

ORATION,

PRONOUNCED AT FITCHBURG,

July, 4, 1803.

AT THE REQUEST OF

FEDERAL REPUBLICANS.

*“What if some patriot boasting public good,
Should vary the old form.—NEW MOULD THE STATE?
Curse on the INNOVATING hand! attempts it!
Remember him, the Villain, Righteous Heaven,
In thy great day of vengeance! Blasp the traitor,
And his pernicious counsels, who for wealth,
For power—the pride of greatness, or revenge,
Would plunge his native land in civil wars!”*

— — — — —
“Let those who have the trust of political or of natural authority,
ever keep watch against the desperate enterprises of INNOVATION: let even
their benevolence be fortified and armed.”

— — — — —
*“Untainted with the love of INNOVATION,
Sure all unite to hold the league of rule
Unbroken as the sacred chain of nature,
That links the jarring elements in peace.”*

BY WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM, JUN.

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—August, 1803.—

Fitchburg, August 9, 1803.

SIR,

WE a Committee, chosen by the Subscribers for your patriotic and well-received Oration delivered on the FOURTH of JULY, request a Copy thereof for the Press, with the Notes.

JOSEPH TILDEN.
PETER SNOW.
OLIVER FOX.

WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM, jun.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM obliged to you for your favourable reception of my Oration. If its publication will promote the cause it was written to defend, I should be treacherous to my principles to refuse your request. To assist the honest mind in the necessary discrimination of the TRUE from the PSEUDO-PATRIOT, I have repeatedly sketched the outlines of the FALSE-HEARTED PRETENDER TO PUBLIC CONFIDENCE; in so doing I may have made deviations from conciseness and correctness in composition; but if I have succeeded to strengthen impressions on the minds of any of my hearers, of the danger from DESIGNING DEMAGOGUES, and have guided them to a knowledge of the UNDESIGNING AND FAITHFUL PATRIOT, I have no need to offer to the GOOD any apology for the MANNER: To the BAD my pride is as unbending in apology, as my feelings are unassailable by their censure.

I am with perfect respect,

Gentlemen

Your humble servant,

W. CUNNINGHAM.

Deacon JOSEPH TILDEN,
Doct. PETER SNOW,
Capt. OLIVER FOX, } Committee.

AN
O R A T I O N.



I ASK your patience because my subject is extensive; your attention because it is interesting; and your candour because even majestic truth does not at all times hold her way over the human passions. To develop the noble and just sentiments inspired by this day and adapted to these times, commands the first efforts of wisdom and patriotism. It is under a deep impression of the arduousness of my task that I begin it. The dignity of our subject rises in our view and fills your minds with reverence; it fills mine with trembling for I appear the organ of your high sensations. If I seek a refuge in your candour for the inadequacy of my talents, I retreat not to that shelter for any fallacy in my doctrines—you feel—may you always feel too much of the pride and spirit of AMERICANS to countenance the least dishonour of this day, sacred to Liberty and Reason. You are rational men and are yet free. My work shall be fitted to the understanding; If I enlighten it my labour will be useful, my reward complete.

The discovery of the whole western world was by CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS. His genius, like the heavens, encompassed the globe. Avarice and detraction loaded him with irons, but justice has set his fame in brilliants which will shine when time shall fade. The credit of the discovery of America was surreptitiously taken from Columbus by Americus Vesputius, a Florentine, and the country wears the stolen honours of his name. North America was first visited by Sebastian Cabot, a native of Bristol in England.

Newly discovered countries fall, in right of discovery, to the country of the discoverer. This rule gave the immediate discoveries of Columbus to the crown of Spain, and it placed the United States under the government of Great Britain. It was not unfortunate that our infancy was protected by an arm outstretched and powerful as our parent's was.

Our progenitors were choice scions from the best English stock. They were not plucked up and thrown upon these wilds to live or die, as the convicts at Botany-Bay and other parts of New Holland. Nor did their natural wants force them here for subsistence, like the wild IRISH and four GERMANS in *Pennsylvania*. In their advancement to national maturity they practised, *that righteousness which exalteth a nation*, and laid a foundation for learning and virtue which would keep REPUBLICANISM unshaken as our mountains, and healthy as our mountain ~~foo~~. They introduced those civil and religious institutions which have given to New-England a national character. Domination is the first article on ambi-

tion's inventory. Ambition is a natural passion in man, varying in object and increasing in extent according to situation and advantages for its gratification. Its full stature would rise to a Collofus bestriding the whole world. It aspired even to the dethronement of God, and he who was hurled out of heaven and cast down to hell, has followers whom he is leading to the same destruction. In the spirit of domination originated the attempts for the subjugation of these States. Elated with victories, that in fame were co-extensive with the earth, our mother country conceived the unnatural desire to lay her colonies in eternal subjection at her feet. The first periods of our contention were employed in endeavours to relax her severity in a vindication of our rights and loyalty. As children under the unreasonable frowns of a parent, we loitered about, loth to quit the habitation where we sucked our nourishment and acquired our strength. But when unfeeling haughtiness persisted in a refusal of the house except on the condition of the surrender of our birth-right, we felt absolved from all the bonds of relationship, and our feelings were changed to all the hatred of family division; to all the rancour of friends in dissention, and to that antipathy which unjust oppression settles deep and with black malignity in the heart. Our sense of aggression was sharpened by a contemptuous rejection of our overtures for accommodation, and our resistance burst forth in that fire which premeditated injury and insult kindle in the manly soul. (a) But reason, religion, and political engagements, bind us to forgiveness. Familiar with the history of our Revolution, I shall not fatigue you with its repetition. An injured people devoted to slavery but unitedly revolting at the design: A virtuous people appealing to heaven and imploring assistance in their righteous defence: An eight years conflict on the field with the eventual establishment of Peace, Liberty and Independence, were the first steps, progress and termination of the contest. Gratitude presses forward with her addition to this summary. She presents the list of worthies who conducted us through the arduous scene. With grief-glossed eyes she carries us to the tombs of the departed, and draws a tribute from our hearts!

In the retrospection of our war we discover many perils to enliven our sense of a superintending Providence, and animate us to a confidence in the arbiter of nations in any future emergency. With a party then among us friendly to the designs of our enemy; destitute of succours and supplies, our situation, in repeated instances, was described in despondency at the door of hope, surrender at the heels of struggle.

The martial spirit and thirst for conquest which characterised the ancient Republicks, covered and subjugated the world with arms. England and France were then in the catalogue of Roman provinces.

After maritime Europe was divided among different people and governments, their mutual jealousy and views of aggrandisement kept them in arms, and obstructed their progress in the useful arts, till ambition for power and conquest was restrained by balancing the powers of Europe. This balance, on the principle of civil compacts, leagued the whole to suppress the misdoings of a part, and, till the late peace of Amiens, was a primary guide in all European negotiations.

France and England are rival powers and have long contended for supremacy.

The Peace of 1763 was dictated auspiciously to England by her immortal premier the elder Pitt. France was mortified by the terms she had subscribed and resolved on the first occasion to better her condition.

The rupture between us and her rival presented an opportunity. **TURGOT** and **VERGENNES** had, at that time, the direction at Versailles. Their intentions were to foment and continue the quarrel between Great-Britain and her colonies till both should be exhausted and fall without a struggle into their hands. The documents which confirm this fact are too numerous to be introduced here. They were collected from the secret papers discovered by the National Convention of France, and given to the world under their auspices, to exhibit the double-faced policy which controuls the cabinets of kings. Louis was not then beheaded, but this proceeding of the Convention turned his face to the scaffold. The American people were supposed to retain some affection for the devoted Monarch, but the publication of his duplicity was to change their attachments from **KINGS**, to the foes of kings and the friends of **COTTAGERS!** (b) Duplicity and intrigue had a long abode at the Court of the Louises. They are of French growth, and were never in a higher state of cultivation than at present. (c.)

To encourage our opposition to England, we received from France through the sheltered medium of a merchant, a quantity of warlike stores. This medium disguised the national act for the purpose of shunning the resentment of England, should the colonies prove incompetent to their defence. (d.) The memories of many of you are tablets of the fact that France refused all our advances for an open alliance till we had supported the war for three years and had captured the principal army of the invading foe. (e.)

England declared war against France for joining her colonies in their opposition. France in justification published a manifesto wherein she declares "that the capture of **BURGOYNE** overthrew the plan that England had laid for the reduction of her colonies, that she had become unable to subdue them, and at the date of the Treaty of alliance they were in **FULL** and public possession of their **INDEPENDENCE**."

Though concealed under the false paintings of intrigue, yet it is an authenticated fact, that when commissioners met at Paris to conclude a treaty of Peace, the Parisian Minister dispatched a messenger to notify the court of St. James that it was disconsonant to the views of France that the United States should be acknowledged Independent in any other manner than by implication. By this manouvre, **M Vergennes** designed the annexation of the United States to France in all her wars against England, according to an illiberal construction of an insidious article in the treaty of alliance. Our vigilant and faithful minister, **Mr. JAY**, apprised the Court of London of the intentions of France, and they immediately issued a commission authorising the acknowledgement of the United States as Free, Sovereign, and Independent.

The French Minister, through the same channel, proposed that Great Britain and France should monopolise the Newfoundland fishery, to the exclusion of all other nations, and he proposed the reduction of the line of limits for the United States to exclude us from the territory on the **MISSISSIPPI**, and the navigation of that river. **M. de la Luzerne**, the French Minister to Congress, obtained a resolution in that body that our **WESTERN** boundary should be defined by his nation, but our Plenipotentiaries, in the genuine spirit of patriotism and independence, disdainfully refused the disgraceful submission. The measure unsuccessfully attempted by **NEGOCIATION** is now in experiment by **ARMS**: The designs of the **FIRST CONSUL** must be defeated, if at a price that shall change the **Mississippi** to a red sea.

The French Minister objected to Congress against Mr. ADAMS as one of our Commissioners, alledging that he was UNACCOMMODATING! This objection is of more honour to Mr. ADAMS than a British proscription. He withstood the violent prepossessions of his countrymen, and a powerful foreign influence in our councils. His undeviating pursuit of his enlightened plan of policy has wove a garland for his temples of imperishable verdure.

We readily acknowledge, and so long as we could with exemption from injury for the prostitution of the word, we *gratefully* acknowledged that France was an important instrument in the acquisition of our Independence. But her own advantage in weakening the power of Britain sent us auxiliaries. Could that advantage have been driven to the extent intended, the paradox of slavery in the cause of freedom would have been long ago explained, in the extinction from the constellation of liberty of "The Star of Empire in this Western World."

This transcript from the records of fact will faithfully inform you how DISINTERESTED and MAGNANIMIOUS were the FRENCH! How ungrateful and ungenerous our retaliation! They espoused our cause to destroy the weapons of our oppressors, but to keep us obedient under their own rod. If any American could be so treacherous to truth and to his country as to declare we are under the obligations of gratitude to France—if he complained of *hunger*, I would not undertake to satisfy him with a sleet let down from Heaven—if of *darkness*, with the whole body of the Sun. The idea that benevolence and gratitude set in council with a King, is perfectly chimerical and ridiculous. The charities of life are not congenial to the soil which produces the policy of States. The axiom results conclusively from the human character, that the very essence of charity herself requires that NATIONAL CHARITY should begin at HOME.

The Revolutionary war concentrated the energies of the nation. The declaration of Independence, was the leading act, to which all other acts contributed. When the contest resulted in the attainment of our object, the belt of our union broke, and the nation fell away from the pride of national independence into thirteen distinct sovereignties. The family was broken up, and the branches, in the spirit of rivalry and competition, commenced settlements on separate estates. VIRGINIA considered prerogatives due to her age and population—the MIDDLE STATES, calculated the advantages of their situation for commerce—the NORTHERN estimated the value of their substantial productions, and the SOUTHERN reposed on the indispensable necessity of their staples for war. In their ruinous confusions they disregarded the fact, that the harmony of the whole was essential to the preservation of each. The elder member never was nor never will be satisfied with an EQUAL distribution of power among the Sisterhood. She claims the exploded primogeniture portion of power and privilege. It is a fact, confounding to reason, that she has influenced the little States of RHODE-ISLAND and DELAWARE to a furtherance of her ambitious designs—they are mouth-fish in the track of the LEVIATHAN soon to be swallowed up. How surely fatal is that blindness, and perversity which will not see nor be instructed! (b.)

The competitions of the States sunk the nation to the lowest point of contempt and degradation. The market price for the plighted faith of the country was a tenth of its nominal value.

During the period which lays within the dates of '83. and '87. the American people exhibited the curious spectacle of being under a general

government without efficiency, and under thirteen governments jealous, watchful and counteracting of each other.

The war and the licentiousness it produced, nourished that restlessness which, in some form or other, is continually in resistance to just restriction.

A threatening rebellion broke out in Massachusetts. Faction invigorated by, and taking guidance from success, was actively employed throughout the States in exciting and fostering a disposition to revolt.

The benefits derived from the valour, wisdom and unanimity displayed in the war, were jeopardized and nearly lost in the divisions that succeeded.

These circumstances, unerringly as the tongue of a guardian Angel, directed to a national compact, as the only ligament that could bind the discordant nation in union, dignity and strength.

Never did Jacobinism——But before I advance I will spend one moment in explanation. By JACOBINS I intend the opposers of our Constitution and its efficient administration. I am aware that those included in this description have assumed various appellations. They were ANTI-FEDERALISTS, DEMOCRATS, JACOBINS and now REPUBLICANS! (g) Names may alter while principles remain unaltered. I am aware too, that attachment to the Constitution is generally professed; but I have learnt not to trust men on their words when I can test them by their actions. We have not forgotten the objections to the Constitution published by George Mason and ELBRIDGE GERRY. We have not forgotten the strenuous exertions made for its rejection in all the States; nor are we uninformed observers of our opposers through the whole series of transactions from the moment the Constitution was promulgated to this hour. Our political internal controversy commenced, on the part of the Federalists, in PRINCIPLE, it shall never close in MEN. A sound constitutional government is the sole object of our desire; that, by whomsoever dispensed, will constantly and consistently receive the undivided support of FEDERAL REPUBLICANS (b.)——Never did Jacobinism exhibit more prominent and characteristic features than in the rebellion under SHAYS. It was arrayed against Justice, and with the bayonet at her breast arrested her authority from her. This was Jacobinism in nakedness. Oftener do we find its spirit and discover its nefarious work under thick concealments. Were the Jacobins under Shays worse in principle than they who have manufactured IRISHMEN into electors of members of Congress? (i.) Are these manufacturers worse than he who pathetically recommends the introduction of foreigners into our country that they may find in it an asylum from oppression? And who recommends their admission to the rights of citizens on the manifestation of a desire to embark their lives and fortunes with us? “An asylum for oppressed humanity” is a fire side to thaw adders to kill our children. (k.)

It is a lesson from experience that great pretensions are justly to be suspected. Pretension is as shabby as a beggar's coat and, like that, is held together by patches of all colours. The kind and assuaging enquiry, “Art thou in health my brother,” has thousands of times pioneered the way for a dagger to the heart—It is in the nature of well founded principles to be inflexible, and of real merit to be unassuming—There is no difference in crime in stopping the course of justice with a sword, and doing it by any covert USURPATION of authority: The law which has thrown down the fairest pillar in the temple of our freedom, has opened the armoury to every foe of Liberty!

In 1787 our present Constitution was promulgated. For twelve years its administration was in the hands of its friends, with the FOUNDER of our Empire to give it a direction and to lay the plan of its operation forever. The limits of my discourse will not permit an enumeration of the blessings which the friends of the Constitution gathered from it for the common good, and which they transmitted to the care of their successors. But if a NATIONAL CHARACTER—if the exaltation of the public credit—if an astonishing increase of COMMERCE (*l.*)—if a ready demand and high price for AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS—if a replenished TREASURY—if having preserved our country in PEACE through all the dangers threatened from the belligerent powers, with whom we had extensive relations; if these speak not in persuasion; if we had power, it would be in vain to wake CICERO and DEMOSTHENES from the sleep of death to entrust to them, *a second time*, the defence and preservation of a Republic. Were my theme confined, to an exhibition of the benefits from the Federal Administration, sensible of the incompetency of language, I would wave my hand over the face of our country, and direct your eyes to take cognizance of the indelible good.

The Constitution has now passed into other hands. I shall deliver my sentiments in the white words of TRUTH unstained with ribaldry, or with the spirit of party, abstractly considered. It is a spirit black as Erebus, deep and mortal in its wounds as the Lion's fang. I speak in the spirit of an honest principle which, like the gospel of peace, is terrible to all in opposition "*as an army with banners.*" Should the sentiments be unpalatable, I can promise the most salutary effects from their operation. I do with truth declare that the strictures against Jacobinism are not intended for any well-meaning embrace of it. I may in justice assert that they cannot have *much* application here—they have an higher destination: it is from the uppermost seats of Democracy that I would draw out offenders for punishment.—They are GUARDIANS of the constitution who would have been its DESTROYERS. They are entrusted with its life who said it ought not to have existed. If any one doubts this truth let him retrograde the line of facts to the time the Constitution was proposed for acceptance; he will find the opposers of the FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION, opposers of the CONSTITUTION. (*m*)—They are bound by oath to execute what they have resisted. —They now hold up as the world's best hope, what, in the hands of its friends, they blighted with calumny.—In the first embrace they gave the Constitution it felt the bosom of the Spartan statue. It is to undergo a course agreeable to the prescription of these political emperics. They will, I fear, introduce the lancet into its best arteries, to draw off its remaining strength, and like a man in the last stages of a pulmonary complaint, it will soon appear but a frame too feebly braced to stand. Mr. JEFFERSON is at the Head of our government. I respect the OFFICER, but I have no confidence in the MAN. In speaking of him, I shall recite his expressions and compare them with his transactions, leaving you, from the comparison, to form your conclusions. In his inaugural speech he recommends "the preservation of the general government in its whole Constitutional vigour"—Yet through his agency it has, say our greatest jurists, been violated, in the prostration of that pillar which was supposed to have an elevation above the fluctuations of popular opinion; and which alone could bound the proud waves of faction when agitations on the "tempestuous sea of liberty" might threaten an inundation (*n.*) —He calls Gen. Washington, "Our first and greatest Revolutionary character," and assigns to him "the fairest page in the volume of

faithful history"—yet when Secretary of State he employed a Printer in his office who traduced the President and his Administration. In a letter, ascribed to and undeniably from his pen, addressed to a confidential friend in Italy, he accuses President WASHINGTON with being at the head of "an anglo-monarchic aristocratic party, whose avowed object is to impose on us the substance as they have already given us the form of the British government. "They would wrest from us," says the letter "that liberty which we have obtained by so much labour and peril" (*o.*)—He invites his fellow-citizens to, "unite with one heart and with one mind, to restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty, and even life itself are but dreary things,"—yet, we have legal deposition that, in the manner of LENTULUS to CATALINE, (*p.*) he encouraged and rewarded CALUMNIAS of his PREDECESSORS, blacker than the ink they are written in; poisonous as the serpent's tooth (*q.*)—He says "We are all Republicans we are all Federalists," yet he has displaced many from office for no other reason than their being Federalists (*r.*)—He has expressed a concern for "the mouth of labour"—yet has proposed measures which, in the eye of long discernment, go to a deprivation of all the benefits accruing from SHIP-BUILDING and COMMERCE; (*s.*) and by his recommendation the duties have been remitted on CARRIAGES, refined *sugar* and other *luxuries*, and retained on *Salt*, and articles of the first necessity (*t.*)—He has recommended "economy in the public expense"—yet under his administration and with his sanction, the *war* salaries to the *Heads of Departments*, the ATTORNEY GENERAL, and the POST MASTER GENERAL, have been revived and continued. (*u.*)—He has denounced for displacement from office, "revolutionary adherents to our enemies"—yet he has invested with public trusts many who were in arms against us in the Revolution (*w.*)—He has spoken reverently of "the wisdom of our sages, and the blood of our heroes" devoted to the attainment of our Independence and civil blessings—yet he offered a passage to THOMAS PAINE in a National Ship; complimented him with the assurance of his "*affectionate attachments*," and with having "laboured, and with as much effect as any man living," in the cause of good "*sentiments*." (*x.*) Before this passage was so cordially and inticeingly offered, Paine, in terms too opprobrious for repetition, had published his calumny of GENERAL WASHINGTON (*y.*) He had published his objections to the *Constitution* of the United States, and promised on his return to employ his influence for an alteration (*z.*) In terms that would split the tongue of a fiery dragon, he had published his blasphemies of the GOD of Heaven, and the SAVIOUR of Mankind. (*aa*) He had declared it more consistent that we called the Bible the word of a *Demon* than the word of GOD, "It is," says he, a history of wickedness that has served to corrupt and *brutalize mankind*; and for my own part I sincerely detest it." Yet this high-priest of *infidelity*; this faithful labourer in the work of high commended "*sentiments*," is addressed by Mr. JEFFERSON in these words, "That you may long live to *continue your useful labours*, and reap the reward in the thankfulness of nations, is my sincere prayer!" This address was predicated on a reference to all the works of Paine, this fact precludes all favourable presumptions. Good God! the chief *Magistrate* of a *Christian People* is convicted, by his own friends, of patronizing the most shameless, rancorous and implacable enemy, of Christianity that ever appeared upon the earth! Could his corruptions be communicated to his garments, every thread in them would give a loud-

ly poison to the touch (*bb.*) ————— Mr Jefferson is a Philosopher and, like other Philosophers is fond of experiments. The Civilian has no right to dissect a *government* to ascertain, for the Naturalist, whether it will not, like the POLYPUS, live when cut asunder. Philosophy has exalted men above omniscience, for in judging of God's communications to mankind, it has rejected them, because they are "out of the laws of nature" ————— Mr. Jefferson's works are our witnesses that he is a visionary politician, (*cc.*) and a philosophical *Deist* (*dd.*)

An Empire is quite too complex and unwieldy a subject for a mere philosopher. He makes strange work with it. If he puts it into a crucible to reduce it alchemically, the experiment ends in ashes. If he forms it into a balloon to ascend with the popular breath, he soon comes down, stupid as a monkey, at the staff of a parachute.

Government is for the security of man against man. It exists unceasingly in the constitution of nature, and is exercised through every rank of created beings. The intelligent order have an option to take it from their *reason* or their *passions*. Ambition is dissatisfied with reason; it prefers force. Regulations for civil liberty stand in the way of ambition; they stand in the way of crime; for although vice is more restrained by the increased power which closes a revolution, yet in its whirlpool every dirty thing has its chance of being thrown to the top. The most striking variability is displayed in the scenes of a revolution: The DAN-
TON who, to-day, directs the ax to sever the head of LOUIS is, to-mor-
row, stretched upon the guillotine.

Our system of government is experimental. (*ee.*) From its roots have sprung up the suckers which choked and destroyed all former Republicks, Overrated estimates of our character have deceived us into opinions that the experiment would be here successful. We have supposed that virtue would exercise the pruning-hook to keep these suckers down, and that knowledge would dig about the tree, and that it would be luxuriantly loaded with the choicest fruits.

My hopes of the Constitution have nearly perished. Infractions and innovations under the specious name of AMENDMENTS are daily croaked. (*ff.*) Its whole measure is, I fear, taken by the coffin-maker of Republicks, DEMO-
CRACY. Its interment may not be distant. If in the convulsions which I apprehend are approaching the enemies of our Constitution should triumph, its tomb will be monumented with a St. Cloudean palace. But if its friends can preserve it "IN ITS WHOLE VIGOUR," it will preserve to our country peace, and continue to her liberty. In the quietness of serious reflection, I invite you to walk into the burying-ground of the once living Republicks, and on their Tomb-Stones read the causes of their deaths and their dying cautions to avoid them.

In the corruptions which render government necessary are quartered all its enemies. Their sallies are frequent and forcible, and when opportunities are favourable, they appear in full battle array. Governments of republican construction give them great scope. Reason is feeble in the repulsion of their attacks; They mock her voice, and laugh at the feebleness of her hand.

Jacobinism is coeval with man's first transgression and was the cause of it. It was entwined around the tree in the garden of Eden, and alienated the affections of our first Parents from that blissful state. Is it then surprising that it has retained a bewitching influence ever since? It challenges and holds the battle with virtue: It has torn the parchment which contained the definition of our civil rights, and has undermined

the foundation of our eternal hopes; thus threatening us with temporal and eternal subjugation.

Faction broadened its foundation, in proportion to its havoc of publick and private virtue. Begining at the lowest, it ascended through every grade of social life in a barbarous robbery of reputation, (gg.) and then unblushingly condemned as a "GAG ACT" a law which mitigated the law of libels in the allowal of the TRUTH to be spoken of any man. An unblemished neighbour who wishes to have our country advance in the path of glory laid out by our first guide, is stigmatised a friend to Britain; an aristocrat; an enemy to Republicanism. Higher notes are sounded from the trump of scandal, and a long roll of our greatest worthies are consigned to infamy as TRAITORS and PECULATORS. Detraction is not satisfied with obloquy of the living, but—indignant Heaven—her black sheet is spread over the memory of him, whose memory ought, if possible, to be preserved on a Corinthian column, inscribed on its Heaven-reaching top with, AMERICAN GRATITUDE. (hh.) This spirit, originating in the vilest motives, employs the dirtiest mediums for its communication. Outcasts from foreign countries, and fugitives from justice are the principal editors of papers polluted with it; and so brazen and entirely estranged from principle are these miscreants, that they would undauntedly own relationship to the prince of darkness who acts in their hearts, should he defend in all the ensigns of his majesty to claim a kindred: (ii.)

