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PROOFS
OF A
CONSPIRACY,

AGAINST CHRISTIANITY, AND THE GOVERN-
MENT OF THE UNITED STATES;

EXHIBITED

IN SEVERAL VIEWS OF THE UNION OF CHURCH AND
STATE IN

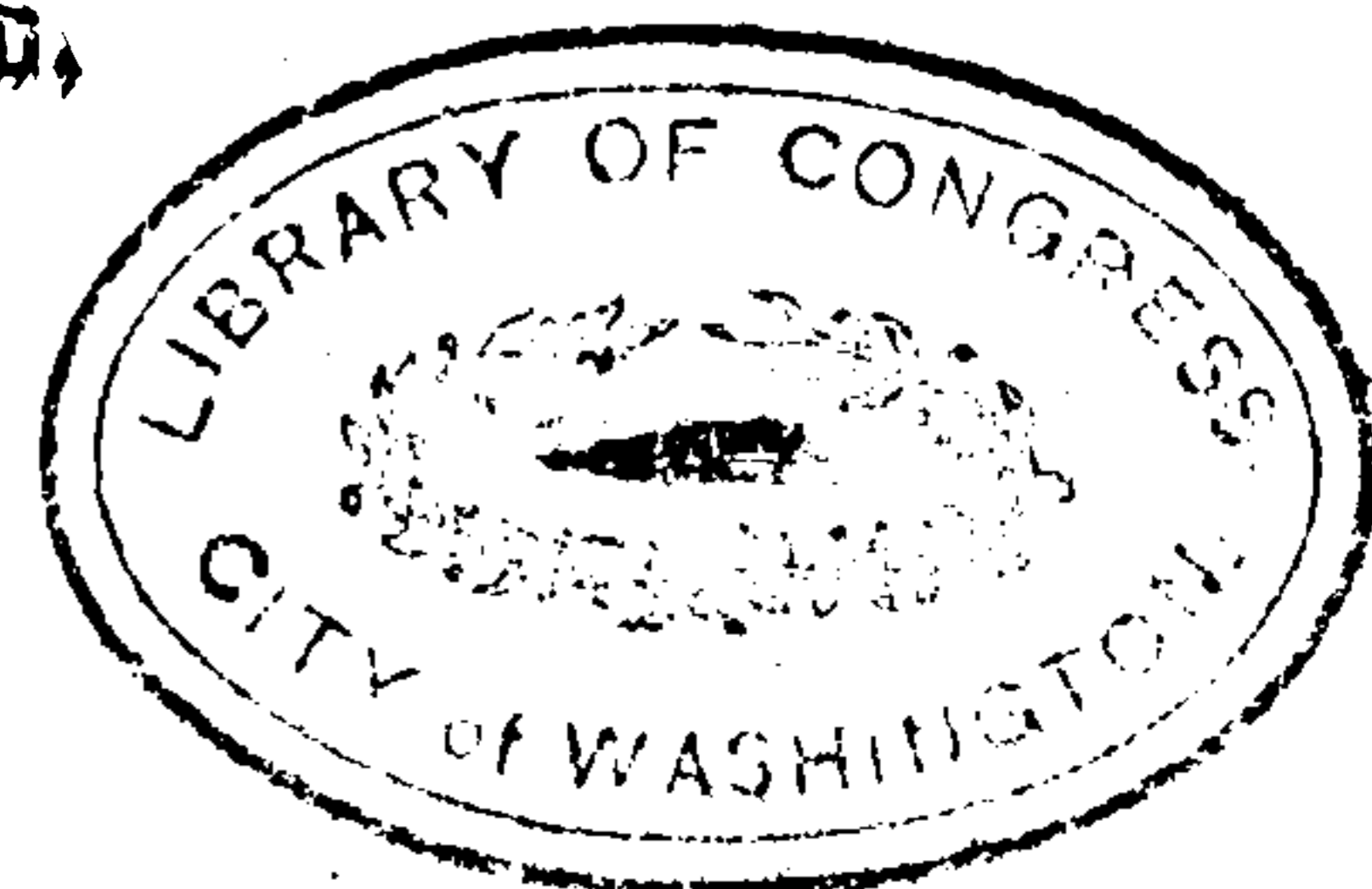
NEW-ENGLAND.

By ABRAHAM BISHOP.

John Babcock, Printer, Hartford,

1802.

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P R E F A C E.

PROFESSOR ROBISON undertook the gigantic task of proving a conspiracy against *all* the religions and governments in the world : I am contented with a small section of his subject.

My aim will be, to place the charge of infidel conspiracy, where it ought to rest, in compassing which I shall pass rapidly, and without much ceremony, through the solemn *forms*, in which religion is presented, in order to arrive at the substance ; and in examining this shall occasionally, and without much sensibility, advert to the passions and arts opposed to my process ; and after fixing the character of *federal* religion, shall follow it through the political course, which it has taken from the infancy of our government to the day of the date of these presents—shall with much coolness call some classes of men hypocrites, who have passed for *saints*—and shall shew that whether republicanism means something or nothing ; yet that the allusions and distant hints of republicans about the existence of an hypocritical northern phalanx meant *something*.—And from premises thus constructed shall attempt to prove, that christianity and the government of the United States have a constant, powerful, and efficient enemy in the NEW-ENGLAND UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

This union forms completely one political party in our country, but the real illuminatists of this order are not confined exactly to New-England. Every trusty *heart*, of oak *man* bears the light with him across the Atlantic : It irradiates the northern parts of the state of New-York, and guides the Missionaries' path ; it twinkles in Jersey, is a dark lantern in Pennsylvania, glimmers like an expiring taper in

Delaware, is a fullen light in Maryland, and is extinguished at the seat of government. Those, who have heretofore served this light have been well paid for their service, and since they have taken the popular ground of religion to sustain themselves and to humble us, we cannot take better ground than by charging them with hypocrisy and by relying for proof on their lives, their public means, and certain ends of action.

We find this standard in the gospel, which they profess to revere, and we offer to resign every thing into their hands, whenever their lives shall confute our positions. They can overwhelm us with protestations; but to the law and the testimonies, if they preach not, and if they practise not according to these, there is no light in them.

Living in the midst of men whom my subject contemplates, it has occurred to me that their steady habits and good professions have brought them sufficient profits, and that our pious ancestors have been bought and sold often enough; therefore that some man, who has paid his proportion for these habits, should take it in charge to put an end to the traffic, and to place the dealers in a way of laying in a new stock of their own manufacture.

This subject is like a new country: he, who first enters into it must encounter some briers and some serpents; but a succession of laborers, working with their axes at the roots, will open a way through the wilderness, and hereafter the solitary place will be glad for them, and the desert will rejoice.

Many are for retaining the old order of things, because it is a quiet one; so are death and the grave; but are men willing to arrive at these, stript of civil and religious liberty, merely for the sake of peace? But peace can never be long preserved, if the public mind is suffered to sleep. The dreadful convulsions in Europe were preceded by stupors and deadly calms. The parties in this country differ not in measures only, but in systems. Discussion is favorable to the cause of truth, and "a war of opinions will save a war of blood."

P R O O F S
OF A
CONSPIRACY.

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FIRST PART.
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FORMATION AND CHARACTER OF CHURCH
AND STATE UNION.

NO. I.

*Introductory view of Church and State Religion in New-
England.*

WERE man to live through several centuries, he might afford to employ one, at least, in experiments on theology and politics, and enlist all his passions in battle royal against those, who would not subscribe to his theories; but in a short life, having every thing to learn, no infallible teacher nor standard; honor, wealth and pleasure to gain, and yet to secure an immortality of happiness; to keep in favor with the great, and hold friendships with elevated baseness; yet to maintain principles inconsistent with such favor and friendships, is too complicated a task: When half-finished, the operator dies and leaves a laboratory of useless empty crucibles.

To simplify this complex situation and to find a safe course for man, as respects both worlds, is worth a life of diligence; then infinitely deserving an hour's critical attention.

To rear empires in the old world, has been the task of conquerors; to maintain them, the province of monarchs; to destroy them, the weight of their own systems; these systems raised by curious workmen in politics, theology and the arts: all sink and decay, because the foundation and superstructure are wholly human. Duration, perpetual improvement and eternity distinguish the works of God, and if we can follow his plans, we shall do best for ourselves and lay up a lasting treasure for future generations.

An infant knows nothing. Arrived at maturity, he bustles about independence of thought and of speaking and writing naturally, of abstract ideas and first principles: yet he has learnt all which he knows; forgetting from whom he learnt it, he considers it as his own, and through mere defect of memory, claims the credit of originality.—A thousand men, born in different parts of the world, will have passed a thousand modes of being, and yet each will avow infallible ideas of religion, government and the concerns of life.

In this advanced state of the world, human systems are so wrought, that it is easier to adopt them than to invent new ones, and if the father worshipped the apis, or adored the crocodile, or bowed at the foot of an emperor's throne, or kissed the pope's slipper, so must the son, and the son's son, to the latest generation; and he, who followeth not the established habit, is denounced by implicit followers, and the system-mongers all join to say, 'Let him be accursed, for he destroyeth the ancient land-mark, he breaketh up the foundation of many generations'—and their followers are obliged to respond, 'Let him be accursed'—but a new order of things has emboldened many to risque exorcisms, to look into the mysterious antiquities, to rend the unconsecrated veil, to shew the people that the holy of holies is not local, and that the day has passed by, when he, who touched the mountain, should be stoned. Among these I have assumed the talk of speaking to you definitely of the union of church and state in our country.

For distinct perceptions of this subject we are much indebted to the prudence, candor and frankness of our opponents. Federal writers have been *prudent* in publishing the grossest falsehoods under fictitious names; for otherwise they would long since have been publicly convicted of their baseness, and the cause which they attempted to espouse, would have been checked, before its deformities were apparent. Federal orators have been *candid* in exposing all the anti-republican tendencies of their party, and in threatening what they would do, if they had power. *Clerical politicians* have shewn a degree of frankness, (hardly reconcileable with their real characters,) in boldly laying the cross at the feet of Pinckney, Hamilton, sedition law and new judiciary. We find no fault that our adversaries have placed their features in a light, where we can truly take them.

The great events of a few past years have gradually introduced the light necessary to this portraiture. The passions, engendered in darkness, and which seek concealment till they can come forward with effect, have slowly and unsuspectingly met this light, not aware that some were watching the moment, when they could be distinctly seen.

New-England federalism appeared to be *protestant*, and to wish the downfall of hierarchies, till the church of Rome began to totter: then it began to pray for her re-establishment, ardently as saints for rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem. The French, who till that time had been our good friends and allies, were called a set of atheists and anarchists. No curses were too severe to implore on them for abolishing hierarchies and for suspending the observance of that day, which had been before devoted to the dishonor of God, and the ruin of man. No pity for oppressed humanity restrained the rage of our church and state men. No cries ascended to heaven for relief of freemen. With joy the combined troops of the throne and the altar were announced as hurling their thunders on devoted France. The passions were gradually raised. The cries of infidelity and modern philosophy were sounded through the country, and the rage of holy church and state men was directed against infidel France. Even the royalist Barruel, a papist, became a favorite, although at the expence of our protestant ancestors, the Albigenes and Waldenses, he criminated France. Every little subject of a political prelate took in charge the cause of God and settled in his narrow mind a question mighty enough for the greatest talents of two contending worlds. A little cumberer of the ground, a miserable portion of dust and ashes, to which the worms are heirs apparent, decides on the counsels of his Maker, and decrees in his behalf that the holy father had been wrongfully disturbed—that the king of France should be restored—that the throne and the altar should be more closely united, and that the old order of things should be revived. To express these mighty decrees a new vocabulary is invented to abuse the friends of civil and religious liberty, and to compliment the tyrants and murderers of the world.

—Was this the spirit of christianity, or of church and state?

New-England federalism appeared to be *christian*, till by irritation of the public mind, and false alarms, federal power was able to raise an army and navy, and to create extensive establishments of wealth and grandeur, perfectly consistent with church and state union, but actually armaments and batteries against the peaceable kingdom of a humble Redeemer.

New-England federalism appeared to be *federal*, till a change of administration destroyed the grand object of church and state, which always was, power to the leaders, delusion to the followers, and ruin to opposition. Then this federalism cried out for dismemberment of the states—the death of federalism.

Hypocrisy is not chargeable on our federal leaders in church and state, nor their humble organs, the orators and editors, because they have published the facts, on which these views are formed. Their hypocrisy consists in professing to love liberty, christianity and federalism; yet in the name of these, pursuing measures hostile to them all, and concealing from the people the supreme object,

their own consequence, which can be compassed only in the destruction of these blessings : for none of these can be cherished sincerely in any heart without sacrificing the lust of power, which is *their* main-spring of action.

The insidious arts, by which this process has been effected, furnish a subject too extensive for ample discussion in the proposed compass ; but this will be accepted as my blow at the root of church and state union.

NO. II.

View of the origin of Church and State Union in New-England.

I AM not about to present a new character of religion under the sun ; it is one, which has prevailed in every nation, where the throne and the altar have been in alliance, and in every heart where this alliance is approved. It is a character, to which every religion has tended with as much certainty as bodies tend to the centre. Mankind have been always disposed to appropriate heaven to earthly purposes.

The Jews received a perfect law under the theocracy ; but finding the observance of it inconsistent with their lusts, their clergy and council by degrees changed it to a religion well adapted to human pride, and built altars to this pride. The humble votaries, grateful to their new lawgivers, bent the knee to the builders of the altar, and forgot the God of heaven. The priest took his stand within the holy of holies ; the counsellor stood without to attend the incense of the fat of rams and the oblations of rivers of oil. Religion became a profitable, contemptible pageantry, yet it retained so much earthly power that when the son of David appeared and exposed this state of things, Pilate could not offer to the people a more acceptable subject of crucifixion.

To this new religion the proud unionists of Jewish church and state did not submit. The great, who had formed powerful connections, or purchased estates, were bidden, but did not attend : the feast was shared by the obscure. Many said, Lord, Lord, but did not what he commanded : many wore sad countenances to be seen of men : many prefaced their alms by sound of trumpet, and chose conspicuous places for their devotions ; yet the humble publican, the poor widow, the meek and despised, composed the retinue of the

Saviour. While buffetings and persecutions were the lot of christians, the knowing ones avoided profession ; but when it was discovered that this religion could be made an engine of state, and that civilians and ecclesiastics could sustain each other, it became fashionable to profess. **THE FIRST UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE IN CHRISTENDOM, WAS THE CORNER STONE ON WHICH SATAN, WAS TO BUILD HIS FABRIC OF INFIDELITY.** High priests prayed for kings ; kings furnished laws to support religion ; the Saviour's promise to sustain his church was forgotten, or his power to fulfil the promise was doubted. His picture decorated the walls of churches ; but the knee was bent and the eye lifted to his holiness, the fountain of all spiritual power, and to his majesty, who kept that fountain overflowing with the wealth of a subjugated world.

This magnificent union having for centuries overspread Christendom, and having humbled by persecutions and cruelties every succeeding class of real christians, was at length abridged by the *reformation*. In the course of a single century, among the churches called reformed, that of England became most conspicuous for the same union, which in its turn was abridged by the puritans, who first settled this country, and New-England can claim the uninterrupted succession of this church and state power.

The existence and detestable character of three of these unions will never be doubted. It is my province to consider the fourth, and as the piety of our ancestors has formed the basis of our church and state union, and since much of passion, falsehood and superstition have been improved in the history and application of this piety, I shall proceed in the next number to speak of our ancestors in such terms as my subject requires, and with the express intent of shewing that our church and state unionists, who claim to be heirs of the blessing, have actually inherited some constituent parts of their religion, and that this religion is not christianity.

NO. III.

View of the Religion of our Ancestors.

MEN have been taught to look into antiquity with as much dread as children into a haunted room, and this subject has been so artfully obscured that the elucidation of it requires a perfectly new process.

I would bow with all reverence before the generation which first died in this country, with less to the next, and would diminish

in respect till I came to the present, and would then hold all my contemporaries in total contempt ;——would kneel before illustrious shades and despise living men, could I find any just authority for it : but who will give me surety that in consideration of this homage the people of the next century will as thoroughly venerate the present generation ? Did our ancestors wish that we should use their characters as engines of torture for our neighbours ? and were they desirous that one half of their descendants should in their names abuse the other half ? If so, they merit no reverence for such dispositions.

If the character of the present generation must be sacrificed, let it rather be done to the smiling infants and rising hopes of future generations, than to the insensible dust and ashes of the past. If any benefit is gained by saying that every generation grows worse, that experience and example have tended to debase human nature, and that these are peculiarly evil times, let this benefit descend to our children, whose chance of rising, after descending from such parents, must be wretched indeed.

