our government the revolution which they meditated, it was necessary to increase as far as possible the number of influential men who should be interested in the support of their measures. To degrade and to bring into contempt republican principles, and as, after all, they could not hope that an actual change in our government to the monarchical, hereditary form, would be permitted without opposition, an army was indispensible to overwhelm resistance.—This is the key that unlocks, and places fairly before our eyes, all their secret councils; by this we are enabled to discern the consistency of all their their measures. It was to accomplish this revolution that the funding system was projected and carried into effect; that the sovereignty of the states was attacked; that the public money had been wasted with a profusion bordering on madness; that we have engaged in the intrigues of foreign countries, in them to find a pretext for war, for armies, for fleets, for an increase of expence, for new taxes, for loans of money at an unheard of rate of interest.

These were the measures of federalism, and by them its interests were advanced precisely in proportion to the increase of the public burthens. We have seen hosts of public creditors, of tax-gatherers, of officers, civil and military, all sold to the cause of federalism, pledged to the overthrow of republicanism. We have seen the plainest, the most inestimable of the rights of man held up to public scorn in publications favored and supported by the officers of the government and their adherents. Foreigners have been encouraged to erect presses in the midst of a republican people, for the purpose of ridiculing and execrating every principle of republicanism, and the American presses were most of them corrupted and perverted to the same abominable purpose. If a printer was found honest enough to resist seduction and bribes, and bold enough to warn the people of their danger, cruel, arbitrary and unconstitutional laws were enacted, under colour of which he was seized, stripped of his property, and condemned to languish in prison.

Against the men who remained faithful to the cause of liberty, and whose talents made them objects of dread to the federalists, a mode of warfare cruel and base beyond example was adopted. In order to destroy their influence with their fellow-citizens and to deprive them of the power of making a successful opposition to federalism, calomnies without number, and of matchless atrocity, were invented and circulated with a diligence which demonstrated it to be the effect of concert. To them all without exception was imputed every wickedness that has been known to blacken the heart of man; they were spoken of not as men, but as demons; a great effort was made to overwhelm them with infamy, to set a mark in their foreheads, and to drive them from the face and society of men. In some parts of the union, and particularly in this state, the attempt was attended with too much success. Here the republican, though his life were without blemish, found himself at once stripped of reputation and the esteem of men, and he was compelled with pain to remark a majority of that very people whose advocate and defender he was, uniting with his and their enemies in their attempts to degrade and destroy him. This was indeed and in truth THE REIGN OF TERROR.

Federalism was every where triumphant; its insolence was accordingly unbounded. The avaricious and the ambitious, the men of splendid fortunes, and of splendid talents, those in short who, under the new order of things, were to be nobles and masters, were, with few exceptions, especially in the northern states, united in one firm, powerful phalanx, under its banners. The people were found incapable of, or indisposed to resistance. They either cowered down through fear, or they joined the enemies of their liberties, and applauded the measures calculated to enthral them. The firm and intrepid republicans were excluded from all participation in the general or state governments—they were every where traduced, proscribed, and persecuted. In short, the fair fabric of our freedom, whose walls were cemented by the best blood of our nation—that asylum, that last hope of the oppressed race of man, seemed ready to fall in ruins.

War to draw the attention of the people from domestic encroachment to foreign danger—and an army to execute whatever should be commanded, seemed all that was wanting, and these were absolutely indispensible, in order to open the last scene of the drama, in order to exhibit the bloody catastrophe. To obtain these, the federalists, with much art, fomented a quarrel with the French nation, and had succeeded so far as to produce an open rupture; and under the pretext of danger of an invasion, which every man in the country of common sense and common information knew to be impossible, they procured an army to be placed at their disposal. This was to men of virtue and intelligence a moment of awful expectation, of deep, of unspeakable anxiety.

They knew that our destinies were proceeding rapidly to a crisis, that we were playing for the last stake left to the human race, and that the game was nearly ended. The moment was at hand that was to decide the question, whether man was ever to emerge from the state of depression and vassalage in which, from the beginning of time, he had been cruelly held, or was to sink again without further hope, into the dark abyss. The profusion with which the public money was squandered, and which could not be concealed from the public eye, the burthens that rapidly accumulated on the people, the land tax, and the loan of money at an unexampled interest, to supply that profusion; an army, always an object of jealousy to freemen, and in this instance raised on pretexts obviously insincere, and which rendered its destination suspicious—these things excited in the public mind distrust and enquiry. This was a happy presage. The enlightened patriots hoped that the slumber of the people was nearly at an end—that they would soon awake.—Thank heaven, they did awake, and the proud edifice of federalism, that castle of despair, was laid smoking in the dust.——

