



AND

North-Carolina State Gazette.

Ours are the plans of fair delightful peace,
Unwarp'd by party rage, to live like brothers.

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PENNSYLVANIA POLITICS.

Having published the Address of the Members of the Pennsylvania Legislature in favor of a Convention and a change of Governor, we now give the Address of the Society of Constitutional Republicans, established in the City and County of Philadelphia, to the Republicans of Pennsylvania, which was unanimously approved and adopted, at a general meeting of the Society in the City of Philadelphia, on Monday, the 10th of June, 1805, for preserving the present Constitution as it is, and for retaining the Governor. This address is supposed to come from the pen of Mr. Dallas.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens,

AFTER an arduous contest in support of those principles of civil liberty, to which the Revolution gave birth; during the first period of a triumph, that conferred the Executive and Legislative authority of the nation, upon patriots of our own choice; while the character of the American People, and of their government, is rising, with unvalued lustre, in the estimation of the wise and the good throughout the world; and in the ripe season of domestic prosperity, presenting its blessings as the reward of virtue and industry, without distinction of persons, places, or pursuits;—who can hear, without surprise, the cry of social discontent; or view, without apprehension, a spirit of political innovation? But the painful crisis has arrived! Amidst all our inducements to preserve harmony and peace, the standard of discord has been wantonly unfurled. By specious tales of imaginary wrongs you have been urged to doubt the reality of the happiness you enjoy. In the hope of substituting the glitter of impracticable theories, for the steady light of experience, the fundamental laws and constitutions of the land, are assailed. The wreath of honor, placed by yourselves upon the brow of sages and of chiefs, is rudely violated by strange and obtrusive hands. And the Republican Party of Pennsylvania (out-running the opprobrious prediction of its enemies) seems eager to become the speedy instrument of its own destruction.

The evil, thus distinctly traced, is great; but, Fellow-Citizens, it is not incurable. Reflecting upon the origin and progress of the scheme to subvert our government, and to degrade our patriots; the motives, the means, and the number, of its authors and supporters; the very nature of the influence, which has beguiled some honest and respectable citizens to its aid; and the irresistible force of reason and truth, in developing the fatal consequences, with which it teems; you will be convinced that there is yet safety, by an appeal to the virtue, intelligence, and power of the people. In countries, whose over-grown population, is tainted with crimes, and enervated by want;—where the inequalities of property and of rank, produce envy, on the one hand, and contumely, on the other; where labour has no excitement for its movements, nor any security for its accumulations; and where, in a struggle, to be emancipated from oppression, the end is deemed a sufficient sanction for all the means, that can be employed to attain it; the smallest spark of political enthusiasm naturally kindles into a blaze; and the public tranquillity is forever held, at the mercy of individuals, sanguine, bold, and aspiring. Far different, however, is the condition of Pennsylvania, where no material change can be projected, without involving the hazard of a material injury; and the people, neither insensible to the boundaries of Providence, nor regardless of the dictates of prudence, will hear, examine, and decide for themselves. Encountering this ordeal, the clamour which has been suddenly raised, must as rapidly pass away; and, like a summer's storm, serve only, by its concussion, to purify and enliven the political atmosphere.

Behold, then, Fellow-Citizens, in the history of the existing crisis, as well the ground of consolation, as the source of your affliction. During the memorable period, in which the Republican party strove to rescue our civil institutions from danger, and to enforce the right of participation, in the service and honors of our

