

The truly just and federal sentiments which the following charges contain render them worthy of republication—it is not recollected that they have been published in the papers of this city.

A CHARGE delivered by Judge ANDERSON, to the Grand Jury of the district of Hamilton, in the Territory south of Ohio, at October term, 1794.

[Published at their request.]

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

THE principles upon which the citizens of the United States entered into social compact, for the preservation of their lives, their liberties, and their fortunes, are equally obligatory upon every citizen in the Union. Those principles comprehend all the duties required in a free and well regulated government; amongst those duties a due obedience to the laws is considered the greatest—for our laws are founded upon our constitution, which guarantees the rights and privileges of every citizen. Hence it follows, that he who deliberately opposes the laws, saps the very foundation of government. In all republican governments the authority of the laws is derived from the people; which renders it more immediately the duty of all good citizens, not only to observe the laws themselves, but as far as their influence may extend, compel observance of them in others; for the transgression of the law by any one or more citizens, is a crime against every member of society, for whose benefit the laws are made.

All republican governments are formed for the happiness of the people—and if the citizens of the United States are not as happy under their present form of government, as falls to the lot of mortals, the fault must be in themselves, and not in government: for it is universally admitted, that the present form of government within the United States, is as nearly perfect as could be formed by human wisdom—it is the admiration of the world. But perfect as it is, it will require a strict and steady adherence to its first principles, to render it permanent; and a due obedience to its laws to render it respectable. The consequence, and I may add the dignity of government, depends upon the support of its constitution and its laws. If either are infringed with impunity, the government soon grows contemptible, and the citizens become disorderly. Hence it is indispensably necessary that every crime against the constitution and the laws should be punished in an exemplary manner; and it is through you alone, gentlemen, that the law can be made effectually to operate against those who either wantonly or wickedly transgress its precepts.

In a republican government the citizens generally expect more indulgence than is consistent with its principles; but every citizen ought to know, that on entering into society, we are necessitated to submit to some restraints, to forego some natural rights, in order to secure certain privileges and benefits, on which depends all our happiness: For there could not be a more ineligible situation, than that every man's will should be his rule of action, or that the will of the minority should be submitted to by the majority; for this would be subversive of the principles of our government, and radically destroy its very existence. If then, gentlemen, we mean to live in social compact—if we mean to support our constitution and preserve our mutual happiness, we must not only submit to the laws ourselves, but we must use our utmost endeavours to support them. If we do not, we may go on from small indulgences to greater, until by habit, the citizens acquire, as they conceive, a right to act independent of law and government, and at length set them both at defiance. Confidence in the general government—an adherence to the principles of the constitution—and a due observance of its laws, are the true characteristics of a good citizen.

Having pointed out these duties, which I consider incumbent upon every citizen, I will call your attention more immediately to consider the local situation and happiness of this country.—One great source of inquietude; and which has very much afflicted the citizens of this Territory, is our peculiar situation with respect to the Indian nations. That some of those nations are faithless, is a truth well known. But that there are treaties existing between them and the United States is also known.—That those treaties have been infringed on the part of the Indians, cannot be denied: But the United States have nevertheless from necessary motives of policy, considered those treaties, as obligatory on their part; and upon the principles of

our constitution, which vests Congress, with a right of making peace and war, we are bound as good citizens to act in conformity with their determination.

From the observation which I have had an opportunity of making, upon the conduct and disposition of the citizens of this government, I feel confident, that it is almost every man's wish to preserve peace and order therein—and I think you will agree with me, when I pronounce, that no consideration whatever, but that of self-preservation, can possibly justify any infringement of, or deviation from the law.

The late punishment of the Creek Indian, for the murder of Ish, must shew the determination of government, when the guilty can be found: Then let me most earnestly advise you, not to be your own avengers (except in cases of personal safety) but rest your hope on the due administration of the laws; such a line of conduct, will insure to the people of this Territory, the affection of the general government, and induce her to extend with more ample hand, her kind protection to her suffering frontier citizens.

To observe this line of conduct we have other strong inducements; the upper Cherokees are now our friends—And permit me to ask you, Is it not our interest, our duty, to preserve and cultivate that friendship? They are a barrier between us and the hostile Creeks, and if managed with good policy, prudence and discretion, may long remain so: But should any citizen be so hardy, as to over leap the bounds of duty, and in defiance of the laws, unwarrantably attack the friendly Cherokees, this Territory will not only be involved in a war with them, but the whole frontier will be again exposed to the wanton depredations of the perfidious and barbarous Creeks.

