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ORATION,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

Federal Republicans

OF

NEW-GLOUCESTER AND THE ADJACENT TOWNS,

JULY 4, A. D. 1811.

.....
BY SAMUEL FESSENDEN.
.....



PORTLAND :
FROM THE GAZETTE PRESS.

1811

Handwritten scribbles and marks on the right margin.

SAMUEL FESSENDEN, ESQ.

SIR,

By direction of the Federal Republicans, who celebrated the last Anniversary of our Independence, at New-Gloucester, we tender you their unfeigned thanks, for the correct, elegant, and patriotic Oration pronounced on that day, and request a copy thereof for publication.

We are, with esteem, your obt. serv'ts.

NATH'L C. ALLEN,

GODFREY GROSVENOR,

SIMON GREENLEAF,

} Committee.

New-Gloucester, 7th July, 1811.

GENTLEMEN,

From you I received the expression of the wish of my Federal Republican Fellow Citizens, with that pleasure, which arises from the reflection, that my exertions to vindicate the principles on which *we* act, and to remove, from the minds of the honest, false impressions, were received with approbation. Written in the course of two or three days, amidst a crowd of professional avocations, as well known to my friends, I did not anticipate that the ephemeral production would ever be made public. *Circumstances*, however, induce me to comply with your request. As I feel myself bound, not to alter a *sentiment*, nor to correct the language; and believing nothing to be advanced which may not be substantiated, a copy is submitted, with all its imperfections. Should it be productive of any benefit to the cause of *Federalism*, I shall have the *reward*, which a *well wisher* to his country, will be anxious only to obtain—that of promoting the good of the *great whole*.

With respect,

I am,

Gentlemen,

Your obt. serv't.

SAMUEL FESSENDEN.

Nath'l C. Allen, Esq.

Godfrey Grosvenor, Esq.

Simon Greenleaf, Esq.

} COMMITTEE.

ORATION.

MY COUNTRYMEN,

IS this the birth day of our national independence? Is this the glorious anniversary of our individual privileges and corporate freedom? Is it a day, sacred in the annals of heaven-born liberty? A day, on which three millions of human beings, dared assert their rights; burst the vile thralldom of a proud, powerful, and jealous step-mother; and, on the altar of *immutable justice*, swear to live free, or nobly perish in the last blaze of their violated charters?

Yes, this is the never to be forgotten **FOURTH** of **JULY**! And sooner shall the "gold become dim," and the most fine gold be alchymized into dross, than *Americans* cease to celebrate *this*, as a day sanctified to praise and gratitude. In the solemn temple, or festive hall, yearly shall *psalms* of thanksgiving be tuned in the harmonious voices of countless numbers of patriotic freemen; and, at the dissolution of nature, the last note, in the joyful song, shall mingle with the ascending flame of dissolving elements, and become grateful incense around the throne of that Being, who made man, not to trample on the liberty of man, but to worship Him, in the full exercise of the rights, given by the Author of his existence.

Whence then the gloom, which settles on the peaceful brow of sober age? Whence the sombre shade on feelings, which should be animated and joyous? Fathers, your lamp of life has not ceased to glimmer, nor grown dim in the socket. Memory, which like youth, too often deserts the helpless

of age, in you is still strong and vivid. Your hearts have not grown callous to the blessings of law ; to the privileges of freemen ; to the importance of a federal, republican constitution of government. You are feelingly alive to the hope, that these will be transmitted, unimpaired, to your posterity.

Whence too the anxiety, so legibly to be traced in the countenances of those in the vigor of life ? Whence the care which, on this day, hallowed to joy, corrodes the vitals, and poisons the cup of pleasure, ere it reaches the lip ? You are not insensible to the charms of independence. You are not dead to the rational delight, flowing from a consciousness that you can yet sow the furrow in peace, and reap the harvest for your own advantage. My brothers, I now proclaim to you, that this is the returning era of our emancipation from the shackles of an overweighing tyranny.

And ah ! whence the solicitous lisp of dawning infancy, inquiring, “ wherefore are we sad to-day ? ” My young friends, free as the bird that carols its song on the spray, you may yet range the variegated domains of nature, and pluck the flowers in your way, without fear that you are about to be wrested from the embraces of your parents, by a merciless conscription, and sent to glut the insatiable appetite of death, in the wars of ambition.

Is not this then the season for thanksgiving ; of national mirth and joyous festivity ? On this day, is there a heart which does not throb with delight ? an eye, in which the pearly dew drop of felicity does not glisten ? an ear, deaf to the sweet, enchanting sound of liberty ? an arm, nerveless in defence of our unalienable rights ? a tongue, ineloquent in the cause of freedom ? Then surely, there must be a reason, powerful and operative. Do the scenes, in which you, fathers, have acted ; which you, brothers, have seen ; of which you, my young friends, have heard

or read, mingle emotions of sorrow with your pleasure, and spread the cloud upon your brows—let them be “like the memory of joys that are past ; if mournful, yet pleasant to the soul.” Have we not reaped a rich reward, for the toil and the labor ?

Still I would not repress the feelings, which a return of this day is calculated to excite. I will not tell the hoary, war worn veteran, that he shall not, in fancy, fight his battles over again. Is his eye suffused with a tear ; with a filial hand I would wipe it off, catch the sentiment which causes it to flow, and convey it, with the rapidity of the electric spark, through the breasts of surrounding millions. Are there any in this assembly, whose bosoms have been agonized by the loss of parents, brothers, sons or husbands ; whose blood flowed in defence of the rights we now enjoy ? To them I will say, it is manly to weep. Did the struggle for our independence make a wreck of the hopes and prospects of any ? Have they witnessed their little patrimony, or the hard earnings of their toil, involved in conflagration, or wrested, by the strong hand of oppression, from their possession ? To them I would say, turn in, and share my morsel with me. With all I would, for a moment, quit the delightful contemplation of the blessings of which we have the fruition ; and indulge the fancy in tracing back the round of years, and wandering unconfined over those fields, where were exhibited scenes of devastation and carnage. It would be a stimulus to the rising generation, to emulate the noble achievements of their ancestors, should a future tyrant attempt an infraction of our dear-bought liberties.

Nor should the pencil be drawn over the canvass, with a view to awaken those sentiments of hostility, which pervaded every breast, against the former aggressor of our rights. No, adhering to the principle, in our declaration of independence, *enemies in*

war, in peace friends, the only object would be to put us on our guard, and make us watchful of the insidious attempts of foreign or domestic foes, by fraud or force, to deprive us of our freedom. With this caution for our helm, let recollection waft us back the ensanguined scene of war : towns reduced to ashes, lofty domes and towering columns, wrapped in spiral wavings of the devouring element, and tumbling into ruins ! Let imagination paint the columns of smoke, rolling from the gilded spires of Portland and Charlestown, which formed a cloud by day, and pillar of fire by night, to conduct to the sacred temple of *liberty*. Let it sketch the field of battle : Lexington, Bunker's awful summit, whence flowed torrents of blood ; the gloomy scenes of Trenton and Princeton ; the bloody plain of Monmouth, and the great event at Yorktown, will follow each other in rapid succession. Along the swift wheeling column, we behold the shafts of death fly frequent ! The groans of the dying and wounded ; the shrieks of the lorn widow, the helpless orphan, and distracted female, seem again to come sighing upon the wind, and assail our ears ! Nor would it require a great stretch of fancy, to imagine that the pure spirits of our slaughtered heroes are now hovering over our heads, and contemplating this scene with rapture. Our Mercers, Warrens, Montgomeries and Washingtons, with a long list of martyrs to the cause, seem to point the road to glory, and admonish us to emulate their patriotic deeds. And never shall they be forgotten ! No, sainted heroes ! though ye are cold in the earth, and haply no monumental inscription points the traveller to your charnel house ; yet have ye a tomb, which time cannot deface, the hearts of your countrymen !

But shall these scenes, bloody as they are, damp the ardor of your feelings, or mix alloy with your pleasures, when you consider the brightness of the

catastrophe ? Independence was the splendid reward of these unparalleled sufferings. The genius of tyranny, when she saw the standard of Liberty unfurled, and found her efforts too impotent to wrest it from the grasp of her children, gave a groan of despair. Give me, was her language, the clanking of fetters, and groans of slaves under the lashes of the whip ; and, in the bitterness of disappointed hope, cursed America, as she measured back its prolific surface. Shall not, then, every unpleasant sensation be converted into joy, when you can exult over the birth of a happy *federal* constitution ? Let then the festive joys of this day paint, with sublime energy, the blessings of *liberty*, and triumphs of freemen ; weave garlands for our heroes, and strew laurels over the graves of those, who have died for their country. Hail, transcendent *anniversary* ! Angels behold thee with benignity ! man exults, and enjoys thee with extatic rapture !

But is not imagination hurrying us too far into the regions of ideal bliss ? Are we not soaring too high on the pinions of fancy ? Are we not indulging in a thoughtless security, while craft and corruption, aided by cowardice and ambition, are sapping the splendid edifice, reared on the foundation of equal rights, and cemented by the blood of freemen ?