A single circumstance, fellow citizens, which preceded the downfall of federalism, and which was considered at the time, by the intelligent men of both parties, as the harbinger of that event, we will recal to your recollections, principally because, in our opinions, it demonstrates the truth of what we have taken for granted, that the war was considered as necessary to the accomplishment of federal projects on our own government, and that the army was raised, not to repel French invasion but to crush republicanism. The French government were inviting ours to meet them on honorable terms for the purpose of endeavoring to put an end, by treaty to all subsisting differences; Mr. Adams called a council of those federalists, in whom he placed most confidence, in order to determine whether the invitation should be accepted or rejected. It is well known that the council were divided in opinion; that some alarmed at the symptoms of a gathering storm at home, and too timid to embark in an enterprise so hazardous as that of attempting to stifle and overwhelm the public voice by force, were for peace, and for waiting for a more auspicious time for the accomplishment of their plans;—that others more daring were for rejecting all overtures from France, and boldly meeting the shock of conflicting principles at home; they knew that if ambassadors were appointed peace would be the consequence, for America and France had no hostile, no conflicting interests; that the necessary consequence of peace must be a dissolution of the army—in short, that it would be relinquishing the ground they had gained. Why should they fly on the first appearance of those whom they expected to meet and whom they were prepared to encounter, especially as henceforward it was probable that the strength of the enemy would be augmenting whilst theirs would be diminishing.

Revolutions are never accompanied without hazard. The boldest measures are commonly the most successful. Why then should they wait for a more favorable time which probably would never arrive? To relinquish the war with France at this juncture would probably be a cowardly desertion of their cause at the moment when one vigorous exertion would secure its triumph. These were the counsels of some of the leading federalists present, among whom it is said were Hamilton and Pickering. Do these things appear incredible to you, fellow citizens? Perhaps you do not know that when the army was voted, it was the advice of Mr. Hamilton, that it should amount to fifty thousand men. Perhaps you have forgotten that an army of volunteers was enlisted in every part of the union, the officers of which were appointed by the executive of the United States, and was placed at the disposal of the president. Perhaps you have never heard that the secretary at War Mr. M'Henry expresly recommended it to officers of that army of volunteers to encourage the enlistment *of that class of men called old tories.* And yet these things are true, and they deserve your solemn consideration. In the council however caution prevailed; ambassadors were nominated, and you cannot have forgotten that from that moment Mr. Adams was execrated by almost every leading federalist, as the base, cowardly betrayer of their cause. Yes to relieve the nation from the distress of a war existing without cause, and without object, was to betray federalism.

The period of electing a president of the United States was approaching, the federalists were disgusted with Mr. Adams, but dared not change their ground in the face of a formidable enemy, they determined therefore once more to adhere to him. The republican spirit became roused and active. In the state of New York the period for electing the members of that legislature, which was to appoint the electors of the future President, arrived. So nearly were the parties now balanced in the union, that it was calculated the state of New-York would probably turn the scale; it was also reduced nearly to a certainty that that party would preponderate in the legislature of the state which should carry their elections in the city of New-York. To that city every eye was anxiously turned. The republicans succeeded, and from that moment the federal cause was despaired of, though its efforts were not yet at an end. As soon as it was fairly determined that the republicans had gained a majority in the legislature of New-York, the federalists in Congress passed a bill for disbanding their army, now become useless.—Here let it be remembered, fellow-citizens, what the state of our affairs with France were at the time when the army was raised; for so far was the controversy from being adjusted that our ambassadors had not in fact reached the French territory——But the prospect of employing the army in the service, for which it was raised, vanished, and to deprive the republicans of the credit of disbanding it was all that remained in the power of federalism to perform.

These were the projects and these the deeds of federalism in the days of its power;——Of its measure in its state of depression, of those of the republicans since they gained the ascendency, we will draw a rapid sketch;—the uniformity of the scene precludes a lengthy description.

To correct the disorders in our government occasioned by federal misrule, was the first labor of republicans. They reduced the army and navy to the standard of our real wants; they abolished a number of vexations, oppressive and unnecessary taxes, and by that means disbanded a host of tax gatherers, who were supported at the public expense; they introduced the most rigorous economy into every department of public expenditure. Though they are still convinced that the public debt was funded on terms flagrantly unjust, yet as the faith of the nation was pledged by those who had a right to pledge it on those terms, and as a great proportion of the debt is now in the hands of men who were not parties to the injustice,—equity, policy, every good principle demands a rigorous, a punctual payment of the debt, on the terms on which it was funded; they had accordingly, by rescinding every unnecessary expence, and by introducing a new degree of order and accuracy into the department of finance, been able to provide for the regular and rapid discharge of the debt; and there is no reason to doubt that, with the administration of our affairs in such hands, a few years will relieve the people from every pecuniary burden, excepting the light and necessary one of supporting the current expences of government.

