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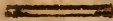


An Answer to the Questions,

WHY ARE YOU A FEDERALIST?

AND

WHY SHALL YOU VOTE FOR GOV. STRONG?



1805.

J. C. ...

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[Handwritten signature]



Why are you a Federalist ?

I AM a Federalist—Because the men, thus called, have been, under God, the means of great blessings to this country.

First. By the Federal Constitution, which they planned.

Second. By the measures, which they adopted, while the national government was in their hands, and under their controul.

I shall touch on each of these particulars, separately, and I confidently appeal to the recollection of my fellow countrymen, for the truth of the facts I shall state, and to their good sense, for the accuracy of the conclusions, I shall draw.

First. The Federal Constitution was almost wholly the work of the men, called Federalists, and was also opposed, almost to a man, by those, who, now a days, call themselves Republicans. This fact is so familiar to the whole people of the United States, that a formal proof seems unnecessary. Lest, however, the memory of any one should happen to be dull, I will make a short list of individuals. The men, who, in 1788, and in the years next succeeding, took the lead, in adopting and organizing the Federal Constitution, and the national authorities, were *Washington, Adams, Jay, Hamilton, Pickering, Wolcot, King, Pinckney, Sumner, Dana, Knox, Lincoln, Ellsworth—Strong*. These, and their associates first received, from their distinguished firmness, in recommending that Constitution and in causing it to be executed, according to its true spirit, the name of Federalists. All of these, who are yet living are Federalists still; and all the others remained such until their deaths. On the other hand, among those, who excited an open and violent opposition to

the adoption of that constitution, and were principally instrumental, in making the people disgusted with it, and in disaffecting them to the administrations of Washington and Adams, were *Thomas Jefferson, now President, George Clinton, now Vice President, Elbridge Gerry, Albert Gallatin, Col. Varnum, William Heath, Thompson I. Skinner, Henry Dearborn, Charles Jarvis, Benjamin Austin, jun. and—James Sullivan.*

These remain either leaders, or tools, of the party calling itself Republican ; and now share the honours of a government, against which they avowed formerly, a most deadly hatred ; exercising powers and taking the profit of places, once the objects of their loudest execrations.

Here then are two classes of men. The one adopted a system, arranged it, set it a going, risked their reputations on its success, and through various unexpected trials, in times of singular danger, effected their object and raised their country from distraction, disunion, fear at home and contempt abroad, to a high pitch of calmness, concord, confidence and respect, both in our own and in foreign nations. The other stood by, objected to the plan and embarrassed the execution ; without proposing any substitute, they fell to abusing those, who were active in recommending the new government to the people, called them aristocrats, monarchists, tories and whatever else malignity, whetted by ambition, could suggest. Now which of these descriptions of people, I ask, can a wise man support ; which ought a good man to honour ? The former are Federalists. The latter those, who miscall themselves, Republicans.

Every one recollects the distresses and dangers, which preceded the adoption of the Federal Constitution ;—and every one knows how soon the sky cleared up, and how happiness and prosperity poured in upon us, after that period. Now which of the men, who at present call themselves Republicans, put

forth a finger, to help its establishment?—which of them did not thwart its friends and take all occasions to misrepresent their intentions and make their motives suspected, by the people? What abundance of ills did they not prophesy would result, from the adoption of that instrument;—slavery, wretchedness, oppression, monarchy, aristocracy; these and a thousand other terrible monsters, they said were concealed under it. Nor was this all, some of them by their inflammatory writings and harangues had, a little before the adoption of that instrument, well nigh involved this state in a civil war; and others of them, soon after its establishment, by like arts, raised in the Western country a formidable insurrection. I appeal to the recollection of my countrymen, that they, who opposed the adoption of the Constitution, that they, who opposed, uniformly, all those wise and happy measures, which distinguished the administrations of Washington and Adams, were, almost without exception, the very men, who now occupy the offices and fill the stations of the national government. These very men, who now shamelessly place the name of Washington by the side of theirs, were the bitterest enemies and open calumniators of the whole course of his presidential measures. And what adds to the baseness of this conduct is, that they do this, to discredit, under the assumed authority of his name, the men, who were his constant supporters and advocates, to whom he gave every public mark of his esteem and confidence.

