AND

FRIDAY, JULY 27, 1821.

MR. ADAMS'S ADDRESS, CONCLUDED.

It is not, let me repeat, fellow-citizens, it is not the long enumeration of intolerable wrongs concentrated in this Declaration; it is not the melancholy catalogue of alternate oppression and entreaty, of reciprocated indignity and remonstrance, upon which, in the celebration of this anniversary, your memory delights to dwell. Nor is it vet that the justice of your cause was vindicated by the God of battles; that in a conflict of seven years, the history of the war by which you maintained that Declaration, became the history of the civilized world; that the unanimous voice of enlightened Furope, and the verdict of an after age, have sanctioned your assun ption of sovereign power; and that the name of voor Washington is enrolled upon the records of time, first in the glorious line of heroic virtue. It is not that the monarch himself, who had been your oppressor, was compelled to recognize you as a sovereign and independent people, and that the nation, whose feelings of fraternity for you had slumbered in the lap of pride, was awakened in the arms of humiliation to your equal and no longer centested rights. The primary purpose of this Declaration, the proclamation to the world of the causes of our revolution. is " with the years beyond the flood."-It is of no more interest to us than the chastity of Lucretia, or the apple on the head of the child of Tell. Little less than forty years have revolved since the struggle for independence was closed; another generation has arisen; and, in the assembly of nations, our republic is already a matron of mature age. The cause of your independence is no longer upon trial; the final sentence upon it has long been pass

ed upon earth and ratified in Heaven. The interest which in this paper has survived the occasion upon which it was issued; the interest which is of every age & every clime; the interest which quickens with the lapse of years, spreads as it grows old, and brightens as i recedes, is in the principles which it proclaims. It was the first solemn declaration by a nation of the only legitimate foundation of civil government. It was the corner stone of a new fabric, destined to cover the surface of the globe. It demolished at a streke the lawfulnesss of all governmen's founded upon conquest. It swept away all the rubbish of accumulated centuries of servitude. It announced in practical form to the world the transcendent truth of the unalienable sovereignty of the people. It proved that the social compact was no figment of the imagination, but a real, solid, and sacred bond of the social From the day of this Declaration the people of North-America were no longer the fragment of a distant empire, imploring justice and mercy from an inexorable master in another hemisphere.-They were no longer children appealing in vain to the sympathics of a heartless mother; no longer subjects leaning upon the shattered columns of royal promi to secure their rights. They were a nation, asserting as of right, and maintaining by war, its own existence. A nation was born in a day:

" How many ages hence

"Shall this, their lofty scene be acted o'er "In states unborn, & ccents yet unknown!"

It will be acted o'er, fellow-citizens, but t can never be repeated. It stands, and must forever stand, alone, a beacon on the summit of the mountain, to which Il the inhabitants of the earth may turn their eyes for a genial and saving light, till time shall be lost in eternity, and this globe itself disserve, nor leave a wreck behing. It stands for ever, a light of admonition to the rulers of men, a light of salvation and redemption to the oppressed. So long as this planet hall be inhabited by human beings; so long as man shall be of social nature; so long as government shall be necessary to the great moral purposes of sections; and so long as it shall be abused to the purposes of oppression, so long shall this Declaration hold out to the sovere gn and to the subject the extent and the boundaries of their respective rights and duties, founded in the laws of nature and of Nature's God. Five and forty years have passed away since this Declaration was issued by our fathers; and here are we, fellow-citizens, assembled in the full enjoyment of its fruits, to bless the Author of our Being for the bounties of his providence in casting our lot in this favored land; to remember, with effusions of gratitude, the sages who put forth, and the heroes who bled for the establishment of, this Declaration; and, by the communion of soul in the re perusal and hearing of this instrument, to renew the genuine Holy Alliance of its principles, to recoginse them as eternal truths, and to pledge curselves, and bind our posterny, to a faithful and undeviating adherence to

rellow-citizens, our fathers have been faithful to them before us. When the hule band of their Delegaies, "with a fra reliance on the protection of Divine Previdence, for the support of this Deciaration mutually pleaged to each other their irves, their forcunes, an their saered honor," from every dwelling, street,

re-echoed with shouts of joy and gratulation! And if the silent language of the heart could have been heard, every hill upon the surface of this continent which had been trodden by the foot of civilized man-e ery valley in which the toil of your fathers had op ned a paradise upon the wild, would have rung, with one ac cordant voice, louder than the thunders, sweeter than the harmonies of the heavens, with the solemn and responsive words, " We savear "

