

AN

# ORATION,

DELIVERED AT NEW-HAVEN ON THE 7th OF JULY,  
A. D. 1801,

BEFORE THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI,  
FOR THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT, AS-  
SEMBLED TO CELEBRATE THE AN-  
NIVERSARY OF

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

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By THEODORE DWIGHT.

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*Quid de Republica malis licet-ne dicere? Mibi vero licet, et semper  
licebit, dignitatem tuam: potestas modo veniendi in hunc locum sit, dicendi  
pericula non recuso.* CICERO.



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1801.

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*At a meeting of the Connecticut State Society of Cincinnati at the  
city of New-Haven, July 7th. A. D. 1801.*

VOTED, That Col. BENJAMIN TALLMAGE be re-  
quested to wait on THEODORE DWIGHT, Esq. and pre-  
sent him the thanks of this Society, for his Oration delivered  
before them this day; and that the Treasurer be directed to  
procure three hundred Copies of the same for the use of the  
members.

A true Copy of Record,

JOHN MIX, Secretary.

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## An ORATION.

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**I**T is probable, that the persons who compose this audience, have never met to celebrate the anniversary of American Independence, with sensations, similar to those which they experience this day. Since the last year, the administration of our national government has gone into the hands of men, whom the generality of the people of New-England have long viewed as its enemies—men, whose principles, and practices, we have both feared, and reprobated. A change of this sort, in a country like this, could not have been wrought without a violent struggle. One side grasping at power, and emolument; the other eagerly endeavouring to save their constitution, and country, exhibit to our view a state of things which presupposes passion, strife and tumult. Success having crowned the exertions of the party, which with no small share of parade assumes the title of Republican; but which, in more correct, and definite phraseology, is called Jacobinical; (1) the Federalists, a class of men, to which I trust the most of us are still proud to belong, prudently, and justly yielded to a Constitutional Election of Chief Magistrates, and resolved to wait for events, which to the eye of reason, and common foresight, could not be far distant. The inaugural

speech of the new President, was, I believe, very consonant to the feelings, and wishes, of his political opponents. For tho' it contained no specific engagements, relative to the course which the administration intended to pursue; yet it approached so near to this point, as that most people would consider a violent departure from the Federal principles, as a breach of faith. In this situation, it was easy to foresee, that if Mr. Jefferson fulfilled the seeming promises in his speech, he would be deserted by the furious of his own party; if he failed to fulfil them, the more moderate of both parties would charge him with hypocrisy: A dilemma, not the most enviable for a man, burthened with duties of a new and difficult nature; duties, from which many minds of more skill and firmness than his, would have shrunk with dismay. The Federalists are, therefore, quietly waiting for the disclosure of the principles, which are to govern the new administration. This disclosure, must, in the nature of things, be near at hand. Those, who have heretofore, with all their skill, and labours, opposed, and embarrassed, the operations of the government, will now have its duties to perform, its measures to originate, and its influence and dignity to uphold. Although we are now in the midst of that period, which, after such turbulence, and convulsion, is usually settled, and serene; yet we have received some samples of what we may hereafter expect from the hands of our rulers, when thoroughly fixed in their stations. On this subject, I forbear to comment. It is not expedient, at present, to examine, how far the powers of the President to remove from Office, and to supply the vacancies made by himself, "during the recess of the Senate," extend; and it will be difficult to deprive him of the power of construing his own declarations in his own manner. It is with the result of the administration, that we are more immediately concerned. For that, we must patiently wait. I trust, however, that, if driven into an opposition,

the Federalists will not degrade themselves, nor their cause, by a sullen, indecorous, unprincipled, and indiscriminate opposition ; but will shew, that they are actuated by higher motives than those, by which a Jacobinical opposition has heretofore been influenced. They will doubtless remember, that they have a cause to support, a government at stake ; and will conduct like men, in so interesting and responsible a situation.

In the mean time, let us profit by the lessons which the Jacobins have taught us. We have learned from experience, what great things may be accomplished by a spirit of union, vigilance, and activity. We have seen a vicious combination, composed of the most discordant materials, agreeing to bury their individual, and separate interests, and passions, and uniting, with one heart, and hand, to forward by every mean, and at all hazards, the general plans of the party. We have also seen them succeed. That government, which the collected wisdom, virtue and patriotism of the United States originally planned, and, which we flattered ourselves, was established in its operation, under the auspices, the skill, the pre-eminent virtues, and singular talents, of THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, is now the sport of popular commotion—is adrift, without helm or compass, in a turbid and boisterous ocean. To be prepared against the hour of its shipwreck, or to bring it back in safety to its wonted haven, the Federal party must also unite, be watchful, and active. Confident as we are, that the present administration is not competent to the management of the government, upon Jacobinical principles, it is the indispensable duty of the Federalists to be prepared for any event that may happen. For this purpose, they must move in a firm, compact, and formidable phalanx, which no common force can resist, and no ordinary danger intimidate.

These general remarks, are applicable to the Federalists throughout the Union. They have a common interest to protect, which is assailed by a common enemy. This interest must be defended, and cherished, and this attack repelled, by a general concert both of plan and conduct. In the meantime, to the Federalists of New-England, they come with redoubled force.(2) In New-England, the people partake strongly of a common character, and are more united, and more Federal, than in any other division of equal extent in the United States. The causes of this Union and Federalism were implanted in the earliest forms of their governments, they have in a great degree formed the national character, they have been productive of public virtue, and private happiness, and, of course, will not easily be removed, or destroyed.

But although these remarks are applicable in so forcible a manner to New-England ; there is a circle still more confined, which, in a pre-eminent degree, is interested in this subject ; I mean the state of Connecticut. Distinguished not only from those States which lie south of her, but also, in many particulars, from her more intimate, and cordial sisters of New-England, standing in some respects alone in national character, unyielding firmness, and unvanquished Federalism, she has become the object of the bitterest hatred, and vengeance, of the legions of Jacobinism. Having ravaged the greatest part of Europe, and laid waste every thing that was valuable in that miserable quarter of the globe ; having secured her dominion over a large portion of these United States ; we might rationally have hoped, that the foul Spirit of discord, and ruin would say—"It is enough ; stay now thine hand." Yet all these mighty conquests "avail nothing, so long as Mordecai the Jew sitteth at the king's gate." Connecticut must resign, or the triumph will be incomplete. Determined, therefore, that this trifling obstacle shall

not longer impede their devouring career, the Jacobins bend all their forces against the peace, the order, the religion, and the happiness of this State. Here then Federalism must take her stand; and if victorious here, she may still hope to regain the ground which she has lost, and to save our distracted, and falling country.(3) I call on you then, my fellow-citizens, to unite your strength, and activity, manfully to resist a foe, just entering the gates of your fortress. Having seized the reins of the general government, they are now levelling their open, and their secret, force, at your government, your institutions, your "steady habits." These are the bulwark of your safety, the corner-stone of your happiness. To protect them is a momentous, and sacred duty. They are a trust committed to your care; and sooner or later they will be required at your hands.

It has become very fashionable to ridicule the attachment of the people of Connecticut, to *their government, their institutions, and their "steady habits."* But before we add our sneers, to those of the Jacobins, let us devote a few moments to a consideration of *the nature, and effects* of that government, and those institutions, and habits. This is the fairest mode of determining whether there is any thing in them worth contending for; or whether we are ready, at the first summons, to surrender them forever.