—————"Had they power, they'd

Pour the sweet milk of concord into hell,

Uproar the universal peace, confound

All unity on earth."—————

The same means, in various stages of the French revolution, sacrificed the most virtuous and enlightened citizens, and raised handicrafts-men and butchers to the head of it. A butchering revolution indeed it was through every stage.

Faction has received accession from the reiterated charge that BRITAIN has had a paramount influence in our councils. The seeds of this detraction were diffusely scattered, and struck a root in vulgar minds too deep for harrow-teeth argument to eradicate. Those that scattered the seed were indefatigable in their cultivation. The charge has a consistency with the character of its propagators. JAMES MUNROE, and those who responded his assurances, that the American people would cheerfully submit to inconvenience and disadvantage for the benefit of FRANCE, naturally suspected that true lovers of their country were corrupted by England. Guided by the impulse of a ruinous partiality to France, and an unreasonable prejudice against England, our revilers, if they lost not the remembrance of their country, they lost the true love of it. In disregard of the benefits of a Neutral position, they incessantly laboured to commit us in the war on the side of France. Defeated in their designs, their fouled hearts would have curdled all our comforts. Instead of having our country rise on the broad and solid advantages given her by nature, her good fortune; the fairness of her policy and the enterprise of her sons; they would have her—such in the language of their conduct,—like a convicted criminal, pass a few days in penitence, then ascend the scaffold in submission to a sentence of condemnation. Foreign influence has no passage but popular passions. These passions are inexcitable by gold. The philosophers-stone is held out to them, with assurance, that in the path-way of opposition to government, every thing they touch shall final-

ly be converted to the most precious things. In a headlong infatuation they rush to the work of inroads upon all the institutions of wisdom and virtue. At the end of their digging, instead, of finding the promised treasures, they bury in wretchedness all their hopes. The theory and practice of corrupt influence are comprehensively understood by TALLEYRAND, the first graduate of the new-school who opened an office at PARIS, and demanded FIFTY THOUSAND CROWNS from a people he had wronged as the price of leave to state their complaint! (*kk.*) He deserves to take a lesson of French duplicity from the bayonet, who will not read and understand what is written with bayonets in HOLLAND, ITALY, and SWITZERLAND. Our jacobins have wished to have our country added to the litter gathered under the wings of the GREAT nation—All that are there will forever remain chickens.

Did *English* or FRENCH influence preponderate when our first President issued his proclamation of Neutrality, and GENET's mob filled the streets of Philadelphia in defiance of government? When he issued commissions for armed vessels, and recruited troops for the FRENCH service? Was it *British* bribery that permitted a FRENCH squadron in the Chesapeake to elude an embargo, and carry the staff of life to their almost lifeless countrymen? Was it *that* bribery that allowed the FRENCH an anticipation of their DEBT? Is it the voice of BRITAIN we now hear in the war-whoop from beyond the ALLEGANY, and in the shout for BUONAPARTE?

Incorruptible men are never at the disposal of state brokers. They do not meet in the market with patriots who have their prices; they are above price. When their value is contemplated it is, like the value of a precious pearl, for admiration not purchase. The saleable politician is he who would sell his country. He is fair-mouthed, but foul-hearted. He speaks with smooth tongue but rough calumny of the virtuous. He points you to the Tree of Liberty, flourishing under the cultivation of faithful guardians and tells you its roots are cut; its body lacerated and its branches withering; that the sun of despotism has scoured its foliage, and will soon scorch you with its full heat. He procures himself proclaimed the husbandman of liberty. The moment he enters the garden he changes the tree of *liberty* to the tree of the *forbidden-fruit* and denounces death on the taste of it. He then regards the people as wheat-stalks whom, with the breath of his mouth, he can make bow before him. Corrupt hearts and debauched habits invite the more dreadful ambition of the *bloody tyrant*. His harrangues are not to the floating suspicions, but to the bottom impulses of the heart—not to the smothered, but to the flaming passions; there he lights his torch, and, as if loaded with fire in a chariot from the sun, he threatens universal conflagration.

The best measures or policy have been represented as means of personal aggrandisement, and many seekers of private emolument have fatiated their disappointment in opposition. There are boiling-hot *friends* of the *people* whom the Representatives of the people would not elect *senators* to *Congress*. There are more whom the *people* themselves would not elect Representatives. There is a longer catalogue, who were unfortunate applicants for offices in the various departments of our government.

If we could dismiss the contemplation of the consequences of licentiousness, we might laugh at our tavern spouting politicians. Many a discourse has been delivered in a bar-room, and in our streets, by men puffed with the conceit of knowledge, who could not rise from the bottom of a monosyllable class in our schools.

For a full developement of political deceptions I must refer you to your Bibles and your Histories—to the long list of *Abshams* in the one, and the longer list of *Pisistratuses* in the other.

If deaf to the details of dead deceivers, take living examples. The *Clintons* and *Livingstons* of New-York are the most aristocratic families in the United States. Rejected by WASHINGTON, they set their lofty ladder in the miry credulity of the ignorant, and mounted up by their boosting. These most distinguished of American *Nobility*, are pronounced better patriots than WASHINGTON; than ADAMS; than JAY; than STRONG; and although thus crouching, they are better than HAMILTON and PICKERING who would not crouch. These instances are such an illustration of duplicity that he is blind who will not see, and corrupt who will not condemn: A feeble flutter is the first movement of ambition's wing, but when the mouths of the multitude have supplied the food to rear the body up and outstretch its pinions, it soars on high and casts disdainful looks on those who nurtered it in its nest. (ll.) Be on your guard against the devices of the aspiring *Demagogue*. As a rule for the bestowment of your confidence, permit me, with deference, to recommend the native of your soil; the honest man; the enlightened man; the man of sobriety and good habits; the believer in rational and revealed religion; and the prompt performer of moral and social obligations. Follow these guides and you will be undeviatingly conducted; they will lead you to the choice of rulers worthy of your country, for they would preserve her in glory: worthy to rule over freemen for they would perpetuate freedom. The virtues I mentioned are such as seek praise in silent action, not in boasting speech—they deserve to stand high in your estimation—it would be to your dishonour, and would have a sluice-like tendency to your destruction, if you suffer the lustre of these virtues to be tarnished by the breath of scandal; if you suffer the possessors of them to be brought into disrepute by any fresh imported *Irishman*; (mm.) by the scoffer PAINE; (nn.) and the demoralizing writings of GODWIN and WOLSTONECRAFT. (oo.)

We are endangered by the *new-philosophy*, and the power of BUONAPARTE erected upon it. We are told of the *perfectibility* of our nature, and are assured that human reason has already made sufficient proficiency to disincumber us of the imperfections imputed to man in the word of his Maker; and which were discovered by the *Newtons* and *Lockes*, the *Boyles*, and *Bacons* of our species; beings who shone as stars when our intellects were darkened, but who have disappeared before the full blaze of Reason now illuminating the world!

By this philosophy, we are instructed to disregard the obligations of the married state. Satire and ridicule are rallied to the aid of what they call argument. Preposterous say they, that a free born *Man* should bind himself for life to *one* woman, to be degraded by a bondage from which even the *brutes* are free! I wish that my indignity at this terrible assault on our virtue and happiness could be uttered in a note that should sound in your ears till deafened by dissolusion. The connubial connexion originated in the authority of Heaven, and is the only condition capable of bringing into existence the finest feelings of our nature. Can *he* cherish any hope of a blessed society beyond the grave who eradicates from his heart that constancy and affection which bear the fruits of domestic happiness? Can *he* form any just appreciation of the benevolence of an Universal Father, who is a stranger to the exquisitely refined feeling, of a parent? To my lovely auditors, my subject lifts a voice of admonition; loud and

majestic as the thunder of the Heavens, to frown into contempt a philosophy so fatal to their honour, felicity and distinction.

Let me exhort you, too, ye lovely Fair, to love the defenders of your country. With liberty your charms and condition are indissolubly connected. In enslaved countries nature is not permitted the use of her pencil nor her colours, nor humanity to have a law in your favour. Nature and humanity must surrender their partialities, for tyrants are inexorable and indiscriminate as the raging element and the spreading plague. The first act of the new philosophy is a solemn renunciation of the doctrines of the old. The new consists in a frost-hearted dislike of the requirements of *justice, benevolence, and christianity*, and perverts the whole code of their obligations. It fits its followers for the *gibbet*, and the most urgent exhortations against its fatal tendency have been delivered in *dying-speeches*. (pp.)

The great Theomachist of the present era, VOLTAIRE, has a train of disciples who with infernal malice and devices, have undertaken to turn the world upside down. Draining from the christian's heart the consolations poured into it by the MESSENGER of *Glad-Tidings*, they have infused disbelief of his divine character and mission; set at nought his counsel and would none of his reproof. Champions of this infidelity formed the advanced guards of those legions who lately removed the landmarks of nations, who, unobstructed by the "cloud-capt" fortresses thrown up by nature, and hitherto impervious, except to the army of Hannibal, crossed over them to bind a people in servitude who, from the tops of their mountains, had held communion with liberty for ages; who subverted ancient institutions; subdued long standing governments; who made irreparable encroachment, upon private possessions and enjoyments; and who are now in absolute subjection to a man whose ambition aspires to shake the world with a touch of his finger (qq.) Petty sovereigns of Europe who were of account in adjusting the balance of power, are now *Automatons*, moved by the weights and windings up of this mighty mover of EMPIRES. Even the KING of SPAIN and the great FREDERICK, gazed upon his eyes and hearkened to his song; drawn by the enchantment, they rushed into his mouth and received his viperous bite.

A superficial view of the map of Europe, with a slight acquaintance with the power and influence of the First Consul, would undeniably prove that *Great Britain* now opposes the only barrier to the complete conquest of *Europe and Asia*.

Would we act in all the energies of *union*, it would be of perfect indifference to us whether the government of Europe should be by *one* or by *many*; but weakened as we are in our divisions it is of infinite concernment. The arm of the Consul is stretched Westward. His herculean club is shaken over our heads. His mercenary legions are stationed on our southern borders to trace out the geographical limits of the Great Nation. His myrmidons in Kentucky have sounded the tocsin of war against the *Atlantic States*! Yes, the people of Kentucky, Ohio and Tennessee, and of the Indiana and Mississippi Territory are, in the most inflammatory manner, invited "to set the *National Government* at defiance," and to wage war against "*Eastern America*." For their encouragement they are informed that the arm of the FIRST CONSUL is strong and will be extended for their protection; that his heart is friendly and full of affection as a loving father's! (rr.) The designs of the Consul against this country are half performed by enemies in our bosom—Worse—by volunteers

for his camp from among our very sons!—Well may we shudder at this view of our perilous situation. Our Chief Magistrate; from the want of distrust or foresight may be unguarded. This fact is incontestable, that at the Presidential Election immediately preceeding the last, Mr. ADER, an illuminate; politician, made a strenuous effort for Mr. Jefferson's election. The fact is calculated to throw reproach on the discernment of the Minister, or to put us on guard against the object of his partiality.

To scan the views of the First Consul in his possession of *Louisiana* we must explore his mind. History lights our way to its most concealed recesses; every tyrant and usurper is actuated by the same principles. (ss.) His views are to enfeeble this country that it may not act as an obstacle; or controul it that it may be employed as an auxiliary to the uppermost designs of his heart against his powerful rival. Those designs accomplished, and the aspiring Corsican is universal Monarch. The cession of the country to France followed the treaty of Luneville which detached AUSTRIA from the war against FRANCE, and enabled BUONAPARTE to lift his eyes from his own soil and spread his prospects over the whole earth. The intentions of the colonization were published at PARIS in the *official paper*, and declared to be a counterpoize to the domination of the United States." (tt.) With this half-way concession, conjecture no longer gropes in darkness; nor do we need to set Buonaparte before the mirror of history to behold the reflected image of a living *Cæsar*. Attainments are unsatisfying. According to the extent of acquisition, the desires increase, as circles spreading from a centre enlarge their circumference. This fact defines the fortunate usurper as the most ambitious man in the world. He is so. He is in arms or in projects against all the parts of it un subdued to his dominion. *Princes* and *Magistrates* he views as his greatest enemies; they obstruct his progress and endanger his safety; he regards them as *Delicats* with shears in their hands to crop his strength. History has given testimony that the confines of the earth are too contracted to satisfy his cravings—ALEXANDER when he had conquered the world lamented that there were no more worlds to conquer.

If, as said a pre-eminently distinguished statesman, "the Atlantic Ocean and the Lakes; the St. Lawrence and the gulf of Mexico are the natural boundaries of the United States." The extension is not desired for territorial acquisition, but for self-preservation. An infraction of Treaty presented a justifiable and favourable opportunity to secure the possession of your rights: Their defence could be more securely entrusted to your *valour* than to your *treasury*. On this subject I cannot say too much. The farthest-reaching thought, and the most comprehensive imagination cannot say enough. The enemy has been in our front, divided from us by three thousand miles of ocean. He is now in our rear, and, as he pretends, without a defined line of separation. He is at work with all those infernal engines which have convulsed the globe. Every dreadful calamity concomitant of licenced fury and diabolical principles crowd into the mind with the contemplation. Interesting as this subject is, I must dismiss it with one remark: The *Minister* gone to *Paris* and *Madrid* for redress of your injuries was *disgraced* from the diplomatic list by your calm, prudent and discerning WASHINGTON. (uu.)

These remarks were written previously to the reception of the intelligence of the cession of Louisiana to the United States. My mind was for some time undecided on their retention or suppression. I concluded

on the former, to present you with the reasons of our apprehensions, and of our objections to the policy pursued. The information received is unofficial, but wears strong features of authenticity. Should the negotiation eventuate in solid advantages to our country, equitably, permanently and independently secured, we shall be more than coldly reconciled to the means, we will warmly applaud them :—The subject is yet enveloped in uncertainty. (*vv.*)

The recommencement of hostilities between Great Britain and France, of which official intelligence was published in Boston last Saturday, irradiates the darkened subject of Louisiana and conducts the mind to undoubtful decisions, bottomed upon facts unfound in the communications from Paris.

The renewal of war necessitated Buonaparte to abandon the colonization of Louisiana. The country was no longer tenable by him. His antagonist must be encountered, at home, with undivided strength. No measure will be left unattempted to induce the co-operation of this country. I will (to adopt the words of a great and fervid statesman,) “I will consent to be taken for an idiot,” if every possible means are not used. Every plan of delusive artifice, and stygian subtlety will be invented and practised. We shall have a new edition of the French vocabulary, but if we would preserve our lives and liberties, we must disbelieve their own explanations of their words. The signification of FRATERNITY, GENEROSITY, LIBERTY, EQUALITY and THE RIGHTS OF MAN, must be sought in the desolation of countries. I would to GOD that the meaning could be blotted from the face of desolated countries, and recorded for everlasting remembrance on obelisks, columns and monuments. The fire of indignation is enlivened in my soul, and I would emit a spark that should enkindle your resentments against all political bamboozlers. The views of Buonaparte are plain as a blaze of lightning, and should strike us with as much dread. If he had possessions on our whole circle he would freely offer them, in a generous friendship that would soon require the purchase by his tutelary care of all our possessions! Heaven preserve us from his *Love*. Should his fraternizing arms ever encircle us, they would press us eagerly to his bosom till, like a victim of rapacity, we expired in the embrace. (*ww.*)

We have lived in an age of wonders. Events have passed before our eyes as stupendous as any that were ever exhibited on the theatre of the world. I find in them some extenuation for the wanderings of my countrymen. He who is now a pious man and a patriot, must have been fortified with more than common virtue to have withstood the assaults which for twelve years past have been unceasingly made upon his heart and understanding: The doctrines of the philosophists, like a hoar-frost, has spread in every direction, cutting down every tender thing.

We have beheld a great nation rising *en masse* to break an iron-handed government, and to live under lenient liberty. They had bravery but they had not virtue. We saw them at the instant of being loose, rush beyond the reach of coercion and at the farthest bounds of licentiousness we saw them again enslaved. They scattered abroad the shavings made at their work-bench, and with torches in their hands they threatened to set the world on fire. The alarm rallied the friends of security; their persevering efforts have but barely saved us. The coals are not extinguished, but with the popular wind may be again enlivened to a desolating flame.

In the first paroxysms of their fury they destroyed the institutions and ministers of religion (xx.) In the second they dethroned God and exalted Reason to the umpire of the universe (yy.) The third consigned to the worms the whole code of civil Jurisprudence: (zz.) The fourth discarded moral and social obligations, and the fifth converted rational to infuriate beings, seeking spoils through "blood and slaughter." With all these features of unbridled madness, so distinctly marked, there are who have held up the French Revolution as a model for imitation! The predelection of such is less in a corrigible ignorance than in irreclaimable corruption: The understanding may harken to the voice of reason, while the unconquered heart is impetuously pressing against conviction.

Our physical condition, in union with the virtuous habits and religious sentiments inherited from our fathers, designate NEW-ENGLAND for the abode of *Liberty*. Their habits and sentiments are the pedestals of her throne,

Popular opinions, such as are contrariant to the Constitution, emboldened by strength, bear down the mounds erected against them. (aaa.) The pretended friends of liberty supply and set at work the apparatus for undermining the fabric on which she stands. These facts impose an obligation on every class of citizens to be vigilant and active in the repulsion of assaults on public liberty. Our calumniated *Clergy* are particularly and earnestly invited to disseminate the intelligence, from their patient and impartial investigations collected, and to make the exhortations so becoming their sobriety and profession, and their concern and exertions in the cause of human happiness. The Bible gives you authority, and the practice of the apostles gives you a pattern: The sublime and rapturous eloquence which made a FELIX tremble, would shake the stout heart of vice upon the highest seats. The annals of our country bear honorable testimonials of your vigilance and fidelity in the most difficult periods of her conflict. The history of similar struggles for civil liberty, in *Geneva*, *Switzerland* and the *United Netherlands*, bear equal attentions to the zealous and effectual co-operation of the clergy. It is with pleasure I deduce a fact so honourable to a virtuous and enlightened body of the community.

It frequently happens that events portentous of evil are overruled for permanent good. The history of our country has displayed the hand of Omnipotence, reached out for our protection and deliverance. At the full growth of religious persecution our forefathers fled, and planted in the wilderness the seeds of a great nation. When pride and power drew the cord of government too oppressively upon us, we cut it asunder. An insurrection against mild restraint was followed by the establishment of our Constitution. These, apparently untowardly events, conducted us to National Existence, Independence and Government. In taking this cursory review, we must not omit our gratitude to God, nor neglect the observation that His blessings accompanied the instrumentality of means. If patience and perseverance had not have been linked to the enterprize of our forefathers, it would not now stand as the "*Rock*" of a great nation. If united zeal had not have animated our opposition to our mother country, *this Day* would have been struck from the chronological table of events, and it would have returned a gloomy witness of the confirmation of the tyranny we opposed. Had not our exertions in the cause of government been successful against the Insurgents, the implements we us-

ed to break the chains prepared at the British forge, would have been employed, by some fortunate Demagogue, to bind us in shackles at the workshop of slavery. The practical deduction from these facts is as interesting as our political salvation.

The Federal tree of liberty is better than the French tree of liberty to plant in our towns. It bears fruit that nourishes liberty with the only aliment she can live on. It grows entwined with the trees of virtue and knowledge. They deserve constant cultivation, and their branches should hang within the reach of our lisping children.

The enumeration of the people of the United States has raised us high on the schedule of numbers. Our population is nearly six millions, which bears no mean proportion to the most renowned, and exceeds many of the Kingdoms and States of Europe. England does not rise above us more than two millions. Our comparison to the English nation in the great cause of her ascendancy, *commerce*, will increase our just exultations. Our trade in exports amounted annually to seventy millions of dollars, forty millions of which was of our own productions. Our shipping, to ten hundred thousand tons. Our *Navy*—It *was*—but what *is* it! We approach its hallowed remains with the awe we feel at a sepulchre, and leave it with tears for its memory.* Commerce plows our fields; without its excitements, the husbandman would degenerate to slothful labour to satisfy his coarsest appetites; the charms of civilization would be buried to perish in his mind, wild and thorny as the neglected forest. Commerce is the medium of national sociability, but the intercourse is not always with good nature: Commerce is the lovely female who socializes life, who must not venture abroad without a gallant, for unprotected she tempts the ravager. (*bbb.*)

Our towering mountains break, agitate and salubriety the air. Their summits are gilt with the first rays of the rising, and with the last of the setting sun. They receive the first bounties from the warehouse of the skies, and dispense them, by their proud sides, to the laughing vallies. Patriots should regard them as nature's models, and in imitation distribute the good they gather to those around them. But the boasting patriot, in disregard of simple, takes for his example uncommon nature—he is Vesuvian, pouring his destructive lava over a wide-spread circle. (*ccc.*)

Your warriors achieved your Independence. Your politicians formed your plan of state. Founded in a favourable estimation of the human character, its very life is entrusted to your reason and virtue. Philanthropists love its mildness when they think of the virtuous, but are alarmed at its moderation when they contemplate the vicious. The ardour of your Poets have displayed you in all the harmony of numbers. Your Historians have recorded your valourous exploits for perpetual remembrance. Your Philosophers, with the boldness of your Eagle, have mounted the upper regions, and brought down the electric fire, which is the first principle of life.

Wafted on the full tide of "successful experiment," the enraptured politician would glide along to the haven of temperate liberty, to view on its bosom the matured plans of our first Pilot. O that I had confidence that these plans would be followed—that I had the eye of prescience to

* These words may be found in a published list of Toasts drank at a celebration of Independence, but I use them without plagiary.

pass though fifty years of time, and that I had genius to describe what you then would be. I would make you prouder than ever was a ROMAN—and braver than ever was a SPARTAN.

The population of the Hebrews in Egypt was a theme of admiration and astonishment. They commend a settlement with seventy five souls. Four centuries increased them to four millions. Our population is more extraordinary. Less than two centuries has augmented our small beginnings to our present numbers. In the ratio of our past increase one century more will advance us to eighty millions, an extent of population nearly commensurate to the European Division of the globe. This is a proud contemplation for a proud day. Elevated in our thoughts we are ready to repair to our neighbouring Wachuset to dwell in silent rapture on the prospect. But alas! while the scene is opening truth advances with a palette of dark colours, to cloud the picture with strokes of those divisions which embittered and destroyed all free states. But I forbear—Follow my countrymen, the counsel of your WASHINGTON. (*ddd.*) then the clouds which now intercept your view shall be dissipated; the prospect shall open with increased brightness; and at the full harvest of your happiness it shall be forgotten that there was a tare in the field.

Man is a restless animal. With stationary happiness he is soon discontented. His aberrations are from the day-light path of duty to the night darkness of error. His experiments begin as in a flash of light, but are succeeded by bewildering blackness. Such is the course of most innovations. Theoretical excellence and practical corruption are not far distant. If you would enjoy Liberty and transmit the blessing to your offspring; if you would practice Virtue, and have your children learn it from your example, let me conjure you to reject new-fangled politics and new light philosophy. Cherish with all your care, schools and seminaries of learning, they are nurseries of virtue, freedom and happiness. Science is the invincible foe of tyranny, the scourge of demagogues.

Avoid Intemperance and inactivity. Whiskey patriots raised one insurrection to overthrow our government; inflamed by the cup of intoxication, their breath is pestiferous; their words deadly as the mad vipers bite. Indolence is the great bar to improvement in virtue and knowledge, and the indolent are the easiest enlisted into the ranks of vice. Industry strings the brawny arm, expands the manly chest, gives health to the body and soundness to the mind.

In the solar system, we perceive the planets performing their revolutions round the sun as a fixed point, and that this order dispenses to us the variety and blessings of the seasons. In this arrangement we find a rule for our civil institutions: With a Washington for centripetal attraction, the orbs of our government must perform their courses according to the laws of the Constitution.

Our opposers, in the low exultation of a transient triumph, have boasted that the Sun of Federalism has set forever. In the *East*, the place of its first appearing, it shows its enlightening and enlivening beams. Following the course of the Orb of Day, it is ascending to meridian splendour, beneficently to regulate the system, and to ripen in its rays all the fruits of public and private happiness.

(*ccc.*)

NOTES.

INTRODUCTION.



THE Public are misguided. Two causes have produced our aberrations—*Corruption* and *Misinformation*. The first is the most dreadful. It furnishes the only occasion for Government, and is continually wreathsome under it. The heart is incurable by the politician. His duty is to form provisions for the public security against its devices—it is the duty of all in the Commonwealth to co-operate with the faithful civil magistrate.

For the second cause, dangerous as it is, a remedy, for honest minds, is in the hands of TRUTH, but the administration diversifies opinions. Many think that emollients had better be applied to heal, than caustics to eat out the poison from the wound in the public body. I have examined this prescription with all the attention due to the *proud-flesh* malady; and with all the deference due to the skill and worth of many who have adopted the practice. In the examination I met reasons of resistless force to favour the second method of treatment—a milk-poultice never made a draw-cancer—First. We need a frequent recurrence to the grounds of our principles and measures for the fortification of our minds in them, and to strengthen us to repel the bold contradictions and plausible dissents of our antagonists. The mind is naturally and insensibly weakened in its possession of facts with which it has abated familiarity. Even Truth loses her consciousness in an unlightened mind, and the subject recedes imperceptibly from a sentiment he is unqualified to defend.

