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Presented by Jacob Port,
ORATION,

DELIVERED

ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF
INDEPENDENCE,

AT GOSHEN,

ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1805.

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**By ELDER JOSIAH GODDARD.**  
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NORTHAMPTON:

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AN ORATION.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

1. **T**HE beneficence of providence in favor of America, from the time that our ancestors landed on the shore of Plymouth to the present day, is a subject of serious and pleasing contemplation to every enlightened mind, and ought to excite the most lively emotions of gratitude in every American breast, to that BEING who presides over the fate of nations, from whom he hath distinguished us with his special goodness.

2. Perhaps, there never was a nation, excepting the ancient Hebrew, that could trace more evidently the footsteps of divine providence, in their deliverance from oppression, and advancement to prosperity, than the inhabitants of this country. During every stage of that severe and bloody contest with Britain, which completed that interesting revolution, which gave rise to our independence, how manifest was the aid of heaven! Nor less to be admired has been the hand of providence which has since been displayed, in protecting the sacred ark of our liberties from the combined rage of internal, and foreign enemies, by timely disclosing those secret machinations, which were concerted to overthrow our inestimable constitution. So that when we review the dangers we have so happily escaped, and the many privileges and blessings we so richly enjoy, we may not only say "The snare is broken and we are escaped," but, "The Lord has done great things for us, whereof we are glad."

3. While other nations are dressed in arms, and bleeding in perpetual wars, and incessantly doomed to wear the oppressive yoke of slavery, to gratify the bloody ambition of haughty tyrants, we are destined to fair Columbia, where peace extends her salutary influences thro' the land, the only happy region where man is equal to man, possessing all those inalienable rights to which by birth he is heir. And such is our present happy state that with pleasure we reflect, there never was a day since the commencement of our independence, when we could have celebrated with equal propriety that memorable event, as what we may on the present day. We are now enjoying, with but little interruption, the full tide of national felicity. The inexhaustible treasures of liberty and prosperity, which a free government is calculated to give are fully opened for our enjoyment. And should we have wisdom to estimate our privileges,
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and virtue to improve them, we may still continue to be as happy a people as the imperfect state of this world will admit.

Under such reflections as these, fellow citizens, let us turn our attention to those things that will contribute most to the good of our country. This ought ever to be the great object we have in view in all our political exhibitions; and so far as we shall be stimulated by that noble principle this day, we may render this convention beneficial to ourselves, and to the community.

The right of self * government may be justly stiled the pearl of great price that America won by her independence. For this we fought—for this we bled, and for this we exhausted our richest treasures; and this is the happy medium through which we are now receiving unexampled prosperity. Whatever principles, therefore, that are found to militate against the nature of our constitution, ought to be viewed most dangerous to our welfare, and calculated to bring us again under that oppression from which we were emancipated by our revolution.

4. Although we are favoured with the most free, and happy government in the world, under which we are enjoying a greater degree of prosperity than ever fell to the lot of any other nation, yet there has been, and still doth exist, among a small portion of our fellow citizens, especially in this part of the union, the most violent opposition to the measures adopted by the present administration of our general government. If this opposition be well founded, originating from principles congenial with our constitution, and managed with a suitable degree of candor, nothing can be more reasonable. If indeed our government is so corrupt, as what it is alledged to be, if indeed it is pregnant with all those evils with which it is charged, unpardonable would be that stupid neglect in a free people in ceasing to remonstrate against it. But if it had its rise previous to the present administration, and its origin in principles repugnant to the nature of our constitution, and if its effects are dangerous to our union, nothing can be more unreasonable and pernicious. Let us examine for a moment the source from whence it originated—the principles it embraces, together with its effects, and we shall discover at once, that its rise was prior to the present administration, and of consequence no defect therein was the cause of it, and that it abounds with principles, productive of effects dangerous to our interests.

5. The

* A popular, or democratical government, where the people rule—all power emanating from them. For to say that the people govern themselves, when they are under the controul of a power independent of them, is a contradiction in terms. As well might it be said that slaves govern themselves, while under the control of their master.

5. The history of man evinces, that there have been men in every age, and in every nation, who, valuing themselves upon their birth and erudition, have ever been seeking to govern by their influence, making use of the most refined artifices, to bring about and establish that form of government which would prove a source of emolument and aggrandizement to themselves. And such, rather than not have their wishes gratified, would sacrifice the interests of a whole nation to effect their designs. And well would it be, if they received no aid from those whose intentions are honest, and in heart opposed to their principles: But concealing their motives under a feigned regard for the interests of the people, many rally around their standard, and aid their cause while they are ignorant of their designs. Such should be viewed innocent, they should not be the objects of censure, but esteemed as friends to their country, while their designing leaders are treated with plainness, and their principles with the utmost contempt.

6. That there are such men, as has been described, in this country, is acknowledged by both political parties. President Adams has written largely upon them, whom he styles "A natural aristocracy." And there, says he, "Are found in every state—that they are ever seeking to govern by influence." And he has carried the point so far as to say that they will govern, or breed disturbances and effect a civil war, unless they are made a privileged order, that is, unless the government favors them more than the common people, they will seek to overthrow it and establish such an one as will. Our equal republican government knows no privileged order—grants no unequal favors to that *natural aristocratic junto*; and if they must rule or plague the people, plague it is, for rule they cannot, and I trust thy never will in this country.