It cannot be expected, that the nature of the government of this State, should be minutely considered in an exercise like this. It is a subject, which would furnish materials for a volume. Connecticut exhibits the only instance in the history of nations, of a government *purely Republican*, which has stood the test of experience for more than a century, and a half, with firmness enough to withstand the shocks of faction, and revolution. Our government, is a government of practice, and not of theory. It was

planned by profound wisdom ; it has been generally administered with skill, and virtue. It has never been “ bewildered by the dreams of Condorcet ;” it has hitherto withstood “ the intrigues of Cati-line.” Although along the whole course of our national existence, the names of many able, and excellent magistrates rise in sweet remembrance ; no demagogue ever yet acquired influence enough over the people of Connecticut, to blacken a passage of their history. The distinguishing trait in the character of the government, is this ; that, resting its claim to pre-eminence on the ground of long experience, and practice, it sets all theory at defiance. At the same time, it is not easy to say, what constitutes its strength, and force. That there is a principle existing here, which produces, from a system the most mild and free, all the benefits of great vigour, and energy, cannot even be questioned. We have, *in fact*, no written constitution ; no executive power, or patronage. One branch of our Legislature is elected annually, the other semi-annually ; our Judiciary in all its branches, except one, is appointed yearly by the Legislature, and that one is chosen by the people ; and yet we are firm, steady, and free from insurrections, our taxes are cheerfully, and promptly paid ; the expenses of the government are small ; (4) every man is secure ; the laws are faithfully executed, and obeyed ; and the people are prosperous, contented, and happy. A government, like this, must be viewed as a prodigy. To account for a state of things so uncommon, is, perhaps, impossible. It is doubtless derived from the co-operation of many causes. One of them is probably this, by the division of the State, into corporations, and the peculiar organization of each, with its legislative, and executive officers, the great body of the citizens share directly, or indirectly, in the honors of the government, and have an immediate interest in the peace, dignity, and welfare of the state. At the same time, the appointments to office are



made, directly by the people, collectively, or by their immediate representatives. Of course, the intrigue, the partiality, and the clamour, which ever attend executive patronage, have here no existence. Nor have the officers any inducements, or temptations, to become the creatures of any individual; the executive having neither the power of appointment, nor of removal.(5)

From this slight, and imperfect sketch of the nature of the government, let me turn your attention to a more particular examination of the institutions, and habits of the State. We owe them too much, to pass by them with neglect, or indifference. Their influence, combined with similar institutions in the other New-England states, is now the principal human obstacle to the general dominion of Jacobinism in the United States.

The first of these institutions which is entitled to particular regard, is that of *Schools*. One of the earliest objects of attention with the wise, and virtuous men, who planted this Colony, was public instruction. For this end, schools were established by law, and legislative aid was afforded to the several Societies for their support. Thus provision was made for the education of the poor, as well as the rich; and this subject has been constantly in the eye of the Legislature, from the first formation of the government, to the present moment. From small beginnings, the State has increased its patronage of schools, to the time of their present establishment; by which, from a permanent fund, appropriated by law forever to the support of schools, the sum of seventy-two thousand dollars is to be distributed annually among the school Societies in the State. In addition to this, the sum of two dollars upon every thousand dollars, in the lists of the respective towns, is, and for a long course of years has been, ordered to be paid out of the State Treasury for this ex-

cellent institution. This amounts to about twelve thousand dollars; making in the whole, no less than eighty-four thousand dollars a year, given by the State, to the great object of public, common schooling. May we not without arrogance, challenge the world to produce a parrallel instance?(6)

But literary instruction, important as it confessedly is, is not the only object worthy of the attention of a State. Sensible of this truth, our forefathers were not unmindful of the absolute necessity of *moral and religious education*. To accomplish this end, laws and regulations have ever existed since the formation of the Colony, calculated to secure to the people instruction in moral, and religious duties. I shall not attempt to enumerate them all. The following being the substance of a paragraph in a statute of ancient date, is alone sufficient to justify all that we say of our moral and religious character. By law, "every town, and society, is authorized to contract with, and settle a minister, to preach the gospel to the inhabitants; and if any town, or society, shall be, *for a year*, without a minister preaching the gospel to them, such town, or society, shall pay such sum as the general court shall appoint; and the sum so paid, is to be applied, according to the discretion of the county court, in the county, where the town or society lies, for the use of the ministry in that town or society." This subject, of all others the most interesting to frail, dying, and accountable creatures, is not left in Connecticut, to the management of philosophy, vice, and unbounded toleration; but the people can by the force of law be compelled to do their duty.

I am aware, that this doctrine, under "the new order of things," will be deemed unphilosophical; and that it will be condemned as an abridgement of "*the rights of man*;" and probably some, on hearing it, will go home, and read once more a law of another State, by which, in that State, all restraint

is removed, and men are left entirely free to worship, at their pleasure, "twenty Gods, or no God." This, it must be confessed, is much nearer the standard of cosmopolitism, than the laws of Connecticut. By some strange mistake in human affairs, although Society has the undoubted right to controul men in the use of their property, to punish them for drunkenness, and to compel the citizens to teach their children to write, and read every thing but the bible ; yet, to check the progress of infidelity, and atheism, and to punish blasphemy, is entirely out of their reach !

There are many other institutions in this State, which might be mentioned ; but, as they are subordinate to these, and are all intended to enlarge the happiness of mankind, by promoting their literary, moral, and religious knowledge, I shall pass them by. Those, which I have thus briefly noticed, are, the foundation of all the blessings, which the State of Connecticut enjoys.

This will appear more strikingly, by a little attention to their effects in detail.

It is an extraordinary fact, that in this State, a native inhabitant, either male, or female, who cannot both read and write, is a rare phenomenon. Further than this, almost every boy is instructed not only in reading, and writing, but in arithmetic, and geography. Hence every industrious man, who possesses a fair moral character, is qualified to fill many important offices in the town, county, and State. These offices being perfectly free, and open to all, ambition has its range, and its gratification ; whilst industry, and morality, are stimulated, and rewarded. Hence equality, not that furious, bloody, and demoralizing spirit, which has desolated so large a portion of Europe, but the only equality, of which mankind are susceptible in a civilized state, is here enjoyed in its fullest extent.

It is also worthy of remark, that in this State, the people not only are taught to read, but they actually do read. In a great proportion of the towns and societies, there are public libraries established, which furnish the inhabitants with a sufficient collection of valuable books, in the various branches of literature, and particularly in sound morality, and divinity. These libraries are placed under the direction of the best informed members of the Society, and among them, with great propriety, we always find the minister. Nothing, therefore, that is hurtful to the peace, to regularity, to morals, or to religion, ever finds its way into these collections. Thus guarded, the people have an opportunity of treasuring up much useful knowledge, in addition to the stock gained at school; and thus of sweetening, and enlivening the journey of life, by amusements useful, pleasant, and substantial.

But the effect of these institutions, which is of far the greatest importance to Society, is the support of public worship, and the devout, and religious observance of the sabbath. The advantages of public worship to a community, are generally acknowledged to be great, even in a political sense. There is doubtless much truth in the opinion. The regular return, and devout observation of a day of rest, of decent behaviour, of abstinence from labour and amusement, joined with moral, and religious instruction, has a tendency to form an habitual rectitude of character. The minds of men lose the ferocity, and degradation of the savage, and rise to the standard of refined, humane, and rational beings. So exactly does experience verify this remark, that a traveller will easily distinguish with his eye, as he passes along, the place where the sabbath is honoured, and public worship supported, from that, where both are treated with neglect, and contempt. In the one, there will appear evident marks of good order, of sobriety, of industry, and of civilization;

in the other, as evident marks of tumult, of intemperance, of idleness, and of brutality.

But the great and primary advantages of the sabbath and of public-worship, to a community, are to be sought for in its moral, and religious state. "Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy," is the solemn command of HIM, "whose kingdom ruleth over all." On him we depend for our being, our preservation, and all our blessings; and to him we must render our final account. To prepare for that solemn, and awful hour, we must devote our lives to the strict performance of social, moral, and religious duty. A great proportion of mankind, are obliged to spend six days in the week in procuring for themselves, and their families, the necessaries of life. What a blessing is it to such, that one day in seven may be passed, free from secular employments, in receiving religious instruction, and in hearing the words of eternal life! In the solemn assembly, in "that place which is none other than the House of God, and the Gate of Heaven," thousands every sabbath receive that pious, and holy knowledge, which helps them to perform the labours of life with cheerfulness, and gratitude; which proves an antidote against the miseries of this vale of tears, and a balm to the wounded spirit; and which, in the hour of dissolution, lifts the soul of the Christian above the fears of death, and the terrors of the grave, to that world "where sorrow and sighing shall flee away."

This subject is also deeply interesting to persons of all descriptions. We are all prone to forget our duty, however thoroughly we may understand it. It is necessary, therefore, that we should be reminded of it; that we should be warned to avoid the ways of vice, "which lead down to the chambers of death;" and that we should be stimulated to pursue "the path of the just, which is as the shining light, shining more and more unto the perfect day."

In no possible mode can these indispensable services be so faithfully and effectually rendered to us, as by the instructions, the warnings, and the exhortations which we receive in the house of God. There we meet our Teacher, on each returning sabbath; we know his talents, his sincerity, and his piety; we receive the fruits of his long studies, and meditations; and if we do not profit by our advantages, "it will be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for us." Is not a school of this nature calculated to do good? Is it not the least expensive of any ever devised? In what other mode, were hundreds of persons, of all ages, and classes, ever able to obtain from a single preceptor, so much useful knowledge, in so short a time?