The pledge has been redeemed. Thro' six years of devastating, but heroic war; thre' forty years of more heroic peace, the principles of this Declaration have been supported by the toils, by the vigils, by the blood, of your fathers, and of yourselves. The conflict of war had begun with fearful odds of apparent human power on the part of the oppressor. He wielded at will the collective force of the mightiest nation in Europe. He, with more than poetic truth, asserted the dominion of the waves. The power to whose unjust usurpation your fathers hurled the gauntlet of defiance, baffled and vanquished by them, has even since, stripped of all the energies of this continent, been found adequate to give the law to its own quarter of the globe, and to mould the destinies of the a stone that your fathers went forth to der and endearing sympathies, the ab-They slung the heaven-directed stone, and nation towards them was the prima-

## " With heaviest sound the giant monster fell."

Amid the shouts of victory your cause soon found friends and allies in the rivals of your enemies. France recognized your Independ nce as existing in fact, & made common cause with you for its support .-Spain and the Netherlands, without adopting your principles, successively flung their weight into your scale. The Semiramis of the North, no convert to your doctrines, still conjured all the maritime neutrality of Europe in array against the usurpations of your antagonist upon the seas. While some of the fairest of your fields were rayaged; while your towns and villages were consumed with fire; while the Parvests of your summers were blasted; while the purity of virgin innocence, and the chastity of matronly virthe, were violated; while the living remnants of the field of battle were reserved for the gibbet, by the fraternal sympathies of Britons throughout your land, the waters of the Atlantic ocean, and those that wash the shores of either India were dyed with the mingled blood of combatants in the cause of North American Inde-

In the progress of time that vial of wrath was exhausted. After seven years of exploits and achievements like these, performed under the orders of the British King; to use the language of the treaty of peace, " it having pleased the Divine | they prepared treaties of commerce, to Providence to dispose the hearts of the mest serene and most potent Prince, George the 3d, by the Grace of God, King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Duke of ses, and invoking the faith of parchment Brunswick & Lunepburg, Arch Treasurer and Prince Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, and so forth-and of the United States of America, to"-what? " To forget all past misunderstandings and differences that have unhappily interrupted the good correspondence and friendship which they mutually wish to restore"--what then? Why, "His Britannic Majesty ACKNOWLEDGES the said United ence, were, so far as they could be appli-States, viz: New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Conn. cticut, N. York New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, to be Free, Sovereign, and Independent States ; that he treats with them as such; and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, proprietary and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof."

Fellow-citizens, I am not without apprehension that some parts of this extract, cited to the word and to the letter, from the treaty of peace of 1783, may have discomposed the serenity of your temper. Far be it from me to dishose your hearts to a levity unbecoming the hallowed dignity of this day. But this treaty of peace is the dessert appropriate to the sumptuous banquet of the Declaration. It is the epilogue to that unparalleled drama of which the Declaration is the prologue. Observe, my countrymen and friends, how the rules of unity, prescribed by the great masters of the fictive st ge, were preserved in this tragedy of pity and terror in real life. Here was a beginning, a middle, and an end, of one mignty uc; tion. The beginning was the Declaration which we have read: the middle, was that sanguinary, calamitous, but glorious war, which calls for deeper colors, and a brighter pencil, than mine to pourtray; the end was the disposal by Divine Providence—that same Divine Providence upon whose protection your fathers had so sclemnly and so effectually declared their firm reliance, of the heart of the most serene and o ost potent prince to acknowledge your Independence to the precise extent in which it had been declared. Here was no great charter of

Declaration had asserted, which seven years of mercy-harrowing war had contested, was here, in express and unequivocal terms, acknowledged. And how? By the mere disposal of the heart of the

most serene and most potent prince. The Declaration of Independence pronounced the irrevocable decree of political separation, between the United States and their Prople on the one part, and the British King, Government, and Nation, on the other. It proclaimed the first principles on which civil government is founded, and derived from them the justification before Earth and Heaven, of this act of sovereignty: but it left the people of this Union collective and individual without organized Government. In contemplating this state of things, one of the profoundest of British statesmen, in an ecstacy of astonishment, exclaimed, "A narchy is found tolerable !" But there was no Anarchy. From the day of the Declaration, the people of the North American Union and f its constituent States, were associated bodies of civilized men and christians, in a state of nature; but not of anarchy. They were bound by the laws of God, which they all, and by the laws of the gospel, which they nearly all acknowledged as the rules of their con-European world. It was with a sling and | duct. They were bound by all those tenencounter the massive vigor of this Goliah. | sence of which in the British government ry cause of the distressing conflict into which they had been precipitated. They were bound by all the beneficent laws and institutions which their forefathers had brought with them from their mother country, not as servitudes, but as rights. They were bound by habits of hardy industry, by frugal and hospitable manners, by the general sentiments of social equality, by pure and virtuous morals, and lastly they were bound by the grapplinghooks of common suffering under the scourge of oppression. Where then, among such a people, were the materials and power. She might become the dicfor anai chy? Had there been among them no other law, they would have been a law unto themselves.

