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Continued from our last. The moment that the new government was organized, the monarchists arrogating to themselves the name of federalists, commenced a systematic attack on every republican principle in the constitution, endeavouring to sap one after another, every bulwark erected for the protection of the independence of the state governments, and of the supremacy of the whole people. This attack called forth a correspondent vigilance and vigor on the part of the republicans, in the defence of every thing which in a government they considered of value. Thus a warfare of principles commenced, which has not yet subsided. Here then, fellow citizens, you have a faithful exhibition of our view of the origin of the dissensions which disturb the tranquility not only of this state, but of the United States, and of those essential principles of government in which the theories of leading federalists differ from those of republicans. We will say something of the opposing systems of public measures advocated and pursued by the parties respectively. — Permit us, however, to pause here and make a remark which is suggested by what has already been said. Man is always backward to acknowledge himself in an error, he is too apt to consider it a dishonour to him to have been deceived, this induces him to persevere in his error until he meets with evidence altogether irresistible. Many an honest sincere republican has constantly given his voice for federalists, believing them to be as honestly and sincerely republican as himself. Such men will not easily be persuaded that they have been betrayed by those in whom they have confided; that they have given their support to a system which is their abhorrence. It will be difficult to convince such republicans, that their friends, the leading federalists with whom they are acquainted, can be advocates for the systems of Mr. Adams or Hamilton. We solicit those men who shall entertain doubts like these, to recollect that Mr. Adams's books were published for the express purpose that has already been stated, and were read by the leading men of both parties; his principles were, therefore, early and universally understood—that Hamilton's proposition for the destruction of the state governments, and for the election of a Chief Magistrate for life, was made in the face of the convention assembled from every part of the union. To suppose then that the opinions of these men were unknown to leading federalists would be mere idocy. Both Mr. Adams and Hamilton are known by leading federalists to be monarchists in principle, and of course to be enemies to our federal constitution. Mr. Adams was, on account of his principles, called to the Chief Magistracy, and Mr. Hamilton is, to this day, the favorite chief of his party. Would republicans, would those who detest kings, or any other hereditary governments, exalt to the chief magistracy of a government like ours, an avowed royalist? Such conduct would be the wildest phrenzy. No—the men, who in fact procured the election of Mr. Adams were royalists. The men who are now the political friends of Mr. Hamilton, are royalists. Though the royalists, or federalists, as they call themselves, commenced their operations with the commencement of the government, yet during the administration of Washington their march was steady, was cautious. That inflexible patriot, always esteemed by the republicans, was always hated by the federalists, because he was known to be in favor of the popular elective system. They knew his integrity to be incorruptible, to him, therefore, it is not probable that their projects were explained, but his personal friendship for, and confidence in some of the party, whom either accident or design had placed near him, enabled them in some instances to circumvent him, to betray him into measures plausible indeed, but which in their tendencies were indisputably opposite to the whole tenor of his declarations, and to the principles he avowed. Such instances however

were rare, for we do not accuse him of a mental approbation of anti-republican legislative measures, merely because he did not consider it expedient to oppose to them his constitutional veto. The day when this great man retired from the government was a day of triumph. Having by their address, for we will make use of a mild epithet, procured themselves a chief on whose co-operation they might rely, they seemed determined to redeem the time they had lost under his predecessor. Having obtained a distinct majority in the legislature, having early seized on the judiciary, they were become complete masters of the field. All the powers of the government were in their hands, and they were all exerted to prostrate every obstacle to the establishment of their favorite system. Caution was at an end, henceforward their attacks on the constitution, our citadel of liberty, were open, incessant & alarming. To trace them in all their movements of hostility, would be to write a history of the measures of the government. Few indeed were the measures that did not directly or indirectly tend to advance this great plan of federalism; but whatever might be the mode in which they were to operate, one distinguished principle pervades the whole, they were all, excepting their measures of terror, calculated to create and to extend an individual, a particular interest, separate and distinct from the general interest of the community, and to engraft that particular interest on their system in such a manner as that it should be understood that they were to stand or fall together. The limits of an address will admit of little more than to name the most prominent of the measures that were directed against the popular, the republican system, in short, against liberty. In the front rank appears the funding system, a measure manifestly unjust, inasmuch as the real creditor of the public was thereby compelled to contribute to pay the whole amount of the very debt which in reason and justice was still due to himself, to the gambling speculator, who, taking advantage of his necessities, had purchased the paper on which was recorded the evidence of that debt at one eighth part of the amount of the debt. The injustice of the act will never be forgotten. The soldier to whom we were indebted for our liberty, he who purchased it at the price of his health, and of his blood, he it is true, has been deprived of the pittance that had been promised him, and the price of his blood has been paid to his proud oppressor; but the soldier is poor, and himself and his injuries are forgotten; but the effects of the measure on the politics of our country will long be remembered. The debts of the United States at the time they were funded, were nearly as follows:—The whole debt due originally to our own citizens of various descriptions, forty millions of dollars, but worth at the market price not more than five; but let it be estimated at thirteen millions of dollars. The debts of the several states for which the creditors had no pretence of claim against the United States, and which, therefore, should not be included in the estimate of the debts, really due from the United States, but which were assumed by the United States on shallow and frivolous pretences, amounted to the very serious sum of eighteen millions of dollars. If we estimate the balances due to those states which had performed more than their proportion in our revolutionary labours, at five millions of dollars which cannot be far from the truth, it will be found that the whole debt of the United States at the time the law for funding it was enacted, in truth, and justice, amounted to not more than thirty millions of dollars, at least no more than that sum was due to those who by that law were recognized as creditors. But the debt when funded amounted to eighty millions of dollars. By this single operation then a capital to the enormous amount of fifty millions of dollars was created out of nothing, and what was worse, if worse could be than the injustice of the measure, the pro-