Is not that state of society to be prized, in which the burthens of government are scarcely felt; where security, economy, freedom, justice, and clemency reign; where the whole community are furnished with the means of acquiring useful knowledge, on all necessary, and important subjects; where the honours, and profits of government, are open to all; and where the pure doctrines of the Gospel are constantly preached? Surely "the lines have fallen to us in pleasant places, and we have a goodly heritage"! I trust we shall be slow to believe the man, who promises us better things than we now enjoy.

But, my fellow citizens, bright as is the scene which I have attempted to display; tho' your own consciences must bear me witness, that I have not in the least exaggerated; tho' we have all the inducements which are derived from long, fair, and unequivocal experience, not only to be contented, but to cling to our government, and our institutions, as the ark of our safety, against the storms of a convulsed, and quaking world; yet there is a combination formed against us, which, with a vengeance, exceeded by nothing but by its perseverance, and

wickedness, is labouring night and day for our destruction. This combination comprises not only the profligate, and abandoned, in the other parts of the country; but, to their shame be it said, it comprises also some of our own native citizens. Is it not enough, that the old world is in ruins; is it not enough, that some of the United States are falling a prey to the rapacious monster Jacobinism; is it not enough, that the storm of fire and brimstone is consuming all the cities of the plain; must the conflagration reach to this little city, also?

Is it necessary to produce the evidences of this combination? It is an easy task. The state of Connecticut, ever since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, has been united in support of its Federal Administration. In no instance, has it been disgraced by a Jacobinical representative in the national legislature. This has not only given to the State an influence in the public councils, beyond its population, and wealth;(7) but, it has placed us as a bulwark against the approaches of a disorganizing spirit. This bulwark defies every open and direct attack. Our foes have learned enough of our character, to be convinced, that there is a foundation on which the State is built, which must be destroyed, before they can demolish its stable fabric. Under the influence of this conviction, the attack has begun in newspapers, in toasts, in orations, in sermons, in secret cabals, and in civic thanksgivings. Not only have they vilified the characters of our members of Congress in their prostituted gazettes; but they have at length assailed some of the worthiest, and most virtuous men in the State government, together with the whole body of the clergy, with the foulest aspersions, the vilest calumnies, the most shameful falsehoods. Yes, my fellow-citizens, the outlaws of Europe, the fugitives from the pillory, and the gallows, have undertaken to assist our own abandoned citizens, in the pleasing work of destroy-

ing Connecticut. Scarcely an Aurora appears, without an attempt to accomplish this desirable end. Every Republican Watch-Tower bears on its profligate pages, an effort towards the downfall of Connecticut. In the drunken revellings of the fourth of March, over the infuriated cup of Democratic intoxication, has been hiccupped out the ruin of this devoted State. Nay, come with me nearer home—in the midst of the State, in this very town, and in the sanctuary of God, the people of Connecticut, and their government, have been reviled, and slandered, their institutions ridiculed, and their clergy contemned, and vilified. We have been stigmatized as a poor deluded race of ignorant, oppressed, priest-ridden beings, too stupid to discern, and too spiritless to assert our rights.

It is worthy of peculiar notice, that in all these attacks upon Connecticut, both at home and abroad, the clergy are singled out as the objects of the highest degree of animosity. They are charged with having established a hierarchy, and with controuling elections. It is even soberly declared, that such has been their success in political intrigue, that there is formed here a fixed union of Church and State, to keep the people in a state of delusion, to bind them fast in the chains of superstition, and to lead them blindfold into the most abject slavery of body, as well as of mind. I might safely leave this subject with the consciences of the people, after only enquiring of them in the various towns, and societies, whether their Ministers are such domineering mischief-making men? Whether there are any persons more esteemed, more beloved, or more venerated? Whether they were not among the warmest, and most zealous friends, and supporters of the cause of their country, during the late revolutionary war? But, as I feel no inclination to shrink from the task of vindicating the people from the charge of such extreme weakness, and folly, and the clergy from all



reproach on the subject of political conduct, I will hazard a few ideas on this topic.

Several pamphlets, and many newspaper columns, have been written, and published, by both foreign and domestic Jacobins, for the purpose of slandering the people of this State. The inhabitants are described by them all, as groaning under the most intolerable bondage, from ecclesiastical tyranny.(8) Our bodies, they seem to think, are as entirely controuled in their actions, and our minds in their researches, as were those of the inhabitants of Europe, in the darkest hour of monkish ignorance, and barbarism. With all the exquisite sympathy of cosmopolites, they weep over such a scene of suffering, of degradation, and of delusion. Alas, my fellow citizens, how distressing is the thought, that in a country, where ninety-nine out of a hundred of the people are politicians, where every body discusses questions not only of government, but of Religion, and where almost any of us, when called upon, can make orations, a poor Minister, chosen by ourselves, dependant on us for his daily bread, with a salary of a hundred pounds a year, and a house full of children, should be able to "ride in the whirlwind and direct the storm," of our political atmosphere.

"But," say these anxious and affectionate gentlemen, "Church and State are united; they go on together; they bear all before them." It is extremely fortunate for Church and State, that they are united; that they do ~~no~~ move together; because, when a community is harmonious in its conduct, its affairs commonly flourish. I believe, however, it was never tho't a sin before, that the people and the clergy of a State, were agreed in sentiment; for that there is any other union, beside an union of sentiment, in Connecticut, (except that which springs from it, viz. an union of conduct) I believe even the Jacobins will not pretend. When men

think alike, they are extremely prone to act alike. Perhaps, this sentiment was never more perfectly realized than in this State. The people, and the clergy, have ever been united. They were united in the revolutionary war; they were united during the Federal Administration of our present government; and they will probably remain united in an attachment to the constitution of the United States; to the government, and institutions of the State in which they live; and in opposition to the principles of Jacobinism. But, must they be revolutionized for this? Is this harmony of sentiment, and conduct, a crime? Let me enquire, if an union, as intimate as that which now exists, existed in favour of Jacobinical principles, whether it would be a crime of so deep a dye?

It is however said, "that the ministers, regardless of their duty, preach politics." This is alledged as a heinous offence. So far is preaching politics, occasionally, from being improper, that it is their bounden duty. Obedience to laws, and reverence to magistrates, are both moral, and christian duties, and are commanded in the scriptures. The ministers of Christ are expressly charged "to declare the whole counsel of God." Is not good government a blessing? It is, then, the duty of a minister to render thanks to HIM, "by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice." Is not bad government a calamity? It is, then, the duty of a minister to join his flock in humiliation for the judgment, and to pray for its removal.

Finally, it is said, "that the clergy have another profession, and therefore they ought not to intermeddle with politics." If by this objection is meant, that preaching politics, and preaching religion, are incompatible, I have already shewn that the former, as well as the latter, is, occasionally, the duty of a christian minister. If it means, that a politician ought to have no other profession, it lies equally a-

gainst almost every man in the community. Scarcely a man can be found, in New-England, who has not some other business beside that of a mere politician—either that of a farmer, mechanic, merchant, lawyer, or something else. Besides, the clergy are as much interested in the political state of the country, as any other class of the people. They have families to protect ; and altho' not possessed of as much property as most others, the little which they have is their all, is as valuable to them, and of course, is as well worth preserving. The truth is, the sin lies in the Federalism of the clergy. Were they Jacobinical, they might talk politics, they might write politics, they might preach politics, they might *pray politics*, with perfect impunity. Yea, when Mr. Jefferson is elected President, for the pious purpose of forgiving Federalists their trespasses, and of "*overcoming evil with good*," a clergyman may travel to a remote part of the State from his own flock, to preach politics ; nor will these conscientious gentlemen, who are so shocked at the wickedness of the Federal clergy for preaching now and then in favour of good order, and good government, be at all disturbed at hearing this privileged pastor attempt to extract Jacobinism from the holy scriptures, or to ascribe Democracy to the blessed JEHOVAH.(9)

The real object in all these things, is to discredit your ministers, to decry your religion, to ridicule public worship, and to destroy your sabbath. The sentiments of the clergy, are the sentiments of virtuous, learned, and pious men, and as such have great weight with the people. The religion which they preach is directly opposed to the propagation of Jacobinism ; the warfare is between atheism, and christianity ; and the people have chosen their side. If they cannot be detached from their religion, if they cannot be induced to yield up their worship, and their sabbath, they cannot be revolutionized. To stimulate you, my fellow-citizens, to perseverance

in the combat, I beg leave to suggest to you some of the consequences which will probably take place, when your government, and your institutions are destroyed.