The monitory voice of reason, recalls us from the raptures of feeling, to the exercise of sober reflection. This better suits the dignified genius of Columbians. This shall check the ardor of youth, which, unbridled, or left to act from the dictates of passion, would listen to the syren sound of a name, be lulled into security by the enchanting song of liberty, and smile in the fancied possession of large immunities, and hereditary rights ; while the ambitious and time serving politician, was rivetting the chains of slavery upon his neck. This shall animate, and impel to exertion, the inactivity and sloth of age, which dispose it

to doze in apathy, on the brink of political ruin. Yes, fathers, brothers, friends, it is reflection which has pointed out to you uncontrolled ambition, and unbounded avarice, lurking beneath the broad robe of patriotism, and assisting in the sap of the constitution. Reflection has detected the patricide and traitor, concealing their diabolical purposes under the clamour of invective, and false pretences of anxious fears, and vigilant exertions for liberty and law*. Reflection has discovered to us the unprincipled and profligate, aiming only at personal aggrandizement; under the soft, alluring name of amendments, trampling on the most sacred principles of our national compact. Under the popular garb of national economy, reflection, aided by inquiry, has shown us a large host of mushroom politicians, dissipating the revenues of our country, with unbounded and criminal profusion. With false pretensions to a love of peace, but with the real motive to retrieve an undeserved popularity, the longer to riot on the spoils of the nation, we have seen the wealth of our republic, go to replenish the exhausted coffers of the imperial robber, and her dignity and honor meanly offered as a sacrifice to placate the tyrant of Europe†.

* The atrocious conduct of Wilkinson, in taking a number of citizens by military force, and in open defiance, and palpable violation of the constitution, sending them from New-Orleans, (which, if there were any, must have been the scene of their conspiracy) to Washington, more than a thousand miles, to be tried for crimes, which *he* might fancy they had committed; refusing to obey the writ of *habeas corpus*, and thereby making the civil, subordinate to military power; and all this, while he himself, was intriguing with the enemies of his country, I say, to express our horror at such conduct, there cannot be found, in our vocabulary, words too strong. Yet this same Wilkinson has been, and now is shielded from the punishment his crimes merit, by the favor of Jefferson and Madison. And this after the clearest proof of his turpitude. Not one of the many, who felt his oppression, was ever brought to trial. These are well known facts. Yea more, his conduct has been applauded by the editors of most of the jacobin news papers.

† Witness the immense sums expended in building gun boats, and planning dry docks. Witness the two millions of dollars, which, by an act of Congress, was put into the hands of President Jefferson

To finish the climax, we have seen the bold industry of our fellow citizens rendered abortive; their energies paralyzed; their property annihilated, and families reduced to the hard necessity of soliciting a subsistence from the cold hand of charity; and all this to coincide with the mad views of a political maniac, who spurns us with contempt in proportion to our sufferings and dastardly sacrifices. Who insultingly tells us, we are "without character, and without honor*."

Need it then be asked, whence the gloomy solicitude, which I see laboring in your freeborn souls? Is it matter of wonder, that the cup of our pleasures is dashed with bitter ingredients? Will it excite surprise, that the festivity of this day, should be checked by the damps of future presages? Why clouds of doubt and suspicion should intercept the sunshine of our hilarity? Why a consciousness, that we now are in the possession of liberty, should not be attended with an anxious care to preserve the invaluable blessing? For it is an eternal truth, (melancholy indeed!) that although we now enjoy rational liberty; although we participate the blessings of freedom and civil government, that they may be taken from us. Republic after republic has been formed and destroyed. They have commenced with the fairest prospects of perpetuating the rights of man, and of opening a way to universal emancipation. But ere they attained a state of virility; from a concurrence of causes, against which we cannot too sedulously

and actually by him, sent to France, as confessed by all the democratic papers, but for what purpose was never known. Does not this verify my assertion? Some have said, that this money was to purchase the Floridas, but it seems we have still to fight for them. The truth is, as Madison told Randolph, "France wants money, and must have it." Witness also the thirty thousand dollars, expended to repair the *Berceau*, as Jefferson himself said, as a matter of comity, and to evince our desire for a good understanding. Does not this look like a sacrifice to appease him?

* See Duc De Cadore's Letter to General Armstrong.

guard, have dwindled away, and have been lost in their original obscurity, or swallowed up in despotism.

I might ask, where now is Sparta? Where Athens? Where Thebes? Where Carthage, which rose from a handful of Tyrians to an unparalleled state of opulence and splendour? Where Rome, the mistress of the world? Or, passing from antiquity, examples, drawn from which, strike with less force, let it be asked, where are the republics of modern times? Where Genoa? Where Switzerland? Where Holland? Or where the famed republic of France, formed and annihilated since the birth of our own constitution? These now exist only on the page of history, serving as beacons to warn us from the rocks and quicksands, on which they have successively foundered; as a memento that our government is founded on the virtue of the citizens, and must perish with it.

I will not then undertake to say, that this day, by the friends of our country, should be celebrated in sackcloth and ashes; but, in its present, peculiarly, critical situation, it is of the last importance, that every member of the community, impartially, and diligently inquire, whether our rights are not in jeopardy; carefully examine, if there be not some worm at the root, now hatching on the sap of this fair tree, planted by our fathers, which, if not destroyed, will cause it, like the gourd of Jonah, to wither in its morning. We now stand alone*. If *liberty* be driven from this spot, there is not a resting place for it on earth. The war, which has long raged in Europe, has swept away established principles, and systems of religion and government; it has threatened the world with revolution. Every thing has given way to modern principles of reform, and a rage for inno-

* It is a solemn fact, that America is the only republic, now existing in the world, and the only neutral nation short of China!!

vation. America has been agitated in the general convulsion. Attempts have been made to revolutionize this country*. How far these have succeeded, we, on a fair investigation, may determine with no small degree of correctness. Surely we are loudly called on to watch over our constitution, and preserve it from violation ; for when once a rage for innovation predominates, it is hard to stop its career. The branches are lopped off with the excrescences, and nothing left but a sapless trunk, exposed to the attacks of every grub worm of faction.

Having laid down these few maxims, let us make the application, and attend to our own country. And here let it not be understood, that the remarks which shall be made, are applicable to the mass of my fellow citizens. I have no doubt of their patriotic motives ; and here declare, (for I sincerely believe the fact) that theirs is an error of the head, and not an error of the heart. The people are deceived.

I shall take then for granted, that we once were, and are not now, a prosperous nation. Should any be found, with sufficient temerity, to deny this, we have the declaration of Thomas Jefferson, the idol of their party, that when he assumed the reins of government, " we were in the full tide of successful experiment †." We now are declared by James Madison, the dagon of democracy, to be on the eve of a war. We have the official statement of Albert Gallatin, who holds the purse strings of the nation, that our treasury is empty, and our national debt accumulating. We have the journals of Congress, which show us, that our fortifications are out of repair, and our navy reduced almost to a handful of miserable

* See Washington's Life, by Marshall ; and the conduct of Genet, who organized jacobin clubs, in imitation of that band of cut-throats in France, for the express purpose of opposing the administration in 1793.

† See Jefferson's first communication to Congress,

gun-boats*. Whence then this pitiful change in the political aspect of our country? Our constitution immutilated, and administered in the spirit of the instrument, with a right application of our resources, would make this nation a match for the world. Trampled on as we now are, without spirit to resent, or power to resist, is any labored argument necessary to prove, that we are fallen, fallen, fallen from the proud rank, once holden among the nations of the earth, to the degraded state of slaves?

How, or by what means, has this state of deterioration in our country been produced? You are told, that it is a consequence of the collision of other nations; that it is produced by the attempts of England and France to cripple each the other, by depriving her of the benefits of our trade; that, in the contest, our rights are disregarded, trampled on, violated; that it arises out of a state of things, which human sagacity could not foresee, nor human prudence prevent.

That it is the consequence of a systematic design, to involve us in a state of warfare, thereby to effect a dissolution of our present form of government, and build on its ruins a military, or some other despotism, I am not disposed to deny. But that we might not have avoided the sad dilemma, to which we are reduced, is as absurd as it is false and ridiculous. There has never been a time, when our country was more delicately situated, than during the administration of the immortal Washington. On one hand England had seized our property, and held it as security for her indemnity against claims unfounded, and wrongs totally imaginary. On the other, France and Spain had committed vast spoliations on our commerce, and had heaped bitter insult, on more bitter

* I refer to Mr. M.'s communication of _____, 1810, and to Mr. G.'s report, at the same session of Congress; and also the debates on the subject of appropriations to repair our fortifications.

and damnable robberies. On our frontiers, the various tribes of savages, had been incited to pillage and butchery. The Barbary states had been induced to plunder us without mercy. A powerful party, in and out of Congress, opposed with acrimony, all the prominent measures of his administration. Yet the foresight of that illustrious man, was equal to the task of navigating our political ship into a port of safety, without material damage. An honorable peace was effected with one of the belligerents, and the other kept in awe by our spirited exertions for defence. The Indians were corrected and chastised, and our countrymen liberated from Mahometan slavery.

Notwithstanding all this, we have been induced to turn from office, the long tried friends of the country, who are, to our present rulers, "Hyperion to a Satyr." With a change of men, has been introduced a change of measures; measures, which, if persisted in, will bring inevitable destruction upon this favored land! I know there are those in this country, who sneeringly tell us it is now time to be silent, and no longer to speak a language like this. Already has a threat of vengeance gone forth from the mouth of the executive of this Commonwealth. Already are we denounced. But while I remain in a land of freedom, while I can stand in an assembly of freemen, my voice shall be raised to deprecate the impending ruin of my country, till my heart-strings crack! My tongue shall move, till my head be severed from my body by the axe of the executioner, and, while it yet quivers from the stroke, it shall lisp our danger!