2d. The moonish Deity of the Jacobins is surrounded with a star-
numerous host of worshippers; and unless WISDOM can assemble a greater and “brighter constellation,” that shall illumine with piercing coruscations, their are reasons for the apprehension that a long and fearful night of Democracy will ensue, in which we may mope out our lives without sufferance to speak of the radiant and cheering beams of the “SUN of FEDERALISM:” *She must “put forth her voice in the streets—in the chief place of concourse—in the top of high-places—at the entry of the city—at the coming in at the doors.”*

3d. Every Jacobin has his creed cut and dried. It is short and saves him the trouble of thinking. He conceives it to be all-powerful, and urges it with an air of invincibility—it is this, ECONOMY—DISMISSION of useless OFFICERS—NO LAND TAX—NO STANDING ARMY—NO SUPERNUMERARY JUDGES—NO UNNECESSARY SENATE—EXTINCTION OF MONARCHICAL ENGLAND—ESTABLISHMENT OF REPUBLICAN FRANCE! This creed is soon got, it is industriously inculcated, and requires a refutation in the stern and inflexible voice of truth and justice.

4th. By forbearance we make no proselytes, and incur from our op-

In looking over modern times for examples of distinguished patriotism, the late great earl of CHATHAM, and the present prime patriot WILLIAM WINDHAM present as instances of undaunted boldness and intrepidity in defence of CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY, that ought to attract every eye, and command respect and imitation from every lover of regulated freedom:—"The heat that offended them (said the first) is the ardour of conviction; and that zeal in the cause of my country that hope nor fear shall ever influence me to suppress."

If solid facts, forced home, will not reclaim the spirit of Jacobinism, let us manfully prepare for the alternative.

"To wilful men,
The injuries they themselves procure
Must be their punishment,"

He must be a surface-skimming politician who calls our condition new or speculative. The elder class of Historians have depicted the devastations of uncurbed Democracy centuries ago. The account by THUCYDIDES of the insurrection in GORCYRE is an exact description of the scenes of our day.

I do not recommend the spirit of party, it is infernal; but I recommend the spirit of a just principle, which disdains compromise with viciousness, and which speaks fervidly and distinguishingly.

Our opposers include, generally the SHAYSITES—the opposers of the CONSTITUTION in 1787; and the enemies of the WASHINGTON system of administration. That the possession of the power they fought has metamorphosed them into friends of justice and constitutional Liberty, is a supposition at variance with their past conduct; and is besides, discredited by a plentitude of recent facts,

In these Notes I have embodied the Documents to prove the leading facts contained in the Oration. I consider myself pledged for their substantiation. He that will not be satisfied with facts confirmed, must be seeking the confirmation and not the rectification of his errors, and he and I are parted.

The Oration was written principally for a plain people at their first celebration of Independence. This accounts for its circumstantial narrative, and I offer it in excuse for the copiousness of these Notes.



(*a. p.* 6.) "THESE sentiments are extorted from hearts that much more willingly would bleed in your Majesty's service" — "Your Royal authority over us, and our connexion with great Britain we shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain" — "Permit us, then, most gracious Sovereign, in the name of all your faithful people in America, with the utmost humility, to implore you, for the honour of Almighty God, whose pure Religion our enemies" (the FRENCH) are undermining; for your glory which can be advanced only by rendering your subjects happy and keeping them united &c. — That your Majesty, as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bonds of law, loyalty, faith and blood, tho' dwelling in various countries, will not suffer the transcendent relations formed by

these ties to be farther violated.— That your Majesty may enjoy every felicity through a long and glorious reign, and that your descendants may inherit your prosperity and dominions till time shall be no more, is, and always will be, our sincere and fervent prayer.

First petition of Congress to the King 1774.

—“ Let this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow subjects in any part of the Empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored.” &c. &c.

Declaration of Congress July 6. 1775.

“ In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. *

Declaration of Independence July 4. 1776.

“ It is well known that in July 1775, a separation from Great Britain, and establishment of Republican government had never yet entered into any person’s mind.

“ In April 1776, Independence, and the establishment of a new form of government, were not even yet the objects of the people at large.”

Notes on Virginia, 173.

* This Petition, and these Declarations were done in Congress, of which President JEFFERSON—Gov. HANCOCK—Gov. SAMUEL ADAMS—Gov. Mc. KEAN—and the gantleted Candidates for governour, G—rr—y and L—ng—dn were members; yet the cavilling Jacobins have seriously laid to the charge of Gov. STRONG, that he congratulated Gov. GAGE on being appointed to succeed the obnoxious Gov. HUTCHINSON. *he, he!*

(*c. p. 7*) “ In every form of government, whether Monarchical or Republican, *Duplicity* has always proved the most efficient engine of the state machine, and those Rulers who trusted in *Candour* and *Justice*, have been the miserable victims of their simplicity.” †

—“ History, by apprising them of the past, will enable them to judge of the future; it will avail them of the experience of other times and other nations; it will qualify them as judges of the actions and designs of men; *it will enable them to know ambition under every disguise it may assume*; and knowing it to defeat its views. In every government on earth is some traces of human weakness, some germ of corruption and degeneracy, which cunning will discover, and wickedness insensibly open, cultivate and improve.” *Notes on Virginia page 216. Carey’s edit. 1794.*

† Our author speaks of *Duplicity* with the energy and decision of a master; and who can speak so well on any subject as they who thoroughly understand it?

(*c. p. 7*) “ We gratefully acknowledge as signal instances of the Divine goodness towards us, that Providence would not permit us to be called into the severe controversy until we had grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in war-like operations, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves.” *Declaration of Congress July 1775.* ‡

‡ Our alliance with France was concluded the 6th of February 1778.

“ For a nation to be free it is sufficient that she wills it.”

Marquis Fayette.

(*b. p. 8.*) “ There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the

most boisterous passions, the most unremitting DESPOTISM on the one part, and degrading SUBMISSIONS on the other. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives aloose to his worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances". †

Notes on Virginia. 236.

† Mr. Jefferson's account of the Natural Bridge, Madison's Cave and the Indian Barrow, proves that he has talents for description. He has, in this article, so strikingly portrayed the VIRGINIA LORDS, that a plain New Englandman shudders at the drawing. Their visages are frightfully marked with the same "lineaments" of barbarity and unfeelingness which tygerise the countenance of a *West-India* Driver. The domineering spirit of the Ancient Dominion is here traced to its origin and nurse. Men brought up in the full view and expectation of reigning petty Despots in their own domestic circles, appear as legislators, with their "*worst of passions, nursed, educated and daily exercised in tyranny.*" Afraid, at present, to show the THONG, they saunter about chaunting LIBERTY, pretending a concern for the mouth of labour, and a sensibility for the oppressed! It is useful "*to know ambition under every disguise it may assume.*" The Virginia patriot, as outlined by himself, and as sketched by the Monticello Philosopher, would stand in contrait thus:—

LIBERTY.

Assylum for the oppressed.

Labour lightly burthened.

Unremitting DESPOTISM.

Degrading SUBMISSIONS.

Gives a loose to his worst passions, and stamped with odious peculiarities.

"With what execration should the Statesman be loaded, who permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into DESPOTS, and these into enemies."—237.

(*g. p. 9.*) They are, in New-York subdivided into BURRITES and CLINTONIANS. A new denomination are just appearing in this State, who are for LEVI LINCOLN. When *principles* are abdicated, contention ends in MEN.

(*b. p. 9.*) "Should Mr. JEFFERSON administer the government on rational principles, and with steadiness vigour and prudence, his elevation will prove a public blessing. The fear that he might not, was a sufficient reason for opposing his election; the hope that he may, ought to insure him a candid and liberal conduct, and a rational confidence on the part of those who have prided themselves in the appellation of friends to the government. They are called upon to show that their attachment to it was an attachment to *principles*, and not to *men*; that they are ready to extend to lesser errors and mistakes, that indulgence which they claimed for themselves, but never experienced; and that should they be compelled ultimately, to oppose the administration by its adopting systems and principles essentially hostile to the public good, they will commence their opposition with reluctance, support it with energy, conduct it with candour, dignity and effect." *Harpur's Letter March 1. 1801.*

(*i. p. 9.*) The Grand Jury for the County of Sussex in Delaware have presented a number of persons for corrupt and illegal practices at the late Election of a Member of Congress. JAMES A. BAYARD, the Federal

candidate, was distanced by Mr. RODNEY, the Democratic candidate, 19 votes. A number of *foreigners* were qualified at the election! Among the cogent reasons against the admission of foreigners contained in the Notes on Virginia, is this; "*In proportion to their numbers they will share with us in legislation.*" The circumstance, on the weightiest reasons, then deprecated, is *now* on very different motives tolerated. "Suppose" (says Mr. JEFFERSON in his book,) *twenty million of republican Americans thrown all of a sudden into France; what would be the condition of that kingdom? If it would be more turbulent, less happy, less strong, we may believe that the addition of half a million of FOREIGNERS to our present numbers would produce similar effects here.*" We have long since mournfully taken from experience the "*verification of the conjecture*"—we are "*more turbulent, less happy, less strong.*"

(k. p. 9.) "I received them outcasts from their own coasts, in exile and in poverty; and in an hour of folly, madness, or inconsiderateness, I almost incorporated them in the kingdom." *Virgil.*

"Here I beg leave to propose a doubt 1. The present desire of America is to produce rapid population by as great importations of foreigners as possible. But is this founded in good policy? The advantage proposed is the multiplication of numbers. But are there no inconveniences to be thrown into the scale against the advantages expected from the multiplication of numbers by the importation of foreigners. It is for the happiness of those united in society to harmonize as much as possible in matters which they must of necessity transact together. Every species of government has its specific principles. Ours perhaps are more peculiar than those of any other in the universe. It is a composition of the freest principles of the English constitution, with others derived from natural right and natural reason. To these nothing can be more opposed than the maxims of absolute monarchies. Yet from such are we to expect the greatest number of emigrants. They will bring with them the principles of the governments they leave, imbibed in early youth; or, if able to throw them off, it will be in exchange for an *unbounded licentiousness*, passing, as is usual, from one extreme to another 2. It would be a miracle were they to stop precisely at the point of temperate liberty 3. These principles, with their *language* they will transmit to their children. 4. In proportion to their numbers, they will share with us in legislation 5. They will infuse into it their spirit, warp and bias its directions, and render it a heterogenous, incoherent, distracted mass. I may appeal to experience during our present contest for a verification of these conjectures, But if they are not certain in event, are they not possible, are they not probable? Is it not safer to wait for the attainment of any degree of population desired or expected? May not our government be more homogenous, more peaceable, more durable?" 6.

Notes on Virginia, 123.

1. The proposer of this doubt, in a message to Congress Dec. 1. 1801. says:— "I cannot omit recommending a revival of laws on the subject of naturalization. Considering the ordinary chances of human life, a denial of citizenship under a residence of fourteen years, is a denial to a great proportion of those who ask it; and controuls a policy pursued from their first settlement, by many of these States, and still believed of consequence to their prosperity. And shall we refuse to the unhappy fugitives from distress, that hospitality which the savages of the wilderness extended to our forefathers? Shall oppressed humanity find no asylum on this globe?"

An unanswerable refutation of these tenderhearted sentiments is con-

tained in the preceding extract from the Notes on Virginia. For greater advantage in the exhibition, I will set before the reader the Notes and the Message in the form of companion-prints,

Message.

“ Considering the ordinary chances of human life, a denial of citizenship under a residence of fourteen years, is a denial to a great proportion of those who ask it ; and controuls a policy pursued from their first settlement, by many of these States, and still believed of consequence to their PROSPERITY.

“ And shall we refuse to the unhappy fugitives from distress that hospitality which the savages of the wilderness extended to our forefathers ? ”

Notes,

—“ But is this founded in good policy ?—Are there no inconveniences to be thrown into the scale against the advantages expected from a multiplication of numbers by importations of FOREIGNERS ? ”

“ They will bring with them the principles of the governments they leave imbibed in their early youth ; or if able to throw them off it will be in exchange for an UNBOUNDED LICENTIOUSNESS.”

2. A foreigner, a fugitive indeed, of the character here contemplated, is editor, under the patronage of Mr. J. of the Aurora ; and he is, according to his own boast, the Sun of the Jacobin system. He enjoys emoluments under government to the extent of ten thousand dollars annually, and has publicly asserted that Mr. Jefferson dare not offend him ! What a pragmatic preceptor ! Or what pliant pupilage !

3. Let facts be consulted and they will give the verification of Mr. Jefferson's predictions :—The emigrants in our Southern States stop not at the “ *point of temperate liberty* ”—nor at any other temperate point.

4. Here, too, Mr. J. is a faithful prophet. “ *These principles,* ” are impressed in the *French and German languages* on nearly as many papers, south of New-York, as are published in the English language.

5. Mr. Jefferson deprecates the participation by FOREIGNERS in our government, yet he has himself bestowed the most important office in his gift on ALBERT GALLATIN, a ~~Genoese~~—one who in the work of “ *unbounded licentiousness* ” held a conspicuous rank. He was Secretary to the fomenters of the Western Insurrection. Gen.

6. The remainder of this passage does not require comment. The doctrine is plain and pungent, and is enforced by reference to experience—it is as salutary for the political as sound and wholesome aliment for the natural body. How is it that principles so beneficial, so deliberately formed and so earnestly pressed, can be disregarded ? Is not he who is raised to high distinction on the merit of his performances, bound to the government of the principles which exalted him ?

At a splendid festival in October last in Philadelphia, on occasion of the Jacobin triumph in the choice of Governor, &c. two toasts were drank, according with the *present* sentiments of a great Man :—1st. “ *Abundant importation of good men with sound republican principles :* ” 2d. “ *Our adopted brethren from Ireland—Strong bayonets in war—generous hearts in peace.* ”

At the ensuing session of the Legislature, an act passed for the easy admission of *foreigners*, and to facilitate their right of suffrage. It was sent to the Governor for his approbation, and returned with the sound objections following :—“ I have read and considered the bill, entitled “ An act to alter and amend the act, entitled “ An act to regulate the

general elections within this commonwealth," and after serious deliberation, do not approve it. The secretary will return it to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, with my objections which are as follow :

1. Because the education, Laws, government and manners of the inhabitants of most of the European and other foreign countries, from whence emigrations are made to the United States, are so different from ours, that it requires a considerable time to wean them from their prejudices and habits, as well as from the natural regard for their native soil, and to attach them to the Constitution, laws and manners of their adopted country ; what time may be deemed sufficient for these purposes, depends upon opinion founded on history, observation and experience. The British Parliaments, anterior to the American revolution, were of opinion, that seven years residence, even in the colonies, was necessary to qualify an alien for a subject ; and he was always under certain disabilities, such as sitting in Parliament or in the privy Council, and holding offices and grants of land from the crown, &c. within the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. Of the three last Congresses, who have acted on this subject, two have been of opinion, that five years residence in the United States was necessary for the purpose of naturalization, the other exacted fourteen. As congress have had this matter under consideration during their late session, and have not thought it adviseable to shorten the period of probation, it appears to me, that a respectful deference is due to the wisdom and policy of such enlightened assemblies, and that their acts ought not to be departed from, without very striking and cogent reasons.

2d. Although on Constitutional principles, I entertain no doubt, that the individual States may admit aliens, with or without residence, to purchase lands therein, and, after such residence as they may think proper, to elect or be elected into township or county offices, and to be capable of appointment to office in the executive or judicial departments of governments, yet I must hesitate in saying, they can make them complete citizens ; and enable them to elect members of Congress, electors of President and Vice-President, of the United States, or even members of the State legislature, as they appoint the senators in congress ; or that they can exempt them from alien duties, or grant them any immunity in trade to foreign countries, without conforming to the Uniform rule prescribed by congress in their acts of naturalization.

3. Because it is inexpedient to grant this privilege to aliens at present, when it has not been asked, and when it may tend to invite other states to grant them the like privileges on even a shorter term of probation ; and thereby create uneasiness, if not *danger* to the Union.

THOMAS M'KEAN."

Lancaster, March 16, 1803.

So recently after his election for four years, Gov. M'KEAN may have felt his independence of Irish patriots, and in those feelings spoke honestly and enlightedly. His arguments are unanswerable and for that reason are more exceptionable to the Jacobins. For these objections Gov. M. Kean has been denounced in the Aurora, and unless he becomes more accommodating to the views of the Jacobins, they will oust him from his office. A Jacobin Magistrate is the same thing in a government, that a merry andrew is in a play—He perform all his *tricks* for bread, and for the clap-hand plaudits of the canaille.

The auspices under which these vagrant foreigners are now ranged, have given them the airs and insolence of too kindly treated beggars. The whole Nation was insulted with their insufferable boldness on the 17th and 18th days of last February, when printed memorials, with printed signers, were presented to Congress from ALIENS residing in Pennsylvania. They were couched in such indecorous and supercilious language as produced reprehensions from even Jacobins.

The memorial states that many of the memorialists had been state prisoners in England and Ireland, and in the tone of *remonstrance* it speaks against our minister at St. James' for the expression of his desire that they might be authoritatively detained from this country! Benevolent God! halt thou permitted the "*destroying angel of Republics*" to unsheathe his sword under the feigned pretence of opening an asylum for oppressed humanity!!—

(*m. p. 10.*) At the time of adopting the Constitution the Jacobins took the appellation of *Antifederalists*. Mr. FAUCHET, the French minister, carried the Jacobins to the font and christened them *Republicans*! The Bishop of Autun has put on hands of confirmation.

"The ANTIFEDERALISTS have disembarassed themselves from an insignificant denomination, and assumed that of *Patriots* and *Republicans*. These Republicans have already cast their eyes on Mr JEFFERSON to succeed the president." *
Faucher's Letter

* This is the certificate of the dub given to the Jacobins. If they would disentangle themselves from a furious fondness for Frenchmen, and composedly contemplate the devastations and enormities made and perpetrated under the imposing name of Republicanism, they would bring their minds to a better understanding of the word, and their conduct to its real and rational support.

"It is of prime importance to remark that the individuals who were chiefly opposed to the adoption of the Constitution, or dissatisfied with it were the persons, generally, who have been opposed to all great measures which have been found in practice to be productive of advantage to the United States, and they have been, with some exceptions, the persons whose activity and violence contributed chiefly to the change of administration; and that those men now fill the great stations in the general government. It is also worthy of remark that the ablest and most influential men of this description are from the great States which so reluctantly came into the union under the Constitution; I mean VIRGINIA, NORTH-CAROLINA, PENNSYLVANIA and NEW-YORK. There are exceptions, doubtless, to these cases, but they are not very numerous. How wise the people of the United States have acted in taking the government out of the hands of those who formed it, and nursed it, and maintained it in its Constitutional energy, in order to place it in the hands of those who opposed its adoption, and who resisted all the measures calculated to give it full and free operation, is not for an individual to decide."

Rutledge's Letter.

(*n. p. 10.*) "The dignity and stability of government in all its branches; the morals of the people, and every blessing of society depend so much upon an upright and skilful administration of *Justice*, that the *Judiciary Power* ought to be *distinct* from both the Legislative and Executive, that so it may be a check upon both, as both are checks upon that. The Judges should always be men of learning, and experience in the laws, of example-

ry morals, great patience, calmness, coolness and attention; their minds should not be distracted with jarring interests; they should not be *dependent upon any man or body of men*. To these ends they should *hold estates for life* in their offices; or in other words their commissions should be *during good behaviour*, and their salaries ascertained and established by law. For *misbehaviour*, the grand inquest of the colony, the House of Representatives should impeach them before the Governor and Council, when they should have time and opportunity to make their defence; but if *convicted* should be *removed* from their offices, and subjected to such other punishments as shall be thought proper." 1.

Jefferson's Letter to Judge Wythe 1776.

Enumerating the defects in the Constitution of Virginia, Mr. Jefferson says:—"All the powers of government Legislative, Executive, and Judiciary, result to the Legislative body. The concentrating these in the same hands is precisely the definition of despotic government. It will be no alleviation that these powers will be exercised by a *plurality* of hands, and not by a single one. 173 despots would surely be as oppressive as *one*. As little will it avail us that they are chosen by ourselves. An *elective Despotism* was not the government we fought for; but one which should not only be founded on free principles, but in which the powers of government should be so *DIVIDED* and *BALANCED* among several bodies of magistracy, as that no one should transcend their legal limits, without being effectually checked and restrained by the others. For this reason, the convention, which passed the ordinance of government, laid its foundation on this basis, that the Legislative, Executive, and Judiciary departments should be *separate* and *distinct*. But no *BARRIER* was provided between these several powers. The Judiciary and Executive members were left dependent on the Legislative, for their *subsistence in office*, and some of them for their *continuance* in it. They have accordingly, in many instances, decided rights which should have been left to Judiciary controversy. Mankind soon learn to make interested uses of every right and power which they possess, or may *ASSUME*. The public money and public liberty, intended to have been deposited with *three* branches of magistracy, but found inadvertently to be in the hands of *one* only; will soon be discovered to be sources of wealth and dominion to those who hold them, distinguished too by this tempting circumstance, that they are the instrument as well as the object of acquisition."

2. . . . "We should look forward to a time, and that not a distant one (written in 1781) when corruption in this, as in the country from which we derived our origin, will have seized the *HEADS* of government, and be spread by them through the body of the people; when they will purchase the *voices* of the *people*, and make them pay the price. Human nature is the same on every side of the Atlantic, and will be alike influenced by the same causes. The time to guard against corruption and tyranny, is before they shall have gotten hold of us. It is better to keep the wolf out of the fold, than to trust to drawing his teeth and talons after he shall have entered." 3. . . . "When peace shall be established, and leisure given us for intrenching within good forms, the rights for which we bled, let no man be found indolent enough to decline a little more trouble for placing them beyond the reach of question."

4. . . . "One precedent in favour of power, is stronger than an hundred against it." . . . "For what oppression may not a precedent be found in this world of the *bellum omnium in omnia*?—Search

ing for the foundations of this proposition I can find none which may pretend a colour of right or reason, but the defect before developed, that there being no BARRIER between the Legislative, Executive and Judiciary departments, the LEGISLATURE may seize the WHOLE." 5.

"It can never be too often repeated, that the time for fixing every essential right on a legal basis, is while our rulers are honest and ourselves united. From the conclusion of this war we shall be going down hill. It will not then be necessary to resort every moment to the people for support. They will be forgotten, and their rights disregarded. They will forget themselves but in the sole faculty of making money, and will never think of uniting to effect a due respect for their rights. The shackles, therefore, which shall not be knocked off at the conclusion of this war, will remain on us long, will be made heavier and heavier till our rights shall revive or EXPIRE in a convulsion." 6. (*Notes on Virginia* 170. 171. 172, 179. 180. 186. 235.)

In the draught of a Fundamental Constitution for Virginia, published with the "Notes"—appear the following articles:—"The Judiciary powers shall be exercised by county courts, and such other inferior Courts as the Legislature shall think proper to continue or erect, by three superior Courts, *to wit*, the Court of Admiralty, a general Court of common Law, and a high Court of Chancery; and by one supreme Court to be called the Court of Appeals. The Judges of the high Court of Chancery, general Court, and court of Admiralty, shall be appointed by ballot of both houses of Assembly, and to HOLD THEIR OFFICES DURING GOOD BEHAVIOUR." - - - "Their salaries may be increased or abated, from time to time at the discretion of the Legislature, *provided such increase or abatement shall not, by any ways or means, be made to effect, either then, or at any future time, any one of those then actually in office.*" - - - "The Justices or Judges of the inferior Courts already erected or hereafter to be erected, shall be appointed by the Governor, on advice of the council of State, and shall hold their offices *during good behaviour or the existence of their Courts.*" 7 *Ibid.* 324. 5 9.

"The Constitution, on which our Union rests, shall be administered by me according to the safe and honest meaning contemplated by the plain understanding of the people of the United States, at the time of its adoption—a meaning to be found in the explanations of those who advocated, not of those who opposed it, and who opposed it merely, till the constructions should be applied which they denounced as possible. These explanations are preserved in the publications of the time, and are too recent in the memories of most men to admit of question." 8.

Jefferson's letter to a small club in Providence.

1. The article, in the Constitution of the United States, establishing the Judiciary department, is predicated on the principles recommended in this letter:—The Judges are, by that article, made INDEPENDENT OF ANY MAN OR BODY OF MEN: They are invested with offices for their LIVES, or during GOOD BEHAVIOUR: Their salaries ascertained and established by law, and removeable from their offices only by impeachment by the House of Representatives, and conviction before the Senate of misbehaviour.

Is it possible to define the article in the Constitution in terms more plain, precise and imperative? But leaving the letter, and trying the question of the inviolability of Judges by the *spirit* of the Constitution, or by mere *expedieny*, and the impartial judgment would unavoidably be cer-

ducted to the same decision. For it is an incontestable fact that, "*The dignity and stability of government, the morals of the people, and every blessing of society depend*" in the highest degree, on an incorruptible and INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY. And with this independence there must be no tampering. An useful Judge must be as independent of a President as of a peasant—of a member of the Government as of the lowest member of the community.