The great object of Jacobinism, both in its political, and moral revolutions, is to destroy every trace of civilization in the world, and to force mankind back to a savage state. Whoever has watched its progress since the commencement of the French revolution, must have made this remark. The means adopted for this purpose, are too well calculated for the accomplishment of the end. In the first place, they undermine all moral, and religious principle. When the heart has been thoroughly divested of all its refinement, and humanity, and of all fear of accountabilitys, they make their attack upon government. This falls an easy victim to forces, previously depraved, and prepared for bold, and bloody achievements. The moral, and social warfare is carried on, by enlisting on the Jacobinical side, every passion, and every vice. The poor are excited to hostilities against the rich, by the most false, and artful representations of injustice, and oppression. Wealth is considered only as the means of acquiring power and influence; and wisdom, and virtue, as the means of enabling men to exercise a tyrannical spirit. Religion, which inculcates a spirit of meekness and sobriety on those in power, of charity on the affluent, of resignation on the unfortunate and afflicted, and of penitence and reformation on the wicked, forms a barrier, in the way, which at all hazards must be removed. Thus wealth, and its sources are ever proscribed; the means of science destroyed; and the authenticity of Religion denied, and ridiculed. What more is necessary than for a system like this to be carried into effect, to force men backward to that barbarous state, in which they were grovelling, when the light of christianity beamed upon the world.

Nor is this empty speculation. The truth of history is at hand, to support the doctrine. When Jeroboam rebelled against his sovereign, divided the Jewish kingdom, and placed himself upon the throne of the ten tribes, he found he had advanced but a little way towards the quiet enjoyment of his dominion. The religion of the nation presented a difficulty, which he, being a good judge of human nature, knew it was absolutely necessary to overcome, or he must lose his crown. “And Jeroboam said *in his heart*, now shall the kingdom return to the house of David. If this people go up to do sacrifice in the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, then shall the heart of this people turn again unto their Lord, even unto Rehoboam, king of Judah, and they shall kill me, and go again to Rehoboam king of Judah. Whereupon the king took counsel, and made two calves of gold, and said unto them, it is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem; behold thy gods, O Israel, which bro’t thee up out of the land of Egypt!”\* The consequences are plain and natural. “The thing became a sin,” the people went to worship before the idols in Bethel, and in Dan, priests of the lowest of the people were made, new feasts were ordained at the times “which Jeroboam *had devised in his own heart*,” the nation sunk into the most beastly idolatry, tyrant after tyrant swayed over them an iron sceptre, until they were conquered, plundered, and destroyed; while the author of all their calamities obtained for his reward, a dreadful denunciation of divine vengeance upon his profligate family, and a perpetual detestation among the children of men, as “*the son of Nabat, who made Israel to sin.*”

When the authors of the French Revolution, began seriously to plot the subversion of their government, and the ruin of their nation, they also commenced hostilities against their Religion. This tho’

\* 1 Kings, chap. xii. ver. 26.

undoubtedly corrupted from the pure principles of primitive Christianity, yet inculcated many of its doctrines with energy, and success. The observance of the sabbath remained; and the people heard from the pulpit, the terrors of the law, and the hopes of the gospel. The efficacy of this religion was too great, for the complete success of the plans of those abandoned characters, who led the assault upon that devoted nation. Accordingly, after a series of indirect attacks upon the clergy, and upon public worship, the national legislature struck a blow, which perfectly answered the purpose in view. They destroyed the Christian Kalendar, expunged from the records of time the holy sabbath, instituted feasts on times "which they had devised in their own hearts," and proclaimed a heathenish, and atheistical worship, calculated to ridicule every thing sacred, to banish all vestiges of religious adoration, and to consecrate the most hideous, and destructive vices, as the gods of the nation. The consequences have been such as might have been, such as were expected. The nation has exhibited the most deformed, and horrible picture, which the eye of man ever beheld. Dreaded by her neighbours, abhorred by the good, and shunned by the world, she has emphatically "become a hissing, a bye-word, and a reproach among the nations."

I shall not undertake by evidence, or argument, to shew, that the Jacobins of this country are as malignant, and as profligate, as those of France. After having heard them justify the French in all their overturnings, and through the whole course of their bloody career, until, professedly with an ardent affection for Republican principles, they applaud the usurpation, and dictatorship of the man, who has established over France the most despotic government in Europe, if men are not convinced of the true character, and designs of our Jacobins, I should expect to offer evidence to them in vain.

That their course is as nearly the same, as the circumstances of the two countries will allow, will not admit of a question. Determined as their last effort, to subvert New-England, and particularly Connecticut, and to subject us to the dreadful sceptre of Jacobinism, they have commenced their attack against that part of our system, “where our great strength lies.” They have set up their huc-and-cry against our clergy, and our religion. We are traduced as slaves; we are branded as hypocrites. Our laws to support religion, are denominated tyrannical; and an artful, internal effort has been made under the flimsy covering of religious tolerance, to break in pieces this corner-stone of our national happiness. Nay, it would seem, that the domineering politics of some of the largest, and haughtiest States in the union, had formed a combination to destroy all the smaller States, and especially Connecticut. The shock of this multifarious attack, requires the resolute, and dignified exertion of all our courage, and all our firmness. To excite that courage, and to strengthen that firmness, let us survey the state, into which the Jacobins are endeavouring to plunge us, and into which we must expect to be plunged, if we suffer ourselves to be vanquished by the enemies who have risen up against us. The favourite doctrines of Jacobinism, are,—that *commerce is a system which produces national impoverishment*—that *there is necessarily a constant warfare between the wealthy, and the indigent*—that *one-tenth of society is leagued to oppress, and enslave the other nine-tenths*—that *wealth makes its possessor a nobleman*—that *every man in power is, of course, a villain*—that *morals and religion, are not only not necessary ingredients in the character of a ruler, but are in truth disqualifications*. These doctrines are not published solely in those newspapers in the country, which are edited by United Irishmen; they have been triumphantly promulgated in New-England, and in this State. We are told, that “*if a man is filled with*

*wealth and power, he is a peer of the realm*\*—that “*the great men who are to gain by every system injurious to freedom, are the best informed men in society*”†—that it is a real misfortune to nine-tenths of society, that the other tenth should be opposed to them”—that “*it must never be forgotten, that the argument drawn from the coincidence of great and wise and holy politicians in public measures is of all others the most alarming*”—that “*these are the only men whom we have to fear*”—For “*if some are apparently more holy than their neighbours, then if they meddle with your politics, they are most capable of deceiving you ; their holiness may recommend them to heaven, but it is no guarantee for their political rectitude.*”‡ The inferences drawn from these doctrines are these—that commerce, the great source of our national, as well as individual wealth, ought to be repressed and discouraged—that jealousies, and wranglings ought ever to exist, between the poor, and the rich, the citizen, and the ruler—that men of no property, no information, no morals, no piety, are the fittest persons in a community, to take charge of its great political, and social interests.

I might here shew, by a natural, and easy deduction, that this gives us the question—that the rulers now in office, against whom these things are written, and published, are wise, and virtuous ; that, as the objects of those who propagate them, is, not only to displace the persons now in office, but to put in their room, a set conformable to their own standard, that they are, in reality, only electioneering for themselves. But my purpose is of a more serious nature. It is not certain, that those who speak, or those who publish these Jacobinical doctrines, understand their real nature, and extent. They are puppets, moved by a *master-hand* behind the curtain. They are therefore to be considered, not merely as the lan-

\* Extent and power of Pol. Decl. page 57. † Ibid. page 27.

‡ Ibid page 36.



guage of the writer of a newspaper paragraph, or of the speaker of an oration; but as the opinions and sentiments of a party, sent into circulation for the purpose of proving the public taste, and of trying the public spirit; to prepare the way for their introduction into a full, and fatal practice. If they sustained only the former character, they would be despised as the offspring of weakness, and depravity; but in the latter point of view, they become serious and alarming. They are derived from the same source, whence have issued those impure, and pestilential principles in politics, in morals, and in religion, which have deluged so great a part of the globe, and whose billows are now rolling towards these western shores.

If men of wealth are in fact noblemen, if our industrious farmers, mechanics, merchants, and professional men, after having passed lives of labour, and frugality, are to be branded as an aristocratic nobility, and thus rendered odious to their neighbours, and countrymen, and held up to view as objects of free and indiscriminate plunder, in the first revolution which may happen, where is the inducement to industry, and economy? The road to honour and eminence, will lead through habits of sloth, speculation, and prodigality; some of the most important social virtues will be repressed, discountenanced, and contemned; and some of the greatest social vices will be stimulated, encouraged, and rewarded.