> They had before them in their new position, besides the maintenance of the Independence which they had declared, three great objects to attain? the first, to cement and prepare for perpetuity, their common union, and that of their posterity; the second to erect and organize civil and munici al governments in their respective states; and the third, to form connections of friendship & of commerce with foreign nations. For all these objects, the same Congress which issued the Declaration, and at the same time with it, had provided. They recommended to the several states to form civil governments for themselves. With guarded and cautious deliberation they matured a confederation for the whole Union; and be offered to the principal maritime nations of the world. All these objects were in a great degree accomplished, amid the din of arms, and while every quarter of our country was ransacked by the fury of. inv sion. The states organized their governments, all in republican forms; all on the principles of the Declaration. The confederation was unanimously adopted by the thirteen states, & treaties of commerce were concluded with France & the Netherlands, in which, for the first time, the same just & magnanimous principles, consigned in the Declaration of Independcable to the intercourse between nation and nation, solemnly recognized.

When experience had proved that the Confederation was not adequate to the national purposes of the country, the people of the United States, without tumult, without violence, by their delegates, all chosen upon principles of equal right, formed a more perfect. Union, by the establishment of the Federal Constitution. This has already passed the ordeal of buman generation. In all the changes of men and of parties through which it has passed, it has been administered on the same fundamental principles. Our manners, our habits, our feelings, are all republican; and if our principles had been, when first proclaimed, doubtful to the ear of reason or the sense of humanity, they would have been reconciled to our understandings, & endeared to our hearts by their practical operation. In the progress of 40 years since the acknowledgement of our Independence, we have gone through many modifications of internal government, and through all the vicissitudes of peace and war, with other powerful nations. But never, never for a moment, have the great principles, consecrated by the Declaration of this day, been renounced or abandoned.

And now, friends and countrymen, if the wise and learned philosophers of the elder world; the first observers of natation and aberration, the discoverers of maddening ether and invisible planets, the inventors of Congreve rockets and Shrapnel shells, should find their hearts disposed to enquire What has America done for the benefit of mankind? Let your answer be this: America, with the same voice which spek, herself into existence as a nation, proclaim d to manking the mexinguishable rights of numan nature, square, of your populous cities, it was grant of royal bounty. That which the ment. America, in the assembly of na-

tions, since her admission among them. has invariably, though often fruitlessly, held forth to them the hand of honest friendship, of equal freedom, of generous reciprocity. She has uniformly spoken among them, though of en to heedless and often to disdainful ears, the language of equal liberty, of equal justice, and of equal rights. She has, in the lapse of nearly half a century, without a single exception, respected the independence of ] other nations while asserting and maintaining her own. She has abstained from interference in the concerns of others, even when the conflict has been for principles to which she clings, as to the last vital drop that visits the heart. She has seen that probably for centuries to come, all the contests of that Aceldama the European world, will be contests of inveterate power, and emerging right. Wherever the standard of freedom and independence has been or shall be unfurled. there will her heart, her benedictions, and her prayers be. But she goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own. She will recommend the general cause by the countenance of her voice, and the benignant sympathy of her example. She well knows that by once enlisting under other banners cation, in all the wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy, and ambition, which assume the colors and usurp the standard of freedom. The fundamental maxims of her policy would insensibli change from liberty to force .-The fronth tupon her brow would no lon ger beam with the ineffable splendor of freedom and independence; but in its stead would soon be substituted an imperial diadem, flashing in false and tarnished lustre the murky radiance of dominion tatress of the world. Side would be no longer the ruler of her own spirit.

Stand forth, ye champions of Britannia. ruler of the waves! Stand forth, ye chivalrens knights of chartered liberties and the rotten horough! Enter the lists, ye boasters of inventive genius! Ye mighty masters of the palette and the brush! Ye improvers upon the sculpture of the Eigin marbles! Ye spawners of fustian romance and lascivious lyrics! Come and enquire what has America done for the benefit of mankind! In the half century which has elapsed since the Declaration of American In ependence, what have you done for

the benefit of mankind?

When Themistocles was sarcastically asked, by some great musical genius of his age, whether he knew how to play upon the lute, he answered, no! but he knew how to make a great city of a small one. We shall not concend with you for the prize of music, painting, or sculpture .-We shall not disturb the extatic trances of your chemists, nor call from the heavens the ardent gaze of your astronomers. We will not ask you who was the last President of your Royal Academy. We will not enquire by whose mechanical combinations it was that your steamboats stem the currents of your rivers, and vanquish the opposition of the winds themselves upon your seas. We will not name the inventor of the cotton gin, for we fear that you would ask us the meaning of the word, and pronounce it a provincial barbarism. We will not name to you him whose graver defies the imitation of forgery, and saves the labor of your executioner by taking from your great geniuses of robbery the power of committing the crime. He is now among yourselves; and, since your philosophers have permitted him to prove to them the compressibility of water, you may perhaps claim him for your own. Would you soar to fame upon a rocket, or burst into glory from a shell! We shall leave you to enquire of your naval heroes their opinion of the Steam Battery and the Torpedo. It is not by the contrivance of agents of destruction that America wishes to commend her inventive genius to the admiration or the gratitude of after times; nor is it even in the detection of the secrets, or the composition of new modifications, of physical na-

