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A

POLITICAL SERMON,

ADDRESSED

TO THE

Electors of Middlesex.

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## POLITICAL SERMON.



“BY THEIR FRUITS SHALL YE KNOW THEM.”

IT clearly appears from the text, that it is not a newly discovered truth, that mere words and mere professions are not generally to be confided in. The same sentiment is also well expressed in the common proverb, “that actions speak louder than words;” and, indeed, the maxim so hits every man’s experience and understanding, that its truth and justice are instantly admitted.

I propose, in this short discourse, to apply my text to the past and present leaders of the democratic party in the United States, and of whom the administration of our national government is chiefly composed. In this application, it will be my sincere desire and aim to do them justice, and no more than justice. But as that is precisely the thing, which they have most reason to fear, and which will most disoblige them, I will afford them the consolation of saying, that, from the limited extent of my information, from the success of their own efforts to conceal the proofs of their political iniquities from the people; from the little time

and room, which the nature of my discourse allows, and from the considerable time and space, which a full disclosure of their conduct requires, they may reasonably expect, that I shall fall far short of my object. It will probably give them no pleasure to hear also, that, in stating facts, I shall confine myself most rigidly to the truth, and that, having no illnature, or malice, in my composition, I shall not seek to wound their sensibility, or expose their folly or wickedness farther, than it will necessarily be done by liberal and well founded commentary, or by sound argument and deduction. Indeed I seek only to bring back my fellow-citizens to the true political faith, and to persuade them no longer to "run after strange gods." It will not do in politics, as in religion, when our fellow men are "given to idols, to let them alone." Each man's religious account is to be settled with his conscience and his God ; and his neighbor's spiritual concerns are totally independent and unconnected in the result ; but a man's political doctrines and views may directly affect the dearest rights and interests of his fellow citizens. When, therefore, I see among the leading men of the party in power, a weak, or wicked, or mistaken policy prevailing, when I think I see, in their measures, designs hostile to the rights of a large portion of the people ; when those measures seem to me to endanger the peace, independence, and honor of the nation ; when I perceive my country fast descending from the elevated ground she had taken, relinquishing rights, which she had bled to defend and acquire, and to which she chiefly owes her wealth, prosperity,

and importance ; when I see her deserting the rights and interests of her most valuable citizens, and ruin and despondence stalking through her cities, is it not my duty, is it not the duty of every man, who can inquire and communicate, to raise his voice on the side of public safety, private welfare, and national honor ?

I am, indeed, an invisible preacher, yet I am among you, am one of you, and, as it relates to government, have the same interests with all my fellow-citizens. In this discourse, therefore, I can have no view to attract attention to myself as a writer ; my object is only to invite your attention to what is written. It can neither add to, nor diminish, the merits of a sermon, because you know not its author. If you hear the voice of warning, you will have too much discretion not to listen and inquire. It concerns your own safety and interest ; it is the dictate of common prudence, to satisfy yourselves, as to the truth of what I advance. I demand not, that your confidence and faith be blindly extended to me ; I ask only your attention to the subject of my discourse, to the facts I state, to the suggestions I make, to put you on the pursuit after truth and information. I, who am neither in office, nor a candidate for office ; who desire only for myself and children the protection of just laws, honestly and impartially administered, can have no possible motive to excite groundless alarms. I respect your rights, because they spring from the same source and flow in the same channel with my own ; but I disdain to flatter you. You have already been flattered out of your sober judgment, by men, who are now

enjoying the success of their impositions in the possession of your favors. How far they have merited your confidence, I shall endeavor in this discourse to show, as well from their manner of obtaining it, as by their manner of abusing it ; for, having in their mode of obtaining it, sacrificed their own honor and conscience, it was a natural consequence, that in using it, they should sacrifice the honor and interest of the American people. It is high time we should cease to be influenced and acted upon through the medium of our passions ; it is high time we should listen to the dictates of truth and soberness. When we feel that something is out of order in the system, when we perceive, that something has been taken into it, which is destructive to health, let us immediately adopt the readiest and most effectual means of expelling the poison ; let us not wait till the offending cause has taken an entire and fatal possession—till we have only before us the alternate prospect of a political death, or of living under the languor and debility of a shattered constitution. If we have lost our way by running after the political meteors of the day, let us stop, ere it be too late, acknowledge and correct our mistakes, and return to the right path. While we admit the frailty of human nature, and its liability to error, let us not be ashamed to confess, that we have been deceived and misled. As repentance is the necessary expiation of a fault, so amendment is the best reparation of an error. Let us carefully retrace and recollect the political events of twenty years past ; let us review the measures of our government, as well

