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FACTS ARE STUBBORN THINGS,

OR

Nine plain Questions

TO THE

PEOPLE OF CONNECTICUT,

WITH A BRIEF REPLY TO EACH.

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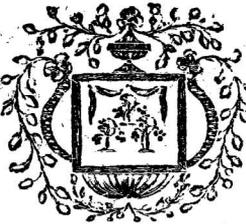
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By SIMON HOLD-FAST.

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BY THEIR FRUITS SHALL YE KNOW THEM.  
*THE BIBLE.*



HARTFORD :

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## FACTS ARE STUBBORN THINGS.

*Ms. Am. Bib. of Nov. 1857, T. E.*

**I**T has become quite fashionable, of late, by a certain class of writers, to ridicule the state of Connecticut. Our inhabitants are represented in the Aurora, the Watch Tower, the Boston Chronicle, and the Mercury printed by Mr. Babcock, as a wretched, priest-ridden and deluded people. The Legislature is denounced as arbitrary and tyrannical—The clergy as bigots, and the men in office, as the enemies of the liberty and happiness of their fellow citizens.

It cannot have escaped the observation of men of ordinary reflection, that this abuse is offered to Connecticut because she has remained the unshaken supporter of Washington and Adams.—It became necessary in the view of certain men, for reasons which I shall detail at large hereafter, to overthrow the administration which governed for twelve years past. This could not be done except by exciting distrust and odium against public men and measures.—To effect this, the newspapers, styled Republican, years since, commenced, and have carried on a warfare against the men who were denominated federalists. In this warfare, truth, virtue and honor have been openly and shamefully sacrificed on the altar of party spirit—and thus the desired change has been produced. The same weapons are now employed, with the avowed design, to destroy the confidence of the people of Connecticut in their rulers, and to drive them from their stations, that others may enjoy them. Among these weapons, calumny against the manners, habits and religion of the great body of federalists, is deemed very important.

My object is, in the following pages, to call the attention of my fellow citizens to this subject. I cannot do it more effectually than by adopting the following method.

- I. *What was Connecticut from her settlement to the close of the revolutionary war?*
- II. *What was she at the time of the adoption of the constitution in 1788?*
- III. *What was her condition at the close of the administration of Washington and Adams?*
- IV. *Why did an opposition exist against their administration?*
- V. *How was that opposition conducted?*

VI. *What has been done by the present administration of the United States ?*

VII. *What is now attempted to be done in this state by those who are styled Republicans ?*

VIII. *What means are used to effect their objects ?*

IX. *What is the plain duty of those who are federalists, and who rejoice to be called the followers of Washington and Adams ?*

It will be at once seen, that the answers to these questions must be confined—I pledge myself that they shall be conformable to truth.

I. *What was Connecticut from her settlement to the close of the revolutionary war ?*

Connecticut was settled by a plain, industrious and virtuous people. Their object was, the acquisition of a sufficiency of property to elevate them above want, and the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. The liberty they sought was equally removed from tyranny and licentiousness—they were too wise and too virtuous to wish the latter—they had too much self respect to submit to the former.

To acquire and preserve these great objects, it was with them a first principle that instruction, both moral and religious, should be enjoyed by the great body of the people. Hence schools and churches were established in their settlements, and a town or society without them, could not be found. Knowing that in a free government, confidence must be reposed in rulers, they also taught respect and obedience for those in authority. The Legislature, seconding the views of the people, cheerfully co-operated with them to promote the establishment of these bulwarks of society.

In their progress, harmony between the people and the clergy, was maintained. It was no part of the instruction of our ancestors, that those men who had taken upon them the solemn duty of directing men to happiness here, and endless happiness hereafter, were, *on that account*, to be ridiculed in weekly newspapers and held up as objects of scorn and hatred. It was not then deemed a mark of good sense, or good breeding, or a qualification for promotion to office, to denounce ministers of the gospel and professors of religion, as fools, knaves and hypocrites. No young gentlemen *then* sought popularity by openly profaning the Sabbath—by pouring contempt on the bible, or by announcing his belief in deism, or atheism. One day in seven was then kept as a day of public worship. Assembling together on this day—hearing something of the world to come, the destination of all men, abstaining from labor and amusement, and learning the great duties of life, was then deemed as tending to make men wiser and better—wiser respecting their highest interests—better as neighbors—as members of society—as citizens—as rulers—as children—as parents—as men—as Christians.

This people, planted in a good soil—favored with a healthful climate—situated happily for so much commerce as was necessary for their well-being—and thus established in the principles of liberty, morality and religion, soon became a prosperous and happy people.

It is not here intended that enthusiasm and bigotry did not tarnish their religious character to a certain degree—or that errors and vices were not seen, suffered and deplored—but it is asserted that as much

virtue was practiced, and as much happiness enjoyed, as could rationally have been expected; and that, on a comparison with other communities, *here* was eminently a good state of society.

The history of the connection between Connecticut and Great Britain, and a view of their internal policy, clearly shew, that the people and their rulers, were the real lovers and firm supporters of genuine liberty. All attempts, whether secret or open, against their freedom, were met with the intrepidity of freemen who despised even the appearance of slavery. In the war which separated them from their mother country, they bore a conspicuous part. The wisdom and firmness shewn in the cabinet were equalled, if not excelled, by the patience, fortitude and valor of the field. The officers and soldiers of the Connecticut line, received repeated and *high commendation* from their beloved commander in chief, and the praise of Washington was, till lately, real glory.