"Excudent alii spirantia mollius zra." Nor even is her purpose the glory of Roman ambition; nor "Tu regere Imperia populos," her memento to her sons. Hir glory is not dominion, but liberty. Her march is the march of mind. She has a spear and a shield; but the motio upon her shield is - Freedom, Independence, Peace. This has been her Declaration: this has been, as far as her necessary intercourse with the rest of mankind would permit, her practice.

My Countrymen, Fellow-Citizens, and Friends: could that spirit which dict ted the Declaration we have this day read; that spirit which " prefers before all temples the upright heart and pure," at this moment descend from his habitation in the skies, and, within this hall, in language audible to mortal ears, address e ch one of us here assembled, our beloved country, Britannia ruler of the waves, and every marvidual among the sceptered lords of uman kind, his words would be-GO THOU, AND DO LIKEWISE.

From the National Intelligencer.

STATE OF OHIO AND THE SUPREME COURT.

"Those of our readers who feel design rous of arresting the alarming progress of the Supreme Court of the United States. in subverting the federa ive principles of he constitution, and introducing on their uis a mighty consolidated empire, ted for the sceptre of a great monarch, will peruse, with no small degree of plea are, the review of Cohen's case, which will be found in our preceding columns. It is from the pen of one of our most distinguished jurists, and was originally addressed as a letter to Mr. H. Waile men of talents continue to examine with freedom the opinions of this irresponsible tri bunal, it will be difficult for it, even with the immense power which it possesses of the ultima ratio regum, as the means of enforcing its decisions against the states -it will be difficult for it, with all the aray of sophistry, or of brutal violence, speedily to destroy the prependerance of the state governments: But, that the whole tenor of their decisions, where state rights have been involved, had a direct tendency to reduce our governors to the than her own, were they even the banners | condition of mere provincial satraps, and of foreign independence, she would in that a silent acquiescence in those decivoive herself beyond the power of extri- isions will bring us to this lamentable result, is to us as clear as mathematical demonstration. The state of Chie has noby stept forward in vindication of her rights against the usurpations of the Federal Court. Yet this spirit has been chiefly confined to her legislative assembly: the nesuspapers have been lamentably d ficient in their duty on this subjec; The jeers and threats of Messrs. Gales & Co. appear to have carried intimidation thro the whole corps." Liberty Hall & Cincinnati Gaz.

> That the newspapers of the state of Ohio have not stept forward to support the Legislature of the state of Olio in its thoughtless career. redounds to their honor, as proving at hace their intelligence and their independence. They would not support what they knew to be wrong, though urged to do so by every consideration of interest, and of state feeling. Little are we understood if it is supposed we "jeer" at the course of things in the state of Ohio, to which the great states of Virginia and New-York, as represented in the official persons of their Governors, have given but too much countenance. We regard these things with profound regret; and, could we suppose an intention to persist in resistance to the decrees of the courts, we should contemplate it with dread. We have hitherto refrained from speaking of the conduct of the state of Ohio, in this respect, as in our opinion it deserved; we were persuaded she would herself see her error and voluntarily retrace her steps; but, now that our course is impeached in regard to this matter, it becomes in some sort a duty to exhibit it to our readers in the light in which it has always presented itself to us.

The facts, then, are these; the people, or a part of the people, of the State of Ohio, invited the establishment there of two branches of the Bank of the United States. These banks lent out largely the money of the Bank of the United States to the people of the state of Ohio. Those who were from principle opposed to the establishment of the Bank of the United States, but mostly those who were interested in the unsound banks of the State, raised a clamour against these heads of the hydra, these limbs of the mammoth, these claws of the great vulture, these-out of the many pleasant epithets which have been bestowed on them, which shall we chuse ?- and the Legislature passed a law levving a tax of fifty thousand dollars on each of the Branches, with the avowed intent to drive them out of the State. This tax being levied, the right of the State to put its hands into the coffers of a Bank established by the United States for its own and the people's use, is contested by the Bank, and submitted to the Constitutional Tribanal. The principle is determined in favor of the Bank, and against the assumption of power by the state. In a legal as well as ina moral view, the whole transaction has been pronounced indefensible. We do not mean here to undertake the vindication of the legality of the decision of the Supreme Court. When the decisions of that Court need to be defended to make them elicacious, they lose much of their just authority. That mound which is to protect the

rights of persons and of coverty of