Since the commencement of our national existence, there has been a party in this country, with a Jefferson at the head, and a Lincoln and Gerry at the tail, systematically opposed to our present constitution of government*. These men are now in pow-

* There is no fact better understood, or more clearly established, than that Jefferson and Gerry, were opposed to the adoption of the

er, and, absurd as it may seem, have persuaded a majority of the United States, that they have become the exclusive friends of the constitution ; and that the Washingtons, the Pickerings, the Hamiltons, the Stronges, the Parsons' and Gores, men who formed the instrument, and procured its adoption, have broken down its ramparts, and attempted its destruction†. They have wormed themselves into power, by playing upon the honest prejudices of the people ; by false representations of the measures and motives of their predecessors ; by assuming and bestowing epithets, undeserved. They maintain themselves in office by a tissue of falsehood, and by a system of political mystification. This does not rest on assertion : it is bottomed on the blackest, and most damning facts.

At the close of our own, but more particularly at the commencement of the French revolution, the feelings of this country were alive to the interests of France ; and the prejudices broad awake against any overtures from Great Britain. This was natural ; it was even justifiable. We had recently received support from one nation ; and however corrupt the mo-

Constitution. This opposition was not silent, but active. Jefferson, though in France, wrote to numbers of his friends, to use their best exertions, to prevent Virginia from acceding to the compact. And what is more, while Secretary of State, wrote a letter to Washington, to convince him, that though he, Jefferson, had opposed its adoption, he had become friendly to it. Gerry was a member of the convention which framed it ; but disliked it so much, that he refused to sign it. When the delegates from Massachusetts met to decide upon the question of adoption, Gerry, by an adroit political manœuvre, was palmed upon the convention, by the enemies of the Constitution, for the express purpose of giving weight to the opposition.—See Washington's Life, Vol. 5th ; and debates in Conventions of Massachusetts and Virginia. It has been said, that this party were not opposed to it *in toto*, but pushed only for amendments. When amendments were proposed, the opposition objected to them, while the federal party were anxious to have them adopted.—See Washington's Life, Vol. 5.

† These men were all active and conspicuous, either in forming it, or in getting it adopted. Is it not incredible, that the medal should be so soon reversed ; that the enemies should have so soon become the friends, and the friends the enemies of the Constitution ?

tive for lending her assistance ; like honest men, like Americans, we did not stop to inquire into it. She had extended to us a helping hand in our struggle for independence, and we were disposed to consider her as our friend ; yea more ! almost as our saviour. We had been writhing under the most disastrous inflictions of tyrannic power by Great Britain, and held her as a cruel and implacable enemy. Could we then have been placed in a more favorable situation for France to practise her designs of revolution, and consummate her intrigues upon us ? If our government dared to be just, and practice upon the principle in our declaration of independence, "*enemies in war ; in peace friends,*" could the inimical and disappointed leaders of democracy, wish a more favorable opportunity by assuming the popular side ; ranting about the enormous injuries of Britain, and magnifying the magnanimity of France, to blast the fair fame of those, who administered the government, who had fought and bled for the freedom of their fellow citizens ?

Starting on the broad ground of universal demoralization and revolution, France did not fail to avail herself of the favorable moment which presented. Those, who, by the aid of the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, Hobbs, and others, had raised the flame, fondly calculated on seeing it spread, till the world should be in a blaze. They marked us a prey to their new-fangled and mad philosophy. They knew that our natural love of liberty was wrought up to enthusiasm, by the sound of the French revolution ; that we struck the chords of joy, at French victories, and chanted the song of heroes, to the departed souls of sanguinary *sansculottes*, on whose blades had streamed the blood of the aged and infantile ! They knew, that in all nations, there are numberless of speculative, and abandoned men, combined to promote a change ; and whether a theoretic

liberty, an imaginary millenium, or military despotism, no matter, if they, themselves, can be pushed forward to power, and receive the emoluments of office. To tamper with such, was the artful *Genet* sent on a mission to this country. This hopeful disciple of revolution landed, as you may well recollect, under the most favorable circumstances for the success of his plot. Americans flocked to the shore; they hailed him as a brother; as one lately emancipated from slavery, and conducted him to our capital in triumph*. Nor were the faction, who now directed the affairs of the nation, less on the alert. They rallied round the standard of this Frenchman, combined with him to hunt down the honest men of the country; formed jacobin clubs, and organized a formidable party in our councils, who systematically opposed every measure for our security. Peruse the journals of Congress (for I will refer you to nothing but public documents,) and you will find James Madison, Albert Callatin, William B. Giles, James Monroe, with a host of others, now covered with the

* It is truly astonishing, when we look back and see the enthusiastic attachment of our countrymen to France, that we have not formed an alliance with that nation. This can only be attributed to the prudence and firmness of Washington. Genet was received at Charleston, and conducted to Philadelphia, with more triumph and pomp, than was ever displayed in the reception of Washington, even when most popular among the American citizens. And all this, after that this same Genet, had grossly violated the sovereignty of this nation. Before he was accredited by our government, he had authorized the fitting out of *privateers*, and had actually commissioned many American citizens. Captures were made, and the French consuls, under the authority of Genet, still unaccredited, were assuming to hold courts of admiralty, to condemn them, and authorize their sale. Jefferson, then secretary of state, and E. Randolph, attorney-general, against the positive law of nations, and in contradiction to our declaration of neutrality, then strenuously contended, that these prizes, captured, as before observed, in direct violation of our national sovereignty, ought not to be given up to the owners. And further, this French emissary refused to submit to the determination of our cabinet, and still continued to insult our government, by fitting out privateers, even in the port of Philadelphia. Insulting the administration, by language the most abusive, and even demanding the release of men, who were prosecuted under our own laws. During all this, Jefferson and Genet, were close personal friends.—See Life of Washington, Vol. 5.

insignia of office, ranging themselves on the side of opposition, and strenuously opposing all the prominent measures of President Washington ; and this early as the year seventeen hundred and ninety-one.

Venal presses circulated the most abominable falsehoods*. They accused the administrators of our government with corruption and partiality. Yes, my countrymen, black and blasting as it is, there were not wanting—weep O patriotism ! there were not wanting those who dared to accuse the immortal Washington of defection ! And these men now enjoy the loaves and fishes of office. Every possible exertion was made to drag us into the war on the side of France. But, and let us praise God for it, at this time, the *father of his country* was at our political helm. He, who, if he could not mount the whirlwind, yet, unmoved by flattery or threats, could see the clouds of faction thicken, and direct the storm, prepared to save us from the impending and baleful destruction. Washington published the declaration of neutrality ! This was a thunder-clap ; it was an

* A paper, edited by a Mr. Freneau, who was private Secretary of Mr. Jefferson ; and another edited by Benjamin Franklin Bache, in which Duane was concerned, and which he has since purchased, and now edits, were the most intemperate. I cannot, perhaps, better show the hostility of the democratic party to Washington, than by quoting what he says of these papers, which were the vehicles of slander and invective for the faction. In a letter to General H. Lee, he says, " For the result, as it respects myself, I care not. Though whilst I am up as a mark, they will be continually aimed at me. The publications in Freneau's and Bache's papers, are outrages on common decency ; and they progress in that stile, in proportion as their pieces are treated with contempt, and passed over in silence by those, against whom they are directed. Their tendency is, however, too obvious to be mistaken by men of cool and dispassionate minds, and in my opinion ought to alarm them ; because it is difficult to prescribe bounds to their effects." So far Washington. Who then, knowing that this same Freneau was, during all this time, Mr. Jefferson's private Secretary, patronized by *him*, and well known to be the editor of this scurrilous paper ; knowing also that Duane, who made the most of the editorial remarks in Bache's paper—has been since paid by Jefferson, with emoluments worth thousands of dollars per year, and also made a Colonel in our army, will dare to say, that Jefferson was the friend of Washington ? But I have not yet done with him, and shall produce still blacker instances of his base treachery.

earthquake to the souls of the faction. For a moment, confusion and dismay pervaded their ranks. The daring editor of the *Aurora* was abashed. The voluble tongues of Madison and Giles stuck to their jaws. The hot blood of James Thompson Mason curdled in his veins. This, however, was but for a moment. "Hope, conceiving from despair, these bold sons of sedition, to the rebellious fight, rallied their powers insensate." Again was every vehicle of abuse put in motion, and countenanced by our Frenchified politicians. The crafty illuminator *Genet*, had the temerity to threaten an appeal to the people, from the government of their choice ! But this was taking the stride too soon. The baleful contagion of *French jacobinism*, was not sufficiently diffused. The madness had not become universal. The people had not yet drunk so deeply of the soporific draught, as to sleep when the tocsin of rebellion was sounding. Their senses were not so steeped in forgetfulness, that they did not recollect it was the character of their beloved Washington, which was assailed ; of the man whose breast had recently been a secure barrier to them, their wives, and children, against the barbed darts of usurpation and tyranny. They would not believe, that their beloved general, who had risked so much for them, was a traitor, though he was denounced by Giles on the floor of Congress. They united in demanding the recal of this infamous, diplomatic, French agent.

The functions of *Genet* were suspended. But availing themselves of the desire of our executive, and of the citizens of our country, still to regard France, as a nation struggling for liberty, the arch hypocrite Fauchet, was appointed to succeed him, by the rulers of the French republic. He was the man, fellow citizens, who, with a more crafty, but daring hand, pursued the path, marked out by his predecessor, in this business of corruption, aided by

Jefferson and Co. as pioneers in the grand work of revolution. How far he might have pushed the project, God knows, had not accident put into the hands of government, his secret correspondence. So atrocious were his practices, and so infamous his designs, that you, fellow citizens, would hardly be induced to credit my assertions, had not his infamous letter been published, by order of the administration, and still kept on file, to prove to an astonished people, that an accredited agent, to a country at amity, should, by the express command of his masters, bribe our senators and representatives ; audaciously assert, *that the Americans had their prices*, and that, *in its infancy, our government exhibited all the marks of decrepit old age** !!