2. How accurate is Mr. J. in his knowledge of corruptions? I wish he would condescend to inform us of the "*interested uses*" of ASSUMED POWER. He has told us that the American people "*will never think of uniting to effect a due respect for their rights*"—that is—will not oppose ASSUMPTIONS. Who, that loves liberty and his country, and views this painting of the archDemagogue, and this description of our character, but must have watered eyes, or a soul on fire?—

3. I pray my reader to recollect that I have given him the words of our President. Go over them again, and again. They are full of instruction:—"We should look forward to a time, and that not a distant one (revised in 1782,) when corruption shall seize the HEADS of Government, and be spread by THEM among the people! Let us pause and ask with astonishment "*WHEN shall these things be?*" When the Constitution shall be rudely broken, when virtue shall be driven from her hold on the public confidence, when "*rulers who trusted in CANDOUR and JUSTICE shall become miserable victims of their simplicity.*"—When hollow and deceptive pretensions are made and reposed in by those to whom they are addressed, and prove "*the most efficient engine of the state machine;*" then you may be assured that the "*time is at hand, and now is*". One word of encouragement, and one only remains:—It is better to draw the teeth and talons of the wolf after they are entered, than to leave him upon his prey to devour the whole body.

4. We proudly thought that the Constitution of the United States had "*entrenched within good forms the rights for which we bled.*" And we supposed it to have been done at "*the time for fixing every essential right on a legal basis,*" namely, when the framers were "*HONEST, and ourselves UNITED.*" We had the most elevated conceptions that the JUDICIARY branch of it was a BARRIER to stop the spread of "*CORRUPTION*" when it might "*seize the HEADS of government*"—when "*the spirit of the times should alter*"—"*our RULERS become CORRUPT, and our people CARELESS.*"—And which would prevent the Legislature from seizing the WHOLE. But what are entrenchments within good FORMS while "*human nature*" (in Magistrates) "*is the same on every side of the Atlantic*"—and our people "*forget themselves but in the sole faculty of making money, and will never think of uniting to effect a due respect for their rights?*" With such a view of our condition, may we not, ought we not to shudder at the assurance that "*in every government on earth is some trace of human weakness, some germ of corruption and degeneracy which, cunning will discover, and wickedness insensibly OPEN, CULTIVATE and IMPROVE?*"—And "*that our shackles will remain on us long, will be made HEAVIER and HEAVIER, till our right shall revive or EXPIRE in a convulsion?*"

"When those whom Heaven distinguishes o'er millions
And thow'rs profusely, power and splendour on them,
What e'er the expanded heart can wish; when they,
Accepting the reward, neglect the duty,
Or worse, pervert those gifts to deeds of ruin,
Is there a wretch they rule so bad as they?"

Guilty at once of sacrilege to Heaven
And of perfidious robbery to Man ! ”

—————“ O CONSPIRACY !

Where will thou find a cavern dark enough
To mark thy monstrous visage ? Seek none.
Hide it in SMILES and AFFABILITY ;
For if thou path thy native semblance on,
Not Erebus itself were dark enough
To hide thee from prevention.”

5. A sounder sentiment than this was never spoken. It forms the basis and support of a free Republic. It is not detraction to ask my reader to make a comparison of the *theory* with the *PRACTICE* of the author : —The coincidence of practice with a good theory is the perfection of virtue ; the variation of the practice forms the definition, and constitutes the odiousness of vice. ————— That “ BARRIER, that great PALLADIUM of our LIBERTIES had, we fondly imagined, an immoveable place in our government ; but the pillar of adamant has been crumbled, and it is tottering on its base. ————— Can the American people ignominiously submit to the imputation “ *that they never will think of uniting to effect a due respect for their rights?* ————— Can a people who magnanimously objected to a Sovereign that “ He made Judges dependent on his will for the TENURE of their OFFICES, and the amount and payment of their SALARIES ” (*Declaration of Independence.*) now pusillanimously see the most important branch of magistracy divested of their constitutional functions ? Have we expended “ *blood and substance for the wretched purpose of changing this master for that ?* ” (*Notes on Virginia 181.*) “ *In God's name, from whence have they derived this power ? Is it from any principle in our new constitution expressed or implied ? Every lineament of that expressed or implied, is in direct opposition to it.* ” (*Ibid. 182.*)

6. If the American people will endure this description, they will deserve it. The consequences which will inevitably follow from their lethargy ought to rouse them from it—namely—“ *The shackles will remain on us long, will be made HEAVIER and HEAVIER till our rights shall receive or EXPIRE in a convulsion.* ”

Mr. Jefferson has added practice to expression that he retains the same opinion of his Countrymen. With those opinions—with the habits of his education, and with his knowledge of duplicity, in which he is a great proficient, he “ *must be a prodigy if he can retain his manners and morals undepraved.* ”

7. The arrangement of the Judicial branch is here so strongly defined, that no sophistry can deceive us into a misunderstanding of it. The class of Judges to be commissioned DURING GOOD BEHAVIOUR, were to HOLD ESTATES FOR LIFE IN THEIR OFFICES,” except impeached and convicted of malfeasance. They were intended for a co-ordinate branch of the government ; and were to form the impassable “ BARRIER ” between the several powers. . . . The other class of Judges were removable on the same causes, or *the abolition of their courts.* This condition of office made *this* branch of judicial magistracy in a degree subordinate to the legislature. It could not, therefore, be considered a *barrier.* It is ridiculous—it is an outrageous imposition upon common sense, to say that a department of government in the least possible degree in *subordination* to another can be a BARRIER between the several powers ; and without

such a barrier we are told by Mr. Jefferson, that "*the Legislature will seize the WHOLE.*" Now, in direct opposition to his own sound reasoning, Mr. Jefferson proposed and procured the dismissal of Judges commissioned, under the Constitution of the United States, *during good behaviour*, and who, by the letter and spirit of the instrument were to "*hold estates for life in their offices.*" This construction cannot be overcome without overthrowing the Constitutional Liberties of the country: "*The concentration of the legislative, executive and judicial branches into the same hands, is precisely the definition of DESPOTIC GOVERNMENT. 173 despots would surely be as oppressive as one, and it is no alleviation that they were chosen by ourselves.*"

8. In this Letter, Mr. Jefferson has formed a standard to test his transactions. We would willingly, by this standard, try the abrogation of the Judiciary. The first exposition of the Constitution is in a publication of superlative merit from the hands of Chief Justice JAY, General HAMILTON, and the Hon. Mr. MADISON, the present Secretary of State. My circumscribed limits preclude citations at large. If the authors of this precious work had have been gifted with prescience, they could not have written with more pertinent application to existing events, than they have in the chapter on the Judiciary department of the Government. Anticipating the spirit of *incroachment* in the House of Representatives; and displaying the dreadful consequences of a *concentration of power* there; they exhibit, and in the most masterly and satisfactory manner enforce, the indispensable necessity of provisions in the Constitution against the phrenzy of the popular branch. These provisions, with solemnity and security, were intended and supposed to be placed, by the Constitution, in an unshaken *permanency* and sacred *independency* of the *Judicial Power*. This work has the farther merit of being free from the party spirit of the present times. This invaluable production should, like legislative acts, be read a first, a second, and a third time.

The second publications in order, which expound the Constitution, are the *Debates in the Conventions of the several States*. It appears by these Debates that the antifederal opposition to the article establishing the Judicial power, was ostensibly placed on the incomplete independency of the Judges by a power in the Legislature to *augment* their *salaries*. In the Convention of Virginia, this objection was urged with great animation by Patrick Henry, Mr. Nicholas, Col. Grayson and others, and obviated by Mr. Madison. All the Debates give ample and unequivocal evidence, that a perfectly *independent Judiciary* was relied on, by both parties, as the *only bulwark* against the introduction of perfect *Despotism*.

These debates would well reward the labour of examination: They expose a table of examples to prove the instability and incongruity of the human mind.

Publications explanatory of the constitution, and the third in order, are the *Debates in Congress*. When the Judiciary bill was before Congress at their first session, the opposition members were clear and explicit in the declaration that the JUDGES would be inviolable. Mr. GERRY, in particular, expressed himself in this full and forcible manner:—"The Judges will be independent, and no power can remove them; They will be beyond the reach of the other powers of the government; they will be unassailable, and cannot be affected but by the united voice of America, and that *only by a change of government.*"

By the umpirage of Mr. Jefferson's friends, as expressed at the periods referred to, the point would be settled against him.

I have preferred the arguments in favour of the immutability of the courts, which have been given by those who abrogated and commended the abrogation of the Judiciary act. But if a candid reader would wish to pursue the subject with additional helps, I refer him to the potent arguments of the Federal Members when the bill for the repeal was before Congress; to the cogent and copious arguments in Judge BASSETT'S Protest; to the expositions which were given of the article establishing the Judiciary, in the Conventions of the States; to the debates in Congress when the Courts were instituted; to the opinion of every sound, honest and candid jurist in the United States, and of every commentator on the nature and principles of civil law.

I will not avail myself of FEDERAL authority, farther than to quote the conclusion of the speech of Mr. HEMPHILL of Pennsylvania—a gentleman of the Society of Friends, esteemed for his plain Republicanism, and luminous understanding:—“The three grand branches of our government are well arranged. The President has his proportionate weight in the Judiciary, by appointing the Judges; when they are appointed they are independent; and in this situation are to guard the legislature from making encroachments on the liberties of the people. The Legislature, in turn, have a check on them by bringing them to trial and punishment, if they should become corrupted; this trial is to commence in this House, which will always be a repository of a sufficiency of passion and spirit to commence the impeachment if there should be a reasonable cause; the trial is to be ended in the Senate; where the members, from their permanency, will be likely to be cool, and not convict, unless they are guilty. Thus the parts are interwoven, operating as checks and controuls on each other; but once cut the ligament, and perhaps the dreadful consequences have not been too highly coloured. The effect may not be immediate, but let the principle be practised upon by two or three changes of administration, and it will become as much a matter of course to remove Judges as the Heads of Departments; and in bad times the Judges would be no better than a sword in the hands of party to put out of the way great and obnoxious characters for pretended treasons”

“But say they” (*the jacobins*) “the people have acquiesced, and this has given an authority superior to the laws. Should a prudent acquiescence at a critical period, be construed into a confirmation of every illegal thing done during that period? To what dangerous lengths will this argument lead? Did the acquiescence of the colonies, under the various acts of power exercised by Great Britain in our infant state, confirm these acts, and so far invest them with the authority of the people as to render them unalterable, and our resistance wrong? On every unauthoritative exercise of power by the LEGISLATURE, must the people rise in REBELLION, or their silence be construed into a surrender of that power to them? If so how many rebellions should we have?” (*Notes on Virginia 177. 178.*)

This note will be closed with the counsel given by the Father of his Country on the subject we are investigating:—“It is important that the habits of thinking, in a free country should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments into one and thus to create, whatever be the form of government a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and promptness to abuse it which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of recipie-

cal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing 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 or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment, in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpations, for though this in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed."

Washington's Valedictory.

(o. p. 11.) The Letter to Mazzei :—" Our political situation is prodigiously changed since you left us—instead of that noble love of liberty, and that republican government which carried us triumphantly through the dangers of the war, an anglo-monarchic aristocratic party has arisen. Their avowed object is to impose on us the substance, as they have already given us the form of the British government; nevertheless the principal part of our citizens remain faithful to republican principles. All our proprietors of lands are friendly to those principles, as also the mass of men of talents. We have against us the *Executive power, all the officers of government*; all who are seeking offices; and all timid men who prefer the calm of despotism, to the tempestuous sea of Liberty; the British merchants, and Americans trading on British capitols; the speculators; persons interested in the bank and public funds.

I should give you a fever if I should name the apostates who have embraced those heresies—men who were Solomons in council and Sampsons in combat, but whose hair has been cut off by the whore, England.

They would wrest from us that Liberty which we have obtained by so much labour and peril, but we shall preserve it. Our mass of weight and riches is so powerful, that we have nothing to fear from any attempts against us by force—it is sufficient that we guard ourselves, and that we break the Lilliputian ties by which they have bound us, in the first flumbers which succeeded our labours—it suffices that we arrest the progress of that system of INGRATITUDE and INJUSTICE towards France, from which they would alienate us to bring us under British influence."†

† This letter is so flimsy and frothy, that I decline the ascription of it to any politician or philosopher: but whoever is the author, he will descend to posterity to receive their bitterest execrations for his "*ingratitude and injustice towards*" THE SAVIOUR OF HIS COUNTRY, and the faithful band of his co-patriots. Where is GRATITUDE, if such detraction as this can find a lodgment in any bosom? Where is JUSTICE, if it can be propagated without meeting the heaviest denunciations?

On comparison of this letter with the indubitable works of the reputed author, we cannot believe it his without involving conclusions which decency would suppress if, with the concomitant indignation, they were expressible.

In his Notes on Virginia Mr. Jefferson predicted that "*From the conclusion of this war we should be going down hill,*" and that our rights would probably EXPIRE, &c. I have transcribed the whole passage on the 33. page of these Notes. It appears by the Letter we have now under examination, that our rights were imminently exposed at that critical moment, the moment of our Salvation, when President WASHINGTON issued his Proclamation of Neutrality. It was *that* which laid the "*system of ingra-*

tude and injustice towards France." It was *that* which brought out the Jacobins, in lion-like fierceness, "to arrest the progress of the system." But for *that* our country would, long ago, have been stained with the bloody footsteps of biped lions, more ravenous and insatiable than the quadruped kind.

The subjugation was to be effected by "*Men who were Solomons in Council and Sampsons in combat*"! HOGARTH could not sketch a caricature, nor GEORGE ALEXANDER STEVENS deliver a lecture, that could create more merriment, than to see "*Sampsons in combat*," binding in "*Lilliputian ties*," the redoubtable heroes who *fled before the British army through Virginia*.

"*The Executive power ; all the officers of government*" were to "*wrest from us that liberty which we have obtained by so much labour and peril.*" Mr. Jefferson shall repel this diabolically wicked calumny :—First, "*We have against us the EXECUTIVE POWER*"—(*Mazzei Letter.*) "Without pretensions to that high confidence you reposed in our first and *greatest* revolutionary character, whose pre-eminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love, and destined for him, the fairest page in the volume of faithful history."—(*Inaugural Speech.*) Second. "*We have against us the Executive power, and all the officers of government.*" (*Mazzei Letter.*) "These principles form the *bright constellation*, which has gone before us ; and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages, and the blood of our heroes, have been devoted to their attainment :—they should be the creed of our political faith ; the text of civic instruction ; the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust ; and should we *wander from them in moments of error or alarm*, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and to regain the road which ALONE leads to PEACE, LIBERTY and SAFETY."

(*Inaugural Speech.*)

The odious author of the Letter may now retreat to the ambush of black and lying malice, and there remain till, like an angry toad, he swell and burst with his own poison.

I conclude with a word of instruction to "*the principal part of our citizens*," and "*all our proprietors of lands*"—which will be readily concurred in by "*the mass of men of talents* :"—They who "*would wrest from you your Liberty*," are they who would fill you with suspicions of the virtuous, and alienate you to a confidence in their own plotting viciousness.

(*p. p. 11.*) The published correspondence between Callender and his patron is, on the part of the latter, in unsigned letters. It is observed in one of those letters—"you will know from whom this comes"—"*I refuse my name to my letters to elude the curiosity of the Post-Offices.*" LENTULUS wrote in the same manner to CATALINE the CONSPIRATOR :—"You will know who I am from him whom I have sent to you. Take care to show yourself a man, and recollect in what situation you are, and consider what is now necessary for you. *Be sure to make use of all, even of the lowest.*" †

† I will not even suppose that LENTULUS was selected for a model ; but unfortunately the quoted expressions are in perfect imitation.

(*q. p. 11*) I have opened the "*PROSPECT BEFORE US*," to present the reader with some specimens of the abuse of WASHINGTON and ADAMS, but my heart and hand recoil from the undertaking. This abominable calumny has frequently been arraigned to exhibit the excess of depravity and scurrility. The very sight of it almost defiles, and raises disgust and indignation to their highest ascendancy. Burning such writings by the

hands of a hangman, would not cleanse the world from their pollution. If "*reason can be free to combat them,*" they would be usefully preserved among the collections of the literati; that, as the virtuous curioſo ſurveys the hisſing Adder, kept ſecurely at a Muſeum, and aſcertainſ the antidote to his bite; the pure patriot, with the ſame feelings and motives, might examine the heart-and-head corrupting pages, and counteract their influence.

"THE PROSPECT BEFORE US," was written intentionally to depreciate the whole ſyſtem of Federal meaſures, and to bring into contempt the whole band of diſtinguiſhed actors in the cauſe; and to build up Mr. Jefferſon on the Vandalian ruins. The work, and the correſpondence of Mr. J. with the author, will live as long as the hiſtory of the Mammoth, and is, at preſent, as great a curioſity as the bones of that animal. Callender conſidered himſelf the "FIELD MARSHAL" of the Jacobin Editors. After he had won the battle, he repaired to his maſter for a place and penſion, but Mr. J. probably for reaſons affecting his *continuance* in office, rejected the petition, and lavished his favours on William Duane. In umbrage for the preference of Duane, Callender changed ſides, and in a ſtrain of virulence has publiſhed ſeveral anecdotes of much purport. Confirmatory of one of them, facts of the firmeſt texture are already wove by another hand, and the piece will ſoon be out for common wear. Another of them was answered in the National Intelligencer in a manner to caution every *gentleman* to repair his foot from Mr. J's Houſe. The answer admits the fact that Mr. J. has the wench——and ſhe the boy——but it relieves the reputed father in an inſinuation that ſome of the *gentlemen* who viſited Mr. J. might have had a Kitchen-chamber amour with the ſlut! The *reſemblance*, mentioned in the anecdote, is a difficulty unnoticed by the refuter; he may have thought it inſurmouutable; he could not have thought it inſignificant.

(r. p. 11.) The reaſon aſſigned to the New-Haven Merchants for the diſmiſſion of Mr. Goodrich was, that offices were too much in the hands of "*a ſet.*"

(s. p. 11.) "While we have land to labour, let us never wiſh to ſee our citizens occupied at a work-bench, or twirling a diſtaff. Carpenters, maſons, ſmiths, are wanting in huſbandry: but for the general operations of manufacture, let our work-ſhops remain in EUROPE. It is better to carry proviſions and materials to workmen *there*, than to bring them to the proviſions and materials, and with them their *manners* and *principles.*"——
"It is the *manners* and *ſpirit* of a people which preſerve a republic in *vigour*. A degeneracy in theſe is a canker which ſoon eats to the heart of its LAWS and CONSTITUTION." 1.

Notes on Virginia 240

"Our intereſt will be to throw open the doors of commerce, and to knock off all its ſhackles, giving perfect freedom to all perſons for the vent of whatever they may chuiſe to bring into our ports, and aſking the ſame in theirs."——2

"And, perhaps, to remove as much as poſſible the occaſions of making war, it might be better for us to *abandon* the *ocean* altogether, that being the element whereon we ſhall be principally expoſed to joltle with other nations." *Ibid.* 253.

1. I leave the sneering and degrading remarks on *Mechanicks* to be repelled by a worthy company of them who are men of property by their *occupation at a work-bench*, and men of reſpectability and uſefulneſs by a better underſtanding of their own intereſts, and the intereſts of their country, than their ſcorner.

One member of this passage gives an orthodox sentiment; and I hope there are believers enough in it of such "*manners and spirit*" as will preserve in vigour this republic; notwithstanding the vilifying and contemptuous assertion, that we shall "*never think of uniting to effect a due respect for our rights.*"

The conclusion is in that air of confidence and discernment which invariably appear in the author's descriptions of *degeneracy*. I wish my reader would review the whole number of passages extracted for him on that subject—they would form "*the touchstone to try the services of those we trust.*" Let those entrusted be brought to the trial. The theoretic excellence of our author has been honoured with high praise, but practical illustrations of his positions, by any in our country, should fill us with the deepest dread. To what depth of *degeneracy* shall we not sink, if we have forgotten ourselves "*but in the sole faculty of making money.*—If "*corruption will have seized the HEADS of government, and be spread by them through the body of the people.*"—And if we shall "*never think of uniting to effect a due respect for our rights?*"—Torturing reflections to the patriot!—Excruciating to Liberty!

2. This passage appears to be lame. Few systems are perfect at the first broach. According to what precedes—"While we have land to labour" we must all be FARMERS. By whom, then, are *great cities* to be built and occupied? Not by us gentlemen farmers; we, in a noble independence, may dress in coarse frocks, or, in imitation of our gallic friends, may stich ruffles to our cuffs, put on the laced-cape cloak, and pompously as the French frizzier and soup-meagre, we may strut venting our contempt of the shopkeepers. Our *great cities*, then, must be built and occupied by those who come "*unshackled to vend whatever they may choose to bring into our ports.*" For it is the hand of COMMERCE ALONE that erects the stupendous piles of magnificence and wealth. They who would come "*to vend whatever they may choose to bring,*" would soon relieve us from all the low drudgery of trade and business. They would make us easy as the very lordly, but very senseless and effeminate TURK, reclined under an umbrageous refuge from the sun; they would pack off peddlars and haberdashers into all parts of the country, and once a quarter would come round with carts to take off, *at a high price!* the exuberance of our productions, as scavengers glean up dirt from the city streets. The intercourse between Town and Country would cease, and a countryman might visit Boston, once in his life, to satisfy curiosity, as some of us now wish to see London or Paris.

"Our country being much intersected with navigable waters, and trade brought generally to our doors, instead of our being obliged to go in quest of it, has probably been one of the causes why we have NO TOWNS of any consequence."

"*Corruption of morals*" is found in those who depend for their subsistence "*on the casualties and caprice of customers*"

"The mobs of great cities add just so much to the support of pure government, as sores do to the strength of the human body."

Notes on Virginia, 53, 240, 241.

A disposition to promote the interests of a people, distinguishedly commercial, connected with such opinions of merchants and of the effects of commerce in great cities, appears either a contradiction or an unhappy association. The indolence and indifference produced by being served at their doors, is one of the causes why Virginians would "*throw open the*

doors of commerce," and even "abandon the ocean altogether. The generous spirit of those who will not emancipate but keep in servitude their fellow creatures, is extended to unshackling inanimate things. *Knocking off shackles*, are words very apposite in the mouth of a Demagogue to lead a rabble to works of destruction; and to unbinding and letting a strong adversary loose. The "*shackles*" of commerce have, in various ways, been attempted to be broken, but the cold-chizzle and sledge have not yet been applied with effect. Let not our sensibilities for bonded commerce, be too strongly excited. Let not our judgments be deceived by the face of the measures proposed, but let us examine them to the heart. Let us see whether the hands so liberally held out are not of iron, covered with downy gloves. If they are, the Maritime States may be sure that those hands will not be harmless like cat's-paws in mittens, but like naked Lion's they will rend us to pieces.

There is no "*corruption of morals*" in those who depend for subsistence on the labours of their SLAVES! "With the morals of the people, their industry is also destroyed. For in a warm climate, no man will labour for himself who can make another labour for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves, a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labour." *Notes on Virginia, 237.*

Slavery, which is no more in Virginia, adds fifteen votes to the support of—what? *Pure Government*? If it does WASHINGTON must receive our maledictions! It gave fifteen votes to Mr. Jefferson. There is very little, or no more reason for the people of the Southern States having fifteen additional votes for their negroes; than there is of the Northern for their black cattle. A majority of the white people of the United States is, at this moment, on the side of Federalism—the preponderance of Jacobinism is most clearly by *black* means.

3. This is the language of timidity. JOSTLING is a convulsive word to weak nerves.

Why not ABANDON the public high-way—decline going to Church, or meeting Congress in the Capitol, to avoid *as much as possible the occasions of disagreement*? One fully converted to this doctrine, would move shufflingly along through the thronged streets to avoid a *jostle* against another's elbow. It would produce the most blessed effects to extend these precautions, to every man's confinement to his own premises!

I have not inattentively passed over the confession of Mr. J. that "*the actual habits of our countrymen attach them to commerce. They will exercise it for themselves.*" (*Note 254.*) But this is evidently an unwilling acknowledgment of a fact, involving consequences running counter to the course which he supposed "*it would be our wisdom to pursue.*"

In conformity to the opinions expressed on this subject in his Notes, Mr. J. has made communications to Congress. Herein he conducts consistently.

The projects for the repeal of the countervailing-duty-act, quadrates with those opinions. It looks lovingly in a Philosopher, but is impolitic in a politician, to embrace whole nations in the liberal arms of love, kindness and generosity. The learning, too, which with great pomp, and in the fluent use of break-jaw technicals, can dissect the wings of a butterfly, or describe, in name and number, the joints in the leg of a grasshopper, is materially different from the learning which qualifies for the management of the affairs of a nation.

The countervailing duty was a Federal measure. Its policy is at-

tested by six hundred thousand additional tons of shipping; by a proportionably increased number of well-trained seamen; by the prosperity of all the handicrafts connected with the great business of ship-building; by the accumulations of the whole body of Agriculturalists; and by the general advancement. Who can be so stupid as to question the fact, that Agriculture and Commerce are the great objects that divide the attention of mankind, and that they are not rivals, but friends? Deplorable indeed our condition, if politics, sucked out of air-pumps in a philosophy-chamber, if such there be, are permitted to go into experiment against systems drawn up from the bottom of the well of knowledge and experience. A Dry Dock might serve for the grave of commerce; we might be permitted to visit it, and to shed tears of sorrow upon the mouldering limbs, and in deep melancholly contemplate the declining glory of our country! Better, infinitely better to animate a spirit that shall, after the example of Menius, *suspend in our capitol the beaks of our enemies ships.*

“The more ships and merchants we have, the more buyers there will be for our crops, and the better price we shall get. SHIPS and COMMERCE make LARGE TOWNS, and the more large towns we have, the more demand there will be for provisions, and the higher will be the price. Increase the market and demand, and you increase the price of produce and the profits of labour; and with them the general prosperity. Diminish the market and demand, and you check industry and discourage agriculture; and if you entirely take away the market, every man will content himself with raising as much as he can consume at home, agriculture and every species of improvement decline, and we gradually fall into poverty, indolence and wretchedness. These are truths which every FARMER knows, though some who call themselves STATESMEN, seem not to be apprised of them.”

