

Isaac C. Bates

AN

ORATION

PRONOUNCED AT NORTHAMPTON,

JULY 4, 1805.

THE TWENTY NINTH ANNIVERSARY

OF

American Independence :

AT THE

REQUEST OF THE

COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENT.

BY ISAAC C. BATES.



NORTHAMPTON,
PRINTED AND SOLD BY THOMAS M. POMROY.

.....
1805.

*AT a Meeting of the Federalists of the Town of
Northampton, and its vicinity, assembled at Mr.
A. Pomeroy's the 4th day of July, 1805.*

VOTED UNANIMOUSLY, That the Committee of Arrangement be, and are hereby appointed, a Committee to wait on Mr. ISAAC C. BATES, and thank him for the elegant and spirited Oration this day delivered by him, upon the Anniversary of the Independence of the United States of America, and to request of him a Copy for the Press.

Attest. JOSEPH LYMAN, } *Chairman of the Committee
of Arrangement.*

SENTLEMEN,

THE Oration, a copy of which you request, is humbly submitted to your disposal. With the highest esteem, your most obedient servant,

ISAAC C. BATES.

The Committee of Arrangement.

AN
ORATION.

THE event which we are convened to celebrate, is one of the most remarkable in history. It is not the triumph of a party ; it is the birth day of our Independence. Few of us can fully realize the value. Like a man of sound health, we are ignorant of the pains of sickness ; and, like an heir to a fortune, we know not the toil of earning it. But if you survey the governments of Asia, where the suspicion of the ruler is the death of the subject ; where there is no security for liberty, or life : Or, if you ask the captive, who is chained to the oar of a galley, far from his country, and his friends ; day after day tugging the same round of toil ; “ *lacerated with stripes at which mercy weeps, when she sees them inflicted on a beast :*” Or, enter the dungeons of Tripoli, and view your countrymen, whitening, and fading, in the solitary cells of darkness, and disease ; breathing at the mercy of an enemy, whose trade is butchery, and whose element is blood, cruel as death, and relentless as the grave ; view them here and there reclining on the earth ; you would

need no pencil, to paint to you the charms of freedom ; you would feel, what the tongue cannot utter. Yet "season after season returns, but not to them ;" no relief ; no cheerful interval of pleasure. There was a time my countrymen, when the voice of Greece rocked the battlements of Troy, and shook the throne of Priam, to redeem an individual. But that was an age of magnanimity ; *heroes* ruled, and *coward*: played with children.

THOUGH, at present, we enjoy all the blessings, which liberty and law, can give or secure, yet let us remember, that the wheel of fortune rolls ; that the celebration of Independence to-day, is no proof that we shall enjoy it to-morrow. Where are Rome and Greece ? Brutus slumbers in the ashes of his country ; the school of Plato has crumbled to ruins ; and the lyre of Orpheus is silent on the willows of Libethra. Whether we are doomed to the same destiny, is a question, which deeply concerns us all. I must, therefore, request the indulgence of your attention, while I attempt to discuss the subject ; to exhibit to your view the *ground on which we stand ; the road to safety ; and the road to ruin.*

It is an axiom of politicians, " that Virtue, and Public Spirit, are the support of a Republican Government." When the pillars fail, the building must fall.

At the time our government was established, though opposers existed, yet they generally seemed to harmonize in the cause of freedom. Our prospects were brilliant, as the rising sun. Liberty, prosperity, and unceasing happiness, played a-

round the visions of the future, in the sweetest enchantment. Every heart glowed with that fine enthusiasm, which produced the raptures of the poet. Here was to be a land, flowing with milk and honey ; an asylum for the unfortunate ; a place where the persecuted might find repose. But, how soon was the scene reversed ! The ambitious and discontented, who aspired at the honors and emoluments of office ; men in authority, who made their own conceit, the standard of their merit ; and who arrogated that power, which their constituents thought proper to confer on others ; found themselves disappointed.—Their pride was mortified ; their resentment enkindled ; and, despairing of advancement in the hour of tranquility, they resolved to produce a storm, and rise upon the whirlwind. Hence they began to clamour against the constitution ; to vilify men in office ; to sow the seeds of rebellion ; and to light the torch of civil war. With what success, their exertions have been crowned, experience has evinced. Our country is sundered into factions. A contest of newspaper chicanery, and intrigue, has commenced. With an influence, more fell than the winds of Syria, it blightens and consumes, whatever is valuable, or desirable, on earth. Envy, Hatred, and Malice,—“ ranging for revenge, have in *these confines*, with a monarch’s voice, cried, havoc ; and the dogs of war” both civil and *domestic*, have attacked, and pursued, while nature could support the victim, every description in society, without regard to sex, to age, to office, or to rank. The innocence of an angel of light is no security ; the silence of the tomb is no protection,—

The ashes of the dead are unraked, with deliberate coolness, to glut the rage of envy, and the memory of the patriot is stained, with the blackest dyes, that the monument of his grave, might become the monument of his shame ; that posterity, when they unroll the annals of their fathers, may weep at their folly, and blush at their iniquity. Do you ask for proof ? Shew me where you have it *not*, and I will shew you where you *have* it. Not a sun shines, but the Cyclopes of sedition are hammering the instruments of death. Not a week returns, but the *chartered* messengers of slander travel through the Union. Have you never heard that Adams, was a “ *hoary-headed traitor ?*” that Washington was “ *a coward ? a murderer ? the vilest of hypocrites ?*” *— With what honest indignation must he frown from the realms of day at such unparalleled abuse ! A crime so unnatural, so brutal, no tears can wash away ; no sufferings can expiate.