An imputation equally base, is also cast upon science. Wise men, it is said, can reason more ingeniously than fools: therefore, that fools are the fittest men to govern, is the inference. What is this, but plainly, and directly avowing, that ignorance is the only virtuous state of society? Away then with your schools. Will you train up your children, merely to become pests to the community? Let them

grow up like the calves of the stall ; utterly unacquainted with social, or moral duty ; let them pass through life poor, despised, and enslaved ; and depart from it like the beasts which perish.

But the last article of this creed, is that which deserves the most particular notice—Piety, and morality not only are not necessary ingredients in the character of a ruler, but are in truth, disqualifications. We have often heard it gravely contended by vicious men, when struggling for an election, that morals, and religion, were not essential to the character of a ruler ; but never, I believe, until the æra of “the new order of things,” was it considered, that a good man was on account of his goodness, unfit to be a ruler. If principles of this sort are to prevail, and our practice is to conform to them, we shall not only be forced to believe that “the sun of Federalism is set,” but that there is not even a *Will-o-wisp* left to cheer a benighted world. The steps to this extraordinary position are these—All men in power abuse it—the more a man possesses the confidence of his fellow citizens, the more he can injure them—a good man will necessarily possess more confidence, than a bad man—therefore a bad man is the safest ruler. That is, in plain English, the greatest villain in the community is the fittest person to make, and execute laws. Graduated by this scale, there can be no doubt that Jacobins have the highest qualifications for rulers. I trust however that there will be some difficulty in persuading the people of Connecticut, to govern themselves by it at present—It will not be an easy task to persuade them, that the State will be in a happier situation, when its rulers are beggars, idiots, and knaves, than when they are possessed of property, learning and virtue.

But this plan of improving the state of society, is carried much further by an English writer of celebrity, from whom our cosmopolites have drawn the most important articles of their creed. *Godwin,*

in his "Enquiry concerning Political Justice," has drawn a full length picture of society, when men shall have become perfect, when human nature shall triumph over death, and a state of perfect "*Democratic equality*" shall exist. I shall only notice a few of the sentiments, towards the close of his work, which may serve as a specimen of the whole. When considering the subject of a state of equality, he remarks, that "the institution of marriage is a system of fraud." In the course of his reasonings on this topic, he advocates a promiscuous intercourse of sexes—declares marriage to be a monopoly of the worst kind—and finally closes with the following passage—"In a state of equality it will be a question of no importance, to know who is the parent of each individual child. *It is aristocracy, self-love and family pride that teach us to set a value upon it at present. I ought to prefer no human being to another, because that being is my father, my wife or my son, but because, for reasons which equally appeal to all understandings, that being is entitled to preference. One among the measures which will successively be dictated by the spirit of democracy, and that probably at no great distance, is the abolition of surnames.*"(9) Here, then, from a philosophical madman, we have the remainder of the picture of that state of society, which Jacobinism is striving to produce. Let us survey the whole scene with a rapid eye, that its beauties may be brought into a narrower view, and the mind be satisfied at once.

We have already seen, that our rulers are to be desperate in their pecuniary circumstances—ready to prey upon, and plunder the people in every mode, which the possession of places of power will put into their hands—that they are to be ignorant—utterly unacquainted with either the science of government or the history of man, incapable of reasoning, either from experience, or by analogy, the tools of passion, the dupes of intrigue, and the slaves

of corruption—and that they are also to be destitute of morals, and religion. Of course, regardless of laws human and divine, they will despise justice, trample under foot the liberties of their country, prophane the holy sabbath, raze the temples of God, and extinguish from the breast every idea of future accountability, of adoration, and of praise.

From this sketch of the body politic, the transition is easy to the picture of private life. An institution ordained by God himself, from which are derived all the substantial blessings, and delights of life, is declared to be “*a system of fraud.*” That most intimate of all connections, that most endearing of all unions, that source of pure, and exalted affection, of refined, and ecstatic felicity, is to be scouted from society. And what is to be the substitute? A beastly intercourse, a brutal sensuality, a national prostitution! A natural consequence of such a state of things immediately follows. “It is of no importance that we should be able to discover our own children,” in this state of “Democratic equality.” As soon as they open their eyes on the light of the sun, they are to be cast out, abandoned, and forgotten; not even a mark set upon them, by which, when the summer of life is over, they may be singled out from the immense flock of the human race, and brought into the fold of peace and safety, before the storms of winter begin to beat upon them.

Filial piety, though the practice of it is encouraged by the promise of *long life* “in the land which the Lord our God giveth us;” though it is solemnly declared by God himself, that “the eye which mocketh its father, and despiseth to obey its mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it,” is here extinguished from the world. Old age, without comfort, and without a stay, without even a solitary hand “to rock the cradle of declining years,” to remove the thorns from the pillow of disease, or to close his dying eyes, weak,

childless, and alone, must explore through a wilderness of beings like himself, his dreary passage to the grave.

Nay, the very names which we bear, the landmarks of our title to domestic felicity, are to be removed, and all is to become a common field, exposed to the range of every lawless, and vicious footstep.

We have now reached the consummation of Democratic blessedness. We have a country governed by blockheads, and knaves; the ties of marriage, with all its felicities, are severed, and destroyed; our wives, and our daughters are thrown into the stews; our children are cast into the world from the breast, and forgotten; filial piety is extinguished; and our surnames, the only mark of distinction among families, are abolished. Can the imagination paint any thing more dreadful on this side hell? Some parts of the subject are, indeed, fit only for horrid contemplation. But let me point out to you, the progress of a being through this dreadful society. The offspring of—he knows not whom; instead of feeding on the nectar of his mother's bosom, cast out a vagabond among cosmopolites, with hearts harder than adamant, and colder than the frosts of Greenland, to pick a miserable support in a world where Charity lets not a crumb fall from her table; trained up without a filial, or a fraternal sentiment; loving, and beloved by, no human being; ignorant of himself, and ignorant of his God; in sickness friendless; in death deserted. What can such a state of Society breed but vice; what can it end in but misery?

From the situation of an individual, extend your thoughts to a nation; and from a nation to a world. View, for a moment, millions of such wretches as I have described. Think of a world full of ignorance, impurity, and guilt; without justice, without science, without affection, without conjugal felicity, with-

out parental love, without filial piety, without domestic happiness, without worship, without a prayer, without a God! What can support the human mind in the hour of distress, in a world like this? Instead of the consolations of faith, we should find the madness of despair—instead of the fortitude, and resignation of Christianity, we should see—

———“whetting his interdicted knife,  
Cries: *Suicide*, the damned fiend of hell”———

instead of the accents of adoration, and praise, we should hear “weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of teeth.” Is there a charm in this? Can even a cosmopolite find a ray of comfort here?

Let the people of New-England, and especially the people of Connecticut, enslaved and deluded as they are, contrast this Tartarean state, with their own real, and substantial blessings. However flattered they may be with the arts, and fawnings of Jacobinism; however secure they may feel, in the hour of revolution, from the tender care, and affection of those who profess so much anxiety for their good; let them remember, that the people of many countries have made the same experiment which is now offered to them, and trusting to the same security, have been irretrievably enslaved, and ruined. When the reigns of power are in their hands, then these friends of the people, convince those whom they have seduced, that all dependence on their engagements, and promises, is vain. Then “your covenant with death shall be disannulled, and your agreement with hell shall not stand: when the overflowing scourge shall pass through then ye shall be trodden down by it. From the time that it goeth forth, it shall take you: for morning by morning it shall pass over, by day and by night: and it shall be a vexation only to understand the report. For the bed is shorter than that a man can stretch himself on it;

and the covering is narrower than that he can wrap himself in it.”\*

On the contrary, how glorious will it be for Connecticut to stand firmly amidst the convulsions, and downfall of the nations of the world. Trusting in God, and adhering more closely than ever to her government, her morals, and her religion,—

“ High o’er the wrecks of man she’ll stand sublime,  
A COLUMN in the melancholy waste,  
(Its cities humbled, and its glories past)  
MAJESTIC ’MID THE SOLITUDE OF TIME.”

\* Isaiah xxviii. 18, &c.