This state of our affairs, when we consider that many burthensome taxes have been abolished, is so far beyond what the most sanguine republican hoped, and what any federalist would allow to be possible, that it appears more like the work of magic than of simple frugality, justice and order. Abroad our national character is as much improved as the state of our affairs at home. It is now understood by the nations of Europe, that our government is determined to stand aloof from all their cabals and contests, that while it devotes itself to the protection and prosperity of its own citizens, it will with justice, sincerity and impartiality cultivate the friendship of all nations. Abroad our government is universally respected for its wisdom, and esteemed for its justice.—This is no exaggeration.

Where is the nation that has a complaint against us? Where the government that does not speak of ours with respect? But remember, fellow-citizens, that every measure that has conduced to this happy and honorable state of things, has been opposed by the whole force of every leading federalist. They had predicted that debility, disorder, a prostration of public credit, expunging the public debt, anarchy, civil war, and a consequent despotism, would be the fruits of a republican system when reduced to practice.—Their predictions they had never themselves believed; but that their falsehood should be detected by the people was what they could illy brook. They foresaw that if the wise, just, and ecomical plans of the republicans, should be carried into effect, the people, feeling the benefits of those measures, would be convinced of the folly, oppression and profligacy of federalism. Their opposition was unavailing, their rage was unbounded, but it was harmless;—The work of reformation proceeded with calmness and dignity—The people were made happy, and they felt and acknowledged that they were so.

The federalists had awaked from their dream of glory: their king and their nobility had passed away; but the resentment, the rage for disappointment remained. They could no longer, hope to govern, but they might thwart and embarrass their adversaries, and this was some consolation. War is the most terrible scourge with which mankind can be afflicted; it is peculiarly to be deprecated by a republican government, as it has powerful, an irresistable tendency to demoralize the people, to corrupt and undermine those principles of justice and equity, and those habits of order and economy, without which a republican government cannot exist. War then was to be desired by the federalists, because it might so far destroy the republican principles and habits among the people, as to give ultimate success to the hereditary system; and because, at any rate, when the people should become restless and discontented under the burthens and miseries of war, as they certainly would, whatever might be its cause, all those burthens, and all those miseries, the people might by artifice and misrepresention, be induced to impute to the wickedness, or at best to the folly of their rulers, and of course once more to bring those who were opposed to them, who were in the habit of imputing to them knavery and folly, into power. It is on principles like these that the federalists have been found supporting, under the present administration those measures only that have provided for an increase of our military or naval establishment.

It was from motives like these that, taking advantage of an act of injustice of a Spanish officer at New Orleans, which affected in a high degree the interests of the inhabitants of the countries watered by the Ohio and Mississippi, and of the strong resentment excited by that injustice, they united their utmost exertions to hurry us into a war with France and Spain. The republicans, though determined at all events to have the injury corrected, preferred, nay the very people who were suffering the injury preferred negociation to war, knowing that in case negociation should fail, the evils of war would be borne with the more patience, as it would be known that they could not have been avoided. The project of negociating was treated by all the federalists as base, cowardly, and degrading to our national character. They said it demonstrated the extreme pusillanimity of our chief magistrates; that it was a sample of what we were to expect from his administration; that the absurdity of the plan was equal to its meanness, for that from the very nature of things, it was demonstrable to any man of common understanding that it could not possibly succeed. Negociation however was tried; its success you know. It secures to us interests of inestimable value, it removes far from us the most probable source of future wars; and it opens a prospect of future wealth and power almost exceeding calculation;—and yet this treaty, whose benefits are above all price, is, and will continue to be decried, and calumniated by a faction, who have lost the hope, who have almost lost the wish of accomplishing any thing beyond mere gratuitous mischief.

This single transaction, fellow citizens forces on the mind conviction relative to the views of federalists more clearly, more irresistibly, than could be done by volumes of argument. That they strove to plunge the country into a war, of which no man could seriously pretend to foretell the duration or the result, is certain; that their motive was not what they pretended, a regard to the interests of the western people, is also certain, for those people were willing and desirous to wait the result of negociation; and besides it is a fact well known, that our northern federalists universally hold these people in detestation—for the truth of this assertion we appeal to you fellow citizens. What then was their motive? It was no other, it could be no other, than the gratification of personal ambition, or party hatred. To these objects then, the men to whom you have confided your highest interests, your property, your peace, your liberties, have attempted to sacrifice those high interests. These are the men who demand a continuation of your confidence!!!—These are the men who declare, that opposition to them is hostility to order, to morals, to religion, in short, is rank Jacobinism!

