

vate faith, loss of consideration and credit with foreign nations; and at length in discontent, animosities, combinations, partial conventions, and insurrection, threatening some great national calamity.

In this dangerous crisis the people of America were not abandoned by their usual good sense, presence of mind, resolution, and integrity.—Measures were pursued to concert a plan, to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty. The public discussions, discussions, and deliberations, issued in the present happy constitution of government.

Employed in the service of my country abroad, during the whole course of these transactions—I first saw the constitution of the United States in a foreign country. Irritated by no literary altercation, animated by no public debate heated by no party animosity, I read it with great satisfaction, as the result of good heads prompted by good hearts, as an experiment, better adapted to the genius, character, situation, and relations of this nation and country, than any which had ever been proposed or suggested.—In its general principles and great outlines, it was conformable to such a system of government as I had ever most esteemed, and in some states, my own native state in particular, had contributed to establish. Claiming a right of suffrage in common with my fellow-citizens, in the adoption or rejection of a constitution, which was to rule me and my posterity, as well as 'them' and theirs, I did not hesitate to express my approbation of it; on all occasions, in public and in private.—It was not then, nor has it been since, any objection to it, in my mind, that the executive and senate were not more permanent. Nor have I ever entertained a thought of promoting any alteration in it, but such as the people themselves, in the course of their experience, should see or feel to be necessary or expedient, and by their representatives in congress and the state legislatures, according to the constitution itself, adopt and ordain.

Returning to the bosom of my country, after a painful separation: from it for ten years, I had the honor to be elected to a station under the new order of things, and I have repeatedly laid myself under the most serious obligations to support the constitution. The operation of it has equalled the most sanguine expectations of its friends; and from an habitual attention to it, satisfaction in its administration and delight in its effects, upon the peace, order, prosperity, and happiness of the nation, I have acquired an habitual attachment to it, and veneration for it.

What other form of government indeed can so well deserve our esteem and love?

There may be little solidity in an ancient idea, that congregations of men into nations and cities, are the most pleasing objects in the sight of superior intelligences; but this is very certain, that to a benevolent human mind, there can be no spectacle presented by any nation more pleasing, more noble, majestic, or august, than an assembly like to that which has so often been seen in this and the other chamber of congress of a government in which the executive authority, as well as that of all the branches of the legislatures, are exercised by citizens selected, at regular periods, by their neighbors, to make and execute laws for the general good. Can any thing essential, any thing more than mere ornament and decoration, be added to this by robes or diamonds? Can authority be more amiable or respectable, when it descends from accidents, or institutions established in remote antiquity, than when it springs fresh from the hearts and judgments of an honest and enlightened people? For it is the people only that are represented; it is their power and majesty that is reflected, and only for their good in every legitimate government, under whatever form it may appear; the excellence of such a government as ours for any length of time, is a full proof of a general dissemination of knowledge and virtue, throughout the whole body of the people; and what object or consideration more pleasing than this can be presented to the human mind? If national pride is ever justifiable or excusable, it is when it springs not from power or riches, grandeur or glory, but from conviction of national innocence, information and benevolence.

In the midst of these pleasing ideas, we should be unfaithful to ourselves, if we should ever lose sight of the danger to our

liberties, if any thing partial or erroneous should infect the purity of our free, fair, virtuous, and independent elections. If an election is to be determined by a majority of a single vote, and that can be procured by a party, through artifice or corruption, the government may be the choice of a party, for its own ends, not of a nation, for the national good. If that solitary suffrage can be obtained by foreign nations, by flattery or menaces, by fraud or violence, by terror, intrigue, or venality, the government may not be the choice of the American people, but of foreign nations. It may be foreign nations who govern us, and not we the people, who govern ourselves. And men, candid men will acknowledge, that in such cases, choice would have little advantage to boast of, over lot or chance.

Such is the amiable and interesting system of government (and such are some of the abuses to which it may be exposed) which the people of America have exhibited to the admiration and anxiety of the wise and virtuous of all nations; for eight years, under the administration of a citizen who, by a long course of great actions, regulated by prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude; conducting a people, inspired with the same virtues, and animated with the same ardent patriotism and love of liberty, to independence and peace; to increasing wealth and unexampled prosperity; has merited the gratitude of his fellow-citizens, commanded the highest praises of foreign nations, and secured immortal glory with posterity.

In that retirement which is his voluntary choice, may be long live to enjoy the delicious recollection of his services; the gratitude of mankind; the happy fruits of them to himself and the world, which are daily increasing, and that splendid prospect of the future fortunes of his country, which is opening from year to year.—His name may still a rampart, and the knowledge that he lives a bulwark against all open or secret enemies of his country's peace.

This example has been recommended to the imitation of his successors, by both houses of congress, and by the voice of the legislatures and the people, throughout the nation.

On this subject it might become me better to be silent; or to speak with diffidence: But as something may be expected the occasion, I hope will be admitted as an apology, if I venture to say, that