## N O T E S.

(1) I DO not mean to include among Jacobins, every man who is pleased with the election of Mr. Jefferson. The immense multitude of falsehoods, which have been circulated through this country, for several years past, have deceived many honest people, who had not the means of detecting them. To this description of persons, are to be added some of warm, and enthusiastic minds, whose dispositions are good, and whose intentions are honest. Multitudes also for the want of just information, are led astray. None of these, are to be considered as Jacobins. But, there are men, to whom the term is strictly applicable. There are men whose object is to accumulate power, for the purpose of gratifying their own inordinate ambition; there are men, who are desperate in their pecuniary affairs, who crave the emoluments of office; and there are men, who from a depraved, and diabolical spirit, intend by convulsion and revolution, to throw every thing into confusion, to destroy law, to banish justice, to expose the property of the industrious and wealthy, to the robberies of the idle and vicious, and to open the flood-gates of vice, and irreligion.—These men are JACOBINS. Among them are

Americans—and among them are a host of foreigners, especially of the denomination of United Irishmen. If we are to learn the principles of liberty and government, from the Coopers, Callenders, Duanes, and Cheethams of England, Scotland, and Ireland, we have got to pass thro' a tremendous, and bloody schooling. It is to be hoped that there is yet too much pride left in the American bosom, to submit to such degradation. Time will shew whether it be so or not. I am, however much deceived in the character of New-England, if she will submit to it for a great length of time. If the people of New-England will attend to the private characters of the leading Jacobins among them, they cannot mistake their real objects, in all their clamours about tyranny, monarchy, and priest-craft.

(2) In a Baltimore paper, some time since, New-England was called "THE LA VENDEE OF THE UNITED STATES." This language is not unnoticed by us. It is well known, that La Vendee is that part of France, which during the earliest part of the Revolution, remained attached to the former government, and resisted with great force, and heroism, the various usurpations, and tyrannies, which took place in the Nation. This called forth the vengeance of the Robespierres, Marats, Barreres, and other blood-thirsty villains, who successively ruled the French people, and La Vendee was for years, the scene of the most indescribable miseries. The fields were wasted, the towns were plundered, and burnt, and the inhabitants, men, women, and children, were butchered by thousands.

(3) It may perhaps be tho't, that there is a degree of arrogance, in claiming in any sense, for the State of Connecticut, a distinction from the other New-England States. To vindicate the remarks in the oration, the following are subjoined.

Every person who has read the principal Jacobin gazettes for a considerable time past, must have seen that there is existing a peculiar animosity against the government, institutions, habits, clergy and people of Connecticut. To cite all the proofs would be an endless task. As a specimen, take the following from the Republican Watch-Tower of the 17th June 1801.

#### ✓ "CONNECTICUT POLICY.

From the first settlement of this State to the present moment, the great body of her citizens in authority have been uniform in nothing but their steady opposition to the principles of republicanism, and the encouragement of a fanatical spirit subversive of all just civil government. The original character of the first settlers, totally unacquainted with the just principles of civil institutions, has been transmitted thro' succeeding ages to the present time. The sentiments of the state have been marked, as well while a colony as now, with a steadiness that excludes both retrogradation



and advancement. Like an isthmus, inanimate and immovable; she bids defiance to the meliorating progression *made on both sides of her*. The advancement of political science, generated by our revolution, has neither changed her constitution nor affected her *steady habits*. Like a blind man, light has no effect upon her senses. Yet differing from all other substances, she appears unsusceptible of receiving new impressions from external things. *Hence our late Revolution*, nearly as important as that which achieved our independence; *that revolution which dethroned John Adams*, and banished from illegal authority a myriad of conspirators; has hitherto had little perceivable effect upon Connecticut. Like the agitated billows she rolls along, confused herself, and confusing others, bearing down her opponents as they come into contact, and sinking them if possible into the lowest abyss. *A fanatic veneration for a pampering, deluding and anti-christian priesthood*, renders them the dupes of their cunning, and subservient to their power. The mad rantings of Dwight, like the ancient thundering of the vatican, commands the most reverential and implicit respect. And the citizens, really honest, *but enveloped in superstition*, are converted into instruments by the cunning of their priestly rulers, to debase themselves and to exalt their oppressors."

One would suppose that this passage is fully sufficient for my purpose. Tho' many bitter things are said about New-England, yet no other State is singled out in this manner.

But they have gone farther. They have in plain terms declared, that tho' we might stand it out the last, yet we should eventually fall.

The States of Massachusetts, and New-Hampshire, and probably Vermont, have many institutions in common with Connecticut. Their influence is equally beneficial. The former, however, tho' evidently gaining ground since the last year, is much divided. Mr. Gerry had a very large vote for Governor, against one of the most virtuous, amiable, and respectable men in the United States. New-Hampshire, tho' less divided, still produced more votes against Gov. Gilman, than could have been found against so worthy and able a Magistrate, if Jacobinism had not crept in among them. These, and many other considerations, will serve to shew, that Connecticut is viewed by the Jacobins, as the greatest obstacle in the way of their dominion. And it is with reference to this subject alone, that Connecticut is considered as distinguished from her sister States above-mentioned. In most points of view, Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Vermont, and Connecticut, may be considered as *one*. Their manners, their habits, their politics, their morals, are the same. It is to be hoped, whatever may happen in the United States, that these states may never by any untoward event be divided.

(4) The following statement will shew the average amount of the Annual charges of the State of Connecticut.

Salaries to the Executive and Judiciary departments	Dolls.
	7684
Debentures of the General Assembly	16,000
Debentures of the Supreme Court of Errors	300
Judicial expenses for cost of public prosecutions	3000
Expence of New-Gate Prison	3000
Charges of Paupers and Vagrants	3000
	<hr/>
	32984
Contingent expenses, comprehending all other expenses of the government, such as arrears of old debts, grants from the Treasury, &c. on <i>private petitions.</i>	10,500
	<hr/>
	43484

(5) The instrument which was called the first Constitution of Connecticut, was formed in the year 1639. After giving a sketch of the principles contained in it, the Rev. Doct. Trumbull, author of the excellent history of the State, makes the following remarks—"With such wisdom did our venerable ancestors provide for the liberties of themselves and their posterity. Thus happily did they guard against every encroachment on the rights of the subject. This probably is one of the most free and happy constitutions of civil government which has ever been formed. The formation of it, at so early a period, when the light of liberty was wholly darkened in most parts of the earth, and the rights of men were so little understood in others, does great honour to their ability, integrity, and love to mankind. To posterity indeed, it exhibited a most benevolent regard. It has continued, with little alteration, to the present time. The happy consequences of it, which, for more than a century and half, the people of Connecticut have experienced, are without description."\*

The Colony afterwards obtained a Charter from Charles the Second. So perfectly had the original Constitution answered the purpose, that the Charter was little more than a re-establishment of the first Constitution, with somewhat more explicitness. By this Charter, the Colony conducted its affairs, until after the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It now became absolutely necessary for the people, just emancipated from a Colonial state, to form for themselves a Constitution for the future regulation of the body politic. Accordingly in October 1776, the Legislature of the State, enacted as follows, viz. "That the ancient form of civil government, contained in the Charter from Charles

\* Hist. of Con. page 95.

the second; King of England, and adopted by the people of this State, *shall be and remain the civil Constitution of this State.*" This Charter, of course, stands at the head of our laws, as the only Constitution which the State possesses. It is probably an event unexampled in the history of the world, that a community, emerging from a Colonial, to an independent State, should not have found it necessary, or expedient to alter the form of its Government.

This Charter impowers the inhabitants of the Corporation to plead, and to be impleaded in legal suits, to have a seal, to choose yearly a Governour, Deputy Governour, and twelve Assistants, to hold two General Assemblies in a year, to appoint and admit Freemen, to elect officers, to erect judicatories, to ordain laws, to impose fines, and to erect wharves for the purpose of drying fish. With no further powers than these, it would seem impossible that a Colony, or State, could possibly exist in peace and safety, for so long a time, as since the year 1639. Such however is the fact, and it is owing to the rectitude of the Administration of the Government, and the effects of the Institutions established under it. All the defects in the Constitution have been supplied by practice; and the practical range is as well understood, as tho' every principle had originally been reduced to writing.

The State of Connecticut is divided into subordinate Corporations—First into Counties—the Counties into Towns—the Towns into Societies—the Societies into School Districts. Each of these Corporations, possesses Legislative, and Executive powers. It is very obvious, that to fill the various offices in these distinct Corporations, will require a great number of persons. All of them are appointed by the people themselves, or by the State Legislature. Persons thus appointed to offices of trust, and distinction, by the suffrages of their fellow-citizens, feel an interest, and a pride in the Government. The interest is common, and not derived from the hands, or good graces of an individual; and therefore operates forcibly in favor of the peace, order, and dignity of the body politic.