Those preachers and moralists, who rise on the ruins of human nature, and thrive on the growth of depravity may, if they understand the human heart, look into their own and find that the most selfish passions impel them to their work. He, who is constantly convincing me of my sins, of his own righteousness, and of that judgment, which is to give him an everlasting ascendancy over me, is employed in a very proud calling. He, who talks about ancestors, is supposed to be very knowing about antiquity, and it is much more glorious to be scientific about things of no consequence, the proof of which is obscure, than to know those important things, which are daily passing before us.—He, who is severe on the paganism and immorality of remote antiquity, shews his abhorrence of evil, and hurts the feelings of no man, because none can trace his kindred so far back. He, who praises and compliments my ancestors, touches some fine fibres of a selfish heart, and prepares me to believe that the best of principles and motives must influence one, “ who charms so wisely.” He, who causes the thunders of heaven to roll at a distance over my head, produces in me a complacent serenity ; but he awakens every sense of joy, when he directs the bolts upon my political adversaries. He, who neglects his master’s work to attend to mine, secures my zeal to screen him from merited reproach and punishment.

If different beings had been employed in making man, they would doubtless have differed extremely in their workmanship, and ingenuity might have been employed in tracing the relative capacity of the artists : but as one infinite Creator has made all men, it is probable that there are no differences of character between those of one and another century, except what have been produced by the different degrees of light, which he has been pleased to reveal to them. The increase of moral knowledge has increased men’s per-

ceptions of moral light. Civilization has brought in its train virtues and vices: Seasons of danger have exhibited courage—seasons of want, temperance—and seasons of luxury have given occasional checks to moral practice. The depravity of man has discovered itself in different forms: Superstition marks one century, hypocrisy the next: Parsimony characterizes the father, profusion the son.—The occupants of each century have generally taken good care to call themselves worse than those before them, and those of the next have been obliged to exalt the virtues of their ancestors, and to humble themselves under a sense of their inferiority, and this state of things will probably last, till some curious operator shall find a mode to extract selfishness from the human heart; or till the arts of trafficking with our pious ancestors shall cease to be successful.

Having glanced at the motives of our church and state men, I proceed to remark, that their first advance towards taking possession of the piety of our ancestors, is by exciting a great portion of sensibility in their favor. Indeed their leaving their native country to settle in this wilderness, and establishing themselves in the midst of want and hardships against savage tribes, is well calculated for the opening of such a work: but will you compare all this with the sufferings of the natives, flying in every direction, or by whole villages buried under the burning ruins of their once peaceful dwellings? Here gratitude is artfully called up to balance the account in favor of our ancestors, and the luxuriance of our fields is summoned to witness their claim to all our homage. The tawny warrior has left no historian to record his virtues, no rich descendants to emblazon his name, no stone to record the place from which he and his wife and children too suddenly started for eternity!

It is extremely popular to excite sensibility and to express gratitude, especially when the exercise of them costs nothing. Had not our ancestors come here, we might have been born in England, and been subject to funding systems, stamp acts, sedition laws—to the enormous indebtedness and distressing policy of that nation: or we might have been born in Scotland, and under an infamous alien act, been transported to Botany Bay with Muir, Skirving, Margarot, and such restless spirits: or we might have been born in Ireland, and been implicated in all its treasons and rebellions against a most gracious sovereign, who in the supremacy of his condescension, would have sent over powerful armies to form an inland navigation, to be supplied by streams from our veins. In what wild, barbarous regions of frozen Finland, or despotic Russia, might not our ancestors have placed us?

Are we then to bless ancestors for placing us in an eligible country or to curse them for placing us in a wretched country? The conception is absurd: merit is always connected with motives, and our ancestors came here with motives, perfectly their own. It is a relief to men, while in ardent pursuit of wealth, enduring cold,

hunger and hardships, to say, 'All this is for posterity,' The miser has not always the fortitude to say, 'I love gold so well that rather than part with it, I will see all my neighborhood wretched;' no, he says, 'I must lay up something for my children.' The man, who does cruel things in the course of business, will never own the hardness of his heart and the indomitable power of gold; no, he says, 'Justice to myself and family requires me to do so.' We must indulge these weak natures in some occasional evasions; but when *systems* of evasion are adopted, we must combat them.

A general regard to the interests of posterity is consistent with the best interests of the present day. It extends the views, and enables a man to think that he sees what he does not see, and that he feels, what he never felt; but the man, who prates much about posterity and ancestry, generally does it to conceal what he is.—Our ancestors never conceived of us: had they lived to the present moment, we should have been too distant from them in kindred to have engaged their cares or affections, and we should have cared as little for them. Curiosity might have drawn us to see the man, who first set foot on American ground, who shot the first native, who set fire to the first village, or who distinguished himself in the early acts of taking possession of this country; but there would have been an end of the business.

Let me now call you to look at our ancestors just as you would at a class of men, coming here at this time and conducting as they did. Did they fly from persecution, because they hated it in principle, or was it because it was directed against them? At their first establishment here, they persecuted with more violence than they had suffered. Did they leave their homes to find a little retired spot in the wilderness, where they might enjoy the little, which man wants here below, and from which might ascend daily, and uninterrupted aspirations to heaven? Their first object was extent of territory, and they combated for it with a zeal and perseverance worthy of a better cause. Did they love humanity and peace? But they were in constant wars with their tawny brethren, children of the same universal Father. Did they love toleration? But they denied it to Quakers and Adamites, who like them had fled to the same country. If they loved civil and religious liberty, why was every exertion made to destroy them? Expressly because they were subject to passions, like to those men, whom they had left. They fought, quarrelled, sinned and punished, as often in proportion to their numbers as their posterity,* except that the vices, which arise from luxury, could not attach to them.

* See the blue laws and Trumbull's history for facts to sustain this number; a recital of the cruelty of their wars, the bitterness of their disputes, the multitude and severity of their punishments, the defection of their zealots, &c. would be tedious. It is natural, in turning those pages, leaf by leaf, to observe how rapidly the passions gained against the religion of that age, and

I do not speak of Lord Say and Seal, and Sir Edmond Andrus, and other barons and knights, who came here. Such men are alike throughout the world: the odium of their memories ought not to descend to any: but our *pious* ancestors were the very men who exhibited the character which I have described, and they succeeded in laying the foundation of a church and state union.

The policy and earthly advantages of this union were perfectly understood in the country of their birth. A very little imagination could form a striking allegory between the children of Israel and our ancestors. Egypt and Britain—the Red Sea and the ocean—the ancient and modern wilderness—the Amorites and the Indian tribes.—What more suitable, after such apt copulatives; than the junction of Moses and Aaron? A few things were wanting to complete the resemblance, such as the pillar of a cloud and the pillar of fire, and a divine command to drive out the heathen: but the passions of man will easily accomplish what his imagination cannot, and hence we find that while one class of our ancestors were engaged in war, the others were busy in forming civil government (as they termed it according to the mind and will of God.)

This was the fittest season on earth to have separated church and state, whose union had so long been disgraceful. Now was the time to have laid solid foundations of humanity, toleration, vital religion, and rational government; but the luxuries of Egypt had more temptations than the manna of the wilderness, the old path was beaten, the profits of the old order of things were too tempting—our fathers yielded to it. In gathering churches, any number of persons, declaring themselves saints, were to be deemed such; these formed a church, with a right to admit to communion such as should thereafter profess, so as to persuade *them* that they were sincere. These saints assumed all earthly dominion, excluded from their order as they pleased, held from office all but themselves, denied baptism to all but the children of communicants, excommunicated Quakers and Antinomians—decided on creeds and heresies, and chose preachers for themselves and the sinners. Thus an immense power was lodged in these people, and an immense patronage connected with it; and all this having no other foundation than their own declarations. All power, instead of being derived from the people, was derived from the clergy. Every thing was made to bend to holy church. Spiritual tyranny was established, and the rights of man were, in terms and in fact, treated with total contempt. Religion was said to be the whole

how these passions burst forth with an impetuosity, proportioned to the restraint.—Those, who wish to establish the superior piety of our ancestors, must guard all access to their history effectually, as Eden was guarded, after the expulsion of Adam,

business of man, and the main business of religion was civil government.

This state of intolerance and usurpation lasted till (as the adulators of our ancestors say) a generation rose up, who had not the spirit of their fathers; but in fact, a generation rose up, who were resolved that religion and liberty should not destroy each other. They saw in the whole of this system, the passions of man operating, as they always had done, and that in a change of countries they had only changed masters. This produced disputes about qualifications of admission to the ordinances and a great variety of doctrinal points, which were sometimes agitated before councils of clergy, and sometimes before legislatures. The mind and will of God was made to depend on the occasional majorities of popular assemblies, and to crown the farce, his majesty sent over a decree, enjoining that the churches should renounce their rigid and intolerant habits: Which decree, we are told, was considered as an infringement of the rights of conscience. I have the same respect for this kind of conscience, which the Quakers and Adamites must have had, who were banished for exercise of it, or as the Anabaptists and Antinomians had, when they felt the force of punishment for claiming their rights.

It is not my province to consider how much of piety was in all this business: it is enough that there was much of passion, pride, and zeal for earthly dominion, and little of that humble ardent devotion which characterizes the pure in spirit. The really pious men of the world seldom find a place in history; the noiseless tenor of their way offers no lure to the sycophant of a succeeding age. High crimes, powerful artifices, daring achievements swell the historian's page, and highest in the favor and applauses of our church and state men are the characters of those, who have conspicuously aided the system of governing earth in the name of heaven.

If our ancestors really possessed in this country the good principles, which they professed in their own, if they practised faithfully on those principles, if they rejected the temptations of wealth and power, then they did not found a church and state union, then all history about them is false, and they are gone to a world of rewards where neither praises nor censures can affect them. It is enough for me to have presented those leading traits in their characters, which shew their resemblance to other men when full of power. The first christians were virtuous; but when the christian name became powerful the character was lost. Our ancestors set out from England with virtuous professions: but when they found the power in themselves, they became lordly and intolerant. This is the course of nature: when the first ardors even of virtuous impressions are expended, the glory of the day is gone. This truth opens the ruin of all human greatness: providence has provided that it shall ruin itself, and the church and state union, so carefully nourished by our

ancestors, contained in itself the seeds of its now approaching dissolution. The appearance of extreme piety was necessary at first.— This abated by degrees, and at length the unionists have dispensed with every thing but the profits and honors of their profession.

NO. IV.

View and review.

WILL any one ask, supposing that our ancestors were pious or impious, of what consequence is this to the present generation? Such enquirer has never known the policy of this northern world. Our leading federal politicians form a religious trading house on principles not unlike to those of the church of Rome. This last deals in relics of saints, images, and whatever can interest the eye. Ours deal in ancestors, rare legends, professions, and whatever may interest the ear. Both are fond of doctrines, miracles, and mysteries; but treat real, practical piety and humility as the tithing of mint, annise and cummin. Our unionists seize, with great greediness, the *piety* of our ancestors. This they claim as their indefeasible estate: They next claim and really own a great part of the wealth of the country. They claim the houses of worship, and their priests minister at the altar. They next claim the ordinances and the seats of justice, and the right of making laws, and the sources of public information and the seminaries of science: in fact, as right heirs at law, they claim and hold nearly every thing, and withal, the right of denouncing those who will not acknowledge them to be in rightful possession. They have a fortress on every high hill, troops well disciplined, wealth and honors enough to dispense, and in this proud attitude bid defiance to the scattered, untrained men, who are opposed to them. They have well served parks of artillery, and on the least irritation discharge powerfully from their colleges, pulpits and presses. All this serves these unionists as an immense estate. All are admitted to participate, who will own their power: no practice or even profession of religion is necessary for admission into church and state union; even a preacher of this order can devote the sabbath to his party and be cannonized alive for his sanctity. A practical infidel can take high rank among them, and the cry of religion is in danger is the war-whoop of the party.

Church and state courts earthly greatness, thrives in the midst of wealth and honors, delights in war, and pursues with zeal whatever christianity forbids. In the midst of eternal fluctuations of conduct,

the zeal of church and state for earthly power and dominion is invariable. We fled from the persecution, oppression and tyranny of a hierarchy abroad, and instantly established one here. We crouched humbly and meanly to Britain till we gained strength; then the civilian, who found our offices filled with foreign court favorites, and some of our clergy, who saw the weight of government in the scale against them, professed to be whigs, declared for the rights of man, and planned a revolution, which real whigs achieved. What was our late President in 1774? In the view of our enemies deserving an halter. What in 1800? In the same view, meriting a crown. What were our clergy, when praying against British fleets and armies? Rebels. What were those of them, who in 1800 advocated what they had prayed against? Saints. In 1630 our ancestors detested Britain—in 1670 co-operated with, and loved them—in 1776 we warred against them and cherished France—in 1796 loved Britain again and hated France, but were truly federal; and in 1801, cried loudly to dissolve the union. These are the steady habits of church and state.

The leaders, true as weathercock to the wind, have been the first to announce and the earliest to avail themselves of any change of weather; hence they have been in power, though they have changed principles often as expressers change post-horses: yet, as an express, though changing, keeps in view the place from which he came, and that to which he is going; so they remember that church and state was their starting ground, and human glory the end of their career.—But in the midst of all fluctuations, they are true as needle to the pole in animosity against their opponents, and fidelity to their adherents; so that if one leaves them through disgust, no vengeance is considered too exemplary to deter others from desertion: but he who is faithful may draw pay to the day of his death. If he falls, they will surely raise him, and from this policy they keep many attached to them, just as Britain, though infinitely bankrupt in that which is the true basis of credit, retains the confidence of creditors by a constant punctuality sustained by new loans.

These are real illuminatists. They have their illuminatism from the Jews, the Catholics, the Britons, and their own ancestors; they inherit and practise all the artifice and intrigue of their predecessors, and pursue precisely the same object. Here are no Robison and Barruel fictions, no heavy German quotations, no long lists of men, *who were never born*, no forty-five degrees of masonry: but solid modern philosophism practised by men, who are daily to be seen, and who may be known by the following signs: *The clergy of this order* pray and preach politics, and profess their right so to do. They teach a religion extremely like that of the Jews, consisting of an ostentatious display of tenets. They persecute, and bless not. They pray for the downfall of their enemies, and assume the reverse of what the Saviour recommended on the mount. They admit



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Are such clergy as I have described fit pastors of a holy flock? Are they teaching the humble doctrines of the gospel? Is the heavenly world to be crowded by men, boasting that they swayed sceptres, and exhausted the wealth of millions, or that they commanded navies and armies, and guided the storm in the day of slaughter, or that they cheated a nation of its rights; and will the background be filled with their humble sycophants, recounting the deeds which they, in connection with kings, dukes, generals, and courtiers performed? Think you that the streets of the New-Jerusalem will be graced by a procession of popes, cardinals, prelates, and our northern political clergy, glorying in the address, with which they managed earth in the name of heaven?

The gospel presents you another heaven, far distant, far different from this, where the meek, humble expectants of mercy will arrive, not in purple robes, nor in the splendid attire of courtiers; but naked and ready to be clothed with the robes of saints; not vaunting, but humbly confessing their unworthiness; not glorying in the impostures which they practised on man in this world, but deeply lamenting that they were ever left even to smaller acts of dissimulation. And if that book informs us that such will be the other world, why are preachers suffered by their hearers to do, in the certain presence of their Maker here, those things, which repeated or even known hereafter, will sink them to shame and everlasting contempt?

It has always been heretical to speak thus of the dignified clergy; but unfortunately for them, it has always been spoken with truth. As the particular exhibition of the hypocrisy of these men will be reserved to a future number, I pass to the signs by which you may know the civilians of church and state.

As federalism here has resolved itself wholly into church and state union, in order to make this its last desperate stand, I might point you directly to our men in place, to those in nomination for places, and to the expectants of nomination: for these are to receive the first profits of partnership; but at present your attention is invited to traits of character. The leading of these is inherited from pious ancestors, viz. a total aversion to the principles, power and practices of Britain, and thereafter a burning zeal for the same national character; at first friends to toleration, and equal rights, then bitter enemies of both; adoring the will of the majority, while it kept them in place, then contemning that will, when it opposed their ambition. Selfishness would burst through walls of brass, could it find no other opening for action. What can a man do, who finds in himself inordinate ambition, and invincible zeal to govern mankind? Shall he grovel among the vulgar herd, have but a *single* share in a division of rights, take his place in the ranks, plough for his bread, and waste his life in obscurity? Ordinary means will not raise him rapidly enough—the perception of our

great world is too slow for his pride. He sees the multitude crowding to the sanctuary.—He knows that in every country religion has steered the multitude regularly, “as rudder does the ship, and that priest like helmsman holds them at his mercy;” he approaches the altar, embraces the ministering servant, and awes the multitude to reverence. He becomes scientific in the exteriors of religion, and takes the high road to promotion.

If you can find one ambitious statesman, dealing thus in religion, and you really believe him sincere, give to the public his name, let the world see him. Does he love the Saviour better than houses and lands, better than riches and honors? Stop the costly collections of museums.—This is a curiosity worth them all!—Alas! on close examination you find him an habitual religionist, entrenched in forms and votes, believed in by men, who hope to follow him in all things, wherein he has followed his worldly interest.—Away with such curiosities, our country is full of them. The clergy and civilians, whom I have described as of this union, are precisely known to their followers as hypocrites; yet they contrive to keep up the ranks of their leaders and followers by arts, the development of which will occupy a few succeeding numbers.

NO. V.

View of the inducements of ambitious youth to join the Church and State Union.

BELIEVING fully that human nature is no better than it has been—and that selfishness will impel men now as formerly, to the means best adapted to their ends, it is the province of these pages to present you a religion, growing as naturally out of the human passions, as vegetation springs from the earth; a religion as variant from pure protestant christianity, as judaism in its worst estate was from the law of God given by Moses—or popery from the primitive church. The object of this number is to shew that the most selfish of passions furnish a succession of leaders in church and state union.