The above facts are undeniable. Great blessings have then resulted from the Federal Constitution, notwithstanding the predictions of these false prophets; who had too frequent opportunities, and who neglected none, to cause a fulfillment of their melancholy forebodings.

Here, therefore, is my first reason for being a Federalist. I am grateful to the men, who gave us the Federal Constitution. I see that all they promised they have performed, and more than they promised.

They told us, it would strengthen the bands of union among the States. It has done it.—That it would cause an uniform system of justice and uniform principles of decision to prevail. It has, in a good measure, done it.—That it would give us concord at home and respectability abroad. It has done both.—That it would make commerce flourish, our merchants wealthy, and place our mechanics, farmers and labourers in independent, easy and thriving circumstances. All these great ends have been effected. The federal Constitution found this people distressed, distrusting one another and distrusted abroad. It restored confidence and credit, made cash circulate, and raised this country from the depths of despondence and danger, into as high a state of prosperity and safety, as any country, in the same period, ever attained. Now one set of men advocated, another set of men opposed, the whole, and every part of that constitution and the system of measures adopted under it. Is it not fair and honorable, then, to judge men “by their fruits?” Can any man believe, that all these great things would have resulted to the American nation, if the federal Constitution had not been adopted, and faithfully executed, according to its principles, in its outset? Did any of these antifederalists, these self-styled Republicans, ever propose any substitute for that constitution? Finding fault with the system, as they did, with so much violence and clamour, did they suggest any other, or better? Nothing of all this is pretended. They devised nothing worthy of the acceptance of the people. They contented themselves solely with magnifying errors, misrepresenting facts, and taking every occasion to render odious, with the people, the friends of the federal administrations and constitution. Because then the federal constitution has been the instrument of so much good to us. Because the federalists did this great thing for this people, they have had, and still have, my confidence. It is my rule to trust those, who perform, rather than those, who only promise, to confide in those,

who devise wise means, and seek good ends, rather than those, who only clamour about rights and privileges of the people, and study to decry such, as lay plans, and put them into execution, to render those rights and privileges safe and permanent.

For this reason, I am a Federalist—for this, I glory in the title, inasmuch as it is, in my opinion, only another name for the most active and enlightened friends of my country.

But 2d. I am a federalist, because, during the administration of that party, they adopted wise measures, and pursued them faithfully. —

They did not content themselves with backbiting their political enemies, with harranguing, in taverns, and in corners of streets, about the rights and privileges of the people. But they took measures to secure those rights, and to place the nation, on the only solid ground, that which has, for its basis, honor, faith and punctuality to engagements.

1st. They established public credit—that is, they settled the old accounts of the war, and provided funds through the gradual operation of which the debts then created were to be cancelled.

This measure occasioned a great outcry on the part of our exclusive patriots, these men, who now style themselves Republicans. Mr. Madison, Mr. Jefferson, and the whole Virginia antifederal phalanx, took the lead in this opposition. The reason was obvious; the people of Virginia are not famous for their respect to the rights of creditors, and in this case to make a settlement, which would occasion Virginia to be just was neither conformable to her old habits or present interests. Besides very little of the public debt was owned in Virginia, the people of the New-England states were the principal holders of securities. A measure, which would make Virginia contribute to enrich New-England, was as little conformable to her political jealousies as it was to her habits and interests. The difficulty, with these patriots, was how to defeat the provision for the debts, without committing them-