At the close of this war, the people of Connecticut principally returned to their various pursuits of agriculture, commerce and manufactures. It will not be forgotten however that the great exertions made by her citizens—the repeated ravages made upon her sea-port towns, together with the other calamities incident to a tedious war, had exhausted her Treasury and accumulated a heavy debt. This leads me to the second enquiry; viz. *What was she at the time of the adoption of the Constitution in 1788?*

At this period it appeared that the states most ready and most able to lend their aid, were greatly in advance to the United States, while they owed to their own citizens for their property and services, sums beyond their ability to discharge. Some of the states had replenished their treasuries with the avails of confiscations. Not so with Connecticut—her treasury had not a pepper corn in it—She then owed a debt of nineteen hundred thousand dollars.—New-York, her powerful neighbor, was draining her to the vitals, by a partial impost, and there was no general government which possessed either energy, or commanded respect. Her creditors were calling with a voice that seemed wholly irresistible. Her citizens were exhausted with the expense and fatigue of war—a scarcity of money existed which seemed to forbid industry, and this was rendered more intolerable by a total want of confidence between the states and among individuals—the people were deeply involved in debt, and public and private credit existed only in name—labor and produce commanded nothing but a bartering commerce—taxes were enormously heavy—constables, collectors and sheriffs, and their wretched accompaniments, vendues and gaols, were among the most familiar objects, and the enterprize and industry of individuals were palsied. In the midst of this embarrassment and perplexity, no insurrection was excited, tho' the flames of civil war burst forth in Massachusetts, and seemed to threaten a wide destruction. Connecticut, thus circumstanced, at once united in calling a convention to frame a new system of government. The constitution which this convention formed, was ratified in this state as soon, and with as great unanimity, as its friends could have anticipated, and the people looked to it as their refuge from the evils which they had so lately and so severely experienced.

Thirdly. *What was her condition at the close of the administration of Washington and Adams?*

You have seen that in 1788 Connecticut exhibited the highest proof of depression in her financial concerns, and you have seen her consequent wretchedness.—In 1800 the debt against the state is cancelled.—In 1800 there is in her treasury more than four hundred thousand dollars in the funded debt of the United States. There is a permanent fund of one million two hundred thousand dollars established for the support of schools—there is an entire restoration of confidence among individuals—commerce is prosperous beyond the most sanguine calculation—industry, labor, and exertion are amply rewarded—The farmer meets a full compensation for his produce—the people are relieved from the pressure of debt—lands, fences and buildings every where exhibit marks of wealth—school houses, churches and other public edifices have assumed a new appearance—instructors in literature, morals and religion can now be employed and paid—public and private credit is established on sure foundations, and as many advantages presented for increasing in riches and importance, in prosperity and happiness as have fallen to the lot of any people.

Whence this mighty change? Did not the new government in the hands of its friends principally contribute to produce it? Whence the entire restoration of public credit? Whence the encouragement to commerce and its protection against foreign foes? Is it not owing to the funding system, a measure adopted under the eye of Washington, and which has been the subject of much unmerited abuse, that this state obtained payment of her debt against the United States, and thus discharged her own debt? Are not many schools, academies and ecclesiastical societies indebted to this measure for their funds? Does not Yale College which has long been an ornament to this state, look to this system for much of her support? This College and her highly and justly respected President, may, for party purposes, be the objects of the calumny of certain men, but I feel an entire confidence, that the great body of my fellow citizens, regard them, with delight and affection. They look to that College as a nursery of virtue, and they feel an honest pride that while their sons may there be educated, it now contains youths from twelve of the sixteen states, as will appear by an inspection of the annual catalogue. There is no town, village or neighborhood in this state where witnesses cannot be found to testify for this College, and many parents who read these remarks, can speak in language not to be mistaken, of the enduring good which their children have thence derived.

This brief view of the condition of Connecticut during the administration of Washington and Adams, entirely justifies the assertion that in that period, she attained to a state of prosperity almost unexampled. An administration thus beneficial to one state, must of course have been eminently advantageous to the other states.—Is it not then more than treason against the majesty of heaven, that revilings, bitterness and calumny against Washington and Adams, should have stifled a generous love to the instruments and an affectionate gratitude to the author of such distinguished blessings?

4thly. *Why did an opposition exist against their administration?*

It will be recollected by those who recur to the adoption of the constitution that it met with a violent opposition in the state conventions. This was particularly the case in the larger states. It was long doubtful how the question would be decided in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia. In North Carolina, New-Hampshire and Rhode Island it was, at first, rejected. Vermont was not then a member of the union, and Kentucky and Tennessee have since been erected into states. In Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, South Carolina and Georgia it was speedily adopted. Connecticut, as was before remarked, clearly saw her future welfare in that constitution—she had suffered enough from her powerful neighbor—she wished such security against oppressive and partial impositions, as she has since experienced.—Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York, on the contrary, felt this as a deadly blow to their state pride—to their gigantic strides at national aggrandisement. It was humiliating to the ancient dominion to learn that Delaware was to have an equal vote with her in one important branch of the national legislature.\*

It is also obvious that the establishment of the general government, must of necessity, diminish the greatness and grandeur of state officers. Ambition saw no charms in this.—Hence Mr. Jefferson who had been governor of Virginia—Gov. Clinton and Mr. Samuel Adams, were among its opposers. This was the fact respecting many other leading men in the several states, and it is a truth which must have weight in this place, that those men with few exceptions, who opposed that constitution, have since been found in the ranks of democracy.

When this government went into operation, many great offices were to be bestowed. Ambition here was on fire. The venerable man who then presided filled the offices, with singular wisdom, but all could not be gratified. Six judges of the supreme court were appointed—How many M<sup>r</sup>Keans thought themselves worthy candidates for these places? Secretaries were appointed—How many Chancellor Livingstons aspired to that dignity? How many fought with anxiety to be Attornies, Marshals, Collectors, &c. &c. and how many were forely disappointed? Perhaps fifty where one was gratified.—Here was an ample field opened for the operation of ambition, not that ambition which strives to excel in doing good—but an ambition fierce and cruel—impatient of opposition—an ambition which is now laboring to destroy the reputation of Federalists in Connecticut—which, since the apostacy, has been unceasingly inflicting misery on man—which has gibbeted the fair fame of Washington, and which has lately turned Europe into one great slaughter house of human victims.

The funding system was a measure violently opposed to the feelings of the members of Congress from the south. Tho' the debt against the United States, was incurred for the general defence, and therefore a fair debt against the union, yet it was principally owned in Penn-

\* It will be noticed that this equal representation in the Senate cannot be altered tho' other amendments may be made. The writer is told that the small states are indebted for this provision to the late Mr. Sherman.

sylvania and the states to the northward of her. It was not pleasing to those who did not own it to contribute for its payment. *Patriotism* yielded to selfishness in this instance as it has *sometimes* done in others.