Does not the honest blood of every American boil at this declaration ? So felt our beloved Washington, and this bold intriguer was treated with merited contempt. Still, ere the severing blow should be struck ; willing to drink the cup of reconciliation to the very dregs, our government consented to receive one more from the school of the jacobins ; and *Adet*, the counterpart of Fauchet, was sent to this country as a minister. More daring still, this same Adet, with the most unblushing effrontery, after finding that Washington was not to be duped, came forth with his appeal to the American people ; boldly declaring to you, that your Washington was a traitor, and you the poor dupes of his ambition and artifice !! O my God ! where slept the genius of America ? where was her power enchained, when this abominably false declaration was made † ? Will not future

* I have only to request my fellow citizens, to read this important document, and am persuaded they will feel the same indignation, at such conduct, which I have on a perusal of it.

† Let my countrymen, if they have not already done it, peruse the correspondence between our Secretary of State, and this agent of revolution. The lucid and unanswerable vindication of the Secretary, and the appeal to the passions of the people by Adet, form a striking contrast.

generations admire, that their fathers could have set still, and seen their Washington and their government, successively insulted in this outrageous manner by these Frenchmen, Genet, Fauchet, Adet, whose names form such a climax, on the black volume of diplomatic intrigue, that the last has the honor of being a *ne plus ultra* on this side the infernal regions? More astonishing still! will posterity believe, that there could have been found those, who would secretly abet these ministers of darkness; nay more, daringly step forth, and advocate this catalogue of bitter and damnable insults?

Yet, my fellow countrymen, these very men, who now as rulers would solicit your confidence, were the secret or open advocates of this French policy, and the determined and persevering opposers of the measures of Washington.^(a) Edmund Randolph, once Secretary of State, and now a flaming democrat, and high in the confidence of your rulers, was obliged to resign his office, by Washington, for the declared offence of communicating the secrets of the cabinet to Fauchet, the emissary of France.^(b) Thomas Jefferson, also Secretary during the same administration, since Vice President and President, resigned his office, as he himself declared, because he could not publicly advocate the measures and sentiments of Washington, which privately he condemned. Madison, Giles and Gallatin, in the house of Representatives, were the open opposers of the administration of Washington. Jefferson and Madison were both made citizens of the French Republic. They both are members of Bonaparte's *legion of honor*.^(c) Jefferson declared, in his letter to his friend Mazzei, "that our government was weak; and applauded the French government, that she had showed a proper resentment in breaking off all connection with us, an

(a) See note 1st, at the end. (b) See note 2d, at the end.

(c) See note 3d, at the end.

ungrateful and faithless ally, until we should return to a more just and benevolent conduct ! !”^(d) He paid the infamous Callender for his base slanders of Washington and Adams ; and it was left for Jefferson, by his hypocritical tears over the grave of the departed hero, to convince us, that a man may not only smile and smile, but that he may weep and weep, and be a villain ! ^(dd) Giles and Gallatin, at the head of a numerous party, when our beloved Washington was about to retire from the turmoils of office, to taste the sweets of private life, openly opposed a vote of thanks to the President, for his important services, and expressive of the confidence of the people in his wisdom and integrity ; asserting, without a blush, that he had rendered no services, and that they had no confidence in him ! ^(e) These are the men, whose exertions to render abortive a solemn treaty, sanctioned by the constituted authority of the country, were unremitted, by opposing any appropriations to carry its stipulations into effect. The bill, making appropriations for this purpose, was passed only by a small majority in the house. You are apprised, that I speak now, of what is called the British treaty ; and I here assert, notwithstanding the clamour raised against it, that by this instrument, no right was sacrificed ; no essential interest of our country abandoned. Nor have the most ingenious and violent of the democratic party, been able to point out a substantial objection to the candid and impartial inquirer. What proves my assertion, and ought to convince the most inveterate, is, that, while that treaty was in operation, this country did increase in wealth and honor, without a parallel in the history of nations. This you all know ; for you have all participated the blessing. These, Jefferson, Madison, Giles, Gallatin, &c. are the men, whom Washington, in a letter to Patrick Henry,

(d) See note 4, at the end. (dd) See note 4. (e) See note 5th.

Esq. denounced as the curse of the country. I say they are ; for Washington could never accuse those of French partialities, who had, long before, by the present dominant party, been loaded with the epithets of tories and British hirelings.

Yet these men, with the most consummate impudence, would now borrow a lustre to their expiring fame, from the resplendant character of Washington ; plaster over the most unconstitutional, ruinous, and diabolical measures, that ever disgraced an independent country, and basely attempt to sweeten the cup of your humiliation, by persuading you, it was mixed by the *father of his country* !! That they are but pursuing the same course, which Washington trod before them ; a man, whose administration they ever thwarted ; whose virtues they envied ; and whose good name they have hired the most profligate and abandoned to vilify and blacken ! My friends, these things have not been done in a corner. They have passed on the broad theatre of a continent, with such strong marks of publicity and corruption, that sooner time shall end, than the characters, in which they have been written, be obliterated. I refer you for proof, to the journals of Congress ; to letters in their own hand writing, and their open, unblushing avowal of their own baseness.^(f) These cannot be done away.

Yes, my countrymen, untired as the sun, these are, I again repeat, the men, who at length elevated themselves to office, by misrepresenting, and opposing measures, in themselves good ; by attributing others to Federalists, which *they* were instrumental in procuring ; by the most infamous falsehoods, and accusing those of being *tories*, who made bare their breasts in your defence ; by clandestinely assuming the name of *republicans*, to which they had no claim ; ^(g) by exciting the prejudices of the people

(f) See note 6th,

(g) See note 7th.

against Great Britain ; and making the magnanimity, the monstrous services of France, and her claim to our gratitude, the burthen of their morning and evening song. The stamp act, the sedition law, the duty on pleasure carriages, distilled spirits, and refined sugars ; the direct tax, and standing army, have been held out to our fellow citizens, as violations of the constitution, and gigantic strides towards monarchy. I mention these, because these have been considered as the most obnoxious. But let the most subtle sophister of their party prove, that either of these has been an infraction of the one, or has had a tendency to produce the other, and I would consent to abandon my principles. If an equality of property is favorable to republicanism ; if the rich ought to do more for the support of government than the poor ; if truth is to have its weight in society, then these laws have not produced the effect alleged. The stamp duty, was principally paid by the commercial and monied part of the community. Few men, whose property was below mediocrity, contributed to this source of revenue. No note, under twenty dollars, was required to be stamped ; and where a contract was made for a greater sum, by one moment's labor, the duty might be saved. The sedition law, was an amelioration of the law by which you must now be tried, if prosecuted in any of the United States' courts. It permitted every one accused, to give the truth in evidence, as a justification of the offence. It was *not* grounded on the tyrannical maxim, *the greater the truth, the greater the libel*. And who, let me ask, paid for the pleasure of lolling in his coach, and sipping his beverage, sweetened with refined sugar, but the rich ? while the poor was rolled on in his cart, and could sweeten his dry morsel with brown sugar, without moistening it with a tear, at the sad reflection, that he was obliged to pay for the poor indulgence. If the direct tax, were an im-

politic law, I now declare to you, and have the journals of Congress to prove my assertion, that James Madison and Albert Gallatin, were its most powerful advocates, and voted for it.^(h) Was the standing army useless, why then have the present ruling party, raised more than four times the number, and sent them, under the command of the traitor Wilkinson, to perish in the murky fens of Louisiana? ⁽ⁱ⁾ But it will be recollected, that when the small band was raised by Congress, under the administration of John Adams, Spain was under the control of France. France was negotiating for the cession of that territory. There could be no doubt of the event. Our frontiers were to be exposed to inroads of that crafty nation; and, in the then uncrippled state of her navy, she could with facility convey troops, trained to slaughter, to her new acquired territory. War was impending, and as a precautionary measure, this was a wise one.

But oh, my country! of all the base attempts of faction, that to excite your sympathy for France, and make you fraternize with her, surely was most vile.^(k) “What’s France to us, or we to France, that we should bleed for her?” Range through the history of that nation, and you will find it a mere tissue of the most unbounded ambition; the vilest corruptions, and the grossest violations of plighted faith. Volatile and delusive as a will-o-the-wisp; crafty as the fox; and rapacious and cruel as the tyger; under every form of government, from the first Capet, to the Corsican tyrant, she has been gradually extending herself, and encroaching on the rights of others, till she has grasped upon a continent, and masticated it, till it has become one mass of despotism, to be swallowed by the grand tyrant, to satiate his cravings for power.^(l) But it is the

(h) See note 8th. (i) See note 9th. (k) See note 10th. (l) See note 11th.

sing-song of democracy constantly ringing in our ears, that France, generously, assisted us, and that we are bound to her, by the ties of gratitude. In the language of a forcible writer, let me tell you, fellow-citizens, “ this enormous debt of gratitude, will never be repaid, while there is left a single Frenchman to ask, or an American to give.”