This organization of the State, provides a school, for the education of public characters, of the most perfect kind. Candidates for office enter at the School District, and advance in the eye of the people, thro' all the grades of office, until they reach the highest honours of the State. Thus it happens that the people are rarely disappointed in their expectations, from their rulers. They prove them, step by step, and thro' so long a course of trial, that it is scarcely possible for a bad man to pass by them unnoticed.

In this view of the State, the system of Election ought not to pass without attention. It has been often considered as a defect in the policy of Connecticut, that there are so frequent elections. The house of Representatives is chosen half-yearly. The inconvenience of two freemen's meetings in a year, is abundantly com-

penfated by the advantages derived from it, in the choice of the Council. The Council is composed of the Governour, Deputy Governour, and twelve Affiftants. The mode of choofing the latter, is perhaps as wife, and important a part of our policy, as any thing contained in the fystem. At the Freeman's meeting in September, after choofing the representatives to the Legislature, each Freeman gives his vote *for twenty persons to ftand in Nomination for Affiftants* for the following year. Thefe votes are received by the Magiftrates of each town, a list of all the names given in, with the number of votes to each, is made out, fealed up, and carried to the General Affembly in October. Here the votes are opened, and counted; and the twenty persons, who have the greateft number of votes, are declared chofen *to ftand in Nomination*. In arranging the twenty names, thofe persons, who have previously belonged to the Council, are placed according to their official age, without any regard to the number of votes which each individual may have; the other who have never been members of the Council, are placed according to the number of their votes. The Nomination thus made out, is forwarded to the various towns. At the Freeman's meeting in April, after the choice of Representatives to the Legislature, and after the votes are given in for the Governour, the prefiding Magiftrate calls for the votes for the Affiftants. The mode is, firft, to call upon the Freeman for their votes for the firft man in the Nomination, and then to take them in their order. Each freeman has a right to vote for twelve out of the twenty. The mode of voting, almoft certainly fecures the Election of the firft twelve. The votes thus given in, are fealed up, and returned to the General Affembly in May, where they are counted, and the twelve higheft are chofen, Affiftants for the year.

Hence has arifen the ftability of this branch of our Government. Altho' the Election is perfectly Democratic, that is, made by the people of the State at large, yet a Counfellor fcarcely ever fails of a re-election, unlefs he publickly declines it. Since the year 1783, there has been but one inftance of a Counfellor being left out by the Freeman, unlefs for the reafon which I have mentioned.

The advantages of this mode of Election are numerous. It brings into one view the fenfe of the Freeman, relative to thofe men, who are beft qualified in their opinion to fill the important office of Counfellor. Each Freeman being at liberty to vote for thofe twenty persons whom he prefers, the choice is free, and unbiassed. But, as it could not be fuppofed that any twenty persons would obtain a majority of all the votes, it was ordained that the twenty higheft fhould be chofen. This, as it has been feen, is advancing but half way towards the office. At the next election, the candidate muft obtain a plurality of votes, otherwife he is not chofen. Perhaps a double plurality, may be deemed equivalent to a fingle majority. It has fome manifelt advantages

over it. In the first place, there is always a certainty of an election. Where there is but a single election, and of course a majority is required, there will usually be some vacancies. This will cause a new election by the people; or they must be filled by the Legislature. The first is expensive, and troublesome, and generally attended with party spirit, electioneering, and corrupt practices; the latter is substituting a mode of Election, not conformable to the true spirit of Elective Governments. Secondly, no man can start from obscurity, into this branch of the Legislature.

If a vicious, or unworthy character, by any accidental circumstance, obtains a place in the Nomination, six months must elapse before the second election takes place. During that period, the Freemen will certainly discover his true character, and the Nomination will almost as certainly limit his progress. Thus, we probably have the true reason, why Demagogues never succeed in Connecticut. Where their object is accomplished by a single Election, they will often succeed. But, the Nomination always warns the people of the approaching danger, and the evil seasonably is prevented.

(6) By the last census, it is said there are about 240,000 inhabitants in Connecticut. The sum paid by the State for the support of common schools, is more than one dollar for every three persons in the State. The proportion of persons in a community, between four and sixteen years, cannot easily be ascertained. But it will be found that the sum given by Connecticut, when compared with any number that may be fairly supposed, will be very liberal. It is highly to the honour of a State, or Nation, to endow Colleges; but how much more honourable is it, to provide schooling for every person in the community?

(7) New-York sends 10 members to Congress, Virginia 19, and Connecticut 7. The representatives of New-York were divided during the last Congress, into 6 Democrats, and 4 Federalists. Of course the state had the benefit of but two votes, 8 being lost by the division. Virginia had 8 Federalists, and 11 Democrats; of course 16 of the votes were lost, and the state had the benefit of only 3 out of 19. Whereas Connecticut had her whole number 7. This will shew the smaller states, how important it is for them to become united in sentiment, and with what jealousy they ought to watch every attempt of the larger states, to alter their internal police, or to destroy their weight in the general government.

(8) It would be an endless task to cite all the publications, which have appeared within a year past in the country, which are designed to ridicule, vilify, undermine, and destroy the moral, and religious institutions of Connecticut, and New-England. Multitudes of them have appeared, not only in the papers which

I have named, but also in the *American Mercury*, the *Bee*, and the *Sun of Liberty*, Newspapers printed in this State, in the *Albany Register*, in the *Boston Chronicle* and the *Constitutional Telegraph*, &c. &c. Besides, as few persons preserve these papers, it is almost impossible to make the collection. Probably many of them were written in the State, and sent abroad for publication. A little before the Freeman's meeting in April, the *Aurora* contained what were pretended to be Biographical sketches of Gov. Trumbull, Gov. Treadwell, and several of the Council of this State. At the Wallingford Thanksgiving, it was agreed to attempt to turn out the two gentlemen whom I have named, from their offices. Accordingly these sketches were published in the *Aurora*, intended no doubt, to aid the Jacobin plan. They contained, as might be expected, the grossest falsehoods. To shew the length to which the writers could go in lying, I need only remark, that Gov. Treadwell was accused of being so ignorant of his business, when he presided in the Court of Common-pleas in the County of Hartford, as to be unacquainted with the most common duties of a Judge. Now, it is well known by all persons who ever were acquainted with that court during this period, that no man ever presided in a court with more respectability, or dignity. Holt, editor of the *Bee*, afterwards republished these sketches in his paper. This was the fate they merited. Nothing can add to the disgrace of a publication, which comes into existence in the *Aurora*, but expiring in the *Bee*. The Governours, as might have been expected, were elected with two or three times the number of votes which were ever given to them before.

I would remind my readers, however, of some pieces published in the *Republican Watch-Tower*, signed "*Blunt*," a piece, supposed to be written by a Clergyman in this State, and published in the *National Intelligencer*, signed "*a Friend of Truth*," the incessant attempt to fasten upon our clergy opprobrious names, the perpetual charge upon the people of being the slaves of priestcraft, bigotry, and superstition. I also would refer them to Bishop's two Orations, to the passage quoted in my <sup>first</sup> ~~second~~ note, and to the piece mentioned in my note marked (2) originally published in Baltimore.

In addition to these, I will cite a few passages from different parts of the country.

#### Toasts.

"The Sceptre, and the Altar—*May they no longer combine to dishonor heaven, and usurp earth.*"

"*Connecticut amongst her sister States in Congress—O Lucifer! Son of the morning, how art thou fallen!*" These toasts were drank at Wallingford, March 11th, 1801. The first is designedly ambiguous, but cannot be misunderstood; the second is a lamentation over the departed glory of the State, because

our Representatives in Congress voted for Col. Burr, instead of Mr. Jefferson. It might perhaps have been a just subject of lamentation, that they were reduced to the necessity of voting for either; but I doubt whether the members who voted for the former, have seen any thing in the latter to induce them to alter their feelings, or which would induce them to alter their conduct, were they placed again in the same situation.

*Toast.*

“The State of Connecticut—May regeneration become general, where it is so much preached.”

This toast was drank at Torrington in this State. It is like the other, ambiguous. But we all understand the kind of *regeneration* which was wished for *on the 4th of March*.