while directed by the policy of the federalists, as since it has been under the control of the party now in power; and let us make such reflections, as this review may suggest. Let us know who have been, and who are still our friends, and who, among those friends, have the ability to serve us, and to rescue our national honor and individual rights from impending disgrace and ruin. That our country is in a most unhappy and deplorable situation, that the people have been deceived and abused by designing men, there can no longer remain a doubt; it only remains for us to ascertain, to whom we are indebted for our misfortunes, and to pay them the wages of their iniquities. And "by their fruits shall ye know them." Could there have been before a doubt, as to the quality of the tree, the fruit, the produce puts an end to all question and all argument, and is in itself demonstration complete; but the seed, the root, the shoots, the buds have all given certain promise of the result; and, years ago, while democracy was growing rank under the genial influence of French jacobinic cultivation, while it was not yet in bearing, its products were fully and distinctly foretold you by those early and well tried patriots and statesmen who never deceived you, and whom for eight years you have thrown out of use, like cast off clothes, but whom, (since your embargoed commerce will prevent any foreign importation) you will probably think prudent again to bring into wear.

It is a singular and interesting fact, and one that merits our serious consideration, that the men, who com-

posed the Washington and Adams administration, who were the most conspicuous and tried patriots of the revolution, who were the particular friends of the federal constitution, should, in twelve years, lose the confidence of the majority of the people, and be obliged to yield up their places to the present possessors, men, who were either the early and constant enemies of that constitution, or who had ever been the opponents of those measures under it, by which the American people rose with unexampled rapidity to wealth, prosperity, happiness and consequence. As the first fruits of democracy and French influence, it will comport with my plan, as it will certainly be worth our time to inquire, by what means such changes in the public sentiments, so improbable and even absurd at a first view, should have been effected.

When the federal constitution was adopted, after a long national exertion for independence, when all the individual talents and integrity of the country had been drawn forth and were known to the people—when the elections were unaffected by party heat, and dictated by a single view to the public good—the conclusion is unavoidable, that public offices were filled by men of the first ability, integrity, and patriotism. And such was undoubtedly the fact. Those, who will dispassionately look back on the circumstances of the times, on the manner of conducting every successive election since, the constant increase of party heat, and the nature of a popular government, will be fully satisfied, that the people of the United States can never expect to see an administration composed of sounder,

or better materials, than that of Washington. And yet this administration found a constant and most strenuous opposition to its measures, in the leaders of the party now in power and their numerous adherents. Even the revered and beloved Washington, the soul of that administration, did not save himself from the storm of censure and denunciation, by a timely retreat to the protecting shelter of private life. Nay, the vociferations of joy and gratulation at his departure from public employment, as well as the harsher tones of reproach and accusation, were indecently and outrageously obtruded on his ear, as he slowly and thoughtfully retired to the peaceful shades of Mount Vernon !!! What must have been his sensations, what his apprehensions for the freedom and happiness of that people, for whom he had done and suffered so much, when he saw this ingratitude and delusion?\*

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 \* On the day General Washington ceased to be President of the United States, there appeared in the Aurora, a newspaper printed in Philadelphia, always in support of the present administration and French politics, and always opposed to the administration of Washington and Adams, the following horrible paragraph.

*“ Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, was the pious ejaculation of a man, who beheld a flood of happiness rushing in upon mankind: if ever there was a time, that would license the reiteration of the exclamation, THAT TIME IS NOW ARRIVED; for the man, who is the source of all the misfortunes of our country, is this day reduced to a level with his fellow citizens, and is no longer possessed of power to multiply evils upon the United States. If ever there was a period for rejoicing, this is the moment. Every heart in unison with the*

Do you ask by whom, and by what means, this result has been produced? There can be but one answer. It has been produced by the present leaders of the democratic party and their agents; and they have done it

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 "freedom and happiness of the people, ought to *beat high with*  
 "exultation, that the name of Washington from this day ceases to give  
 "currency to political iniquity and to legalize corruption!!! A new  
 "era is now opening upon us, an era that promises much to the  
 "people; for public measures now stand upon their own merits,  
 "and nefarious projects can no longer be supported by a NAME.  
 "When a retrospect is taken of the Washington administration  
 "for eight years, it is the subject of the greatest astonishment,  
 "that a single individual could have cankered the principles of  
 "republicanism in an enlightened people, and should have car-  
 "ried his designs against the public liberty so far, as to put  
 "in jeopardy its very existence; such however *are the facts*, and  
 "these staring us in the face, *this day* ought to be a jubilee in the  
 "United States."—Thus was the great and good Washington,  
 who had done more for the people of this country than all  
 the present democratic office holders in the United States, put  
 together, slandered, belied, and abused by the hired newspaper  
 writers of the democratic leaders of the day. It was by lan-  
 guage such as is contained in that paragraph, that the just prin-  
 ciples and the fair conduct of the federal administration were  
 bespattered and discolored to the eyes of the people, until they  
 gave up their confidence in their best friends, and committed their  
 dearest interests to men, whose hands were still stained with the  
 foul spots of detraction and falshood. You, who have reason and  
 feeling, read this paragraph again, and reflect;—Reflect, that it  
 was published in the leading democratic paper of the United  
 States, and that it was published of a man, who has emphatically  
 been said to have been "first in war, first in peace, and first in  
 the hearts of his countrymen." You will doubtless ask with in-  
 dignation, who was the wretch, that dared, in the midst of the  
 American people, thus to slander the father of his country? You

by acting on your passions, and on your credulity. Nor can it be matter of wonder or reproach, that they have succeeded in imposing upon you, for they have pursued their object, without regard to truth, or honesty; they have availed themselves of every thing holy or un-