But may we not presume to inquire for the nature and extent of her services, if possible to lessen the weight of the obligation? Did France assist us from a love of liberty; from sympathy to a nation struggling for existence, or to humble a proud rival? ^(m) Did she put forth her hand, till she knew we could accomplish our independence without her aid? No, citizens, France waited till the capture of Burgoyne, ere she graciously condescended to grant her assistance. And did not France, when Great Britain was willing to acknowledge our independence, and offered honorable terms, embarrass the negotiation? Did *she* not plot to deprive us of the important right to our fishery? Witness the base intrigue of her minister Vergennes; her covert encouragement of England to persevere in the war, thereby to throw us into her sweet embrace. And forget not the bold stand made by our ministers, John Jay and John Adams; and then calculate the vast amount of this debt of gratitude. Is this not enough—then will not a continued series of robbery and plunder, in direct contravention of a solemn treaty, from that to the present day, weigh nothing in the scale against this national obligation? Oh my God! shall it be said we have witnessed an indiscriminate seizure and confiscation of the property of our fellow citizens, to the amount of more than thirty-five millions of dollars; our ships wantonly burnt and sunk by the tyrants of this nation, without pretext or apology; ⁽ⁿ⁾ our cit-

(m) See note 12th. (n) See note 14th.

izens whipped, stripped naked, tortured, chained like malefactors, and barefoot driven to the very interior of France ; and while the lacerations on their bodies were yet fresh, and their feet raw and bleeding, plunged into the dark and loathsome prisons of Arras, and there for months and years, condemned to pine, with no sustenance but the mouldy crusts of their black bread, or the putrifying offal, which, with all their inhumanity, they would not have set before the meanest soldier in their camp ! Shall we, I say, witness all this, and still be told, that, on the score of gratitude, we are vastly in arrears to France ? Nay more, shall we see, for ten long years, our own government, not only submitting to these abominable outrages, but adding sacrifice to humiliation, and, in official language, telling us, “ that, to be sure, our affairs with France are not quite so prosperous as could be wished ; but that it is hoped things are in some train of adjustment ; ” requiring our minister to *request* an explanation, but to be cautious to do this in language which will not offend ? (¶) Shall we, I again say, see all this, and still talk of obligation ? Why not of vengeance ?

Yet all this has been done. Yes, and our ambassador, Armstrong, recalled, because he once dared, in the bold language of an American, to vindicate our rights, and to feel, like a *freeman*—the most cutting insult ever offered. Do you require proofs of all this, read the numerous and uncontradicted affidavits of our mariners ; all the speeches of Jefferson and Madison to Congress ; the law of Congress, appropriating seventy-five thousand dollars for the relief of distressed seamen in France. Are you parents ? Perhaps your children, who, but a few months since, left you in pursuit of an honest calling, possibly to procure you that support, which should smooth your road in the down-hill of life, are

(¶) See note 16th.

now groaning beneath a weight of chains, in the noxious dungeons of France. If not, but a few weeks shall elapse, when you shall inquire, and find them there.

Why then would my countrymen become the allies of France? Wherefore would they so madly rush to the embraces of *this terrible nation*? Will they not yet believe, that, however fascinating, a mortal sting is in her bosom? Show but a solitary instance of the nation, who has courted her embrace, and not found it mortal as the iron arms of death. Have they been allied, it was but to become the footstool by which she might rise to greater power. Have they been incorporated, it was but to be plundered and depopulated. (r) Holland, Switzerland, Geneva, Rome, Prussia, Austria, Portugal, Spain, have in their turn, been her allies, and in turn been crushed. The fields of Spain, are still crimsoned with the blood of millions of her citizens. The fertile fields of Germany, have been enriched by the blood of their cultivators. Are they dazzled by the glare of the character of the French Emperor? Believe me, he excels only in crime. Trace him from the time he was cashiered for cruelty and corruption, through all his splendid career of victory and power; and you will find him, in every grade, adding more diabolical enormities, to more horrid crimes, till he has outstripped any conceptions which could be formed of the arch fiend himself. More wonderful still! so "super-eminent" is his genius, that he still goes on opening new avenues to iniquity, more inconceivably detestable than the former, till his least crimes have become those of incest and murder. That he has genius for war, will not be denied, but it is for war of extermination. With equal facility and cold blood, he can administer poison to his own wound-

(r) See note 17th.

ed soldiers, and order an indiscriminate massacre of defenceless prisoners. To corrupt and conquer, is his maxim ; and he sticks at no means, to seduce the subjects of an enemy from their allegiance, and then to sacrifice the traitor, the more securely to revel in the enjoyment of his own bribe. Bound by no treaty, he can most solemnly pledge his oath to keep it inviolate, while he is plotting the destruction of the nation, who is mad enough to place confidence in his plighted faith. With an unquenchable thirst for dominion, he would depopulate a kingdom, rather than not possess it ; and his most complacent smile, would be at the desolation he had made. Unfeeling as cruel, without compunction or remorse, he would devastate his own domain, to gratify his whim or caprice ; and woe to her or him, who dare oppose his will, though a mother or a brother. (*) Such, fellow-citizens, are but faint outlines of his character, with whom a party in this country would oblige you to unite, whose subjects they would compel you to be. (†)

In thus warning my countrymen against the deceitful, and fatal alliance with France, let no one dare to accuse us of British partialities. Federalists have never, as falsely alleged, been the apologists of England. Any violations of our rights, any aggressions on our property, have ever been resisted by federalists. They have ever been zealous to procure an honorable satisfaction for the smallest injury. Witness the fervor and glow of patriotism, in the breasts of federalists, prior to the ratification of the British treaty. Witness their feelings at the attack on the Chesapeake. Or when has a federalist presumed to apologize for, or vindicate the impressment of *our* seamen ? When, or where have they said the British orders in council were not a violation of our rights ? But because they are willing to investigate,

(*) See noth 18th.

(†) See note 19th.

to make a comparison of the relative outrages of the two nations ; because they are willing to receive honorable reparation from that nation, who is, and I boldly declare it, the only rampart between us and slavery ; because they are not willing to vindicate our government in a deceitful policy ; to see insults, where none exists ; and shut their eyes to the enormities of France, which are to those of England, as an ocean to a drop of water ; (u) the democrats would basely attempt to fix on us the name of *rebels*, of *tories* and *British hirelings*. Because we dare exercise those privileges, guaranteed by the constitution, the Governor of a Commonwealth could meanly stoop to threaten us with exile, and accuse us of disorganization, and a wish to dismember the Union.(v) Miserable dotard ! Poor tool of party ! where is the evidence ? Does it exist in the contemptible whim-wham of the jacobins to persuade you, that we wished the northern section to be united to Canada, and have a Prince of Wales for king ? Yet this *base and pitiful* forgery, has been the theme for declamation of many a *pitiful* democrat.(x)

Or is it not rather to be found in the manly and constitutional opposition of federalists, to the measures of the present dominant party ? Yes, fellow-citizens, this is the grand sin of Federalism. Had the disciples of Washington been silent, while democrats were proceeding in their plans of innovation ; had they been content to have the long tried friends of their country ; those who fought, and bled, at the side of Washington ; who nobly stemmed the tide of anarchy, and from a mass of discordant matter extracted our glorious constitution, turned from office to make room for Irish and Genevan renegadoes ; then they would not have received the name of tory, or suffered the animadversions of a Governor. Had

(u) See note 20th. (v) See note 21st. (x) See note 22d.

they shouted hosannas to Jefferson for his consummate wisdom, in purchasing, at the expense of fifteen millions of dollars, a territory, peopled with the refuse of Europe, spewed out of her overflowing population ; a territory, undefined in its limits, and the right to the soil of which was disputable, and not have shown, that *this* was but a cover to a birth-day present, or coronation gift to the *grand Emperor*, they would not now be accused with designs of dismemberment.^(y) Had they winked at the squandering of their money ; at the defalcation and profligacy of a Wilkinson, a Brown, a Skinner, a Clark, and a Bidwell, they might, at this time, have the *vast honor* of being called by democrats and jacobins, *true republicans*. Had federalists fiddled, or sung songs, while democrats were trampling on their judiciary ; while they were raising their own salaries ; while they were building gun-boats, a mere mockery of defence ; while they were expending more by millions, for the annual support of government, than was expended during any year of the federal administrations ; and sending millions, as *douceurs*, to appease the anger of their idol Bonaparte ; ^(z) then they might possibly have been put into some minor offices ; probably permitted to exercise those, they then held. Could federalists laid silent on the rack of feeling ; witnessed, in calm despair, the complete destruction of their property ; and not suffered a sigh nor a groan to have escaped them, amidst all the cruel privations, to which they were subjected, by embargoes, unlimited in their duration, and non-intercourses, *expost facto* in their operation ; then they would not now be threatened with gaol and the gibbet ; then they would not now behold their property given up to the greedy pensioners of our profligate administration.^(aa)

(y) See note 23d. (z) See note 24th. (aa) See note 25th.

Have not Jefferson, Madison, and their coadjutors, done all these ? When Jefferson was first inaugurated, *starting* on the delusive ground of folly and deceit, he meanly attempted to soothe the feelings of the federal party, by his plausible attempt to persuade you, “ that all were federalists, all republicans.” Scarcely had this smooth sentiment passed his lips, ere he began his work of proscription, and turned from office, every federalist within the executive grasp. No matter how great his services, how strong his patriotism ; no matter, though in the cause of his country, his constitution had been broken down, and he suffering all the evils of a premature old age : all, all must be turned out, to make room for the tools of party ; for the cut-purses of the nation. Not a solitary individual, who might differ from him in sentiment, was permitted to retain an office, however small. This system of proscription was extended even to the paltry one of a deputy post-master ; and there are not wanting instances, where the old revolutionary officer has been removed, to make room for the upstart apostate, who changed his political opinions, from the declared intention of swimming with the tide. They attacked the judiciary ; repealed taxes, which bore on the rich ; and levied others, which the poor were obliged to pay. They reduced the navy, and for frigates, substituted a multitude of gun-boats ; so miserable, that they are now left to rot in dock, without protection or shelter. They have exhausted an overflowing treasury, and been reduced to the necessity of negotiating loan on loan ! ^(bb) Instead of protecting commerce, they have imposed shackles so galling, that half a century of uninterrupted prosperity will not heal the wound, and restore it to its pristine vigor. They have done all to destroy it, to which the most violent hostility could prompt. What do I say ? Mr.