That the opposition to our government springs from this quarter, and was anterior to the present administration, full proof may be given. No one can be ignorant, that when the United States were separated from the British empire, there were found among them some of the relics, or scales of that old monarchy, which proved a plague to America then, and have done ever since. It is likewise certain, that there are some who were active and useful in our revolution, that have since manifested a decided preference for the British constitution. It is further evident that some of them have filled the highest offices in government, and that they have been the principal leaders of the opposition. For a proof let the following stand as a specimen.

specimen. *Alexander Hamilton* of New-York, who was a member of that convention that framed our constitution, stated in the third and fourth articles of the one he proposed, that the senate and chief magistrate should hold their offices during life or good behaviour. And ever after the constitution was signed, he affirmed, "That it did not contain sufficient means of strength for its own preservation." And so strong an advocate was he for British measures that even President Adams himself in the year 1800, denounced him the head of a British (monarchical) faction in America. This was one of the principal leaders of the opposition against our government, who in his unnatural death, was lamented by them as the saviour of his country. Governor *Morris* of New-York (formerly of Pennsylvania) proposed in the same convention a limited monarchy, like that of Great-Britain which he has ever since labored to introduce. He is another of the leaders of the opposition. *Fisher Ames*, of Massachusetts, has objected against that part of the constitution in which the material difference between it and that of England is discovered. He is another of the noted leaders. *Uriah Tracy* of Connecticut, declared in the year ninety-five, "That there was a plan of government on foot and determined to be brought about in this country similar to that of Britain, which was well understood and settled with many of the leading men in our government, especially in New-England.—That we must have a king, but he must not be called a king, lest it should alarm the people—that the people of this country had too much liberty—that the tree of liberty grows in hell, and that all the liberty poles that ever were in America, France and Holland, were twigs and shoots of the grand tree in hell, gotten through the earth to curse mankind!" Surely, no one can be ignorant that this one has been a noted leader of the party that has been opposed to our government. Friends to liberty, What think you of such principles? What think you of such men? Are they fit to be the guardians of your country? Can you with safety trust your blood-bought freedom in their hands? As well might the defenceless lamb find security from the wolf or tyger.

But let President *Adams* close the testimony with his own hand writing. "The English constitution," says he, "is in theory, the most stupendous fabric of human invention." And he adds, "The Americans ought to be applauded rather than censured for seeking to imitate it." And again, he says, "If I should say, that there never was a good government in the world, that did not consist of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, I think I may make it *good." What shall we say

* See Adams's Defence of the American Constitution

to these things, fellow citizens? These are plain incontestable facts. Can there be any man possessed with such unbounded prejudice, that cannot discover that the principles which produced the federal opposition are anti-constitutional? Do we not see that the chief men of that party, prefer the British constitution to ours? Will they not, if placed in office, do what they can to introduce it? Shall such men have the confidence of a free enlightened people? Let reason forbid.

7. We have thitherto only discovered the opposition in embryo, or rather in its perfect foetus,—men, principles, and system, ready for operation, to effect a transformation of our government to that of a limited monarchy. We shall now view it assuming a more active and formidable appearance. It might well be expected, that such men, embracing such principles, with such ends in view, would not long lay dormant, but would avail themselves of the first favorable opportunity to take the reins of government and carry into effect their designs.

The British treaty was every way adapted to this end. It may be stiled the grand mother of those monarchic principles, which, till then, had lain dormant in this country from the time of the revolution. A treaty this, so favorable to the wishes of those who were previously wedded to British policy, and so alarming to those whose hearts were firm in republican principles, that it could not fail to excite the attention of both parties. The former assumed the name of federalists, by which they decoyed the common people into a belief that they were the only friends of those confederate principles, which gained our independence and established our union; while the most refined calumny they poured forth in ceaseless torrents on all those who discovered and opposed their intriguing designs. Thus drawn by the deceitful charms of federalism, many flew to that standard, and ignorantly aided the cause of those men who opposed their independence. Now commenced the favorable moment for aristocratic principles to spread their baneful influences through the land. Nor was it unimproved by the enemies of our republic. From Georgia to Maine they were combined to carry into effect their deep concerted plan, till at length they commanded the helm of state, and brought on a gloomy day.

8. While the reins of government were in the hands of those who were unfriendly to our constitution, and strongly attached to British policy, we might well expect that such a system would be pursued as would prepare the way for a change in
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our government. Altho' it has been boldly denied by the advocates of the last administration, that such a change was ever contemplated, yet, whoever, candidly takes a view of the system then pursued, will be at a loss to put any other construction on their proceedings. The men who conducted the last administration must have acted from some motive, they must have had some end in view; either the good of the people must have been their object, or some separate interest of their own. If the first of these was the case, they not only fell short of their design, but marked their way with folly and disgrace, and showed to the world that they were destitute of that wisdom, which was requisite to manage public affairs. If the latter was the case, we see indeed a consistency in their conduct, while they have lost the confidence, and merited the contempt of an injured people.

9. It is confidently believed by the common people of that class who have enlisted under federal banners, that their leaders are friends to the constitution, and seeking to preserve it inviolate, while the others are aiming to overthrow it. But if this be true, why do they seek to depreciate its merits in the esteem of the people? They have declared that the constitution *doth not contain sufficient means of strength for its own preservation*. They might as well have told us that it is a weak and contemptible instrument. They have told us that *the people are their own worst enemies*. What then; they ought not to be trusted with the means of their safety, that is, the power of government ought not to be trusted in their hands; which is saying that the constitution is defective in the most essential part, for that places the whole power in the people. In the name of reason let me ask has our constitution no other friends than these! We are likewise told that *there is not virtue enough in the people to support a republican government*. What then? the constitution is good for nothing: It establishes a system that is in nature impracticable. Not virtue enough in the people to support a republican government! what then? we must have one of another kind; for the people cannot live without any. Why do not these liberal friends of the constitution speak out plainly, and say as some of their party have already said, we must give up our republican government, and choose a king, or an arbitrator to rule over us. Whoever says that our government cannot be supported is an enemy to the constitution, an enemy to a representative system, an enemy to the rights of man, and a friend to monarchy.