TRUTH is the foundation of virtue ; of all happiness here ; of all hope hereafter. It is the key-stone, which holds the arch of the universe together. Destroy it, how immense the ruin ! disregard it, how complete the wretchedness ! A general distrust, would produce a general dislike ; universal uncertainty, universal misery. But lying has become so in use, that truth is out of fashion ; quite thrown aside, as the uncouth garment of a Gothic age, except, by here and there a man, who likes the habits of his youth, and the sturdy virtues of his fa-

* VIDE “The Prospect Before Us,” and the proclamation of Duane. The one inspected, and approved by the President ; the other written by his favorite and confidant.

thers.* The tendency of this, is, to corrupt society, to set all morality afloat; the object, to gain the momentary triumph of a party, to produce the transient, and savage, smile of victory, when millions must mourn for it hereafter. The preservation of virtue, order, and decorum, respect for age, and reverence for authority, is infinitely more important to the state, than all the objects, which this contemptible struggle can ever gain. But, not only “truth is fallen in the streets,” the Shepherds who point us to the STAR OF BETHLEHEM, are smiled upon, with the sneer of contempt, and ridiculed in public papers. When the guardians of morality are once removed, or their influence is once destroyed, who dare answer for the event!

WHERE, my Countrymen, is that spirit, which could look a tyrant in the face, and pluck the brightest jewel from his crown? Where that love of glory, which inspired the hero, and the soldier; which republics envied, and monarchs feared? Where that sense of honour, which preferred the *field of battle*, and the *stake of torture* to the *tribute of a groat*? Where that national pride? that generous independence? that dignified submission? that manly deportment?—America was once the darling of her sons. Not a stain upon her honours, but millions of hearts, leaped, to wash it out with their blood. Now even the simple tar, in a foreign port, blushes and covers his honest face, to own his

* This exception should be more specific. While the cause, founded on error, can only be supported by falsehood, that, founded on truth, can have no use for it. Hence one party, have an interest in giving currency to the opinion, *that whatever is published is false*, because in this, they find their security, and on this, alone, their continuance depends,

origin. Disrobed of our glory, we crouch like slaves. Cowardly, and effeminate, we have not spirit to resist. With a fawning submission, we crawl to the footstool of nations, and *intreat* as a *favour* what we might have *demande*d as a *right*. In France, we curse and slander, the enemies of the Great Republic; we applaud and caress, the tyrant; we outstrip all the obsequious multitudes that surround him, and receive a *snuff box* for our adoration. When tutored for our conduct, by the rod of England, we beg her pardon, and promise to reform.

THE administration of justice has relaxed. Ask our fathers whether there was the same remissness in peace-magistrates? in the minor officers of towns? Whether oaths were *play things*, and the obligations of an oath, phantoms which vanish before the breath of popularity?—All these things, are bearing us downward, with a step unceasing as time, and fatal as death. Whether the other pillar stands firm, shall now be the subject of a moments consideration.

PUBLIC SPIRIT denotes, not merely, a disposition, liberally, to support a government, but also a disposition to promote the public welfare and to sacrifice private interest, when incompatible with the general good. Yet was there ever a period, since the world began, when the nation was so forgotten, in the interest of a party. Mere popularity, has become the ordeal of life, or death to every measure of the government. This is a touchstone which makes gold iron, and iron gold.

ON subjects so complicated, as *general policy*,

the least informed are the most liable to err. Hence it is the highest absurdity, for rulers to be governed, by the ever veering weathercock of popular opinion. It may shew the direction of the wind, but it will never point the mariner to the pole. Yet the contrary is a doctrine, which flatters our vanity, and we will believe it, though the paths thereof lead down to ruin. *Vox populi vox* Dei*, is an apothegm, that has gone, hand in hand, with destruction; has made more mothers, widows, and children orphans, within a century, than the armies of oppression; has committed crimes one day, for which it has covered the face in sackcloth the next; has veiled the earth in darkness, and crucified the Son of God. Yet this is the wandering star, which rules, and guides the destinies of our nation.

