; and that the intereſt of the ſtate itſelf, in competition with that of the United States, muſt yield to this a ſuperior intereſt alſo; ſince a real and effective union can be founded upon no other baſis. At the ſame time that he exerciſes with zeal, and maintains with firmneſs, the right of each individual to expreſs his ſentiments on all public concerns, he ſhould endeavour, as well as his opportunities will admit, to underſtand them thoroughly, that he may neither be unwaringly miſled himſelf, nor unwaringly miſlead others. He ſhould ſeriouſly meditate on the awful ſtake which not only himſelf, but millions of others have in the public proſperity, and make reaſonable allowances for the difficulties which will perpetually occur in the management of the concerns of ſo great a number, ſo as to combine as nearly as poſſible the intereſts of the few with the intereſts of the many, and render the whole ſubſervient to the exalted principles of honour and juſtice. To effect theſe great objects is indeed no eaſy taſk, and he who thinks it ſo, ſhews either an extreme ignorance of the ſubject, or a vain preſumption in his own powers, for which no judicious man will give him any credit. As long as governments ſhall ſubſiſt, under any form or of any deſcription, various opinions will be entertained upon the ſubject of political regulations. They embrace a variety of intereſts, all of which cannot equally be promoted, tho' all ought to be conſulted, and as much as poſſible to be reconciled. They reſpect future contingencies, upon which the limited foreſight of man can enable him to form at beſt but probable conjectures. Caſes of extraordinary exigency ſometimes preſent themſelves, which confound the cleareſt underſtandings, and in which no ſteps however cautious can be ſure to tread with ſafety.—The ableſt men in inveſtigating a ſubject to which ſo many intricacies belong, will often differ about the proper means of effecting the ſame common object. Theſe difficulties occur even if the beſt diſpoſitions ſhould univerſally prevail. But that never can be the caſe in an extenſive country. However numerous the well diſpoſed may be, there will be always ill diſpoſed men ready to take advantage of opportunities to do miſchief.—They will neglect no means of doing it, where they have any chance of ſucceſs. Miſrepreſentations may be eaſily made which for a time will impoſe on many who poſſeſs the pureſt intentions, ſince no man can judge but according to the information he receives, and if that be erroneous an opinion grounded on it muſt neceſſarily be ſo too. Plauſible reports will be raiſed to catch the credulous; unwarrantable apprehenſions will be ſuggeſted to alarm the timid; arrogant pretenſions will be employed to ſeduce thoſe who revere and practiſe it. By arts like theſe, miſchief may be effected before the public mind can be thoroughly informed, and the true grounds of public meaſures rightly underſtood. It is in this interval alone that a free government, conſcious of its integrity, has any thing to fear. The government of the United States has paſſed through ſeveral of theſe trials. Through them all, time has removed prejudices which ſucceſſively had great ſway. Reaſon, when it was allowed a fair ſcope, has had its full effect on an enlightened juſtice, on a virtuous candour, on a generous people. They have never yet failed, and I truſt never will, to beſtow their confidence when convinced it has been really deſerved. They well know how much is in their power if in any inſtance it be abuſed, but they will not ſuffer men to be condemned unheard, becauſe they have been thought worthy of their higheſt confidence, nor will they be prevailed upon, under any temporary deluſion, to abandon a government of their own choice, and which has conſtantly riſen in their eſtimation after every attempt to diſcredit it.

I make theſe obſervations, gentlemen, becauſe it is the glory of a free government, and I doubt not the firſt wiſh of our own, to rely upon the good opinion and affections of the people as the firmeſt baſis of its power: becauſe ill grounded diſcontent not only preys upon the mind, and diminiſhes its uſefulneſs in ſociety, but has too natural a tendency to create an indifference if not an averſion to government, and from either of theſe the gradation to actual diſobedience is leſs than ſeems commonly to be conſidered: becauſe though courts of juſtice have authority to puniſh diſobedience, yet if they can be in any manner inſtrumental in rendering the exerciſe of ſuch authority unneceſſary, they may perform more real ſervices to their country (and certainly ſuch as are more pleaſing to themſelves) than by appearing only in the ſtern character of power, and a humane precaution to prevent crimes can never be deemed an improper attribute of juſtice. I may add, perhaps without impropriety, becauſe I am perſuaded that the better the meaſures of the government are underſtood, the more they will be approved, and whatever differences of opinion may ſtill remain as to the policy of ſome of them, there will be found upon the moſt ſcrutiniſing reſearch no reaſon for ſuppoſing that they have not originated in the moſt upright intentions to promote the welfare of our common country.