selves by a gross avowal of their disposition to cheat the national creditors, state and individual. Their ingenuity soon supplied an expedient. They raised the cry of discrimination. The United States had made the securities for their debts negotiable. Many of them had been sold. The bonâ fide purchasers had taken them and advanced to their former possessors, the market worth. This they did under the sanction of the public faith, sacredly plighted for their redemption in full. But, our Republicans, led on by the Virginians, were for discriminating—that is, they were for making the United States break faith with their creditors, in order that they might compensate the injury, their own neglect to provide payment, had done to the first holders of their paper. Thus, cloaking injustice under the broad mantle of humanity, they advocated public robbery, to provide a source for public generosity. The true secret of this scheme, so plainly contrary to every dictate of moral honesty, was first its impracticability and next the temporary popularity, attached to it. The known rule, a fulfilment of the plain terms of the contract, once broken, every thing would have been at loose. The difficulties, consequent upon the principle of discrimination could never have been settled. Much, which would have been reserved out of the claims of the creditors, would have been clear gain to the United States ; inasmuch as very many of the soldiers were dead, and from various causes, many would not make claim. Thus this scheme of discrimination, so vaunted by our Republicans was really only a plan for defrauding creditors, under pretence of providing for the revolutionary army. But this was not the sole motive. The cry of indemnity to the poor soldiers was an appeal to the hearts of the people. It was a great fund of popularity, which was an article much in demand with those, who were advocating an open breach of faith, and who had entered the lists against Washington the real friend of the soldiery. He, with that wonderful con-

sistency of character, which distinguished him, was not less ardent in favor of the claims of the creditors, than of his military comrades. He thought that the former ought not to be robbed, nor the latter forgotten; that the honor of the United States was as deeply interested in observing its faith, as in following the dictates of its feelings.

But the Federal administration not only provided for the national, it also—2d. Assumed the state debts, That this measure should have been unpopular in some of the southern States, where the balances were against them, might have been expected. But that it should have ever been a successful cause of complaint in Massachusetts, is, indeed, extraordinary. This was a great creditor state. Her noble and disinterested exertions, in the cause of the revolution, had accumulated upon her an immense debt. The taxes, which it occasioned, were truly a source of misery and distress to this people. They were the cause of a burden, which, more than any thing else, occasioned the insurrection of 1787. We all recollect what an immense proportion of the profits of our farms was consumed in discharging the taxes of that period. Yet strange to tell, it has been a serious cause of complaint against the Federalists that by assuming the state debts they relieved Massachusetts, and placed the burden of the war, where it ought to be borne, on the United States. By this assumption our native state was placed at ease, the people rescued from the distresses of taxation, for the arrearages of the war, and a large demand acknowledged, upwards of one million of dollars, as due from the United States to it; for which we have ever since been receiving interest. If this be a crime, here, in Massachusetts, the federalists plead guilty to it. Without their firmness and diligence, it would never have been effected. Let their enemies show, if they can, that any of their virtues have been as profitable to the people as this pretended offence of the federalists.

But, the federal administration, not only provided

for the national, and assumed the state debts, it also—3d. Maintained our neutrality.

It ought ever to be remembered, that the times, when the national government was under the direction of federalists, were the most eventful and tempestuous, that the world, perhaps, ever witnessed. One of the greatest nations of the earth then passed through a most bloody and disastrous revolution. In the course of it, the most unprincipled men successively attained the supreme power and agitated Europe, by their intrigues, their arms and ambition.

The nations, with which America has naturally the strongest connections, France and Great Britain, were engaged in the most virulent war, in which each party contested not for territory, but for existence, as an independent power.

