[illegible] union of many states were contemplated or authorized except those *within the present limits*, and yet we have witnessed this astonishing seizure of power made by the general government under the influence of the southern and western states almost without a murmur. A seizure of power, which unsettles all the proportions of political influence guaranteed by the constitution, as it came out of the hands of Washington. Bad and humiliating in this respect, was the condition of Massachusetts, under the principles of the real constitution and the principle of the constitution modified by this usurpation; its condition is an hundred fold worse. Yet none of us seem to realize it. Louisiana is spoken of as being an integral part of this nation, with as much indifference as though it had been admitted by an unquestionable authority. We hear of the intention of cutting it up into new states with as much unconcern, as though we had no interest in the matter. — Yet every additional state augments that depressing inequality of political influence, which already grinds our interests in the dust; rivets our chains; and makes more certain and hopeless the condition of our political servitude.

What think you would the spirit of Washington have said upon this subject? Could he recognize our present constitution, ridden by this *Incubus*, as that constitution, which he had framed and recommended to his country? Is it not notorious that the extent of territory even as it existed, at the time of the adoption of the constitution, was among the most serious objections to the success of the experiment? What said Washington upon the topic? "Is there a "doubt whether a common government "can embrace so large a sphere? Let ex"perience solve it. It is well worth a fair "and fair experiment." Yet, scarcely had twenty years elapsed, the ancient limits not yet half peopled, by an usurpation, as palpable, as it is, to us ruinous, new territories have been added, (as it is called) to the United States, of double the ancient extent! An equality in political rights with the old United States has been extended to a mixture of Frenchmen, Spaniards, emigrant Americans, Creoles and Negroes. Already the whole weight of the state of Massachusetts is neutralized, by the effect of this usurpation, in the senate of the United States. And from the present miserable remnant of its political power will be trampled under the hoofs of a parti coloured race of new states to come rushing into sovereign institutions, from the life boundless woods and prairies. Is this that full and fair experiment of the practicability of a republican government, over the ancient extent, which Washington recommended? Before the admission of new regions of unlimited extent, would not the spirit of Washington have dictated that the result of the experiment within the ancient limits should first have been satisfactorily ascertained? If the result of a republican experiment was in his judgment, uncertain, within the ancient limits on account of their extent, is it not more so now that we have doubled? The truth is that this annexation of Louisiana to the United States, is irreconcilable with the spirit of a republican government, as it is unauthorized by the principles of our constitution. In fact the influences which settled that question, had no regard for either the one or the other. In its true point of view, & considered according to its real nature, the admission (as it is called) of Louisiana into the union was a political intrigue having for its object to shift the balance of power still farther to the south and the west; and being intended by extending the sphere of population and by increasing the ability to make new states, to secure irredeemably, the preponderancy of the influences of that quarter; and perfect the political insignificancy of this part of the country.

This, then, is the undeniable condition of the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. That proportion of political power, which they possessed at the time of the adoption of the constitution, is gone; & the proportion which remains, has not one characteristic of equality or justice; whether we take age, or intelligence or enterprise or wealth or physical strength or population, as the measure of what is just and equal. This proportion, thus diminished, is every day, diminishing still farther, in a geometrical ratio by the operation of changes; partly the effects of the fair principles of our association and partly of usurpation. Such is the result of what 'experience,' to which Washington refers us as the test of every constitution. Is this a state of things, which ought to give content to wise and virtuous minds?

Let no man startle at this question as though it were a veil throwing over some dreadful image, which the mind dare not distinctly contemplate. Inquiries of this kind be long to the condition of firemen. They are sanctioned by the spirit and the tenor of the constitution. Corrupt men, in power, who are trampling upon the people's rights and laying snares for their liberties, will always stigmatize such inquiries as schemes for the disunion of the union. But what says the spirit of Washington? "The ne"cessity of reciprocal checks, in the exer"cise of political power, by dividing and "distributing it into different depositaries, "and constituting each the guardian of the "public weal against invasions by the oth"er, has been evinced by experiments an"cient and modern; some of them in our "own country and under our own eyes. — "To preserve them must be as necessary as "to institute them. If, in the opinion of "the people, the distribution, or modifica-

*Washington's Valedictory.