country; a principle of concert and conciliation, gave life, and confidence and effect, to all our plans and operations. But no sooner were the stations of power and patronage, occupied by distinguished Republicans; scarcely had the auspicious inauguration of 1801, been celebrated: nor indeed, had the toils of the recent conflict, ceased to require relaxation and repose; when symptoms of ambition and intrigue; of jealousy and discontent; of disunion and disorder, awakened the patriotic mind, to a sense of new troubles, and new sorrows. The distinction then became obvious between those Republicans, who had fought for the cause, and those who had only fought for themselves. With some merit, on the score of service, but with more pretension, from the desire of remuneration, a small but active combination of malcontents was formed, to influence, or controul, the measures of government: And these men (in their career, presumptuous, intrepid, and persevering) have deemed no claim too extravagant to be advanced; no artifice too mean to be employed, no obstacle too great to be surmounted. While they have marked, for popular scorn and suspicion, every other citizen in public employment, their business and pleasure, and pride, have been the designation of offices for themselves, and the hungry circle of their adherents. The highest have not been above the scourgings of their vanity; nor are the lowest beneath the cravings of their indigence. The cabinet of State, and the direction of a Bank; the desk of the Customs, and the bench of a Court; the magistracy of a City, and the clerkships of a Department; contracts for public supplies, and agencies for charitable institutions; military commissions, and medical appointments; have been, alike, the aim, the hope, or the solace, of their labours.

Although the object of the combination, which we deprecate, may be thus regarded as single (the self-aggrandizement of its members) the arts that have been practised to accomplish it, have been numerous and diversified. When the issue of our elections had destined the reins of government for Republican hands, it was seen and felt, by the genuine friends of the rising administration, that a dignified execution of the trust, would be embarrassed by expectations, which justice could not warrant; by solicitations, which reason was unable to satisfy; and by suggestions, which an enlightened policy could not fail to condemn. The indications of this perturbed and prowling spirit, preceded the first official act of the new Administration; and measures to be adopted, were delineated, by a bold and specious anticipation, that offered, in the form of a conjecture, what was meant to be prescribed as a task. While the great body of the Republicans, aware that their position did not afford a view of the whole of the political ground, left the arrangements of State, and the work of reformation, implicitly, to their illustrious Chief and his Associates, the Malcontents pressed with increasing vehemence, on the Councils of the Nation. Sometimes they endeavored to attract attention, by florid representations of their own personal worth, and civic popularity. At other times, they have sought to elevate themselves, by depreciating the character of every real, or supposed competitor. On one occasion you have seen them magnify the hasty opinion of a few inhabitants, of a few wards of the city, into a deliberate expression of the will of the people.

On another occasion, they have been detected in divulging plots, which were never conceived; and in branding as conspirators against the fame and fortunes of the Chief Magistrate, men who would cheerfully expose their lives, for the vindication of his principles, and the advancement of his happiness. The whole machinery of confidential letters, essays upon the state of parties, anonymous hints, admonitions, and accusations, has been set in motion. The petty incidents of private life, and the momentary asperities of private altercation; mutilated scraps

of conversation, and sudden ebullitions of passion; have been obtruded from the recesses of a malignant memory, upon the public ear; and, indeed, it was once vainly thought, that favor might be achieved, by an attempt to sow the seeds of disunion, even within the hallowed precincts of the Capitol.

But baffled in every scheme, and disappointed in every wish; mortified with contempt, and exasperated by despair; the malcontents resolved to coerce, whom they could not persuade, and to ruin what they could not enjoy. They quickly, therefore, exchanged the arts of solicitation and deception, for the weapons of denunciation and terror; transferring their principal scene of action from Washington to Philadelphia; where the Press, which had attained a matchless celebrity, under the guidance of its able and upright Founder, was devoted, by its present proprietor, to all their passions and projects. A few leading members of the General Assembly, honest, perhaps, but fascinated by the mischievous and glowing speculations of Godwin, were, also, enlisted in their cause; and undertook sometimes to act in the name of the Legislature, just as the malcontents themselves, have always presumed to act in the name of the people. The plausible pretext of redress of grievances, and a reformation of abuses, naturally operated upon weak, though worthy, men, in a small degree to augment their numbers; while the desperate and the dissolute to whom any change is preferable to the continuance of order) listened, with delight, to the sound of the Revolutionary tocsin.