10. But

10. But all this was necessary to prepare the minds of the people for that administration that was to follow, which for its baseness and oppression, stands, and I trust will forever stand, without a parallel on the pages of the American history. For unless the people were made to imbibe strong prejudices against that government under which they enjoyed such prosperity, they never would yield it for any other. The most bold and infamous attempts, therefore, were made for this purpose. Those grand fundamental principles which form the basis of our constitution, have been made the sport and ridicule of the federal party. All the venom of calumny hath been poured forth on democracy, liberty, equality, and republicanism; and all those who have adhered closely to the principles that moved our revolution, have been stigmatized with the epithets of Jacobins, libertines, French-disorganizers, deists and enemies to their country. The most civil and pious among the people, fell indiscriminately under the aspic venom of slander, on no other reason than for espousing the genuine principles of *seventy-six*, which glowed in the hearts of our departed heroes.

11. And why all this? It is acknowledged by both political parties that our constitution, is in its nature, purely democratical, that is, one that emanated from the people, reserving to them the right and power of government. The men that drew up that instrument were appointed by the people—when they had completed the work, it was sent back to the people for their approbation; and when those amendments were made which were deemed necessary, it was established by the *will* of the people. And it not only stands the sole model and foundation of all our governments, but a monument of the sovereign will of a free and enlightened people. Why this contempt then cast on democracy? Does it not discover principles unfavorable to the constitution?

But let the words of *Mr. Adams* speak, and it will be fully explained at once. “If in this country (says he) the word republic should be generally understood, as it is by some, to mean a form of government inconsistent with a *mixture* of three powers (like that of England) we may depend upon it, that such pernicious effects will be produced by the use of it, as will compel the American people to renounce, detest, and execrate it as the English do, (*viz.*) to make a republican as unamiable as a *witch, a blasphemer, a rebel or a tyrant.*” Here we see the origin and design of this unbounded slander. It originated from aristocratic principles, and designed to facilitate their progress.

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That the advocates of the last administration do wish to establish a despotic, or unlimited monarchy in America, we do not believe; but that their leaders do wish a transition of it to the nature of that of a limited monarchy, we do fully believe, upon the ground of incontestable evidences. The matter in debate, is principles, not men, nor names.

12. Soon after *Adams* had taken the presidential chair, one would have judged by the federal speeches in Congress, and other writings, that our government had lost all its strength, and was ready to be dissolved for want of energetic ligaments. Energetic, energetic government was then the watch-word of the day. Scarcely a federal newspaper could be unfolded, which did not urge the necessity of energy in government. And why so much of this? Was our government then more relaxed than at any other time? No. Was there any deficiency discovered in our political system, which retarded a prompt execution of the laws of the union? No. Did not our government in all its branches move on with a suitable degree of energy? It surely did. What then could be the design of this energetic outcry? Was it not that the people might be prepared to vindicate with all their powers those measures that were contemplated?—A mere stratagem to cause them to put the most implicit confidence in their rulers while they were establishing a system which they knew was calculated to excite their jealousy? But we have another key to this mystery. Previous to this, *Hamilton*, *Adams*, *Morris*, and many others of the leading federalists, had made known their sentiments, that *the constitution did not contain sufficient means of strength for its own preservation*—That a republican government could not be supported, that is, it lacked energy—That for a government to be good and permanent, it must be mixed with three powers, that of the people, that of the nobles, and that of an arbitrator, or a king. Here we see what was meant by the cry of energy—a power above the people and independent of them, which is called the strength and energy of the government of Great-Britain. And must we give up our government to be ruled by an *arbitrator*? In vain has the blood of our country been shed to obtain our liberties, if this be the case.

13. The last administration of our government may justly be styled the criterion of federal politics, by which their nature was fully discovered. The doctrine had been advanced before, but never had been put in practice till now. And how striking

the connexion between principles and measures! The standing army, costly navy, and eight per cent loan, were suitable methods indeed, to create and augment a public debt, which would make ample funds necessary, where the rich might deposit their property to advantage, which would strongly engage them on the federal side to use their influence to vindicate a system so interesting to themselves. On the other hand, the interest of the public debt, together with the necessary expences of government, would require perpetual and heavy taxes to fall on the people, which would drain off their wealth, and produce that inequality, so essential to monarchy, and destructive to the liberties of a free people. The great variety of officers, which the excise, stamp act, army, navy, and land tax, together with the extra Judiciary, produced, who were to a man of the federal party, would increase the list of those who would be strong advocates of such a system. The allurements of an established religion by law, and salaries independent of the people, had previously engaged the clergy on that side, who form the greatest source of influence in the nation over the common people. Add to this a sedition act and an armed force to overawe and still the complaints of an injured people—And what more could be done to destroy our liberties, or to effect a change in our government? Indeed it had already assumed the British dress—the sun of liberty was eclipsed, and the beauties of our constitution shrouded in shades of federal darkness.

14. Fellow citizens, is it possible that such a system as this can be advocated by the people of this country, who have fought thro' a long and bloody war to obtain their freedom? Is it possible that there can be a man who does not see the designs of those who were now administering the government, that it was hostile to the interests of the people? Do we not see such evidences of their perfidy as puts the matter beyond dispute? To what avail were we told that the army was raised to repel a foreign invasion from France, when that nation was so deeply engaged in war with the allied powers of Europe? Were they now in any situation to man out an army and fleet, and send them more than three thousand miles over the Atlantic to invade America? To judge thus would disgrace a school boy at the age of fifteen. What then could be the design of this army? Let reason speak and it will tell us, that they were now pursuing such measures, which they expected would alarm the people, and this army was designed to overawe them, and repress all opposition that should arise. For a proof of this, see *Mr. Lyman's*
address

address to his constituents, where, referring to the army, he says, "A small party, a few bold strokes—I suppose, I sincerely believe, would silence all opposition." And further, when Gen. *Hamilton* dismissed the army at Oxford, he said, "That they might view themselves only on furlough—that if Mr. Pinckney should be elected President, their services would be again required." And others that advocated the measure, have since avowed, that the object of raising the army, was "A precaution for internal security."

15. What language is adequate to express the indignation that every friend to his country ought to feel at such measures as these! "What, in direct violation of the constitution, and every law of humanity, a set of men determined by means of a standing army, to overawe the people, and perpetuate their power by the point of the bayonet!" Fellow countrymen, are these men seeking your liberty? If so, they never can be conspired against.