R. G. Harper.

(*t. p. 11.*) The STAMP DUTY was described by the Jacobins in the most odious colourings. *For such a duty, said many of them, we resisted Great Britain.* Ignorance is more excusable than wickedness, and to say that these declaimers mistook names for principles, is treating some of them with more tenderness than they deserve:—It was not the “STAMP-Act,” but its imposition upon us without our consent that impelled us to resistance. Mr. Gallatin, in a Report to Congress March 2, 1802, spoke favourably of the stamp duty:—“Whether the expenses of collection may not be diminished even beyond what has been effected by the order of the President last Summer, it would be, perhaps, rash to assert; but I have no hesitation in saying that they can but be increased in proportion to the amount received, if some species of duties shall be abolished and some retained. *The only exception is the STAMP DUTY, which may be collected without the assistance of almost any other officers than the vendors of stamps, to whom the allowance of 10 per cent now made by law would be sufficient.*”

Gallatin's Report.

“The repeal of the Internal Taxes, was likewise a measure which met with my disapprobation. Not however because I felt unwilling to relieve the people from their burthens, but because I doubted whether it was safe to dispense with so great a branch of the revenue, and because I believed that if any of the taxes could be repealed, those which fell on the necessities of life ought to have been preferred. The wise arrangements which had been made by the former administration for the extinguishment of our debt, was performing its operation, and if those plans had not been broken in upon, it was very certain that the debt would be rapidly reduced and

eventually discharged, and I thought that it was better to retain the taxes until the debt was paid, than to hazard the failure of so desirable an event by reducing the means of accomplishing it.—For these reasons, I thought that the safer course would have been, to have retained all the taxes for the present, under such modification, however, as would have diminished the burthen upon the *necessaries* of life. But if it was safe to give up a part of the revenue, I was clearly of opinion, that the tax upon *brown sugar, coffee, bohea tea*, and certain other *necessaries* of life, ought to have been reduced, instead of giving up the tax on *carriages, stamps, refined sugar*, and the other branches of the internal revenue, and in this opinion I was happy to find myself supported by those gentlemen in congress whose opinions I most respected; and no exertions were spared, when it was found that the majority of congress were determined to relinquish a part of the revenue, to substitute a reduction of the taxes upon those *necessaries* of life, in the place of relinquishing altogether the internal revenue; but those exertions did not avail, and the *entire tax* upon *brown sugar, coffee, bohea tea, salt*, and indeed every other article of impost, has been *retained* by the present administration, and a majority of congress, whilst the tax on *carriages &c.* has been relinquished. I make no comment upon this transaction, because it is the province of the people to Judge, which course would have best promoted their interest.”

Stratton's Letter.

(*u. p. 11.*) In 1798 the following officers of government received the salaries annexed:—Secretary of State and Treasury each 3500. Secretary of War and Navy each 3000. Comptroller of the Treasury 2250. Auditor 1500. Treasurer 2400. Register 2000. Attorney General 2400. Commissioner of the Revenue 2400. Accountant of the War Department 1200. Accountant of Navy Department 1600. Post-Master General 2400. Assistant do 1200. Aggregate 32,350. The same officers now receive the salaries following:—Secretaries of State and Treasury each 5000. Secretaries of War and Navy each 4500. Comptroller of the Treasury 3500. Auditor 3000. Treasurer 3000. Register 2400. Attorney General 3000. Commissioner of the Revenue 3000. Accountants of the War and Navy Departments each 2000. Post-Master General 3000. Assistant do 1700. Aggregate 45,600. This augmentation of salary was, on account of the war, first made for a limited time, under the administration of Mr. Adams. The limitation expired after Mr. Jefferson came into office, and the causes which produced the augmentation wholly ceased; yet the favourers of the present administration, to favour their friends then advanced to the most lucrative offices, in a moment of profound peace, and when every article of consumption was daily experiencing a depression in value, established unlimitedly, the augmented salaries. “*Economy in the public expence, that labour may be lightly burthened.*”

Inaug. Speech.

“These views, however, of reducing our burthens, are formed on the expectation, that a sensible and at the same time, salutary reduction may take place in our habitual expenditures. For this purpose, those of the *civil government &c.* will need revival.” *Message to Congress. Dec. 1801.*

(*w. p. 11.*) TENCH COXE, who entered with the British army into Philadelphia, is appointed by Mr. Jefferson Supervisor of the Revenue. THOMAS EDGAR, Commissioner of Bankruptcy, “was not only in the enemies lines; but advanced his fortune by selling ammunition to the hostile Indians at open war with the Americans.”

DANIEL LUDLOW, appointed Collector of New-York. “His Toryism

was as notorious as his name, and who was within the British lines of his own accord from 1775 to 1783."

WILLIAM STEVENS, appointed to the office of District Judge of Georgia, "a man who deserted to the British army during the Revolutionary war, and whose name now stands recorded in the act of confiscation and banishment." To these might be added a long list of officers of inferior grade in different departments of the government. These have been chiefly appointed by the Heads of Departments, but the Heads of Departments act in unison with their principal. Mr. GRANGER, at the Head of the Post-Office, has made the most slashing work. He has dismissed long-trying and unexceptionable men, and supplied their place, in some instances, with foreigners and profligate characters. Mr. THOMAS of Worcester held the Post-Office there, from its first establishment, till last Summer—he is succeeded by JAMES WILSON, a foreigner. David Howe removed from the office at Castine, and GEORGE TYLER appointed his successor. Tyler was convicted of offences, which disqualified him for a time, in the judgment of Court, from holding an office in this Commonwealth.

The preamble to a letter of dismissal runs thus:—"Believing that the public service will be promoted by the appointment of another" &c. The promotion of the public service in the appointment of TYLER must be sought in the inconvenience to which it has subjected a great number in the vicinity of Castine who usually receive letters by the mail. These persons, afraid to have their letters pass through so suspicious a channel, have directed them to be sent to another office! "*The diffusion of information, and the arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason.*"—

(x. p. II.)

"Dear Sir.

"Washington March 18, 1801.

—"The return of our citizens from the phrenzy into which they had been wrought, partly by ill conduct in France, partly by artifices practised upon them, is almost extinct, and will, I believe, become quite so. But these details, too minute and long for a letter, will be better developed by Mr. Dawson, the bearer of this, a member of the late Congress, to whom I refer you for them. He goes in the Maryland sloop of war, which will wait a few days at Havre to receive his letters to be written on his arrival at Paris. You expressed a wish to get a passage to this country in a public vessel. Mr. Dawson is charged with orders to the Captain of the Maryland to receive and accommodate you back, if you can be ready to depart at such a short warning. Robert R. Livingston is appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the Republic of France, but will not leave this until we receive the ratification of the convention by Mr. Dawson. I am in hopes you will find us returned to the sentiments worthy of former times, *In these it will be your glory to have steadily laboured, and with as much effect as any man living. That you may long live to continue to your useful labours, and reap the reward in the thankfulness of nations is my sincere prayer.* Accept assurances of my high esteem and affectionate attachments.

Thomas Jefferson."

(y. p. II.) "And as to you, sir, treacherous in private friendship, and a hypocrite in public life, the world will be puzzled to decide whether you are an apostate or an impostor; whether you have abandoned good principles, or whether you ever had ANY." *Paine's Letter to Gen. W.*

(z. p. II.) "I declare myself opposed to several matters in the Constitution, particularly to the manner in which, what is called the Executive, is formed, and the long duration of the SENATE; and if I live to return

to America. *I will use all my endeavours to have them altered.* . . . "It was only to the absolute necessity of establishing some Federal authority, extending equally over all the States, that an instrument so *inconsistent* as the FEDERAL CONSTITUTION is, obtained a suffrage"——"The FEDERAL CONSTITUTION is a copy, not quite so base as the original, of the British Constitution." † *Ibid.*

† The harmony of sentiment and similarity of expression in the above passages, with passages from the acknowledged and attributed letters of Mr. Jefferson, are instructively striking:—Mr. J. wrote thus from Paris in 1787:—"The second feature which I dislike, and greatly dislike, is the abandonment in every instance, of rotation in office, and most particularly in the office of *President*"——In the letter to Mazzei 'tis said:—"They would impose on us the substance, as they have already given us the *form* of the British government." Can it be for a moment doubted whether men, thus thinking and speaking alike, are not fellow-labourers in the work "of sentiments worthy of former times?" Often times when our jealousies were unreasonably excited against the CONSTITUTION. When it was contemptuously stigmatised with the name of "*Lilliputian ties*," now proclaimed "*the strongest government on earth*," When our understandings were insulted and our hearts assailed with the hairbrained but insinuating contents of the "*Age of Reason*," fullfraught with the work of Folly. And of times when the Saviour and Father of his country, and his compeers, were odiously represented "*an anglo-monarchic aristocratic party*."

An American, glowing with the noble fire of patriotism and a proud disdain of vice, would rejoice to see PAINE returned to this country to meet us in the "*SENTIMENTS*" which inspired us in 1779, when that miscreant was discarded from office by *unanimous* vote of Congress, for BREACH of TRUST in the publication of pieces, papers and letters "*inconsistently with his official character and duty.*" With such *sentiments*, he would find no more refuge *here* than would, if alive, BENEDICT ARNOLD. Our indignation would pursue him with the rapidity of lightning, and the stroke would be as instantaneously fatal. Could the President intend a sarcastical reference to that period?

(*aa. p. 11.*) "It certainly was not a difficult thing in any time of the world to find a girl with child, or to make her so; and perhaps Isaiah knew of one before hand, for I do not suppose that the prophets of that day were any more to be trusted than the priests of this"——"The fable of *JESUS CHRIST*, taking it as it is told, is blasphemously obscene. It gives an account of a young woman engaged to be married, and while under this engagement she is, to speak plain language, debauched by a Ghost. The story is, upon the face of it, the same kind of story as that of Jupiter and Leda, or Jupiter and Europa, or any other of the amorous adventures of Jupiter." *Age of Reason.*

(*bb. p. 12.*) One would think that Mr. —— would, if he could, strike the sun from the system of the universe, that light might not expose the lines of shame and remorse that furrow his visage. No wonder MESSAGES are sent, and that none can see his face but those invited to his house. No wonder he retreated from a chamber window to evade the eye of even Callender.

(*cc. p. 12.*) The project of a DRY DOCK, or a WET CELLAR to preserve ships DRY!

"Were it made a question whether *no law at all*, as among the savage Americans, or *too much law*, as among the civilized Europeans, submits man to the greatest evil, one, who has seen both conditions of existence

would pronounce it to be the last : and that the sheep are happier of themselves, than under the care of the wolves." 1. *Notes on Virginia, 134*

"The people themselves are the only safe deposit of their own rights ; and to make them safe they must be informed to a certain degree. 2. No instance I believe is known of an ignorant people remaining free after they were organized into a government. 3. While unorganized as our Indians, they are free because they have no magistrates, nor any laws which these magistrates can wield until they raise themselves above them. 4."

Jefferson's letter to P. Pearson. March, 1, 1803.

"Necessities which dissolve a government, throw back into the hands of the people, the powers they had delegated, and leave them, as individuals, to shift for themselves."

Notes on Virginia. 183.

"Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves therefore are its only safe depositories. And to render even them safe their minds must be improved to a certain degree. This indeed is not all that is necessary, though it is essentially necessary. An amendment of our constitution must here come in aid of public education. The influence over government must be shared among all the people. If every individual which composes their mass participates of the ultimate authority, the government will be safe ; because the corrupting the whole mass will exceed any private resources of wealth ; and public ones cannot be provided but by levies on the people. 5."

Ibid. 216.

It is the *manners* and *spirit* of a *people* which preserve a republic in vigour. A degeneracy in these is a canker which soon eats to the heart of its laws and Constitution. 6."

Ibid. 241.

"But is the *spirit* of the people an *infallible* and *permanent* reliance ? Is it *government* ?

Is this the kind of *protection* we received in return for the *rights* we give up ; Besides, the *spirit* of the *times* may *alter*, will *alter*. Our *rulers* will become *corrupt* and our *people* *careless*. 7." *Ibid. 235.*

"When we consider that this government is charged with the external and mutual relations only of these States ; that the States themselves have *principal* care of our *persons*, our *property* and *reputation* ; constituting the great field of human concerns, we may well doubt whether our organization is not too complicated, too expensive ; whether offices and officers have not been multiplied unnecessarily, and some times injuriously to the cause they were meant to promote." 8.

Message to Congress, Dec. 8. 1801.

What palpable incongruities are here ? But, perhaps, to some they may be made more perspicuous by commentaries.

1. Mr. J. has sagaciously hinted that "too much law," had or has placed us in a condition worse than the "savage Americans," for "we may well doubt whether our organization is not too complicated" &c. If "the sheep"—(the people)—"are happier of themselves than under the care of the wolves"—(Magistrates)—What is there to be deprecated in the "Necessities which dissolve a government"—and leave the people "to shift for themselves," in a state of "no law at all ?" But that condition cannot be found on this earth, no not even among a bunch of buzzing flies. Opposed to this, but more worthy of a Statesman, is a sentence in his Inaugural Speech, and in the Notes on Virginia.

"What more is necessary to make us a prosperous and an happy people ? Still one thing more fellow-citizens, a wise and frugal GOVERNMENT."

(*Inaugural Speech.*) "A Constitution to bind up the several branches of government by certain laws, which when they transgress, their *acts* shall become nullities" (Notes on Virginia 186.)

2. The PEOPLE are the ONLY safe deposit of their rights"—but "to make them SAFE, they must be INFORMED." Some will consider this as a most cruel and cutting sarcasm. It is nevertheless a truth, but one so very apparent, that a wise man who should gravely utter it as instruction, would deserve to have the lesson apostrophised with, Wonderful penetration! People need *only* to be *virtuous* "to a certain degree," and their character and condition would be changed to Angelic.

3. No instance of an organized ignorant people remaining free. Is there not as much danger that a people sunk in *supineness* will be enslaved by their Magistrates? Or which is the same thing, a people who forget themselves, and will never unite to cause their rights to be respected; Is there not an equal danger from the instability, fickleness and infatuation of a people? "*Let history answer these questions.*"

Was it *ignorance* or *indifference*, that made the HEBREW nation discontented with the government given them by GOD himself, and require a KING? Was it through their *ignorance*, that the GRECIAN STATES, celebrated as flower gardens of literature from age to age, were enslaved? Rather were they not enslaved by peculators under the guise of patriots, and by tyrants assuming the same profession? And did not the practices of these finally subdue the patriotism and virtue of the Grecians, and sink them into an apathy that made them willing vassals of Philip? Was it through their *ignorance*, that Cæsar overcome the spirit and subdued to slavery the ROMANS, once the bravest and noblest people that ever inhabited the globe? Was not the hurricane of passions that dragged the first CHARLES to the scaffold, followed by a calm that, in a very few years, made the work of Despotism easy to CROMWELL? And did not the same people, on the death of the usurper, place their lives and fortunes under the unconditional protection of CHARLES the 2d.? And did not they, who but lately sung the loudest pæans for *liberty*, then assert and defend the slavish doctrine of "*passive obedience and non-resistance*?"—

These great transitions were not effected through the *ignorance* of the people, but through their capriciousness—their disheartedness under repeated deceptions—their jealousy and ingratitude, and by their stupor and fickleness—effected when the SPIRIT of the TIMES ALTERED—when RULERS became CORRUPT, and the people CARELESS.

4. An ignorant people without laws, and without magistrates to wield them are free! This is a perfect solecism: True liberty consists in rational LAWS, with faithful magistrates to enforce them. Such LAWS and such MAGISTRATES "*are the only safe deposit of rights.*" If the freedom of a people is not deposited there; whether they are ignorant, supine or corrupt, they will receive law, which will keep them enslaved, from the strongest arm, the stoutest bow, or the sharpest sword.

"*Where there is no Law, there can be no Liberty.*" (LOCKE-) Our tumid whipsterquacks are greater adepts in political science than the lumberlearned *John Locke*; and in the offensive confidence of their shallowness, they throw the gauntlet of disputation. Their dauntlessness appears like the slim skiffs' in scudding, at a safe distance, round a First-rate Man of War: Or like the turgid paddy-whack's, in measuring a conquest by a single scampering track round an whole army!

5. It would appear from this passage that Mr. J. thought bribery

to be the only instrument of corruption. If that *was* his opinion, he took it from the first lecturer on the subject of slavery:—"With money we will get men, said Cæsar, and with men we will get money." But, Tyrants, equally successful and more securely established than Cæsar, perfected the work of slavery by different means: The game enticed to the net is as certainly taken, as that pursued and hunted down. But I have not, from arrogance or wickedness, mentioned this for information or practice.

6. 7. I will not abuse the understanding of the reader by pointing out the plump contradictions contained in these passages. They may be compared to articles which a common pedlar, or outcrier, holds up, side by side, to exhibit the dissimilarity in quality. A great assortment of the goods manufactured by the "SPIRIT" of mobocracy is packed up, in the "Notes on Virginia:"—"THE PEOPLE, THEMSELVES ARE THE ONLY safe deposit of their own rights"——"But is the SPIRIT of the PEOPLE AN INFALLIBLE and PERMANENT reliance? Is it GOVERNMENT.?" ! ! !

8. The preamble to our Federal Constitution says:—"We the people, in order to establish a more perfect union, establish Justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the public defence, promote the general welfare, Do ordain" &c. Now we are informed that the STATE governments have PRINCIPAL care of our persons, &c. A good stroke this for the gratification of State pride. It seems a little like a candidate's seizing the tal- lowed hand of the butcher to conciliate his favour. In the Message to Congress Dec. 15. 1802. our approximation to the happy State of "*no law at all,*" is sweetly noticed:—"These, fellow citizens, are the circum- stances under which we meet; and we remark with special satisfaction, those which, under the smiles of providence, result from the skill, industry, and order of our citizens, managing their own affairs, *in their own way,* and for their own use, UNEMBARRASSED BY TOO MUCH REGULATION." If we are "*going down hill*"—and our condition assimilating to "*savage Americans,*" may God in mercy stop our progress. Seriously and devoutly should we fly for relief to Omnipotence, for the history of the world, through all periods, authorises the assertion, that the phrensy of popular passions is as irresistible and destructive as the fierce tornado. After their effect, and when reason resumes her sway, they, like the "*calm sea,*" "*look back with wonder on the wrecks they made.*" I could go much more extensively into quotations and illustrations, but I presume on the satisfaction of the reader. The contemplation of too much utopianism might affect one like pound- ing all day over a mortar of opium.

(cc. p. 12.) "The United States contain three millions of inhabitants, France twenty millions, and the British Island ten millions. We produce a Washington, a Franklin, a Rittenhouse. France, then should have had a dozen in each of these lines, and Great Britain half this number equally eminent. It may be true with regard to France; we are but just becoming acquainted with her, and our acquaintance so far gives us high ideas of the genius of her inhabitants. It would be injuring too many of them to name particularly a Voltaire." *Notes on Virginia p. 96.*

"It is said shells are found in the Andes in South America fifteen hundred feet above the level of the ocean. This is considered by many, both of the learned and unlearned, as a proof of an universal deluge. To the many considerations opposing this opinion, the following may be added. The atmosphere, and all its contents, whether of water, air or other mat- ters, gravitate to the earth; that is to say, they have weight! Experience tells us that the weight of all these together, never exceeds a column of mer-

cury of thirty one inches height, which is equal to one of rain water of 35 feet height. If the whole contents of the atmosphere, then, were water instead of what they are, it would cover the globe but 35 feet deep; but as there waters, as they fell, would run into the sea, the superficial measure of which is to that of the dry parts of the globe, as two to one, the sea would be raised only $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet above their present level, and of course would overflow the lands to that height only. Deluges *beyond this extent*, as for instance, to the North Mountain or Kentuckey, seem *out of the laws of nature*. But *within* they may have taken place to a great or less degree, in proportion to the *natural causes* which may be supposed to have produced them. History renders probable some instances of a partial deluge in the country lying round the Mediterranean sea. . . . But such deluges as these will not account for the shells found in the higher lands. 2 A second opinion has been entertained, which is, that in times anterior to the records either of history or tradition, the bed of the ocean, the principal residence of the shelled tribe, has, by some great convulsion of nature, been heaved to the height at which we now find shells and other remains of marine animals. The favourers of this opinion do well to suppose the great events on which it rests to have taken place beyond all the æras of history; 3. for within these certainly none such are to be found; and we may venture further to say, that no fact has taken place, either in our days, or in the thousands of years recorded in history, which proves the existence of any particular agents within or without the bowels of the earth, of force sufficient to heave to the height of 15,000, such masses as the Andes. The difference in the power necessary to produce such an effect, and that which shuffled together the different parts of Calabria in our days, is so immense, that from the existence of the latter we are not authorised to infer that of the former. 4. M de Voltaire has suggested a third solution. He cites an instance in Touraine, from which, I suppose, he would have us infer, that, besides the usual process for generating shells by the elaboration of earth and water in animal vessels, nature may have provided an equivalent operation, by passing the same materials through the pores of calcareous earth and stones; as we see calcareous drop-stones generating every day by the percolation of water through lime-stones, and new marble forming in the quarries from which the old has been taken out; and it might be asked, whether it is more difficult for nature to shoot the calcareous juice into the form of a shell, than other juice into the form of crystals, plants, animals; according to the construction of the vessels through which they pass. 5. There is a wonder somewhere. Is it greatest on this branch of the dilemma: on that which supposes the existence of a power of which we have no evidence in any other case; or on the first, which requires us to believe the creation of a body of water and its subsequent annihilation? . . . "The three hypotheses are equally unsatisfactory; and we must be contented to acknowledge that this great phenomenon is as yet unsolved. Ignorance is preferable to error; and he is less remote from the truth who believes nothing, than he who believes what is wrong." 6. *Notes on V. page. 39-40. 41. 42.*

1. I appeal to any scholar of deep research whether VOLTAIRE deserves a rank among men of solid learning? He was distinguished principally for his buffoonry, his *hardihood in infidelity*, his smattering in belles-lettres, and his intolerable assumingness. From what motives, then, is he brought forward and placed in the list with Washington? "Searching for the foundations of them," I found them here:—*The PERU delights to honour his INSTRUCTOR.*

Character of Voltaire, drawn by the Doctors of the Sorbonne.

“ Death has put an end to the blasphemies of this writer, so celebrated for his uncommon talents, so culpable on account of the detestable use he made of them ; of that famous man who, in the sight of all Europe, spent his whole life, in defending and propagating impiety. As a Philosopher, rash and without principles ; as a Poet, licentious and dissolute ; as an Historian, void of judgment and good faith ; laying claim to ALL the sciences, WITHOUT GOING DEEP INTO ANY ; eager to degrade all merit that stood in his own way ; and prostituting his talents and his labours, during the course of his long life, for the purpose of becoming the oracle and idol of his age. He knew the power of ridicule over the greater part of mankind, and he failed not to avail himself of so useful a weapon ; in order to seduce weak minds. He well knew that most readers are incapable of discussion, of serious examination and reflection ; and that every thing which serves to deliver them from the terrors of a Religion which puts a restraint upon the passions, is received with eagerness, and applause. Hence the impieties he uttered are seasoned with some sacrilegious jest ; hence he spared not the sharpest satire, and, if he undertook to subvert the doctrines of our Religion, disfigured them by the ridicule thrown upon them. Or, does he seek to destroy the immortality of the soul, the foundations of morality, and rewards and punishments of a future life ? He recurs not to reasoning ; he assumes the tone of railery and irony ; he tries to excite laughter ; he turns every thing to a jest. It matters not that he advances absurdities, that he often contradicts himself and deserves no credit ; nothing stops him if he can procure himself readers. In short he employs against Religion the most dissolute libertinism, and the depravity of the most corrupt heart.”

2. Our attention is first arrested by the voluntary enlistment of Mr. J. as a new champion, armed with *new* arguments, to disprove the scripture representation of the Deluge : “ *To the MANY considerations, he says, OPPOSING this opinion, the following may be ADDED.*”

Mr. Jefferson knows, or to speak more safely, he ought to know, that the scriptures are not a subject of Philosophy. I had rather meet him, on the field of politicks than philosophy, but notwithstanding the tittering of the sticklers for the Goliath, I advance without alarm, to the encounter there. The limping and stumbling philosophy employed to invalidate DIVINE TRUTH, may be tumbled wholly down by the feeblest hand. Darkness is on the face of all philosophy when brought to search out the unsearchable works of God—it is blinder than the Owl, for its eye cannot penetrate so far into a naturally darkened subject—its judgment against the verity of the Scriptures, is a judgment against our existence, against the existence of the world, against every thing incomprehensible, and awful to assert, it is a judgment against the OMNIPOTENCE of the DEITY !