Every country is divided into two classes of men—one which lives by the labor of the head, and the other by the labor of the hands: each claims, that its services are the hardest and most important; the first professes great zeal for public good, and means nothing by it; the last does his days work, makes no professions, but brings his produce to the best market. - The first always gov-

erns the last either by deceit or force. Deceit is the mildest way, but it requires great labor and management ; force is the surest. The transition from deceit to force has been made in all former nations, and at the commencement of the past year, we were just crossing the line. The Arabian tales, which had been practised for years, had begun to lose their effect—tub plots and ocean massacres had ceased to be articles of faith, and there were strong suspicions that holy church was playing a very worldly game. Church and state for once lift up its voice without effect. A system of deceit is so detestable, that its agents manage it with great secrecy—when detected, there is no refuge from infamy, but in a system of force : when that fails, resort is had openly to church and state, and when that proves insufficient, when the right owners of national property take possession, those who have tried all these vain experiments, must expect to have their conduct explored with a freedom, which a reign of terror would not admit.

To gain the side of those men, who do not fight, but who plan engagements—of those who do not labor, but who enjoy in luxury, the fruits of labor, is considered here a great point gained. Parents are ambitious to place their sons in the way to attain this. Colleges are the fortresses, which command the entrance into this land of promise, and these have been mostly officered by church and state men from their institution. Perhaps in other situations, as much might be learnt ; but there is the same difference in chance for promotion between a youth privately, and one publicly educated, as there is between officers of a militia, and those of a standing army : the last are well known to be in the line. It is a fact that the youth are sent there in order to prepare for success in this world, and even *pious* parents consider an education given to a son, equal to a farm, or a trade, given to his brethren, and really, if the educated son succeeds, he will enter into the public field, which is in better cultivation, than the fields of his brethren. It will not be denied, that these colleges are now totally opposed to the general government, and that thence have issued the most virulent attacks on the officers of it. It will not be denied, that officers of church, and officers of the state, are associated at the head of them, and that these have been careful to support instructors, hostile to our present government. Under such auspices, a young man, without any appeal to his passions, is very likely to follow the track of his superiors. To him they appear to be men of the first magnitude, because in the narrow compass of his vision, none are greater. He imputes their elevation to the system which they have adopted. This fires his ambition. He sees these men connected with other great men in church and state—and that all the promotions, and honors of life are in their gift.

While his instructor is teaching him the abstract nonsense, that there is no heat in fire, and no cold in ice, and that our senses are

traitors, he is looking forward to those *systems of deceit*, by which multitudes rise to eminence. The desk and the bar, open the great objects of pursuit. The profession of medicine is not in the line of church and state promotion. If he chooses the profession of preaching, he enters into a great inheritance of respect, and may expect the highest seat at feasts, and to be called of men, Rabbi. The law offers him the direct road to wealth and public honors. All the machinery of a selfish heart is put in rapid motion. He calculates on the relative chances of these accurately as the grazier does on a market. His passions are in high stimulus: his instructors, the newspapers which he reads, the sphere in which he moves, every thing about him—tends to infuse into his mind rays of that illuminatism, which is to guide him through life. Does any friend seize this wavering moment to point him to the decay of real religion, and to the importance of devoting his talents to drive away that state religion, which passes for christianity? Does any one instruct him in the principles of our revolution and in the total perversion of those principles, and does he see that the powers of the state are as fully in the hands of the enemies of civil liberty, as those of the church are in the hands of the enemies of toleration, and that he ought to join the ranks of those, who are declaring independence of the proud usurpers of church and state? No! his passions and interest are hand in hand: He seasonably makes a profession of faith, enlists under the banners of the sectarian of the day—and after a short process announces himself to be an ambassador of heaven, becomes a political zealot, preaches, as other such saints have preached before him, calls the minority of his flock infidels—gives timely alarms that the church is to be attacked, and then devotes several sabbaths to shewing his hearers, how bravely he will defend it, when the enemy are in sight, and after the election is over, *to serve which the alarm was given*, it is found to have been a false alarm; but the conclusion is, that such alarms are useful, because they keep the saints in readiness. Or if he chooses the profession of the law, another process is necessary: he must seasonably *quarter himself out upon some congregation, be in favor with the clergy, hate the rights of man, and be active in securing to others the honors, which he expects soon to enjoy.*

At our colleges are formed the cancers whose fibres extend through every part of our religious and political systems—and through this cause our religion is in the hands of such men as formerly ruined it, and our civil interests in the hands of such men, as have always been enemies to them; and with every advantage in their hands, they exhibit an annual, or semi-annual, triumph in the victories, which they gain over men, who have nothing to promise to their adherents.

An event, which occurred at the moment of my writing this, enables me to exemplify these remarks. The harbingers of the public

election here* were, 1st. Green's newspaper, containing two gross falsehoods—viz. that congress had augmented the salaries of the public officers, and that the French nation had demanded of our government a loan of six millions. The practice of ulthering in such days by falsehoods has been common with the church and state unionists; but they had been generally contented with poisoning the public mind by the newspapers; on this occasion, however the moderator of the meeting (Mr. Daggett) and one of the candidates for office (Mr. Goodrich) had taken particular pains to circulate these. Had these men said, that congress gave no more than what had been paid for three years past, and no more than what had been voted by the federalists under the administration of Mr. Adams; and had they said, that a report had been circulated about a requisition of a loan, but that it had been publicly contradicted, that it was a mere electioneering story, and that they believed nothing of it, there would have been some dignity and fairness in all this: but it seems that any means are good enough to humble heretics.

The second harbinger was a political sermon from the *Rev. Dr. Dana* on the preceding sabbath. The third, an admission of two men to the freedom of the state, who had no claim to it by law.—These were a tutor and butler from college, and there was no pretence that they had the legal qualifications: but it was stated by Mr. Daggett and Mr. Goodrich, that it had been the practice in the state to admit such. How far violations of the law in other parts of the state, or similar violations here on former occasions, could form a precedent to sanction a breach of trust in the officers, who admitted these, may be a question for church and state casuists. If man may decide that a diploma is equal to 140 dollars in the list, or real estate worth 7 dollars per annum †, they may decide that three years education is equal to it—indeed several of the senior class did apply to one of the selectmen; but there was no occasion for a new precedent this year. If these men would decide that a good trade was equal to a diploma, we would shew them mechanics enough to put an end to all their future decisions; but the revolutionary doctrine, that *taxation without representation is the essence of tyranny*, had become absolute, and some thousands of men in the state are taxed and yet are not suffered to be represented.—But the fourth harbinger was a new election law. It had been found that church and state could not fully control votes given secretly, and that the numbers of republican votes increased; the new law was therefore calculated to bring this control into visible operation, and to produce a direct bias on the mind contrary to the freedom of suffrage. ‡

* New-Haven.

† These are the only legal qualifications in Connecticut.

‡ This law enacted that instead of ballots secretly put into a box, the voters should rise and be counted.

Two classes of men composed the meeting—The one wholly opposed to, and the other in favor of the administration of the United States. The first consisted of the President of the college, Dr. Dwight, who had circulated Robison and Barruel, and who had never ceased to reprobate in the severest terms the republicans: The Rev. Dr. Dana, who preaches *political* sermons, and the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, an episcopal clergyman—thirteen lawyers—the officers of College, and a great number of *diplomatic* freeman, who had been at this and former occasions admitted—the body of merchants—the directors of the bank and insurance companies—the civil authority, selectmen and other officers of the town—the aldermen, common-council and other officers of the city, *all truly federal*:—Beside these, Noah Webster, jun. Esq. and Stephen Twining, Esq. These might have been classed under some of the other heads, but they deserve particular notice, as the first is the conservator of Mr. Jefferson in politics, and supervisor of—nouns and pronouns;* and the last a defender of the faith, and recording secretary of the academy of arts and sciences!

Having mentioned this federal group, my subject will be benefited by a view of the correct motives of each. Christianity can never fail, but church and state religion is ruined if republicanism prevails; lawyers can never be a privileged order in a republic. Commerce flourishes most in the neighbourhood of wooden walls, which are of monarchical construction. Republicanism places on a political level the rich banker and the poor laborer, leaving to the first no other pre-eminence than what his wealth will command: a condition of equal rights would reduce to the ranks some men, who hold offices, because they hold in contempt the body of those who have them in their gift: and as to self-created conservators and academicians, they would never rise to the rank of privates in a republic.

Will any page in history present such a group of figures associated for the good of man. Is it not visible that no tie can bind them but their several private interests, all uniting in one point. Were the auspices, under which they met, indicative of honest zeal for the public good? Did they meet to do honor to the constitutional voice of the country? or was it to offer the most pointed affront to the administration? the sequel will shew.

The republicans, opposed to this phalanx could not say to any of their friends, you are a proper candidate to succeed Samuel Bishop, Esq. as a justice of the peace, bring your brothers and uncle to vote with us. They could not promise them any town or city offices. They could not command a new election law—nor a political sermon—nor a number of illegal voters, nor a brace of misrepresentations in their favor: nor could they say to the freemen, it is

* See his letter to Mr. Jefferson on his administration, and his letter to the Presidents of colleges on the corruptions of the English language.

all the fashion to be on our side : our great men will smile, when they see you rise. None could be brought to join them, but men who felt the enormity of imposition, and who would dare to rise in presence of a privileged majority, and who could bear *the sneers of two clergymen, to be repeated on every naming of their candidates.*

Elizur Goodrich, Esq. was the first representative. His voting more than thirty times against the appointment of Mr. Jefferson, and his uniform hostility to the republican cause, were the only arguments against him with one side, and the most prevailing ones in his favor with the other. Noah Webster, Esq. was the second representative ! ! The governor, lieut. governor, treasurer, secretary, counsellors and nomination for congress,* sustained by the majority, were church and state men, all opposed to the administration of our general government.

In the gallery of the house were the young gentlemen of college, and let me ask, what impressions must have been made on their minds ? Would they not naturally choose the side of power and of favor ? It will rest in future views of this subject, to shew that such choice would lead them to join in the destruction of civil and religious liberty.

NO. VI.

View and review.

ON such a subject, it is useful occasionally to look backward, forward, and about us, as the weary man does, who is traveling through a wilderness, thronged with beasts of prey, and venomous reptiles ; for we travel in the midst of the oldest, most subtle and ferocious of the human passions.

Men, who imagine that they have passed adroitly through life, in the indulgence of every passion, and that they are just on the borders of heaven, hear with great impatience that they have taken a

* Jonathan Trumbull, John Treadwell, Andrew Kingsbury, Samuel Wyllys, William Williams, Oliver Ellsworth, Joseph P. Cook, William Hillhouse, Roger Newberry, Thomas Seymour, Aaron Austin, David Daggett, Jonathan Brace, Nathaniel Smith, John Allen, Chauncey Goodrich, John C. Smith, Simeon Baldwin, Roger Griswold, Benjamin Talmadge, Elias Perkins, Samuel W. Dana, Calvin Goddard, John Davenport, jun. Timothy Pitkin, jun. Jonathan O. Moseley, Epaphroditus Champion, Lewis B. Sturges, Theodore Dwight, John Caldwell, William Hart, Nathaniel Rossiter, Sylvester Gilbert, Samuel B. Sherwood.



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archy? These are federal suppositions, and we reply to them—suppose that there is no truth in all this, and in further advance of the subject, we shall shew not only that they cannot be true; but that a certain set of facts respecting these leaders exists, which, compared with other historical facts, will shew that they are systematically pursuing objects, hostile to the real wishes, and true interests of the great body of our people.

Unwilling to offend the great men, whom I have named, it becomes me to say, that *perhaps*, they believe in all these suppositions, and are therefore honest; though I have no idea that this is the case. This balances my account with them; but it may be well to enable the reader to regard great men more on the principles of liberty and equality, than he has been accustomed to do, and for this purpose, I will strip them of what imposes on the public mind.

Is a great man possessed of superior talents, and is he therefore haughty? Give the credit to the bestower of his talents, and render to him your complaint, that they have been worse than buried in the earth. Is he endowed with a great fund of knowledge, resulting from advantages of education, which you have not enjoyed? and does he for this claim to lord it over you? Examine who afforded him these advantages, who endowed the institution which he enjoyed, who labored in the field to support him at study; and ask yourselves whether all these ought to sink and be humbled before him? Does he command an army? Examine who fights, bleeds and dies, to win his laurels, and then resolve in yourselves, whether the trade of war has superior claims to the veneration of humanity? Does he preach to you the gospel, and does he claim your earthly homage, and the guidance of your political faith? Examine the history of him, whom he calls his master. Does he promise you public favors, if you will aid him in promotion? See that from yourselves he gained the power of promising, and that he is placing you an almoner on the bounty, which you furnished. Does he wear a crown, recollect how many humble men, like yourselves, were paid, as the price of it.

The humiliation with which men have regarded the wealth and power which have been insidiously drawn from them, has been a leading cause of all the slavery on earth. You naturally venerate religion and government. The ministers of each apply this veneration to themselves. You sit down content with the appropriation, and thereafter worship the man in power, as the papist worships the image, each professing that a visible object enlivens his devotions: Hence is the habitual idea, that if you remove the man, or the image, you remove the substance. Liberty and religion can never consist with such senseless idolatry.

By these plain remarks I have no intention of diverting you from what will be termed the impudence of my last number, in suggesting a want of piety and political integrity in some of the clergy and

civilians. Let me apologize to those, who may be offended at this, by declaring that I do not believe in the piety of the one, nor the integrity of the other. It might be sufficient to say that they have never furnished evidence in their favor; but I apprehend that an ample statement of the causes, which have produced my unbelief in these men, will dispose of a valuable part of this subject. The very first aspect is deadening to the pretensions of these men—that Hamilton, Bayard, Gouverneur Morris, Henderson, Rutledge, Dana, Griswold, and such men, should be associated with certain clergymen under the name and firm of religion, and Co. to defend christianity against infidels, liberty against the body of mankind, and to save the people from their worst enemies, *themselves*; that these men have evidences of their own honest zeal within their own breasts, which force them often to exclaim, ‘O how honest, O how pious we are!’ and yet that this evidence should never appear in their actions, so as to persuade the people, are strong facts; but they are not new facts—*the liberties of mankind were never destroyed by any other class of men*. In the private walks of life, temptations are not potent enough to call men to risque reputation on duplicity; but the temptations of wealth, dignity and power, just within reach of one additional effort, will associate and bind together men of very incongruous professions, whose union appears to be distraction, till you look forward and see that the same selfish object engrosses the affections of them all.

The fact of clergy’s associating with *known infidels*, in order to support christianity, and the fact of these infidels availing themselves of the professional reputation of these clergy, to compass their political ends, induces suspicions on each; yet these facts have existed so visibly as to cause an expression of these suspicions throughout the continent. Have the clergy, whom I have named, or any of their brethren, endeavoured to excite the public hatred against more than one half of the people of the United States, by charging them with illuminatism and a spirit of infidelity; anarchy or atheism? have any of them distorted the obvious meaning of Mr. Jefferson’s Notes, in order to prove on him these charges? have any prostituted sabbaths to political lectures? Yes, these men have done all this, and in doing it, have lost irretrievably that reputation for sanctity, sincerity and truth, which otherwise they might have enjoyed, and this failure they denominate a decay of religion. There was a time when the entire clergy of two churches, (the Jewish and the Romish) were false to their religions—yet men continued to revere them, after their power was gone.—We rightfully charged the *higher orders* of the English episcopacy with similar tendencies to imposture at a season, when thousands stood ready for worldly ends, to attest their sanctity.—Within our memories one class of our clergy charged another with heresy, pharisaism and imposture, when the denounced class stood high in the confidence

of their followers.—Now all ecclesiastical discord is hushed, and the passions which sustained them are directed against France, Jefferson, toleration and republicanism. These facts lead us to believe it possible that all is not right in our Zion, and when clergymen are at the head of a party in opposition to our government, they embolden us to say that such clergymen are not pious christians.

This country affords as high seasoned food for ambition as any before it, and as greedy appetites to devour it. A pretence of religion is now as profitable to the politician, as it ever has been: this profit he can never gain, unless the key-keepers of the people's consciences and honest confidence will assist him in gaining it, and the imagination of man cannot present to him any set of facts more indicative of this state of things, than the set, which is already furnished by the disseminators of Robison and Barruel and the preachers of electioneering sermons. If to have saved appearances; those clergy, who *affect to believe* that infidelity is growing with the growth of republicanism, had gathered about them men of unquestionable sanctity, had carefully guarded their own lives, had suffered no evil and bitter words to escape their lips, and had driven far from them those, who were following them merely for the profits of their influence, they would have risen far above our reprehensions: but they have descended to the level of equality, by admitting not only the privileged orders of decent manners and hereditary importance, but the most indecent of partizans, back-biters, inventors of evil things—the implacable, the unmerciful, and the whole catalogue recorded in the first chapter of Romans, to assist them in alarming the world for the safety of the church. This was pushing their influence too far, and the consequence to them will be the same, which has happened to their predecessors in former ages and countries. Men have suffered and bled too much to suffer again tamely an union of church and state.