[illegible] "an amendment, in a way which the con"stitution designates. *But let there be no "change by usurpation.*" It only are "the opinion of the people" and the power of the states the natural "guardians of the public weal," and the declared constitutional resort, in cases of usurpation or of manifest changes in the distribution of constitutional power dangerous to political safety, but also there is, in the nature of things, paramount obligations which make such resort imperious as well as constitutional. As it is with the people of every state so it is with the people of this commonwealth: the individuals, composing this state owe to the people of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, an allegiance, original, inherent, native and perpetual. Thus it is that the people of this commonwealth have transferred a certain specified portion of allegiance, originally due to them, from the individuals composing their state, to a certain, extrinsic association, called the United States.— This transferred portion of allegiance is not only limited in its nature, but it is, also, conditional. The condition is, that the principles of the constitution should be preserved inviolate. Whether any such violation have occurred, or whether it be such as essentially affects the securities of their rights and liberties are questions, to which the people of each of the associated states are competent not only to discuss but to decide. And we, in this commonwealth have reason to thank the Great Giver of every good gift, that he has bestowed upon this people not only the right to make, but the power to support any decision to which they may be called, by a manifest violation of their liberties, the people of the commonwealth of Massachusetts shall ever become slaves it will be from choice and not from nature; it will be not because they have not the power to maintain their freedom, but because they are unworthy of it. The question recurs — is this, our political state, safe, or honorable?

As to those who maintain, if, indeed, there be any such that the political rights of a state are safe; and that its prosperity is sufficiently secure, notwithstanding, it either has no proportion of political power, or a very small proportion, in comparison with the greatness of its interests, I know not how to reply. An assertion of this kind exhibits so limited an acquaintance with the human heart, and with the history of man, that he, who should make it, can scarcely be deemed the subject of argument. Certainly the plainest dictates of reason teaches that as among independent nations, no single nation is safe, except in proportion to its physical power so among associated states, no single state is safe, except in proportion to its political power. There is no more friendship among states, in politics than there is friendship among men in trade. If an old rich lazorious, plodding state become associated in a political compact, with new, needy, desperate, and cunning states in such a way that the whole, or a great proportion of the political power should be vested in the latter. What would be the result? Is it not inevitable that the policy of an association, thus constituted, would be so contracted as to turn the wealth of that rich state into the coffers of the predominating states; and to population into their territories? The temptation is too strong for man in the ordinary state of human virtue to resist. Yet, we every day hear the inquiry made, "Have "the predominating influences of the southern and western states any interest in embarrassing our commerce and navigation?" To this I answer "*They have embarrassed it. They have prostrate it.*" I should think this was answer enough. That it is embarrassed and that it is prostrated; I think no man will deny. As little can it be denied that *they have done it.* Does any man believe that had the influences of Massachusetts, or of the other commercial states predominated, that the course which has been adopted would have been the resort, as the means of relief from such external difficulties as those with which the nation has been pressed? Had New England, or New York, stood alone under circumstances of similar foreign embarrassment would they, or either of them, have resorted to proclamations, restrictions, nonintercourse, embargo, and gunboats? Would the navy have been neglected until the moment of war? Would the seaports, after war was declared, have remained thus wholly, defenceless? Should we have marched into Canada to avenge an insult? Or on that point in the relative state of our naval force, would war have been either declared or continued? Or if it had been, would it not have been differently conducted? This war the measures which preceded it, and the mode of carrying it on are all, undeniably southern and western policy; and not the policy of the commercial states. Now it is, in my apprehension, of little importance, if the vital interests of the commonwealth of Massachusetts are destroyed, whether the blow be given through ignorance, indifference, or design. *Under these influences they are destroyed.* And if the apathy of the commercial states continue, & the present spirit of party render them blind to their natural interests, the policy, which has wrought this destruction will be perpetuated. This policy perpetuated we may call ourselves what we please; in the eye of reason and common sense, we are slaves. And I add, for I know the nature of the predominating influences of those states, — slaves to no very desirable masters.

The question, so often agitated concerning the interest which the predominating influences of the south and west have to embarrass commerce, is, in fact, of more curiosity than use. The mere interest of a state never did, and never will shape its policy except in those rare times, when such high [illegible] common feelings as always will govern the United States the present proportions of political power continuing, never inquire how the interest of a people are to be served, but how their power shall be perpetuated.

