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FIVE DOLLS. PER ANN. FRIDAY, APRIL 13th, 1804. *PAID IN ADVANCE.*

A LIST

Of Letters remaining in the Post-Office Washington City, on the 1st day of April 1804.

A.

John B. Anderfon, Thomas G. Addifon, Efq. Doctor Starling Archer.

B.

Hon. John Breckenridge, Hon. John Brown, Charles Betty, Peter Brown, John Boyfe, Samuel Boots, James Barre, William Barry, Mifs Kitty Boarman, Capt. James Barron, Edward Ball, Robert Brown, 2, George Bulit, John Baines, care of Upton Hobbs, B. Brayne, at Mr. Duane's, Mann Butler, Efq. David Brown, Mr. John Breckinridge, Jofhua Beall, Efq. Genl. Mountjoy Baylor, 3, Leonard Beatty, B. Biffitt, John Beverly, Walter Burns, Jofeph Belt.

C.

Zachariah Cox, 3, James L. Clouney, Mr. Richard Chapman, William Cutting, Efq. 2, Samuel Carr, Efq. Mr. William Cafey, Faifk Carter, Jehiel Crosfield, Samuel Collingwood, Mr. Carter, brickmaker, John H. Carr, Robert Camp, Samuel Chefter, Captain Hugh G. Campbell, James Conoly, Overton Carr, Overton Carr, jun. John Cummans, Zachariah Chaney, Samuel Corp, Efq. 2, Byram Condit.

D.

Patrick Deery, 2, Daniel Dorranee, Capt. Elry Doughty, James Dickfon, Doctor Debutts, Louis Dupre, Efq. William M. Duncanfon.

E.

Richard Everfon, John Evens, Jofeph Eid, Lieutenant Samuel Evans, John Edds.

F.

Jofhua Farnham, Richard Finnies, Peggy Fornfworth, Mr. Eligius Fomentin, 2, Mifs Delia Forman, John Forbes, Efq. 3.

G.

William Gottings, James Gardiner, Lieutenant Edmund P. Gaines.

H.

General Benjamin Harvey, Mr. Afa Hill, Benjamin Hichborne, Efq. William H. Hamer, Mr. John Hewitt, Jacqueline Harvey, Efq. 2, Mr. T. Hall, Mr. Benjamin Hutton, jun. Mr. John Hankart, Doctor Edmond Hayward, 2, Mr. William Hoggard, (care of Mr. Greaves) Thomas Hanfon, Efq. Richard T. Hanfon, Mrs. Hanfon, Thomas H. Hanfon, Thomas Hughes, William G. Hand, Thomas Hutchins (care of Mr. O'Brien) Mrs. Mary Holford, Mrs. Eliza Hitchcock.

I.

Mr. William Johnfton, 4, Francis Johnfton, John Jackfon.

K.

Captain James Kamer, Mr. William Kelly, Henry Kramer, Efq.

L.

John Lewis, (care of John Nixon) John Lglon, Monfier Laffaigne, John R. Loycroft. Elias N. Little, Mr. Henry Lee, B. H. Latrobe, Efq. 4.

M.

Charles Fenton Mercer, Eleakin Morfe, William Minchin, James Maffey, Abraham M'Kill, Richard M'Pike, Elizabeth M'Kennan, Charles Manning, David Martin, Hannah Miller, Daniel Murphey, James M'Allifter.

N.

Harrot A. Nance, 2, Catharine Mary Nicholfon.

P.

Cary Pratt, John Purkitt, Lewis Pruithomine, David Phipps, Ifaac Pollock, Efq. Charles Pondgot, John Pickford.

Q.

John Quynn.

R.

Richard Rotter, Jofeph Richardfon, Meffrs. Rofs and Hanrahan, Alexander F. Rofe, Efq. Doctor Samuel Robinfon, John Richardfon, Efq.

S.

Jared Shattuck Efq. Mrs. Rebecca Eliza Seymour, 2, Captain James Stille, Mr. George Sinclaire, Mifs, Anne Smith, Mrs. Cafey Smallwood, General Arthur St. Clair, John Smith, Efq. 2, Captain Thomas Swaine, Michael Shanks, James Stuard, George Suckley, George Shoemaker, Mifs Polly Stewart, Mifs Smallwod, Richard Smith.

T.

Mr. C. C. Byrd Thompfon, 2. Doctor Samuel A. Thompson, Jos. Thaw.

V.

Martha Veich.

W.

Ulifis Wair, James Wilfon, Efq. Thomas Wilfon, 2, Hezekiah Wood, John M. White, Thomas Wilfon, (care of Thomas M'Glocklen) Thomas Webb, Robert Williams, Efq. Mary Wilfon, James White, John Wall, John Ward, William Watt, Roger Williams, Mofes White, Efq. John Winthrop, Laban Wheaton, Efq.