The people are an ocean, that ever ebbs and flows; easily moved, by every breath which curls upon the surface. The two great engines, by which they may always be agitated, are the *thirst for riches*, and the *dread of domination*. “Strike but these springs *you may toss them to the Heavens.*”

THERE ever have been, and there ever will be, men in society, who have something to expect from a change. With the *phantom of liberty* fluttering, in one hand, and a *freedom from taxes*, in the other, they will allure the people down to death, while they cry *ALLELUIAH, the Lord be thanked*. Far be it from me to insinuate, that the honest American, would, designedly, countenance the subverters of order. His actions are the testimony, which nature

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* *The voice of the people, infallible.*

bears against every species of tyranny. But language is *too weak*, to express the meanness, and baseness of those, who would abuse the simplicity of their fellows, to enrich themselves, who would destroy the quiet of a nation for the paltry honors of an office.

WHAT was once the real wish to promote the interest of our country, has now become the desire to maintain the ascendancy of *our* party. What will benefit the public, is no longer the question; but what will support *my side*. Those, upon the first round of honor, must reward their immediate agents, or they lose their office; the more active partizans must receive their mite, or they lose their object; and the people, who heaved, and tugged, them up the ladder of promotion, are favoured for their toil, their dispute and their anxiety, with the *whole profit of a smile*, and the *meat and drink* of GOD SPEED YOU. Hence the men who volunteered, in the wars of their country, and are therefore, entitled to honour; who discharged their duty, with unimpeachable fidelity, and are therefore entitled to confidence; have been dismissed from service merely ministerial; many of them in advanced life, without the means of support, without the *allegation* of a crime. Others have been appointed, who were lulled in the cradle, during the Revolution; who have no other merit, than that they have *wrought* in the *vineyard of a party*; no other claim, than, that the labourer is worthy of his *hire*.

On the one hand, the whole is a system of injustice; on the other, of arrant bribery. The public

honors are holden up to view, like prizes on a race ground. They are devoted to the vile purpose of influencing the judgment on a question of national concern, a question that we ought to decide impartially, because, we decide for ourselves and for posterity ; or, they are prostituted to the still viler purpose of rewarding apostates from their real principles, cheats to themselves, and traitors to their country, for the expectation, or the assurance, of an office in the Government. Where is the man, unless he be a villain, who would offer the inducement ? and where is the man, who would accept the bribe, that is fit for an office ? Why was that clamour against high salaries ? why, that cry of "*peculation and tyranny* ?" Why is the constitution violated, time after time ? why altered, to destroy the influence of the smaller states ? why this recall of Ministers ? why this universal dismissal from office ? Have the agents been influenced by motives purely patriotic ?—Charity, indeed, hopeth all things. But these, she cannot spread a mantle wide and thick enough to cover.*

* LORD BOLINGBROKE observes, in his remarks on the History of England, that " A spirit of liberty will be always, and wholly concerned about national interests, and very indifferent about personal and private interests ; that on the contrary, a spirit of faction will be always, and wholly concerned about these, and very indifferent about the others ; that the one will preserve a government which is worth preserving, that the other if not distinguished and counteracted, will inevitably destroy it."

The spirit that now prevails in our country, is obviously the spirit of faction. Among the melancholy fruits, we observe that many of our best men spurn at the public honours. When offices become the reward of venality, those who are the most worthy, will be the last to enjoy them. Have we not the greatest reason to fear, that we shall see the truth of Lord Bolingbroke's remark verified in our own nation ; that we shall mistake the spirit of faction which will destroy us, for the spirit of liberty which can, alone, preserve us.

Thus, my countrymen, I have attempted to exhibit to your view, the total destruction of Public Spirit. I have endeavoured to lay before you, the relaxation of public justice; the declension of national pride; the pollution of our morals, and the domestic hostility of our Country. In the language of a noble Orator* : “ All this disgraceful danger; this complication of calamities, is the monstrous offspring of your unnatural contest. Your dearest interests; your own Liberty; the Constitution itself totters to the foundation.” At this alarming crisis, what shall be done ?

If that which has been stated, have the semblance of truth, delay is fatal. When the pillars of our Empire tremble, surely, it is not a time to sleep.—The enemy is at hand; walls of defence must be erected: all are summoned to the work, by every motive that can influence humanity. If, therefore, we sleep, *it will be the sleep of death.* Posterity will awake, in the swadling clothes of tyranny.—Turning back to you, they will ask: *Why are these things so? Is this the legacy of affection?*—With all these gloomy and certain consequences pressing on, who can continue torpid, and indifferent? If any, them the Resurrection will wake, and the judge of all the earth summon to account.

SOMETHING, therefore, must be done. Divided we fall; united we may stand. In a world like this, surely there is need of “ Friendship and social intercourse.” These will smooth the thorny paths of life; will render the earth peaceful as the garden of E-

* Lord Chatham.

den, when innocence smiled and virtue bloomed. But union in a bad cause will only expedite our ruin. It is, therefore of infinite importance to know well the nature and tendency of sentiments, before we embrace them.