I have heard, gentlemen, of no offences like to come before you but ſuch as are unqueſtionably of a very immoral and dangerous nature, and altogether unconnected with political diſſentions. No particulars have come officially to my knowledge, but I have underſtood that very ſerious proſecutions are depending for ſome ſpecies of frauds committed upon the public mail, which by a ſpecial act of the Congreſs of the United States are made highly penal, in ſome inſtances puniſhable with death. It would be improper for me to enter into a detail concerning tranſactions of which I have received no official information, but I think it proper to read to you ſuch parts of the act as may concern the proſecutions in queſtion, not doubting that you will proceed in the inveſtigation of the charges with all the attention and care ſuited to their ſolemnity and importance.

[*Here he read the* 16*th and* 17*th Sect. 3d Vol. p.* 48. 49.]

If in the courſe of your enquiry upon theſe proſecutions, or any other, you ſhould require any aſſiſtance from the court which can be properly afforded, it ſhall be moſt readily given.

The Grand Jury returned the following Anſwer: To the Hon. Judge IREDELL *and Jude* GRIFFIN.

GENTLEMEN,

WE are convinced of the importance of the obſervations delivered in your charge, to men who have the happineſs to live under a government of their choice. It can ſubſiſt only in confidence of the people; and any attempt to deſtroy this ſupport, leads directly to its ſubverſion. But we can with pleaſure declare, that the government of the union, which was called into exiſtence by the voice of the people, is ſtill the object of their warmeſt attachment: that they are ſufficiently enlightened to appreciate juſtly, as well the bleſſings it has beſtowed, as the calamities it has averted; and clearly to perceive that their very liberty, peace, and proſperity, can reſt on no other ſecure foundation.

If various intereſts agitate the different parts of the union, as their various ſentiments might lead us to fancy, it is fortunate that their government compels them at laſt to harmonize; that diſſention evaporates in debate, inſtead of engendering hoſtile feuds; and that while the ſenate is convulſed, the people are tranquil. But inſtead of deriving this difference of opinion from oppoſite and irreconcileable intereſts, which only our enemies would delight to mark, we may fairly trace it to local and temporary circumſtances, which the hand of time is gently removing, and anticipate a period, when the national character, as well as national government, ſhall be the pride and boaſt of every American.

It is to be expected, that the people will watch the conduct of a government, in which are depoſited their hopes of happineſs, with a jealous attention. And this irritable ſtate of the public mind, may ſometimes receive, too favourably, the ſeeds of diſtruſt and ſuſpicion, which are every where ſcattered by induſtrious malice; a temporary deluſion may ſucceed, which ſoon however will yield to the genuine good ſenſe of the people operating upon fuller and more accurate information.

Our government, as you obſerve, has more than once experienced theſe criſes of public opinion; and we truſt that inſtead of ſuffering by the ſhock, it has grown in the public eſtimation. Conſcious of its integrity, it muſt deſire to be ſcrutinized by the intelligent and candid, and if it regards its own preſervation, the firſt objects of its policy ſhould be to diffuſe knowledge among the people, and to cultivate that inflexible virtue, which correſponds with its inſtitution, and can alone give to it ſtability.

We ſhall not fail to beſtow on thoſe ſubjects particularly committed to us, that ſerious attention which their importance to the intereſts of ſociety demands.

By the majority of the Grand Jury,
May 26. HENRY LEE, *Foreman.*

The above addreſs having been preſented to the Judges out of court, the following reply was given:

To HENRY LEE, ESQUIRE.

SIR,

THE ſentiments contained in the addreſs you have done us the honour to preſent, give us great ſatisfaction. They breathe a ſpirit of union and republicaniſm, which the ſituation of the United States peculiarly demands, and which appears with peculiar dignity and weight, in thoſe who have ſo eminently contributed to the eſtabliſhment of both. Such an example muſt produce the happieſt effects on many, who, though they value the liberty and reputation of their country, too ſlightly eſtimate the dangers to which they are expoſed, when a temper of indiſcriminate diſtruſt is ſubſtituted for a wiſe and diſcreet jealouſy; and unavoidable differences of opinion are ſuffered to rankle into perſonal animoſity and ill-will. But we truſt, and doubt not, that, as the people of the different ſtates become better acquainted with each other, a great deal of unfortunate prejudice which ſtill prevails, will be done away, and that every day will more ſtrongly cement that union ſo eſſential to the proſperity of all.

We have the honour to be, with the higheſt reſpect,
Your moſt obedient, and moſt faithful ſervant,
JA. IREDELL, C. GRIFFIN.
Richmond, May 27, 1796.