Thus composed, and thus prepared, the malcontents commenced the work of devastation upon our public characters, and public institutions; boasting without shame, or compunction, that in the prosecution of their designs, the merit of past services should be obliterated; the hope of future usefulness should be blighted; every feeling of friendship, every claim of gratitude, every tie of domestic affection, should be disregarded and subverted. Although they still wore a mask of respect towards the Chief Magistrate of the Union, the members of his Cabinet (the inmates of his heart, as well as the partners in his toil) have been, successively, libelled by their news-paper squibs, or stigmatized in their toasts at a Festival. They have sentenced a Republican majority in Congress, to the grossest imputations of corruption. In terms of unequivocal import, they have charged eleven Republican Senators of Pennsylvania with perjury, while deciding in a judicial capacity. An opposition to the candidate, whom they delight to honor, or to a measure, which they are pleased, without consultation, to propose, has never failed to open the sluices of scurrility and defamation, upon veterans of the Revolution, and Republicans of the day of trial. In the lust of power, in the rage of proscription, the exercise of the equal right of opinion, at political meetings, has either been over-awed by boisterous menaces, or frustrated by clandestine combinations. The essential rules of discipline, have been violated in the military corps, to which they belong, while men, wearing the garb, and claiming the name of soldiers, have refused obedience, on a political pretext, to the orders of their commander, leaving him no refuge from intolerable disgrace, but an indignant resignation of his commission. For maintaining the freedom of election, (that vital principle of a Republican Government, guaranteed by the constitution and laws, against every species of influence and outrage) Republicans have been deprived of petty offices under the City Corporation. Nay, descending to the humblest sphere of persecution, a long list of tried and inflexible Republicans, have been expelled without a hearing, from a Popular Society, charged with the inexplicable crime of suspicion; or attained of a contumacious opposition, to the election of the Member of Congress, presiding at their expulsion. In short, who has not felt, or does not fear to feel, the good and the lash of the present usurpation? To the elevation of bad men, the prostration of good men,

has always been found a necessary prelude. The *Gironde* of *Brisot*, formed a base for the *mountain* of *Robespierre*. The worst views of faction, too, are, generally, pursued under professions of the best. And the Citizens of America begin, at length, to perceive, that advantage has been taken of their just veneration for the Liberty of the Press, to shackle them with the tyranny of Printers.

But it early occurred to the malcontents, that this system of denunciation, could not be supported by the mere weight of their own authority. Many Citizens, who were the objects of their enmity, bore honorable marks of service in the war of Independence; many had grown grey with the solicitudes of public council; most of them were attached to the soil, by the ties of parentage, of offspring, or of property; and all of them had contributed to the triumph of Republicanism. A generous people may be vigilant, but they cannot be suspicious: before they decide, they will examine; before they inflict punishment, they must be convinced, that there exists guilt. It was natural, therefore, to expect an enquiry, why men, who had been firm and faithful, throughout the gloomy season of privation and suffering, should abruptly abandon their principles and their party, when all was sunshine, hilarity and enjoyment? To escape from the difficulty of answering this question, the malcontents dexterously raised the phantom of a *Third Party*! It is obvious, however, that while the rapid progress of their denunciation, presents numbers sufficient to constitute an independent political Corps, their ingenuity has been exerted, in vain, to assign an adequate motive for its formation; nor has their zeal been more successful in discovering any proof of its existence. For, though the public have been long amused by a succession of promises, to unveil "treasons, stratagems, and spoils;" what has been heard, in performance of those promises, except the ragings of ambition, and the ribaldry of nick-names? Thus, to oppose a candida e, pertinaciously nominated by the leading malcontents, has been deemed an inexpiable *resy*, although a Republican was his competitor. A refusal to acquiesce in the decision of the malcontents at a popular meeting, has been arraigned as *apostasy*, although the decision was surreptitiously obtained. A verdict for the acquittal of Judges, whom the malcontents had fore-doomed to conviction, has been stigmatized as *political defection*, although it was delivered, in favor of innocence, under the solemnity of an oath. In short, every Freeman, who was unwilling to yield, passive obedience to the mandates of a *Secret Tribunal*, and to sacrifice substantial benefits, for airy novelty; who would not applaud characters, that he did not approve, nor vindicate measures that he never advised; who disdained to carry the prejudices of party into the circles of social life, or to declare all learning, learned men, and good manners, hostile to the dignity of Republican virtue; the malcontents have arbitrarily enrolled as *Quid or a Federalist*; a *Traitor* or a *To y*; involving them all, at last (under the auspices of General Steele and Mr. Mitchell) in a comprehensive proscription of "The Constitutional Republicans." But here, let it be explicitly announced, that if to differ, at this period, in opinion and feeling, in theory and practice, from the malcontents, can furnish the foundation of a *Third Party*, we shall rather boast, than blush, at the imputation of belonging to it. For, as the malcontents have widely wandered from the political ground, on which we once acted together, our last, great hope, (repeating the sentiment of 1801) is "an Union of honest men, on the principles, which led Washington to the field, and placed Jefferson in the Cabinet."