LIBERTY is what we all wish to enjoy and to perpetuate. Not that enthusiastic phrensy, which overleaps the bounds of law ; but that sober freedom, which is consistent with the happiness of man. The right to every thing, which a nation can desire, is marked out, and guaranteed to us, by the Constitution. Hence *that system of measures, which tends most to preserve this Constitution, and of course the liberty which it secures, is the best.* Or, in other words, *that system which tends most directly to tyranny, is the worst.*

EVERY republic, on the Eastern continent, has been subverted ; but not one has arisen, immediately into tyranny. With perfect uniformity, they have all moved on to ruin, in the opposite direction. Weakness has always preceded dissolution, unless some violent convulsion of nature, or sudden invasion has terminated their existence.

By the energetic, or vigorous, support of Government, I mean, a great resentment at a national insult ; a resolute vindication of the national honour ; a faithful administration of justice ; a punctilious execution of the laws ; in short, a *scrupulous adherence to the spirit of the Constitution without exceeding it.*

WHILE our Government is supported with vig-

our, tyranny in Rulers, would be a paradox, in human nature. But *two* ways exist, in which, Republics can be overturned; either, by *unmerging the Government, on the one hand, and falling into anarchy*; or, by *arming it with too much strength, on the other, and rising into tyranny*. Should ours perish in the latter, viz. *by rising into tyranny*, it must be in one of these *two* ways, either, *by the enactment of oppressive laws, or, by the usurpation of the sovereign power*.

No proposition is truer, in mathematics, than this is, in morality, that men never act without motives. In *the first place*; what inducement has a Ruler to enact oppressive laws, when the revolution of a year, may reduce him to a private citizen; when himself, his family, and his friends, must, inevitably, wear the chains of his own forging?—In *the second place*; Where is the man who dare usurp the sovereign power? Would the Laws sleep? Would six million of people, with power, and justice on their side, bow at the nod of usurpation to-day, in a land, where freedom reigned in all her charms yesterday?—Rome furnished but one Brutus. Yet, were Cæsar to ascend the throne, where is the American, who lives, that would not be another?

HENCE it follows, that in *our* Government, as well as in *all others, the danger lies on the side of anarchy*. To this awful state, there is a wonderful propensity in human nature. Though laws, like manna, are of celestial origin, yet they soon become loathsome, and insupportable. We float along, upon the surface, calmly, and imperceptibly, until we are

plunged down a precipice, or drifted beyond the possibility of return.

HENCE we discover a beacon to direct our course ; a beacon, that cannot misguide us, because experience has placed it. Hence we derive a most important criterion, by which, we may determine with certainty, *who are right, and who are wrong.*

ON the political question before us, it is not the enactment of one law, nor the repeal of another, that ought to determine our sentiments. No administration is perfect. But from a full survey of the whole ground, we ought to draw our arguments ; and from the general tendency of a *system* of measures, we ought to form our opinions.

THE General Government, from the year 1789 to 1801, was in the hands of Federalists. If the administration promoted the interest, and the happiness of the Union ; they may fairly claim the honour. Should the Democrats assert, that *they* moved and seconded the measures of the rulers, then in power, where, I ask, is the consistency, where the justice, or the honour of their conduct, in condemning those measures, which they themselves, by confession, originated and matured ? If they neither devised nor promoted them, why, I ask, are they entitled to the honour ?

A PERIOD more deeply interesting to the United States, more alarming to the world, we never saw than from the end of the colonial war, to the close of the Federal Administration. A country emerg-

ing from slavery to independence ; oppressed with immense debts, both foreign and domestic, without funds ; filled with a soldiery in want ; with three million of inhabitants, without an object and without destination, waving and dashing to and fro, like the billows of the ocean, when a calm succeeds the tempest ; every thing floating at random, without attraction, and without system ; all was “ confusion worse confounded ;” “ an anarchy of chaos, damp and dark.” In this state of danger and dismay, many, who were the most sanguine in the revolution, began to despond. Where could they find a Palinurus who would neither slumber, nor sleep, to guide the helm among these troubled waters ! The task was *gigantick*, for the experience of age ; but, for *infancy*, it was arduous indeed.

DURING the administration of President Adams, you all recollect the events that were taking place. The rage of politicks seemed to threaten every thing, with ruin. The maxims of experience were disregarded, and the thirst for conquest and dominion, was unbounded as the earth. While one half Europe, was contending for existence ; the other, was stretching her power, and her arms to “ bind the world in vassalage.” While France was invading in the South, she was destroying in the North ; while she was conquering in the East, she was undermining in the West. The sweep of her whirlpool seemed infinite ; and whatever came within the rapid current of the circle, was rendered giddy, by the whirl, and then ingulphed, and destroyed, forever. How immense the wrecks, that are now boiling up, and floating around this Scylla of destruction ! By

every artifice, which ingenuity could invent, or which power could adopt, she strove to involve us in the contest. She sounded all the strings of national honour, gratitude, interest, flattery, and resentment. The Syrens charmed in every direction, to enchant, and to allure us to the shore, that was whitening with the bones of the slaughtered. But with Ulysses for our pilot, *we* escaped, and *we alone*.