While a standing army was stationed in time of peace in the heart of our country (the thoughts of which were enough to raise indignation in the breast of every true American, and which indeed was one part of our complaint against Britain) the sedition act, *an engine of monarchy*, like a weapon of glittering steel, was teeming with vengeance against the liberty of the press, the greatest security of our country's rights, threatening a total destruction to all our freedom. Had this act come forth at any other time, it would have appeared with a little more grace; but coming forward at a time when an armed force was perfidiously appointed to overawe the people, we might justly expect treachery in this also.

It was urged in favour of this act that it was only designed to prevent falsehood—that no man who was willing to confine himself to truth, could with any propriety object against it, being more favorable than the common law of England, which would not admit truth to support a libel. But this was no more than a mere finesse, to cause the people to swallow the fatal poison in a smooth gilt pill. Examine the act and it will be found, that the marshal of the district, who was appointed by the President, should appoint the Jury. Now the President was careful to appoint federal Marshals, and would not the Marshals be equally careful to appoint a federal Jury? Surely they would: if not they would be directed to do it. This was bringing a man to be tried by his enemies. And that this would, and did operate against the person so tried, we have for proof *Callender's* trial

in Virginia, where the Judge commanded to strike out the names of every democrat from the jury list. Fellow citizens, what think ye of the sedition act? was it just, or was it unjust? How did justice shine in the case of *Lyon* in Vermont! For what was he condemned? who can point out his crime? Surely the liberties of our country were expiring at this moment.

16. Indeed every thing that was necessary to destroy our national felicity, and to effect a change in our government, was now on foot. While the standing army was to tie the hands of the people, and the sedition act their jaws, the land tax was every way calculated to pick their pockets; than which there never was a more subtle, perfidious invention of human nature, to take away the property of the common people to fill the purses of the rich. In order to discover some of its prominent, daring features, let it be observed, that the cost attending this tax was more than twenty per cent (if not thirty) at least more than five hundred thousand dollars, which would employ more than fifteen hundred officers at the rate of six dollars per day, for fifty days each. This was good times for office-seekers—things went well now for aristocracy—the federal horse was now upon the full trot, and if the people had not seized it by the bridle, it would soon have arrived at the king's palace.

This act came out under the specious pretext of an house tax to favour the common people, while the rich were to bear the burden. But alas! it was so planned that it fell principally on the land, owned for the most part by the common people, while the rich who had their tens of thousands in specie, paid not a cent for it, and the stock of every bank in the union went free.

It is objected by way of apology, that the tax operated different from what was expected. To which we reply, that if it was the result of ignorance, they ought to be forever excluded from holding the reins of government. This is paying too dear for ignorance. That it operated different from what they expected, we fully believe; for it opened the eyes of many to see what was on foot, and kindled the sparks of good old seventy-six republicanism, and blew up a fire that has given a shining light in America, which all the dirt of opposition can never put out.

17. The system pursued under the last administration was so pointedly against republican principles, that every species of craft has been used to dress it up in the likeness of justice, by concealing its own deformity with the merits of that with which it has no connexion. To this end, an attachment to the merits
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and principles of Washington has been feignedly assumed, by the federal party, to gain approbation to their system, and to protect themselves from the arrows of truth.

But is it not astonishing beyond measure, that while they are boasting themselves the friends of Washington, and applauding themselves for their attachment to his political principles, that they should deviate from them in every material point? Never were the sentiments of that departed Hero, more pertinently, and pathetically expressed, than in his farewell address. In examining which, we find, that national union, economy, and a total disapprobation of military establishments, are the three principal points on which he emphatically places the happiness, prosperity, and independence of the United States. He tells us "That it is the most infinite importance that we should properly estimate the immense value of our national union, and discountenance whatever may suggest a division of the States. —That overgrown military establishments, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty.—That we ought to seek economy in public expenditures, and not to throw on posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear."

But while Washington recommends union in the most forcible strains, they have seriously agitated a division of the States, and represented it in their papers as unavoidable and necessary, which should it take place would prove a source of incalculable evils to our country. While he persuades to the cultivation of mutual friendship between the different States, they have been venting the most bitter invectives against different parts of the union, directly calculated to excite in them the spirit of animosity and contempt.—They have zealously strove to effect a change in that part of the constitution, which secures to them the equal right of representation, which, if effected, would unavoidably prove dangerous to our union.

While Washington says military establishments are dangerous, especially to republican liberty, they have placed a standing army in time of peace in our country, and declared that it was essential to the security of republican liberty. While Washington recommends economy in public expenditures, they have declared that a public debt is a public blessing, and have taken the most effectual methods to increase it, and to entail the inheritance of that blessing to posterity.

The want of economy is obvious in all their measures. We see it in the eight per cent loan, attended with a gratuity of ten thousand dollars per annum, when the money might as well been
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had, if needed, at six per cent. We see it in the useless increase of foreign agents, by which thousands were expended needlessly. We see it in a too great and useless increase of the navy,* by which millions were lavished to little or no purpose. We see it in a standing army, by which hundreds of thousands were expended without one cent's benefit to the States. We see it in an useless increase of the judiciary, by which more than thirty thousand annually were worse than thrown away, and in many other things too numerous to mention.

And yet the authors of this system, who have profusely wasted the wealth of the people, are extolling themselves the friends of economical Washington, and are seeking to take shelter under his name to screen themselves from the just censures of an injured people! O thou illustrious and departed Hero, who didst give good council to thy country, when thou didst retire from the helm of State, not to burden the people that lay near thy heart, for whom thou didst venture thy life amidst the thick arrows of death, to save them from an insulting foe and Britain's galling chains.—Hast thou illustrious shade, no other friends than these, to drop a tear around thy tomb! Yes, the name of Washington not only lives instamped in the memory of millions, but his principles survive in the hearts of numerous friends, who are his true disciples and follow his steps, and are ardently engaged to maintain the cause of freedom, against all the sentimental enemies of Washington and Liberty.