prietors of this vast wealth understood that they owed it to federalism (for the measure was strenuously opposed by the republicans) and they were taught to believe that the existence of their wealth depended on the success of that system which had created it. Thus the federal leaders in one day, and by a single manoeuvre, inflated under their banners, not indeed an army of poor soldiers, dressed in uniform, with muskets in their hands, prepared blindly to perform the work of desolation and murder; but an army much more to be dreaded of rich, and consequently influential men dispersed over the union, who owed all their wealth and all their influence to their chiefs, and stood pledged blindly to support them in all their attacks on the principles of liberty. While these things were being achieved by the legislature on one quarter, on the other the judiciary were making a bold and decisive assault. A suit had been commenced against one of the states, and the supreme court of the United States solemnly decided that an independent state was subject to be impeached before them, and amenable to their orders, and liable of course to be punished for contempt, or to have execution awarded against them. This was a situation for sovereignty which was universally felt to be rather ludicrous. It was doubtless a noble stride towards the accomplishment of Mr. Hamilton's project of annihilating the state governments. Unfortunately for federalism, the state sovereignties did not choose to be put on a footing with a corporation for the support of a toll bridge; they were not yet sufficiently federal for that; they therefore united in a constitutional provision to check this inroad of the judiciary. The struggles of the French nation to recover its long lost rights, excited the sympathy of the friends of liberty in this country; on the contrary they were objects of regret and terror to the federalists. The French revolution became overclouded; it was disgraced by violence and cruelty; it was stained with innocent blood. The republicans in America, who cherish'd the pure and just principles of liberty only, have been to this day accused of abetting all the horrible deeds of the men who in France disgraced the name of liberty, a most foul calumny, and known to be such by those who uttered it. Nay, liberty itself was stigmatized. The horrors of the French revolution were said to be the certain fruits of democracy; that is, of a government entirely under the control of the people. To enable federalists to accomplish in our government the revolution which they meditated, it was necessary to increase as far as possible the number of influential men who should be interested in the support of their measures. To degrade and bring into contempt republican principles, and as, after all, they could not hope that an actual change in our government to the monarchical, hereditary form, should be permitted without opposition, an army was indispensable to overwhelm resistance. This is the key that unlocks, and places fairly before our eyes, all their secret counsels; by this we are enabled to discern the consistency of all their measures. It was to accomplish this revolution that the funding system was projected and carried into effect; that the sovereignty of the states was attacked; that the public money had been wasted with a profusion bordering on madness; that we have engaged in the intrigues of foreign countries, in them to find a pretext for war, for armies, for fleets, for an increase of expence, for new taxes, for loans of money at an unheard of rate of interest. These were the measures of federalism, and by them its interests were advanced precisely in proportion to the increase of the public burthens. We have seen hosts of public creditors, of tax-gatherers, of officers, civil and military, all sold to the cause of federalism, pledged to the overthrow of republicanism. We have seen the plainest, the most inestimable of the rights of man held up to public scorn in publications favored and supported by the