In the former state of things, the Federal administration commenced ; with the latter it ended. During this period of twelve years, when it required all the wisdom, and experience, of the best men, to organise, and regulate, a complicated system of government at home ; when it required all the foresight and firmness of the oldest and most powerful nation, to escape the dangers from abroad ; when the Indians were making war on the west ; and insurrections were breaking out in the middle, and on the east ; when the treasury was empty ; and the sources of revenue were dried up, or the channels obstructed ; Federalists directed the affairs of the Union.

WHEN they delivered the Government to their successors, what, my Countrymen, was the state of the nation, compared with the state, when they received it. Our country was happy, not only, beyond reasonable expectation, but beyond a parallel. The industry of our citizens, was vast as their enterprise. A wilderness they had changed to a garden ; the barren heath, they had clothed in vernal beauty ; and the solitary place, they had made to bud, and

blossom, as the rose. Science and the arts every where prevailed, to civilize and soften. Commerce waved in every sea where winds could waft it. No clime so remote, where waters rolled, but you would find the hardy sons of America, plying their successful industry. Wealth flowed in from every direction, in a deep, and steady current. We were respected abroad ; we were happy at home ; we had all that a nation could desire ; all that Providence could give. Our concerns, though immensely various, and extensive, were all settled ; credit was established ; the national debt, provided for ; the state debt assumed ; and the whole was delivered to their successors, a perfectly finished machine, in regular operation, which needed nothing but superintendence, and direction, to accomplish the object of the wisest, the best of Governments.

IN all this which the Federalists have done, how much have even their opponents, found to censure ? *The Funding System, the British Treaty, the Provisional Army, the Land Tax, and the Sedition Law.*

THE Funding System, was devised by a man, who looked beyond the bourne that limits the vulgar sight ; and who judged accurately, because he clearly surveyed the whole, and judged from the induction of particulars. Were you to have

“ Heard him debate of Commonwealth affairs,
 You would say, it had been, all in all, his study ;
 List his discourse of war, you would hear,
 A fearful battle rendered you in music ;
 Turn him to any cause of policy,
 The Gordian knot of it he would unloose
 Familiar as his garter.”

He would, sometimes, melt you to compassion, by the sweet sunshine of his eloquence ; sometimes he would arouse you to indignation by the thunder of his rhetoric ; sometimes, he would strike the harp of Comus, and “ *make laughter burst his sides ;*” sometimes, he was terrible as the spirit of Loda ; and sometimes, mild as the lute of Ossian. “ *Sed Ilium fuit,*” *Troy is no more.*—Pardon the digression, my Countrymen, for where is the traveller, who would not turn from the highway, to weep at the tomb of Hamilton !—The Funding System, in the opinion of the wisest, and the best politicians, was the great Panacea, which saved the nation. But on this measure, and the treaty with Great-Britain, time has decided, and cavil and censure must cease.

THE army was raised at a period, which called for decision and defence. Our seas were swept by French privateers ; our citizens enslaved ; our treaties violated ; and our land was covered with vultures, who were screaming for tribute, and “ foreboding pestilence and war.” Twice we sent two solemn embassies to France, vested with the most ample powers ; twice they were dismissed, without recognition, or even the formality of a hearing. The aggressions continued ; injustice followed contempt ; insult accumulated upon insult until the enormities exceeded forbearance. It was then that the nation arose, and with the spirit and independence of a man, told the emissaries, who were whining for a subsidy, and creating disaffection, “ that she had millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute.” Under these circumstances, the army was raised. What should have been done ? Negotiation had failed.—

Were we, humbly, to bend the knee to Bonaparte, and pray to him : *Thy will be done* ? Or, in the language of a pugilist, when he had tweaked our nose, made his pass, and fillip'd us in the face, were we not to be on our defence ? or, were we to stand, like the stupid ass, and take it ?—Nothing should be dearer than a nation's honour. In a war to support it Lord Chatham said, he “ would tear the shirt from his back.” Yet, My Countrymen, in a land of FREEMEN, an administration has been branded with disgrace for making the attempt.

If no good resulted from this measure, the indulgence we owe to human frailty, instead of blasting the authors, would have excused the error. That our country was exposed to dangers, and that we escaped, when the other Republicks, who slumbered to the lullaby of French liberty and protection, fell victims to their folly ; that our concerns were speedily adjusted, and peace, and security, restored ; are facts which none will dispute. Is it not reasonable to conclude, that, when France saw America raising armies, and fleets, to defend her shores and her commerce, that she might have relinquished projects and made concessions, which she might have accomplished, and enforced, had we exhibited the complying spirit of obedience. We have the testimony of Washington, who knew the interest, and who certainly felt for the honour of the Union, that the measure was founded in necessity, and dictated by wisdom.

In case of war, the revenue must have failed, because it was dependent on Commerce. A land-

tax was, therefore, necessary, to give support to the army. Both were designed to cease with the emergency that produced them. But the policy of the direct tax, does not rest merely upon the expediency of the army. It is a question which yet remains for decision: "Whether direct taxation be not preferable to indirect?" The affirmative was strenuously advocated, by those *very honorable* gentlemen, who, afterwards, styled it the engine of oppression.