18. But passing over the superfluous judiciary which was born out of due time, together with the alien act which disgraced the records of our country, and other things of equal merit, we shall mention before we quit the dark reign of federalism, one daring effort more that was made to complete the ruin of America, by which the hideous features of this aristocratical faction were raised to view without the thinnest veil to hide their deformity, (viz.) the bold attempts to destroy our elections, which are the very vitals of our government.

Just at the close of *Adams's* presidency, and previous to the adjournment of Congress, a caucus was holden by the federal members, on the business of deciding on a president and vice-president, and Mr. *Adams* and Mr. *Pinckney* were agreed upon as candidates for the ensuing election. In consequence of which a federal Boston paper declared, that it was unreasonable for the people to frustrate their design. What! what is here!

members

* That we ought to have a sufficient number of armed Ships to protect our commerce from piratical depredations, is acknowledged to be good policy. But to have a navy to vie with that of France, which was a doctrine then advocated by the federal party, would add millions annually to the public debt, and be the height of folly.

members of congress take it upon them to decide our elections, and the people under a free government obliged to comply with their decisions! If so, why do the legislators of the different states trouble themselves about the matter? Let them only acknowledge what this federal caucus has done, and save the people from the trouble and expence of choosing electors.—But are our elections to be noosed in this way? If so, away with the very name of a republican government—We are no longer free, but under the guidance of a monarchical * faction. But more yet—

When a specific choice of president and vice-president involved on the national legislature, the federal members made a most pernicious effort to the utmost of their power, to deprive this great and respectable nation of the man of their choice. Tho' Mr. *Jefferson* and Mr. *Burr* were equally voted for, one being designed for president, the other for vice-president, not a member in congress could be ignorant that *Jefferson* was designed for the presidency. Yet the most fixed, and determined effort was made to bring in *Burr*, contrary to the will of the people. Alarming crisis indeed! What, the election of a whole nation defeated to gratify the intriguing ambition of a seditious faction! Awake, O genius of America, awake, inspire each child of freedom with a magnanimous contempt at such horrid and overbearing conduct as this. Who is there that cannot see, that these men were unwilling that the people should bear rule—that they would gladly deprive them of the right and power of Government? He that has eyes to see may see. This was not the result of ignorance, but a premeditated, fixed and determined resolution. Nor has this hostile tragedy been played in congress only; has it not been acted over by the legislature of this state? Have they not taken the most effectual method to deprive the people of this commonwealth of their electoral right, by taking from them their privilege of voting by districts? And well would it have been, had it proceeded no further. But it has been carried on with every species of intrigue that could be invented by the craft of a designing faction, in all our counties, and in almost every town. To this, let the county committees, and town committees with their subordinates, bear witness, who have worked in disguise, peddled votes, retailed slanders, and by threatnings and flatteries, availed themselves of the fears of the less informed, by which they have been influenced to cast in their vote and aid their cause.

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* The reader will perceive, that the leaders of federalism are stiled, both a monarchical, and aristocratical faction, which may appear an inconsistency. But let him remember that aristocracy is the support of monarchy, and all will be plain.

And all this to prevent our elections from operating in their free and natural course, on which the purity of our government depends. These things are well known facts. And they are the shoots and twigs of monarchy, originating from that old British anti-republican root, which has ever been sprouting up in America, the fruit of which has been most destructive to the welfare of this country.

19. Fellow citizens, the rise and progress of the opposition against our government, has been of such a serious, and alarming nature, and leading to such fatal consequences, that the man who has viewed it in its proper light, must be destitute of a love to his country, to smooth it over to gain the applause of any party, or to shun the arrows of detraction. The happiness of millions yet unborn depends on our government being maintained in its original purity, which can only be thro' unbiassed elections. But do we not see a fatal blow aimed at the very root of all our liberties? Do we not see in the opposition, men, principles and measures unfavorable to the nature of our government? Have we not been led by them to the very brink of ruin? And how narrowly have we escaped the imminent danger that awaited us? The awful state of America was just on the point of being sealed, but heaven interposed and wrought deliverance. Just at the dark moment when the fate of our country hung in awful suspense, methinks the guardian ANGEL of America was commissioned with deliverance—roused the people to a sense of their danger, who indignantly frowned on their servants that had abused their power—recalled them from the helm of state, and brought in the patriots who had never apostatized from the principles of our revolution. Soon was the scene changed—the gloomy night of political darkness came to an end—the shades were dispelled—the morning star of liberty arose, and ushered in a brighter day than what Columbia ever saw. From this moment our independence commenced anew—the beauties of our constitution were unveiled—our government appeared in its native dress, and its republican features were once more clearly seen.

20. The present administration of our government forms a complete contrast to the last. So that, if the former was good, the present must be wrong; but if the last was wrong, the present must be right. Never were the two poles more opposite in their points than these are in their natures. So that, if the one terminated against the interest of the people, the other unavoidably terminates in their favour. The first we have already seen led to oppression, and so directly calculated was it for
that

that end, that it was impossible to differ from it materially, without a change for the better. Most striking, therefore, is the difference, and no less so the effects. The one increased the number of officers, the other diminishes them. One adds to the excise duties, the other abolishes the whole.. The one lays on a land tax, the other rejects it. The one gives out a sedition and alien act, the other repeals them. The one created a useless navy, the other dispenses with it. One trusts in a standing army for defence, the other in the militia. One augments the public debt, the other diminishes it.