But a long list of ponderous names is introduced to heighten the charge of impudence on my last number and to paralyze my doubts about integrity and the public is haughtily questioned, 'Are not these really great men?' Suppose they are great men by nature, and education; it has been the pleasure of God to suffer great men to be the scourges of the several countries where they exhibited their greatness, and we have no evidence that he is likely to change the order of his government. The courts of Great-Britain, Germany and Russia, are thronged with such great men—and they always will be in abundance, where power and wealth are to be had; and they will put in their claims for these with a confidence imposing on the multitude. What is the great employ of these great men? is it to adjust the politics of this little state, which contains one fourth as many inhabitants as the city of London? Separate from jobbing about militia officers and justices, and making and supplying vacancies, abridging the right of suffrage—trimming, riding

of hobby horses, and contriving ways and means to abuse the general government, what mighty concerns has this state for the talents of these great men? * I know that they have great concerns and objects of their own; but these are far distant from the interests of the people: therefore they keep them cautiously within their own lodges.

Has any man discovered that laws will be most accurately made by men, who live and thrive in proportion to the inaccuracy and uncertainty of laws? Are these men tenderly concerned for an equality of rights? Then they differ from all other great men before them. Is it the cause and kingdom of Christ, which requires their great talents? But the Saviour never chose such men as his champions—he placed no confidence in them, they never did him any good; they have in all ages and nations been the leaders of his enemies, and have established a kingdom, where the lusts of the flesh, the lusts of the eye, and the pride of life, have been predominant. Are federal lawyers anxiously concerned for the welfare of community, and for securing to industry the bread, which it has earned, if so, when did they leave the steady habits of their profession, and become advocates for equal rights? If my ideas respecting these great men are wrong, then God has made a new world, reversing the order of the old, has made the body of mankind the worst enemies of themselves, and has appointed those, who used to be their worst enemies, their conservators; but your experience, if you dare use it, will confirm my impressions: Stop the cry of ‘religion is in danger,’ drive the political clergy either *into or out of* their pulpits, break the league between church and state, which first subjugates your consciences, then treating your understandings as galley-slaves, robs you of religious and civil liberty, then asks sneeringly what you have lost—break these liliputian ties, and these great human glories would be like the ruins of ancient cities.

But how arrives it that these great men, some of whom are really great, and some very moderate, should all trade under the firm of, Great men and Co? Does the circumstance of these last, having fervently crept into the favor of the first, and having been prayed for, and preached for, and recommended by the political muftis—entitle them to be called great? Are Elias Perkins, Benjamin Talmadge, Theodore Dwight, Timothy Pitkin, jun. and Sylvester Gilbert, great men? † If so, ye little men, rejoice that you

* On this subject I am obliged to exemplify my remarks, mostly from names and facts within the very limited region of this state; but the formation of this union is similar throughout New-England.

† These men suffer their names to be given to the public, as enemies to the general government, and if any word or action should bring into question this enmity, they would lose all chance of promotion.—It would seem natural that a people of republican habits, should choose men of the same habits, to

belong to another class: but in the language of church and state, these are great men—and your legislators have made laws, which will induce every timid man to join the phalanx of church and state, in declaring them to be great men, and there is a common law in force for regarding *as friends of order and good government*, all who thus arrive at greatness.

If these were really the great men, which they are represented to be, you have no concerns of sufficient magnitude for their talents.—Your religion is really in danger; but the danger is from these great men. Your rights may be invaded: but these great men will be the invaders. Your property may be in hazard: but there are ten chances of your houses and lands being set off on executions to these great men, to one of their being seized by a foreign power. The interests of your colleges may be neglected: but these great men have already enlisted those interests against the general government—and one of the professors of our college, (Mr. Marsh) declared, “that Mr. Jefferson’s measures would bring on a monarchy, and he was glad of it, for it was the best form of government.”* Here is a sentiment for the sons of the heroes of 1776. Peace may be violated; but these great men have declared for war—the union of the states may be dissolved; but their wish to do this has been announced. The want of integrity in these great men, consists in their having confined the secrets of their politics to the few, who are to agitate the people, and in their having concealed from their electors the true pressure of the times—pretending *to love what they hate*, and thus securing to themselves the power of seizing into their own hands, those religious and civil privileges, which such a class of men never left for any long time unviolated. These allegations open the ground, which will be taken in a future number, and shew the points of danger to be apprehended.

If these great men pretend that these are chimeras, let them change their ground:—Let the laws be repealed, which secure their places: let the old doctrine of *representation and taxation inseparable* be revived, let all who contribute to the public burdens, be admitted to a vote: let the young men, who labor, that others may eat, and who must fight in case of war, be raised to a level with those young men, who *never labor, and who will never fight*: Then let the owners of these ponderous names throw them into common stock, and the result would be conclusive proof that, though every thing else has been represented, yet that the voice of the people has not been heard in congress or council. Till our revolution, the

represent them; but the people know and do very little on this subject. A nomination is made out, mostly of lawyers, by lawyers, and this is communicated to their clerical associates, and if all the men in it are of church and state, they will succeed, so long as religion is suffered to be subordinate to political promotion.

* The idea is retained, tho’ the words may vary. Capt. Riley is my witness

distinct voice of the people had not been heard for a century in any quarter of the globe. For a season it was necessary, to call our people sovereign—to raise their passions, to excite their courage, and to pay them for fatigues, expences and hazards, in promises of a golden age: but the tinsel of that day has worn off. Men have been gradually brought back to the old order of things;—the badges of slavery have been worn as ornaments—the services of the old soldier are forgotten—the name of liberty despised—the lords of our new world cry, ‘follow us, and we will lead you to wealth and glory;’ and the multitude are awed to obedience by arts, which will occupy the three next numbers.

NO. VII.

View of the arts, by which Church and State unionists keep up the ranks of their followers.

NEW England has always *taken to itself* the credit of a great stock of piety, hereditary and acquired, and many of its citizens have been extremely gratified in a belief that the world acquiesced in this credit; but if any such citizen wishes to know the truth, and will take the trouble to cross Byram river, and make enquiry, he will find himself in a gross mistake, and that the whole of this buz about piety is confined within our own boundaries. Since the fate of the Gore and Susquehannah, and the sale of our Reserve, our federalists must be content with complimenting each other on this subject. Republicans desire to be excused from any devotion to this species of flattery, and freely relinquish all claim to the profits of it.

In all seasons, there have been men, who for trifling offices and advantages would appear to be what they were not; but, generally speaking, great and extensive influence, high and commanding offices, were necessary to induce a conspicuous sinner to be a thorough-going hypocrite. Formerly such offices were not abundant. Church and state was in a small way of traffic, making slow and sure gains, with a fair prospect, however, of future wealth. The light of the press was like a glow-worm—men read what they were allowed to read, and believed as they were told: there was enough of public learning, but little of that substantial knowledge, which results from correct information and unrestricted reflection. It was the happiest season for *pretences* of piety to usurp dominion. Church and state lost no ground, it plied men with offices, suited

to their capacities, accepted profession in lieu of practice from weak sinners, multiplied forms of devotion, and took possession of the fears, hopes ambition, all the passions—and thus prepared, drove on the revolution, which appeared to promise unlimited power to its union. Providence suffered church and state, to fall into this ambuscade for the express purpose of its dissolution. In the scenes of the war they lost men and 'artillery: many of their devotees, joining the cause of their country in arms, joined its interests in their hearts, and only waited the moment, when this formidable union, exposed in front and rear, might be completely routed. Under the new government, there has been a temporary appearance, that church and state had regained its ground; but this will prove deceitful as the first. At the present moment, more than 30,000 freemen of New-England hold a decided attitude against this union: more than an equal number, whom the unionists deprive of voting, *because they are not rich or learned enough*, are ready to join them. A faithful understanding of the arts, by which the followers are held, would render ineffective any future alarms about the danger of religion.

At the outset these leaders have the same advantages as the leading Jews had over the first christians. Those could sneer at the preachers of a new religion, because they had neither purse nor scrip, and because their leader was poor. They could say to the multitude, "we have Abraham for our father, we are ancient; to us the law was given, and to us the interpretation of it: ours are the synagogues—and the seats of justice. The leader of this new sect threatened to destroy our temple, his followers are setters forth of strange doctrines." The language of our leaders is the same in substance, and nearly the same in terms. Men worship elevation without regarding the steps which led to it; and he, who plays earth against heaven, calculates with a good share of worldly wisdom, because such players have been generally successful. '*Ours is the road to heaven,*' has been the language of all the rich, proud, boasting leaders in the world, and yet it is a road, which christianity has never taken; at the same time a road, which every man with us has been obliged to take, or to lose all chance of political promotion. It may seem at first, that considering the few tempting offices, which church and state has in its gift, this impression could not be extensive; but we are to recollect, that a mole-hill is a kingdom to an ant, and that church and state has in its gift, several thousands of offices, which are distributed with a liberality equalled only by the fidelity, with which they are paid for. A man of real religion, would not sacrifice it for the dominion of a continent; but he, who has none, may pretend to have it, for the office of a grand-juror or tythingman. Be it that these are small things, yet the main spring of a watch is sufficient to move the machine in which it is placed.



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invented by our unionists, which completely blinds those eyes, whose vision would detect, and whose sincerity would expose their hypocrisy.

The first part of this process is to declare, that all these preachers are ambassadors from God. This is precisely false, provided by this it is meant to exhibit them as coming from the court of heaven with a knowledge of the will and interests of that court, and with full power to treat with man on the terms of the gospel. If this were a fact, they would all come with the same errand, and dwell often and powerfully on those important duties, the practice of which makes men wiser and better. Were they ambassadors, they would find enough to do in their master's work, and would never intermeddle with the politics of this world. If by this it is meant that, after receiving their education, they chose this profession, that they know no more about it, than what they have learnt—and that if it fails them as a means of support, they expect to turn to some other employment, an abundance of facts is at hand to shew all this to be true; but the old doctrine of succession, which has been claimed by every division and sect in Christendom, is denied to be true by three fourths of professing christians, as respects all but themselves. Who will acknowledge that Dr. Priestly and Mr. Murray, have been divinely sent to preach Unitarianism and universal salvation? or will these preachers acknowledge that others opposed to them are on a divine mission? Can the Calvinist agree, that the Arminian preacher is an ambassador of heaven, or can the protestant agree, that the Catholics are the heralds of truth? Each class must acknowledge his own variance from the truth of God, before he can sit down with a belief that he, who preaches in opposition to him came from God. If at the end of eighteen centuries, mankind are more divided in their religious opinions than they were at the end of ten centuries, are we to expect that a little being is to rise up at the present day, and by the energies of his own mind to redeem the whole from obscurity, and to establish a standard of faith so clear that he can pronounce decided damnation on him who doubts it? The man who attempts this, ought indeed to come from God with testimonials of divine mission, not inferior to those of his master. If a man, by this claim of being an ambassador, means nothing, only to give consequence to what he may say, this is bad enough: If he intends by it, as some Catholics have done, that he can work miracles, and that he cannot err, it is intolerable. In fact, if any thing is intended by it equal to the obvious meaning of the term, the object is to impose on the people: for the slightest observation teaches that it cannot possibly be true—and that though all ecclesiastics should agree to address men in this character, yet they never would bear it, in *one* instance as addressed to themselves by a clergyman of opposite tenets.

But this imposing attitude of the clergy gains immediate support from the services attached to their office. He who baptizes your children, who admits you to communion, and who follows the remains of your friends to the grave, has great advantages of impressing you. In the middling scenes of life, the affections are neutralized; but he who attends the most joyful and most melancholy scenes, is most likely to secure your good opinion and confidence. He who wishes for your hearts, must be with you, either when you rejoice or when you weep: but the sable dress—the studied manners, apt expressions of concern for souls, and the elevation of subject, are all calculated to aid the work of impression.

Is his voice heard on that day, when every thing else is still, and does he speak of heaven? Is his voice solemn? Does he speak with pathos? Does he weep? All this may be sincere; but nature never learnt one of her children to whine—to tone, to stand like a statue, or speak as when a lion roareth. The preacher has no news to tell you; the facts and doctrines, of which he speaks, have been in the world long before him. The condition of man is no new calamity, and if he imagines in his closet that he has made some great discovery, let him ponder well on what the world already knows, before he comes forward with the usual parade of an inventing machinist. The preacher may usefully illustrate and apply ancient truths, and his sincere belief of them will always dictate a manner of address, equally distant from that of a starched prelate on a festival, and a ranting preacher in the fields. Agues and fevers are prejudicial to soundness in religion as in the human constitution.

It is as impossible for us to be really affected at what we have heard and read a thousand times, as it is for grass to spring up in a path constantly beaten. It is natural to be impressed by important truths, delivered in a manner indicative of their proceeding from the heart. Does your preacher spend any sabbaths in political harangues? Does he find texts in the old and new-testaments, which lead him to abuse the general government? Set down his solemnity, his pathos and his tears, for imposture. He is not a christian. A stage-player might out-act him. But is he gifted in prayer? Toss that in with the rest. Such gifts are easily acquired by reference to Henry and Haweis, a decent taste for selection, and a good memory. Does he compose good sermons? These also belong to the same stock. If he is a pious man, proof of that must be *in his life*. These externals amount to no more than evidence that he has taken the trouble to acquire them, and they may be practised with equal ease by the hypocrite and the saint.

Church and state always works by human means, and as its most powerful engine is the influence of the political clergy upon the passions of the people, the establishment of this influence has been

the first point of attention. The claim of divine mission is carefully wrapt up in a multiplicity of impressive exteriors, and the people are prepared to believe a religion, the details of which will occupy the next number.

NO. VIII.

View of the followers of Church and State, in forms and professions.

THE variety of matter, which this number presents, will oblige me to make as rapid transitions as may consist with my touching those points, which may lead to a distinct perception of the religion of church and state, as distinguished from christianity.— The unionist would gain nothing by securing that portion of mankind, who are willing to be religious on the terms of the gospel; they would not be half sufficient to secure an election. It is his policy to dispose of heaven on easier terms. A view of these terms forms my present subject.

It will be readily agreed that the clergy and meeting-houses, prayers and sermons, are not religion any more than a machine is labor; yet the habit of regarding them as such has destroyed one half the religion of our country. It will be also agreed, that the belief of every truth without practice is of no avail; yet the habit of regarding a good creed as the most important part of religion has weakened the other half. Again, the idea of some men, that they can pursue this world with all their might and strength through week-days, and heaven on sundays, and gain both, is well connected with the other two, and as external devotion, at seasons when we have nothing else to do, is a cheap deposit for glory, and as believing is less costly than alms-giving, the worldling takes up this business in all its consistent parts, and quarrels bitterly with any man, who utters a belief that he loves this world better than the other, and that his sanctification is merely outward.

Arriving at this point of definition, the habitual followers of church and state will be ready to exclaim, “They, who disturb the world, lo they have come hither, and they will destroy our temples and our altars, and will take away the vessels of our sanctuary;” and in order to excite the multitude in their favor, will say, Have we not communed? Have we not prayed? Have we not said, Lord, Lord? All this you have doubtless done, and so did men anciently, whose chance was quite inferior to that of the inhabitants of Tyre and Sydon.

But if an observance of days and forms, and an abundant creed, connected with a prevailing love of the world, are not true religion, so the most perfect sanctity of face, and most obsequious reverence of the clergy, are not religion; yet when a wealthy, powerful man associates all these, and attends public worship, our very charitable world is too apt to consider that he renders great honor to the Saviour, by sitting gravely in a well furnished pew to hear about the gospel.

Justice cannot be done to this subject without looking beyond these forms, and in doing this, we must give up the old cant, 'that surely we will not be so uncharitable as to doubt man's professions.' Why are we not as candid on other subjects? Plainly because we should be cheated and lose money; but in religion it is cheap, handy change.—'Do you believe me sincere, and I will believe you so, and we will confound any who doubt us.' This game is played so regularly, that probably every reader may know of instances, where professing brethren are in the exercise of this charity, and yet would not trust each other to the amount of a dollar, merely from a want of confidence in each, that the other has integrity.

Let us consider to what this profession amounts in a private christian. "God has chosen me from the millions of men to be a vessel of mercy, has infused into me his grace, and with it the best of moral principles, and has made himself an object of my supreme affection, and me in return an object of his complacency." Now in courts we never take a man's evidence in favor of a single point in his own character, and if in private life one was to profess half as much about himself, we should distrust him; but in religion, profession is to pass for *full* evidence, and habit has so impressed this idea, that if such a professor is dishonest, or otherwise immoral, our very charitable world is ready to say, 'there are remainders of corruption in the best, or the christian graces are not always in exercise;' and wrapped in such mantles of charity, the professor bids defiance to a score of non-professing sinners, and very devoutly joins in that satirical close of prayer, so customary on sacramental sundays, 'Lord have mercy on those, who have not *publicly* taken on themselves the bonds of this covenant,' meaning thereby that this *public taking* is a divine ordinance, and that it is good evidence of grace; whereas God never ordained it, and *the life only can be an evidence of grace*. Let us look at this again. This PUBLIC TAKING certainly is not a divine ordinance, for it is not found in the scriptures, and as to evidence, when a man has every inducement to testify, and the testimony cannot be impeached, and the result will be very honorable and beneficial, we should look cautiously at such testimony; if it be followed by any considerable exhibition of remainders of corruption, and if the man's life proves that he loves the creature more than the Creator, his pro-

essions will not gain credit with any, but his hypocritical brethren, who wish for a similar credit in return.