Y.

Ralph Young.

At a meeting of the republican members of the legislature, and a number of respectable citizens of this and the neighbouring towns, for the purpose of fixing on proper candidates to fill the offices of governor and lieutenant governor, the ensuing year, the under mentioned gentlemen were nominated and agreed to; and a committee appointed to draft an address to the people, in support of the nomination—which was read and unanimously adopted, as follows:—

TO THE ELECTORS

OF THE

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

FELLOW CITIZENS—

On the approaching first Monday of April, agreeably to the conftitution, you will be called upon, in your refpective towns, to give your fuffrages for governor, lieutenant governor, and fenators of this commonwealth, for the enfuing year. The importance of the fubject, and the neceffity of a deliberate confideration of the principles which fhould be maintained, and the refpective candidates who ought to be fupported, will apologize for our addreffing you on the occafion.

This annual exercife of one of our moft valuable political rights is at the fame time a performance of a moft facred political duty; and in both refpects, ought to be conformed to the fpirit of our conftitution.

The government of Maffachufetts, as well as that of the Union, is, in effential principle, democratic. Its proper definition is a reprefentative democracy; a government of the people through the agency of elected and refponfible officers. "We the people of the United States," is the ftile of the national conftitution. "The people of the commonwealth, in the analogous language of our ftate conftitution, have the fole and exclufive right of governing themfelves, as a free, fovereign and independent ftate," &c. "All power refiding originally in the people, and being derived from them, the feveral magiftrates and officers of government, vefted with authority, whether legiflative, executive, or judicial, are their fubftitutes and agents, and are at all times accountable to them." The will of the people ought to prevail; and the right of fuffrage is the conftituted organ, by which that will is to be declared. This is the true theory of our national and ftate governments, in which, as the late venerable Samuel Adams well obferved, "the people have the whole fovereignty."

A different fyftem, however, which would allow the people only "an effential fhare in the fovereignty," that is, a houfe of commons or reprefentatives, and render the other branch of the legiflature, and the executive, independent of and irrefponfible to the people; has many open advocates and more fecret abettors among us. It is indeed the favorite object of the leaders of a once powerful party throughout the United States. Under the popular guife of federalifm, and without an explicit avowal of their ultimate views, they havee in various ways, and with different degrees of fuccefs, been endeavoring to mould our government into a conformity to that anti-republican fyftem. A learned work was publifhed in three volumes under the impofing title of "A Defence of the American Conftitution," containing an elaborate panegyric on the principles of the Englifh government, as "the moft ftupendous fabric of human invention."—This fpecious vindication of that compound of monarchy, ariftocracy, and democracy was read and approved by the influential characters among the federal party.——With Alexander Hamilton at their head, they made an effort in the national convention, to introduce the monarchic principle into the conftitution of the United States under the fpecious form of a Prefident and Senate for life;—from which the tranfition to an hereditary eftablifhment would be natural and eafy. Defeated in this prime attempt, they availed themfelves of the real and imaginary difficulties of agreeing on a form of government, to leave the conftitutional delegation and diftribution of powers indefinite and capable of a latitude of conftruction; with a view to obtain, in practice and by imperceptible degrees, what they had found to be unattainable immediately by open and direct means. To that point their exertions have been fyftematically directed. For the proof of this affertion, you are referred to their converfation, their publications, and the meafures they have fucceffively adopted or propofed. By popular ridicule they have attempted to difcredit liberty and equality, the fovereign people, democracy and democrats; to attach to freedom, by an artful affociation of ideas, as its natural and neceffary effects, all the errors and exceffes of the French revolution; and to render every name expreffive of free government, here as in England, as unamiable as a witch, a blafphemer, a rebel, or a tyrant." They have laboured to diffufe an impreffion that republicanifm, however beautiful in theory is impracticable in its nature, and pernicious in its confequences; that the evils of popular elections are greater than thofe of hereditary defcent; that "the people are their own worft enemies," incapable of felf-government, and therefore requiring hereditary government. Your own recollections, fellow citizens, are our witneffes for thefe facts.

Attaching themfelves, in the firft inftance, to the illuftrious Wafhington, for the fake of borrowing his popularity, to decoy their unfufpecting followers, and cover their own anti-republican operations, they felected, for the Vice Prefidency, and afterwards elevated to the Prefidency, a gentleman known to them, but not the people at large, to be an advocate of the hereditary fyftem; and, although they afterwards difcarded him, for prefuming to interrupt their daring project of a war with France and a confequent alliance with Great Britain, they ftill continued to cherifh his political principles.