The provisions of the national government were calculated to foster commerce, and particularly to augment American shipping. The extra duties wisely laid on foreign bottoms, and on goods imported in them, among other measures, contributed greatly to this end. It was foreseen that, without such duties, the ships of other nations, would come to our ports and transport our produce to foreign markets. These duties operated to prevent this measure and to increase ship building—this to the northern states was an object of great importance. The southern states saw, in this, and other regulations, the increasing wealth of New England. This was no consolation to them. Hence the present Congress is attempting to repeal those duties. The undeniable consequence of a repeal, will be, that other nations will immediately commence carriers for us—this will diminish essentially the wealth of New England, and this being well understood by our merchants, there is but one opinion among them on the subject.

It is surprising that a Connecticut man should have any doubts on this question, yet we find Abraham Bishop, who furnishes many creeds for his party, tho' not one of them has any confidence in his integrity, published a treatise,\* strongly urging that all our ships should be destroyed, and other nations, become our carriers. Such a treatise, one would apprehend, would be as little relished among the New England merchants and ship builders, as a treatise in favor of repealing the tax on distilleries—both are well adapted for the climate of Virginia, where they build no ships, but manufacture much whiskey. In New England it is yet deemed more advantageous to morals and health, and more conducive to prosperity, to be celebrated for the number of our ships, than the number of our distilleries.

The war in Europe which originated in the French revolution, tended to augment the opposition of which I am speaking.—France at this period, broached a set of new doctrines, on almost every subject.—All the maxims in politics, morals and religion which had been sanctioned by the wisdom of ages, were openly exploded. The fascinating theory that all restraints upon the passions, and that government itself, were curses, was advocated. It was proclaimed that a new era had begun, and the people of the United States were kindly invited to assist Frenchmen to establish a mellenium, and participate with them in its joys.—Self government alone was enjoined, and weak and wicked men were assured that they were soon to be perfect and God-like.—It was a part of the same system to consider Great Britain as in hostility with the rest of the world, and that it was the duty of all nations to espouse the cause of France against this common enemy. Genet, aided by many of our countrymen, was spreading this net of destruction for us, by calling to his aid the consideration that during

\* It should be mentioned that this was before his father was made collector of the port of New Haven.

our revolution, his nation assisted us. Every engine was employed to excite the passions of Americans to enter into this dreadful controversy.—About this period the famous resolutions of Mr. Madison, which were always considered as the production in reality of Mr. Jefferson, were submitted to Congress. The obvious tendency of these was to draw closer the bands between us and France, and to indirectly attack Great Britain.

Washington and his councils, saw, in this enchanting system—the fascinating French theory, nothing but mischief. He saw that, under the specious garb of attempting to ameliorate the condition of man, a wild and intemperate attack was made, on the peace, order and happiness of the world. Instead therefore of listening to the voice which endeavored to allure the United States into that terrible vortex of French politics, he resisted every attempt to produce a partiality for either of the contending parties, and established with the strictest good faith, an upright and dignified neutrality.—Here he incurred the keen resentment of French philosophers and their dutiful disciples. Hence we find that during the first four years of his presidency, war was proclaimed against him and his measures, in a newspaper, printed by one Freneau who was then secretary to Mr. Jefferson.

Fifthly. *How was that opposition conducted?*

In this business the Jacobin societies were the great and efficacious agents. It was early discovered in France that a revolution could not be effected except by the establishment of Jacobin clubs—These concentrated all information relating to the objects in view, and controul'd the nation. Extended to every part of the kingdom, they secretly yet irresistably operated, 'till they produced the death of the king—destroyed the lives of more than five millions of people and placed a foreigner on the throne.—Thus the millenium in which we were urged to participate, has issued in an absolute despotism.—What a eulogy this upon the wisdom which dictated a neutrality.

Taught by France, the democrats established similar societies here, and they now exist in Connecticut, under the imposing name of *Republican Societies*.

In the societies established in Philadelphia, New-York, &c. plans of operation were devised, and all the interests of democracy, were promoted. Regular communications were made, and correspondencies established. It was here agreed that certain printing presses should be employed in the work of opposition, and that means of every description should be used. From one of these presses which has always been under the immediate eye of Mr. Jefferson, when General Washington declared his intention to decline a re-election, there appeared the following malignant libel on this favourer of his country.

*Extract from the Aurora.*

“ Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have  
 “ seen thy salvation,” was the pious ejaculation of a man who beheld  
 “ a flood of happiness rushing in on mankind; if ever there was a  
 “ time that would licence the reiteration of this exclamation, the  
 “ time is now arrived: for THE MAN WHO IS THE SOURCE OF THE  
 “ MISFORTUNES OF OUR COUNTRY, is this day reduced to a level

“ with his fellow citizens and is no longer possessed of power to  
 “ MULTIPLY EVILS on the United States: If ever there was a pe-  
 “ riod for rejoicing this is the moment. Every heart in unison with  
 “ the freedom and the happiness of the people ought to beat high  
 “ with exultation that the name of Washington from this day ceases  
 “ to give currency to POLITICAL INIQUITY AND TO LEGALIZE  
 “ CORRUPTION. A new era is opening upon us—an era that prom-  
 “ ises much to the people, for public measures must now stand on  
 “ their own merit and NEFARIOUS PROJECTS can no longer be sup-  
 “ ported by a name. When a retrospect is taken of the Washington  
 “ administration for eight years, it is a subject of the greatest aston-  
 “ ishment that a single individual could have CANKERED THE PRIN-  
 “ CIPLES OF REPUBLICANISM in an enlightened people, and should  
 “ have carried HIS DESIGNS AGAINST THE PUBLIC LIBERTY so far  
 “ as to have put in jeopardy its very existence. Such however are  
 “ the facts, and with these staring us in the face THIS DAY OUGHT  
 “ TO BE A DAY OF JUBILEE IN THE UNITED STATES.”

Every measure of the administration was denounced as hostile to the liberty and happiness of the people, and the most inflammatory appeals were made to the passions. The hatred generally prevalent against royalty was seized upon, and the general charges of love of monarchy, and tendency to aristocracy, were refounded in every quarter. The members of Congress, who were in the opposition, made the most profuse professions of their love of the people, and their zeal for the rights of man, and these were treated as tho' they were sincere.—It was not then considered by all, that such professions are like the sounding brass and the tinkling cymbal, and that ninety-nine times in a hundred, they are dictated by a base and hypocritical heart. It is a fact worthy of particular notice that similar means were constantly resorted to by French Jacobins whom the American democrats seemed to have taken as their models. Thousands of men were guillotined in France upon the broad accusation of their being friends to royalty—nay, at one period, *suspicion* of this crime produced condemnation and execution.