I do not suggest a word against the ordinance, nor against the professions of faith and promises of reformation, which constitute this public taking. If a man honestly professes to believe what he does believe, and promises to do what he intends to perform, surely he is no worse for all this. It is his duty to believe the truth and to conduct well. This public taking is a mere recognition of this duty, and *his life is to be the test of his sincerity*: but if he believes and performs without any public promise, his services will be doubtless accepted. His *public taking* is a human institution—not of ancient origin in the church: It is a form of religion, which deserves precisely as much respect *as the lives of professors* can gain for it. Habit has attached great solemnity to this form, and made it paramount to a life of piety: whereas it is a mere dress, which may be put on as easily by the finner as the saint: Call it if you please, a contract made with God in presence of man, yet it is only a contract; every thing depends on *faithful performance*.—Without this it is mockery: yet the reader must know that mankind are led to think otherwise of it, and that hence a train of worldly considerations leads up some insincere professors who, from the importance of keeping up the credit of professions, have drawn as great profits as could have been derived from sincerity and truth; political promotion has been often among the first fruits of the professor's harvest.

At this point the civilian has a right to attack these professions. When a man claims earthly honors and profits for his professions, we ought to turn him round to his religion and say, 'there is your reward'—and if his heart does not instantly feel the force of the reprimand, he is an hypocrite; he never made his profession from religious motives. Men have doubtless a right to commemorate as they please the sufferings or triumphs of one whom they profess to revere; but if their neighbors are to be called pagans or atheists for not joining them in their mode, the scene shifts—a war of opinions ensues, and the event proves that the pretext of honoring an absent friend was used in order to disgrace and vilify a present opponent.

When any form of religion like this, has been presented to mankind, as *religion itself*, and when men have been told, that a public professor is under greater obligations to love God and serve his neighbor, than another man—that baptism does not admit non-professors within the pale of the church, there is so much theology about all this, that they become awed, and begin to consider it impious even to look into the proposition, lest it should seem to imply doubt.—Pious men are not forward to exhibit their affections before the world; but the designing man is in haste to avail himself of this slavish state of the public mind, and to come forward with professions, which bring such an instant credit.

We are apt to blend religion and man together, and to give the credit to professors, which is due only to their religion. Man is frail in his origin, accessible by a thousand improper motives, full of self, governed by passion naturally opposed to religion, because, tho' it seeks his best good, yet it does this in modes hostile to all his propensities. Man has no pre-disposition to vital religion, yet he has strong propensities to the earthly profits of it. Sickness, losses, excessive fear, or powerful addresses to his passions, may occasion him earnestly to wish for heaven and to dread hell for a season; yet when the exciting cause ceases, the effect often ceases with it. If we consider the nature of man, and the earthly advantages of profession, we may form some estimate of the proportion between the sincere and insincere professors, and of the credit due to mere profession.

When religion is considered as a connection between God and man, and is stripped of all those forms, which make it imposing on mankind, and very profitable to the professor, it passes above the region of church and state, is never heard on the house-tops, or at the corners of the streets—never interposes with political concerns—never preaches ocean sermons—never prates about illuminatism; but bettering the heart, regulating the affections, moralizing the life, flows out in love to man, and love to God, and looks through good actions, proceeding from the best of motives, silently to that heaven, where the humble shall be exalted, the sincere rewarded, and the soul perfectly blessed.

In the early ages of the church, it required courage and sincerity to confess Christ before men, because stripes and contempt were the consequence; but when our ancestors bid the bounties of office to professors, and declared that *none but church-members should be free burgessees*, it required neither of these: and surely in the present day, the importance given to these professions, the patronage attached to them, and the ease of gaining heaven, when one half of the work is done with the tongue, has given to church and state a great host of followers, without adding to the number of real christians; for these have a promise, that even their most secret good services shall be openly rewarded. Religious *professions* are worth too much in New-England. *Ostentatious* observances of sacraments are profitable services of church and state religion.

View of the followers of Church and State in mysteries and doctrines.

THIS number advances me to the ground, where all your prejudices have taken deep root, and nurtured by your passions, have grown and flourished like weeds in a neglected soil. Here church and state stand strong. It is the chosen ground of the enemies of christianity. Here the heavenly gardener never wrought with success—and hence flies every christian, as soon as he discovers where he is.*

In a vail of mysteries the Jewish leaders wrapt up the law given to Moses ; and these had so completely enveloped the true religion at the coming of the Saviour, that it had nearly ceased to be a commerce between God and man, and had become a mere business of barter between man and man, in which each leader gained profits according to his portion of cunning—and each follower suffered loss in proportion to his credulity. The ceremonial law had nearly expelled the eternal duties of love to God and love to our neighbors. Ostentation had taken place of humility. The Jews, having failed of enjoying literally a long life in the land of Canaan, had long since distrusted the promises of heaven, and were in the *steady habit* of taking their change for profession, and mysterious services of religion in the good things of this life. Bad as their religion was, yet it was all which they had, and was all at stake. This raised their fury against the Saviour and his followers, and the sermon on the mount, which exposed their hypocrisy, cut them deeper towards the heart than any claim which the preacher of it made to be the son of God. He might have healed their sick and fed their poor, and even claimed divine honors to the present day unmolested, if he had occasionally paid homage to the chief priests, (those trusty croats of the counsellors) and had left unexposed the mummeries of a religion, fraught with forms, professions and mysteries, of human invention: they would freely have given up the character of their Maker, could they have saved their own. The Saviour laid an axe at the root of this church and state religion: it trembled to the top and fell

* I would attempt to explain these introductory remarks, were it not that the other contents of this number will perform that service. To avoid the captiousness of unionists is impossible. The candid man will not find here or in any other page, a single remark intended to derogate from the truth of revelation. My subject pledges me to a different course.



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came out this calf. Then Moses called, who is on the Lord's side, and all the sons of Levi gathered themselves unto him, and he said, "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, put every man his sword by his side, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbor—and the children of Levi did so—and there fell of the people that day 3000 men."

In like manner, in every age, mankind have been zealous to have gods of their own making, and there have always been Aarons at hand to make them golden calves, and the people, at sight of the calves, have been ready to build altars, and to shout, these be the gods, which lead us.

Of this temper the leaders of church and state have always availed, with this difference only, that they have set themselves up as the gods to lead the people, and have taken to their own use the ear-rings of your wives, your sons and your daughters.

This idolatrous spirit in man, is deadly to true religion—it humbles him, and prepares for every species of servitude. If you wish to reduce any man or number of men to complete slavery, the surest mode is first to enslave the mind.

These remarks are not made as new. Church and state has understood all this business centuries before Robison's illuminatists had existence in his brain. The protestant world waited no longer after the reformation, than Moses delayed on the mount, in order to bring forward their gods to lead the people. We have seen with what haste our ancestors got up their idols. The humble minority of professors consisting of sincere worshippers, in every age have been distressed at this abuse of christianity: but the majority is always impetuous to have gods of their own to lead them, and these gods have been very tenacious of mysteries. Thus it arrives, that if in this or any other country, you look to the majority of professors and to their gods, you look *beyond the true religion*. The body of mankind and their leaders are not employed in a way, which justifies your belief that pure christianity is their supreme object.

As these remarks point you strongly to a perception of the New-England federal character in respect to religion, so here they will find their application. See a frail mortal, no more than man at best, come forward to the world, without any claims to the illumination or powerful signs of the first preachers, but invested with *forms* and appearing in a character *variant from the fact*, assumed under the tacit consent of mankind that such character is best for impression, perhaps a good man, perhaps likely as Aaron to make molten images for the people, and to join them in shouting, 'these are our gods.' Thus far you have gained no point. He is just so fit for his place as his future conduct shall prove him to resemble his master. He cannot heal the lick, but he can heal divisions, he cannot work miracles, but he can go about doing good. If

to such things he is disinclined, he is one who is to gather in, not the heirs of salvation, but the followers of church and state. Not content with the rank of a private christian, he professes to have been chosen as an ambassador of truth and divine knowledge, and of course takes instant rank with those who give him credence above all the ambassadors of the earth. Certainly professions under such strong temptations ought to be scrupulously watched. Had no instances occurred, where these professions both in the private christian and public teacher had proved deceitful, less cause should we have to be on the look-out; but the fact having often happened, shews that there is no want of charity in considering it possible, and often actual. We are not to wonder that multitudes of such men yield to the temptation of joining the rich and great, and prefer their society and patronage to that of the powerless, humble successors of the first christians. Those men do not hesitate to explore your motives of action: it is your duty to ascertain their's. Do they artfully draw religion from the plain, practical ground on which the Saviour placed it? Do they seek a religion of mysterious doctrines? Do they place great stress on theories and doctrinal points? They are building from the top;—they have laid no foundation. Their followers may shout their praises; but such preachers never brought the people out of Egypt, and will never conduct them to the promised land.

Their first process is to seize on all the mysteries of revelation, and these furnish ample subject for their early sermons. They delight in attempting to explain those very things, into which angels will desire forever to look without being able fully to comprehend. Let me ask, has any new light come into our world within seventeen centuries, to illustrate mysteries? Was it intended that men should know more about them than is revealed? If so, who is to add to this knowledge? Is the language of revelation so defective that it needs some one to add to it? If so, who is the man? I have never conceived that God left his work imperfect and appointed any of his imperfect creatures to finish it. The mode of his operating in the natural, is to men mysterious, as his mode of operating in the spiritual world: yet we know enough of his works for all our purposes; we generally discover their properties and uses. Men surely know that to speak with the tongues of angels—to have the gift of prophecy—to understand all mysteries—and to have faith, so as to remove mountains, is nothing without the charity and substantial morality of the gospel: yet the preaching of mysteries is charming, because it plays round the head and comes not to the heart; it raises the science of the hearer without reaching his life: It is exactly adapted to church and state purposes.

The common process of enforcing and explaining mysteries, and doubtful theories is to rely on the precise words, in which the fact

of their existence is revealed ; yet whatever assent is gained must depend on the consistency of the explanation with truths previously within our knowledge : in fact, when a man has known any thing with certainty, he can never cease to know it, nor believe contrary to it, by the aid of any mysteries whatever. The Catholic professes and believes that the consecrated wafer used in the sacrament is the real body and blood of the Saviour, because the book says so ; but the protestant knows that it is not, and all the logic and charity in the world will not persuade him that the Catholic believes a word about it. Whenever any thing *appears* to be intended in the scriptures, and yet we *know* that it does not exist, we do better to acknowledge that we do not understand the import of the book, than to twist and turn it to the total sacrifice of those understandings, which God gave us for rational use. Man will never be condemned because he does not understand grammar, or because he is unable to separate those secret things, which belong to God, from those clearly revealed ones, which belong to him and his children. Into six hundred sects has Christendom been divided, because each would obstinately persist in its own ideas of grammar. Churches have been rent asunder because the preacher would explain predestination and free agency. The mysteries about whole covenant and half covenant have divided nearly one continent, after distressing the other for centuries. All the heathen world and infants have been sent to eternal perdition, because the clergyman could not on any other terms settle with his grammar. Heretics have been burnt at the stake by thousands, merely for disputes about words ; and yet in the midst of all these mysterious obscurities was shining in full effulgence the sun of righteousness on those cardinal and indisputable points of duty, LOVE GOD, AND LOVE THY NEIGHBOR. How has our poor sinful world groaned with the contention, whether there were two or three orders of officers in the church, whether prayers should be extempore or in forms, and with what rage and bitterness have baptists and anabaptists clamoured against each other, about a great number of theologic points, which if revealed directly from heaven would not have made one man wiser, nor one hair whiter throughout the universe. How have disputes about words severed congregations in our towns, and Unitarians against Trinitarians—Calvinists against Arminians, disputed with the fierceness of tygers about the mind and will of that being, whose counsels are in the mighty deep ; but who has revealed every thing necessary to man in terms, which the most simple can understand. The scriptures, which each sect declares to be perfectly intelligible, have in the numerous sects six hundred irrefragable proofs that many parts of them are hard to be understood.

To this same zeal for grammatical precision, are we to ascribe the jarring ideas and practices of different churches on the subject

of qualifications for admission ; and the one, which is professed and relied on by church and state, is as manifestly variant from the fact as the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. *Heaven takes charge that those, whom it divinely illumines, shall show their new light in lives of new obedience.* It does not enjoin men to let their tongues perform all the services of their religion ; but ‘ let your light so shine before men, that others seeing your good works may glorify your father in heaven.’ When church and state unionists, those dealers in mysteries, profess that they have new hopes and resolutions, and whereas they have done wickedly, they will do no more, all the world will wish them God speed ; for the world is in great want of experienced practitioners in holiness and morals : but no well founded hopes can be entertained of these men. Are they preachers of mysteries ? They know no more about them, than the humblest of their hearers. Are they artful civilians ? They value mysteries only as they forward their views. Are they followers of church and state ? They may safely release all claim to the heirship of the kingdom, their portion in the scriptures is found in a narrow compass—“ If the blind lead the blind, they both fall into the ditch.”

It is distressing that our world, full enough of unavoidable natural and moral evil, should yet be ten times as full of a sort of artificial evil, made up partly of professions and denunciations against non-professors ; partly of men, assuming divine power to teach, when every day and sermon prove their power quite human ; and partly of dreadful threatenings of wrath, issued for the purpose of defending favorite tenets, exhibiting human parade, and establishing a system of terror, which always gives a temporary significance to the being, who excites it.

Be it remembered, from this day forward, that both leader and follower are equally in the dark respecting those points which occupy most of their time ; perfectly in the light respecting those important truths, of which they say little or nothing ; and that in the six hundred roads to heaven, man following *practical piety* will never err : but indulging in theories he has but one chance in six hundred of finding the right path ; and yet each proud adventurer is thanking God for the superior light of his mind and sect, and praying that others may come into the same.—

Those, who maintain that these mysteries are very plain, must render some new account of the volumes of disputes about them : But the fact is, every sabbath, society and individual, furnish incontestible proof, that though the practical part is plain, the doctrinal part of revelation involves more obscurities than any other subject in the world. All its promises, connections and end are obscure ; and in view of this fact, which reason will recognize, but which human pride is slow to acknowledge, we stand astonished at the unwavering positiveness with which precisely opposite doctrines

are maintained from the same book : but this astonishment should subside, when we reflect on the proud, gasconading temper of man, which leads him to parade and a shew of superior science on subjects, where the uncertainty of premises shields him from an absolute conviction of fraud or ignorance.

Obscure as these mysteries are, yet we often hear an ignorant duenna, after enquiring the preacher's opinion on predestination, pronounce him right or wrong, as positively as if she knew the meaning of the term. And it is not uncommon to hear it remarked of persons, that they are ignorant on all subjects except the bible. How happens it that no preacher is so miserable, but that some will like and praise him, except from the obscurity of the subject ? An ignorant man must of course be supremely ignorant on the subject of mystical theology, which as a science is, from the nature of it as well as from the artificial obscurities in which it has been involved, the most intricate of all sciences. How happens it that clergymen differing wholly in sentiment can succeed each other as pastors, and yet be equally acceptable, that exchanges between such can be effected to the mutual satisfaction of their respective congregations ? This arises *mostly* from the obscurity of the subject ; but partly from ears itching for novelty, partly from a sort of habitual conception that a pulpit and a preacher are religion—that these connected with the usual exercises, are a sabbath—that a few sabbaths form a sabbatism, and that by a mechanical attendance they will obtain a heavenly rest—perhaps as much from a persuasion that any number of men, who have been regularly ordained, must be right, differ how they may.

Men never conduct thus even in the most trivial of those concerns, which they understand. Further than this they always conduct with some earnestness their worldly concerns ; but when this religion is the subject, they appear quite indifferent, and could they do this, were they not chilled by cold mysterious doctrines, interlarded with as cold morals, preceded and followed by cold, studied formal prayers ? Here is the beginning of the indifference so much complained of—hence the carelessness about attendance on public worship—hence the frequent disputes about salary. If my premises were not correct, the state of religion here would not furnish such conclusions. There is very little of that religion, which is the certain result of sincere professions. There is much of that shew of religion, which never proceeds from sincerity, and whenever this state of things is even hinted at, a rancorous spirit issues forth from between the porch and the altar which is not the spirit of the gospel.

The body of our people are strongly interested in the plain facts, doctrines and morals of their religion ; but when these preachers of mysteries, these dealers in theological disputes and political dogmas, recruiters for church and state, Aarons, who make molten

images, offer themselves as ambassadors of truth, it is the duty of men to turn them round to wealth, to great men, to the world and say, 'there are your companions, your treasure and your hearts.'

A spirit issuing from such sentiments, has gone forth in our country—it animates thousands—it will increase rapidly as the true character of church and state religion shall be discerned—it will prevail—and it is high time that the followers of church and state should know the fraud, which is practised on them, when they are promised by their leaders heaven and glory in consideration of their votes, their reverence and obedience: for those who promise have no right, title or interest in that world.