21. And what are the effects of the present system? are they not salutary? We have honourably maintained continual peace with the nations around us, without the rustling of a standing army, while there has been a party thirsting for blood in our country, who have exerted themselves to the utmost to involve us in all the calamities of war. By the wisdom, justice and benevolence, displayed by the executive, the natives of America have continually stood in friendly attitude on our frontiers—their frightful weapons, have received no recent stains with the innocent blood of our citizens. The heavy and increasing burdens thrown on the people, have been removed by the prudent hand of economy, while the public debt which was rapidly increasing, is diminished.—Our revenues are promising, sufficient to answer all the exigencies of government, with a surplus of more than eight millions annually.—Our commerce is flourishing, and extends thro' the world.—Our union increases notwithstanding all the seeds of discord that have been sown among us. Our liberties, civil and religious, are secured: Indeed, we are enjoying all the blessings and prosperity as a nation and individuals, that ever a people may expect to enjoy in this imperfect world.

These things are irrefutably true. And are they not interesting? Let the people judge. Who is there that would esteem it a favour to have his wealth drained off by useless taxes? If the federal doctrine be true, that a national debt is a national blessing, our government has bro't a curse indeed upon us and not a blessing. But we wish for no more of that public blessing—it has already overflown our lands, reached our houses, entered our doors, ascended our windows, and filled all our rooms. May heaven deliver us from such a blessing!

22. It was declared by federal members of congress when the internal taxes were abolished, that our revenue would not meet the demands of government, that a few years experience would show the necessity of their continuance. But instead of increasing the public debt a million a year as under the last administration,

tion, thirteen millions five hundred seventy-six thousand, eight hundred and ninety-one dollars, and eighty-six cents, have been applied to the discharge of the public debt, during the period of three years and an half, commencing on the first day of April, 1801, and ending on the thirtieth of September, 1804. A larger sum * than what the purchase of Louisiana added to the old national debt.

I believe it never has been pretended, that the national debt was lessened during *Adams's* presidency, but a member of congress has lately declared, in his volamincus statement, that there were ten millions in funds, then due to government, which would have decreased the debt had it been applied. Admitting this fact, does not this question naturally accrue, why those enormous taxes? why the stamp act, the land tax, and what is worse, why favour a privileged order of loaning their money at eight per cent interest? Admitting this fact, another must of course be admitted, that the people were taxed, merely to have them taxed, according to the doctrine of Senator Tracy.

But while it is admitted that there were ten millions then in funds, let it be observed, that there is now nearly half that sum in the treasury, besides various other sums that have not reached the treasury; and if such a diminution of the public debt took place with the abolition of such a variety of taxes, what might have been done with their continuance? Yet the economy of the present administration is jeered at with the utmost contempt, by the federal party, and represented as a mere trick of delusion, in the face of the irrefutable statement of the Secretary of the Treasury, and the President's Speech. But as well might we expect that the air would cease to vibrate—the rivers recede in their channels, and stars forbear to trace their orbits, as to expect that those men who had met with the most mortifying disappointment, would cease to reprobate a system every way calculated to bring to light their evil deeds, and involve them in merited disgrace. We looked, therefore, for objections, and in proportion to the rectitude of every measure, they have come with a proportionable degree of contempt. But their very objections afford an additional evidence to convince us of their hostility against republican principles.

23. It is objected that the President is a man of bad principles, a deist, and an enemy to the christian religion. But what gave rise to this report? The whole united band of his most inveterate enemies, are challenged to produce one sentence in all his writings that expresses a sentiment unfavourable to the christian religion. So far from this, there is not a human performance now extant in America that more clearly points out the

origin

* Exclusive of the American claim.

origin and nature of true religion, than the Virginia remonstrance against an established religion by law, which he had the honour to draft. Two things have given rise to *Jefferson's* deism. First his refusing to give his voice in favour of the British treaty, which he well knew would lead to an alliance with England, and a rupture with France, which proved to be true. This treaty was so favourable to the designs of the British faction in this country, that they strove to the utmost to carry it into effect till it was ratified. France was now represented as a bloody banditti of deists and atheists, while England, stained with the blood of America, was held to view with all the show of virtue. Whoever now appeared in vindication of the treaty, passed for a good man, be his character what it would, while all those that opposed it, were stiled Jacobins and deists. These things are well known facts. From this moment *Jefferson* became a bad man and a deist, because he appeared against the treaty: Not a word against his character before, but was high in the esteem of the federalists themselves. And this is enough to make a deist of a man now, and thousands are stiled so, for no other reason than for espousing genuine republican principles, in opposition to British policy. Another thing has equally contributed to the rise of this slander. It is well known that the President is a friend to universal liberty of conscience, and an enemy to religious establishments by law. And let a man's character be what it may, and his conduct ever so upright, this will make him pass for a deist in the view of all religious bigots. It is the nature of ecclesiastical tyranny to anathematize, all those who plead for the rights of conscience. This was the case with the church of Rome, all those who would not fall in with *popery* fell under her curse. Every martyr died an heretic in her esteem. This is the case with the church of England, she claims all the pure religion in that kingdom. And this has been the case with the federal party in America, they lay claim to all the religion, virtue, and good order in the land—Atheists and deists and men of corrupt principles are all those who will not fall down and worship their *Diana*.

Civil and ecclesiastical tyranny, have ever gone hand in hand with each other. The existence of one is absolutely necessary to the existence of the other. Had it not been for civil tyranny, the church of Rome could never have stood; and had it not been for ecclesiastical tyranny, no oppressive system of government could have long been maintained. The interference of the civil power in matters of religion, has been the cause of every persecution in the world—given rise to idolatry—is the root of popery, and has been the cause of more infidelity, than all the bold doctrines and writings of deists in all ages.

Fellow citizens, if there was no more than the enjoyment of our civil rights, depending on republican principles, I could not feel acquit to appear in public and take an active part in the political controversy of the day : But the outward enjoyment of our religion will be in proportion to the progress of republican principles. The very nature of which leads, not only to civil, but religious liberty. But the nature of monarchic, aristocratic, or which is the same, federal principles, tends to oppression both civil and religious. And in proportion to their progress, in a nation, state, town, church, or society, liberty is sacrificed to gratify the ambition of usurpers.