A few troops raised to defend us when exposed to a war with France, were proclaimed a standing army to rivet the fetters of despotism.—An alien act calculated to guard against foreign emissaries preying on our vitals, was declared an abolition of the trial by jury.—A sedition law, punishing the authors of false and malicious libels against the government, and mitigating the rigor of the common law which forbids the truth of the publication to be given in evidence, was denounced as an abridgment of the liberty of the press, and as unconstitutional.

Aware however that these charges were too general in their nature to accomplish the object, the enemies of the administration resorted to means still more base and detestable. Hence the walls of Congress were once disgraced with a charge against Washington of embezzling the public money—and thus the man who had refused any other reward than bare support for more than thirty years of laborious, painful and exalted services, and who deserved the first place in the affections of his countrymen, was hung up to infamy.

A similar accusation was made against Hamilton while Secretary of the Treasury. The public mind however was not then sufficiently poisoned to tolerate such slanders, and they were soon consigned to oblivion.—For a year or two before the last Presidential election, the Aurora of Philadelphia, the Watch Tower of New-York, the Chronicle of Boston and the Bee and the Mercury of Connecticut, assumed new vigor and made new and more unprincipled attacks on all men of distinction of the federal party. In these papers, the Secretary of State, Timothy Pickering, whose character had been spotless from his youth, was openly charged with robbing the Treasury of millions of dollars—Oliver Wolcott, alike respected for talents and integrity, was accused of burning the war office to conceal the wicked transactions of the public officers—President Adams, who had been thirty years employed in the high offices of member of Congress, ambassador, Vice-President and President of the United States, was denounced as a “hoary headed traitor,” and the murderer of Jonathan Robbins—and the tomb of Washington was assailed with the unhallowed hands of these ruffians in slander.

The most active agents in supplying these presses with such materials, were foreigners, Duane, Cheetham, Wood, and Callender, who fled from the justice of their own country, with characters black as midnight darkness.—Thomas Paine, the boldest blasphemer which this or any other age hath known, assisted in this work of destruction. Abraham Bishop, a minor and underling among these champions of falsehood and malignity, yielded his aid in this cause. This mushroom orator, in his oration of Sept. 1800, pointed the public attention to the enormous salaries of the officers of government and particularly to the extravagant income of David Austin, Esq. then collector of the port of New-Haven. I beg the reader to bear this fact on his mind.

Now, my fellow citizens, how many of the above charges are true? The government has been two years in the hands of the democrats. If they can prove these facts, they are certainly inexcusable for neglecting it. Yet what evidence have they exhibited to the public mind thus agitated and inflamed. On the contrary the above charges are now admitted by the democrats to be groundless.—To be sure, the charge is still made that the federalists are the friends of monarchy and the enemies of republicanism. This is now the burden of their song. Such charges may be always made—from their nature they can never be refuted. No candid mind would place any reliance on such an accusation especially when it comes from a rival and an enemy. But where is the proof of the treason and murder of Mr. Adams? Of the plunder of Mr. Pickering? Of the arson of the war-office of Mr. Wolcott? Where is the man of the least pretences to reputation that now dares to assert his belief in them? They are now known and admitted to be wicked fabrications—shameless falsehoods. It should be added, that a certain book called the “Prospect before Us,” printed by Callender, was among the most conspicuous of the libels on the past administration, and that Mr. Jefferson paid one hundred dollars from his own pocket, and two hundred in the remission of a fine, for this publication.

By these and various other similar means was an opposition for 12 years, maintained, and at length the government was transferred to those to whom the "doors of honor and confidence were burst open." They were indeed *burst open*, but the means were such as should cover with shame those who committed the *burglary*.

That these high accusations were false is already proved—but there is a piece of testimony, on this subject, which must be irresistible to democrats. Mr. Jefferson in his inaugural speech announced to the Union that our "government was in the full tide of successful experiment and that it had hitherto kept us firm and free." This "precious confession," designed not to applaud his predecessors, comes with great weight. It is the declaration of an enemy—it originated therefore not from affection—and is it not true?

Thus we have seen that those now in power obtained their elevation by decrying the measures and calumniating the character of Washington and Adams, and yet we see them glorying in the prosperity and happiness of the nation produced by their administration. If there be four millions and half of dollars in the Treasury, let it be forever remembered, that not a cent of it was brought there by the ruling party—nay, the Treasury was thus enriched by *those measures* which have been the subject of unceasing reproach and censure.—By calumniating these measures and their authors, certain men have succeeded to elevated stations and now demand the Hosannas of the people!! silence—a deep silence, on this subject, should seize *their* lips!!

Sixthly. *What has been done by the present administration of the United States?*

1. Nothing has been done to secure the freedom of the press. The sedition act expired under the former administration and a federal house refused to revive it.

Gov. McKean who has long stood at the head of the democratic party in Pennsylvania, in his late speech to the Legislature of that state, complained in bitter terms of the liberty of the press, and strongly urged an attention to that subject.

George Hay, one of the executive Council of the state of Virginia, the warm advocate of Jefferson and Republicanism, attacked in the highway J. T. Callender for publishing a libel upon him. He bruised him and left him half dead. Not content with this unauthorized outrage, he procured him to be committed to prison by the Republican Justice of Henrico County because he could not procure bonds that he would publish no more libels on democrats. This is a restraint on the liberty of the press which no Court in England dare impose and which was never before attempted in this country. It is true that he was afterwards discharged by another tribunal and his imprisonment declared illegal. This is the Callender so amply rewarded for publishing the "Prospect before us."

Ambrose Spencer, the Attorney General of the State of New-York, whose wicked persecutions in the council of appointment, will consign his name to notoriety, has lately indicted a printer at Hudson, for a libel on Mr. Jefferson. It will surprize plain men in Connecticut to be told, that this *guardian* of the rights of the people, this

lover of the freedom of the press, opposed a continuance of the prosecution to the next term of the court, on the ground *that the defendant could not give the truth of the publication in evidence.* Here, my fellow citizens, is a specimen of the *profession and practice* of certain men.—The seditious law, they exclaimed was tyrannical and oppressive—yet under this the person accused might justify by proving the allegations charged—Now federal printers shall be indicted at common law, and be denied that important privilege.