NO. X.

Combined View of the Unionists.

IN my sixth number it is asserted that from this class of men your religion, your rights, property, public learning, peace and federal union are imminently in danger. In this number will be exhibited so much of their characters as shall give strong probability to these assertions.—In the third part will be found the facts to establish them.

The naturalist discovers in the first chapter of his 'accidence, that men do not gather grapes from thorns. The moralist discovers a correspondent fact in his view of man. Following nature in the vegetable and animal world, you follow truth. Ascertaining the portion of passion which enters into the motives, and guides the actions of men, prepares you to judge better of them than you could do by reliance on their professions. Revelation and experience may declare the heart desperately wicked; your vanity disclaims the imputation, and wishing to be thought better of than you deserve, you indulge the habit of yielding to others all the credit, which they claim, in a vain hope that an equal tribute will be paid to your own self-love. Heaven has taken good care to give each man frailties enough to teach him humility, and has given evidence of the frailties of others sufficiently to teach caution to all men. The human heart is as well known as the human face: yet many are anxious to fly from the mirror of truth and to forget what manner of men they are. My subject demands that they be brought back and deliberately surveyed.

The body of our people have agreed, that a part of their number shall be better educated than the rest for the express purpose of serving them better than a common education would admit, and for this purpose have endowed public institutions of learning; in consideration of which the privileged scholar assumes upon himself to acquire the useful learning, which will enable him to render the expected service. The closing of the contract is all which the public ever does upon this subject: the parties have separated never to feel again one common interest, never to meet again on equal terms. I speak of things as they are. Our northern colleges have been the laboratories of church and state. You turn in a boy, and out comes a statesman, who at his first leap into our world, bounds over the heads of the common people, and scorning the narrow compass of your rights, ranges among the theories of religion, the politics of ancient kingdoms, the balances of Europe, and the concerns of this great world, and is very scientific on all interests, except those plain ones, to promote and sustain which was the professed object of his education. Were such boys sent to college to gain useful learning—to study the human heart—to acquire a rational system of morals and the skill of enforcing them—to imbibe respect for the country of their birth and for the principles which gave it a national existence—to discover that all ascendancy over the consciences and opinions of men, which is not fairly gained by the force of evidence or reason, is tyranny;—to see through the mists, which proud sectarians have raised from their own passions, that pure religion, which evidences faith and lives in practice? Or were they sent there to learn (what all the world's tyrants had before learnt) that the body of mankind have a great portion of wealth and rights, that few individuals have enough of them to induce their risking largely in their defence—that men will bear a gradual usurpation of these with patience, that sometimes they will endure for one or more centuries the total loss of them, and that those, who begin to seize on them in the first stages of endurance, have the best chance of success?

The manner, in which many of our youth come from our colleges, shews where they have been, what lessons they have learnt, and what may be expected from them. In tracing the origin of our church and state civilians, it is necessary to speak plainly. The presidents, professors and tutors of our colleges—from motives perfectly natural, hate republicanism, because it cherishes that *liberty of conscience, which is inconsistent with ecclesiastical dominion and hostile to technical theology, and because it contends for an equality of civil rights, which is fatal to the pretensions of those, who want more than their share.* The students learn precisely all the tyrannical maxims, which have been exploded by freemen,* and they come out to the

* The commencement exercises of our northern colleges have abundantly evinced this, especially at Yale and Williams colleges.



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your rights in the cabinet, or sport your lives in the field, or your property in courts. The course, which many of our youth take,* shews that such are their conceptions of the value of education, and nothing can prevent an eternal repetition of the arts, by which such adventurers gain undue advantages, but a thorough persuasion of their insidiousness, and a resolution to repel their trespasses on the rights of community.

Fortunately for my subject, the very class of men, who most fully exhibit this character are the church and state unionists, who are sustained in federal nominations. To defend Christ's kingdom, to secure your property and liberty, federal lawyers are to be sustained, and why? Is it because they are always on the forlorn hope in a war of words, and can gratify the worst of your passions, by warmly espousing the worst of your opinions? Is it because they talk loudly of your rights? Look at the vacant seats of office; for these are more in their eyes than your religion and rights. What would become of their professions, wealth, promotion and prospects, if religion and equality of rights were to prevail? It is all idle to expect men to conquer nature and ruin themselves on your account. The energies of republicanism were made on purpose to keep such men in check.

In every process of my subject, I purposely draw you to a view of the artificial inequalities of society, as resulting from nature and passion, and in further advance under this head, will point you to the natural course, which these passions take to gain their ends.

These young unionists early discover that the body of mankind respect religion, love their families, property, reputation and peace; and that the nearest road to their hearts is by professing to respect and love what the multitude does, and to assume popular and imposing forms for expressing this respect and love. They discover that the body of mankind are not suspicious and are easily impressed—and that there are but few men, who refuse to be moved by flattery, or terror, or promises. With these premises the union of church and state is perfectly obvious, and no regular army ever advanced with more certainty of success upon a defenceless village, or with more skilful array against a numerous band of untrained peasants, than such men advance to take possession of your rights. The apparent fairness and sanctity, which they use as arguments of their integrity are with me the arguments of their imposture. If they are men, and if the course which they apparently take, is their real course, it is impossible for them to mean any thing but their own promotion. On this point ambitious men, whether called republican or federal are alike by nature; but the first believe that the body of mankind ought to be and will be

* Fortunately there are some brilliant exceptions, and these are the more honorable to those, who form them, in proportion to the temptations, which they have resisted.

sovereign, and that by consulting and pursuing their best interests, they will best secure their object: the last calculate that the body of mankind must and ought to be subordinate—they feel as if all things were made for the use of the world's masters. Hence in a republic they gain power by professing much and doing little: in an oligarchy, they profess less and rely more on power: in a monarchy their professions abate, the people know little of their rulers, beyond the power, which draws their children into the field and the money from their pockets to pay them for being shot at: Under a despotic government the people sink to the condition of brutes; their interests, feelings and services are never thought of, the will of one man is law. In a republic the condition of the body of the people is most elevated—that of rulers least: the passions of these last propel them to sink the people in order to raise themselves—and the perfection of elevation, to which passion tends, is *the total humiliation of the people, and the total supremacy of rulers.*

Following these ideas, you will perceive why that miserable farce of a western insurrection was acted; why all our federal candidates for office in New-England exclaimed for energy; why France was insulted by a British treaty, and an idle parade of maritime war was set on foot; why an army was raised, &c. &c.—All these were so many efforts to drive the people from the true ground of moderation and peace. The condition of an extended agricultural country like this, required but few laws, and republicanism always detests an artificial complication of government: it resents false alarms of danger as fast as their falshood is discovered. Next to such alarms succeeded terror and abuse—these lost their effect—the energies of the people constantly struggled against these contagious affections: at length our federal lawyers, who had never been noted for religious zeal, cried out, 'that the church was in danger,' and unfortunately some of our clergy assisted them. These unionists pursued their arts with as much zeal and calculation of success, as if they had been the real inventors of them, and as if no one knew that they led to political destruction. Did our members of congress, or our council, or our political clergy, or our federal lawyers, or the members of our nomination join in these artifices? Each one of them positively knew that the country was not in danger of foreign invasion—each one knew that religion was perfectly safe, and each active man among them felt that he was more opposed to the name and nature of republicanism than any pretended invader, and more hostile to christianity than Wisaupt and all his associates. No reflecting man is now hardy enough to say that the French contemplated in 1798 the invasion of this country, or that christianity was really in danger from the effect of illuminatism. The English translation of all this business was, you the people have more power and wealth than is consistent with the ambition and power of us your rulers. The light of the

man never exhibited the dimensions of any natural object with more certainty than the present state of things exhibits the correctness of this translation. These impostures have risen to such height, that those clergy, who had the least reputation for sanctity or humility, had the greatest influence—those lawyers, who had been most conspicuous for oppression and distinction, were chosen to guard the public rights. Every year has added to the evidences of their unfaithfulness; because in every year vital religion and ardent patriotism diminished, and no crisis was left for the unionists but that which now exists, viz. a state of the most vindictive and unqualified abuse of all who have exposed these impostures, and of all who have given credence to such exposures. Your public offices have been seized by these unionists—many of your pulpits have been prostituted—the grossest falsehoods have been circulated in your newspapers—and to crown these perversions, you are even now called to rejoice that federalism is increasing, although the very term is known to express total hostility to the general government.

The constitution of our country has provided that the president and every officer under him shall feel a responsibility directly or indirectly to the people; but these northern unionists have seized into their own hands the whole principle of responsibility, and have in fact become your masters; they affect to approve themselves to themselves—keep themselves in place, by means which they pronounce to be proper, and retain the confidence of thousands, even though they tax the people heavily as possible, while they have power, and though they oppose relief from taxation, when others propose such relief. Unrestrained man is always wicked—it is the order of the moral and political world, that every thing should be under restraint, and if any class of men are willing to repose their rights, property, public learning, peace and federal union on men, whose passions, and interests are in favour of the abridgement of them—on men who have publicly brought these passions and interests into action; on men who triumphantly set responsibility at defiance, they must do this either under the influence of delusions which they are unable to detect, or of motives which they dare not avow.

Review of the past Numbers, addressed to the People.

FEDERALISM passed by another name among the Jews and Catholics, but has been in every age and nation the same combination of passions, operating against the civil and religious interests of mankind—and has always been found in an union of church and state; has always pretended to great zeal for the cause of God and the good of man; but has always betrayed both, and the leaves of history are full of facts, exhibiting this treachery. Pretending to do honor to God and to advance the interests of their nation, the Jewish priests persecuted, and the Jewish rulers crucified the Saviour, amidst the shouts of a deluded multitude. Pretending to great zeal for the same objects, the Catholics offered him up again as a sacrifice to human pride, robbed his best friends of their treasure in order to decorate the palaces, where they affected to worship him, slaughtered or banished his most faithful followers—and established a religion of church and state, in which the crucifix and the altar had the shadow, but the self-styled vicar of God on earth enjoyed the substance of earthly homage. The same has been true of all the monarchies in Europe. The attention can never be arrested by any scenes of extensive oppression or carnage, without hearing, louder than the cries of the victims, the professions of the oppressors and tormentors in favor of benevolence, order and religion. The passions of man have made this an unhappy world, and vice derives its greatest force, not from the number of its votaries, but from its capacity of depraving the hearts and associating the interests of powerful combinations of men. Were I to prove the depravity of the Jewish or Romish systems, I would not do this by shewing the private characters of Herod, Pilate, Leo, or any of the cardinals or inquisitors; but by shewing that the passions of the rulers had more ascendancy than real principle and true religion. The public characters of those men would serve as mere exemplifications of the fact.

In exhibiting the depravity of federalism here, I do not rely on the zeal of Mr. Adams for monarchy, intolerance and establishment—nor on Mr. Pickering's neglect to account for appropriated monies—nor on Mr. Hamilton's amours.—Were the cause originally good, the indiscretion of individuals could not have made it otherwise. Its depravity consists in its having assumed all the maxims and adopted all the practices, which are calculated to ruin man; in its having taken the ground, from which the religion and rights of mankind have been always fatally annoyed—in its having

associated church and state, and directed that association to political objects: Our Backuses and Huntingtons might have preached politics, our Lymans circulated slanders, our Dwigths, Robison and Barruel, our Daggetts and Allens professions of faith—and federalism yet continued to deserve well, provided it had contained the heavenly principles, which speak peace and good will to man. Schemes of wild ambition, false alarms of national danger, reports of conspiracy, and abuses of Mr. Jefferson might have passed before the frowning eye of an indignant public, leaving no other impression, than that heaven had suffered evils in the political as in the moral world, to try the virtue of man. The general sentiment of men to honor God and to be free, would have driven into obscurity all conspirators against their interests, whatever plausible characters they might have assumed. In an ordinary state of the public mind, men would not have tolerated sermons, inculcating hatred and malice—nor prayers giving publicity to newspaper slander, nor practical infidels to alarm the church, nor monarchists to rule the nation, nor old tories to guide elections. The madness and cunning of church and state has done all this. Church and state has taught the blessedness of a national debt, and has strained every nerve to make this blessedness eternal. Church and state has taught “that the finger of heaven points to war,” and that it is right for nations to be vindictive, and to arm in the cause of cotton and indigo—to fight their way through barbarous nations to the land of wine and oil—and to shed human blood in order to acquire rapidly that portion of national wealth, which suddenly produces aristocracies—certainly destroys religion—always demoralizes man, and disorganizes a republic.—The man, who makes a few thousands of men rich to secure them in favor of himself and his political schemes, at the expence of the men who raised him, and of the principles which he professed in order to gain power, may call himself federalist, christian, honest man, and may imprison those who doubt it: Church and state will sustain him, for he has acted consistently with their maxims.

The past pages have been devoted to shewing the possibility and the probability of a church and state union here—the resemblance of this to former unions—the federal complexion of the unionists—and throughout the whole, the portion of violent destructive passions, which distinguish this union. Previous to shewing their conspiracies against christianity and the government of the United States, it was necessary to render it probable that they would thus conspire.

The great periods of the rise and check of that system of passions, which is now denominated federalism, are marked with analogous facts. The earliest history of man presents him as setting up his passions against the known law of his Maker—from this moment there was a constant contest between duty and will—divine precept

and human pride ; till at length the passions gained their crisis and the deluge overwhelmed them. After this they gradually gained, entwining themselves about the moral and ceremonial law, and perverting both, till their crisis was discovered in the total subjection of man to human inventions, and his total rebellion against his Maker. The Saviour's advent was alone equal to meet this crisis. He convicted the priests and rulers of their impostures, and defeated them on their strongest ground : But after his ascension, these passions rallied again—seized the very religion which he had founded, and in the course of fifteen centuries rendered their management of it the greatest of all curses to mankind. This crisis was met by the reformation ; but the season had not arrived for the Prince of Peace to take up his great power—the passions rallied again their forces, seized the protestant religion, and in the name of it, took possession of the thrones, cabinets and wealth of protestant Europe. Our ancestors met this crisis by the settlement of this country. The passions, never weary, seized on the Puritanism—on the religious zeal—on the persecutions, and even wants of our ancestors, and in them established a dominion, which met its overthrow in our revolution ; and then it was ardently and extensively hoped that rational, civil and religious liberty was to prevail : But after the close of a most distressing war, these subtle, sedulous passions seized on the very ardors of the contest, and even on the name of our illustrious Washington, and converted them, as they ever before had converted the best of things to the worst of purposes. Here the passions played their deepest, deadliest game—they literally played earth in the name of heaven. From the poor soldier, who had not, they took away that which he seemed to have. To the abundance of the rich they added tenfold from the earnings of the distressed. To adulterers—to the proud—to those who despised our cause, they offered honors and power :—To the murderers of our brethren by thousands, they tendered the olive-branch :—To our deliverers from British tyranny, famine and the sword—against the poor natives, they sent an army to enforce our divine right to more land than we wanted : Against some of our brethren, who were severely taxed by indigence, they sent a military force to teach the liberal policy of excise, though our old congress had declared it to be the abhorrence of a free people. They raised a standing army---imprisoned republicans---restrained the press---and seized several of the altars---and to crown these impositions, some proud priests, who love greetings in the market, cried out, ' Who so hath any gold, let him break it off ; ' so multitudes brought their treasures, and these modern Aarons cast them calves, and said, lo ! these are the gods, which led you through the revolution---whereas several of them were born since that day, and the rest were mostly old tories.

From the abusive spirit and practices of the human passions in the last administration, the election of President Jefferson has redeemed you—and now these passions will endeavour to create jealousies among you, to divide the men in whom you trust, they will even affect to love your cause—they will take your religion, your spirit of economy and your love of equal rights, and in the name of every thing dear to you will aim to replace themselves in power. Not one of the arts, which have been before successful will be omitted and your strongest guard against them is a knowledge of their characters and intentions.



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To the torrent of passions which for centuries had been bursting forth from the exhaustless source of human depravity, he opposed what the world considered the feeblest of all barriers, a religion, the professors of which must mortify the deeds of the body, that their souls might live. Under every conceivable disadvantage in human view he commenced his career.

In his sermon on the mount, he promulgated the laws, which were to regulate the subjects of his kingdom; and on this occasion so faithfully exposed the impostures of church and state, that the Jewish unionists were obliged to bring into action that detestable character, which has uniformly distinguished that class of men in every age of the world. They regarded his converts as a miserable rabble, who followed him for *the loaves and fishes*—abused them for that ignorance and poverty, to which their own oppressions had reduced them, called the Saviour a glutton, a friend of publicans and sinners, imputed his miraculous gifts to communion with the prince of devils—and because he cast out evil spirits, they prayed him *to depart from their coasts*. Every falsehood, which the heart could conceive or the tongue utter, was issued to make him and his cause and followers despicable. They charged him with *seditionously* inflaming the multitude. In face of all their power and subtlety he preached his religion: They at length resorted to their last effort, a reign of terror, and after every species of threatening took him by treachery and crucified him.