(bb) See note 26th.

Jefferson, who gives the tone to the measures, has declared, that he hopes never to see this country again resorting to foreign trade.^(cc) They have enforced embargoes by a series of acts, the last supplement in the catalogue of which, was a palpable violation of our bill of rights, and would have disgraced even the tyrannical policy of Bonaparte himself. And all this in strict conformity to the views of that tyrant.^(dd)

This dastardly and traitorous policy, is pursued through all the ramifications of the Union, where democracy prevails. Even in this Commonwealth, the demon is stalking with colossal grades. The debilitated and feeble Gerry, is driven to make the sacrifice; and at the very last session of our General Court, laws have been passed, which unsettle the foundations of order, and open a broad door for the grossest corruption.^(cc) The appointment of more than eighty officers, who are indispensable in our government, has been given to the Executive. He will soon make them, no doubt, from those, who would sell their country for gold, and barter their God for an office.

Shall we then, fellow citizens, still retain our integrity, and risk the sacrifice, which our fathers risked before us? Or shall we basely bow to this idol of iron, brass, and clay, and, at an executive threat, abandon our constitutional privileges, remonstrance against oppression, and the exercise of free suffrage? Between virtue and vice, honor and dishonor, you will not hesitate. And I thank my God, that with one mind, and one heart, we are disposed to *strengthen the things that remain*; that, if we must fall, we will fall like a strong man. So shall future generations, in whose breasts the spark of liberty shall again be reanimated, bless our memories. So shall we go down to the tombs of our fathers, ungoaded by the stings of remorse; and, what will still be of greater importance, we shall receive the approbation of that God, who made man to be free; who will yet, I trust, save my country from slavery, and, in due time, open a way for the emancipation of the whole human race.

(cc) See note 27th. (dd) See note 28th. (ee) See note 29th.

NOTES.

^a NOTE 1.

I shall here, for the information of my fellow citizens, subjoin a list of the important measures, adopted during the administration of Washington, and which were strongly opposed, by the men now in power.

In 1789, Mr. Madison, at the head of a powerful party, advocated resolutions, which went to make a discrimination between France and Great Britain, on the ground of our obligation to assist France. The next important measure, and which united all the strength of the democratic phalanx, was the *funding system*. This system was proposed by general Hamilton, then Secretary of the Treasury, and has been the foundation of all our national prosperity. Since the democrats have had full power to alter the plan, they have never been able to point out a better, and have steadily pursued the old one. Washington gave his sanction to the funding system. Mr. Madison was also at the head of this opposition. This was in the year 1790. In 1791, a bill was introduced into Congress, to lay a duty on spirit, distilled within the United States. This was opposed by the same party, of whom Madison and Giles were the leaders; and as a substitute, these same men, proposed a direct tax; a tax on molasses, on salaries and pensions. The next important measure, opposed by this same party, was that to establish a *national bank*. Here all their strength was concentrated. Messrs. Madison, Giles, Jackson, Jefferson, and E. Randolph, made every exertion to prevent the bill from passing into a law. This was also in 1791. The next was a bill for the apportionment of representatives. This was so modelled by the address of Giles and Findley, that the President refused to sign it.

This party next came forth in opposition to a bill, introduced at the express recommendation of Washington, to increase the army, when the Indians were at war with us ; choosing to risk the best interests of their country, and leave the inhabitants of the frontiers exposed to certain destruction, rather than not render the administration of Washington unpopular. This in 1792 ; and be it ever remembered, that in this same year 1792, a motion was made by the federalists, that measures might be adopted, for the reduction of the public debt. This was opposed by the *democrats*, and by none more than by Madison ! at the same time that democrats accused federalists of designs for its excessive accumulation ! The next opposition made, was to the *declaration of neutrality*. This, by the same party, was denounced in the strongest possible language, as unconstitutional, impolitic ; as a violation of our treaty with France ; and as evincing the deepest ingratitude to that nation ; and as manifesting the most unwarrantable partiality to Britain. Yet it is well known, that this measure was the salvation of our country. This was in 1793. In 1794, Mr. Madison introduced his famous resolutions, making a discrimination between France and Great Britain, for the express purpose, as acknowledged by the mover, to benefit France, and turn our trade into a different channel. No secret was then made of their French partialities. Messrs. Giles, Findley, Smiley, &c. were their great advocates. Messrs. Dexter, Ames, Goodhue, Hillhouse, &c. were their opposers. They, the democratic party, next opposed building frigates to protect us against Algiers. This was also recommended by Washington. The next struggle was in opposition to an Embargo of thirty days. The very men, who have since laid an unlimited Embargo, in 1794, opposed one for thirty days, on the ground that it was unconstitutional ! Shame where is thy

blush ! This same year, the democratic party again advocated a direct tax, as a substitute for a duty proposed to be laid on pleasure carriages and refined sugars. In answer to the speech of the President this same year, the house of representatives, then having a majority of democrats, refused to approve of the measures taken, by the Executive, in the war with the Indians, then happily terminated ; of *his* conduct with respect to our foreign relations ; and of *his* censures of the Jacobin societies, who had, as Washington expressed his belief, produced the insurrection in Pennsylvania. The answer of the house was drawn up by Mr. Madison. The next, and most bitter opposition, was made to the British treaty. But as the democrats still glory in this opposition, it is unnecessary to notice it further. Thus have I shown the systematic opposition of this party to the administration of Washington. Madison and Gerry, Giles, Gallatin, Mason, and Smith, were all on the side of the opposition. This is proved by the journals of Congress, to which I refer my fellow-citizens, and also to *Life of Washington*, Vol. 5.

^b NOTE 2.

This is proved by the publication of Fauchet's intercepted correspondence, Randolph's defence, &c. Also, see the *Life of Washington*, Vol. 5.

^c NOTE 3.

This has never been denied, that the writer recollects ; but proofs, clear as the nature of the case admits, may be produced. It first appeared in a *Paris* paper, of the year 1805, and was translated into a southern print.

^d NOTE 4.

This letter of Jefferson to Mazzei, has been published, and its authority never called in question. The extract quoted, may be found in *Washington's Life*.

5th Volume. Does not this clearly prove *his*, Jefferson's partiality to France ?

dd NOTE 4.

These celebrated letters from Jefferson to Callender, are now in the possession of Dr. Park, where they have been seen, and acknowledged to be in Jefferson's own hand writing, by democrats themselves, and there, as the author believes, may still be seen. That the infamy of the transaction may not be forgotten, I shall make one or two extracts from them. "With this will be paid to you, fifty dollars, on account of the *book* you are about to publish. When it shall be out, send me two or three copies, and the rest only when I shall ask for them. The violence, which was meditated against you lately, has excited a very general indignation in this part of the country," &c. This book was entitled "The Prospect Before Us," in which Washington was denounced as a *traitor*, and Adams as a hoary headed incendiary. Callender was afterwards prosecuted for a *libel*, and fined two hundred dollars, for publishing this same book. This fine of two hundred dollars was paid over to an agent of the United States, and Jefferson ordered it to be remitted to Callender, which was actually done, (and C. received back the money) in open violation of the Constitution. This is proved by documents now in the office of the Secretary of the treasury. Thus did Jefferson, in the first place, pay for publishing this *libel*, in which Washington was declared a traitor, and afterwards remit the fine, imposed on the libeller, by a court of law.

In another letter, Jefferson says, "I thank you for the proof sheets enclosed me. Such papers cannot fail to produce the best effect. They inform the thinking part of the nation, and these again, supported by the tax-gatherers as their vouchers, set the people to rights." They did produce the best effect

for Jefferson, for they contributed to raise him to the Presidency ; in which office he has been the source of infinite evil to his country ; from which elevation he has looked down, with supercilious contempt, on all the accumulated sufferings of his fellow citizens ; and, with a steady aim, has pursued his plan of submission to France, till he has dragged the nation down to a state of degradation, from which it is doubtful if it ever rise. A state, in which we rouse no fear, but only excite contempt. But, as if this were not enough to manifest his hatred of Washington, Jefferson also wrote a letter to the infamous Tom Paine, the public defamer of Washington, inviting him to return to this country, in a national ship ; and he was actually accommodated, and the expenses borne by the public. To show the baseness, the horrid depravity of this transaction, I shall beg leave to quote a few sentences from a letter written by Paine to Washington, in 1796, and by Paine caused to be published in this country ; and shall also subjoin Jefferson's letter of invitation to Paine. Paine says, " I declare myself opposed to almost the whole of your administration ; for I know it to have been deceitful, if not perfidious. I know that had it not been for the aid received from France, in men, money, and ships, that your cold and unmilitary conduct would, in all probability, have lost America. You slept away your time in the field, until the finances of the country were completely exhausted, and you have but little share in the glory of the final event. I was at no loss to understand Mr. Washington and his new-fangled faction, and that their policy was to leave me to fall in France. They were rushing as fast as they could venture, without awakening the jealousy of America, into all the vices and corruptions of the British government."

From being the chief of a government, he had made himself the chief of a party ; and his integrity

was questioned, for his politics had a doubtful appearance.”

“ Errors, or caprices of temper, can be pardoned and forgotten ; but a cold deliberate crime of the heart, such as Mr. Washington is capable of acting, is not to be washed away.”