In the Republican Watch-Tower of June 6th, 1801, is the following passage, at the close of a long piece on the subject of the removals from office, since the reign of Mr. Jefferson. “We are glad to see the appointment of Mr. Bishop. We hope that as the salutary work of renovation is begun in Connecticut, it will not cease until the State be purged. *In no state is it more necessary than in this.*”

In Abraham Bishop’s Oration delivered at Wallingford, on the 11th of March, 1801, are some passages worthy of notice. The object of this oration, is to shew, that the Jews who crucified the Saviour, the Popes and Cardinals in the Roman Catholic Church, and the Federalists, in New-England, have a common character. He supposes that the greatest obstacles in the way of the truths which he is about to utter, are “passion, prejudice, and habits,” and that “these obstacles operate more forcibly in New-England than elsewhere. This arises from various causes, as first *the old institutions* of the country.” In illustrating this proposition, he says—“Church and State still twine together. Moses and Aaron find it profitable to walk hand in hand.” The clergyman preaches politics, the civilian preaches of orthodoxy, and if any man refuses to join the coalition, they endeavour to hunt him down to the tune of ‘*the church is in danger.*’ The convenience of succeeding in life, by bowing to these earthly potentates, has induced multitudes to join them; and hence when a foreigner enquired of one of our citizens, what was the most characteristic trait of New-England, the frank answer was this, *We are taught hypocrisy from our cradles.*”

“The *steady habits of New-England* present the fourth obstacle to the diffusion of truth. The sailor nailed the needle of his compass to the cardinal point, and swore it should not be always travelling. So, does the New-England friend of order; but he carefully conceals the oppression and impollure, which sustain these habits. Church and State, the cry of morals and science; these are the pillars of it. The body of the people are

kept in awe. "Touch not the mountain, lest ye die, is the practical language."\*

"With these facts before us, what is there in the steady habits of New-England so very sacred as to arrest the progress of truth. Are the men, who profit by these habits so very learned as to be able to pronounce our state of society the best possible? Surely the world has produced before their equals. Pontius Pilate was, in his day, thought to be as good as the best of them; and perhaps his neighbours were as competent to judge of his merits as you are to judge of our champions of steady habits."†

"Under the fifth head of obstacles may be presented the *clannish* character of New-England, the consequence of our almost general derivation from one country."‡

"Not one publication has appeared in New-England since its first settlement, recommending the clerical or political 'friends of order' to public notice, but what was written by some one of their own number. They chaunt their own praises and then rely on the reverberating echoes of a deceived multitude as conclusive proof of their merit.

"In this way New-England has been the sport of political and clerical adventurers for more than a century, and tho' wisdom has sometimes cried aloud, tho' understanding has sometimes lifted up her voice in the streets, yet the din of these 'friends of order' has overpowered them, and at the present moment it can hardly be said that our redemption from these evils draweth nigh."§

"On the religious side of my subject, suffer me to remark to you, that *there is really more hypocrisy in New-England than in any other equal portion of the globe.*" "The world, the flesh and the devil have their farms, as distinctly bounded out in Connecticut, as in any other state in the Union."|| On the political side of my subject, my premises will justify a declaration, that the difference, between the 'friends of order' and the republicans, is not a mere difference of expediency or occasional judgment; but a difference in fact, in principle, in system. REPUBLICANISM CAN NEVER THRIVE, 'TILL THESE FRIENDS OF ORDER' ARE DRIVEN OUT OF THEIR STRONG HOLDS."¶

"Ye self stiled 'friends of order'! pure christians! infallible guides! men of whole well-earned fortunes! fair morals! look at your brethren, the friends of 'order' in Europe: See their thrones tottering—see the grand patriarch of your order threatened with the loss of his dominion of the seas—see Buonaparte at the head of his victorious army reading lessons to 'the friends of order'—see your cause tumbling, scales falling from the eyes of those, to whom you have been blind guides—SEE JEFFERSON AND BURR IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CHAIR; AND REMEMBER THAT

\* Ibid. p. 14. † Ibid. p. 15. ‡ Ibid. p. 17. § Ibid. p. 29. || Ibid. p. 68.  
¶ Ibid. pa. 68.



THE LANGUAGE OF YOUR FALLING BRETHERN, AND YOUR DYING CAUSE TO YOU IS, BE YE ALSO READY."†

These passages are from Bishop's Wallingford Oration. No comments are necessary. It may be said that the opinions of Abraham Bishop are not worth notice. But let it be remembered, that *the office of Collector of the port of New-Haven, has been given to the Orator's FATHER AGED 78, by the President of the United States.*

From the Republican Watch-Tower of May 30th, 1801.

"Noah Webster is not less attached to this grand ultimatum of their hopes, (the establishment of a monarchy) nor less vigilant and active in its prosecution. But his peculiar sphere of action is not in New-York, tho' here he embraces every opportunity of thrusting his poignard into the sides of republicanism. But in this city the prevalence of republicanism is unfavorable to a full display of his monarchial ravings. The *ancient habits* of Connecticut, and the chains of clerical dominion which bind the little citizens to its destructive will, is more congenial with the promulgation of his anti-republican opinions. *In this insatuated section of the country, tho' contemptible in talents, he is a champion of delusion.* He has recently made an attack upon Mr. Bishop, abounding in scurrileous epithets, but powerless in argument. *For Webster to contend against such a person, naturally excites the idea of man contending AGAINST OMNIPOTENCE.* Connecticut has produced many Arnolds, it has also produced Pauldings sufficient to detect them."

At the close of Sam. Morse's advertisement of his intention to remove from Norwalk, to New-Haven, is an address to Republicans, in which are the following paragraphs.

"That Connecticut, compared to her sister states, possesses a vast mass of prejudice, is a fact generally admitted. And when it is considered, that the ambition of her leading characters overleaps the bounds of republican government; the present situation of the state, cannot be thought a matter of indifference, to the interest of the union.

"To encourage independent republican papers, as the best means of conveying necessary information to the citizens of Connecticut; is the duty of every republican throughout the union, whose finances will afford it. IT IS THE ONLY STATE, FROM WHICH IMMINENT DANGER TO OUR REPUBLICAN SYSTEMS, IS TO BE APPREHENDED."

By taking a little pains, I might swell this list of quotations to an enormous size. I trust, however, that those already down, will be sufficient for my purpose. However enslaved they may be, either by superstition, or priestcraft, the people of New-England have got sense enough left, to appreciate the merits of those

\* Ibid pa. 99.

who thus traduce their character, country, government, and religion, whether they spring from her own soil, or are the renegadoes of Europe.

(9) "To have said thus much in favour of Republican principles I hope will not be deemed to favor of party-spirit. For I am designating the acknowledged principles of my country. And I beg leave to add, that they are principles of eternal rectitude and equity. *Republicanism* can no more be considered a party, than immutable *truth* and *righteousness* can be considered a party. *And Republicans can no more be called a faction, than nature, reason, and scripture with THEIR AUTHOR, can be called a faction.* For these principles rest on the solid basis of nature, are clear as the sun to the eye of reason, and *the bible is full of them from beginning to end.*"

"When Jesus Christ came, every maxim and every precept he gave, so far as application can be made, was purely Republican." †

Let it be remembered, that the congregation to which his sermon was preached, was composed of that class of men who are called by themselves Republicans, but by every body else, Jacobins—that the sentiments which the Preacher in this sermon calls *Republican*, are the sentiments of the congregation, which he was then addressing which are Jacobinical, and that the cause of the meeting was the election of Mr. Jefferson and Col. Burr, and then it will be understood what the Preacher intends by this passage—It is, *that the sentiments of the Jacobins of Connecticut, and of the United States, are contained in the Bible, and are conformable to the will of God.* Fortunately for Connecticut, the number of Jacobinical clergymen in the State, is small—not exceeding three.

(10) Political Justice Vol. 2. pa. 368. Phil. Ed. It is worthy of remark, that Citizen Pichon, the Commercial Agent of Buonaparte in the United States, under the new Convention with France, since his residence here has issued proposals for republishing this work of Godwin's *for the benefit of our citizens at large.* Is it not a little singular, that the first steps of a French *Diplomatique* character in this country, should be to instruct our countrymen *in politics, and morals.* What is still more singular in the present instance, is this—Godwin is an *Englishman*, and wrote his book in *the English language*, which it is probable is as well understood by our countrymen, as by a French-

† See "Overcoming evil with good"—a sermon, delivered at Wallingford, Connecticut, March 11th, 1801; before a numerous collection of the friends of the Constitution, of Thomas Jefferson, President, and of Aaron Burr Vice-President of the United States. By STANLEY GRISWOLD, A. M. of New-Milford."

man. But, if it be true, as has been publickly said, that this work is used in the Virginia College, for the instruction of their youth, we can at least conjecture who is at the bottom of the plan for republishing it under the wing of *Citizen Pichon*.