That he arose from the dead, and that the religion which he thus established is christianity, are positions, which our unionists are pledged not to controvert. It is equally clear that the Saviour knew precisely the interests of his kingdom, and that he had it perfectly in his power to advance it by any means most conducive to these interests; that he never promised to his followers offices of honor or profit; never flattered them with ecclesiastical dignities; never taught them to expect the favors of men: but assured them that the world would hate them, that through tribulation they must enter the kingdom. He did not tell them, that after his ascension, his kingdom was to depend on popes and cardinals, on kings and arch-bishops, nor on counsellors and doctors of divinity: but promised that *he would be with them to the end of the world*. He never told them that his church would be in danger of ruin, but assured them that it was founded on a rock. He never told his disciples to carry his religion through the earth by fire and sword, nor by tortures and test acts; but to combat its enemies with the armour of the gospel: for, says he, ‘we fight against principalities and powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world.’

The very men, who since that day have pretended to have the control of his church were those whom he designated as its most dangerous enemies. The first great combat against this infant church was so unsuccessful, the passions so dreadfully defeated, and

the pride of man so thoroughly humbled, that in later days the enemies of this religion have assumed forms for its overthrow more insidious than those of its first enemies.

From the nature of this kingdom its policy must always be the same. As it commenced with hostility to bad passions, so it can never avail itself of them for its support, and whenever a church has reposed itself for rest or safety on the bosom of the state, it has always fallen to sleep and forgotten its head and husband. All other religions have more or less fostered the pride of man; but christianity peculiarly opposes this pride, and claims for itself a spiritual existence and a total distinction from the kingdoms of this world.

I have taken the character of this religion, not from volumes of commentators; but from the only history of it, which has any claim to authenticity. The king, the laws, administration, objects and end of christianity are all spiritual, and the support of this kingdom must be wholly spiritual. To this concurrence of facts we must refer its first success, diffusion, and constant triumph against the conspiracies, which have been formed to destroy it, which conspiracies have had the aid of the wealth, power and bad passions of the world. Whole nations have bid it defiance, armies have been raised to subdue it, cabinets have conspired against it; yet by the aid of spiritual weapons it has been 'mighty in pulling down strong holds.'

That a conspiracy against this religion exists is an agreed point, and the world has been long enough alarmed with suggestions that *republicans* in this and other countries were the conspirators. That some of our northern clergy have associated with our federal civilians in giving force to these suggestions—that their activity has been conspicuous at, and previous to our elections—that sermons and sabbaths have been devoted to this subject—that books for this purpose have been widely circulated, and that the federal cry of "the church is in danger," has been raised to prejudice the republican cause, are facts, for proof of which reference may be had to the Palladium and to the other federal papers, and to a multitude of election and fast sermons in New-England.

This union of church and state has existed in New-England from its first settlement; but the evidences of its conspiracy against christianity were not conclusive till the year 1797. Previous to that time some civilians had gained promotion through clerical influence, the passions were slowly gaining ascendancy in the cabinet, great antichristian projects of national wealth and glory were on foot, diplomatic agencies in operation for insulting France *according to the law of nations*, christianity was represented by chaplains in congress, and a new order of things was at hand, which should give significance to ambitious men in church and state, and our political clergy had begun to learn that civil liberty was the parent

of licentiousness, and toleration the destroying angel of church discipline. Mr. Adams was to live but once, and the *well-born* might never find their places, if it was not done seasonably under his administration. In fact, the moment had arrived, when new plans pressed rapidly into the minds of our great men; the idea of reposing on the intelligence of a free people was relinquished by our federal leaders, and a system of force, to be operated by clergy and laity, was decided on. The men acted as naturally as heavy bodies do, when they fall to the earth. Monarchy began to appear more benignant, aristocracy had powerful charms, the names, which used to rouse the country to enthusiasm, were despised, and the most selfish propensities of proud hearts were concealed under the imposing forms of love to religion and zeal for order and good government.

To compass a revolution in the public mind was a necessary task. Various arts were improved; but among them none so leading as Professor Robison's proofs of a conspiracy. This Scotch royalist had discovered that a few obscure instructors in Germany, who had nothing on earth to gain but the knowledge of truth and the approbation of their employers, were in fact associated with some new orders of masons, and that these, connected with designing men in other parts of the world, were conspiring to destroy christianity, *by establishing a system of morals*.—The doctrine of all this was, that George III. and his minions, and the emperor and petty princes of Germany and some royalist priests, who had always been the public practical enemies of christianity, were secretly its friends, and that these by joining other great men and destroying this morality might replace christianity.

This miserable mixture of falsehood and folly was greedily seized by our unionists in this country, and instant pains were taken to domesticate and apply the Professor's facts and doctrine. The facts Dr. Morse found in a great number of masonic societies here—but as an important fact was wanting, viz. *the actual existence of these societies*, the unionists affected to charge the facts on all the leading republicans in the country, and to appoint themselves to assist the great men of the world in replacing christianity. Under this order of things Mr. Jefferson was said to be the great illuminat of this country, and doubtless a correspondent of Wismaupt. He had declared that the laws of society ought not to controul the consciences of men—therefore he was an atheist; he was attached to the French cause; therefore loved anarchy and approved of all the cruelties reported of that nation: All his friends, in approving him, approved every sentiment, which he was said to entertain.

Thus a humble class of men, who enjoyed no power in society, and who merely wished for the civil and religious liberty, which they had dearly earned, were suddenly converted into a set of

illuminatists, conspirators against christianity, anarchists and infidel philosophers. Barruel, an emigrant papist, heightened this triumph of the unionists by shewing that the early protestant martyrs were disorganizers, and that infidels and revolutionists were hand in hand to destroy christianity. This infidel philosophy then spread its wings and was found to be of monstrous extent. It was now discovered by our political clergy, that all the heathen philosophers, the deists of Europe, the illuminatists, and all the bad men of every age in the world; and all the republicans here were in a league against God, against morality of every description, against divine truth, and that the whole force of federalism must be mustered against such a daring combination. Godwin's political justice and Volney's ruins, with a number of other books, which few republicans had seen, were charged on our cause. The grossest barbarities, the wildest theories, even the cruelties of Robespierre and the atheism of Danton were charged on us. New-England church and state now assumed visible body and substance: Federal episcopalians and dissenters were hand in hand—all federal sects lost their distinctions and disputes, and in conjunction with the old tories of last war, British merchants, and all who would enlist against the rights of man, cried out, 'that the church was in danger.'

This ferment did not spread promiscuously among christians of all parties, nor was the fever of a religious type; but *that the agents might be like their cause*, the mad bigots of the church associated with the infidel zealots of the state to extend the contagion of this fever among the people. Surely an union thus formed cannot be less than a conspiracy against the religion of the gospel.

NO. II.

*Conspiracy against Christianity exhibited in the Character of
Church and State Union.*

ALL the kingdoms of this world are set up in opposition to the kingdom of the Redeemer. The same pride, which cost satan his loss of heaven, has erected thrones, raised armies, fabricated mitres and cardinals' bonnets, fostered wealth, humbled poverty, ennobled the aspiring of this world, and reduced the pure in spirit to all the abuse and degradation, which their Saviour foretold.

Christianity is not parading our world in uniforms and epaulets, nor dancing attendance in state rooms, nor rolling in chariots, nor fluttering in lace, nor faring sumptuously every day. It bears the same meek character, which it always did; and the Saviour delights now as formerly to dwell with the humble and contrite.

The parable of Dives and Lazarus has raised up more conspirators against christianity, than all the deistical writings. Had we been told that the rich man, after dressing in scarlet and fine linen, was translated to eternal wealth and splendor, and that the poor man was sent into torments, church and state would have been charmed with the event; but for the parching tongue of Dives, the pointed reproof of Abraham, and the exaltation of Lazarus, they hate the parable.

To have both worlds in a row, has been the steady exertion of all the conspirators against christianity: hence they have placed the highest honors in this world as the middle ground between humility and heaven, and have found it an easy talk to promote from an earthly to a celestial crown, while their greatest powers could never elevate the tenants of cottages above the poverty and distress, into which the oppression of their heaven bound lords had sunk them.

How transporting to human pride to be dressed in magnificent robes—to be adored by the populace—to be received as an ambassador of heaven—to be called high priest, vicar of God, holy father, arch-bishop, or doctor of divinity, and after a fulness of earthly homage to be translated to the rank of priests unto God forever!—How gratifying to be called a king, duke, governor, counsellor, or member of congress, and then to be promoted to the highest honors in another world for defending the faith!—How charming to the rich man to be adding thousands to thousands, and to calculate that after an independent estate here he will be a rich capitalist in a world of silver, gold, precious stones and pearls!—A heaven, where every human passion is glorified, is the heaven of the conspirators against christianity, and whatever may be their professions or forms of devotion, they cannot love a religion, which came to redeem the oppressed, to raise the poor from the dust, to bring down every lofty thought, and to humble human pride, that no flesh might glory in the presence of God,

When we know that a conspiracy against christianity exists, we should seek for the authors of it among those, who are certainly hostile to it. In this country we shall find this hostility in one of the great political parties. The particular point of time, when the alarm of 'the church is in danger' was sounded will be important to the discussion. It was under the administration of Mr. Adams. The passion for power and wealth had suffered a painful interregnum during our revolution. Some men of obscure origin had held high rank in our army, multitudes had by a seven years

service, earned a *commutation*: Some ardent patriots had gained the affections of the country: The passions suffered a tedious delay of five years, and met severe checks in the convention. Multitudes were anxious to see a great stock of power laid up for the future lords of this country. A man, more to be honored by a grateful recollection of his services than by mausoleums and statues, was placed at the head of our government. Some men, who mortally hated republicanism, held high rank under him: They wished ardently for the old order of things. The passion for wealth gained a momentary triumph in that paper system, which robbed our soldiers of the certificates of their merit, and created a set of tools for the future operations of federalism. The passion for military glory just breathed in the western insurrection: All the passions began to live in the British treaty; but the old order of things was not yet established. Mr. Adams, who succeeded to the presidency, had learnt in Europe the whole system of balances and the correct policy of retaining the liberties of a people by lodging them as a deposit in the hands of their *well-born* rulers.

It was in the midst of his administration, in a full tide of most successful experiments on the worst of theories, in the midst of every anti-christian project that this charge of infidel conspiracy was raised against the republicans. It was in the midst of a maritime war against our former ally, which war we had courted through all the forms of diplomatic duplicity; while we were in fact raising an army and navy and seeking employ for them, as the hungry man does for a day's work—and while the walls of our senate resounded 'extermination to men, women and children'—It was in the midst of a sedition act, incarcerating men who had the frankness to charge the administration with deviating from the avowed principles of our revolution—It was in the midst of an alien act, driving from our shores the stranger, whom we had invited—It was, when our lands were taxed to sustain the business of war and the consequent destruction of economy and morals—It was when every passion had gained dominion in the cabinet, this charge of infidel conspiracy was brought forward, and at this moment Mr. Adams and his party were making as decided war against christianity, as if they had raised an army for its express destruction. How indignant must he have been, at his levee, in the midst of his generals, commodores and courtiers, and of great plans of carnage and national glory, to hear religion crying to him, "Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes, cease to do evil, learn to do well, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow." The man, who should have preached such doctrines, would have been punished under his sedition act: for the whole is a reproof of his administration. Mr. Adams was willing to avail himself of the church and state religion of the day; but all his measures *conspir-*

ed against the gospel of peace and reconciliation. There was an appearance of religion in the appointment of a national fast day ; but this was very appropriately devoted, in several instances, to the praises of administration, to the prostitution of the desk, and to the abasement of republicans.

While we have bibles in our hands, are we to be told that individuals are to live in the exercise of all the christian graces ; but that nations are absolved from these duties—that nations may cultivate hatred and revenge, and devour each other—that nations may idolize wealth and encourage luxury and pride ? Are we to be told that the court of Mr. Adams, where every passion was at home (as much as at St. James') was a christian court, and that perfect respect for the kingdom of the Redeemer influenced his cabinet, while they were copying all the parade, profusion and military rage of earthly kingdoms ? The tendency of measures in those days shews the extreme hostility of our federal leaders against christianity. They could not open a page in the New-Testament without finding a severe reprimand. To conceal their real and active enmity against christianity they raised a miserable charge of conspiracy against republicans.

Let us now see how our northern unionists were conducting. They were approving all the measures of administration, and justifying every deviation from divine precepts under the necessity of the case. If the Algerines disturbed our Mediterranean trade ; if the French refused the ragged remnant of favors, which the British treaty permitted us to offer ; if the natives of the wilderness did not agree with us on boundary lines, it was federally right for Mr. Adams to say, ' Vengeance is mine and I will repay.' Our unionists very cheerfully took the blessedness promised to the meek, to the pure in heart, to the merciful and to peace makers, and bestowed it on Mr. Adams, Mr. Pinckney, General Hamilton, and the officers of the new army and navy : For these men prayers ascended from the *hearts* of our unionists, and while national glory and wealth were in their view, far out of sight were the doctrines and morals of that religion, which teaches universal benevolence, humility and a contempt for the applauses of men, the pride of nations and the splendors of life.

The unionists may plead that the state of the world was greatly altered and that the character of christianity must conform to the temper of the times. I am aware that when men seize christianity into their own hands, they will thus conform it—and the gospel will be made to sanction every project of ambition ; but if I understand the nature of this religion, every thing on earth must bend to it. Every professor of it, whether preacher or hearer, must feel humble enough to wash the feet of the poorest disciple. Every professor must be ready to lay his honors at the feet of the cross, and must be willing to sell all which he



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ists have given a political character to these charges, and we will bear them patiently, if it shall appear on a fair examination that we deserve them.

We might rest our defence on the improbability of such a self-destroying conspiracy: but as my object is to fix on the unionists a charge of conspiracy, perfectly comports with their characters, I shall devote the next number to a consideration of these charges.

NO. III.

Conspiracy of the Unionists exhibited in a Comparison of their charges against us with ours against them.

WE charge the unionists with conspiring, not against the name, form and profession, but against the spirit and temper of christianity. We conform this charge to nature and impute it to that system of passions, which has always been hostile to christianity. We find abundant precedents of such a conspiracy in every age of the church, managed by high priests and infidel statesmen, under the influence of similar temptations. We rest this charge on the distinction between the kingdom of the Saviour and the principalities of this world. We trace this charge through the wealth and honors by which our unionists are surrounded, and find them exactly in the place, where conspirators might naturally be expected.

Their charge against us is expressed in the note above quoted. Under the pretence of enlarged philanthropy, and giving to mankind *liberty and equality*, we have been said to bid defiance to nature, reason and truth, to have declared war on ourselves, to aim at the destruction of all those systems, which protect our lives and properties. We have been said to disclaim the being of a God and of moral obligations—and all this knowingly, and with a set design to introduce universal *brutism*!

Let deliberate men compare these charges in point of probability, and without any apprehension of conviction, we might submit the cause so far as respects the charge against us; but I shall improve the fact of this charge as an argument of the conspiracy of the unionists.

Though trials in the fire make the saints everlastingly rich, yet it was natural for those of that class in this country to hope that after the convulsions in Europe, by reason of the conspiracies of

kings against christianity, the leaders of this new world would have endeavored to conform their policy to that of the Saviour's kingdom, and that (so far as the wisdom of man could contrive) wars should cease, and a spirit of justice, toleration and benevolence should prevail: But our high priests and federal rulers had far different projects in view. My mind presents not a shade of difference between the condition of all other countries and this in respect to the subject before us. Look back on the whole period of time from the days of the apostles to this day, and through all the kingdoms within the boundaries of christianity, and mark (if you can) the time and place, when and where the saints were holding the command of this world, and the proud and aspiring, were out of place. No such occasion presents itself: but the true subjects of the Redeemer's kingdom were found in the humblest walks of life, and the doctrines of their Saviour were buffeted and persecuted by the powers of church and state. From such a view can you instantly cast your eyes on your own country and believe that the whole nature of man and the whole character of christianity have changed, and that a levee of courtiers, contriving to send our commerce through the globe, to extend our territory to the Mississippi, to make this the greatest, most warlike and powerful nation on earth, and planning death and desolation for all, who should oppose their projects, were in fact humble subjects of the king of Zion, and that a number of powerless men, whose rights were all gone, and whose only remnant of this world was the prospect of a better, were conspiring against christianity, under the guise of liberty and equality?

I might risque the decision of this question on its natural impressions; but it is rational to ask, what could republicans expect from the destruction of that religion, which they were said to conspire against? The worst of infidels have fought bravely for their homes, their property, and their children: but the blessed consequence of this confederacy of republicans with Wisshaupt, and the masonic societies, and with all ancient and modern infidel philosophers, was to be the certain loss of their homes, their property and their children—the dissolution of those very societies, a hursting of all human bands, an escape from the government of God, a life of endless confusion and a death of eternal sleep! Every political measure, which they opposed, was publicly hostile to christianity, yet they were said to conspire against this religion in order to destroy these measures! After the political prelates had wrought up these charges to such a pitch of extravagance, that each charge destroyed itself, the infidel civilians discovered 'that liberty and equality,' the animating themes of our revolution, meant licentiousness and anarchy—that opposition to sedition and alien acts was rebellion, and that every attempt to

ameliorate the condition of man was comparable with the manufacture of marble pin-cushions.*

The extravagance of these charges was perfectly in character for these unionists. Conspirators naturally charge with great force their own projects on others, in order to elude suspicion and vigilance; but these charges were not more daring than the facts and measures, which they were intended to conceal. These facts were found among the kingdoms of the world, whose leaders, just like ours, were pursuing plans of national and personal glory, inconsistent with freedom and christianity. The measures were just like the measures of those kingdoms. It was necessary to prostrate the public mind, and such a charge of infidel conspiracy on the republicans could alone effect this prostration. Political clergy aided these charges; they preached from Robison and Barruel—some ranked them next to the bible—the people believed, because they had been in the habit of believing in such men: Infidel civilians refounded these charges—republicans were personally insulted with them—sermons against infidelity furnished a feast of fat things to federal zealots, and the memorable reign of terror was a season of triumph to the basest passions, which ever conspired against christianity.

