

AN

Address

TO THE

Citizens of Massachusetts,

ON

The Approaching

State Elections.

[1810]

THE CRISIS !!



ELECTORS OF MASSACHUSETTS !

THE period is at hand, when you will be called to elect the Officers of your State Government for the ensuing year. The call is all important. The election of our rulers is a privilege peculiar to our own country—It is the only sure barrier of freedom against tyranny. Its possession makes men free, as the want of it constitutes slavery. The hand of foreign violence is sweeping our commerce and seamen from the ocean, and threatens us with horrors more distressing than those of war. Domestic faction has unfurled her banner in support of the nation which has most deeply injured us, and has enrolled your Senators and Representatives in support of that nation against their *own*. The question to be decided at the next Election is not to which of two worthy men you shall give your votes—it is a question of principle, whether you will support men inimical to your dearest rights, or the fostering fathers of your country's liberty. A party, few in number but of great influence, have unceasingly used every mean, and eagerly embraced every opportunity to bring into contempt and to overturn the fabric of our liberties, and to introduce and establish a government similar to the British. To effect this purpose, all their actions and writings have been intended to prove the weakness, the imbecility and inability of our government to support itself—Constantly are they portraying the horrors of democracy and using the term *Democrat* as an approbrious epithet. They have painted, in the most lively colors, the excellency and energy of the British government in the same picture in which the want of energy in our own was depicted—And unremitted have been their endeavors to excite our hostility against every enemy of England. Their object is and has been by an alliance with Great Britain and war

with her enemies, to extend the contaminating influence of Britain, till they can induce us to bend the knee to Mammon, and exchange the boon dearly earned by our ancestors, for the splendid baubles of monarchy. To conceal the influence of Britain, they have uniformly raised the hue and cry of *French Influence* against every person that opposed their nefarious purposes.

The federal party will offer to your suffrages the descendant of a man *who fled his country in the hour of its peril*, and who feels all the antipathies of his Father to our liberties, and all his sympathies for Great Britain. Their candidate is the most open in the phalanx of federalism, in his avowal of those principles which have so peculiarly distinguished federalists for these three years past. From the earliest period of our emancipation from England, the leaders of the federal party have discovered an unextinguishable hostility to a *free government*, and an ardent desire to introduce a *Monarchy*, similar to the British.

In convention, *Hamilton*, the Idol of Federalism, openly proposed *an elective monarchy and aristocracy, and to reduce the states to simple corporations*. This plan wanted but one feature of the British Constitution, and the want of this feature would have proved a real defect—as in elective monarchies, every election is sealed with the best blood of the country—But not by Hamilton alone have these sentiments been avowed. They have been openly maintained by the federal party in their adulation of *Ames*, for entertaining and promulgating sentiments of deadly antipathy to France, of unconquerable affection for England, and contempt for his own country. But we need not, fellow citizens, call your attention to the hostility of the departed idols of federalism to your liberties—the actions of the living are convincing proofs of the position, and no actions speak louder than those of Mr. GORE.

Review with us the conduct of this party for two years past, and if you can, after such review, lay your hands on your hearts and honestly vote for their candidates, do so.—England had, by proclamation, blockaded the entire coast of France, and interdicted our Commerce from ports, before which, she had not a single ship. France, professing to retaliate these proclamations, issued the Berlin Decree, blockading the coast of England. Our minister demanded of the French minister an explanation of this decree, and was assured it would not be applied to us. England, well know-

ing that this decree had never been executed against us, and that the French minister had assured our minister that it never would, issued her Orders of January, interdicting our trade from one belligerent port to another. The Berlin Decree, more than six months after this order, was for the first time executed against us, as in the case of the *Horizon*. But before the application of the Berlin Decree to our country was known in England, she issued her infamous Order of November 11, interdicting all trade to the continent, unless we first entered her ports, paid her a tribute, and procured the king's license. Next to this order, succeeded the Milan Decree, denationalizing every vessel which had been spoken by a British ship of war.

Such is the order of the Decrees of these two grand pirates, violating in the deadliest manner, our commercial rights. In addition to these wrongs which Great Britain had committed, hand in hand with France, she stood alone in others of the blackest hue. She had, without the color of pretence, taken from our vessels and imprisoned in her ships of war thousands of American citizens. She had repeatedly violated our territory. Within the harbor of New-York she had resisted the marshal, and impressed seamen from our ships. She had burnt a French ship of war on the shores of Carolina—and within our waters in arresting a coaster, had murdered one of our countrymen, and to finish the climax of atrocity, several of her ships enjoying the hospitality of our waters had watched one of our national ships sailing on a foreign expedition, had arrested her in her voyage, and after wounding and murdering several of her crew, had impressed from her several American seamen. At this moment the clamor of party was silenced, and every heart was, to appearance, warmed with patriotism. Mr. Gore alone stood aloof from the vindication of his country's rights. He, though elected on a committee, refused to come forward in opposition to Great Britain. Our government after the attack on the Chesapeake, interdicted our waters to these piratical invaders, and laid an Embargo to secure our commerce from spoliation, and to be prepared for the worst ;— they at the same time demanded of Great Britain atonement for this outrage and security against the repetition of it, in her abandonment of the principle of impressment, of which this instance was a necessary consequence. But Britain, haughty in a temporary success over a neutral power, refused to associate the principle with the consequence, and sent a Minister to this country to treat, professedly upon this at-

tack, separate from all other subjects. But the first demand of Mr. *Rose* was, *that our government should adjust a distinct subject, and repeal the interdict to our invaders before he would even name any terms of satisfaction.* This insulting proposition our government repelled with becoming spirit. At this crisis of national difficulty and foreign collision, do we find Mr. *Gore's* friends vindicating the rights of their country? Far otherwise—we perceive them fomenting revolution and insurrection, and in open Town Meetings urging the people to a resistance to the laws, and stamping with infamy any Officer who should attempt to execute them.— We see them appealing from the opinion of the judiciary, the tribunal erected to determine them, to that of the people on the constitutionality of laws. We see them training and arming themselves, ready at a moment's warning, to obey the legates appointed to correspond with the other New-England States, and by their fiat, bring into existence a **NORTHERN CONFEDERACY.**