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 will ask, if he was not instantly torn to pieces in the face of the world, as a sacrifice to an offended and enraged people, and as an expiatory offering to injured, outraged virtue and patriotism? I answer—No. Incredible as it may seem, that man, the author of that detestable paragraph, is still alive and well on the very spot, where he penned and published it. Nay more; he has been applauded and patronized, by a large party in this country.—As a stationer and printer, he has been constantly encouraged and employed by the present administration and its officers; he has received large sums of the American people's money, not only in his support, but in the increase of his fortune. But, astonishing as it may seem, this is not all;—This man, who was at that time a hired writer in the Aurora, and also has been the editor of that paper ever since, is a foreigner, a British subject, a renegado, who is said to have fled from the justice of his own country, to avoid the penalty, which his malconduct had incurred. I say, this man has been honored, rewarded, and distinguished by our present executive, by Mr. Jefferson, the good, the philanthropic Jefferson, who could weep over the corpse of Washington, and eulogise his character, as without an equal for wisdom, patriotism, and virtue; I say, this man, this foreigner, this hired, and abandoned editor, this common reviler of the best men and best measures of our country, has been rewarded by Mr. Jefferson, with the commission of Lieutenant Colonel of a regiment of riflemen, in the army of the United States in preference to every native American, who applied for the office. This man's name is William Duane. He is now entitled to be called Lieut. Col. Duane, and to receive of the public money in pay and rations about 100 dollars per month!!! Can we wonder a curse has fallen upon this country? Shade of the much injured and benevolent Washington!! Seek to avert

holy, that might aid their purpose ; they have so transcended all human experience in the arts of popular delusion, that plain common sense and integrity was unable to resist the imposition. They had recourse to management, to artifices so novel, so subtil, so various, so inconceivable to an honest mind, that, from the nature of things, all men must have been duped, except those who stood on the very watch tower of observation, and those who heard and confided in the cautions, which those faithful and vigilant sentinels gave to the people. But the first effort of democracy was to secure all confidence exclusively to themselves; and hav-

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 the anger of offended heaven from thy ungrateful countrymen ;—  
 let their eyes be opened to their misdeeds, and let this cup pass  
 from them !!!

It is necessary further to observe, that the above paragraph was only a sort of concluding; farewell slander; the last of a thousand similar paragraphs written to injure the character of Washington, and to weaken his influence with the people ; for so long as he retained that influence, these men would find it difficult to succeed in their selfish and unprincipled designs. With the same view were published several forged letters, purporting to be written by General Washington to his friends, and containing sentiments unfriendly to the freedom of his country ; and however improbable and gross the imposition to all intelligent men, yet he found it necessary, on the day he retired from the Presidency, to file in the office of the secretary of state, a solemn declaration, that those letters so published were a base forgery. Such were the foul, wicked, and licentious calumnies and libels of these democratic writers, that it became necessary to pass a law, by which they were confined, in their publications, to truth. This act, in their anger, they have very properly and aptly called the gag act ; for as it restrained them to the truth, it stopped their mouths as completely, as if death had put his seal upon them.

ing, by their arts and effrontery, succeeded in this object, they attained the certain means of accomplishing all their views. The warning voice of Washington, than whom no man ever stood higher in the esteem and confidence of the people, was no longer heard, or regarded; and when HE reasoned or remonstrated in vain, the efforts of no other man could be of any avail. No, having carried the first position, having told you how much they loved and respected you, your rights and interests, after having won your confidence by flattery, it was easy to alarm your fears, by representing your liberties as in danger. They told you, that those men, who framed and administered the national constitution, had inclinations to monarchy; that they were admirers of the British form of government, and that there was evidence of these dispositions in the constitution itself. They told you that the funding system, by which the payment of our national debt was provided for, and a wonderful spring given to the credit and prosperity of the country, was dangerous to our republican institutions. They told you, that the establishment of a national bank was not only unconstitutional, but was to become a powerful instrument in the hands of government for corrupt political purposes. They endeavored to make you see anti-republican tendencies even in the respect paid by the national legislature to President Washington, and in his manner of receiving company\*. When, in seventeen hun-

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 \* A motion in Congress in 1793 to adjourn for half an hour, to give the members an opportunity to pay their respects to President Washington, on his birth day, was warmly opposed by the deme-

dred ninety three and four, during an Indian war, a bill was brought into Congress to provide a small increase of the federal army ;—when a bill was introduced to establish a small navy of five or six frigates for the protection of our commerce, then suffering from the depredations of the Algerines, these men affected to see in these necessary measures, nothing but badges of monarchy, and a disposition in the government to oppress the people with useless expenses. Although the United States then owed seventy or eighty millions of dollars ; although new expenses were created by diplomatic missions, Indian wars, and whiskey insurrections, in addition to the current expenditure for the support of government, yet no tax could be laid, which from its nature could be rendered unpopular, but the same strenuous opposition was made, the same hue and cry set up, that your pockets were picked and yourselves oppressed. In a word, every measure, adopted by the federal administration, for the internal welfare and good government of the country, was opposed and censured upon some ground or other, more or less weak, wicked, or absurd.