Having traced the malcontents through the windings of sinister intrigue, and personal detraction; we proceed, with increasing indignation, to review their daring and sacrilegious efforts, against the civil institutions of our country. On a vain presumption, that the establish-

ment of their own influence, had been the necessary consequence of undermining the influence of others, it was thought easy to consummate the work of destruction, by employing the same arts to decry principles, which they had hitherto employed to disgrace men. Resorting therefore, to all that could excite passion, or rivet prejudice; to all that could stimulate fear, or attract credulity; they have exposed the form and the substance of our Government, the code of our laws, the system of our jurisprudence, and the administration of justice, through a false and deceptive medium, to the scorn and detestation of the world. Whatever was prepared for us, by our venerable Ancestors, is ridiculed as obsolete. Whatever is the production of co-temporary wisdom, is branded with corruption. The Patriots of America are supposed to have been ignorant of the true interests of their country; and her Statesmen are reproached, with a treacherous contempt of the rights of man: While the impious and visionary standard of *human perfectibility*, is proclaimed to be the only rational guide, in the formation of a free government; and the malcontents themselves to be the only qualified Rulers of a free people.

Under the impulse of these dogma, and with a view to the introduction of wild, pernicious, and unheard of schemes of legislation and politics,

The malcontents have endeavored to deprive us of the inestimable right of trial by Jury, in cases of trespass and damages, as well as in cases of debt and contract.

They have endeavored to deprive us of the security of independent Judges;—of Judges independent of popularity and persecution, as well as of power and patronage.

They have endeavored to deprive us of the sanctuary of Courts of Justice, where publicity will always insure impartiality; substituting the private chamber of an individual Justice, where secrecy too often encourages oppression, and begets impunity.

They have endeavored to deprive us of the Freedom of Election, by a display of the terrors of denunciation and proscription: threatening the good man with a loss of character, and the poor man with a loss of office.

They have endeavored to deprive us of the Liberty of the Press, by denying to Republicans the usual channels of public communication.

They have endeavored to deprive us of the honors of a well-organized militia, by flagrant examples of disobedience, contumacy, and discord.

They have endeavored to deprive us of the benefits of the Common Law of Pennsylvania, as recognised, approved, and confirmed, by the Whigs of 1776.

They are endeavouring to overthrow the State Constitution, involving in its ruins the order of Society, and the principle of Republicanism.

And, finally, they are endeavouring, through the example and influence of *Pennsylvania*, to subvert the Federal Constitution, at the hazard of civil war, and a dissolution of the Union.

Such, Fellow Citizens, is the crisis, at which your decision is required, upon the great questions,

Whether a Convention shall be called?

And whether the present Governor shall be re-elected?

The inalienable right of the people, to assemble for the alteration, or abolition, of their form of government: and the absolute authority of the Citizens, to select whom they please, for their Chief Magistrate, have never been denied, and ought not to be resisted. But the possession of the right and the authority, bespeaks discretion and justice in using them: and it would be disgraceful, as well as destructive, to yield that obedience to the cry of faction, which is due alone to the legitimate voice of the People.

[To be continued in our next.]