Print Version of the Address:

THE ADDRESS OF To the People

ON HIS DECLINING

OF

UNITED

Friends and Fellow-Citizens

THE period for the new election of a children to administer the Executive Government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed an designating the period be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprixe you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appearationg to the relation which binds a durisd critical to his country; and that, in withdrawing the trader of service which sidence in my situation might might; I am influenced by no diministion of real for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your part kindness; but am supported by a

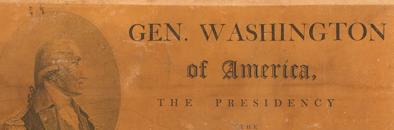
The acceptance of, and continuouse difficit to the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of only, and to a deference for what appeared to be your disire. It constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty toolistizend, to return to that reference from which I had been reductably driven. The strength of my inclination to do this, precious to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perspected and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unamnous advice of secretary entitled to the control of the control of the surface of the control of the control

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my

The impression with which I first analyterols the arthur times unapproach over innocession. Let be distributed by the control of the contro

cancer and principle strate in the posture seems, parasition also show forther in.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the caser of my public life, my feelings do no permit me to suppend the deep acknowledgment of that delt of gratifule which I owe to my belowed country for this many thousant it has conferred on me; still must for the stellar conditions with which I have appended in the opportunities I have theree support of manifesting my inviolable attachment by services fall him and persevering.



STATES.

fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of Public Liberty

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual unified of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wisconcept and seatched to

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfectle the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founced jealouses and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one party sign, sinsist another; fomeats occasionally riot and insurrection. It operas the door to foreign influence and couraging, which falled a facilitated access to government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and cave to keep alive the spirit of fiberty. This, within certain finite, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical case partorism may look with mediagence, if now with favour, upon the spirit of party: but, in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every saltary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public spirition, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it chands a uniform a solding to purely in the statement of the statement of the spirit party of the spirit party.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of tanking in a free country should angine caution in those entrusted with its administration to confine themelves within their empercitive constitutional spaces, a voiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of acceptancent tends to consolidate the powers of the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotsion. A just estimate of that love of power, and proncines to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the trath of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by driding and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient 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 of the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, has be the internant of good, it is the customary waxpood by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance, in permanent, evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can as any time; yield:

of all to dispositions and natifs sinch lead to pointent prosperity. Religion and aloranty are independent popers. In varia would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subsert these great pillars human happiness, there firmed preys of the deties of men and critizens.—The mere politicism, equally with the patriotism and the property of the deties of men and critizens.—The mere politicism, equally with the patriotism and th

endeason to weaken below.

In contemplating the case, which way disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should fave been throused too characterising peries by Geographical discriminations—Nachier of and Southern—Attains and Restern; should be made an any endeason to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expolicits of party to equive informer, which particular districts, is to mistrepresent to opinions and atms of other districts. You cannot saked vourselves too much against the policious and Peart-Lamings which apring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be lound togeting by faternal selfection. The lambiorists of our western example which are the period of the local togeting the proof of the local togeting the proof of the local vourselves to the proof of the local vourselves to the proof of the local vourselves of the proof of the local vourselves of the proof of the local vourselves of the local vourselves of the formation of the Section of the local vourselves of the local vou

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union a government for the whole is indispensable—No allames, however, strick, B-ween the parks can be an interruption which all alliances have in all times experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first, essay by the adoption of a constitution of government better, calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacions management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of your town choice, uninilatenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and nature deliberation, completely free in its own amendment, has a girl at the intervent of the provision for its own amendment, has a girl at chain to your considence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in the measure, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our populated system is the girl off of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. Further, and the constitution which at any town of the third proper is an explicit and anticatic act of the whole people in sacredly only the proper of the people of the proper of the people of the chain people of establish government. Further, and the proper of the people of the people of the people of the chain people of the chain people of the chain people of establish government. Properson the dispersor your date the girls of the people to establish government.

All obstructions to the execution of it. Laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or any the regular deliberation and action of the constitutes authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of that tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of a party orice a small but artiful and enterprising microity of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the own and consistent and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the own and consistent and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the own and consistent and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the own and consistent and incongruous projects of faction,

than the engate of ensistent and wholescente plans, single tell by common consists, and meditic by mutual interests.

However commission or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are
likely, in the course of time and then, to become potent engine to be when the manning, ambitous, and implemisples
men will be whole to subserve the power of the people, and to usuary by when the meaning ambitous, and implemisples
men will be when the do to subserve the power of the people, and to usuary by themselves the telm of government; destroy

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite nononly that you steadily disconnentance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you receive with
care they pint of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forces of the constitution, alterations which vall impair the energy of the system, and this to movemine what cannot be directly overdrown. In (2) the changes to which you may be invited, remember that finite and hads are at least as accessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions; that experience as the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, expose to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interesting in a country to extensive a our, a government of as much typic as its consistent with the perfect security of biberry, is indifferently. Likerry itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surrest ganding. It is, indeed, little clied than a many, shared by force more than the out-proves of faction, to confine each number of the society within the long presented by the laws, and to maintain at lin the

I have already autimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let use now take a comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

against the banchii effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists, under different shapes, in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed, but in those of the negative for the controlled.

sions, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most hard committee, is itself a frightful despotian. The disorders and miseries which result gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in absolut, sower of an individually and sooner or after the chief of the properties for the source after the chief of the properties of the chief.