If we must refuse our belief of the universal deluge because the fact is in rejection of the laws of nature, we must refuse our belief of the miraculous conception, the Resurrection and Ascension, for all these facts are totally inexplicable by those laws. The same objection, with equal strength, opposes our assent to the account, that touching the waters of Egypt with a rod would convert them into blood, (Exd. vii.) that “ the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground ; and the waters were a wall unto them, on their right hand and on their left.” (Exd. xiv.)—that “ water should issue from the rock in Horeb when I smote, by the rod of Moses,” (xvii.) “ that

a rod laid up should bud, blossom and yield fruit, (Num. xvii.) To these a number of similar and of dissimilar events might be subjoined from the old Testament, to the whole might be added from the new, the miraculous works of *Jesus Christ* and his *Apostles*. Not one of these miracles, or extraordinary events, can be explained by "*the laws of nature*." Our understanding of these "WONDERS" is clear on that "*branch of the dilemma*" which admits the "POWER" OF GOD, and the authenticity of his word. They who quit that branch may "*be contented to acknowledge that these great phenomena are yet UNSOLVED*." Like the foul bird of evening, they may butt against the broadest mark in the clear light of day, and in the twilight and impenetrable darkness, they may skim, and sculk in thickets in the bat-like light of vain philosophy.

3. Against one hypothes of the deluge, Mr. J. here directs the same ridicule we employ against the Chinese for their extravagant pretensions to antiquity. It has not escaped me that Mr. J. is speaking against an opinion founded only in the conjecture of its favourers—but I cannot allow any palliation for that circumstance; his design most evidently is, to destroy every supposition brought to support even the possibility of the deluge.

4. Mr. J. is here in contradiction with philosophy, and in contradiction with himself. Will he say that the same principle "which shuffled together the different parts of Calabria" is incapable, in the hands of Almighty Power, of sufficient extension to pile up the Andes? Besides, "*it might be asked whether it is more DIFFICULT for nature to*" do the one than the other?

5. The forms produced by the "*percolation of water, through limestone*," is entirely a chance work, and approaches no nearer to the reality of the things they imitate, than the extravasations of any mucilaginous substance, drying in the forms they may chance to take in their expression through a strainer. There is not, in all natural history, any instance which will warrant even a probability that nature formed shells by any other process than "*the elaboration of earth and water through ANIMAL vessels*." The formation of marble in the quarries, is a proof to the contrary of the same kind, and as black and smutty, as the increase of coal in the coal mines. What is most remarkable here is that Mr. J. to strengthen his favourite theory, has resorted to an argument which is in perfect disagreement with his reasons in every case where he has chosen the part of the objector. To prove that God may have formed shells by a different process than we can discover in the laws of nature, he asks,—"*is it more difficult for nature to shoot the calcareous juice into the form of SHELLS, than into the form of crystals, &c.?*" We answer, seriously, that it is NOT more difficult; and because that is the fact, we find no difficulty in believing the account of the deluge, and of all the marvellous works of an Almighty hand. But we might reply, ironically, in the sentiments of Mr. J. Can we believe this, when we cannot find any authority for our belief in the works of God in any other case? Shall we believe what the laws of nature will not warrant? Will it not be less remote from truth to believe nothing?

6. The objections of Mr. Jefferson to the account of the universal deluge forms the entire ground work of all infidelity, and the conclusion that he is an unbeliever follows of connexion, and with irresistible force. An unbelieving CHIEF MAGISTRATE over a professedly Christian People is a circumstance which derides our good sense, and may unbrake our principles. An infidel King brought the curse of Heaven upon the Israelites for many generations.

There is a maxim in the the Heathen Mythology suitable to guide our defence against all infidel philosophy:—“*Never presume to make a God appear but for the business worthy of a God.*” Now, the reasons for the universal deluge are unfolded with the history of the fact. The “POWER” of the Almighty to effect it never was, that I know of, brought into question, till Mr. Jefferson pronounced it a “*dilemma*” equally unsatisfactory as the hypothesis of Voltaire, and that “*which requires us to believe the creation of a body of water; and its subsequent annihilation.*” The miracles, too, wrought by our Saviour and his Apostles, and the miraculous or extraordinary events, effected through the instrumentality of the servants of God, had all of them special rules which are distinctly revealed, If we believe the “power” of God equal to their production, the difficulty to the admission of their truth is overcome.

Mr. Jefferson admits that there may have been partial deluges to the extent of natural causes. But who arranged and set in motion these natural causes? Is not the same power equal to any alteration or modification of nature’s laws? Is not the “power” of God in the creation of the world, and all things therein, commensurate to the production of an universal deluge? And is it a “*dilemma*” that we must believe “*the existence of a POWER*” of which we have no evidence in any other case? Is it “*is it, remote from truth to believe nothing?*” Lord ORRERY invented and put in motion machinery to describe the movements of the heavenly bodies. If a man, hearing of this complicated instrument, and supposing it to transcend the powers of human ingenuity, would he not be justly chargeable with folly to assert his disbelief because his belief, would involve the “*dilemma*” of acknowledging a power of which the author had given no evidence in any other case? Rather ought not the belief of the representation to rest on the credibility of those who made it, and on such views of the thing as could be obtained?

Without admitting the “POWER” of God, we could never believe that water could be turned into blood. How far need we go to find proofs and effects of that power? Does not every man know that the purple current of his veins may be instantly whitened and reduced to the thinness of water? How few but have experienced such a change in a few hours? “*Is it more difficult for nature to*” turn blood into water, than water into blood? The same fluid varies in hue in very many productions of the same genus: It is white and red in the tulip and the rose; the pink and hollyhock &c. &c.

Cannot that Power which made the waters, and holds them as in the hollow of his hand, wrest, for a moment, the operation of his stated laws, and to serve the purposes of his goodness, divide and make them stand as a wall, or throw them as into heaps? Cannot that power which combined elements into a rock, dissolve the whole into the one element of water; or make through the rock a passage for the conveyance of his bounty? Bishop WATSON, in his answer to PAINE, says justly, that our incapacity to account for things above our comprehension, is a “*miserable reason, a stupid objection*” for our incredulity. “*What is there we can account for? Not for the germination of a blade of grass, not for the fall of a leaf of the forest?*” With our limited capacities will we arraign the power of the Almighty, and doubt its extent to cause “*the rod to bud, blossom and yield fruit?*”

The word of God exhibits the world in a very different light from philosophy, and our admission of the scripture representation turns entirely on our belief of the divine originality of the Bible.

Mr. Jefferson asserts, that the phenomenon of the deluge is yet unsolved. Surely none but a Deist can make this assertion. He has farther said—“He is less remote from truth who believes NOTHING, than he who believes what is WRONG.” This, applied to the “dilemma” of the deluge, is as full a disavowal of belief in Divine Revelation as can be indirectly made. Infidelity has taken for its strong hold, the *inadequacy* of the *instruments* used in the accomplishment of miracles. The instruments were not the efficacious causes. It pleased Almighty power to employ them, but the events could have been equally effected without. The instruments cannot, in the least, invalidate the facts, they furnish no reason to impair but to strengthen our conviction of their reality:—They instruct us in the use of means for the obtainment of any providential blessing.

The subject deserves a more copious discussion than I can here give it. Reasons increase in number on every reflection, and those already stated might receive great amplification. But I must take leave of this article, after a few more quotations from Mr. J.——“Instead, therefore, of putting the BIBLE and TESTAMENT into the hands of the children at an age when their judgments are not sufficiently matured for religious enquiries, their memories may here be stored with the most useful facts from Grecian, Roman, European and American history. The elements of morality too may be instilled into their minds; such as when farther developed as their judgments advance in strength, may teach them how to work out their greatest happiness.” 7.

Notes on Virginia 214.

“If these were annexed, for a sixth professorship, a considerable donation by Mr. Boyle of England, for the instruction of the Indians, and their conversion to Christianity. This was called the professorship of Brafferton.” “The purposes of the Brafferton institution would be better answered by maintaining a perpetual mission among the Indian tribes, the object of which, besides instructing them in the principles of Christianity, as the founder requires, should be to collect their traditions, laws, customs, languages, and other circumstances, which might lead to a discovery of their relation with one another, or descent from other nations. When these objects are accomplished with one tribe, the missionary pass on to another.” 8.

Ibid. 218. 219. 220.

“It does me no injury for my neighbour to say there are twenty gods or no God. It neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg. If it be said that his testimony in a court of justice cannot be relied on, reject it then, and be the stigma on him. Constraint may make him worse by making him a hypocrite, but it will never make him a true man.” 9.

Ibid. 231.

“Had not the Roman government permitted free enquiry, Christianity could never have been introduced.” 10.

Ibid. 232.

“Millions of innocent men, women and children, since the introduction of Christianity, have been burnt, tortured, fined and imprisoned.” 11.

Ibid. 233.

“Religion is well supported; of various kinds, indeed, but all good enough; all sufficient to preserve peace and order.” 12. *Ibid.* 234.

“Those who labour in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever he had a chosen people.” 13.

Ibid. 240.

7. With what disparagement is the *Bible* and *Testament* here spoken of? How different too, from the instruction of our *Divine Teacher*, who said—“Suffer little children to come unto me.”—Mrs. J. repudiates these inestimable volumes, and recommends in their stead, Grecian, Roman, European and American history!

The *elements of morality* are substituted for the doctrines in the word of Inspiration. It is these and not those that work out "our greatest happiness." Morality is a noble branch of Christianity, but a Deist who chuses a system dis severed from Christianity, would prefer that of PLATO or SENECA, and these Heathen are higher raised in his estimation than the Son of GOD!

The best mere Moralist is as uninformed of GOD as is the Indian.—
"Who sees Him in the cloud, and hears Him in the wind?"

If parents solicitude for the right education and instruction of their offspring, would be relieved by the counsel of human wisdom in addition to Divine Command, I refer them, not to the works of Mr. Jefferson, but to the serious and impressive ADDRESS of the Convention of Ministers, May, 1802.

8. A donation made for the dissemination of Christianity among the Indians, would, by Mr. J. be diverted, in some measure, from its destination, to a collection of traditions, laws, customs, languages, &c. of the people benevolently intended, by the donor, to be instructed in Christianity. "Instead of putting the BIBLE and Testament into their hands"—let us gather "*the most useful facts from*" their "*history.*" "It is to be lamented, very much to be lamented, that we have suffered so many of the Indian tribes already to extinguish without our having previously collected and deposited in the records of literature, the general rudiments, at least, of the languages they spoke." *Notes on Virginia 145.*

Observe—it is not even *once* lamented that so many tribes have extinguished without having been previously indoctrinated in Divine things.

9. But is not this looseness of opinion accelerating the consequences here deprecated? It certainly is, and with the addition of pillaged houses to picked pockets; and broken heads to legs. If it is worthy of philosophy, it is unworthy of common-sense to say that opinions have no influence on conduct. Erase the sense of right and wrong, which is nothing more than intuitive opinion, indelibly inscribed on the heart; and what would be MAN?

The other member of this article contains a doctrine of the most dangerous tendency—it is not too much to say that it would hoist the flood gate, and let in upon society a torrent of corruption. "Let it be simply asked, where is the SECURITY for PROPERTY, for REPUTATION, for LIFE, if a sense of *religious obligation* desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice?" (*Washington.*) Mr. Jefferson may take the credit, and I deem it not too serious to say, he may take the accountability to himself for the declaration that the administration of a solemn oath may make a man a hypocrite, and that its awful sanctions can never make him truer!

10. This is an infidel assertion. It denies the "POWER" of GOD, and discredits the declarations of the scriptures. It is, besides, historically incorrect, for some of the greatest martyrdoms took place under the Roman Government. "*If this work be of God it shall prosper.*" Can he who believes Christianity to be the work of God ascribe its introduction to *human means*? The *Pagan* and *Mahometan* systems are indebted "to art and man's device," but for that system which was promulgated by God's own Son, founded upon a rock, and which sets at defiance the gates of hell, we are *not* indebted to the indulgence of a Roman Emperour. And what is better, this system is as secure against as "*Philosophy falsely so called,*" as it is against the combined efforts of all the *Voltaires, Fredericks, D'A-*

Hemmerlins, Rousseaus, Diderots, Humes, Bollingbrookes, Volneys, Godwins and Tom Pains that ever lived, are alive, or ever will live.

11. Was this the consequence of Christianity, or from the want of it? Who says from the first, falsifies the word of God, to vent his malice against it, and is himself an unfeeling persecutor. Who says from the want of Christianity, says true; and if the spirit of persecution is yet alive, is there not increased obligations upon the Christian to be assiduous in the inculcation of the meek and peaceable temper of the gospel?

12. Has Religion, then, no higher objects than the preservation of "peace and order"? And is ANY religion good enough that produces those effects? If the objects of eternity held out in divine truth are "unsatisfactory," seek an evidence of the eternal efficacy of Religion in the heart of the expiring Christian.—Contemplate the closing scene of *ADDISON*, and *be not faithless but believing*.

13. The doubt here implied in the text is derisive. Such a doubt cannot be expressed by a believer in the scripture history of the Jews.

I will close this long note with sentiments worthy of a Philosopher, worthy of a statesman and worthy of a Christian. Sentiments that merit an inscription on the heart of every American, for their intrinsic excellence, and which ought to be endeared from the remembrance of him who wrote them.

"Of all the dispositions and habits, which lead to political prosperity RELIGION and MORALITY are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with public and private felicity. Let it be simply asked, Where is the SECURITY for Property, for Reputation, for Life, if a sense of RELIGIOUS OBLIGATIONS desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of Justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that MORALITY can be maintained without RELIGION. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education, on minds of a peculiar structure; reason and experience both forbid us to expect that *rational morality* can prevail in exclusion of *Religious principles*" (*Washington's Valedictory*)—It has not escaped observation that Mr. ——— has, with apparent seriousness, spoken of God and Providence. But the most sincere conviction of the existence of a Supreme Being, and of an overruling Providence, is no more than proof against ATHEISM. The most unprincipled in ambition, in concession to what they call the superstitious, frequently have the names of the Deity on their lips as mere catch-words. That same Convention which decreed REASON to be the only God, DEATH to be an universal sleep; and which, with the utmost pageantry, placed the relics of ROUSSEAU in the Pantheon; did, in solemn mockery, with ROBERSPIERRE at their head, destroy in the Camp de Mars, the figure of ATHEISM! BUONAPARTE politically uses the sacred names of GOD—but when cast on the shores of Egypt he invoked assistance from FORTUNE! To preclude the necessity of farther instances, TOM PAINE, yet speaks of a DIVINE BEING!

(*ibid.* p. 12.) We call our government experimental because of its variation, in some particulars from any form which preceded. But the Republican system is not new. All the Republicks that existed before us are now extinct. The perfectly despotic government of Buonaparte is called Republican; but this is one of the cheats "*spread through the body of the people*"

when "*corruptions seize the Halls of government.*" It is one of the cheats which "*purchased the voices of the people and made them pay the price.*" Republics have been prelude of the greatest, by far the greatest tyrannies ever exercised over mankind. The smooth-tongued DEMAGOGUE first *steals the hearts of men* by pretending to deal like ARISTIDES, in JUSTICE. But when he has cajoled them, like a flock of sheep, into a strong enclosure, he "*slips the collar on and snaps the lock,*" and, like DRACO, writes laws in BLOOD. Profiting by the premonitions of history, we may shun the slaughter-yard, and the butcher. There is not in language a more indeterminate word than *Republic*. The republics of the primitive ages, of Greece and Rome, of Genoa and Venice, of Switzerland and Holland, of Poland and the United States; and the systems of Milton and Needham, of Price and Priestley, of Condorcet and the Combination-monger Sieyes, are, in various respects, different. The common school books give the vague explanation of, *a government by election of the people*. It is no more than this school-boy knowledge that is generally possessed—this equivocal explanation is leading to the break-leg, pick-pocket and cut throat government of DEMOCRACY. *One who has seen the condition of existence* under such a government, and compared it with the condition of the Patagonians and Aboriginal Americans might, with truth, pronounce the last the happiest. A pure Republic is a commonwealth of regulations and restrictions comporting with Reason, and compounded of the Democratic, Aristocratic and Monarchic spirit of the people, "*so divided and balanced among several branches of magistracy, as that no one could transcend their legal limits*"—with an independent and impartial JUDICIARY as "*a BARRIER between these several powers.*" In a Republic of this description, LIBERTY occupies the palace; Virtue and Justice are Ministers of state; and Prosperity and Happiness the portion of the people. It resembles an accurately-constructed time-piece, the benefits of which can only be enjoyed from a careful preservation of its principles, and being periodically put in operation:—

—“True Liberty

Is lost, which always with right reason dwells
 Twinn'd, and from her hath no dividual being.
 Reason in man obscur'd, or not obey'd,
 Immediately inordinate desires
 And upstart passions catch the government
 From Reason, and to servitude reduce
 Man till then free.”

History has described the path of our predecessors. It has designated the rocks on which they fell; and it perspicuously points out the way which leads to glory and duration. But we reject its counsel, and refuse its guide. In the wild-fire of infatuation reason forsakes the mind, as the tenants flee from a dwelling enveloped in flames. She will return, as will they, when the fire is extinguished; or she may be repaired to for assistance by the sufferer dispoiled of all that he possessed. Her assistance is then asked too late, and the poignancy of the distress is sharpened by reflections on the heedless procurement of it. We conceitedly imagined that we were endowed with an uncommon degree of virtue, and enlightened with extraordinary degrees of knowledge, to give our government the most favourable issue. The experiment should correct our vanity and reform our judgment. Although assured that we were "*in the full tide of successful experiment,*" yet we know that the ship, tossed on a tempestuous sea, is broken her main stay. Her helmsman does not steer by the compass which di-

rected her course under her former commanders. Upon her leeward quarter lay the shoals of democracy. Over her weather-bow appears the rough, but safe and expansive sea of liberty. Those of her crew who feel an interest in the ship and her service, have hoisted signals of distress; these are seen and regarded by every true American. The whole coast from Maine to Georgia is lined for her relief; they will, if possible, prevent shipwreck. At the end of her cruise may her owners carry pilots and officers to the city of Washington, who shall repair the damages done to her; get her again under way by the compass and chart invented and laid down by WASHINGTON, then she shall ride triumphantly, commanding the winds and the waves of tempestuous Liberty, and they shall obey her:—
 “Reason being now but a feeble guide, and *passion* and *fancy* the steering principles, no wonder if launching thus into the ocean, confident of the soundness of their vessel; with full sails and with new pilots, they are either betrayed into whirlpools, or dashed against the rocks.”

(Notes on Cicero.)

(*cc. p. 12*) Amendments in a system of government, really defective, would be attended with some danger even in times of tranquility; that danger would be greatly increased in times of irritation. When the mill-dam is pressed by a ponderous body of water, it would be hazardous to attempt the removal of a plank known to be unsound, for once give the water a passage and its rushing violence might immediately become irresistably destructive. How criminally imprudent to attempt the removal on the mere suspicion of unsoundness? It is not meek-eyed charity, but hawk-eyed reason that must scan the measures of political reformers—it is not the first but the last that may pass judgment on their DESIGNS. I have authority from Reason to declare that it is not because our restless and carping constitution-modellers have discovered any thing rotten in it; it is not from “*a theoretic and visionary fear that this government may, from possibility, want energy to preserve itself,*” that they work like TITANS, with a (Tom) TISIPHONE for an helper—But because the government, “*in its whole constitutional vigour,*” would stand inexpugnable by demolishers.

The amendments of our constitution now contemplated by those who were always dissatisfied with it, were divulged by the superannuated Mr. PENDLETON of Virginia. JOHN W. EPPES Esq. son-in-law of Mr. Jefferson, and chosen to succeed Mr. Giles in the House of Representatives, in the proffer of “his services to his constituents, promised *the exertion of the little talent he possesses, in aiding the great work of reformation so happily commenced*” The “*great work commenced*” in the rescission of the JUDICIARY. With such a *glorious beginning*, we may with astonishment enquire, what will their *end* be? Mr. Eppes has marked the progress for a little way. “*Introducing into the constitution of the United States such amendments as will insure a complete responsibility of public servants*”——“*To reduce the time of service of the Senators of the United States to the same period with the House of Representatives, and to abolish the system of classing them*”——“*To render the President ineligible after a certain period, until a term of years shall have intervened*”——“*To render the Judges incapable of holding any other office during their continuance as Judges; to vest their appointment in Congress, and to elect them for a period of years,*” Here is displayed “*the great work of reformation.*” It commenced with crippling one branch of our government, and is to be extended to the Legislative and Executive departments, to change entirely the fundamental principles of our constitution. These Constitution-makers can clip as dexterously as tailors, and expertly as these can cut a coat,

those can fit a government to the Parisian mode. If Mr. Eppes consulted his Father on the subject of his address to the people of Amelia, Chesterfield, Gouchland and Powhatan, as in all probability he did, one would expect to see it constructed to some coincidence with the sentiments of the father contained in the Notes on Virginia, and in the letter to Judge Wythe. But on second thought, there is, perhaps, no inconsistency in the address with the sentiments on the Notes:—"The people have forgotten themselves and will never think of uniting" &c. &c. There is, however, several passages in the Notes with which the address is irreconcilable—one in particular not before adduced:—"The SENATE is, by its Constitution too homogeneous with the house of delegates. Being chosen by the same electors, at the same time, and out of the same subjects, the choice falls of course on men of the same description. The purpose of establishing different houses of Legislation is to introduce the influence of different interests or different principles. We do not therefore, derive from the separation of our Legislature into two houses, those benefits which a proper complication of principles is capable of producing, and those which alone can compensate the evils which may be produced by their dissensions." (p. 169.)

In the economical arrangements of our burden-lighters, one expedient to save money has been blunderingly overlooked. It would meet, too, our reformers plan concerning the SENATE by as short a cut as possible. If we must have two branches in our Legislature, it is nonsense to have them separated; for all the time taken up in the discussion of a bill in one branch must be occupied over again in the other:—to remedy this waste of time, money and argument, let the members on one side of the speakers chair be called the Senate; those on the other side, the House. When any subject is in debate in the House, the Senate will be present as auditors, and *vice versa*. If the question passes affirmatively on one side, let a silent vote on the question of concurrence be immediately taken on the other. In addition to the "savings" already supposed, this "amendment" would save the fuss and foolish, anti-republican parade which attends the formal intercourse of separate houses. It would farther save one wing of the Capitol, which, if parted off into offices might, at some future day, be let for a thousand Dollars a year!

"When shall the deadly hate of faction cease,
When shall our long-divided land have rest,
If every peevish, moody malcontent
Shall set the senseless rabble in an uproar,
Fright them with dangers, and perplex their brains,
Each day with some FANTASTIC, GIDDY CHANGE?"

"Towards the preservation of your government; and the permanency of your happy State, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of INNOVATION upon its PRINCIPLES, however specious the pretents. One method of assault may be to effect in the FORM of the CONSTITUTION, ALTERATIONS which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that *time* and *habit* are at least as necessary to fix the true character of government, as of other human institutions; that *experience* is 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 exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much

vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of Liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest GUARDIAN. It is, indeed, little else than a *manie*, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprizes of *façion*.”

(*Washington's Valdictory.*)

(*f. p. 12.*) Mr. ADAMS, the late President, has been grossly and virulently persecuted. It is not from the hand of the generous enemy, but the insidious friend, that he has received the deepest wound. Society has a common interest in combining to discredit and disregard the slander which is propped by the perversion and dishonourable publication of confidential letters. An indecorum of this kind was committed or permitted by GOV. SAMUEL ADAMS. The words of CICERO to MARK ANTONY may be pertinently applied to all betrayers of confidential trusts :—“ This wretch void of all politeness, and ignorant of even common decency, publickly read the letters which he says I wrote to him. For who that knows ever so little of what passes among men of honor, upon occasion of a slight quarrel, ever exposed and publickly read the *letters* which were sent him by his friend ? What is it, but to strip life of all its social joys ? How many *jokes* are there generally in letters which, if exposed, would appear very trifling ? How many *serious things*, yet by no means to be divulged ? ”

—————“ Men that make
Envy and crooked malice, nourishment,
Dare bite the BEST. ”

(*gg. p. 13.*) “ Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation,” was the pious ejaculation of a man who beheld a flood of happiness rushing in on mankind. If ever there was a time that would licence the reiteration of this exclamation, the time is now arrived ; for *the man who is the source of the misfortunes of our country*, is this day reduced to a level with his fellow-citizens, and is no longer possessed of power to multiply evils on the United States. If ever there was a period for REJOICING, this is the moment. Every heart in unison with the freedom and happiness of the people, ought to beat high with exultation that the name of WASHINGTON from this day ceases to give currency to POLITICAL INIQUITY, and to LEGALIZE CORRUPTION. A new era is opening upon us, an era which promises much to the people, for public measures must now stand on their own merit, and NEFARIOUS PROJECTS can no longer be supported by a name. When a retrospect is taken of the WASHINGTON ADMINISTRATION for eight years, it is a subject of the greatest astonishment that a *single individual* could have cankered the principles of Republicanism, and should have carried his designs against the public liberty so far as to have put in jeopardy its very existence. Such, however, are the facts, and with these staring us in the face, *This day ought to be a day of Jubilee in the United States.*”

Extract from the Aurora.