“ The Washington administration, having waded through the slough of negociation, and whilst it amused France, with professions of friendship, continued to injure her, immediately throws off the hypocrite, and assumes the swaggering air of a bravado. A paltroon may boast of his sovereign right to let another kick him, and this is the only kind of sovereignty shown, in the treaty with England. The injury which Mr. Washington’s administration has done to the character, as well as the commerce of America, is too great to be repaired by him.”

“ In *what a fraudulent light must* Mr. Washington’s character appear in the world, when his declarations and conduct are coupled together.”

“ 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.”

These are extracts from a letter, addressed to Washington, in 1796, written, and vauntingly published, by Thomas Paine ! In 1801, Mr. Jefferson wrote the following letter to this same Thomas Paine.

“ You expressed a wish in your letter, to return to America, by a national ship. Mr. Dawson, who brings over the treaty, and who will present you this letter, is charged with orders to the captain of the *Maryland*, to receive, and accommodate you back, if you can be ready to depart, at so short a warning. You will generally find us returned to sentiments worthy of former times ; in these it will be your glo-

ry to have steadily labored, and with as much effect as any man living. That you may live long to continue your useful labors, and reap the reward in the thankfulness of nations, is my sincere prayer. Accept the assurances of my *high esteem and affectionate attachment*. THOS. JEFFERSON."

This letter was also vauntingly made public by Paine, and I now introduce it, along with *his* to Washington, to remove the false impression from the minds of my fellow citizens, that Jefferson was the friend of Washington. Jefferson I shall leave. And though a deluded people may now idolize this enemy of his country, this slave of Bonaparte, posterity will do him justice. His name will be coupled with all other traitors ; and hereafter a Jefferson and a Judas, will be synonymous ; and in the minds of all good men, be considered as but another name for the blackest treachery.

^c NOTE 5.

On motion of Mr. Giles, to expunge from the answer of the house to the President's speech, all that part which expressed their confidence in him, and their approbation of his measures, Mr. Giles said, "that with respect to the wisdom and firmness of the President, he differed in opinion from the answer ; and though he might be singular, yet it being his opinion, he should not be afraid to avow it. He had not that grateful conviction there mentioned, and if he were to come there and express it, he should prove an inconsistent character. He should not go into a lengthy discussion on this point ; but if they turned their eyes to our foreign relations, there would be found no reason to exult in the wisdom and firmness of the administration. He believed on the contrary, that it was for a want of wisdom and firmness, that we were brought into our present critical situation."

Mr. Giles said, " he was one of those citizens, who did not regret the President's retiring from office. And it would be very extraordinary if gentlemen, whose names in the yeas and nays, are found in opposition to certain prominent measures of the administration, should now come forward and approve those measures." Yet this same Mr. Giles now boasts, that he is a disciple of Washington. His speeches are replete with epithets, " wise and venerable Washington."

^f NOTE 6.

I have anticipated this in a former note, and have only to request my countrymen to turn back to the party journals of the day, and read how Washington was slandered.

^g NOTE 7.

There has no engine of party been wielded with more success in proselyting, than the name of *Republicans*, which *they* have assumed, and the name of *Tories*, which *they* have given. Many honest, well meaning men, are cheated in this way. *Tench Coxe*, who conducted the British into Philadelphia, now enjoys a lucrative office under government, and is called a *true republican*. Timothy Pickering, Alexander Hamilton, Charles C. Pinckney, men, who fought through the whole of the revolution, at the side of Washington, are now called *tories*. Gallatin and Duane, are called *true republicans*, when *they* were the slaves of tyranny during the whole of our struggle for independence. The whole list of Jefferson's appointments, shows equal inconsistency and corruption.

^h NOTE 8.

No measure has been more misunderstood, than the direct tax. It was passed in opposition to the views of the principal men on the federal party. As

stated, Madison and Gallatin, and I might say Giles, all voted for it, and likewise most of the southern members. But *one* from Massachusetts voted for the bill. Yet this has been palmed off as a *federal* measure ; and no doubt one half of my countrymen suppose that the men, now in power, opposed it. But let them turn to the journals of Congress, and they will find what is here stated to be true. Not only so, but these same *men*, Madison, Giles, &c. were anxious to raise a direct tax, six years before it was levied. See Life of Washington, Voi. 5.

ⁱ NOTE 9.

See the report of the state of the army, as made by Col. Freeman, in 1810, and laid before Congress. Of Wilkinson, nothing more need be said than was introduced into a former note. His conduct is so notorious, that abandoned as are our rulers, it excites astonishment, that *he* is not brought to punishment. It can be accounted for in no other way, than by presuming, Wilkinson knows too many of the secrets of the Cabinet, and might be induced to betray them. Every attempt to bring him to justice, has been hitherto evaded.

^k NOTE 10.

As proofs of this, I might urge the daily language of all the jacobin newspapers in the country ; the *jacobin societies*, in the days of Genet, and the language in, as well as out of Congress. Read the sentiments of Washington on these clubs. In a letter to Mr. Jay, he says, “ That the self-created societies, who have spread themselves over this country, have been laboring incessantly to sow the seeds of distrust, jealousy, and of course discontent, hoping thereby to effect some revolution in the government, is not unknown to you. That they have been the fomenters of the western disturbances, admits of no doubt in

the mind of any one, who will examine their conduct." Yet the self-styled republicans, Madison, &c. on the floor of Congress, refused to notice the censure of Washington, and thus gave encouragement to them, and their nefarious proceedings. These were organized by Genet. That we ought to favor France was the constant muttering of the democrats in Congress in the time of Washington. On debating the resolutions offered by Madison, in answer to an observation of Fisher Ames, "that they had *French*, stamped on the face of them;" Col. Parker, a democrat, said, "he wished there was a stamp on the forehead of every person, to designate whether he was for France or Britain. For himself, he would not be silent, and hear that nation abused, to whom America was indebted for her rank as a nation. He was firmly persuaded, that but for the aid of France, in the last war, those gentlemen now on the floor, who prided themselves in abusing her, would not have had an opportunity in that place of doing it." This has been the language of their practice from that day to this.

¹ NOTE 11.

The history of France verifies my assertion. But one would think, that the conduct of that nation, since the commencement of the Bonapartean dynasty, was sufficient to make every man, not absolutely infatuated, tremble at the prospect of any alliance, with France. Even the slavish submission of Spain, could not placate the tyrant. Like a deluge, he has swept over that nation, leaving no vestige of all its wealth and splendour. The temple, the palace, and the cottage, have alike been given a prey, to his merciless freebooters. Look at the miserable state of Holland; the degradation of Prussia and Austria. Even Russia totters to its fall. Yet the democrats of this country labor to establish the fact, that France

is contending for the freedom of the sea. They exult in every advantage of his myrmadons, over the allies in Spain and Portugal.

■ NOTE 12.

That France did not wish for the independence of America, there is the most abundant evidence. As stated by Vergennes and Turgot, her object was to protract the war, and desolate this country, for the purpose of weakening her ancient enemy. After the deposition of Louis XVI, the whole transaction was published, by order of the Republic. Lest sympathy for the fallen monarch should be excited in America, on account of the service he had rendered us, Genet was instructed to say, and did state to our government, this fact, on his arrival here. See Life of Washington, Vols. 4th and 5th.

° NOTE 14.

If any thing could rouse such of my countrymen as are sunk in apathy, at the enormities of France, it would seem that her conduct during the last four years, must have struck them like an electric shock. The facts detailed have all been admitted to be true, and are in fact proved by public documents. Yet to make our submission the more complete, *our President*, in the meek language of a slave, could only say, “of all modes, this is the most distressing!”

² NOTE 16.

See on this subject the *exposé* of Robert Smith, late Secretary of State. This was not published when the oration was delivered; but it fully proves the blasting fact which is stated. Mr. Smith had written an able letter to Armstrong; but Madison, like a true slave, would not permit it to be sent, and inserted with his own hand, the *humiliating* clause, in the official letter to our minister. It is hoped every honest man, will read the address of Mr. Smith. It must convince all not dead to conviction.

† NOTE 17.

On this subject, see a letter on the genius and disposition of the French government, including a view of the taxation of the French empire, by Mr. Walsh. This ought to be put into the hand of every American.

§ NOTE 18.

Poor Louis has been driven from the throne of Holland, because he could not look on the ruin of his people, with careless indifference. Lucien has found shelter in England, from the cruel persecutions of Napoleon. I might mention many other instances. But what may we expect from *him*, who could treat his own brothers in this manner? With respect to his causing his own soldiers to be poisoned, and his prisoners massacred, see the account of the horrid transaction, written by Sir Robert Wilson; also the history of Bonaparte's cabinet, by Lewis Goldsmith.

‡ NOTE 19.

Will it longer be doubted, that there is a party in this country, who would gladly coalesce with France? See the damning evidence of Robert Smith, a man, who has been in office for ten years, and was turned out because he was not sufficiently subservient; because he felt like a man, at the most outrageous insults. And let it not be forgotten, that when the embargo was laid, Mr. Masters, a democratic member of Congress from New-York, but a man of principle, refused to vote for the base measure; and, on the floor of Congress, pledged his life, "that the hand of Napoleon was in that thing." The garbled extracts, from documents, which were the foundation of that destructive measure, were made by the *President's own hand*; he did not suffer even the Secretary to read the letters from which they were made.

§ NOTE 20.