Upon ourselves, it now depends, whether to choose peace or war; I am authorized to say, that even John Watts (who has hitherto considered himself secure from attacks) has sent in peace talks; the probability, therefore, is, that a peace may now take place, if the prudence of our own citizens will afford Watts an opportunity of availing himself of his present pacific disposition: And it is what we ought earnestly to desire—for peace with the Indians will secure the settlement and happiness of this country; and to your own experience I appeal, whether war will not destroy it. In full confidence, that you will by precept and example endeavour to preserve good order in the government, I commend you to your duty, and the author of all our earthly happiness.

To the Honourable the Judges of the Territory of the United States of America south of the river Ohio.

Hamilton District, Oct. 22, 1794.

THE Grand Jurors for the District of Hamilton request, that for the good of the community, the address delivered by his Honor, Judge Campbell, on dismissing the Jury, be inserted in the Knoxville Gazette.

JOHN M'NABB, Foreman.

THE ADDRESS.

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

AFTER a long session, we have finished the business which came before us, permit me to assure you, that your duty has been performed with faithfulness and great punctuality.

You now see, Gentlemen, that the Federal Government extends her influence to the remotest corners of her Territories; and be assured she will always be strictly punctual in the execution of her laws.

In the Western Counties of Pennsylvania, an opposition arose to some of the laws of the Federal Government, particularly to the excise. What is likely to be the consequence of the opposition? Ruin and disgrace await the leaders—submission, shame, and confusion must be the lot of the whole party.—Have we not sworn to support the Constitution of the United States? Is the obligation of an oath of no avail? Let the people here take warning from the error of their neighbours. Beware that you do not stumble on the same rock.

The excise is now extended to this Territory; and I am extremely happy to find there is no murmuring on the occasion. Why should there be any discontent? Are not those laws always reckoned good, which tax superfluities and luxuries? But take it on a larger scale, and you will find the excise will be of real service to the good distillers. It will discourage only those who cannot carry on the business with effect; and you know quacks in any profession are a great evil. You all agree that without funds, government cannot be

supported. Taxes, then, are necessary; and sure I am, those on luxuries are least objectionable.

Some people oppose the execution of the laws without having any rational cause for doing so, and lead astray the unthinking multitude, before they are aware of the evil or the danger. You, gentlemen, have heard the laws explained; you have seen the guilty brought to punishment under the authority of those laws, and, doubtless, you find them very salutary to this country. Indeed, unless the laws are faithfully observed government cannot long exist. General laws, as has often been observed by civilians, may sometimes bear hard on local interests; but it is a maxim in government, that the minority must accede to the voice of the majority.—Good citizens will not be always influenced by selfish views; they will take into consideration the good of the whole community. Be not suspicious that your rights or privileges will be infringed. You have the united wisdom of Congress to consult your interests; you have also the wisdom of the President; and events have discovered that a wiser and more upright man than the President of the United States of America, never presided over any government.—The excise law was sanctioned by a great majority in Congress. The President, who guards your interests as a father does that of his children, approved of that law; and you will doubtless, then, submit to it with a willing mind, notwithstanding the opposition it has met with from some ill informed people in our sister states.

You lament the situation of this country with respect to Indian affairs; particularly Mero district, which is continually infested by marauding parties of savages. Let me tell you better times are fast approaching. The armies of the United States, and the particular detachments from this Territory, have been terribly successful against the Indians this summer. You have been well supported by government in your defensive operations. If that will not prove effectual to secure the lives and properties of the citizens, I am sure offensive measures will soon be adopted by the national government.

Let me recal another circumstance to your attention. The Cherokees are becoming very much divided among themselves; some of them continue enemies; some of them are warm friends. Let not individuals frustrate the operations of government on this important business.

Permit me, gentlemen, before I discharge you, to recommend to your particular attention, the constitution of the United States; read it by day, read it by night; it is the supreme law of the land—it is the guardian of your liberties. When you entered into the solemn compact by your representatives in convention, which was again recognized by the people, you solemnly engaged to support the constitution and all constitutional laws. Can you recede from this engagement individually? No.—You may retract your obligations, by withdrawing yourselves out of the limits of the United States; but when within her jurisdiction, you must submit to her laws.