I know these acts of individuals are not chargeable upon Mr. Jefferson—but by them we plainly discover the freedom of the press which democrats intend to allow to Federalists.

2. The present administration have not disbanded any standing army. The troops raised under Mr. Adams were by him discharged in 1800. A few Soldiers have indeed been dismissed by Mr. Jefferson and a very few officers, and whether this was not rather a bait for popularity, than of real use, time will decide.

3. The erection of a navy was a subject of much complaint against Washington and Adams.—Without attempting to justify a measure which our situation so obviously dictated, and without mentioning the late project for a dry dock sufficient to contain twelve frigates, and without comparing this project with the situation of the boy who *expended all his money in buying a purse*, I shall only remark that within six months after the reduction of the navy by the present administration, our commerce in the Mediterranean rendered it absolutely necessary to fit out several frigates at a very enormous expence; and the message of December last urges the building of several small ships. Such a eulogy upon the former attempts to rear a navy, extorted from its enemies, is a proud triumph.

4. The judiciary act of 1801 has been repealed and sixteen judges removed from office. This measure is viewed by all federalists and many democrats, as directly opposed to the Constitution. The pretence that the saving of the salaries of these judges is the true reason, will never be respected when twenty thousand dollars was uselessly expended in sending Mr. Dawson to France, and thirty-two thousand upon the Berceau. It is now generally admitted that if these sixteen judges had been of the prevailing sect, the law would not have been repealed. If any doubts however remain, the lapse of a short time will remove them.

5. The internal taxes have been repealed. These taxes were odious to the people in the back parts of the southern States. Their creation caused one serious insurrection in Pennsylvania, as Mr. Gallatin can testify. The real ground of this repeal was the gratification of this great phalanx of the supporters of the ruling party, and Mr. Giles, who advocated the measure, has so declared.

The revenue from this source was nearly one million of dollars annually. It was a work of much time to put this system into operation, and at the moment when it had assumed the importance for which it was designed, and after the faith of government had pledged the avails, to the public creditors, it was abolished.

If the government did not need the aid of such an important revenue, why not reduce the duties on the necessaries of life? To the

great body of our farmers, the heavy duties on brown sugar, salt, bohea tea and molasses, are grievances, but they feel little interest in affording relief to pleasure carriages, whiskey, loaf sugar and lawyers.

It has been contended that the national debt is a great evil and should be diminished as fast as possible. This is true. Why not then sink this debt with these taxes? Why abuse the former administration for the existence of a debt and destroy the means by them provided to discharge it?

6. The present administration have extinguished a part of the national debt, and have now four millions and an half of dollars in the Treasury. Three millions of this money was there at the close of the past administration, and, as has been already remarked, not a cent of the residue has been produced by any of the measures of the ruling party. It is the avails of custom house bonds taken before March, 1801.

It will also be recollected that on the adoption of the constitution, the federalists assumed the management of an entirely new government—strongly opposed in its origin, and which was to be so administered as to secure to the people of the United States, the great objects in view. They contended with various conflicting interests arising from within—with two powerful insurrections—with tedious and expensive wars with the Indians—with depredations on our commerce from the English to the amount of four millions of dollars—with similar depredations from the French to the amount of twenty millions—with a war in Europe new in its nature and unexampled in its crimes—with the intrigues of a foreign government aiming at universal power—with opposition to every important measure from a strong party at home and with the bitterest calumny from those who were, by any and every mean, attempting to supplant them. Against all these obstacles they progressed in national wealth and importance—They restored public credit—insured domestic tranquility—established and preserved the faith, dignity and honor of the nation—sunk more than four millions of the public debt—left a full treasury and saw the people more prosperous than any country on the globe. Those who have succeeded them, now stand on the foundation which they laid—lift their heads to the skies and boast of the wealth and glory which surrounds them—not *forgetting* but *calumniating* the authors of this mighty good.

“Let him that putteth off the harness boast”—When Mr. Jefferson and his party shall have guided our councils for twelve years, and shall have produced as great accessions to national importance and glory, as were produced by Washington and Adams and their councils, then may he be indulged in speaking in terms of contempt of those who have preceded him—then may they boast of something greater than empty professions.

7thly. The present administration have done much in one respect. Many federalists have been removed from office and their places filled with democrats. Many men, reduced to poverty by faithful exertions in the revolutionary war, and to whom Washington had given a bare support, have experienced the *tender mercies* of the *very benevolent* and *philanthropic* Jefferson, and of his humble instrument Gideon Granger.

It is in vain to pretend as is falsely and wickedly insinuated in the late extraordinary proclamation of Samuel Bishop, Esq. and others, that these removals have originated in the mal-conduct of the officers. Mr. Jefferson's letter to the New-Haven merchants, and Mr. Granger's defence, both admit that many have been displaced merely to make room for their friends.

Is this the manly and dignified deportment of a chief magistrate—of the father of his country? Is it required of a President that he should thus proclaim himself the head of a party? Is here none of that “political intolerance,”—none of that poison to “social intercourse,” which renders “life a dreary thing?”—Let candor and integrity reply.

It was said by the friends of Mr. Jefferson that should he succeed to the chair, no man would be displaced for his political opinions. His inaugural speech gave great countenance to the assertion. It meant *that*—or it meant *nothing*, or it meant to *delude* the people—the alternatives are very unfortunate.

Mr. Jefferson safe in the high office of President and enjoying his 25,000 dollars per annum, was willing to conciliate the affections of his political opponents. Hence his soothing speech on leaving the senate—Hence the magic smoothness of his inaugural address.—Not so with those who had toiled and intrigued to elevate him.—They had indeed spoken in language of thunder against the removal of any democrat by the federalists, tho' only one or two instances occurred during twelve years.—They had declared that such a procedure was unjust and tyrannical. Witness the often quoted speech of the organ of the party in this State, Mr. Granger, on the question of the re-appointment of Mr. Bull to the office of Justice of Quorum in May 1800. These, however, were only *professions*—“BY THEIR FRUITS SHALL YE KNOW THEM.”—When their party in the United States had prevailed, their language instantly changed, and they pressed Mr. Jefferson to the removals which he has made. On this subject let the following facts speak.