To both we were united by treaties. The former had attached herself to us by the part she took in effecting our revolution; for which Americans, without sifting her motives were willing to yield her gratitude, and also whatever aid could be extended, consistent with their safety and independence. On the other hand, Great-Britain was the nation, from which we had descended, from whom we had imbibed our principles and our habits; with whom also our commercial transactions were the most extensive; who, at the same time, that the mutual animosity, which our revolutionary war had excited, was not yet extinguished, had, by the greatness of her naval power and the unprotected state of our commerce, the fairest opportunity to inflict upon us the deepest wounds, and the least to apprehend from our hostility. In this state of things, the emissaries of France were unremitting in their exertions to make our government compromise its neutrality and lose all the advantages, which had resulted, and which promised to result, from its preservation. The names of Fauchet, Adet, Genet are familiar to our memories—as also are the means they used to draw us into the war; how they joined

themselves to the men, who now style themselves Republicans, calumniated our government, charged our first patriots with being in the pay of Great-Britain, excited every where the ancient animosity to this nation and gratitude to her rival, not suffering even the sacred reputation of Washington to escape unassailed, because he placed himself in opposition to their nefarious designs. Notwithstanding the regularity and unremitting nature of these attempts, the national government, then in the hands of Federalists, never lost sight of its resolution to have a single eye on the true interests of the nation, and on that, on which these alone depended, its neutrality. For this object, they adopted all those measures, which have been the themes of the abuse of these Republicans—the British treaty—the standing army—the direct tax, and the sedition act. These measures, so decried and misrepresented, were, under God, the means of preserving for us that great blessing peace, and of preventing us from a connexion with France, which would have, probably, terminated in as much wretchedness for us, as it has for all those nations, who have fallen under its influence, in Europe.

Each of those measures deserves a short examination, as they are the points of attack, on which these republicans are the loudest and most virulent.

As to the British Treaty, we all recollect how the effect of that instrument was misrepresented.—It was said to be a reasonable cause of war on the part of France—to reduce us again to the state of Colonies to England; nothing, that malignity could invent, or that weakness could suggest, was omitted to alarm our fears, or awaken our prejudices. The time limited for the commercial part of this treaty has passed. We have experienced its effect and most willingly do I appeal to my honest and intelligent countrymen, whether this instrument has not been beneficial to our country. The cause of that hostility to the British Treaty is not to be found in the terms of that instrument, but in

the disgust, which Frenchmen and French partizans experienced, at the obstacle, which that treaty interposed to their darling project of involving America, in the war then prevalent. This was one cause. Another may be traced to that interested animosity, which Virginia has always borne to the English nation. "It is a firmly established opinion of men versed in the history of our revolution, that *the whiggism of Virginia* was chiefly owing to the debts of the planters." Certain it is, that the fourth article of the treaty of peace, which stipulated, that there should be no obstacle to the recovery of all bonâ fide debts, was received with the utmost disgust, in Virginia. It was the source of that inveterate resentment, which the prevailing party, in that state, always bore Mr. Adams. It is also certain that this state was one of the first, who refused to open her courts to the English creditors, under that treaty; affording her, by this act, an apology for that breach of it, on her part, which was the cause of such continued controversy; until it was adjusted by Mr. Jay's obnoxious treaty.

It was a sufficient cause for the enmity of Virginia to both those treaties, that each contained a stipulation that her citizens should be obliged to pay debts, contracted anterior to the war. In her estimation, American Independence was but a poor purchase, if the burden of British debts was not removed. To planters, the heaviest part of the British yoke was that, which the obligations of justice imposed. The whole amount of the claims, exhibited by the British government against the American, for debts due from our citizens to their subjects, anterior to the war, was *Eighteen Millions of Dollars*, of which EIGHT MILLIONS, FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND, were owed from the single State of Virginia. Hence her uniform discontent at the treaty of peace. Hence her animosity to a federal Judiciary, which, guided by other laws than her statutes, would compel her citizens to be just. Hence also, that flame, which her emissaries excited through the continent, at the renewal