In the management of our foreign relations their conduct was arraigned with still more virulence, particularly as it regarded France. We had received from that country, while a monarchy, assistance in  
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 cratic members, and the yeas and nays called for. When Washington first entered on the execution of the duties of the Presidency, he appointed a particular hour to receive visits not on business; and this trifling and very proper arrangement afterward constituted a charge against him, as imitating the crowned heads of Europe.

our revolution ; and now that she had become a sister Republic, struggling for her freedom against the coalesced powers of Europe, universal sympathy and interest was excited in her favor. But however willing she had been to render us independent of Great Britain, her ancient enemy and rival, as she might thereby humble the power of the latter, yet it had never been her intention, that we should become independent of herself. In all her changes from monarchy to democracy, and through all shapes of civil government back to a military despotism, she has had but one object, as it regarded America—to render her the dependent and humble instrument of her purposes. Her conduct toward us therefore, whether glossed over with flattering professions of friendship and fraternity, or aggravated by the domineering threats of a superior, has always been an insult upon our sovereignty and honor, and hostile to our national peace, welfare, and independence.\* Finding the federal administration too wise and too faithful to be corrupted to her designs, the most indecent and insolent expressions of resentment were followed by an appeal to the American people, and a wicked and unprincipled attempt to separate them from their gov-

\* The French Minister, Genet, who arrived in this country in 1793, began fitting out privateers, and commissioning officers in the service of France, without the least ceremony, and even before he had been seen or accredited by our government ; and because Washington did his duty by forbidding these proceedings, which violated our neutrality, and must inevitably have drawn us into war, he was treated by Genet and his American partizans with outrage and insult, and was finally obliged to request his recal.

ernment, destroy their confidence in it, and thus bring into power men, who would be more submissive and accommodating to her views. With a blush be it said, such men were found in this country—men, who, from the love of French principles, from motives of personal aggrandizement, from a desire to get into office, from an habitual opposition and hatred to federal men and federal measures, were ready to unite with the French government in the abandoned project of defrauding the American people of their most precious possessions—their able, upright, and patriotic public servants. By this disgraceful and fatal union, the most fruitful source of the misfortunes and embarrassments of this country, these men, these *aliens* to national honor, from the universal popularity of the French cause, brought to their aid all the prejudices and passions of the people. From this moment they fought under French colors; and, not content with that advantage, they basely sought to increase it, by representing Washington, Adams, and their friends, as under British influence. Because these firm and patriotic Americans, the founders of American liberty and glory, dared to resist the requisitions of France, requisitions deeply ruinous to their country, they were *falsely* and wickedly charged, with being partial to England and unfriendly to France. Even those who made the assertion *knew* better, but they made it, because it was the most odious to an American ear, and because if the American people could once be made to see their friends, their government, even their beloved Washington, through the medium of their preju-

dices against England and their partialities for France, and as opposing those prejudices and partialities, they would renounce them all. Washington's proclamation of neutrality and the policy connected therewith, although it rescued the nation from inevitable and ruinous war, although it was a second salvation to our country, was denounced as a British measure, and as manifesting a settled hostility to France and to liberty. These Frenchified Americans,\* were as ready then to have sacrificed the dearest interests of their country in a war for French freedom, French philosophy, and the extermination of the christian religion, as they are now to prostrate our national honor, prosperity, and independence, by making the United States the humble auxiliary of Buonaparte, in a war for conquest and the extension of French despotism.

In the same spirit, Jay's treaty with England, by which our disputes with that country were settled, and which was immediately productive of important benefits to our commerce, received from them the most vulgar and profane abuse, and chiefly because our government had dared to treat with England without a permit from France.†

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 \* The French government well knew, who were their American friends. Mr. Jefferson, who resided many years in France as our minister, and Mr. Madison, who is to succeed him in the presidency, unless the good sense of the country interferes to prevent, were both adopted French citizens by the national convention. I do not know, whatever I might presume, that they have ever taken the oaths of allegiance!

† Mr. Jay, the able and upright statesman, who negotiated that

The manner of this united French and American opposition, "one and indivisible," to the policy and measures of Washington and Adams, was as unprincipled as the matter of it. The whole machinery of popular government at Paris was introduced, in aid of the democratic arts of the American exclusive republicans. Jacobin clubs, democratic societies of every description, committees of arrangement and correspondence, hired editors, and every species of inflammatory writing and preaching were brought to the charge.\* In  
 .....  
 treaty, was repeatedly burnt in effigy, by French influence and democratic rage, with every expression of insult, for his faithful services.