If you are ever ruined in this happy country it will be thro the folly and perverseness of some designing and wicked men, who may lead you to oppose the laws from some sinister views. What more shall I say to you gentlemen? Indeed to you I would not have said so much: for you are already acquainted with the force of my observations: but I speak to the people at large, to the uninformed, and to the disorderly.

You have got a character of orderly citizens; keep it; a character is as necessary to a people as to an individual. Let me repeat, the character of a people is as delicate as the character of a lady; if it is once lost, it is hard to recover again.

From the Virginia Gazette.

MARCELLUS, No. IV.

A just review, then, of our situation, must teach the impossibility of maintaining our present independence, and the established order of our country, without some alliance in Europe or America. A combination with three southern states would rather diminish than add to our strength and safety. For those states would more frequently need our assistance, than be able to furnish us with succour.—Whether, therefore, standing single or combined with the three southern states, our happiness, and safety require, that we should have either in Europe or America, alliances adequate to their defence. If we resort to Europe, there are but two nations to which we can apply—France and Great Britain; and the power of either is so great compared to ours, that an intimate political connection with either could not fail to render us completely

dependent on it. But this, thro a degrading circumstance, might not be the worst evil that might happen to us from such a connection. It deserves to be considered whether the form of government in either country is adapted to our ideas and practices. In Great Britain an hereditary monarchy and aristocracy is hostile to all our ideas of social order. In France ideas of government prevail which would by no means suit our present circumstances and practice. From too intimate and close a connection with Great Britain, monarchy and aristocracy might possibly be introduced amongst us to the subversion of our present happy republican constitution and laws. From too intimate and close an union with France, the doctrines of Liberty and Equality might receive such an extension amongst us, as to render this and the southern states of America, for ages, the scene of that horrid anarchy, devastation and massacre, which have of late destroyed some of the most flourishing colonies in the French West Indies. And from the neighborhood of these colonies to us, and the similitude of our situation to theirs, let us act with all the prudence and caution in our power; it may not now be possible to ward off completely the calamities, which have overwhelmed those devoted islands. In America, we have refined on the old systems of republican government by extending the principle of representation, and confiding the legislative as well as the executive powers, to officers chosen periodically by the free suffrages of the people, and in a manner to secure the most complete responsibility. Nothing like privileged orders exist amongst us; and we have wisely avoided leaving any foundation on which they can be erected. Our experiments in government have hitherto had the most unexampled success; and the people of America present to the eyes of mankind a spectacle of happiness and prosperity which the world never before beheld; and what is most honorable, we owe it to ourselves, and not to the advice or imitation of foreign governments.

As soon as we enter into any close political connection with any foreign nation, superior in power, and dissimilar in all the circumstances of government, laws, manners and customs, we, undoubtedly, hazard the safety and purity of our own constitutions—constitutions too, which the happiest experience has taught us to be adequate to all the essential objects of society. We not only hazard our present free and just government, the most precious boon ever given by the God of nations to any people; but we hazard all the expenses and misfortunes incident to European quarrels, from which we should keep ourselves as detached, as we are widely separated by nature.