Men and names are not the cause of the political controversy in our land, but principles. It is not the man *Jefferson*, but the political principles of *Jefferson*, that are opposed. Had the President been as bad a man as what is alledged, yet had he been a federalist, we should have heard nothing of his deism : Doubtless he would have been as good a christian as *Alexander Hamilton*.

Our President is the only chief magistrate known on earth, that clearly sees, and boldly declares, that the civil power ought not to interfere in religion, which belongs to that kingdom which is not of this world. Let usurping tyrants continue to dread his name, and tremble at his sentiments, till they shall be humbled to take pattern from his bright example, that they no longer may be a scourge to mankind. May this brightest ornament of America, long be continued to bless our states, till his placid soul, untroubled by the storm of federalism, shall ascend to mansions of undisturbed repose.

24. The official appointments of the executive have produced the most irritated clamours against the President, without the least justifiable grounds of complaint. The constitution has given the President this right, and it is of the highest importance that he should exercise it ; without which it would be impossible for him to carry into effect any system that could be adopted. While Mr. *Jefferson* is amenable for his conduct, is it reasonable that he should be obliged to trust the various branches of government in the hands of those who are inimical to his political sentiments, and endeavouring to counteract his designs ? What could he have done with such a band of inveterate enemies around him, to obstruct every measure, and retard the whole system in its operation ? Justice, reason and prudence, called now for a change of officers. The principles of *Jefferson* were known before he was chosen to that office by the people, and it was for this end they chose him, that he might administer the government on republican principles. And must he disappoint the people, and sacrifice his politics, to gratify the
enemies

enemies of that government which he had solemnly sworn to maintain? Common sense dictates to the contrary. Rather does it not appear that these clamourers had too great a love for the leaves and lilies—the emoluments of office.

25. In all their objections, what disgraceful inconsistencies do we discover? Why was *Gallatin* objected against as secretary? Had he not talents equal to any man for that office? it is not disputed. Was not his moral character good? it has never been denied. But he was a foreigner, here lies the objection. So was *Hamilton*;—yet he might hold any post of office. Does not this clamour excite a strong suspicion, that they expected now there would be such light thrown upon the state of our finances, as would expose the federal administration to the most severe animadversions? The state of our finances before, was involved in much obscurity. It was difficult to know what our exact revenue was, or the particular expenditures of government. Now the people have a clear and precise statement from the treasury department, whereby they are able to judge of the wisdom and economy of the two administrations.

26. The abolition of the internal taxes has been severely reprobated by the federal party, as designed to favour the southern states more than the northern. But happily *Mr. Taggart's* statement has discovered the fallacy of this assertion. We see by that, the New-England states have borne the heaviest of the burden. The state of *Massachusetts* only, has paid nearly one third of the whole. Consequently the repeal favored the northern states most. But even admitting that the repeal did favour the southern more than the northern, the very objection against the repeal affords an argument for it. For if it favoured the southern more than the northern, it follows, that the taxes certainly burdened them more than the others. And if the repeal might justly be objected against, because it favoured the southern states, the continuance of it might with equal justice be objected against because it favoured the northern states. But admitting again that the tax was every way equal, what objection against its repeal? Is not our revenue adequate to the expenses of government, and to contribute largely to the redemption of the public debt? And if it was an unequal tax the sooner it is dispensed with the better. What shall we think of such men, that will object against such wise and prudent measures, every way adapted to the interest of the people? Are they friends to the people or are they not? Is it not the wisdom of a nation to encourage their home manufactures? Is this done by loading them with impost duties? The repeal of these taxes dismissed more than four hundred and seventy officers, who lived upon the

the hard earnings of the people. Does the farmer and mechanic wish to support a numerous host of officers for no other purpose, but to create aristocratic influence ?

27. But while incessant clamours have poured forth from the federal cabinet against the repeal of these taxes, they are equally raised against the duty on salt. But let it be remembered that the duty on salt was put on under *Washington* at 12 cents, and raised from 12 to 20 the fore part of *Mr. Adams's* administration, for the term of two years. In the year 1800, it was continued at 20 cents for the term of ten years, by the then federal majority ; consequently it will expire in the year 1810. The arguments in favor of it at that time were, “ That it was a sure source of revenue,—if all others failed that could not, for the people could not live without salt. That against it—the demands of government were sufficient without it. Whether it be advantageous to the people at the present day, I shall not pretend to say,—will only observe, if clamours are raised against it, let the saddle go upon the right horse.

28. The opposition against the pacific, and legal amendment of the constitution, for designating the electoral votes for president and vice-president, and the peaceable acquisition of Louisiana, which was attended with such interesting consequences to America, is a matter too serious to be lightly passed over by the friends of our country. When through a defect of the constitution, the people were just upon the eve of having a president imposed upon them, by an aspiring *junto*, which had well nigh terminated in a civil war, the voice of experience, wisdom and prudence, called now for, and urged the necessity of an amendment. But it was pointedly reprobated by those who but a few years before proposed the same amendment, under the specious pretext that it would weaken the constitution, when immediately after a resolution was made and carried by some of the same party, to effect a change in one of its most essential articles, that would deprive the southern states of their equal right of representation. In the name of reason !—What shall we think of such conduct—of such men ! Are they seeking the good of our country ? I pause for an answer—Nor less astonishing and inconsistent, has been their opposition to the acquisition of Louisiana, which they ardently strove to purchase by costly wars and the blood of our country, without the least overture for an amicable settlement of the difficulties that subsisted between us and Spain, urging for reason that it would be of an immense value to our country, and that then was the only time to avail ourselves of this valuable prize.—That if France should come into possession of it, our western rights would only be

be obtained by the point of the bayonet. But, as soon as it was reasonably, and peaceably purchased, they represented it as a worthless acquisition, and dangerous to our union! It was printed in capitals in every federal paper thro' the states, that fifteen millions were lavished for a mere wilderness, when they knew that the port of New-Orleans, and the full possession of both banks of the Mississippi, together with the prospect of freeing ourselves from hostile and troublesome neighbours, were the principal objects in view. Yet these men pass for the friends, and the only friends of our country, while they have strove to involve us in all the calamities of war, and rejected every measure that led to peace.—While they have sought to burden the people with various and useless taxes, and been uniformly opposed to every measure that relieved them.—While they have determined to defeat our elections, to carry into effect their dangerous designs, pursuing a system every way adapted to change our government, and to destroy our independence.