\* As early as 1791, a paper was set up and edited by a clerk of Mr. Jefferson, while he himself was in the government, in avowed opposition to the principles and policy of Washington's administration, and soon became a vehicle of the grossest falsehoods and slanders against it. He also patronised one Callender, a foreigner, in the publication of an infamous paper, called "the Prospect before us," set up with the avowed design of hunting down federalism, and in which John Adams was called, among other things, "a hoary headed incendiary." He gave him money to encourage his work, which was so libellous and outrageous, that he was soon convicted of a libel, and fined in the sum of 200 dollars. Mr. Jefferson however, coming into office at that time, remitted to him his fine, even after it had been paid to the marshal. Callender, some time after, falling out with his patron, publicly declared, that he knew enough of the conduct of Mr. Jefferson and his friends to damn them in the eyes of the people, and actually published some of Mr. Jefferson's letters to him. He was, however, soon afterwards, by some unknown accident, drowned in a brook. It is even said, that Colonel Duane, the editor of the *Aurora*, owes his appointment to Mr. Jefferson's fear to refuse any favor to a man, who knew so much about the conduct of him and his party.

these publications, Washington and Adams were made traitors to their country; Hamilton and Pickering were declared to have fraudulently appropriated public money to their own use, and all the advocates of the conduct and policy of these men were traduced, as tainted with their crimes. All these things were false and malicious. Still you were deceived. They told you, that your interests and liberties were suffering from government; that it no longer deserved your confidence; that they alone were your friends, they only were *capable* and *honest*; and that by placing the government in their hands, you should find security for your individual freedom and property, and honor and safety for your country!!! All these things they did and said, and in a warm and unguarded moment, when flattered into confidence by one part of their discourse, and alarmed for the safety of your dearest rights by another, you gave them all they asked. You dismissed your old and faithful servants, to give their places and their wages to these ambitious and designing men, without possessing any evidence against the former, but the *bare word* of the latter! Was this wisely, was it generously done? Ought you not to have had some proof of the truth of their assertions, before you acted? Ought you not to have asked yourselves the questions—Are the affairs of the country prosperous—the people happy—the national debt rapidly diminishing—the revenue and resources of the country rapidly increasing? Are we not at peace with all nations—treaties with the principal of them—commerce well regulated—the

constitution unviolated—individual rights protected? And if to all these questions, your truth and conscience must have answered, yes—why did you withdraw your confidence from your benefactors? Why did you turn them out of their places, as though they had deceived and plundered you? Why thus bring the republican character under the disgraceful charge of ingratitude and injustice, and at the same time wound the honorable feelings of your faithful servants? Your answer must be, that you were alarmed and deceived by trusting the *baré words* of ambitious imposters, rather than the *ACTIONS* of honest men, who were known to you, and who served you with an integrity and zeal, that, in all human probability, you will never again see equalled!!! Verily, ye have had your reward. It is unkind to reproach the unfortunate, but it is necessary, *absolutely necessary*, for your present and future salvation, that the mask should be stripped from your seducers, that you may see them before you, in all their uncovered deformities. It is necessary that the *fruits* of this change of rulers be gathered and contemplated, that you may be taught, by the miserable harvest, the impressive and salutary lesson, that to reap with honor and profit, you must sow in wisdom and honesty.

The first consequence of the dismissal of Washington's disciples and principles from public service, as was natural to expect, was, that all the leading conspirators against them should be found in their places. This single circumstance, to considerate minds, would have brought suspicion upon the motives of their op-

position. In place of Washington, Adams, Knox, Hamilton, Pickering, Mc'Henry, Dexter, King, &c. you see Jefferson, Burr,\* Madison,† Gallatin,‡ Clinton,§ Munroe,|| &c. These men found the United States in the best possible condition; on friendly terms with all nations, and respected by all—at home, their affairs in admirable order, and possessed of *all* the blessings, which a wise and patriotic government can bestow on a people! Even Mr. Jefferson, after he was

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 \* Burr was indicted for murder, while vice president, having killed the meritorious and illustrious Hamilton, for saying that "he was a dangerous man." He has since been tried for high treason against his country, and is now an exile and a vagrant.

† Mr. Madison is to be the successor of Mr. Jefferson in the Presidency; he was elected last winter in a caucus at Washington, by Gen. Bradley of Vermont, Gen. Varnum, Mr. Seaver, and a few others, who are devoted to Jefferson and his politics.

‡ This gentleman is well known for the part he took in the whiskey insurrection. He is a foreigner, and can hardly speak our language.