Such men by the foundation of their power, in the passions and prejudices of the country particularly of those sections which possess the predominating influences. These are, in these United States, undeniably, those of the south and the west. Now the passions of a people, far inland, always dull, and always still tend to jealousy and envy of the seaboard; and lead to a course of policy depressing to its prosperity. Although many individuals, in such sections may entertain juster and more liberal ideas, yet these opinions are those which unavoidably penetrate the mass of their population. The reason is obvious. It is the tendency of commerce and navigation to introduce into seaboard states a rapid increase of wealth, and a population, compact active enterprising, intelligent and powerful. It is impossible, that states which, from their situation, far inland cannot share, or but very remotely these advantages, should not look upon the wealth and strength of the seaboard, increasing in a very great relative disproportion to their own, without some fear and a mixture of envy. Hence there, intensibly, grows up, in those sections, a disposition to check the prosperity of the seaboard; and above all a policy, to embarrass and render uncertain the employment of capital and population on the ocean; and to give to both an inland direction. These dispositions, they will carefully conceal from the world, and, perhaps even from themselves. But they must exist because they are natural to men in such circumstances and because ambitious men who would controul those sections are careful to instil them, if out of power and to gratify them if in it; for the purpose of obtaining that control over the passions of such sections as is necessary to effect the ends of their own ambition.

History shows, that such dispositions have always existed, in inland states, toward seaboard states. That they are the natural result of the human passions, placed in such situations, will not be denied. Our experience is perfectly conformable with nature and history.

The men, who now govern this country, laid the first foundations of their power, by exciting, in the inland states, a jealousy of the atlantic and commercial states. The policy of Washington was strictly commercial. The men, who now govern the U. States commenced their career of opposition to his influence, by appealing to the passions and fears of the interior, relative to the views and policy of the seaboard. — Washington warned the southern and western states against them without effect. He foretold that these men would be satisfied with nothing short of a change in his system of policy." The result has proved his prescience. They are in power. The policy [illegible] changed. In other words, a policy friendly to commerce is pulled down, and one hostile to it, is erected on the ruins of his system.

Is it wonderful then, that our navigation and commerce are destroyed? Animosity to them is the very basis of the power of these men and the condition of its continuance. Can it be denied that a settled system, to prostrate these our vital interests is in operation when every occasion is seized to embarrass it; and when we hear not only, in private conversation but on the floor of Congress, language to this effect and almost in these terms, used by men from those sections? "If your capital wants employment we can employ it. Capital is what we want. Let your seamen take to the spade. We have land enough for them all. Suppose your cities are destroyed liberty will find refuge beyond the mountains." — For myself, I cannot conceal my conviction that systematic embarrassment of commerce is the policy of these men and of the influences, on which they rely for support. War, in Canada, in support of seamen's rights, and a mission to Russia, for the purpose of negotiating concerning them are, perfectly, characteristic. The chances and occasions of irritation are multiplied, and the commercial states are kept amused, with obscure and distant hopes, while ruin, and impoverishment, is gradually stealing over them.

Peace itself, these proportions of political power continuing, will not restore commercial prosperity. The system of policy will be modified, not abandoned. It is a state of things, which ever since the year 1794 those influences have been laboring to effect and they will not permit the advantage, they have gained, to be lost. By high duties, smuggling will be increased; and regular commercial industry discouraged. — By the multiplication of vexations laws the upright merchant will be perpetually dragged as a culprit to the bar of the treasury, and be taught that he holds his property, not by the tenure of known laws, but by the arbitrary will of an individual. The farmers of commerce will be continually thrown to the vanities of party; and these birds of prey will be enabled not only to strip the merchant, but to pick clean the bones of the mechanic and the labourer. — By sudden and unanticipated changes in the laws, the uncertainty of that mode of industry will be increased; and occasions perhaps, will be seized, to admit other nations into an equality with you, in your own markets. By these, and a thousand other schemes, your navigation will be harrassed. The capital, once employed in it, turned inland. Your population discouraged from looking to the ocean, will turn to the west. And they will grow rich, power-

*Washington's Valedictory.

[illegible] your greatness. Whatever may be the real interests of the people of the south and the west, this is unquestionably the system of those, who now guide their political influences. And, fictious as your weight bears no proportion to your real interests, this quarter of the country will be the victim of such a policy.