29. My countrymen, the opposition against our government, is of a more serious nature than what many are aware. The matter in debate, is not simply whether the present or last administration is best, but whether a democratical system of government is best, or not. JOHN ADAMS, with all the rest of the leading federalists says that it is not. They say that the English constitution is far superior to ours. The two parties, therefore, are grounded upon different principles, which embrace different systems. It is, therefore, most interesting to ourselves, to our country, and to posterity, that we take right ground, and choose the right standard. There is in nature but two kinds of government, (viz.) monarchy and democracy. Theocracy has long since come to an end. And aristocracy or oligarchy, is in its nature, like that of monarchy, in all kinds of which, both limited and unlimited, there is a power independent of the people, which is the source of all oppression. But in a democracy all power emanates from the people, which is a full check to all tyranny. America presents to view the only pure representative democracy in the world, or that ever has been. And the liberty and prosperity which the people of this country do enjoy beyond any other nation, is an evidence that our government is superior to all others. And as a republican, or democratical system is only calculated for the good of the people, we have a strong proof that we have it now administered in its purity: For when did the people of the United States ever enjoy a greater degree of national felicity than at the present day? Notwithstanding all the opposition that has been raging against it. Where is the man that can point out in one instance wherein the people have been injured under the present administration? And yet we are called upon by the voice of opposition, to give up the delicious fruits of republicanism to taste the gall of *British policy*.

30. But can a republican government be maintained? It is said that it cannot: And we are cited to the fall of other republics for a proof. It is true, that a system somewhat similar to that of ours, in Greece, Rome, France, Holland and other places, has been tried, and failed.—Good reason for it—the main pillar to support it was wanting, that is, information among the people. No nation was ever blessed with the means of education like ours, which diffuses knowledge to every class of people. Those ancient republics, were not only deficient in their systems, but lacked the important privilege of the press, and other useful means of information. But why this harping upon the downfall of other republics? Is it not to weaken the confidence of the people in our government? How would it have been received in the time of our revolution, had we been told, if we gained our independence we could not support it? Would not such a declaration, if believed, have served to weaken the arm of the warrior? Would not such doctrine, and such men, been
spurred

spurred at them, with the utmost contempt? What better are they now? Have principles changed their nature since? Surely no. As darkness was darkness then, and so is now; so principles that were against our revolution then, are applied to our liberty now. Indeed, if the people of this country are made to believe that a republican government cannot be supported, it will not. But so long as the people shall believe to the contrary, it will stand. We have the greatest reason to believe that in such an enlightened nation as this, it can, and will be supported. We have tried the experiment twenty-eight years, and so far from having failed, there never was a brighter prospect of its continuance. Tho' we have been once in imminent danger of meeting with a wreck, yet the very danger we have escaped, will be one great mean of our future safety.

31. Let us, therefore, one and all, endeavour to aid the cause of freedom, and show to an admiring world, that a republican government can stand. And to this end, let us bear in mind that there is no government on earth so equal and just as ours.—No nation so happy as America. Should we take a view of the best governments that have been established in the most noted kingdoms and empires in the world, how despotic and oppressive when compared with that of united America! When we look through the medium of history to Babylon, Egypt, Syria, Persia, Greece, and Rome, those most enlightened ancient kingdoms. What scenes of wars, cruelties, and oppressions do we behold, caused by the vices of monarchy which have been poured upon the earth; But should we take a view of the most enlightened modern nations of Europe, where can we find the one whose prosperity can vie with America's. Even England, that enchanting Goddess of monarchy, which has allured the uncivilized sons of Columbia, she groans beneath her heavy burdens, while favored with all the blessings of the *tyrannous scepter of avarice*. But America is free, blessed with the only happy government in the world; at the thoughts of which may we be stimulated to maintain it pure.

32. Let us, therefore, be unbiased in all our elections. They are the streams that form the source of all the power in our government. If these streams are corrupt, the fountain will be so too. If men, whose principles are repugnant to our constitution compose our national assembly, and fill the highest office of state, our liberties will at once expire. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that we examine principles, and search for those that produced our revolution, and established our independence, and view with a jealous eye, whatever deviates from them in the least—remembering that it was pure republican principles that animated us in our struggle with the haughty power of Britain, and gained our freedom. Let those men of talents who possess them be honoured with our suffrages—Let us be bold and open in our choice—Despising the mean arts, and disguised intrigues of those, who are seeking to prevent the free, and natural course of our elections. Americans, if we are free, let our elections be free, and we shall secure our freedom.

33. Let us endeavour in all our conduct to discover the superior spirit of republicanism. That while we are bold, vigilant, and zealous for the good of our country, let us take the example of our beloved president, and with a becoming dignity of mind, bear with patience all the contempt that shall pour upon us in so noble a cause;—remembering that many of those who have fled to the standard of opposition, are verily thinking that they are doing service to their country. While we, therefore, censure the principles they unwittingly uphold, let us view them friends in heart to those we admire. Let us remember, that benevolence and charity are peculiar traits in republican principles, the nature of which is to promote the happiness of all mankind. *Do to others as you would have them do to you*, is the golden rule from heaven. Here are just rights and equality, which no form of government ever granted, but an equal republican system.

Finally, while we celebrate that memorable era, of our independence, let us remember that all our blessings which we so richly enjoy, are the gifts of Heaven. *Yehovah's* arm has wrought all our deliverances for us, and his beneficent providence has hitherto protected us. May he still continue to be our salvation, and safely defend our liberties, and cause them to descend to the latest posterity.