Such was the conduct of this party who were proclaiming through the country, *that Britain was our only barrier against conquest—that she was fighting our battles—that she was acting from necessity—and that we ought to league with her and UNFURL THE REPUBLICAN BANNER AGAINST THE IMPERIAL STANDARD OF FRANCE.* We behold them in every shape palliating the injustice of Britain, and representing the piracies on the ocean as innocent, and at the same time by means little short of open rebellion opposing the Government, mis-representing their views, and denouncing them as sold to France.—Such are the men who ask you to vote for Mr. *Gore*—men who have demonstrated their connection with the cabinet of St. James by publishing in their *Palladium* a letter of Mr. *Canning's* which must have come direct from the English Ministry. These were scenes that were displayed the last winter.— We will now advert to those that succeed.

Last April, Mr. *Erskine* made a compact with our Government which was to be immediately executed. His proposals were promising, and a prospect of a good understanding began to dawn in our political horizon. But no sooner was this compact received in Great Britain, than it was disavowed; and a Minister was announced to heal our wounds and explain to our Government wherein Mr. *Erskine* had violated his instructions. After the lapse of many months this lagging herald of explanation arrives. But what is his

explanation or apology for the perfidy of his government. Has he shown clearly that Mr. Erskine had violated his instructions—has he assigned any solid and strong reasons for the disavowal. No—He is charged with no explanation, and declares that he is not authorised to make any proposal to our Government ; but is ready to receive and discuss any they may think proper to make to him. He further tells them, that it would be unreasonable for them to complain of an act done under such circumstances as *could only* lead to a disavowal. When our government repel this charge of acting under dishonorable circumstances, this insolent negotiator declares, *that he can substantiate his charge.*

What is the conduct of Mr. Gore's friends at this indignity? We hear them completely exculpating *Jackson* and condemning their own Government. We see them reiterating their attempts to reexcite the sedition of last year.—Already have they declared, *that they see no cause for the rupture of the negotiation, or any cause of war, and that Mr. Jackson had full powers to make peace.* Mr. Canning declares to Mr. Pinkney, that Mr. Jackson had no special powers—but was merely the successor of Mr. Erskine ; and Jackson himself declares, that he was not authorized to make any proposals to our Government, but to receive and discuss such as they might make to him.—He further declares, that Great Britain will continue her Orders in Council unless we consent to abandon the *carrying trade*, and permit her ships of war to execute our laws.—That he could not atone for the attack on the *Chesapeake*, and make the promised compensation to the sufferers, unless we admitted the claim of Great Britain to such as were born in Great Britain or Ireland ; although they might have been naturalized in this country for twenty years ; and unless we further admitted their right to claim any native American who had taken their bounty and deserted their service, although he was originally impressed into it.—Yet after reading and hearing these facts the friends of Mr. Gore say, we might have had a treaty !!! What American would treat on such conditions? Who, but those who preferred England to their own country, could, after they were once named, entertain any idea of a treaty? Yet the friends of Mr. Gore are organizing sedition and opposition to the Government, for not treating on these conditions.

AMERICA'S! You who boast with just pride of your ancestry, be at the polls and defeat the machinations of

your internal enemies. Rally round the standard of your country, and give your votes to the

HONORABLE
ELBRIDGE GERRY, Esq
 FOR GOVERNOR,

The patriot who, during our revolutionary struggles, acted a most important part in that cabinet of patriots, who signed the Declaration of Independence, and organized those plans which have placed your finances in so flourishing a condition.—And who was, during the whole revolution, on almost all the important committees in Congress, and who lent his aid in forming our excellent Constitution. By his means we were saved from a war with France in 1799; and we behold him in 1807 Chairman of that Meeting, (from which Mr. Gore shrunk) vindicating the insulted rights of his country against the injustice of Great Britain. And with the true eloquence of a Spartan he came forward as he now does, and delivered his manly sentiments in the following language:—“ At a crisis so momentous and interesting to our beloved country, I hold it to be the duty of *every citizen* though he may have but **ONE DAY TO LIVE**, to devote *that day* to the public good.”

We would, also, Fellow-Citizens, call upon you with one heart and hand to give your suffrages for the

HONORABLE
WILLIAM GRAY, Esq.
 FOR LIEUT. GOVERNOR.

The great, the intelligent and patriotic Merchant, who, placed in the Senate of this Commonwealth by Federalists, disdained the trammels of party—and as soon as he saw that the men who had supported him were waging deadly hostility against their country's liberties, and conspiring with a foreign Ministry, immediately abandoned them and entered his manly protest against their disorganizing measures.

CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS !

These are the men in whom you must unite if you would save your State from the rule of a faction, regardless of their Country's right, and united with Great-Britain to wage war with a world in arms, and erect a Monarchy on the ruins of our Constitution. Ye who prize the boon purchased by the best blood of your Forefathers, rally round the standard of your country in support of these Patriots, and *unfurl the banner of your vengeance against foreign foes and domestic conspirators.*