of the same equitable stipulations, in the treaty of Mr. Jay. A fact has lately occurred, which places her motives, and those of her partizans, in a strong light. The national government, while yet in the hands of the Federalists, perceiving that Virginia would never cease to disturb the measures of the Union, so long as, by its treaties, these debts were made recoverable, thought it a measure of sound policy to attempt to remove these British claims, by negotiating for a discharge upon the payment of an equivalent. Under their instructions, Mr. King made a convention, by which the United States stipulated to pay the British government near three millions of dollars, in discharge of those claims. This convention was not concluded until Mr. Jefferson came into power. He ratified it—and undoubtedly it was a wise measure. But, is it not wonderful, to observe the silence of our virtuous Republicans, who are so hawk-eyed to whatever touches the pockets of the people? Is it not strange that they have not condescended to trumpet forth the fact, *that the sum, stipulated by this convention, was paid for Virginia delinquency?—that one half of the whole claim, which that convention quieted, was owed in that single State?—that the money of New-England, in fact, the source of national revenue, is gone to discharge the debts and wipe away the frauds of the planters of the ancient dominion?*

The next object of censure is the provisional, or as it was opprobriously called, the standing army. This measure was the result of a singular necessity, induced by the hostile threats and unprincipled conduct of France. In justification of this, it is enough, at this day, to say, that George Washington was appointed to the command of that army—that he accepted of it—that he bore testimony, both to the necessity and the wisdom of that measure, and that too in terms the most unequivocal.*

* On the 13th July, 1798, that great man, wrote a letter to John Adams, then President of the United States, accepting the command of that army, and containing these memorable expressions, "BELIEVE ME, SIR, NO ONE CAN MORE CORDIALLY APPROVE OF THE WISE AND PRUDENT MEASURES OF YOUR ADMINISTRATION. THEY OUGHT TO INSPIRE UNIVERSAL RESPECT."

The same circumstances, which made the raising an army necessary, made also a provision for it indispensable. For this purpose a direct tax was resorted to, because in case of an European war, which was threatened, the ordinary resources of commercial revenue could not be depended upon. Both these measures, rendered so obnoxious by the artifices of the political enemies of those administrations, were declared to be temporary, and were in fact repealed, by the federalists, as soon as the necessity, which created them, had ceased. Yet have both furnished and still furnish materials for artful declaimers, who falsely represent them as permanent plans, devised with the malignant design of enslaving the country.

It ought also to be remembered, that the direct tax was always urged as a favourite measure, by the anti-federalists. It was reluctantly resorted to by the federalists; yet, no sooner had they commenced the system than they were exposed to the most virulent declamation and abuse for that very measure which these anti-federalists had frequently advised, and that too with warm expressions of approbation.

Farther—these obnoxious measures, the standing army and direct tax, were, in fact, the means of preserving the country from the expenses and distresses of actual war. The spirit and energy shown both by the government and people alarmed the French Rulers, and produced those overtures, which terminated in the adjustment of our differences.

The last measure of the Federal administration, which has been the fruitful source of abuse and misrepresentation, was the Sedition Act. This has been decried as an engine of tyranny and as a deadly blow, aimed at the liberties of the people; when, in fact, it was an amelioration of the common law in favor of the people, and one of the most honourable tributes any governments could pay to the independence of the press. By the common law, a libel is not the less so for being true. By it a defendant could not give the truth in

evidence as it is no justification. In amelioration of this principle it was declared by the sedition act, which created no new offence, *that the truth should be given in evidence, and should be a sufficient justification.* During its operation, a man was restrained from publishing nothing, except falsehoods. The democrats, since they have been in power, have, exultingly, suffered that law to expire. The rigors of the common law are therefore returned; and now a man, at his peril, publishes truth, not less than falsehoods. The consequence has been as the Federalists predicted, the rigors of the common law have been enforced; and that too on an indictment for a libel on Mr. Jefferson. In the state of New York, Mr. Crosswell, being thus indicted offered, to give the truth in evidence, but was denied the privilege by the Court, upon the principle, that the Sedition law was repealed, and that they had no other rule for decision than the common law, which declares, that "the greater the truth, the greater is the libel." And our President has undoubted luck in that repeal; for, perhaps, *there cannot be greater libels invented* THAN SOME TRUTHS TOLD OF MR. JEFFERSON!!!

