

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...

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 it recedes...

"How many ages hence Shall this, their lofty scene be acted o'er In states unborn, & accents yet unknown!" It will be acted o'er, fellow-citizens, but it can never be repeated.

Fellow-citizens, our fathers have been faithful to them before us. When the noble band of their Delegates, "with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, for the support of this Declaration mutually pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor," from every dwelling, street, and square, of your populous cities, it was

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...

The pledge has been redeemed. Thro' six years of devastating, but heroic war; thro' 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.

Amid the shouts of victory your cause soon found friends and allies in the rivals of your enemies. France recognized your Independence as existing in fact, & made common cause with you for its support.

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 Providence to dispose the hearts of the most 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 Brunswick & Lunenburg, 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"

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 dispose your hearts to a levity unbecoming the hallowed dignity of this day.

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 People 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.

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 municipal governments in their respective states; and the third, to form connections of friendship & of commerce with foreign nations.

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 rights, formed a more perfect Union, by the establishment of the Federal Constitution.

And now, friends and countrymen, if the wise and learned philosophers of the elder world; the first observers of nature 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 speaks herself into existence as a nation, proclaimed to mankind the inextinguishable rights of human nature, and the only lawful foundations of government. 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 often 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.

Stand forth, ye champions of Britannia, ruler of the waves! Stand forth, ye chivalrous knights of chartered liberties and the rotten borough! Enter the lists, ye boosters of inventive genius! Ye mighty masters of the palette and the brush! Ye improvers upon the sculpture of the Egin marbles! Ye spawners of fustian romance and lascivious lyrics! Come and enquire what has America 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 contend with you for the prize of music, painting, or sculpture.

Nor even is her purpose the glory of Roman ambition; nor "Tu regere Imperia populos," her memento to her sons. Her glory is not dominion, but liberty. Her march is the march of mind. She has a spear and a shield: but the motto upon her shield is—Freedom, Independence, Peace.

My Countrymen, Fellow-Citizens, and Friends: could that spirit which dictated 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 each one of us here assembled, our beloved country, Britannia ruler of the waves, and every individual among the scattered Lords of human 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 desirous of arresting the alarming progress of the Supreme Court of the United States, in subverting the federal principles of the constitution, and introducing on their union a mighty consolidated empire, fitted for the sceptre of a great monarch, will peruse, with no small degree of pleasure, 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. W. Waite men of talents continue to examine with freedom the opinions of this irresponsible tribunal, 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 array of sophistry, or of brutal violence, speedily to destroy the preponderance 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 condition of mere provincial satraps, and that a silent acquiescence in those decisions will bring us to this lamentable result, is to us as clear as mathematical demonstration. The state of Ohio has no step 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 newspapers have been lamentably deficient in their duty on this subject. 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 stepped forward to support the Legislature of the state of Ohio in its thoughtless career, reductions to their honor, as proving at once 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 Governor, 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 levying 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 Tribunal. The principle is determined in favor of the Bank, and against the assumption of power by the state. In a legal as well as in a 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 effectual, they lose much of their just authority. That mould which is to protect the rights of persons and of property of