THE Seditious Law was designed to give every man the liberty of speaking truth. How it could have been censured, can be accounted for, only on the principle, that prejudice is blind, and that "trifles light as air," weigh more than mountains, when justice sleeps and passion regulates the balance.*

Thus, I have given you a very imperfect sketch of the Federal Administration; the state of the nation when they came into power, and the state when they retired. You have seen how much they have done; and how much they have done to be censured. Let us now see what the Democrats have done to be applauded.

THE Government they received as the Federalists left it, organised and in full operation. The

* When this law was enacted, the Democrats assert, that the Federalists were endeavouring to establish a monarchy. At such a time it must have been their first step, their only means of success, to silence all enquiry, that the people might not suspect, until the object was accomplished, what was brooding in the cabinet of the government. Yet, at *that very time*, they passed an act, *destroying* the ample safety, which the common law *then* afforded,—for by that, in a state prosecution, *truth* is a *libel*, and therefore, not to be spoken without hazard,—and giving every person the full liberty of publishing and speaking, with *impunity*, whatever he could substantiate in evidence.

army was disbanded, by the law that produced it. The Sedition Act expired of course, because in its creation it was temporary. For these measures, therefore they can claim no credit, except that of having done no evil; and on this principle, the government that does nothing, is entitled to the most applause.

BUT all their actions have not been negative. They have abolished the Judiciary, when the Constitution expressly says, that the Judges of the United States, shall hold their office during good behaviour. It is a sound rule in the construction of laws, to interpret them according to the obvious meaning of the Legislature that produced them. Yet those Judges were dismissed without impeachment; without even the *pretension* that they had committed a crime. Can this be holding an office *during good behaviour*?—One of these two conclusions must follow; either the supreme judicial power may be annihilated at the will of the Legislature, (which by all writers is defined to be the essence of tyranny) or the Constitution has been violated.

THE President has dismissed from office, during the recess of the Senate, and, thereby, established a principle, by which he can keep his own minions in authority, at least three fourths of the time, in defiance of all the powers of government, when the Constitution declares, that he shall only *nominate* and *appoint* by and with the *advice* and *consent* of the Senate.

THEY have altered the “Magna charta” of our Liberties, and given to the *strong* the power of the *weak*.

WHAT will be the event of this rapid progression in change, time alone can determine. Experience has long since told us, that Constitutions, before the rage of a party, are the mere web of the spider, to enchain the lion in his wrath. Hence ours has been mutilated ; has been violated, again and again, while the destroyer has pronounced his eulogiums, to lull the people to apathy and peace.— Read the letters of Mr. ELLIOT ; confessions against himself. An idiot cannot doubt the object. Their own party begin to pause and to retract. We have every thing to fear, from the single state of Virginia. She has *a giant's power*, and though it be *tyranous to use it*, Heaven can witness that she has the disposition.

BUT such remarks, we are told, are the result of Federal chagrin ; without foundation, and without propriety, because they tend to excite the jealousy of the nation. Would to Heaven, it were possible to awake the fears. A great proportion of our citizens only raise their sleepy heads, and look about, and doze again, while ruin hovers round them like a mist. A strange infatuation has seized the mind. New-England, though the first to vindicate her freedom, is the first to destroy it ; though she is the nursery of science and the arts, yet she is the stew of ignorance ; though she will have no slaves at home, yet she is the mother of oppression. While the Southern states, though not to be compared to the Eastern, are the cloud by day, and the pillar of fire by night. We follow them implicitly, and strange to tell ! we *adore* them as the GODS OF FREEDOM, while *their slaves are bleeding at their feet*. Though

the whole country is filled by "sinews bought and sold," by the unfortunate children of Africa, whose feelings are as keen as yours, as sensible to pain; who tell their sensibility, and their sorrows by the big tear that stands in their eye, while they pursue their silent labors; yet, my countrymen, *that is the land of Liberty!* Though the Lordlings *fatten on oppression*, yet we are invited, nay we are urged* to colleague with them, as the guardians of Freedom, as the lovers of the poor, the friends of the unfortunate, the ministers of joy and consolation. "Oh! Judgment, thou art fled to brutish beasts, and men have lost their reason." But you will not resign the liberties of your country, nor abandon the ways of your fathers. Like the immortal Cato, you will rather oppose a host; like him, you will rather perish in the effort, and prefer the honest fame of *the Roman patriot*, to the rewards of *treachery* or *cowardice*.†

* VIDE Mr. Bidwell's *Address to the Citizens of Massachusetts*, previous to the last election.