But the federalists, while in power, not only maintained national faith, honour and independence, but—

Third. They organized the administration in all its parts; and that too, so perfectly that, although their worst enemies have been, now four years, in possession of power, they have found nothing in the general organization of their system to alter, scarcely any thing, which they have even pretended to improve. This is a great honor to the Federal administration. Except in those particulars, which they were obliged to destroy, as a sacrifice to their own party and by way of justification for the clamour, they had raised, all are suffered to remain. Not even those salaries, against which they lifted their voice as enormous and oppressive, when adopted by Federalists, have they, in a single instance, reduced, now they have fallen into the hands of these patriots, disinterested as they pretended to be; on the contrary

those which existed, when they came into power, remain; and those which had expired, they have re-enacted.

On all these accounts, therefore, am I a Federalist. This party formed the constitution, organized the administration, preserved peace at home and respectability abroad, under circumstances the most adverse, in direct opposition to the attempts of a powerful foreign nation, aided by, and co-operating with, a most virulent domestic faction. They have gone from office, with pure hands, with reputations un sullied, notwithstanding their conduct has been searched with whatever keenness, malignity and party spirit could command. Among the most conspicuous of them are Hamilton, Pickering, Wolcot, Stoddart. Each of these have held offices of great pecuniary trust. Each has retired to private life, in a situation, but one remove from poverty. Each has been obliged to resort for a livelihood to a profession. The first to the bar—the second to his farm, and the two last to commerce.

All these facts denote not only high talents, but also singular integrity—rare patriotism, and contain the distinguishing traits of greatness and public virtue. For these reasons I rejoice in ranking myself among their friends and followers; among the men called Federalists.

Why shall you vote for Governor STRONG?

First—Because he has been long in the chair, has approved himself faithful to the true interests of the people; and under his administration great prosperity has been attained by us. Those, who would induce us to turn out a tried magistrate, an old servant, ought to produce sound reasons for it. Removal from office is the punishment of bad rulers. A people, therefore, who mete this measure to the good, destroy the inducements to virtuous conduct, by withholding from it their countenance, and encourage the vicious and ambitious, by thus confounding the nature of reward and making the same event result to the wicked and to the worthy. Now what reasons are given for this

change, which men, calling themselves republicans, recommend. Do they lay any crime to his charge? No. It has not been in the power of the most virulent party spirit, with all its malignity, to invent an offence. They do not pretend to imagine one.—What then? Has he been guilty of an oversight, or any small fault, which, less than a crime yet indicates, indiscretion, or inattention to your interests? Nothing of this has been suggested. On the contrary, it is a subject of open complaint, with his political enemies, that he is “armed so strong in honesty,” that their attempts to calumniate and decry him are vain and fruitless, not finding ground to rest upon. In a service of five years, they can find nothing to peck at; nothing, which will bear the flimsy texture of a newspaper slander. Is he then denied talents? His worst enemies allow him these. Is he destitute of moderation in his political tenets? On the contrary, moderation is one of his distinguishing characteristics. In vain have his adversaries sifted his private character, or his public conduct; they find but one sin at his door. This is, indeed, in their estimation, a great one. It is the sin of—Federalism. The sin of—having been the friend of Washington—his supporter and advocate; against the very men, who now call themselves Republicans, who were once distinguished as Anti-federalists, and who were, in 1795 and 1796, not less violent in their clamours against Washington, than they are, at this day, against Strong. Let any man read over the preceding pages, in answer to the question, why are you a Federalist? and if on this account Governor Strong is dis-entitled to the support of the true lovers of their country, let him be ejected from the high office he holds. But the secret of the animosity of his political adversaries is not, in truth, so much his ancient federalism, as his present consistency. If Strong could turn and twist after popularity; if now the wind of favor blows from the Virginia shore, he could spread his sail, and forgetting the interests of New-England, give such a direction to