officers of the government and their adherents. Foreigners have been encouraged to erect presses in the midst of a republican people, for ridiculing and execrating every principle of republicanism, and the American presses were most of them corrupted and perverted to the same abominable purpose. If a printer was found honest enough to resist seduction and bribes, and bold enough to warn the people of their danger, cruel, arbitrary and unconstitutional laws were enacted, under color of which he was seized, stripped of his property, and condemned to languish in prison. Against the men who remained faithful to the cause of liberty, and whose talents made them objects of dread, to the federalists, a mode of warfare cruel and base beyond example was adopted. In order to destroy their influence with their fellow citizens and to deprive them of the power of making a successful opposition to federalism, calumnies without number, and of matchless atrocity, were invented and circulated with a diligence which demonstrated it to be the effect of concert. To them all without exception was imputed every wickedness that has been known to blacken the heart of man; they were spoken of not as men, but as demons: a great effort was made to overwhelm them with infamy, to set a mark in their foreheads, and to drive them from the face and society of men. In some parts of the union, and particularly in this state, the attempt was attended with too much success. Here the republican, though his life were without blemish, found himself at once stripped of reputation and of the esteem of men, and he was compelled with pain to remark a majority of that very people whose advocate and defender he was, uniting with his and their enemies in their attempts to degrade and destroy him. This was indeed and in truth, THE REIGN OF TERROR. Federalism was every where triumphant; its influence was accordingly unbounded. The avaricious and the ambitious, the man of splendid fortunes, and of splendid talents, those in short who, under the new order of things, were to be nobles and masters, were, with a few exceptions, especially in the northern states, united in one firm, powerful phalanx, under its banners. The people were found incapable of, or indisposed to resistance. They either cowered down through fear, or they joined the enemies of their liberties, and applauded the measures calculated to ensnare them. The firm and intrepid republicans were excluded from all participation in the general or state governments—they were every where traduced, proscribed, and persecuted. In short, the fair fabric of freedom, whose walls were cemented by the best blood of our nation—that asylum, that last hope of the oppressed of man, seemed ready to fall in ruins. War to draw the attention of the people from domestic encroachment to foreign danger, and an army to execute whatever should be commanded, seemed all that was wanting, and all were absolutely indispensable, in order to open the last scene of the drama, and to exhibit the bloody catastrophe. To obtain these, the federalists, with much art, fomented a quarrel with the French nation, and had succeeded so far as to produce an open rupture; and under the pretext of danger of an invasion, which every man in the country of common sense and common information knew to be impossible, they procured an army to be placed at their disposal. This was to men of virtue and intelligence a moment of awful expectation, of deep, of unpeepable anxiety. They knew that our destinies were proceeding rapidly to a crisis, that we were playing for the last stake left to the human race, and that the game was nearly ended. The moment was at hand that was to decide the question, whether man was ever to emerge from the state of depression and vassalage in which, from the beginning of time he had been cruelly held, or was to sink again, without further hope, into the dark abyss. The profusion with which

the public money, was squandered, and which could not be concealed from the public eye, the burthens that rapidly accumulated on the people, the land tax, and the loan of money at an unexampled interest, to supply that profusion; an army, always an object of jealousy to freemen, and in this instance raised on pretexts obviously insincere, and which rendered its destination suspicious—these things excited in the public mind distrust and enquiry. This was a happy presage. The enlightened patriots hoped that the slumber of the people was nearly at an end, that they would soon awake. Thank heaven, they did awake, and the proud edifice of federalism, that castle of despair, was laid smoking in the dust. A single circumstance, fellow citizens, which preceded the downfall of federalism, and which was considered at the time, by the intelligent men of both parties, as the harbinger of that event, we will recollect to your recollections, principally because, in our opinion, it demonstrates the truth of what we have taken for granted, that the war was considered as necessary to the accomplishment of federal projects on our own government, and that the army was raised; not to repel French invasion, but to crush republicanism. The French government were inviting ours to meet them on honourable terms for the purpose of endeavouring to put an end, by treaty, to all subsisting differences; Mr. Adams called a council of those federalists in whom he placed the most confidence, in order to determine whether the invitation should be accepted or rejected. It is well known, that the council were divided in opinion; that some alarmed at the symptoms of a gathering storm at home, and too timid to embark on an enterprise so hazardous as that of attempting to still and overwhelm the public voice by force, were for peace, and for waiting for a more auspicious time for the accomplishment of their plans; that others more daring, were for rejecting all overtures from France, and boldly meeting the shock of conflicting principles at home; they knew that if ambassadors were appointed, peace would be the consequence, for America and France had no hostile, no conflicting interests; that the necessary consequence of peace must be a dissolution of the army; in short, that it would be relinquishing the ground they had gained. Why should they fly on the first appearance of those whom they expected to meet, and whom they were prepared to encounter, especially as henceforward it was probable that the strength of the enemy would be augmenting whilst theirs would be diminishing. Revolutions are never accompanied without hazard. The boldest measures are commonly the most successful. Why then should they wait for a more favorable time which probably would never arrive? To relinquish the war with France at this juncture would probably be a cowardly desertion of their cause, at the moment when one vigorous exertion would secure its triumph. These were the counsels of some of the leading federalists present, among whom it is said were Hamilton and Pickens. Do these things appear incredible to you, fellow citizens? Perhaps you do not know that when the army was voted, it was the advice of Mr. Hamilton that it should amount to fifty thousand men. Perhaps you have forgotten that an army of volunteers was enlisted in every part of the union, the officers of which were appointed by the executive of the United States, and was placed at the disposal of the President. Perhaps you have never heard that the Secretary at War Mr. M'Henry expressly recommended it to the officers of that army of volunteers to encourage the enlistment of that class of men called old totes. And yet these things are true, and they deserve your solemn consideration. In the council however caution prevailed; and

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