§ Although a firm and useful whig in our revolution, Mr. Clinton was always a warm opposer of the federal constitution.

|| Mr. Munroe being one of those Americans, whom France had early enrolled as her friends, was sent minister to Paris in 1794 by Washington, as an agreeable substitute for Mr. Morris, who was a little too stiff in his politics for French convenience. Caught with the philosophy and fashions of Paris, Mr. Munroe very soon forgot that he was an American, representing, and having in charge, the honor and interests of the American nation; and in about two years Washington recalled him. Mr. Munroe in his anger wrote a book against Washington's administration, including his whole diplomatic correspondence, which sufficiently proves, that he did not deserve the confidence reposed in him.

fairly in the President's chair, was not afraid to acknowledge, that "we were in the *full tide* of successful experiment."\* Their able and illustrious predecessors in office had left nothing for these new rulers to do, but quietly to receive their salaries, to tend the machine of government, and keep it in operation. If they had merely done this, without reflecting much honor upon themselves, it would have been well for their country. But no—after having clamored so long and so loudly against the measures of the federal administration, as injudicious or wicked, it was necessary to do something to conceal the fraud, and keep up the delusion. Besides, it was now in their power to carry into effect certain hostile designs against the federal constitution.

Since they came into power their attempts have been unceasingly made, (and sometimes with effect,) to weaken the independence of the judiciary, which in all governments is the great pillar of liberty and security. In these attempts, we have unquestionable evidence, that the party now in power, from want of wisdom or principle, are *unfriendly to the rights of the people*. This position is so true and indisputable to my mind, that it is in vain to reason with him, who denies it.

In their next labor, their object was to fulfil the expectations they had raised, on the subject of taxes ;

\* This was certainly impossible, if one tenth of the slanders of his party against the federalists had been true ! Murder will out ; and a man, who gains a point by falsehood, can only support it in the same manner, or expose himself to detection.

and they legislated for popularity. As the revenues of the country were absolutely necessary and indispensable to the public service, they merely repealed a few taxes made obnoxious by their complaints, and laid new ones in their stead; they took them from *loaf sugar, pleasure carriages, and luxuries*, and laid them, under the name of the Mediterranean fund, upon articles of more general and indispensable use, because this last was an invisible tax, and the people could not know when, or how much, they paid! In a word, they merely took the same money from another pocket; this, in itself was no real injury, but it was an *imposition*, and led to bad habits!

On the old and standing topics, *rotation in office*, and *extravagance of salaries*, they were now silent. Whether they had actually forgotten them in the multiplicity of their concerns, or whether they had only meant, that salaries were too high, and rotation expedient, until *they* came into office, let common sense judge. Those subjects served as electioneering tricks, and contributed their share in gulling the people. The facts are, that no man has gone out of office,\* who could keep in, and no salary has been diminished, though some have been increased, and new ones created! Have then the public expenses been diminished, or taxes lessened? No!

Has the public debt been paid? They have paid, in pursuance of the plan marked out by the federal

\* If Mr. Jefferson should go out of office of choice, he will only be an exception to a general truth.

administration, perhaps thirty millions of dollars ; and they have added to it, for the benefit of France, in the purchase of Louisiana, and “*for defraying any extraordinary expenses*” of their extraordinary “*foreign intercourse,*” seventeen millions of dollars. On the first of January 1809, if Mr. Gallatin is accurate,\* the national debt remaining unpaid, (do not ask, in these times, *how* it is to be paid,) will be about fifty-seven millions and a half of dollars ! If the seventeen millions were deducted, we could not complain ; although as viewed in connexion with the situation of the United States, it is an interesting and serious fact.

How have these men managed your military resources ? Enemies to the wise and manly policy of Washington, who considered the gradual establishment of a navy, such as might be maintained without burthening the country, as *essential and all important to the national respectability and the peaceable and secure enjoyment of our rights*, what else could you expect of them, than that they should transform the gallant little navy, provided by federal policy, and, under the conduct of Truxton, Preble, and Decatur, giving honor to the nation, into a numerous squadron of insignificant *gun-boats*—vessels fit only to destroy the spirit and emulation of seamen, and to confine their knowledge to the mere *shoals* of naval tactics. By this transformation however the

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 \* It is said that two millions of this money have not, in fact, been disposed of ; that it has not yet arrived at its destination, and is not yet lost to the country. All I know is, that it is stated as a national debt in Monsieur Gallatin’s official report of December 5, 1806.

weapons of our national defence were adapted to the feeble hands, that were henceforth to wield them. The character of the federal administration, as compared with our present rulers, seems well illustrated, by a comparison of the commanding deportment of a *man of war*, with the contemptible and dwarf-like figure of a gun-boat ! No intelligent man could ever have been able fully to comprehend Mr. Jefferson's policy in the creation of this liliputian navy, if the embargo had not rendered its uses notorious ! Future generations will read, with astonishment and contempt, the fact, *that a great commercial nation, employing above a million tons of shipping, and sixty thousand seamen, should have committed the government to men, weak enough to attempt to protect her rights upon the ocean, by a list of gun-boats, that are hardly safe, out of sight of land.* We will, then, set down one hundred and fifty gun-boats, "*more or less,*" among "*the fruits,*" by which your governors "*shall be known*" !!!