† Though there are many who deserve, the execrations of all mankind, for their cruelty towards their slaves, yet there are others, who treat them with such indulgence, that they merit approbation. But at best the practice of trafficking in the human species is very little consistent with the extravagant *professions* of many Democrats, though perfectly consistent with their conduct. The *sober* inhabitants of New-England, who were the first to oppose the armies of Great-Britain, the first to defend their rights, and establish their Independence, will hardly believe, that *in less than thirty years*, they have become so *averse to liberty* and so *in love with servitude*, that they wish to *destroy the government*, which alone can secure the one and prevent the other. For, should there be a revolution, unquestionably, the Middle and Southern States would succeed to the rule, because their territory is immensely more extensive than ours, and because their inhabitants are more than four times as numerous. Yet, when we have nothing to gain from a destruction of the Constitution, either in present enjoyment or future prospect, but every thing to lose, the Democrats tell us that *that is our only object*, and, "what is strange, passing strange," many of our citizens believe them.

ON the purchase of Louisiana, two facts are obvious ; the one, that we had lands before, of an excellent quality, more than we can ever cultivate ; the other, that a nation compact is more powerful and happy, than when thinly scattered over half the globe. Louisiana therefore, can be of very little importance, except to secure a passage through the Mississippi. But that passage it never can secure, while Spain, or any other nation holds the Floridas. Suppose then an individual, who has a large family ; who is happy in all his domestic enjoyments ; admits into it the Spaniard, the Algerine, the Indian, the Tartar, and individuals from almost every nation on earth, many of them rude as nature, and savage as rude ; would he conduct wisely ? But suppose he should call upon his children to give millions for their society.— If they were virtuous, undoubtedly they would prove obedient. Yet men of reason and coolness, would greatly doubt the policy of such a measure ; and suspect the motives of such a parent.

REPUBLICS are never remarkable for energy.— When therefore, their territory becomes immense, they are like a *gigantic body*, with a *little spirit* ; an huge hydroptic, with limbs soft, bloated, all bursting out with tumefaction, in whom the blood scarcely circulates from one extremity to the other, too unwieldy to be moved, without vigour, without activity, without use. Yet, my countrymen, for this state of things, we give 900,000 dollars per annum.

THE feature in the present administration, which seems to have attracted the most attention,

is economy. This has been echoed through the Union ; has been the constant theme of exhortation from the Priest of Apollo, to the most humble penitent, that worships at his shrine ; has made more converts, than all the other ministerial praxis, from the Presidential “ thorough bass,” to the whining of his hirelings repetition.

WHILE her children have been expiring in dungeons, America has boasted of her riches, and her gains ; miser like, has paid her *six per centum*, and left her family to perish for the want.* A system so prodigal of honour, so prodigal of life, should *indeed* have something more than *economy* to *justify* it, something more than *economy* to recommend it. Yet the present administration have only paid 13,000,000 of the national debt and *added* 15,000,000. The former, defrayed the expences of *two Indian wars* ; of quelling *two insurrections* ; of *raising an army* ; of *building a navy* ; of *redeeming captives* ; in fine, of completely organizing an infant government, and, *deducting the money and the securities which they delivered to their successors*, paid 8,267,000 dollars of the national debt. The Democratic revenue has been 12,644,886 dollars per annum. The Federal revenue was less than 6,000,000.† You will find from official docu-

* Our countrymen, who are waiting in prisons for the arrival of our navy ; vessels armed with but *a single gun*, some of them yet to be made, and yet to *cross the Atlantic* ; vessels, which the gentlest breeze of spring will overset.

† THE Democrats have paid, of the public debt	<i>Dolls.</i> 13,576,891
And have added, the price of Louisiana	15,000,000

The national debt, after deducting all the funds in the possession of the government, applicable to its reduction, was,

ments,* that with even the economy of their predecessors, instead of 13, they should have paid 27,000,000.

If it be asked, how it happens, that they have already discharged more of the national debt, than the Federalists? I answer, in the *first place*, their revenue has been more than twice as large; in the *second place*, they have had none of those extraordinary expences, which necessarily resulted from the situation of the country, and which always attend every new institution, especially one so vast, and complicated as that of Government.

THE Federalists dug the channels, and collected

in 1791,—about the time the Federalists received the government,—	74,185,596
After deducting <i>as before</i> it was, in 1801,—about the time the Federalists <i>resigned</i> it,—	65,918,311
<hr/>	<hr/>
Reduction during their administration	8,267,285
<hr/>	<hr/>
They also paid for quelling <i>two insurrections</i> in Pennsylvania	1,250,000
For the military preparations against France and for supporting two Indian wars	6,000,000
For building, equipping, and purchasing armed vessels before the close of the year 1799	3,843,000
For ditto in 1800	3,448,716
For redeeming our captives at Algiers and carrying into effect treaties with the Mediterranean powers	1,876,764
Amounting in the whole to	24,686,004
Beside the expences for light houses, fortifications, &c. &c. which cannot be exhibited in a note.	
<hr/>	<hr/>
The annual Democratic Revenue has been	12,644,000
The annual Federal Revenue was <i>only</i>	5,806,138

This view of the subject is given from the very able statements of the Rev. Mr. TAGGART, published in the *Hampshire Gazette*, and is undoubtedly correct.