Under the laft adminiftration an alarm excited againft aliens, who like our anceftors within a few generations paft driven by the perfecutions and troubles of the European world, and come, under the faith of our naturalization law, to feek an afylum here. The vices of a few profligate individuals were charged upon that whole clafs of people; and the alien act, in violation of the conftitutional right of jury trial, vefted the Prefident with the monarchic power of banifhing them, without a trial, or even a charge of any crime, upon mere fufpicion, and at his fovereign will and pleafure. The tendency and undoubtedly the object of that law was to accuftom us to arbitrary executive power.

At the fame period a ftatute called the fedition act, founded upon plaufible pretext and containing fome popular provifions, furrounded the adminiftration with a wall of legal protection, while it expofed their political opponents to the combined effects of unreftrained calumny from federal pens and tongues, and party profecutions before federal judges and juries. For the judiciary throughout all its grades was confined to one party. Indeed republicans were excluded from offices in the general government more completely, if poffible, than they now are under the prefent adminiftration of this commonwealth. The maxim was not only adopted in practice, but at length avowed and defended on the floor of congrefs, that none but fupporters of the federal adminiftration fhould be admitted to any official favours. And to give irrefiftible energy to the engine of government, they encreafed the means of executive patronage by extending governmental eftablifhments, multiplying offices and magnifying the powers of officers. The number of minifters refident at foreign courts was encreafed. In a moment of artificial alarm and under fallacious pretext of danger of an invafion, but with a real view to internal operations, and that the friends of adminiftration might not, in the expreffive language of a Connecticut fenator of the United States, "be pulled out of their beds by a lawlefs mob," a provifional army was eftablifhed for an indefinite term, and continued at Oxford and other interior places of encampment, until the indignant voice of the people, diftinctly heard from all parts of the Union, called loudly for their difcharge, to remain unheard or refufed. They were then reluctantly difbanded.

In imitation of the naval eftablifhments of Europe, our navy was enlarged beyond our means, at a ruinous expence and without any real ufe; and juft before the clofe of the laft adminiftration, moft of thofe public fhips, thus wantonly built or purchafed were a deadly lofs.

To furnifh official rewards for active federalifts, and at the fame time, to form a permanent line of fortifications for federalifm itfelf, an entire new grade of circuit judges was eftablifhed and the number of diftrict judges, attornies, marfhals, and other dependent officers augmented; an eftablifhment demonftrated to be unneceffary by fair experience, both before its introduction and fince its repeal; although the judges ftill claim their abolifhed offices and falaries which will be doubtlefs granted to them fhould federalifm again prevail.

A direct tax was introduced, accompanied with innumerable offices, fome of them temporary, and others permanently eftablifhed as the organs of further taxation; a circumftance which fhews that this fpecies of taxes was intended by its federal authors to be repeated and become periodical.

Excifes alfo, burthenfome and vexatious to the people, and embarraffing to American manufactures, but comparatively unproductive to the treafury, employed near five hundred revenue officers, dependant on the pleafure of the Prefident, until the republicans obtained the afcendency: when although it was their turn to difpofe of and enjoy thefe lucrative offices, yet, in conformity with their uniform principles, they laid the axe to the root of this extenfive fyftem of executive patronage.

Money was borrowed by the federalifts, while in power, at the enormous rate of eight per cent. intereft payable quarterly; while private citizens were reftricted to fix per cent. under forfeitures and penalties; and the hands of government were tied for a number of years, from redeeming the eight per cent. ftock. This meafure promoted the ariftocratic or federal policy.

The original funding fyftem was calculated to anfwer the fame political purpofes. In place of the juft difcrimination, contended for by Mr. Madifon and other republicans, in favor of the original holders of the public fecurities, who had earned it by their fervices, and who were numerous, indigent, and fcattered through the nation, the full amount was fecured to a few cunning fpeculators who had bought them at an eighth part of their nominal value. Thus a monied ariftocracy was at once created and attached to the party, who had helped them to their fortunes; while the poor foldiers, who generally retained the republican principles of the revolution, were fubjected to taxes to pay to their ariftocratic neighbors the debt, which was equitably due to themfelves. Ways and means were devifed to augment and perpetuate the public debt. A certain part of it was exprefsly made irredeemable. State debts to an unneceffary amount, were prematurely affumed, in fuch proportions, that when the accounts between the union and the feveral ftates were liquidated, uncollectable millions remained, and yet remain due from debtor ftates, to the prejudice of the creditor ftates, of which Maffachufetts was one; and feffion after feffion has witneffed motions in congrefs to extinguifh thofe arrearages; whereas an affumption of about half as much, after a liquidation by the commiffioners appointed for that purpofe would have fairly balanced the revolutionary accounts between the general and ftate governments. But encreafing the national debt proportionably encreafed that patronage which the admirers of the Britifh fyftem think neceffary to the energetic fupport of government. Mr. Hamilton, then fecretary of the treafury, and ftill the head of the federal party, had officially reported in favor of an indifcriminate affumption of the whole mafs of ftate debts; which would have added many millions more to that of the nation. This report was advocated by influential federalifts; and, although a majority of congrefs could not then be induced to adopt it, the very propofition demonftrates the political object of the fecretary and his confidential partizans.