If, in preference, upon principle, of a free republican government, formed upon long and serious reflection, after a diligent and impartial enquiry after truth; if an attachment to the constitution of the united States, and a conscientious determination to support it, until it shall be altered by the judgments and wisdom of the people, expressed in the mode prescribed in it; if, a respectful attention to the constitutions of the individual states, and a constant caution and delicacy towards the state governments; if, of an equal and impartial regard to the rights, interests honor and happiness of all the States in the Union, without preference or regard to a Northern or Southern, Eastern or Western position, their various political opinions on unessential points, of their personal attachments; if a love of virtuous men of all denominations if a love of science and letter, and a wish to patronize every rational effort to encourage schools, colleges, universities, academies, and every institution for propagating knowledge, virtue and religion among all classes, of the people; not only for their benign influence on the happiness of life, in all its stages and classes and of society in all its forms; but as the only means of preserving our constitution from its natural enemies, the spirit of sophistry, the spirit of party, the spirit of intrigue, profligacy of corruption, and the pestilence of foreign influence, which is the angel of destruction to elective governments; of a love of equal laws, of justice and humanity, in the interior administration; if an inclination to improve agriculture commerce and manufactures for necessity, convenience and defence; if a spirit of equity and humanity towards the aboriginal nations of America, and a disposition to meliorate their condition, by inclining them to be more friendly to us, and our citizens to be more friendly to them: if an inflexible determination to maintain peace and inviolable faith, with all nations, and that system of neutrality & impartiality, among the belligerent powers of Europe, which has been adopted by this government and so solemnly sanctioned by both houses of congress, and applauded by the Legislatures of the states and the pub-

lic opinion, until it shall be otherwise ordained by congress; if a personal esteem for the French nation, formed in a residence of seven years, chiefly among them, and a sincere desire to preserve the friendship which has been so much for the honor and interest of both nations; if, while the conscious honor and integrity of the people of America, and the internal sentiment of their own power and energies must be preserved, an earnest endeavor to investigate every just cause and remove every colourable pretence of complaint; if an intention to pursue, by amicable negotiation, a reparation for the injuries that have been committed on the commerce of our fellow citizens by what ever nation; and if success cannot be obtained, to lay the facts before the legislature, that they may consider, what further measures the honor and interest of the government and its constituents demand: if a resolution to do justice, as far as may depend upon me, at all times and to all nations, and maintain peace, friendship and benevolence with all the world; if an unshaken confidence in the honor, spirit, and resources of the American people, on which I have so often hazarded my all, and never been deceived; if elevated ideas of the high destinies of this country, and of my own duties towards it, founded on a knowledge of the moral principles and intellectual improvements of the people, deeply engraven on my mind in early life, and not obscured but exalted by experience and age: And with humble reverence I feel it my duty, to add if, a veneration for the religion of a people, who profess and call themselves Christians, and a fixed resolution to consider a decent respect for christianity, among the best recommendations for the public service; can enable me in any degree to comply with your wishes, it shall be my strenuous endeavor that this sagacious injunction of the two houses shall not be without effect.

With this great example before me; with the sense and spirit, the faith and honor, the duty and interest of the same American People, pledged to support the constitution of the United States, I entertain no doubt of its continuance in all its energy, and my mind is prepared without hesitation, to lay myself under the most solemn obligations to support it, to the utmost of my power.

And may that Being, who is Supreme over All, the Patron of Order, the Fountain of Justice, and the Protection; in all ages of the World, of virtuous Liberty, continue his blessing upon this Nation and its Government, and give it all possible Success and Duration, consistent with the Ends of His Providence.

JOHN ADAMS.

After concluding his speech, the President descended from his seat, to receive his oath of office from the Chief Justice, who pronounced the following oath with great solemnity, which was repeated by the President in an equally audible and solemn manner.

"I do solemnly swear, that I will, faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States."

Having taken his oath, the President again resumed his seat, and, after sitting a moment, rose, bowed to the audience, and retired. After him, followed the Vice-President (though not without a contest betwixt the late President and him with respect to precedence, the former insisting upon the Vice-President taking it, and he with great reluctance receiving it.) Afterwards followed the members of the Senate, Foreign Ministers, Heads of Departments, Representatives, &c.

Domestic Herald.

PHILADELPHIA, March 4.

THIS day, at 12 o'clock, JOHN ADAMS, agreeable to notification, attended in the Chamber of the House of Representatives to take the oath of office as President of the United States. On his entrance, and on the entrance of the late President, and of THOMAS JEFFERSON, the Vice President, loud bursts of applause were reiterated by the audience. He took his seat in the Speaker's chair, the Vice-President, Gen. WASHINGTON, and the Secretary of the Senate, on his right hand; the Speaker and Clerk of the House of Representatives on his left; and the Chief Justice of the United States and the Associate Judges, at a table in the centre of the House. Foreign ministers and ambassadors, the heads of departments, the commander in chief, Gen. Wilkinson, and a great number of the principal inhabitants of the city attended.

The President then delivered the following Address:

President's Speech.

WHEN it was first perceived in early times that no middle course for America remained, between unlimited submission to a foreign legislature, and a total independence of its claims, men of reflection were less apprehensive of danger, from the formidable power of fleets and armies, they must determine to resist, than from those contests and diffusions which would certainly arise, concerning the forms of government to be instituted over the whole and over the parts of this extensive country. Relying, however, on the purity of their intentions, the justice of their cause, and the integrity and intelligence of the people, under an over-ruling Providence, which had so signally protected this country from the first, the representatives of this nation, then consisting of little more than half its present numbers, not only broke to pieces the chains which were forging, and the rod of iron that was lifted up, but frankly cut asunder the ties which had bound them, and launched into an ocean of uncertainty.

The zeal and ardour of the people during the revolutionary war, supplying the place of government, commanded a degree of order, sufficient at least for the temporary preservation of society. The confederation which was early felt to be necessary, was prepared from the models of the Batavian and Helvetic confederacies, the only examples which remain with any detail and precision, in history; and certainly the only ones, which the people at large had ever considered. But reflecting on the striking difference, in so many particulars, between this country and those, where a courier may go from the seat of government to the frontier in a single day, it was then certainly foreseen by those who assisted in Congress at the formation of it, that it could not be durable.

Negligence of its regulations, inattention to its recommendations, if not disobedience to its authority, not only in individuals but in states, soon appeared, with their melancholy consequences, universal jealousy, and rivalries of states, discouragement of necessary manufactures, universal fall in the value of lands, and their produce, contempt of public and pri-