Our detached and the few intraction mortes and canable us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an eiter on possession, the period is off of them we any dely material righty from external annoyance; when we may take each an artistic few will contain the result of the resul

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. Ent even our commercial policy should bold an equal and importal hand; incitine secking nor granting exclaiming reclaims from our preferences; consulting the natural course of things; difficulting and diversifying, by gentle means, the streams of commerce, but forcing nothings; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course; to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested flavours from another; that it must pay, with a portion of if its independence, for want-ever it may accept under that character; that, by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nonimal favours, and very to being reproduced with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be a greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favours from aution to nation. It is an illusion which experience must care; which a law triffe combit to disord.

the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the annal current of the passions of prevent our nation from numing the course which has hitherton marked the destine the passions are not prevent anywelf that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some coasional good in the passions may now and then recent anywelf that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some coasional good in the miss may may one and then recent to moderate the fary of party spirit, to wears against the inschiefs of foreign time the grant digree by the control of perturbations of preventions of the solicitude for the value of partial preventions of the passions of partial preventions of the passions of preventions of preventions of preventions of preventions of partial preventions.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of each April, 1795, is the index to the plan. Sourchourd became approximy cover, and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, minimizenced by any attempts to deter or direct me from it. After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I round obtain, I was well satisface data our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position, Hrwing taken it. I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, personal, and firmaness. The considerations with respect to the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will easy observe, that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so that from gidenical by any of the beligerout powers, has been wirtually admitted by all. The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which positic and hommanly impose on every matter, in case in increase in the inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which positic and hommanly impose on every matter, in case in

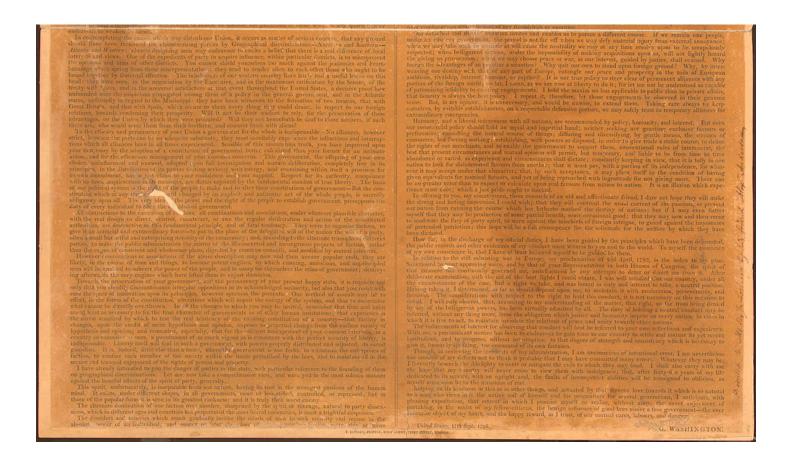
The inducements of saterest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and esperience. With use, a preciousnaat motive has been to reduction to make the country to settle and mature its vet recent isstitutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of attempth and consistency which is necessary to give it, hourst 1954Pking. The command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensitied on we detects not to think in probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, Tervently beseech the Abrighty to avert or mitigate the cruis to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the bope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence: that, after forty-five years of my life declicated to its service, with an appright scal, the failts of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as

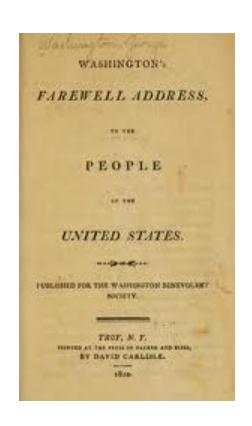
Lelying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it which is so nature to many holy view in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations. I anticipate, wit pleasing expectation, that retreat in which I promise myself to realize without allow, the sexect enjoyment to praising in the midst of my fellow-entirens, the benign inhierace of good have under a free government—the executive object of my heart, and the highy recard, a 1 trust, of our mutual cares, labours, and danger.

United States, 17th Sept. 1795.

G. WASHINGTON.



Cover and Newspaper Reprint:





fill more for the fledfait confidence with manifelling my inviolable attachment by fervices faithful and perferering, the in ofefulnels unequal to my zeal. benefits have refulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to our praise, and as an indrestive example in our annals, that under cir. comitances in which the pathons, agirates in every direction, were lieble to midead, amidit appearances fometimes dubicus -vicilitudes of fortune often discourse ing-in fitubitone in which not amire. Quently want of faccels has counsessed. ced the spirit of criticits -the contact cy of your support was inerdential prop of the efforts, and a guarante of the plans by which they were excited. Prolouddly procurated with this idea, I w mall carry it with me to my grave, as a drong inchement to uncertain wave than Heaven may continue to you the chinese

Draft of the Address:

holitical highered So all those desprophens which promote the holitical happeness and Morality are effected proposed In vain does be stain the proup of patriotism who labours to Jubout or undermene this great pellars of human happened there four boundaless firmile found ations of all the duties of men and alegens - The mere politicians equally , with the process man ought to reflect and chereth them - A volume could not have all them connections with private and hubble happeness, Let it simply be affects where is the fewerly for reportation properly for reputation for like if the fents of moral and religious obligation of orfuto the oaths which are administration in the Courts of Justice. Nor ought we to flatter ourselves that monality can be peparaled from religion - Concede as much as may be affect to the effect of refined educates in minds of peculiar threeture - can we believe - can we in predence fuppole that national morality can be maintained in exclusion of religious principles? Deed maintained in exclusion of religious principles? if not require morality is a man of near party from of popular or the aid of a generally receivedy and devenily republican yournments - The rule indus uptends with authoretadere more or less force to all fee you comments - Who that Welgeon . is a found & forcer friend to them can look with most orene or the ravages which are making in the foundation of the Fabre Relegion. The uncommon means which of late have been derected to this fatalo ind from to make it in a particular mame the duty of the Returne Chief of the Nation to warm his country against taffing of the personous traught. They are ampeliarus of good moralo and been great Journ of private and national profperty -, I then not room for regret that our properfity to whene exceeds the maturely of our Country for expense? In there out more luxury among in, in various classes, than & futto the artual period of our maternal