In April 1801, and within a few weeks after the election of Mr. Jefferson, the Editor of the Aurora began to calumniate him for permitting federalists to remain in office. In the course of his remarks he expressed himself nearly in the following memorable words: “IN THE NAME OF GOD WHAT HAVE WE REPUBLICANS BEEN CONTENDING FOR, IF FEDERALISTS ARE TO HOLD THE OFFICES.” This was the language of Wm. Duane, who is now receiving the highest emolument from the government of any man in the United States, except Mr. Jefferson, and therefore is now incessantly chaunting its praises. Is it not the language of the leading democrats every where?

In May 1801 there was a meeting of the heads of department and many of their friends at Washington. Mr. Jefferson here stated that he was pressed from all parts of the Union and *particularly from Connecticut*, to adopt the plan recommended in the Aurora. It was then agreed that he should begin and carry on the work which we have seen.

In June following there was a convention of the leading democrats

of the state of New-York on Long Island. It was there determined that the Council of Appointment in that state should adopt similar measures and thus give countenance to the President. Hence the proscriptions of Ambrose Spencer and his associates.

It is remarkable that the persons in Connecticut who were the first to clamor against the former administration and the most vehement in their abuse of Washington and Adams, have fought and obtained offices. Certain names here instantly occur—Granger, Wolcott, Kirby,\* Huntington, Judd, Hyde;† Bishop, Wilcox, DeWitt, Fofdick, Dodd, Hotckifs, Atwater, &c. &c. &c. These are witnesses to the fact. The same, I presume, may be said of the democrats in the other states.

And now, my fellow citizens, did these men oppose the government of Washington and Adams from *principle* or from *interested views of office*? Are they the friends of Republicanism? or have they hungered after the “loaves and fishes” of office? Do they *love the people*, OF THE PEOPLE’S MONEY?

8thly. The present administration have reduced no salaries.

It was formerly said that the President and all the officers of government received *too great* compensations. See Babcock’s paper in 1800 and mark the repeated railings on this subject. See the oration of A. Bishop in September of that year, in which all the froth and venom of that writer is exhausted to excite public indignation on this account. Indeed the universal language of democracy then was, if our party prevail they will relieve the people of part of *this* burden.

Now what is the fact? Not a salary has been reduced a single cent—The fees of two or three collectors in large cities were diminished in a trifling degree—This is all that has been done on this great head of clamor. Nay, a *republican* House of Congress in March 1802, revived an act which had expired on the last of December 1801 by which all the salaries of the great officers of government, were augmented.

Mr. Bishop’s father is now receiving several hundred dollars more than was received by David Austin, Esq. against which his oration was so pointedly aimed.—Mr. A. Wolcott’s income is nearly 3000 dollars per annum—and where is the warning voice of the bar room orator? Why, Mr. Babcock, is your paper silent as midnight on this once *feeling* subject? Why not a syllable uttered against 25,000 dollars to Mr. Jefferson? Is there not proof from this single fact sufficient to convince him who seeks only the public good, that the chiefs in democracy applaud the present administration, not because the great and important interests of the country have been secured and maintained but because *they* have been promoted to places of honor and profit.

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\* Mr. Kirby was a federalist till the office of Collector at the port of New-Haven became vacant by the death of Col. Fitch. He applied for that office as he has declared—it was given to David Austin, Esq.—*Quere*—If he had obtained the office would he have been a democrat?

† Mr. Hyde was appointed a Commissioner on bankrupts’ estates, but he declined it—thinking that he deserved more of the Republic.

gthly. The principal of the present administration has indeed done one thing, highly deserving of notice.

In the spring of 1801 he invited Thomas Paine to this country by the following affectionate letter.

“ You expressed a wish in your letter to return to America by a national ship : Mr. Dawson who brings over the treaty, and who will present you this letter, is charged with orders to the captain of the Maryland to receive and accommodate you back, if you can be ready to depart at such a short warning. You will, in general, find us returned to sentiments worthy of former times ; in these it will be your glory to have steadily labored, and with as much effect as any man living. *That you may live long to continue your useful labors, and reap the reward in the thankfulness of nations, is my sincere prayer.* Accept the assurances of my *high esteem and affectionate attachment.* TH. JEFFERSON.”

On the 30th of July 1796 this Paine wrote a letter to George Washington which was printed by the then Editor of the Aurora, which contained the following observations.

“ I know that had it not been for the aid received from France, in men, money and ships, that your cold and unmilitary conduct would, in all probability, have lost America. You slept away your time in the field till the finances of the country were completely exhausted, and you have but little share in the glory of the final event.” [Page 10.]

“ I declare myself opposed to almost the whole of your administration ; for I know it to have been *deceitful*, if not even *perfidious*.” [Page 5.]

“ Errors and caprices of the temper can be pardoned and forgotten ; but a cool, deliberate crime of the heart, *such as* Mr. Washington *is capable of acting*, is not to be washed away.” [Page 39.]

“ The injury which Mr. Washington’s administration has done to the character as well as to the commerce of America, is too great to be repaired by him.” [Page 49.]

“ In what a fraudulent light must Mr. Washington’s character appear in the world when his declarations and his conduct are compared together.” [Page 49.]

“ It is laughable to hear Mr. Washington talk of his *sympathetic* feelings, who has always been remarked, even among his friends, for not having *any*.” [Page 54.]

“ The successful skirmishes at the close of the campaign of 1776 (matters that would scarcely be noticed in a better state of things) make the brilliant exploits of General Washington’s seven years campaign.—No wonder we see so much puffinimity in the *President*, when we see so little enterprise in the *General*.” [Page 57.]

“ As to you, Sir, *treacherous* in private friendship, and a *hypocrite* in public life, the world will be puzzled to decide whether you are an *apostate* or an *impostor* ; whether you have abandoned good principles, or whether you ever had any.” [Page 64.]

At this same office of the Aurora were printed the first and second part of Paine's Age of Reason. In this book are the following foul blasphemies.