This is no exaggeration. France has taken more than ten times the amount of property. She has imprisoned our seamen, which has never been done in England. She has, in the most insulting and abusive language, denounced our government. She has seized and sequestered millions, under her Rambouillet decree, made to retaliate our non-intercourse. And our government have been told by Serrurier, that not one cent of all that, will ever be returned. She still persists in her decrees, and has not relaxed them in the smallest tittle. Even the vessels, seized since 3d of November, and which are said

to be released, were not seized under any of her decrees, but merely as a guarantee for our future good behaviour.

^w NOTE 21.

See his Excellency's most extraordinary Speech to the Legislature, at their June session. But as this has been so ably commented on, I shall pass it over in silence.

^x NOTE 22.

The democrats in general, and especially their last year's orator at Augusta, have insisted much on this charge. The pamphlet which they cite in support of their charge, was printed no one can tell where or when ; and its object is extremely doubtful to determine. Most probably, however, it came from the forge of democracy, to subserve its own purposes. It *purports* to have been printed in *nineteen hundred and one* ; and contains a *retrospective* view of the century to come !

^y NOTE 23.

The purchase of Louisiana, in its effect, is likely to produce the most serious consequences to our country. Spain has not relinquished her claim to—and even France has signified to the administration, that it was not intended to cede what *we* claim ; and that she will not relinquish it. See Taleyrand's letter on that subject. No thinking man can ponder on the 3d article of the treaty ceding that country to us, without seeing that our rulers were aiding the designs of Bonaparte to dismember the Union.

^z NOTE 24.

In the report of Mr. Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, exhibiting the gross annual amount of the expenditure in relation to the military and naval establishments, from the 4th of March, 1789, to the end of the year 1809, it appears that the Military establishment cost, from the 4th March, 1789, to 31st December, 1797

- - - - -	\$ 10,128,406 23
From Jan. 1st, 1798, to Dec. 31st, 1801	- 8,463,715 63
From Jan. 1, 1802, to 31st Dec. 1809	- 12,349,552 17

Total expense of the Military establishment	30,941,674 03
The expenditure of the years 1799 and 1800, the two greatest under the administration of John Adams, amounting to four millions nine hundred and twenty-three thousand, seventy-nine dollars and sixteen cents	- - - \$ 4,923,079 16
The expenditures of the years 1808 and 1809, amounted to	- - - - - 6,246,606 57

Being \$ 1,323,527 41 more than the two most expensive years of Mr. Adams.

It also appears that the Naval establishment, commenced in the year 1794, and cost to 31st December,

1797	-	-	-	-	-	\$ 1,129,386 93
From Jan. 1, 1798, to Dec. 31, 1801	-	-	-	-	-	9,799,569 63

At this period, the naval force of the United States, consisted of about forty vessels of war, of which thirteen were frigates, all new and in good repair.

From the 1st of January, 1802, to 31st Dec.

1809, (two years)	-	-	-	-	-	12,712,022 43
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Total expense of the Naval establishment - 23,645,978 99

On the first of December, 1809, we had five frigates, and nine small vessels in service. During the two first administrations, in eight years, commencing with the establishment, and ending on 31st December, 1801, there was expended the sum of

-	-	-	-	-	-	\$ 10,928,956 56
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The last eight years therefore cost the Uni-

ted States	-	-	-	-	-	1,788,065 87
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more money, thus to reduce the navy of the United States, than it did to establish it, and that in the same time.

From a report of the Postmaster General, exhibiting a view of the Post-office department, from the commencement of the year 1789, to the 1st October, 1809, it appears, that the amount of postage, has regularly increased, from the time of the establishment of the department, to the 1st October, 1809. It appears also, that after defraying the expenses of the establishment, the nett revenue, to the year 1800, has been constantly increasing; and in that year, amounted to \$ 66,810 81. And notwithstanding the increase of postage, there has been a constant decrease of nett revenue, from the year 1800, to the 1st October, 1809. In the year 1808, the whole amount of postage was insufficient to pay the expenses of the department; and in order to make up the deficiency of that year, \$ 2,264 61 were taken from the funds of previous years. In the first three quarters of the year 1809, the receipts for postage were, for an equal time, greater than in any former year. Yet the whole receipts were not sufficient to discharge the expenses for the time; and \$ 4,441 72, were drawn from the funds of former years, to make up the deficiency!!

In a report of Mr. Gallatin, which exhibits "a statement of the annual receipts into the treasury, from the 4th of March, 1789, to 31st December, 1809," and also "a statement of the

annual increase and decrease of the *public debt*, from 1st of January, 1791, to 1st of Jan. 1810," it appears that,

The whole receipts into the treasury, to 31st December, 1800,
were - - - - - \$ 89,588,683 67

Deduct the money remain-
ing in the treasury at that
time - - - - - \$ 2,557,395 38

Avails of Bank stock sold by
Mr. Jefferson - - - - - 1,287,100 00

Avails of sales of armed
ships, &c. - - - - - 1,000,000 00

Paid towards principal of
public debt - - - - - 22,465,906 75

Paid into the sinking fund 1,342,768 61

Expended in the first twelve
years of our government - - - - - 28,952,870 74

\$ 60,934,812 93

Which is equal to \$ 5,077,901 97, for each year.

It also appears, that the receipts into the treasury, for the
nine succeeding years ending on 31st December, 1809,
amounted to the sum of - - - - - \$ 121,239,253 67

Deduct, paid towards principal of public
debt - - - - - 44,865,748 48

Expended in the nine last years of government 76,373,505 19

Which is equal to \$ 8,485,945 for each year, expended for the
general purposes of government, *and exceeds the average of the
twelve first years*, by the sum of \$ 3,408,043 96, for each year ;
making an aggregate of \$ 30,672,395 64, against the economy
of Jefferson's and Madison's administrations ! !

For this statement from official documents, the author is in-
debted to an able fiscal writer. It needs no comment. But
should it be asked, why the military and naval establishments,
have been so vastly more expensive, let them look at the ex-
peditions of Wilkinson, and the shoal of gun-boats ! Why
does not the Post-office establishment produce a revenue ?
Look at the herds of Jacobin Post-masters, and contractors for
carrying the mails, and the question will be answered.

^{aa} NOTE 25.

See the non-importation law, of March 2, 1811, in connec-
tion with the acts therein mentioned.

^{bb} NOTE 26.

Last year, a loan of four millions, was negotiated ; and this

year, a loan of five. Does this look like economy? Had commerce been cherished as it ought to have been; had it even been suffered to work its own way, without restriction; we might now be *paying*, instead of *borrowing* money.

cc NOTE 27.

Mr. Jefferson's answer to the address of New-Hampshire. Who will read that, and say Jefferson was the friend of commerce?

dd NOTE 28.

Bonaparte, instead of considering the embargo, as a measure operating against France, openly approved it. Nay more, it was ascertained in France, that an embargo would be laid, two months before it was. See Bonaparte's speech to his legislative council, in 1808. Also his answer to the Paris Chamber of Commerce.

ee NOTE 29.

It would seem, that our democratic Legislature, at the last session of the General Court, intended to see how far the body politic might be stretched on the rack, without tearing the limbs asunder. Such outrageous laws, as were passed, mock every thing like decency, and set all correct principles at defiance. For the benefit of my fellow citizens, I shall here subjoin the black catalogue; and instead of commenting largely, shall only request my countrymen to peruse them, and impartially consider their probable effect.

They have passed a resolve, to pay the representatives for their travel, and twenty days' attendance at court, out of the public chest, against all former usages and custom, and in violation of the principle of the Constitution, Making all plantations and towns, not having a sufficient number of ratable polls, pay as much, in proportion to their wealth, for a representation, in which *they* have no voice, as those, who actually have the privilege of voting.

They have virtually loosed the bands of religious order, by passing a law, which in effect, has destroyed all connection between a pastor and his parish; giving to any three or five men, power to form themselves into a religious society; choose one of their own number, and if he is ordained in their own way, (though it should be by pouring a glass of wine on his head or otherwise) and they choose to certify this, they are exempted from all obligation to support religious worship.

They have given every vagabond, who may live one year in

a town, a right to vote in town affairs ; even vote away money, though he himself should not possess one cent of property !

They have abolished the Courts of Common Pleas, and given the same jurisdiction to a set of men, called circuit judges, merely to get rid of men, obnoxious to their political madness.

They have taken the appointment of clerks, from the Supreme and other courts, the better to be enabled to reward the minions, who succumb to their views ; increasing executive patronage, at the expense of embarrassing our courts of justice.

They have vacated the office of Sheriff, merely to save the Governor, from the odium of turning men from office, who have been tried, and found faithful.

They have refused to renew the Charter of any Bank now incorporated ; at the same time they have given his Honor William Gray, and his associates, the monopoly of the Banking business—establishing a Bank, with a capital of three millions, and this without receiving any equivalent to the State. When at the same time, they well understood, that the Federalists were ready and willing to pay one hundred and fifty thousand dollars ; a sum equal to one year's State tax, for the same privilege. All this have they done, to make room for office-seekers, to riot on the spoils of the Commonwealth. Mr. Gerry has now to appoint eighteen new judges, twenty-five clerks, twenty sheriffs. And further, they have once more re-animated that morbid mass, the old Court of sessions ; contemned, even by those, who first gave it existence ; making way for nearly one hundred more of their parasites.

If all this be not enough to rouse my country to a sense of danger, and, like Samson, to shake off the web of the harlot *Democracy*—then surely we shall exclaim, *Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*—Whom God will destroy, he first makes mad.

ERRATA.

In the 8th page, 19th line, from the top, for *retrieve*, read *retain*.

In page 15th, 2d and 3d lines, from the bottom, for *numberless*, read *numbers*.