Perhaps it may be objected, that this course of remark is at variance with that advice of Washington which warns us "against characterizing parties by geographical discriminations; north & south, "eastern and western; whence" says he, "designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views." Let it be remembered, that this warning voice of Washington was uttered, in the conscious integrity of his own administration, and in the anticipation and hope, that a like integrity would characterise the policy of his successors. Let it be remembered that was uttered, as the history of his times will evidence, by way of warning against these very men, and their partizans who began, in his day, to excite these local jealousies; and lay, in them, the foundations of their future elevation. By cultivating jealousy of commerce hatred of a navy propagating unfounded suspicions, in the western states relative to the policy of his administration and of the atlantic states, these men arrived at their present eminence. Power must be preserved by the means, through which it was obtained. A party, which laid the foundation of its power, in local views must be local in its policy. An administration, local in its policy, makes inevitable local jealousies, in the oppressed section. And such jealousies become as just, as they are inevitable. Hear the criterions of that absence of local view in a government which should deprive jealousy of its grounds, enumerated by Washington. "The north in an unrestrained intercourse with the south," shall find great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprize! "The south, in the same intercourse shall see, its commerce expand — its particular navigation invigorated — and shall contribute to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation!" — These are Washington's criterions of that absence of local view, which should remove all jealousy. If expansion of commerce, encouragement of navigation, and promotion in intercourse, be the evidence of liberal dispositions and freedom from local views; what dispositions are evidenced by restrictions; non intercourse; embargo; and war, with the only nation on the globe capable of annihilating our navigation and commercial prosperity? Were Washington to speak from the grave, could he express, in stronger language, that *these rulers are local* in their views and geographical in their policy? To encourage confidence and affection, among the sections of the country, was undoubtedly the policy of Washington. And what are the grounds he enumerates as the foundations of this [illegible] and affection? "That we had the same religion manners, habits, and political principles; that in a common cause we had fought and triumphed together; that our liberty and independence was the work of joint councils and joint efforts of common dangers, sufferings and successes?" Now I ask, how do these reasons apply in favor of mutual confidence or affection or indeed in favor of the constitution, after our liberties have been mutilated by the admission, (as it is called) of Louisiana, into the union? In what fields did the inhabitants of that country fight and triumph with us, for independence? In which of our councils, or efforts or dangers, or sufferings or success, were they united? What sympathy have we for the Frenchmen and Spaniards and Creoles, beyond the Mississippi? When did Massachusetts agree, that her destinies should be thrown at the mercy of those people; and that her political rights should be annihilated as they will be, indeed as they now are, by Louisiana, and that odious brood of states, she is hatching in her bosom?

I know that, in reply to the suggestion of a local interest and of a party intent upon the ruin of commerce, it is said that the most violent clamors, in favor of navigation and commerce, are uttered by men from the south and the west; and it is asked, how is this consistent with a purpose to destroy them? I admit the fact. It is undeniable. The floor of Congress exhibits perpetual proof of it. There man's zeal, in favor of commerce, is generally in an inverse ratio to his interests in it. There for the most part, he talks the most about it, who knows the least; and has its interests nearer his lungs, in proportion as they are distant from his heart. You may, almost every day, see some half bred lawyer, "raised" a thousand miles from the seaboard, who knows no more of a sailor than he does of a salamander, and who has seen, as many of the one species, in the flesh as the other on the water, stand upon the floor of Congress, and wipe his crocodile tears, and whine and clamor, in favor of "seamen's rights;" an hom by the devil. And all this stage trick and bluster, in support of restriction, or of embargo, or of war, on the frontier, or for invasion of Canada, or of Florida; — in support of every measure, which has a direct tendency to make the seamen's condition more desperate and miserable.