our state as Mr. Jefferson fancies, then all, in the estimation of our exclusive patriots, would be well. This is in fact his crime—this his offence. That charming verifiability, which distinguishes Mr. Sullivan, his rival, is none of his. Like him, he cannot be federalist, or democrat, or jacobin, or republican, according to the ever varying breath of popular humour. Strong has always been the same, firm, consistent federal republican, and such will forever remain, whatever the mistaken opinions of the moment may dictate; whatever fate the unthinking, the discontented, and the ambitious, may, on this account, award him. It is not thus with Mr. Sullivan. His want of consistency is proverbial. In 1788, half federalist, half anti-federalist, with sense enough not to offend either side, with cunning enough not to commit himself on either.--- In 1794, jacobin for a week, and as such joining their society; then erasing his name from their records, and forswearing their connexion. Always a weather-cock, in politics, turning with every current, and veering after the opinions of every man, with whom he happened to fall in company. Ask his supporters if they confide in him. If honest, they will confess their distrust, and plead necessity in their excuse. He is the only man they will say, who can command a majority in the district of Maine. This is his title. He alone can effect a revolution in the Commonwealth. This is his merit: For this reason they forego their enmity. For this, many of his own party, who hold him in great contempt, not to say detestation, are dragged on, reluctantly, to vote for him. Do you want, fellow-citizens, any evidence of this fact? In the year 1797, Sumner and Sullivan were the candidates for the Governor's chair, and although every exertion was made to secure his election, Sullivan obtained, in the great town of Boston, *twenty-seven votes only*. Again, still more lately, on the 4th of July 1803, at a feast in honor of that anniversary, Charles Jarvis being President, Ruffel Sturgis, Benjamin Austin, jun. and Nathaniel

Fellows, those rare republicans, being Vice-Presidents, the following toast was drank, amidst reiterated applauses. "*The Orator of the day ---the degenerate plant of a STRANGE VINE.*" Now mark, my fellow-citizens, William Sullivan was the orator of the day, and this strange vine is none other than—the Hon. James Sullivan. And truly very appropriate was this type of the would be Governor of Massachusetts. For he has little root in principle, and is very wide spread on the surface, shooting his twisting and aspiring top, on every side, to find props for his ambition and holds, by which he may climb. Charges of a dark, and doubtful nature rest on his character. And these are not confined either in their origin, or credit, to his political adversaries. Surely, in a virtuous community, such a man ought forever to be excluded from all chance of success, when he is opposed to such a rival as Strong. One on whose character calumny has not fixed a stain; ---in which party spirit does not pretend to find a flaw. Against whom malignity has nothing to object, except that as the friend of Washington, he cannot give public testimony in favor of our national administration; conducted by a man the known personal enemy of the fainted hero of Mount Vernon, and the principles of which are in direct opposition to all those men and measures, to which that great man lent his name and his support.

On this account therefore, that Strong has already conducted the government of this country, safely and prosperously, I feel it my duty to give him my vote. Can we expect to enjoy, under the administration of any man, more than we have already, and do now enjoy under Governor Strong? Is it possible that we can be more safe, or more happy, or more free? Is it not very foolish and absurd for a people, who have obtained a good and faithful servant to change him, and that too, without a fault lain to his charge? But I hold it also, in a certain sense wicked and immoral.

He, who at the public call foregoes his private ease, and submits to the labours and obloquy of office, and executes his high trust, with honour and fidelity, has, in my opinion, a sort of right to that countenance, which re-election expresses. Otherwise, as the people have no other way of expressing their approbation of good and their disapprobation of bad magistrates, they confound the one with the other; to the utter discouragement of the former, and to the no less comfort and consolation of the latter. And I take it to be the ordinary way, in the moral government of providence, to punish a people for their abuse of virtuous rulers, by turning them over to be scourged, by those, who are vicious; and who are burning with an unholy ambition and thirst for power.