Where he speaks of the resurrection of the faints at our Saviour's crucifixion, this passage is presented :

“ Matthew should have told us whether they came out naked and all in natural buff, he-faints and she-faints, or whether they came full dressed, and where they got their dresses—whether they went to their former habitations and reclaimed their wives, their husbands and their property, and how they were received—whether they entered ejections for the recovery of their possessions, or brought actions of *crim. con.* against the rival interlopers—whether they remained on earth, and followed their former occupations of preaching or working, or whether they died again, or went back to their graves and buried themselves.”

Again, speaking of the prophecy of Isaiah, “ *Behold a virgin shall conceive and bare a son,*” he says,

“ It certainly was not a difficult thing in any time of the world to find a girl with child, or to make her so ; and perhaps Isaiah knew of one before-hand : for I do not suppose that the prophets of that day were any more to be trusted than the priests of this.”

And left this should not suffice, he adds,

“ The fable of Jesus Christ, taking it as it is told, is blasphemously obscene. It gives an account of a young woman engaged to be married, and while under this engagement, she is, to speak plain language, debauched by a ghost. This story is, upon the face of it, the same kind of story as that of Jupiter and Leda, or that of Jupiter and Europa, or any other of the amorous adventures of Jupiter.”

Shall the successor of Washington take to his arms the wretch who thus attempted to blast his fair fame? Will the first magistrate of a nation professing the Christian religion, invite to our shores and cherish in our bosom this scoffer of the Saviour—this blasphemer of God!!!

Seventhly. *What is now attempted to be done in this state by those who are stiled Republicans?*

The answer to this question is plain. The people, in this state, have observed a singular uniformity in their elections. Although the Governor and all the other high officers of the Legislature—the judges of the various courts of law, and justices of the peace, are annually elected, yet they are, except in very few instances, re-appointed. Such misconduct alone prevents as subjects the candidate to reproach. The people have thought it no objection to a man that he has received the repeated approbation of his fellow citizens, and that experience was no disqualification. Hence the judges of our Courts feel that independence which is secured in offices holden during good behavior—a tenure of the office of a judge less stable would be greatly to be lamented. And will it not be acknowledged that our elections thus uniform have preserved a great share of political happiness? Who will say that in this state the important interests of society are

not as well protected and the great objects of government as well promoted as in any portion of the globe? And has not peace and tranquility generally prevailed?—But an attempt is now making to remove your Governor, Lieutenant Governor, every member of the Council except ONE—your Secretary and Treasurer, and to fill their places with men, to say the least, whose characters will not endure a comparison. If such a change can be effected and a democratic majority is secured in the House of Representatives, there will follow a change of all your other officers. The judges of your superior and inferior Courts—justices of the peace, sheriffs, &c. &c. must be succeeded by those who now pant for their places. Will your Supreme Court of Errors, and your Superior Court deserve more of your confidence when filled by such men? Do such men seek *your* good, or is their object a gratification of their own ambition?

Let it not be said that a democratic Legislature will not thus conduct—Look at the states in which democracy has prevailed and see its operations.

Eighthly. *What means are used to effect their object?*

In May 1800 a meeting of the leading democrats of this state was holden, and they established themselves into what they termed a Republican society, in imitation of the Jacobin clubs of which I have spoken. This has been continued ever since. There are branches of this society in each county and town. Here originated the first general nomination in Connecticut. It was printed at Suffield, or in the neighborhood, under the eye of Mr. Granger in the summer of 1800. This general meeting is holden at Hartford and New-Haven in May and October during the sessions of the Legislature—delegates hold special conventions just before each freemen's meeting to designate the persons to be supported at the then ensuing election. Such a convention was holden at Killingworth in August last, and as the business was of a secret nature all the democrats of the town were excluded except Gen. Wilcox, his brother, and Noah Lester, Esq. The result of their doings is transmitted to each County first—then to each town. The general meeting, at the session of the Legislature, decide what questions shall be brought before the House of Representatives for discussion—what subjects will most inflame the passions and create party spirit. It directs also the topics to be discussed in Babcock's paper, and the complaints to be urged to the people.

Hence originated what was called the Baptist petition which was circulated thro' the state and obtained several thousand signers, many of whom doubtless honestly fought the public good. After this petition had been sufficiently circulated, it was thought proper to ask of the General Assembly, in May last, to assign it for trial on a particular day, perhaps hoping that the request would be denied—it was however granted and Mr. Edwards and Mr. Granger, it was said, were to advocate it. These gentlemen however did not appear and of course no trial was had. The Assembly, still willing to examine its merits, referred it to a committee of eighteen members from the two houses, to enquire and report. By this committee, several of whom were supposed to be its advocates, it was thoroughly canvassed and every gentleman professed himself entirely satisfied that there was

no ground of complaint which the Legislature could remove, except John T. Peters, Esq. who declared that nothing short of an entire repeal of the laws for the support of religion, would accord with his ideas. A report was accordingly made, accepted by both houses without division, and has since been published. From that time this subject has slept, and probably the high duties of Postmaster General have precluded any further attention to it, from Mr. Granger.

The leaders of the party having thus disposed of the interests of religion, in October last originated a bill and presented it thro' Mr. Peters to the House of Representatives for universal suffrage. It was not without much debate in the democratic society, that this bill was passed. It was warmly opposed. Mr. Hyde when it was first presented to the House, declared to a friend, that it was a "curfed foolish thing," yet, thro' strength of party, he voted for it.

On the propriety of such an essential alteration in the qualifications of freemen, I would only remark that I apprehend it will be found a sound maxim that the right of suffrage should principally rest in the great body of land holders. They have too much self respect to endure the slightest approaches to slavery—they have too much at stake to tolerate anarchy—equally opposed to these dreadful extremes and bound to their country by a strong tie, they should have a commanding influence in the choice of rulers. It should also here be observed that on an experiment of nearly two centuries, Connecticut has been happy without universal suffrage—an experiment thus sanctioned, should not be abandoned upon the arguments of interested partizans. My fellow citizens, does Mr. Peters apprehend that this measure would promote the public interest or does he think that thereby he should sooner reach the council chamber?