I have stated that Virginia cannot exist as an independent nation, either by itself or combined with the three southern states.—To what has been offered nothing need be added to demonstrate this position; and nothing also need be added to prove the impropriety of any close political connection with any of the great powers of Europe, particularly France and Great Britain. With whom then ought we to have that alliance and union so necessary to the maintenance of our independence and prosperity. This we have already discovered and are daily experiencing the greatest benefits from the discovery. Our natural allies are the northern and eastern states. By cultivating this union we have strength to resist foreign attacks and to quell domestic tumults. From this connection we have no reason to apprehend dangerous innovations in our government, by the introduction of monarchic and aristocratic principles on the one hand; or the other, such an extension of Liberty and Equality as would overturn property annihilate industry, destroy morals, and subvert all the safety of society. Virginia then has every motive to keep itself detached from any political connection in Europe, and to cultivate the union which now exists with the northern and eastern states particularly the last, who have realized the republican principle more perfectly than any people who have gone before them. I know a prejudice exists in the minds of some of my countrymen against our eastern brethren. I know they have been stigmatized with the odious name Aristocrat. But facts prove that such an imputation, must be the effect of the strongest ignorance, the most insatiable prejudice, or the most unprincipled disregard to truth. No political maxim is more true than that it is necessary to the maintenance of a free government, that the people should be well informed. Let us go into that part of the United States distinguished by the name of New-England, and when did there exist a people by whom so much care was taken to inform the society; particularly in Connecticut and Massachusetts. There are schools spread over the country, and teachers provided at the public expense; and all the citizens are obliged to send their children to these schools for instruction. The rich and the poor are mingled in one undistinguished mass and nothing like distinction is permitted or countenanced. There the manners of the people proscribe every thing like solicitation for public offices, and the most effectual way which a person can take to prevent his election, is to ask for a vote or to offer himself a candidate. There property is so equally divided, that few are very rich and fewer very poor; but every person possesses enough with industry to be independent. There nothing like personal slavery exists. In fine their morality has grown into an universal habit, and the meek and holy duties prescribed by the Christian religion, are faithfully and piety observed. Is there any thing like Aristocracy in this description? Can any person seriously think, that from our connection

with the people, we shall admit monarchic and aristocratic principles? Ought we not rather to regard it as the society of the purest republican virtues, and cherish it as the most effectual means of supporting our present liberties and happiness?

MARCELLUS.

Foreign Intelligence.

LONDON.

STATE PAPER
LETTER.

From the Magistrates of Geneva to the Magistrates of Frankfort.

A rumour has been spread through out our city, which gives much uneasiness to our fellow citizens, and in particular to the merchants who frequent the fairs of Frankfort: it is, that they are henceforth to be excluded from them, in such a manner, that they shall not enjoy, as heretofore, the liberty of making purchases.

We wish to persuade ourselves, that this report is totally destitute of foundation; we cannot, indeed, guess what motives could have determined your Lordships to adopt a measure against the Genevese, which you have never enforced but against the individuals of a nation with whom you may happen to be at war, or those persons whose proceedings are likely to be repugnant to justice and public order.

If the city of Geneva cannot quote in its own favour the services rendered to the city of Frankfort, it may at least truly affirm that it has never done any thing which could be considered by your Lordships an act of hostility.

The effects of the commotions which have lately taken place among us, have been entirely confined to the walls of our city; they are not of a nature to alter our external connections, and still less our political ones.

Geneva is still a free and independent city, whose revolutions are in no wise affected by any foreign power. The object of the revolution, which has lately taken place, was never, as has been pretended, to bring it under the dominion of the French, but to execute justice on the internal enemies of our independence and our constitution.

The Government, such as it was constituted during the last spring, by our Sovereign Assembly, and such as it was recognized by our ancient and faithful Allies, the worthy Cantons of Zurich and Berne, has been preserved within the ordinary boundaries.

The extraordinary measures which have been adopted for some weeks past, are temporary measures of safety, and will cease to exist as the necessary arrangements for precluding future commotions shall have been definitely agreed upon.

There does not therefore exist any thing among us, which can determine your Lordships either to break, or suspend the commercial connections between our two cities, which cannot but contribute to their mutual prosperity.

The protection with which your Lordships have constantly honoured those of our fellow citizens, who frequent the City of Frankfort, and for which we beseech you to receive our sincere thanks, affords us room to hope that you will give a favourable reception to the present letter: and that you will continue your beneficence, as well in regard to our city, as to those of our fellow citizens, whose affairs may induce them to sojourn at Frankfort.

We beg your Lordships to be persuaded, that we shall not omit any occasion, to give the most liberal testimonies of our devotion and affection.

The Syndics, and Council of the Republic of Geneva.

Geneva, Sept. 9, 1794

UNITED STATES.

RUTLAND, (Ver.) Dec. 8.

The increasing prosperity of this State must afford pleasure to all the friends of human happiness. In the year 1781, the rateable property of the whole State amounted to but one hundred and forty-nine thousand five hundred and forty-two pounds seventeen shillings and six pence. At the return made to the general assembly this fall, the grand list was four hundred and eighty-eight thousand seven hundred and forty-one pounds thirteen shillings nearly four times the value of the rateable property twelve years ago.—The happy effect of industry economy, and good government.