Of the morals of men who have basely betrayed the trust that has been reposed in them, by attempting to erect a monarchical, aristocratic tyranny on the ruins of liberty, and being defeated in that flagicious attempt, have strove to bring war and ruin on their country for the gratification of the most malignant, the worst of passions, we will say nothing—but to their religion! yes to the religion of federalism, as it has been a word of magic potency, we will pay one moment's attention.

Until the accession of Mr. Adams to the Presidency, it will be remembered, that the infidelity of republicans, or the peculiar piety of federalists, had never been heard of; in truth, as it respects the proportionate numbers of men who avowed, or entertained a speculative disbelief in revelation, the parties probably stood nearly on equal ground; there is, we apprehend, no reason, at any rate, to believe that the number was proportionably greater on the republican side than on the federal; nor can it be pretended that republican christians are less pious, or less sincere, than federal christians; indeed this never was the ground of the distinction.

The influence of the clergy, wherever there is a clergy, over the minds of the people, must from the nature of their profession be very great. All the governments of Europe have found it necessary to purchase this influence en masse, or rather to incorporate it with the other powers of the government, & to admit the clergy to a share, proportioned to their influence, in the common plunder. In England, whose government is the great prototype of American federalism, the share of the clergy is one tenth part of the annual produce of the whole kingdom, besides the dignity and privileges of the nobility to a number of clerical chiefs called archbishops & and bishops, with many other dignified grades of priesthood.

When the federalists were searching about them on every side for aids and auxiliaries in their great project of establishing monarchy, it would have been marvellous if they had overlooked or neglected an ally so obvious and so powerful as the priesthood, especially, as it was so prominantly a part of the British edifice which they were copying.—They were not guilty of this oversight. We do not say, for we do not know that any negociation was ever entered into on this subject, a perfect understanding might be obtained without it, is probable therefore that in form it never took place; but the clergy understood that the federal system was the British system, and that the analogy was intended to extend to the clergy was soon put beyond a doubt. Mr. Adams in his inaugural speech announced his intention of giving countenance to men of religion. This was the first open promulgation of a governmental, a federal religion. Henceforward religion became the shibboleth of the party.

If we were disposed to excite your laughter, fellow citizens, we have only to name to you men living among you, men known to you all, who became suddenly like the priestess of Delphos filled with the Divinity, to raving, Religion! Yes this is the religion of which republicans are destitute. Entertaining no projects of oppression against their fellow citizens, but aiming by the simplest, plainest means to accomplish their greatest good, they have no need to offer bribes to a priesthood. They are friends to true religion, to real piety, to every principle that has a tendency to increase the virtue and happiness of man. It is only when priests desert the duties of their profession and become the instruments of faction that they meet the reproaches of republicans.

The federalists driven from the government of the United States have hitherto found means to maintain a preponderance in several of the state governments where they still wage a spiteful war against republicanism and its friends. Let us come home to our own state of Connecticut. Will it be denied that at this moment the government of Connecticut is set in hostile array against the existing government of the nation? against that immense majority of men and of states who love and cherish the present administration and the principles on which they act? No, this cannot be denied, for it is a fact of which no man is ignorant. It is true that no man who avows his approbation of the measures of the present administration receives the countenance of our state government. It is true that republicans are superceded in office merely because they are republicans. It is true that federalists forego no means in their power to keep alive the unreasonable hatrids and jealousies which they have excited against the general government and its friends; and yet these men talk of reconciliation. What do they mean by reconciliation? Will they unite in support of republican measures? will they renounce their errors and do justice to those men and those measures that have saved our country from ruin and placed it in a state of prosperity never before known upon earth. Let them do this, and republicans will be reconciled to them.

Republicanism and federalism can never unite, can never be reconciled, they are liberty and slavery, they are terms of essential opposition. It has been observed of late, that some of the ruling party in Connecticut, have assumed a language like this.—We allow that the measures of the general government are wise, that our affairs are conducted better than our fears predicted, What? Our state government is a totally different thing from the general government—Why do you wish to make a change among the officers of the state government? Our answer is, because many officers of our state government are federalists—that is, they are enemies of liberty and of the friends of liberty; they are enemies of the general government and of the principles on which it is conducted; they keep the state in a posture of hostility to the federal government, and so long as they have power to prevent it they will never permit a cordial co-operation of the state with the general government.

The question is not, fellow-citizens, whether Jonathan Trumbull or Ephraim Kirby, or any other man, shall be governor of the state of Connecticut, but whether the state of Connecticut shall be cordially restored to the bosom of that family of which she was once an honorable; a highly esteemed member if the present alienations be encouraged and encreased until they shall arrive to the state of open rupture. The present state of things cannot long exist, it cannot be stationary, and the bickerings between the government of this state and the United States must end in reconciliation, or they must end in war. What then is the object of these federalists who direct the operations of the party, and who are responsible for all the consequences of their enterprizes? Do they expect to break the republican states down to their