Another reason, that I have, in favour of Governor Strong, is, that having had frequent occasions of marking his conduct, in private life, he is, in my opinion, the truest sample of real republicanism, that I have ever known, or could imagine. I have often seen and conversed with him; and I only wish, my fellow citizens, that every one of you had been favored with the like opportunity. I would wish no better assurance of the cordial and unanimous support of every good and virtuous citizen. I know not how to express myself, on this subject, but if a humble, modest, intelligent deportment, abounding with unostentatious, goodness, kind manners, and a countenance, and conduct the most benevolent and attractive---if to these the addition in private life, of exemplary piety, and of the exercise of all the social and domestic virtues, intitle a man to confidence and respect,—Governor Strong cannot but be re-elected.

I know it has been said, that Gov. Strong is too frugal. That he rides down to Boston, in the stage, or in a sulkey. That he does not dine the members of the General Court, in Boston, as often as Gov. Hancock did. And we are told that things will be mightily altered when Judge Sullivan is in the chair; who lives in a great house,

in the capital, and has already very frequently, and by way of getting his hand in, entertained, very splendidly, all the leading republicans of both branches ; and moreover, in order to show his good dispositions, and to exemplify, when he gets into the chair, *sound republican principles*, has, since the last election, got a superb equipage, and put his servants into new liveries, all in green, trimmed, if I am not misinformed, with lace. Now I beg it may be understood that I do not mention this, by way of objection to Mr. Sullivan, because, I believe, this vain, luxurious foppery makes a man, for governor, neither better, nor worse ; but only because, I confess I do not see the consistency of these democratic gentlemen, nor why, on these accounts, Judge Sullivan is a whit more *a republican* than the modest, unassuming, unostentatious, Strong.

I know that I may be in an error ; for I have observed that the spirit of republicanism is often the most violent in men, who, in private life, are vain, proud, ostentatious ; tyrannical to inferiors and haughty to equals. Such men, always believing, that having established a fund of reputation, by their professions of regard for the people in general, they are at liberty, without danger to their credit, of being as abusive, as they will, to every man of that people, individually. With respect to Gov. Strong's penuriousness, all, I say, is, that—it is not true.—But, if it were, it is a strange charge brought by a party, with whom, if we believe them, economy is the first and last of their political commandments ;—on which hang all their law and prophets. But there is another reason, in my mind, which amply justifies Gov. Strong, although it may not, in the eyes of others ; which is, that he has a number of children and a moderate fortune ; there being, I am well assured, many farmers in this country, whose estates are worth, by much, more than all Gov. Strong possesses. Now I have no idea that the people expect a governour, not only to devote to them his whole talents and time, but to ruin himself and children into the bargain ;

particularly when the expenses required are to no better purpose than feasting the members of the General Court and making republicans ride, aping the vanities of royalty.

Such are my reasons my fellow citizens for preferring Strong to Sullivan. They are public reasons; grounded on no personal partialities, on no private animosities. I cheerfully submit to your consideration and judgment, their truth and soundness. The crisis now depending is great, and the consequences of a revolution in this powerful state are incalculable. May you be guided in your choice, in such a manner, as that you may have no reason of self condemnation, in case your neglect, or your versatility, should, by encouraging the advocates of change, introduce a state of things, totally repugnant to that prosperous course, in which our affairs have been hitherto conducted. The prospects of success are not so bright on the side of our pretended Republicans as they boast. If Federalists are true to themselves, and their cause, there can be no doubt that the triumphs of principle will be repeated. Let them only lay aside every weight and that sin of indolence, which so easily belets them, and they will again seat in the chief offices of state, STRONG and his associates—the friends of Washington—the friends of Adams, and the authors and the supporters of all those measures, which gave the United States, a respectable name and an exalted rank, among the nations of the earth.