Comformable to the fame policy, the national debt, under the adminiftration of the federalifts, in eleven years, from the firft of January 1790, when it was completely funded, to January 1ft 1801, rofe between ten and eleven millions, that is, a little lefs than a million of dollars a year upon an average.

Such are the outlines of the federal fyftem of principles and meafures. An aufpicious change in the adminiftration, effected by a change in the conftitutional procefs of election, arrefted its progrefs and faved the nation from ruin.

ordered to be fold under the certainty of

The army has been reduced by the republicans "to the ftandard of our real wants," and both the army and navy have been fince employed with greater effect than the whole were before. The land tax has been difcontinued; bufinefs is no longer clogged with ftamps; all the excifes are repealed; the judiciary reftored to its former ftate; the number of our foreign minifters reduced. A hoft of officers, eating the bread of the public, have been returned to the ufeful occupations of private life. Our flag is refpected in Europe and Afia, and dreaded by the barbarians of Africa, before whofe harbors our little navy, under the direction of a wife and energetic adminiftration, has lately rode in triumph and checked the depredations of thofe formidable pirates. Thus protected commerce is bringing home to our fhores the productions of all quarters of the globe: and government is taking meafures to fecure our merchants from impofition and our feamen from impreffment.

Inftead of repeated and almoft continual Indian wars, the blame of which is thought by many to have been generally on our fide, the Prefident, by a manner of treatment peculiarly grateful to our favage neighbors, has obtained their confidence and attachment, and even procured from them the ceffion of an extenfive and valuable territory. No infurrections are now occafioned by an odious excife or an obnoxious land tax. The adminiftration no longer fhield their conduct from inveftigation by a fedition act, of doubtful conftitutionality. Federal predictions of evil are difproved by facts and events. While war diftreffes other countries, the pacific policy wifely adopted, and firmly purfued, by our government, notwithftanding the embarraffing oppofition of Rofs and Morris, and the whole federal faction in and out of congrefs, has to the confufion of the war party, received the fmiles of heaven and the applaufe of an admiring world; and we are now enjoying its falutary effects in peace abroad and tranquility at home. Our citizens generally feel and acknowledge the increafing profperity of their country. Public credit is not merely maintained, but highly improved. Our finances are fimplified; our expenditures regulated. Seven millions, three hundred thoufand dollars more, making in the whole eight millions of dollars a year, are permanenly appropriated to the payment of the intereft and gradual extinguifhment of the principal of the public debt. Inftead of increafing at the average rate of a million a year, fuch economy has been exercifed that between the firft day of April, 1801, the firft quarter day after the acceffion of the prefent adminiftration, and the 30th day of Sept. 1803, a period of two years and a half, the debt, notwithftanding the abolition of taxes, has actually been reduced 9,924,004 dollars, and the cafh in the treafury, increafed 4,066,000 dollars. The revenues are punctually collected and faithfully applied, and are afcertained to be fufficient to meet all the legal appropriations; fo that, if the prefent happy fyftem of adminiftration fhall be maintained, the old debt will be completely paid off before the year 1818, and the new debt, the price of the late glorious acquifition of the Miffiffippi & Louifiana, extinguifhed in the fhort period of a year and a half from that time. For the correctnefs of thefe ftatements, fellow-citizens, we refer you to the official reports of the fecretary, of the treafury and other authentic documents.

To all thefe republican reforms and improvements the federalifts in congrefs feconded by their partizans abroad, have given an obftinate and indifcriminate oppofition.

Here, fellow-citizens, you have a faithful but imperfect fketch of the oppofite fyftems of the two great political parties pervading the United States. In the exercife of a common right, and in difcharging of the duty which as citizens, we owe to each other, we have fubmitted to your confideration a fimple unvarnifhed ftatement of facts. We neither expect, nor wifh you to take them upon truft. All we afk, is that you will examine them for yourfelves; credit your own recollections and obfervations on the paffing events of the times, in which you have lived; fee things with your own eyes; attend to your own intereft; be faithful to yourfelves and your pofterity. The diverging path of federalifm, notwithftanding many real republicans have loft their way, and been travelling in it without perceiving the divergence, yet moft affuredly leads to ariftocracy and monarchy.—Republicanifm is the plain direct road to freedom, peace, profperity and happinefs.

It refts with the fovereign people,