This note is introduced abruptly that the mind of the reader, till he come to the name of WASHINGTON, might be rising in astonishment at the information that our country contained a *single individual* who was “ *the source of our misfortunes.*” To what that astonishment should be changed, my pen from impotency refrains, while my veins almost burst to speak. Were it given to a mortal to crush this hellish calumny in a strain tremendous as the voice of an offended Deity, the opening of his lips would shake like an earthquake, and his words would crumble into atoms the dire detractor. But if God will not impart the power of his Justice, he will not fail Himself to exercise it.

“ Will there not be some chosen curse, some
Secret thunder in the stores of heaven, red
With uncommon wrath, to blatt this wretch ? ”

It appears that the Jacobin days of Jubilee are in rapid multiplication. The “ DAY ” recommended in the above extract is the 17th. of September, when President Washington declined being a candidate for the Presidency. The day of his DEATH is undoubtedly considered as more deserving of commemoration. After his retirement he wrote his successor a letter of commendation of his measures ; he did not therefore, till his DEATH “ *cease to give currency to political iniquity.* ”

The Orator for the Fourth of March at Worcester, did one act of justice for his party ; they “ no longer,” he says, “ can hail the day (the 4th. of JULY) “ as exclusively theirs ”—He consecrated for his misnamed Republicans, the Fourth of March.

After the notorious and barefaced vilification of President Washington by the Jacobins, their shamelessness in pretending to love him, and in the association of his name with Jefferson's at elections, is not only insulting, but is unpardonably wicked.

“ Neither Man nor Angel can discern
Hypocrisy, the only evil that walks
Invisible, except to GOD alone,
By his permissive will, through Heav'n and Earth, ”

Mr. Jefferson did, indeed, receive his appointment of Secretary of State from President Washington. But his disagreement with the President on the subject of the Bank of the United States, and on the subject of the Proclamation of Neutrality were, notoriously, causes of the Secretary's secession.

(*bb. p. 13*) Is it not a reproach to our country that every lover of it must feel with more than ordinary blood heat, that an Irish fugitive, under Executive patronage, and an English renegado and detected LIAR, are Editors in the two greatest cities of the United States ? That an infidel, scape-gallows from England, and cheat-guillotine from France, should be at work according to his (perhaps stipulated) engagement, to have our *Constitution altered* ?

“ Having been reduced to the necessity of replying to the base statements and insinuations of the EDITOR of the CITIZEN, in his paper of yesterday, I must solicit the attention of the community at large to his career against myself and several respectable characters. I must ask, how long they will consider that *insolent foreigner* entitled to their patronage and protection ? How long they will submit to the insolence of his positive assertions against the fairest characters in society ? And how long the just resentment and indignation of insulted individuals shall remain unsupported by public sentiment ?

1. He has been proved to be a *liar* by Mr. T. GREENE.
2. He has been proved to be a *liar* by the Rev. Doc. SMITH, President of Princeton College.
3. He has been proved to be a *liar* by the answer given to the Letter from the Governour of New-Jersey.
4. He has been proved to be a *liar*, by the testimony sanctioned by the oath of JOHN SWARTWOUT, Esq. Marshall of this District—which oath he had the effrontery to say he did not believe.
5. He has been proved to be a *liar* by the letter of D. A. OGDEN, Esq. in answer to interrogatories of the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

on the subject of the Vice-President's negotiating for the chair of government. And

7. He has proved himself a base calumniator by the false colouring he has given to the narrative connected with the name of the Surveyor of the Customs.

Under all these glaring circumstances, I ask, is he, JAMES CHEETHAM, entitled to the further support of the citizens of the United States, and particularly of the City of New-York, as the Editor of a public paper?

For myself and the dignity of society, I think he is not.

W. S. SMITH."†

† This Gentleman is COLONEL WILLIAM STEPHENS SMITH, son-in-law of President ADAMS. A gentleman every where in estimation.

It may be useful farther to remark that CHEETHAM is devoted, at all hazards, to the aggrandizement of the CLINTON FAMILY in New-York; and in his conduct we have a specimen of the mischievous effects of *family popularity*. Popular Families "*make use of all, even of the LOWEST,*" both of Men and means. The heart of the parasite and of the puny partisan are in a state of complete estrangement from their country; and instead of the motives which prompt the pure patriot to defend the honor and dignity, the independence and constitutional liberties in his country they are pushed on by personal considerations to promote the advancement of their favourite Chief.

(ii. p. 13) TALLEYRAND was the first Prelate who, in the late Revolution, abjured Religion, and declared the Bible an imposture. He is not less vindictive than was Arch bishop LAUD; nor less rich, corrupt and powerful than was Cardinal WOLSEY; the comparison to whom will I expect, hold good to the close.

(ll. p. 15) It is demonstrably true that three fourths at least, of the trumpet-tongued declaimers against Federalism are *foreigners*. Arriving among us in the spirit of "*unbounded licentiousness,*" they "*infuse it into our legislation, warp and bias its direction, and render it a heterogeneous, incoherent, distracted mass.*" These effects, so clearly predicted, and so faithfully accomplished, deliver admonitions audible to the ear, intelligible to the understanding. Who can be surpris'd that a bog-trotting *Irishman* should land upon our shores full-flush'd with freedom! *An assylum for oppressed humanity* must assuredly be free from all oppression. All his notions of liberty are such as Corporal Trim felt when he made the flourishes with his stick. Here he never expects to see or think of a potatoe, but to be crammed with Mammoth Cheese, and all the dainties that nourish him who feelingly commiserated his past condition.

Evidential of the *effects* of such men in our country, I will, from a number of substantiated facts, present one of recent discovery:—On the 30th of last April, Gen. Peter Mulenburgh, the Democrat, and Collector of the Customs at Philadelphia, "formally advertis'd SAMUEL SALTER, as having *defrauded* the revenue of the United States by making false entries." These entries were five in number and at as many times. "Other entries of the like fraudulent nature have been made at the Custom-House by PRICE and SALTER, but they were affirmed to by Thomas Price, who is dead. SAMUEL SALTER, "is one of our newly *imported* patriots, and a furious bawler for the liberties of the American people, and against the late Federal Administration." A junto of the Jacobins of the Southward (where SALTER lived) met March 9. With the help of linguists they came to an understanding of the following resolutions in English, which they unanimously adopted.

1. That a certain description of persons, calling themselves *Federalists*, and holding offices under the government of the United States, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, being hostile to the Republican principles, and unfriendly to the present administration, are therefore *highly obnoxious to the PEOPLE.*"

2. That it gives us much concern to find that measures have improperly been attempted to mislead the President of the United States into a belief that the *removal* of such persons from office is confined to a small majority of our fellow-citizens, and more particularly to interested individuals."

3. That it shall be and hereby is respectfully recommended to the Democratic Republican citizens, *throughout the Commonwealth, to hold meetings and appoint Committees, in order to take proper measures for transmitting to the President memorials declaratory of the REAL sentiments of the PEOPLE.*" !!

4. That Joseph Scott, SAMUEL SALTER and Peter Bobb, be a Committee to meet similar Committees from the different wards, for the purpose of carrying the *third* resolution into effect."

5. That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the *Aurora*, and signed by the Chairman and Secretary."

JOSEPH SCOTT, *Chairman.*

SAMUEL SALTER, *Secretary.*"

These resolutions are published in our own language, but the meaning of the phrases is not jacobinically given in any lexicon. The language of the thorough sped Jacobins, like the lingo of the Gypsies, has a mysterious signification. CONSTITUTION is, *our will set like a rock in the midst of a river* : GOVERNMENT is, *our Passions rising and rolling over it, dashing every thing to pieces at the bottom* : PATRIOTISM is, *a good look out for the loaves and fishes* ; and a REPUBLICAN is, *one of our side.* By the third resolution above, it will be perceived that SALTER was of the Committee to ascertain to the President "*the real sentiments of the people*"! What admirable, official and officious Mentors he has! In ignorance, they presumptuously contend with MINERVA for the helmet :—In wickedness and disfigured with scars, they wrestle with JUPETER for the thunderbolt. Wild-Irish Jacobins are like the most tindery combustibles, they catch fire by the least spark and are instantly in a blaze. The migratory pack of a single ward of the city of Philadelphia were sufficient to assemble, organize and put in motion, all the fellow-workmen in the Commonwealth. From such disorganizers as these have risen

"Lew'd railings, and reproach on those that rul'd,
With open scorn of government."

"No mask, in basest minds, ambition wears,
But in full light pricks up her asses ears."

In the impassioned speech of Sempronius to the Leaders of the meeting we are informed by Addison, how "*mongrels in faction*" served by the aspiring and successful Demagogue :—

"*Sembro* : Know, villains, when such factious monsters
Raise disorder, if the plot succeed
They're thrown neglected by : but if it fails,
They're sure to die like dogs, as you shall see."

—————"But first pluck out their tongues
Lest with their dying breath they sow sedition."

"I am of opinion, that the government, instead of being braced and invigorated for greater exertions under their difficulties, would have been thrown back upon the *bungling machinery of country committees.*"

(Notes on Virginia, 184.)

Mr. Jefferson has here given as anti-jacobin a sentiment as would now be spoken by BUONAPARTE. Buonaparte would not have spoken such a sentiment three years ago; but times change and men change with them.

(*mm. p. 15.*) Paine is the most diabolical and envenomed of infidels and detractors. His crimes have hardened his heart, and brazened his face—one can scarcely feel, the other cannot blush. "I think this circumstance sufficient to mark the morals of the man. This alone clearly displays the nature of the affections and passions of his mind. For when a man stands in no awe of the disgrace which attends bad actions, and has no concern for his character, there is no way of transgression in which that man may not walk. With a countenance clothed in shamelessness and audacity, he easily and naturally proceeds from one bad action to the most profligate attempts."

In his late addresses to the people of the United States, Paine has set the diamond pen of truth at defiance, and has declared himself un wounded by it. He is even less vulnerable than ACHILLES for he pretends his heels are good! He has boastfully pretended to feel himself honoured by the exhibition made of him!

"Gods! with what pride I see the sottish knave
Smarting beneath the stroke which satire gave.
How do I laugh when, with affected air,
(Scarce able thro' despite to keep his chair)
He talks of CONSCIENCE which GOOD MEN secures
From all those evil moments GUILT endures.
And tries to laugh at those who pay regard
To the wild ravings of the frantic bard."

Lives there a man whom satire cannot reach;
Lives there a man who calmly can stand by
And see his conscience ripp'd with steady eye;
When satire flies abroad on falsehood's wing,
Short is her life and impotent her sting;
But when to TRUTH allied, the wounds she gives
Sink deep and to remotest ages lives.
When in the tomb thy pamper'd flesh shall rot,
And e'en by friends thy memory be forgot,
Still shalt thou live recorded for thy crimes,
Live in her page and stink to after times."

In his letter to Gov. Samuel Adams, lately published, he says:—
"A man does not serve God when he prays, for it is himself he is trying to serve, and as to his hiring and paying men to pray, as if the Deity need instruction, it is in my opinion, an abomination." This, reader, is a sample of continued labours in the work of good "SENTIMENTS." It is levelled against the whole body of the CLERGY, for they have constantly, and uniformly impeded the work of demoralization. It is directed against the enjoined duties of private and public devotion, for these are "stumbling blocks" in the way of the new demoniacal sentiments. What is most remarkable, it was addressed to a man

of noted piety, and he has not, that we know of, exposed the heinousness of the sentiments.

The pious and venerable SAMUEL ADAMS, in his letter to PAINE of Nov. 30, 1802. says:—"Our friend the President of the United States has been calumniated for his liberal sentiments by men who have attributed that liberality to a latent design to promote the cause of infidelity. *This and all other slanders, have been made without the shadow of proof!*"

Those acquainted with the puritanic stiffness of Gov. Adams, will smile to see it relax into commendations of Mr JEFFERSON's *liberality*, and into disregard of the most sacred duty of social intercourse—the bosom-locked preservation of confidential trusts!

When writing to Tom Paine of "*our friend the President,*"—the rigid is transformed to the most charitably-hearted Theologian. The grey hairs of Gov. Adams release him from the stroke of satire, but, as we say to children whom we do not mean to hurt, this is indeed pretty! pretty! pretty!

One good man, now no more, would have been happy if a pharisaical member of his church had really possessed the benign spirit of the Gospel. Bigotry is pride and malice disguised. It is as contrarious to christianity as any of the malignant passions of the heart can be. It would deal an anathema where the Gospel would enjoin forgiveness, and it would grant absolution where that would denounce punishment.

I must be permitted to express one serious truth, and I shall do it seriously. Governour Adams is under obligations to the Christian world to refute the positive assertions in Paine's letter to him respecting the admission of Luke as a canonical book. Gov. Adams cannot be released from this duty because the refutation has been made by others. He commenced the correspondence with Paine in an air of distant reproof; he ought to close it in the determined tone of confutation. The declination of the task will give occasion for unfavourable constructions:—

"Probe his foul wounds, and lay his bosom bare,

To the keen question of the searching air."

The friends of Paine, in his apology or justification, say, that his abuse of Washington was the language of just displeasure for not being reclaimed when a Prisoner under Robespierre. One word upon this point of defence. Paine is an *Englishman*—he came to this country at the beginning of our revolution. He was secretary of the Committee of Congress for Foreign Affairs and held the office till dismissed for treachery. After the Peace he went to France, and from thence to England, where he remained till chosen a Member of the French Convention. He then returned to France and engaged earnestly in the revolutionary work:—This act was a forfeiture of his adopted citizenship here, because it contravened our Proclamation of Neutrality. Paine is not a citizen of the United States—he is a cosmopolite of no higher claims on the countries he visits than a roving Tatar.

With a pleasure mingled with abhorrence, we read descriptions of the poisonous reptiles and of the greeneyed monsters. A slight notice of the peculiarities of the maniac and gorgon PAINE, may perhaps gratify curiosity:—He is aptly hit off in the words of a master Poet.

—————"Some strange commotion
Is in his brain; he bites his lips and starts,
Stops upon a sudden, looks upon the ground"

Then lays his finger upon his temple ; strait
 Springs out into fast gate ; then stops again,
 Strikes his breast hard ; and anon he casts
 His eye against the moon : In most strange postures,
 We've seen him fet himself."

(00. p. 15.) William Godwin and Mary Wolstonecraft have joined hands and hearts. The world should be guarded against the *consequences* of this connection ; for, if separately they have shaken the globe, what could not be effected by the conjunction of the qualities of the two ?

(pp. p. 16.) " Charles Murdy, Richard Leighton and Thomas Row, executed in England in October 1799, declared in their last words that the writings of THOMAS PAINE had alienated them from moral duties and occasioned their death-deserving deviations." *London Paper.*

(99. p. 16.) It was truly said of the French Revolution by Mr. BURKE, that it was " An insolent tyranny, made up of cruel and inexorable masters, and that, too, of a description hitherto unknown in the world.

The power and politicks by which they have succeeded, are not those of great statesmen, or of great military commanders ; but the practices of incendiaries, assassins, house-breakers, robbers, spreaders of false news, forgers of false orders from authority, and other delinquencies of which ordinary justice takes cognizance." † The Revolution has, nevertheless, generated men of talents. BUONAPARTE now occupies the highest station. From a close observation of his career, it must be acknowledged, problematical whether to his TALENTS or his FORTUNE he is most indebted for his elevation. The throne of a MILITARY DESPOTISM is not filled by merit nor by favour. It is hewn out by the sword of the Sovereign, and by that defended. The Military plans of Buonaparte and their execution, were with the promptness and unabatedness of the first Cæsar. In his addresses to his army is displayed a farther parallel of that commander. If he is more successful and more splendid in his enterprises than the cool calculator, patient endurer and eventual surmounter of difficulties apparently raised under the frowns of fortune, his achievements do not prove that temerity is better than consideration ; nor that Cæsar in victory was greater than Pompey in defeat. We have but once beheld him in a situation which required the greatest talents disciplined by reason and prudence ; that situation was before *St. Jean D'Acre*, where he was worsted by the well trained skill and intrepidity of SIR SIDNEY SMITH. He has an insensibility which, without a ship, can pile into breast-works the carcasses of his slain, or throw them into the river to make it fordable for his troops. When contagious sickness was spreading in his army, he quickened the march of Death by the administration of poison to those seized with the disease ; for this practice he had indeed, an example in another celebrated conqueror. The fact is indubitably proved ; awful reflection that, before the most august Tribunal and in the presence of countless myriads of beings, six hundred Frenchmen may be summoned from a common sepulchre at JAFFA, solemnly to sanction it ! He is unimpressed by followers or favourites ; his plans of operation, originating with himself, are unrevealed till revealed for execution. His dispersion of the National Assembly in the manner of CROMWELL, was suggested by that boldness of spirit, and unappeaseable ambition, which so remarkably characterise him. Ambition averts his whole soul, and directs all his measures. To serve the purposes of THAT passion, he in France solemnly abjured Religion ; and again to serve it he seriously and with solemnity received the eucharist administered by the archbishop of TOULS. In Rome he

was defender of the religion of the cross. In EGYPT a messenger from Heaven commissioned for the destruction of infidels. When every expedient his fruitful invention can suggest to succeed an enterprise proves ineffectual, he immediately bends his whole force upon some new adventure. This he did in Egypt; discomfited there, he precipitately and unexpectedly abandoned his faithful army, and making his way through his watchful enemies, he returned to France, usurped the civil power, and placed himself on the throne of absolute sovereignty. No scheme of ambition can transcend his invention, or his resolution to accomplish. The preservation of superiority over an host of competitors must be admitted as evidence of abilities. It must be acknowledged that he has been extremely fortunate; it may be that he is intrinsically great, but with strict impartiality it may be said, that his character has not received a full developement. Nature if she has not qualified him to *hold* his high distinction, certainly fitted him by an impetuosity of temper, versatility of character, and by propitiousness of fortune to *acquire* it. The civilized world should consider how deeply interested they are in the plots of this inordinately and exorbitantly ambitious man:—It is a dreadful possibility, and the contemplation of it brings terror to the mind, that universal admiration may be changed to universal *submission*! There is another, and I think a far more probable termination of the present commotions: The new CROMWELL may be succeeded by a timid *Richard*, and a MONK may reintate the Royal Family on the Throne.

† If this description should be thought to partake too largely of the brilliancy of Mr. Burke's mind and, of his inveteracy against the French Revolution, I will present a portrait of equal colouring from the hand of the Archbishop of TOURS, taken from his Sermon delivered before the First Consul at the Cathedral of Notre Dame, on the re-establishment of Religion in France, April 1802.

“ In what religion, in what territory, however *distant*, have not the troubles been felt by which we have been agitated? No! it is NOT the *extraordinary courage* of this nation in the field; it is NOT the *impetuous gallantry* of our enemies, wisely directed by the most accomplished generals; it is NOT this *warlike spirit* which flies at once from the banks of the Drave and the Po to the borders of the Nile, that *caused the earth to tremble even to its foundation*. But when one has seen *destructive principles* spreading themselves throughout *every state*—the mine extending its subterraneous branches and ready to *overturn every government*; *no form of power, no authority on earth was out of the reach of these threatened changes*. When one has seen the power, the best established on its ancient and firm constitution, and still more strong by the calmness of its manners, and the happy ascendancy of natural habits, tremble in every part at the approach of the danger; convulsions agitating an Island, united and consolidated with her; insurrections in her fleets, and peril arising from the *corresponding societies*, which were with difficulty suppressed by the wisdom of her councils, *it was then first felt by every government what was to be feared from the convulsions of a single people, and the revolutions of a single empire.*”

The Bishop spoke by the appointment, and has not spoken discordantly to the sentiments of the Consul. The present conduct of Buonaparte with respect to the Jacobins is in conformity to all historical delineations of the true character of a demagogue. Every Jacobin is a perfect tyrant in principle, and wants only opportunity to be one in practice:—Like man-stealers they first entice to their hands, and then bind in irons.

(*rr. p. 16*) The following extracts will serve to exhibit the spirit and tendency of the whole address: "Whilst the public mind is agitated by the narrow policy of *Spain*, in shutting her ports against us, permit me, through the channel of your press, to strike at the enlarged policy of our more latent and specious enemies. Instead of skimming on the surface of our disasters, I wish to level a blow at the *root* of our evils. Instead of directing our resentment towards *European powers*, let us with more propriety, turn it towards *Eastern America*. Instead of crossing the *Atlantic*, let us only go beyond the *Alleghany Mountains*. There is the source of all our calamities; there our ills originate; thence we have derived our misfortunes, and still smart under her political scourge." "It becomes more necessary to *secede from the Union* (unless she abandons her politicks) than it was for the United States to revolt from Great Britain. The interests of *France, Spain* and *Western America* would go hand in hand, and they (*France and Spain*) would studiously promote our commercial prosperity for their own advantage." "Let us set the *GENERAL GOVERNMENT* at defiance; and erect ourselves into an independent, distinct and separate government. And should we experience any weakness on our part, we cannot but recollect that *France is strong*. And we can know it is better to have a friend for a master than an enemy." "I forbode that this long farce of 'this tale of a tub,' to amuse and inveigle us to prevent a *secession from the General Government*, will be followed by a *Military Tragedy*. *Magazines* will be filling, *cannon roaring*, and *human blood streaming*." "I despise them (*Eastern Americans*), and their politicks most sincerely. They have hood-winked us and kept us in such ignorance that they have hitherto turned our enmity towards *France and Spain*, instead of themselves. But I hope that when we begin to get a little more enlightened, and when the *Western Thunder* begins to roll, we may know where to direct the bolt."

† This modest beginning of French intrigue was published at Frankfort in the state of Kentucky, in a paper plausibly captioned "THE GUARDIAN OF FREEDOM"! How much foul villainy is practised under fair names! A man the least acquainted with the discriminative marks of French authorship, would as unfailingly discover this to be of French instigation; as a cook familiar with the flavour of frogs and garlic, could pronounce on the certainty of a French ragout.

"The "*Military Tragedy*" which was announced for representation, is postponed only because the performers are engaged in another scene. The company will be here in all their bloody-mindedness, with all their pandemonian scenery and apparatus of destruction, if they are not, in their present performance, hissed from the stage. The adventitious war in Europe has only restrained the spirit here which this inflammatory address was intended to let loose. Let us not repose in fancied security; If we would discover the extent of the ills that threatened us, let us employ our minds in an hour's meditation on the preparations making last spring for the colonization of Louisiana—we shall see as formidable and as systematized arrangements for our destruction as ever went into operation against any of the subjugated countries. Let us learn a truth, a truth most interesting to ourselves; to the civilized world; to our posterity, and to the cause of Reason, Virtue and Religion now and forever—namely—That we have no security against French ambition, but in a high-mindedness which will not endure it.

(*ss. p. 17.*) "All Tyranny is uniform in its maxims."

Montesquieu.

(*ii. p. 17.*) The article from the *Gazette de France* of the 30th. of last April, is too long to be presented entire. Its design is to vindicate the "wisdom and importance of the attachment of Louisiana to the domain of France." The vindication is commenced and pursued in the following order. General Le Clerc in his dispatches from St. Domingo observed that "guns, cannon and powder" were furnished Toussaint Louverture by the United States, and that negotiations were on foot by the American Government, in concert with the British, to induce the black General to declare the independence of the Island:—That notwithstanding Mr. Jefferson has adopted a system "less Machiavelian" than his predecessor, yet the French Government ought not to be satisfied; considering that the capriciousness of "elective governments," breaks the security for his continuance:—That the United States are advancing in power to "rule over the new world, and place under their yoke the West-India Colonies"—and that the policy of Europe dictates "that there should be established, as soon as possible, upon the continent of America, a barrier to the ambition of a people to whom nature has promised the empire of half the world"—That "the interests of all the maritime powers of Europe is, to have the *strongest* among them form an establishment on the continent of America sufficiently imposing and important to serve as a counterpoize to the *domination of the United States*," ‡

‡ This is not one of the fugitive and perishable articles of the day. It is communicated through the channel of the official paper of the French Government and we have a right to consider it as impressed with an official stamp. If the intentions of France in the colonization of Louisiana have been undiscoverable, they are now divested of all obscurity:—The above communication furnishes ample data to lead the reflecting mind to the most lucid decisions. "The powers of Europe" equally with the United States, are insulted by this gasconading and dissembling state paper. A power arrogantly assuming the character of the *strongest*, and ardently aspiring to universal sway, strike out a new half covered project for the attainment of their object, and pursue it under the mask of *defenders of Europe!*—The robbers, disrobed of their bloody garments, would renew their trade in unspotted clothes, but the flimsy linsley-woolsey, gewgauze stuff they appear in, will not hide the Knife.