* Vide the statement of Mr. TAGGART, to which we have already alluded.

the streams. Their successors had nothing to do, but raise the gates, and the waters flowed. Yet, because the machinery is more productive, than when the architects were devising, forming and balancing it, the arrogant directors boast of their achievements. The simple boy that blows the bellows, struts before the mechanist who frames the organ, is even preferred to Timotheus, who strikes the anthem, that swells before the altar, and chills, and soothes, and charms the votaries that surround it.

THUS my countrymen, I have given you an exhibition of the Federal and Democratic administration, imperfect, I acknowledge, but much longer than I could have wished. View them from first to last, I leave you to conjecture the result. But for another purpose, let us pause and query.

What is the object of the Federalist? What of the Democrat? Are there not certain features, which distinguish them? which shew the general tendency of their measures? The raising of an army to defend our rights; of a navy to protect our commerce; the establishment of a Judiciary, that Justice might be carried home to the doors; the enactment of a sedition law, that every man might speak truth, and no man falshood;—What is the language of these things? Is it not of energy or vigour?—All these leveled to the wishes of a party; the tyranny of Federalists trumpeted through the land; taxes repealed; the vigour of laws unnerved; the Constitution frittered away;—What is the impression of these? Is it not of lenity and anarchy?—

May, is it not the boast of Democrats, that Federalists are pursuing the most vigorous measures? Is it not their morning, and their evening hymn? *Has it not been shewn that, that is the safer side?* Let the honest American come forward to the test, and let him answer these four questions. *Is not the side of anarchy dangerous? Is not the want of energy less dangerous? Are not the Federalists pursuing the most vigorous measures? Are not the Democrats inclining to the opposite extreme?* If he does not silence conscience, and knock reason in head, he must answer in the affirmative. Where will the conclusion drive him? That Federalists are always right, I do not pretend. But the general system of their measures, is the only one that can preserve our liberty and independence. The prospects, which the leading Democrats hold up, possess a charm which the magic of Umbro can hardly dissipate. But, God forbid, that they should charm us into maniacs; or, allure us into slavery by the lustre of their manacles. Beware of the Golden chain! It has the strength of iron. France seized the glittering pendant. "It bit like a serpent and stung like an adder." Gabriel himself could not have convinced that nation but that she was in the full pursuit of liberty and glory. Yet after she had committed crimes, at which those of Gomorrah brighten into day; after she had rolled her mad and sanguinary waves over Europe, and in successive undulations swept away every republic on the continent; the illusion vanished; and she settled down into a despotism more absolute, and more profound than the dominion of the grave. This leveling system as certainly leads to tyranny as sin to perdition.

Though the course we ought to follow be clear as the sun, we have no reason to expect that prejudice will yield, or that truth will triumph.

THERE is a strange fatality attending man. Should an *Angel from Heaven* preach to a congregation on the great principles of morality and a judgment to come, each individual would believe himself excepted. Though we have the testimony of all history without a single exception or contradiction, and the evidence of our own experience, that anarchy alone is the door which can open tyranny to our view, yet we *will not* believe it. But the judgment will come ; and if we refuse to listen to the warning voice that whispers from the ruins of our predecessors, the period is on the wing, rapid as the flight of time, and certain as the shaft of fate, when it will be forever too late ; when our liberty will be gone and with it all that can cheer, can animate, or console. Some future traveller may sit, like the son of Hilkiah on the ruins, and apostrophise the desolation that surrounds him. Here once was the seat of a great empire. Under the smiles of Heaven and of freedom she was virtuous and happy. But parties arose, freedom fled and now she is left desolate. “ How doth the city mourn that was full of people. All her friends have dealt treacherously with her.” The sound of the lute is no more heard in her cottage ; innocence no more sports upon her mountains ; but the streams murmur to the silence of the forest ; and the blasts of the evening sigh through the wide and melancholy waste.

NOTE.

After the manuscript had been delivered to the Printer, and it was too late to make an alteration, a very polite criticism appeared in the Republican Spy, on a sentence which had been omitted, viz. "*Where are Carthage, Rome, and Greece? The tyrants of Barbary now stalk around the tomb of Hannibal; Brutus slumbers in the ashes of his country, &c.*"—A critick who has assumed the office of detecting and censuring the errors of others should at least, be correct himself. By adverting to Justin, 32—4, the gentleman will find, that Prusias never murdered Hannibal, and that Flaminius was not a Roman Consul at the time he demanded him, and that there have been three Hannibals in Carthage, all generals. But suppose the Hannibal alluded to was killed by Prusias, and never removed to Carthage. By a very common rhetorical figure, he might be spoken of as hovering around his country, though he were more than a thousand miles distant, and a monument might be spoken of as erected to his memory, and a tomb for his ashes, though he himself were among the antipodes. By the least attention to the orators or poets, the gentleman will find that, though his criticism WAS REMARKABLY INGENIOUS, yet that it was not very just.