On the subject of a standing army, it is almost cruel to remind these *consistent* rulers of ours, that after having made a small federal army, of ten thousand men, raised in the time of President Adams, *during actual war with France*, and commanded by Washington, the standing subject of abuse and reproach, they should now, in addition to a draft of one hundred thousand militia, raise a standing army of six thousand men, while we are at peace with the whole world, and while *no insult or aggression* will induce Mr. Jefferson even to withdraw his minister from the presence of an offending power ! This army, too, brought into exist-

tence, at the very moment, when our revenues are drying up, and commanded by a man,† on whom the blackest imputations have fallen ! This army, to be sure, will make provision for a great many tools of administration, and may be useful in preventing the Vermont farmers from offending Buonaparte, by selling their produce to his enemies, the English ! How men change with times ! Who could have believed, after all that has been said, that a standing army, in time of peace, could ever have been the fruits of democratic rule ?

These men formerly, with extreme *affected solicitude* for your rights, exclaimed against *State secrets* and *closed doors*, hotly protesting, that the people had a right to know every thing done by their servants, as well as the facts and reasons, on which they proceeded ; that any thing, which required concealment, must, of necessity, be improper, and hostile to freedom. If they said true, their proceedings, during the last session of congress, when more business was transacted with closed doors, than in the whole twelve years of federal administration, must have been disgraceful to them, and dangerous to your interests ! Out of their own mouths must they be condemned ; for their conduct has been a gross and scandalous departure from their own principles, or their former declarations were a libel on your old public servants. Either way, they

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 † General Wilkinson was declared by Burr to be his associate in treason, and is believed by most intelligent men at New Orleans, as well as throughout the country, to be not only a *traitor*, but a *foreign pensioner* !

are no longer worthy your confidence.—So much for their promised reform of *pretended* federal abuses.

Let us now turn to another fruit of democratic wisdom, aided by French counsel. Let us examine that pride and boast of our President, the purchase of Louisiana. For this immense *and boundless*\* tract of wild land, covered with Frenchmen, Spaniards, Indians, and wild beasts, he gave *only* fifteen millions of dollars in cash, from the national funds, and twenty or thirty millions of dollars in claims held by individual American citizens against France, for property taken from them contrary to treaty and contrary to law. Not that these citizens ever received the amount of these claims, or consented to their abandonment by our government, whose duty it was to protect them; but a sacrifice of their private rights was necessary to a favorite project. This purchase has always been considered by Mr. Jefferson's friends, as a master stroke of policy, and the glory of his administration; *because* it secured to us the navigation of the Mississippi, (which we had an undoubted right to before,) without danger of interruption from the feeble Spanish colony settled on its western bank. This was the only reason, except the general assertion, that new land was rising in value, and in that point of view, it would have been a great speculation! They seem to have forgotten, that more than half the United States was still uncultivated; that they already owned, and offered for sale, more than two hundred millions of

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\* I say boundless, for no man, even Mr. Jefferson himself, can tell what, or where, its boundaries are.

acres of wild land; enough for a great and powerful empire. Nor did these raw speculators perceive, what every market boy knows, that they should injure the sale of what they had on hand, by bringing double the quantity into the market.\* As for the first reason given for the purchase, the uninterrupted navigation of the river, it is sufficient to remark, that we had a right to it by treaty, which right we could easily enforce, even to seizing the country, if it had been denied. And it was disgraceful for a great and powerful nation to submit to pay an exorbitant price for a right, which already belonged to her. Beside, our new title is doubtful, and a door is opened to endless disputes in the extreme uncertainty of the boundary. Before, the boundary of the United States was definite, and no right was in question; now, all the rights supposed to be acquired by that purchase, are questionable, or unknown! The Spaniards have already begun the dispute, and Mr. Jefferson, in a late message,

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 \* It appears by Mr. Gallatin's official reports of Dec. 1806 and Nov. 1807, that the net revenue, from the sales of public lands of the United States proper, is estimated at half a million of dollars per annum only, a little more than three per cent interest on fifteen millions, the increase of the public debt, by the purchase of Louisiana. I think it will further appear, that those sales have diminished since that event. If therefore all the land of Louisiana could be offered for sale, it is not probable, that money enough could be raised to pay half the interest of the purchase money. But it seems, that there is no land of consequence in that country, to which the indian title is extinguished, which is not claimed under French, or Spanish grants. Where then is the profit of this speculation?