This party, at times, are *feelingly alive* to the interests of certain religious denominations. Does this arise from their love of religion or a wish to gain strength to democracy?—I will state a fact on this subject which when it shall meet the eye of certain gentlemen will cause a blush. The Episcopalians in this state having become a numerous and respectable body of Christians, have lately established an academy at Cheshire. For the due management of this institution, an act of incorporation in their favor, was passed by the Legislature. They applied in May last for a lottery to raise 15,000 dollars for funds—this application was then refused on the ground of the evil to community from lotteries. In October last, the application was renewed, and while it was pending before the Council and after it had passed in the House of Representatives, Mr. Kirby and Mr. Peters personally waited on the gentlemen entrusted with the management of the petition and urged them to *enlarge their request from fifteen to thirty thousand dollars*. Why was this done except from the hope that the request would be so great as to produce a negative in the Council? The inference from this wily conduct of Kirby and Peters is that they hoped for a negative upon that application that they might the more successfully manage their intrigue. The gentlemen however saw thro' the artifice and declined the measure—the petition

was granted, and who doubts the mortification of certain men who *pretended* to espouse it?

In Connecticut the Clergy with one or two exceptions are the sincere friends of the former administration and of course federalists. Hence, as might be expected, the party of which I am speaking, have directed their artillery against this body of men. They are the subjects of incessant and unmerited abuse in the weekly publications of the Mercury;—and the Aurora, the Watch Tower and the Boston Chronicle kindly lend their aid to the *honorable employment* of destroying the confidence of the people in their ministers of religion. Neither prudence, wisdom, learning or piety afford them any security against the base designs of these their open enemies. Abraham Bishop has written and dispersed into every corner of the state a treatise calculated to excite contempt and detestation against the Clergy\* and all professors of religion. Now, let me ask, why this persecution against this body of men? Are they not in general, sober, discreet, upright and pious men? Have they disturbed society—destroyed virtuous habits—or inculcated principles or practices dangerous to the peace and well being of community? Have they made none better—have they assisted none to the attainment of virtue and holiness—are there no parents, children, husbands or christians who will witness for them, and for their faithful labors in the cause of righteousness?

Again, what could they effect were they as depraved as their enemies pretend? Settled in the various parishes on a bare subsistence, and dependent for that pittance on an annual vote of the people, and candidates for no office, are they a phalanx dangerous to liberty? Is not the suggestion folly and madness?

I will only add, that it is not here intended that the means which are thus practised by the leaders in democracy, are ascribable to all who are denominated democrats—It is believed that many of them are honestly pursuing, in their own opinion, the interest of the public. With such I have no controversy—to all such the foregoing remarks are submitted with a wish that they may be read and duly weighed.

Ninthly. *What is the plain duty of those who are federalists and rejoice to be called the followers of Washington and Adams?*

If you are satisfied that the first twelve years administration of our national government was upright, wise and faithful, liable only to those errors which attend all human exertions and all the plans of men—if the government of Connecticut has been so exercised as to promote the great interests of society—If your Governor, as a man and a ruler, possesses your entire confidence—if your Counsellors, Judges, Delegates in Congress and executive officers deserve your approbation—if your schools, colleges and churches are sources of real and enduring good—if the clergy tend to promote peace and prosperity here, and happiness hereafter—if that state of things,

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\* Mr. Bishop may be indulged in some hatred to the clergy since his attempt to *swindle* the late Dr. Edwards out of a valuable tract of land in Vermont by giving him a deed of it and receiving the money when he had previously conveyed the same land to his father S. Bishop, Esq.

which has been the boast of Connecticut, is worth cherishing and preserving, and if the attempts to destroy this system, are base and foul, originating in the passions of avarice and ambition and having in view only self aggrandizement—then you will appear, with undaunted intrepidity, in support of the cause of truth and righteousness. I urge you to no secret cabals—to the establishment of no Jacobinic clubs—to the assertion of no falsehoods—to no unjust attacks on the characters of men—to no improper prejudices against those who honestly dissent from you in opinion—to no bitterness, railing or wrath—Yet I do urge you to meet twice a year, and oftener if called, and in your freemen's meetings, directed by a sound discretion, and influenced by a proper regard for your country's honor, give your suffrages for those whom your consciences approve. Let no federalist say my town will do right without me, or my vote will not oppose the triumph of democracy. Each freeman should feel that *he* has a *high and important duty* to perform, and that in neglecting it, he is inexcusable.

I cannot conclude without pointing your particular attention to the late singular attempt to influence your elections, relying that your own reflections on this subject, will powerfully urge you to a punctual and general attendance on freemen's meetings.

The circular letter issued at New-Haven by Abraham Bishop and intended by the managers of the festival to have been *secretly* spread into various parts of the state, is now before the public. The party finding that this Jacobin scheme was discovered, have *pretended* that it was designed for publication: But this is only a *pretence*. Facts on every side oppose it. A few questions will place this matter in its true light. Why did not this letter appear in Babcock's paper *originally*? Why incur the expence of printing it in *hand bills*? Why take the trouble to inclose it *in letters* to the leading democrats? Yet the Mercury confesses that such was the *management* adopted. The truth is that this letter is the genuine offspring of a Jacobin club and is of the same nature with the intrigues and exertions of such clubs as before described. It directs the agents and tools of the party to influence the minds of the freemen by the foulest falsehoods, and to assume the *bold front* which practices, with temporary success, any artifices to carry a point. In such vile attempts at electioneering, truth and honor are prostituted, and, if the great body of the people of Connecticut do not resist them with the intrepid firmness of independent freemen, they will destroy that purity of elections which alone can preserve a Republic, and introduce a system which assuredly will end in the entire destruction of our dearest privileges.—Let it not be imagined that such will not be the issue of these foul intrigues. History speaks on this subject in language plain and forcible, and the example of France must carry conviction to every honest mind. Let it be remembered that *freedom* cannot exist in that state or community which is governed by a Jacobin club—and let every citizen lay it to heart, that if such intrigues as this letter discloses and inculcates, are not discountenanced and destroyed, liberty must be sacrificed on the altar of ambition, and henceforth demagogues who descend to the employment of the most base and detestable means,

will govern the people. Those who reprobate such men and measures are bound by the strongest ties to take their stand, and meet the foe in the front. This will frown the measures and their authors into contempt. There is virtue and intelligence in the people of Connecticut and I trust their energy will appear with increased lustre on the 11th of April, and show to the United States that Connecticut is neither seduced by the snares of Virginia policy, nor awed by the impudence of unprincipled and ambitious democrats.



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