No plot was ever laid deeper in French duplicity. The destroyers of Europe were to wear the lying label of its defenders. The determined despoilers of our Liberty would first deceive with professions of generous devotedness to the cause of it among all people. So degraded are we in their view for our deceptibility, that they would continue to urge the dull deceitful tale of a disinterested interposition in our favour in the contest with our Mother country. Their designs being devilish would go into operation with enticing words, and peridious protestations. "GUARDIANS of FREEDOM," would be the chosen and pompous heralds of their doings. With these they would detach WESTERN from EASTERN America, and attach the whole "to the domain of France." With these they would found the clarion of war—cause "*magazines to be filling, cannon roaring, and human blood to be streaming*," Where? Not on their own territory, but first on the Alleghany ridge, then on the Atlantic shore! I challenge the man who will make a comparison of this French article with the developments made in Congress by Messrs. ROSS and MORRIS to deny that these SENATORS were political prophets and *American Patriots*. But if we will not hear them, will we not reverence Washington? But the counsel of

Washington, if it has the lip-praise, has the heart-hatred of every Jacobin. When he declined a re-election to the Presidency, his friends in the House of Representatives, moved a vote of thanks for his past services, of and perfect approbation of them. Mr. GILES, the Leader of the Jacobins, declared for his party, that their concurrence would be a dereliction of the principles of their conduct, and would be a direct reprobation of the measures they supported. This confession cannot be credited for candour, Mr. Giles was confined in a corner that he could not escape from by craftiness, and he frankly acknowledged that his principles were in disapprobation of Washington ! Can principles that generate *evil* of Washington be productive of *good* to our country ? Who knows but, in penance for his ingratitude, Mr. Giles may have prostrated himself upon the tomb of Washington, and watered it with crocodile tears ? Who knows but that, in showy sadness of countenance, he may have called on Mrs. Washington and comforted her with his condolence ? I quit with disgust the contemplation of dissimulation and present, to his undissembled friends, the words of Washington ;—they will con them with care, and preserve them with carefulness :———“ In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern, that any grounds should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*—*Atlantic* and *Western*, whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief, that there is a real difference of local interest and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to *misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts*. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these *misrepresentations* ; they tend to render *alien* to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our *Western* country have lately had a useful lesson on this head : they have seen, in the negotiation of the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them, of a policy in the General Government, and in the *Atlantic States*, unfriendly to their interest in regard to the *Mississippi* : They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Spain and that with Great Britain, which secures to them every thing they could desire in respect to our foreign relations towards confirming their *prosperity*. Will it not be their wisdom to rely, for the preservation of these advantages, on the UNION by which they were procured ? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with ALIENS ?” *Washington's Validictory.*

“ The West derives from the East supplies necessary to its growth and comfort ; and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions*, to the weighty influence, and the future maritime strength of the *Atlantic* side of the Union. Any other tenure, by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an *apostate* and *unnatural connexion* with any FOREIGN power, must be intrinsically precarious.” *Ibid.*

(*uu. p. 17.*) CHARLES PINCKNEY, appointed by Mr Jefferson Minister at Madrid, in a speech against the British treaty delivered in Charleston (S. C.) insinuated that Mr Jay, “ corrupted by British influence, would sacrifice the interest of the *western territory*, and dissever it from the union.”

Who are *now* the friends of the WESTERN PEOPLE, they who would manfully and immediately repulse aggressions on their rights, and free their enjoyment of them from all precariousness, or they who have resolved to protract their injuries the whole period of a tedious and dubious negotiation? Hear how an *advocate* for the Treaty spoke on the subject of the *Western Territory*:—"Will it be whispered that the Treaty has made me a new champion for the *protection* of the *Frontiers*? It is known that my voice as well as vote have been uniformly given in conformity to the ideas I have expressed. *Protection* is the *right* of the *frontiers*; it is our *duty* to give it."

Ames's speech on the Treaty 1796.

(*vv. p. 18.*) The public mind is unsettled on the subject of Louisiana. It has not, indeed, been sufficiently investigated, and cannot perhaps, at present be sufficiently elucidated, to be correctly understood. But it will not be premature to indulge reflections on the disposition of the country, supposing it to come into our possession on unexceptionable conditions. To admit the country, subdivided into States, to membership with us and to enjoy all the immunities of States, would not only be impolitic but, in our present disunion and imbecility, totally impracticable:—Impolitic to infranchise a distant, froward, untrusted people, of strong anti-republican propensities, with the intolerant persecuting spirit of Roman Catholics, and admit them to a disproportionate influence in the election of our chief Magistrate, and the highest branch of our Legislature. The consequences from the denization of such a people are, said Mr. Jefferson, "*to warp and bias our Legislation, and render it a heterogeneous, incoherent, distracted mass,*"—It would be impracticable, because the feebleness of our system cannot withstand the shocks of divisions diverging from our centre to the margin of such extensive limits;—it is justly apprehended whether it can withstand the shocks of divisions circumscribed within our present boundaries. For the same reasons the country would be indefensible as a colony, against the designs of a foreign power, or the spirit of Independence or malcontentedness which the inhabitants might at any time exhibit. The purchase of the country as a land-jobbing speculation is, at this moment, against every prudent calculation; and it is not necessary for ourselves, for in our present superabundance we have "*room enough for our descendants, to the thousandth and thousandth generation.*"

The quaint maxim that, *a thing is worth as much as it will fetch*, is as good for a Nation as for an individual. One nor the other should make great adventures in articles of ideal value. The flightiness that keeps these articles up is quite too precarious to be depended on. The avaricious adventurer, with one hand, cuts down and burrs as taxes the perennial plants of good fruits; and, with the other, seizes with eagerness the thorn-bushes and puts them into barns, in a barren conceit that they are loaded with the valuable abundance of one hundred years of prosperous increase. The object of a great speculation is, like a balloon, kept up by *inflamed spirits*; and, like that, it drops as soon as these spirits are burnt out. Adventurers in the Louisiana purchase may be reminded that it is not a *new* object of speculation. They might collect valuable instruction from the transactions of 1719, when the MISSISSIPPI and SOUTH SEA schemes were at their height in France and England. It is a fair presumption that good lands will appreciate in value in proportion to increase of population; this is the best rule to determine the rising value, but many extraneous circumstances may effect the progress and results of this rule. It occurs that a company of enterprising men may offer a much larger sum

for Louisiana than that contracted for in the Treaty. But is it supposeable that a company can be found of sufficient foolhardiness to purchase the country on a *quitclaim* from the United States, and exercise over it jurisdiction? A *warrantee* conveyance would embrace every objection that can be stated to its colonization.

Whoever will traverse the whole of *North America*, will perceive that the United States are prominently designated for the HEAD. Such pre-eminence cannot be contemplated on any other supposition than our **UNBROKEN UNION**: We must not grasp at it, but grow to it: We must not covet, but we shall be courted to it. If we try to swell beyond our strength we shall, like the frog in the fable, burst with imaginary greatness. On the foundation of our **UNION** we can raise a superstructure of respected power and magnificent grandeur:—The energies of our nation should be in-gradual application to the consummation of our high destiny.

The only present advantages in the possession of Louisiana are to keep off inimical neighbours, and to prevent molestations of our rights on the Mississippi. It is very doubtful whether either of these objects will be effected by the purchase; but it is random speaking till we can trace with certainty, the line of demarkation. The channel of the Mississippi is on its Eastern bank, and its navigation is as much commanded by **NEW-ORLEANS**, situated on the Eastern side of the River, as the entrance into Boston harbour is commanded by fort Independence. This we will hazard—if the cession is bounded by the *Western* bank, it will give no greater security for our navigation of the River, than the same stretch of line in **Kamskatka**. Territorial possession should be acquired on terms consistent with national honor and benefit, and defended in the high spirit of national pride. Dishonor deserves punishment, and pusillanimity will unfaillingly receive it from the aggressions it invites.

The obtainment of Louisiana was effected under circumstances which deserve the closest attention, for they give the lights and shades of a picture of **WISDOM** and **PATRIOTISM** fit to be placed in the front gallery of **STUPIDITY**. Mr **LIVINGSTON** was almost unnoticed at Paris till the annunciation of intended war by Great Britain; he was then immediately taken into favour at Court, and dined with Madame Talleyrand. Mr **MUNROE** on his arrival was honoured with the the magnificent etiquette of a military congee. The declaration of War against France compelled the renunciation of the project of Louisiana, and the discontinuence of the interruptions which conducted to our negotiation.

This is a fact which even purblind prejudice, which mishapes every thing, might have discovered at first look. The French government, then, have disposed of what they were, in effect, dispossessed. But this is not all, nor is it the worst:—The purchase money will be applied to the prosecution of a war levelled against the heart of Liberty, and the enjoyment of her blessings throughout the world. It is not to be concealed that this is a war of *principle* against *corruption*—of *steadfastness* against *extermination*. It is truly and glowingly described in the words of Cicero against Cataline:—“On the one side modesty contends, on the other petulance, here chastity, there pollution: here integrity, there treachery: here piety, there profaneness: here resolution, there rage: here honour there baseness: her moderation, there unbridled licentiousness: in short, equity, temperance, fortitude, prudence, struggle with iniquity, luxury, temerity, rashness; every virtue with vice. Lastly, the contest lies between wealth and indigence, sound and depraved reason; strength of understand-

ing and phrenzy; in fine, between well grounded hope and the most absolute despair. In such a conflict and struggle as this, was even human aid to fail, will not the immortal gods enable such illustrious virtue to triumph over such complicated vice." Now suppose this complication of crimes to be successful in the present struggle; I ask, what would the cession of Louisiana be worth to us? What is the most solemn covenant upon paper and parchment worth when allconquering power advances to deny the validity with a cannon's mouth? The country would not be worth one of the brambles growing upon it—and it would be a most goading reflection, increasing the weight and the galling of the chain of slavery, that—MILLIONS of dollars were inconsiderately advanced to the assistance of our despoilers. "Two things (said Cæsar) are necessary to acquire and support power—*Soldiers* and *Money*. With *Money* I can provide *Soldiers*, and with *Soldiers* exact *Money*." This exaction will as certainly be made by the Emperour in the realms of ambition, as the law against our nature will be enforced by our insatiable destroyer; and with the same unfeelingness and as indiscriminately. Are not a people guilty of political suicide who, knowing these truths, will yet help forward the daring and never-satisfied trespasser on the rights of mankind? Suppose the French unsuccessful? There would, in that event, be no difficulty in making such arrangements with their vanquishers as our peace and security might require. This is not the opinion of partiality. It is consentaneous with this fact—that a free commercial intercourse is the only advantage that can ever be derived to Great Britain from this country, and that this advantage can in no other way be secured than by our complete independence, just and impartial policy.

On this view of the subject the negotiation appears like FOLLY, not in *profile* nor in *buft*, but at *full-length*. The negociators which Buonaparte and Talleyrand had to treat with, were the most propitiously disposed towards them of any that favour could select. Mr. MUNROE represented our country at the Court of the DIRECTORY, and assured that (that his countrymen would readily and cheerfully contribute, in any manner to serve the French cause. For this shameful and slavish assurance he was recalled:—Shame if not slavery will be consecutive of his present mission—Shame that the national confidence should be a second time reposed in a man who had set his country on the council-board of a foreign cabinet, and before the greatest cormorants of power in the world, for them to dissect, distribute and devour as they would a roasted turkey. Mr. Livingston, in his memorial observes:—"Those advantages, added to the relative situation of France and the United States, which remove every suspicion of rivalry between them both by sea and land, have exhibited *France*, as the *natural Ally* of the *United States*!"* "France would gain more by securing the *solid friendship* of the United States, than acquiring a territory which would be for them an object of jealousy, and might again force them under the domination of a people whose yoke they had just assisted them to shake off." . . . "A citizen of one of the two countries" (America and France) "and *strongly attached to the other*, I hope that those to whom this memorial may be delivered, will be able to set a just value on the motives of my conduct, and will see in it nothing but my exertions to remove every subject of dispute between two countries *formed to assist one another*." . . . "I am incapable of conceiving the ridiculous idea of threatening a government which has seen *all Europe bend the knee be-*

fore its power." . . . "I have observed that France and the United States are in a respective situation so fortunate as to have no point of collision: They may assist without being tempted to hurt one another." This last sentence is precisely the language used to sportive children—you may HELP but don't hurt, one another, BOBBY and TALLEY. The memorial proceeds:—"This commerce is useful to both nations; this union of sentiments and interests rests upon principles which ought to form the maritime code and deliver the universe from the tyranny founded by Great Britain, which she maintains, and which will never be combated with success, until the other powers will abridge her means, by transferring to nations more moderate, a part of her commerce." &c. This stroke is sufficiently Talleyrandean to form an item in the Red Book for a million of francs. Is it in Mr. Livingston's instructions to form a coalition to abridge the commerce of England? In other words, to meditate a blow against her existence? Indications of such instructions appear in the construction of the memorial, and faithful to them, or fruitful in his own folly, he has compromised his country at the British Court. The encouragements proposed to France for the transfer of Louisiana are, that she will find in America "a warm friend"—whose "solid friendship" would be more advantageous to France than territory—possessed of immense resources to create a NAVY, "upon which alone France can engraft her naval superiority." Is there not enough in these intemperate passages from the memorial to induce a suspicion that Louisiana is but the ground of an alliance with France against Great Britain? The Jacobins have indefatigably laboured for such an alliance. Mr. Munroe overtly confessed that his countrymen were actuated by generous and partial sentiments towards France. An open advancement to the same assistance he promised would be repulsed; but there are negociators who, like the company of the green-room in a Theatre, can carry on the same tragic act in different dresses.

"Peace, commerce and honest friendship, with all Nations: entangling Alliances with none!"
(Jefferson.)

The memorial recommends the reservation by France "of the right of entry, at all times, free from all other duties than those paid by American vessels, together with the right of navigation on the Mississippi." If this reserve should be made in the cession, and even supposing our uninterrupted possession of the country, I should not think worth so much to the United States, as a straw fit to weave into a bonnet.

Our "Natural boundaries" were described in a Toast, given, by the Honorable Mr. BAYARD, at the last celebration of the Birth-day of Washington. That our extension should be forced or purchased is not implied. An uninterrupted progress of the policy of Washington would prove the correctness of the prediction within, perhaps, two centuries; it was therefore, naturally published at the commemoration of his birth:—It was Gratitude, at the moment of reviving the remembrance of of his counsel, expanding in reflections on the consummation of it:—It was patriotism, while in meditation on the bright pattern, that burst through the gloom of present prospects to shed its radiancy.

* Nature must have spun a finger at a rope-walk to have made it long enough to point out FRANCE as the "natural Ally of the United States."

(*www. p. 18.*) With all the calamities of war we must rejoice at its revival in defence of LIBERTY. I have the most animating confidence that this war will give a mortal wound to JACOBINISM, and that it will terminate gloriously for the cause of FREEDOM.

On condition that Great Britain can maintain the conflict and command the victory, the policy of the United States will be the once-condemned policy of Neutrality. But if the Leonidas at the Thermoplae of danger, should be unable to defend the pass, it were better that our lives were THERE shed in sacrifice to LIBERTY, than they should HERE endure the *scourges of scorpion power*. To speak more plainly—We MUST, in that event, take part with ENGLAND. This is an unpopular opinion, but I fearlessly hazard it, because it is built upon truth which will remain eternal. The sober second-thoughts of some have reclaimed them from their apostacy, and brought them back to the pure altar of Liberty. The infernal fury who has been decked out as the *Genius of Liberty*, no longer wears, in their view, a placid countenance and an unspotted mantle. Disgarnished of her pilfered snowy suit, and clad in vestments from her own wardrobe, they see her real deformity, with the face of a fiend, and robes dripping with human gore; upon a throne raised upon the dead, and upon living misery; upon all the works of wisdom, with their pages obliterated; and upon all the spoils of unrelenting barbarity. This is the monster who has claimed the admiration of mankind. Wisdom nor Virtue is in her train, but millions of the foolish and the vicious are obsequious to her commands. Her conquests over men are by force and delusion. Advanced in her front is her favorite BUONAPARTE at the head of hundreds of thousands in arms, himself bearing, in one hand, the unsheathed sword besmeared with human blood; and in the other, the open and more destructive volume of the PHILOSOPHISTS, written, not by inspiration, but on the suggestions of the DEVIL; closed with a list of the Subscribers.

“Tyrants arrive at the destined goal by the aid of scoundrels.”

(*Robespierre's last speech from the Tribune.*)

(xx. p. 18.) “If you are in earnest for a Revolution, you must begin by ANNIHILATING RELIGION.”

Mirabeau.

(yy. p. 18.) “We are ready to act. We have heard the PUBLIC VOICE, and are prepared to obey it.” Gen. Smith's speech on the judiciary.

A member from Kentucky spake on the same subject, to the same purport:—“That with the public sentiment, JUDGES and all other officers ought to be changed, and that he would vote for the bill because in *no other way* can the Judges be driven from their posts.” If the *public voice*, is to mould our public measures is our government of LAWS or of MEN? “An *elective despotism* was not the government we fought for.” “Our situation is indeed perilous, and I hope my countrymen will be sensible of it, and will apply, at a proper season the proper remedy, which is ” to restore to the Constitution its “WHOLE VIGOUR.” (*Notes on Virginia p. 170. 186.*)

How different from Gen. Smith, the dignified language of CICERO when in the consulship:—“My voice ought to LEAD in what relates to the Commonwealth.” But the officers of democracy are never *leaders*; they are *followers*, servile as contemptible. Their parts are cast to them by the populace, and like players, they perform them for applause. Gen. Smith could have more nobly replied to the “*public voice*” in the words of *Scipio Africanus*:—“Cease your noise! Do you think by your clamour to frighten ME, who am used, unterrified, to hear the shouts of embattled enemies?”

(bbb. p. 20.) “A military and a mercantile marine must grow up together, for one cannot live without the other.” *John Adams.*

(ccc. p. 21.) “I present these considerations as the result of actual

and solemn investigation; they are offered in behalf of you all; in the cause of TRUTH, your CONSTITUTION and your LAWS; for your common SALVATION, your RELIGION, your HONOUR and your LIBERTY.

(*Demosthenes*)

The pious recount, with gratitude, the deliverance we have received from the GREAT GOVERNOR of the UNIVERSE, and they infer the protraction of his goodness from the past bestowment of it. This is wholly fallacious. They find consolation, too, in a reflection that if He intends to make us subjects of his favour, he will qualify us for the enjoyment of it. This is, indeed, possible; but the expectation of it is unscriptural and unreasonable. The Bible has, throughout, connected means with ends; and it is not in possibilities but in probabilities that Reason confides: Those measures which, in the eye of Reason, appear best calculated for our security, are those on which we can safely build our hopes of the co-operating aid of Heaven. It behoves every man correctly to understand the state of his Country, and with as much responsibility as he would feel if her fate was entrusted to his hands, to determine how he will conduct at this momentous period, eventful in consequences interesting to himself, his posterity, his Country and the World.

These Notes were prepared when the Oration was spoken, and are published without variation or addition, excepting the proofs of Mr Jefferson's infidelity derived from his observations on Mr Boyle's donation; that irrefragable proof was since suggested by a clerical friend.

Since the Oration was delivered, some of the Jacobins have civilly hinted, and others uncivilly declared that I DARE NOT consent to its publication; and one or two irresolute Federalists have suggested that the Junior Editor of the *Balance* is now suffering a tyrannical and vindictive prosecution for publishing the TRUTH. To the taunting menaces of the Jacobins, and the timid apprehension of any of their opposers, I have a reply equally calculated for the animation of my supporters as for my own consolation and refuge:—If it is really true that the *American People* "will forget themselves but in the sole faculty of making money, and will never think of uniting to effect a due respect for their rights," then indeed we may expect to see relentless Tyranny laying its inflictions, with an iron rod, upon *naked Truth*, and forcing her into banishment.

Trepanning would then become the best manual occupation in the country, for none but *silver skulls* would be regarded as having any *Cents*. The most eminent *Wisdom* and *Virtue*, in humble life, would be scouted from society, and shoved into the slough of contempt—the statues of Epaminondas and Cincinnatus, and of all the indigent but most celebrated worthies of antiquity, stripped of their laurel, might be stuck in with them, and the finger of derision pointed at them all. Then, by pike-men levellers, would a whiskey idol, nicknamed Liberty, be straddled across a pipe of *fourth-proof*, and the *spirits* of its worshippers would not be those imbibed from libations of the temperate mixture in the cup of the chaste goddess; but such as are sucked in with unmixed draughts from the hog's head; not such as settle in the mind, and produce serenity: but such as are swallowed by the gullet, and produce savageness. Unmanned and enfeebled we should, like the Carthaginians, fall to that low point of debasement that faintly struggles to save a ring on the finger, but makes no resistance to chains for the hands and feet.

If such a condition is to terminate our glorious struggles for civil liberty, (which, to use the Spartan response, God forbid) and if selected

as a victim, I assert my assent to martyrdom in the cause of *Freedom* in preference to an ignoble and ruinous indifference to the enjoyment and perpetuity of the Constitutional Liberties of my Country—*Truth* commits her cause ; and every advocate for *Truth* entrusts his safety to that “ *Spirit* which preserves a Republic in *vigour*. A degeneracy in which is a canker which soon eats to the heart of its *Laws* and *Constitution*.”

I would not be understood as challenging a prosecution ; although my conscience gives me the clearest acquittal from a liability to one. Having a numerous Family that need my daily attention, I have no wish to be disturbed in my domestic business and enjoyments by any *Ambrose Spenser*. To contribute, in some measure, to the restoration of Constitutional liberty, and its transmission to succeeding generations, was the strongest inducement to performing the task assigned me in the manner I have. If petty tyrants, who are always merciless and sanguinary, can stride through many parts of our Middle and Southern States, and cut down their fellow citizens and bind them for a *thrashing*, as fast as a reaper can rye-straws ; still I hope, the people of *Massachusetts* are not reduced to that wretched turpitude and thralldom that they will submit to have their mouths sewed up like a mango. Earl Spencer, to prove the sway of Fashion, succeeded to give currency to a garment which he declared the most ridiculous that could be invented. Another SPENCER, has made and brought into use a *Padlock for the lips* ; should he succeed to bring it into vogue, we shall outvie the Indians in phiz ornaments—our plight will be worse than Mungo’s in the play, for we shall be prohibited even the language of pantomime. Like horses, with barnacles on, we shall scarcely shrink on receiving the greatest tortures. Our condition would be more tolerable if, like horses or subjects inured to slavery, we had no *minds* to be tortured : The difference between mental and corporeal slavery is as great as between the probe of the heart, and the puncture of the finger.

“ The Liberty of the Press is essential to the security of freedom in a state ; it ought not, therefore, to be restrained in this Commonwealth.”

Constitution of Massachusetts.

“ The freedom of the Press must be maintained, or Liberty, Civil and Religious, be relinquished.”

(*Jefferson.*)

For the licentiousness of the Press the Federalists are not advocates : the poisoned arrows which infernal spirits might hurl from concealment would produce effects not less destructive than *pestilence* and *famine*. The peace, prosperity and preservation of society require the detection and punishment of *falsehoods*. But when *Truth* is lacerated, Liberty bleeds upon a cross, through her wounded side, and her votaries are nailed upon her right hand and upon her left.

The Common-law doctrine of libels against public functionaries, is not only totally inapplicable, but is in direct repugnancy to Republican Government. If we were not sickened at the absurdities of the Jacobins we might once more smile with contempt at their enforcement of the Common-law to punish the declarations of *Truth* against their Idol, immaculate in their eyes, as is the monarch in the view of the Constitution of England. The Jacobins have bellowed, lustily, and as senselessly as mad bulls against the recognition of the Common-law of England in any case of jurisprudence : The Federalists recognize the Common-law as the virtuality admitted and imprescriptible standard of decision in our courts, in all cases where its use is not rejected or qualified by the paramount law of our Constitution and Statutes. I feel emboldened to declare that our

Constitutions abrogate the regal doctrine of libels upon Magistrates ; and protect the citizen in the expression and publication of the *Truth*. This construction is now opposed by the Jacobins. The result of the contest will decide whether LIBERTY shall have votaries or SLAVERY victims.

In Mr. Jefferson's draught for a fundamental Constitution, is this provision :—" Printing Presses shall be subject to no other restraint than liability to legal prosecution for *false facts* printed and published." For this freedom of the Press the Federalists contend ; Reason and Liberty contend : When this freedom shall be inhibited, Reason will shut the doors of her Temple ; Liberty will flap her wings and soar away from her American Altar ; and " those who assume the reins of government will be sure to at the herd whom they hand on to the rods and hatchet of the Dictator, will lay their necks on the block when he shall nod to them,"
(Notes on Virginia, 184.)

THE END.

P. S. On account of the length of the Notes, it was found necessary to suppress some of them, and to shorten others.

ERRATA.

Page 6. line 16	from the top,	for fell—	read felt.
— 10 — 26	— — —	for embrace—	read embracer.
— 12 — 27	— — —	for out—	read our.
— 16 — 22	— — —	for impervious—	read impassable.
— 17 — 5	— — —	for illuminate ; politician—	read illuminati politician.
— 19 — 17	— — —	for contrariant—	read contrarious.
— 19 — 33	— — —	for attentions—	read attestations.
— 20 last line,	— — —	for aye—	read eye.
— 21 — 5	— — —	for commed—	read commenced.
— 40 — 22	— — —	for repair—	read refrain.
— 48 — 14	— — —	for infatuation—	read impetuosity.
— — — 16	— — —	for indifference—	read instability.
— — — 37	— — —	for stupor—	read incensement.
— 49 — 23	— — —	for of—	read to.
— 56 — 24	— — —	for there—	read these.
— 57 — 19	— — —	for Patagoricians—	read Patagonians.
— 60 — 8	— — —	for wound—	read wounds.
— 62 — 20	— — —	for in—	read of.
— 62.	The Note ll.	should be mm.	
— — — 43	— — —	for Democrats, and—	read Democratic.
— 63 — 32	— — —	for the—	read their.
— 63 — 44	— — —	for meeting—	read mutiny.
— 64 — 21	— — —	for ever—	read even.
— 64	The Note mm.	should be nn.	

Some of these errors were discovered and corrected before all the impressions were made. A number of smaller mistakes will, it is hoped, be indulgently overlooked.