informed congress, that their claims “*would confine us to a string of land.*” But supposing we had nothing to apprehend on the score of title, what have we acquired beside the soil? Why, a number of French and Spanish subjects, whose habits, manners, and ideas of civil government, are wholly foreign to republican institutions.\* By a single stroke of the pen, Mr. Jefferson has added this mass of unsound and aristocratic materials, to this fair fabric of rational freedom. We have heretofore congratulated ourselves as peculiarly fortunate in having the Atlantic ocean between us and the monarchical habits and institutions of Europe; in being far removed from those corrupt governments, whose influence is contagion, and whose control is the torture of human rights. By what strange course of reasoning, by what incomprehensible policy, then, could our philosophic and patriotic Jefferson have introduced into our happy republican family the debauched and leprous outcasts of the royal potentates of Europe? Do they add to the wealth, industry, or happiness of the nation? No.—Do they strengthen the union? Far from it.—They are a kind of colony, a presidential fief, that must look to the Union for protection—a Union, whose government cannot, or will not, protect its own citizens. What then are the benefits to be derived from the acquisition of this new people? I confess I know not; unless they may teach us blind con-

\* There are not half the inhabitants, who can read or write; they have had no schools; and the introduction of our valued trial by jury is disagreeable to them.

fidence in our rulers, and to cry " God save the President," while we are groaning under his measures. Its evils are certain and numerous. It adds a large sum to our national debt—adds to executive influence—adds to public expenses—increases the objects of defence and protection—it multiplies the causes of quarrel with foreign nations, and opens new sources of domestic disturbance. And all this it does, without offering an equivalent advantage.

To the interests of the middle and eastern States it is peculiarly injurious and hostile, for in addition to the heavy taxes to be paid by them, for its purchase and support, it will, sooner or later, become a make-weight against them, in the scale of southern influence, which is already too predominant, and thus hasten a dissolution of the union.\*

I have hitherto considered the purchase of Louisiana merely in reference to its value to the United States, in a political and financial point of view, and it seems to me not only totally unsupported by sound policy, but pregnant with evils. Nor do I believe, that the purchase was originally projected on those grounds. I know not who were the knaves, or who were the dupes, but the project was generated in France. France wanted money, Spain had land, and the Unit-

\* Massachusetts will probably pay, as her part of the purchase money of Louisiana, about one million five hundred thousand dollars, a sum which would support her own government for ten or twelve years. She must likewise suffer her proportion of all the future evils, which that purchase may bring on the Union. These evils will neither be few, nor small.

ed States' government was *obliging* and *easily imposed on*. We have already *seen*, that Mr. Jefferson and the leaders of his party built their success on their attachment to France, while a republic. We have *seen*, that French intrigue was early employed to render America the humble instrument of France. It is well known, that her men in power demanded money from this country, while Washington was President, through Mr. Munroe,\* who encouraged them to expect it; that they demanded money again of our envoys,† sent by President Adams, as the price of negotiation. But we had men then to direct our affairs, who knew as well how to take care of the people's money, as the nation's honor. They refused these ignominious terms, preferring the evils of war to national disgrace. Their maxim was "*millions for defence, not a cent for tribute*;" and the American people approved it. But, alas, the maxim of our present rulers is the reverse; "*millions for tribute, not a cent for defence!*" After they came into power, the French demand of money was again made, no doubt; but it was too late for them to advance it, as a loan. For in the first place, France was no longer a Republic, fighting for liberty, but a monarchy, fighting for conquest; and direct pecuniary aid would not be popular. In the second place, a loan would commit our neutrality, which would be injurious to the nation, and not justifiable to the people. To pay the money as *tribute*, under an acknowledged fear of her power, or as the price of

\* See Munroe's view &c.

† Messrs. Pinckney, Gerry, and Marshall.



her good will, was a disgrace the nation would not submit to. What was to be done? Why, the money might be paid for the purchase of Louisiana, and Buonaparte would extort the cession of that country from the king of Spain, as he since has extorted from him his crown!\* I forbear comment on this disgraceful and ruinous transaction. Buonaparte and his agents and friends *have received fifteen millions of our dollars*, and we have received what is neither necessary, or valuable to us; nay, what is dangerous. And the time is not far distant, when the people of Massachusetts will be satisfied, that it would be better to give France fifteen millions more to take the country back again, than that it should become a part of our Union.

The next mode of paying *tribute* to France, was an appropriation of *two millions* of dollars, as a fee to her, for forcing Spain to release all claims to Louisiana and the Floridas. Mr. Madison said to the friends of

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 \* Buonaparte did not receive of the purchase money but about eleven and a half millions of dollars. Between three and four millions were reserved for the payment of that amount of American claims for French spoliations, which claims were to be allowed by commissioners to sit at Paris. This was an ingenious contrivance for Mr. Livingston, Mr. Armstrong, Talleyrand, &c. &c. to put fortunes into their own pockets; they having procured for a trifling sum claims to the whole amount, before the treaty was made and while those claims were considered as hopeless. It is a remarkable fact, that those claims were allowed to the amount of the whole sum to be paid, before the treaty had been received and ratified in this country. And those citizens, who sent out their claims immediately on that event, found the door closed when they arrived!