All this is true; and all is demonstrative of the settled policy of these men and of the influences, which they support. If it were their real purpose to encourage commerce, would they not adopt a policy more conformable to the known wishes of the commercial states? If it their purpose to annihilate it, is not this the only course, they could adopt, with any chance of success? Were men, from the south and west, to come for-

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[illegible] New England, [illegible] must abandon [illegible] of industry. Your prosperity [illegible] on us. We carry your wealth. We [illegible] your greatness. What you employ [illegible] great, we want on the land. We [illegible] everything else except population and [illegible] Can it be weighed in a balance. and we are sure of perpetually preponderate. Were there men to make such an exposition of motives would not then poetry and eloquence, and romance? Would the national states endure it? Certainly not. The only course such men have to pursue is that which they have adopted. Clamorous in favor of every extravagant commercial claim, and to embarrass incessantly practicing to extend it. Accordingly, these are the men, who talk of "the sacredness of the flag," — that "it covers every thing and every body," "that ships to be an extension of the territory," and that "the rights of navigation [illegible] the" Principles which they know well, if carried to a logical conclusion, in the relative condition of [illegible] maritime power, a perpetual embargo, or a total prohibitory system of commerce. These are the principles which, in defence of the embargo, prompted a specific non-importation, which, as a security for our seaports against indians, which, "to serve our essential interests" bestowed upon us an embargo. Last of all as a sovereign panacea for commercial ills, they have prescribed war and his train, which, from the power of the adversary is a total annihilation of our property. Is it made, if you believe these men, by an spiritual communication and relief!

The, then, is the miserable condition of the United States. A sectional cabal governing them, not according to the interests of the whole union; deceiving and misleading the inland influences, corrupting and depressing the commercial. The basis of their power not temporary, but permanent, because it rests upon changes which time and usurpation have made in the relative proportion of the powers of the constitution. What are the remedies? The spirit of Washington answers! "Submit to no change by usurpation. If the distribution or modification of the constitutional power, be wrong, let it be corrected in a constitutional way."

But how is this to be effected, weak, divided, and oppressed, as are the commercial states? I answer. — Let them be ashamed of the past. Be wise for the future. — Put away these divisions. Let common interest cement your affections. Out, from your councils, and out from our confidence, be every man, who will not maintain the old foundations of New England prosperity. — Follow no longer, after, the doctrines and commandments of men, from the mountains. Contend earnestly for the commercial faith, delivered by your fathers. And let him who will not stand up for it, be to you worse than an infidel.

Let ancient divisions cease; and the poor trumpets of party be forgotten in the contemplation of the [illegible] interests. The venerable name of government the respect due to authority, the obtrusive pretensions of impostors in power, have misled many. Thank Heaven! the scales are [illegible] falling from the eyes! The spare of the tower is broken, and New England is escaping.

But remember. It is not relief from commercial restrictions; nor yet the attainment of peace; nor yet the change of your rulers; that is to be the object of your struggles. Doubtless the jugglers will shift the hand, when they see the game is discovered. They understand well, that the commercial influences are not to be crushed, in a moment. Although the Leviathan is hooked, he cannot be drawn, at once, and spread to the land. He must be played backward and forward, at the end of the line. Now a little given, and then taken away. Until, exhausted by idle efforts, the strength and adhesion of his parts gone; his fat shall be transferred to the mountains; and he shall remain, the skeleton of his former greatness, the scorn and the sport of his spoilers.

People of Massachusetts! People of the commercial states! Look into the foundations of your security. Strive to bring back the principles and proportions of the constitution to the standard of Washington. Nay more, by a great, consentaneous, and constitutional effort, strive to bring it back to the principles of wise and honorable safety. Look at the fact, that, by the operation of the slave ratio, in the constitution, and by the unlimited power of making new states, partly the result of the provisions of the constitution, partly of usurpation, the proportion of political power bears no relation to the proportion of your real interests. Recollect that this state of things is daily growing worse. Remember, that the very blacks of the southern states are equal in weight, in the political scale, to the whole state of Massachusetts. Is this a condition of things patiently to be borne by freemen; at least without one constitutional effort? If it be, we deserve what we endure. We deserve to be, what we are, — of no more weight than slaves.

But it is said, that the southern and western states will never accede to any relinquishment of their power, be it constitutional or usurped. Well; then, if we are destined to be slaves let us, at least show that we know our condition; and that we are not of that brutal kind, "so perfect in their misery, not one perceives his foul disfigurement." Let the commercial states by a constitutional exertion prove, at least, that they have the will to be free; — that, if they are not, that it is necessity not choice. Every day the weight of the commercial states, particularly of New England, is growing less and less; and the security of their rights are consequently diminishing. Not an hour that goes not [illegible] a new rivet into their