The Jews charged the Saviour with conspiring against the true religion. The Catholics charged the protestants, and the church of England charged the Puritans, in the same manner; yet in every instance the accused were out of power, and had nothing to expect but losses and persecution, and in every instance the offenders were the real conspirators, and the most secular considerations manifestly impelled them to their charges. In the present case the unionists had all the power in their hands, christianity was frowning on all their measures, ideas of liberty, equality and the rights of man checked their political force, toleration abridged ecclesiastical power, popery, the great outwork of spiritual tyranny, was at the mercy of the conqueror of Italy; a spirited union of clergy and laity, in a charge of infidel conspiracy against republicans, promised success, and there was a fair prospect that civil and religious liberty would never again rise to disturb the consummation of this rising empire. Here were brilliant hopes and strong incitements; but on the other hand a conspiracy of republicans promised nothing but total ruin to the agents of it. Universal *brutism* was said to be the summit of republican ambition! surely every thing in nature has changed, if the charges of the unionists were true, and as surely nature herself has been changed, if *they* are not the conspirators.

* See Mr. Daggett's Oration.

*View of the extent of Church and State Conspiracy against
Christianity.*

WE have not charged the unionists with conspiring against themselves, their wives, children, property, reputation and peace: we have not charged them with all the depravity of all ages and nations; we have not called them by every hateful name nor imputed to them every crime: but have coolly charged them with conspiring against christianity, precisely as other men, great, wise and holy as themselves, have done under similar temptations.

The extent of this conspiracy is two-fold, first, as respects the men who conspire, and second, as respects the religion against which they conspire. The first of these heads will occupy the present number.

As nature and passion have raised this conspiracy for selfish and worldly purposes, so they have always directed its course. The body of the Jews had been so deluded by their leaders that they were unwilling to embrace christianity. Their steady habits were just as dear to them as ours are to us. Their great men, who professed to be friends of order and good government, appeared to them as honest as our great men appear: Their high priests appeared as devout and pious as ours do: yet with all these impressions they did not conspire against christianity; but it was the chief priests and rulers, who took counsel together how they might slay the Saviour. The people were ready enough to obey their rulers and to express their senseless joy that the king of the Jews was suspended between two malefactors: they were ready to offer him vinegar and gall, to place a crown of thorns on his head and to pierce his side; and they really believed that in all this they were honouring God and the religion of their fathers. Can it be necessary to add that the great men, who had secured this blind confidence of the people, were among the most deceitful of the human race? They had retained most of the forms of religion, valued themselves highly on observance of the ceremonial law, and had kept clean the outside of the cup and the platter.

The Catholics had been so deluded by their leaders, that they joined them readily in the work of persecution: but the denouncing of the victims and the conspiracies against pure christianity were managed by kings, popes, and their conclaves. It is not among the body of the people in other nations, or our own, that

we are to seek for conspirators against christianity. We do not charge the majority of our people with this conspiracy. They doubtless wish for the prevalence of christianity, if not in every case from motives of personal affection for the cause; yet from a persuasion that it is best for mankind, and they really believe that they are promoting it by advocating and sustaining federal men and measures. Multitudes of federalists, who voted uniformly in favor of the last administration and against the present, were honest in their intentions and discovered no want of piety: No man is a knave merely because he is deceived. Even the man, who was a tory through the last war (because he really believed in the justice and policy of a regal government) and who sustained Mr. Adams' administration, *because it tended to monarchy*, was an honest man. He ought to have been pleased with a sedition and alien act and with a standing army: for royalty can never be again sustained in our world without a correspondent dominion of force. All our tories in New-England are on the federal side, and some of them are honest enough to avow their motives.

The merchant, who really believed that the past administration would advance the interest of commerce (consistently with the other interests and duties of society) more than the present, was honest in sustaining Mr. Adams' administration; but if he pretended that christianity was served by the shedding of blood for the object of gain, he may take rank among the conspirators.

It was perfectly natural for the farmer to wish to gain a high price for his produce: (no class of men is so miserably paid in proportion to their labor) but if the farmer pretended that christianity and the war-measures of Mr. Adams, were connected, he also may take rank among the conspirators: *the gospel never enlisted on the side of offensive war or excessive wealth.*

The man, who *really* believed that the houses of worship and bibles were to be burnt, if Mr. Jefferson should be president, did right in opposing his election.—The clergyman, who *really* believed that Robison and Barruel had published the truth, and that all republicans were infidels, destitute of morals, seeking for universal confusion, would naturally have been alarmed, and when his powerful brethren, *who knew all this to be political fraud*, told him that it was all true, it was *natural* for him to pray against such men, to preach against them, to attend proxies and to stimulate his people to vote against them, and even to read *forged* letters from his desk, if he believed them to be genuine;—yes it was *natural* for him to improve every text of scripture, and every occasion of grace, and every portion of personal influence to political purposes, and to associate with great civilians, who approved his wanderings—but such natures ought to have been under the influence of grace, or such men ought not to have been preachers. Sorely has society suffered by such men. It is difficult to sepa-

rate between the leaders and followers of this profession ; but wherever you find, in New-England, a clergyman, whose chosen society is among infidel civilians, and whose greatest delight has been to spread the alarm of infidel philosophy against the republicans, he is a conspirator against christianity ; the New-Testament is full of reproofs for him, and there is a loud call to him to repent and believe the gospel.

Republicans have never been opposed to the pious and faithful of the clergy: such men will always do all the good in their power, and will never sow the seeds of strife and debate. Holiness, justice, truth, mercy, charity and humble faith never exposed one man to ridicule and abuse in New-England ; but every pass which has been made at hypocrisy and double-dealing, has been artfully parried by pretences that all religion, all piety and goodness, are aimed at. If men will not make obvious distinctions, it is not our fault. We profess that we have as much natural affection as others, that we cannot live without government—and that whatever be our own lives, we wish that all the rest of society would conduct according to the golden rule of morality. We profess to wish that our enemies as well as our friends might have no law to bind their consciences but the law of God, and we profess to be unwilling to lose any of our rights through fraud, falsehood or hypocrisy, *or through any artful combination of christianity with the kingdoms of this world.* We claim that those, who serve at the altar, should mind the things of the altar, and that those of our fellow-men, who claim to have the high calling, to have a divine mission or to be saints, should be in fact all which they profess—that those who maintain it their duty to be holy, harmless, undefiled and separate from sin should be so, not in word and tongue only but in deed and in truth—that those, who profess to be bound by the laws of truth, justice and mercy, should conduct as if they felt the force of these bonds ; and to all our other professions we add an ardent zéal for civil liberty, under the auspices of an equal representative government.

Every thing in nature conspires to prove that we must be sincere in our professions ; it is supremely our interest that these things should be so, and our most violent opposers must know that if they will assume the character, which we wish them to assume, it will be our interest to give them our fullest confidence, and all the honors which they are now seeking in a very contrary character. Passion interposes between them and such a course, and they prefer to charge us with duplicity, which involves the strange absurdity that we are enemies to ourselves knowingly and with design—and that without any possible motive we are conspiring against our own interests. They are professing to be that which every action proves that they are not, and claiming that we are not what we profess to be, although the simplest course of reasoning shews that we cannot be otherwise.

Let the body of federalists in New England reflect and decide whether it can be for the interest of our cause to charge them indiscriminately with conspiring against christianity? certainly we have no precedent of such a case. The body of mankind may be deluded; they are never systematically dishonest: leaders have motives, which cannot be extended to the multitude.—Let the parish clergy, whose prevailing attention has been to the church and its cause, decide whether we can gain by reflecting on them, or whether one article of our creed will prejudice them in their labors—whether their people will be worse or better for professing as we do. Surely if the high priests and rulers wish to be in political storms, these humble shepherds will do best to feed the lambs of their flocks in green pastures, and to water them at the well of salvation.—Wicked and infidel as may be some republicans, yet even these will rejoice, if through the labors of such men, the bad passions of the day may be abated, and we may have some foretaste of the new heavens and new earth, in which dwelleth righteousness.

Will the political clergy and the politicians associated with them, ask us whether they are the subjects of this discussion? We answer in a moment, ‘*They are the conspirators against christianity.*’

At this point my subject presents all its responsibilities. In every advance I have been obliged to meet and dispose of prejudices. Here a great portion of them is embodied. The fervility of the human character, increased by successive abasements through all the periods of time,—personal partialities—and the apprehension of small dependant hypocrites, that their turn will come next, are all opposed to me. In another number will be shewn the respect due to all these considerations.

NO. V.

Particular view of the Conspirators.

THE church has always been in danger: great men have affected to guard it; yet according to their own account the condition of it has always been growing worse, religion has been declining, and the mournful cry of Mr. Adams “On evil times indeed are we fallen,” was a fit commentary on his administration.

If mankind do not care for their religion, then it is well enough to let successive generations of great men play their pantomimes over it, in aid of all their political measures. If christianity



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according to their consciences, they did well, but church and state understands all the subtleties of operation !

If Mr. Tracy and Mr. Talmadge should quit the church in Litchfield and declare that in future they would not run the christian race : If the Rev. Mr. Backus and the Rev. Mr. Huntington should resolve that after they had ruined the characters of the Rev. Mr. Griswold and Mr. Kirby, they would quit the profession of preaching : If all the political clergy should resolve that after the preaching down the republicans of their charge they would quit their desks : If the presidents of our colleges, and the professors and tutors should declare that they would never again exert themselves to advance christianity : If Gov. Strong, Gov. Gilman and Gov. Trumbull, with their lieutenants and their federal counsellors and assemblymen should declare that they would never more rely on clerical influence, and would never aid the christian cause, let me ask, would the religion of New-England suffer ? If it would, then decidedly it is not the religion of the New-Testament.

Were all these men to declare open war against christianity, its king would ride forth conquering and to conquer, and the cause would probably flourish more than it has done since the settlement of the country. This religion has before combated more powerful enemies, and has been most triumphant, when its opposers have been in the open field. Those men, who join the cry of the church is in danger, and appoint to office such men as our federal leaders, then cry, the church is *out of* danger, are unionists, their religion may answer present purposes ; but they deceive multitudes of honest men—and if the federalists of New-England are satisfied with such work, it is for want of real respect for the christian cause.

The religion of the gospel breathes a spirit of peace, and teaches every grace and virtue ; but the religion of church and state breathes dissension and encourages every passion. From it ascend no humble ascriptions of praise and gratitude ; but an universal shout of “ glory to man, and war on earth,” its votaries are filling the country with accounts of their own piety and the great immorality of others, and are publicly revengeful, implacable and unmerciful.

Those, who fear that such remarks will offend these great men should recollect, that if these men should resent my charges, such resentment will prove the charges well applied ; for christianity beareth all things with patience : Every hypocrite is distressed at a charge of hypocrisy, especially if he depends on it for a living. Some cool men see the truth of these charges ; but judge it best to be at peace for the present : Let such recollect that a like coolness and fear of offending, has reduced to servitude whole nations, and that it has cost millions of lives to regain what might have been secured by a decided attitude at the outset. Some republi-

cans' fear; the consequence of a disclosure of the truth; but do such men recollect any moment, when a tyrant relaxed, because his victims were lamb-like?

✱ I do not contend that republican civilians are fitter than federal civilians to manage the concerns of religion: but I contend that if all the federal unionists were to remove out of New-England, christianity would not lose by it, and if it be really hazardous for republicans to express opinions respecting our great men, we need no astronomer to calculate the period, when our rights will be in a narrower compass.

I would not levy a war of opinions against a man, because he had the plague; but in this condition he should not be physician to my family. I would not combat our clerical politicians and their associated civilians, because they are attacked with that complication of political depravity, which is destructive to civil and religious liberty; (their minds are as liable to be depraved by bad passions as their bodies are by disease) but in this condition they should not be my preachers nor lawgivers. If raving with their malady they attack me, and in the spirit of extermination aim to force me from all my rights, to sink me beneath my rank in being, to lord it over my conscience and my peace, I must defend myself.

O, 'tis all nothing, says the federalist. Then go, federalist, on board one of your armed ships and fight till dismembered humanity strews the deck, then search for those limbs with which you have graced the senate house, then bless a war system.—Go and repose in a damp dungeon and cry, glory to a sedition act.—Be for a few months victim of your own laws—pay taxes in a season of peace, till your sinews crack.—See a host of lordly sycophants, rioting on the fruits of a seven years war, sustained by hungry foldiers in your neighborhood—then bless a funding system.—See what you believe to be the principles of the revolution despised—what you regard as religion neglected, and a political religion in place of it, enlisted as a Swiss mercenary on the side of power.—Sit down content with the names of atheist and anarchist and cry, O, tis all nothing.—Only bear for a few weeks what you have called nothing and you will learn that you never before conceived of that *precious something*, a perception of human rights with a resolution to defend them.

Those, who consider it nothing that the pastor of a flock should devote Sabbaths to electioneering sermons, to the abuse of one half of his hearers, should insult with the title of Jacobins men who wish for good government as much as he does, and with the name of atheists men who have as much reverence for a supreme being and as high a sense of the value of time and eternity as he has, are the very men to suffer such nothings.

Those, who consider it nothing that counsellors should choose themselves, and that when chosen they should conduct with more assurance than if the people had chosen them—that these men should enlist our religion, our colleges, presses and anniversaries against our rights, ought to change places with those, who consider these things as something.

The root of these things is deep; the parties are seriously at issue: if republicanism prevails, religion will have no more credit, than the lives of its professors can gain for it—ancestral piety will vanish, and as each man was born for himself, he will have to live and die for himself—and those, who have *traded* in religion and liberty may divide the profits, for there will be an eternal end of their partnership.

NO. VI.

Conspiracy of Church and State against the policy and spirit of Christianity.

“NOT many wise, not many mighty, not many noble are called; but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the mighty—and base things and things which are despised; yea, and things, which are not to bring to nought things which are, that no flesh should glory in his presence.”

The wise, the mighty and the noble have always had kingdoms enough. Satan understood his title, when he offered all of them to the Saviour. Christianity was brought forward as the poor man's kingdom, and the singularity of its policy is not confined to the mere choice of subjects. Its invariable opposition to men's pride and wishes, together with the occasions and means which the unionists have improved to assimilate this to their own kingdoms may be usefully traced. If we divide the history of man into three great periods, viz. from the giving of the law at Mount Sinai to the coming of the Saviour—from the death of the apostles to the reformation—and from that to the present day, we shall find him at the close of each of these periods possessing the same character, originating in the same passions and in an uniform cause.

Fondness for idol-worship and a religion consistent with human depravity are noticeable in the Jews, to whom the law was revealed: Those, who could bow to the works of their own hands, must have been sorely disappointed at receiving a law, which de-

manded exclusive worship to the only invisible God, which forbade every vice and commanded every moral virtue. Following their own propensities, they soon changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like unto corruptible man, and at the beginning of the second period we find them abounding in forms, but destitute of substance—having a convenient religion for this world, just suited to the ambition of the rulers. The invisible object of worship was again announced, the law and the true worship revived, a new and living way opened, but this was a declaration of war against all which was esteemed great and good in that day. The new religion took effect; but at the opening of the third period, we find it wholly changed, and the wise, mighty and noble who were not called, to have taken the ground, which was to have been occupied by the weak, and the poor. The reformation restored this religion to its first principles, and the present view exhibits all which is visible of this kingdom under the control of kings and their courts, high priests and rulers, drawing millions from the people by the force of law, disposing of titles and attending armies in the field—the forms carefully retained; but the substance lost, and men are now as fond of images made like unto corruptible man as they ever were, and of having a religion of their own making.

Our unionists have not only formed this conspiracy in view of all these preceding ones, but with actual knowledge that similar unions of church and state for the same secular purposes are operating in other nations, and in order that no doubt of the existence of this conspiracy might exist, one entire political party in New-England forms the corporate body of church and state union. The Jews and Catholics claimed that they had all the religion of the day: Ours put in the same claim with equal justice—each has been careful to retain the name and forms, to derive all the earthly profits, and each has constituted a great political party. — It was not necessary for admission among the Jews, that a man should love the Lord God with all his heart, nor among the Catholics that he should take up his cross, nor with our unionists that he should even profess to believe. For other qualifications of admission are invented by our great worldly churches. The conspiracy of the Jews was not evidenced merely in their having changed the laws of the true religion; but they had given the highest honors of their church and nation to men, who deserved and met the severest reproofs of the Saviour. His woes were pronounced on those who sat in Moses' seat. These bound heavy burdens on the people—did their works to be seen of men—loved the chief seats in the synagogues—shut up the kingdom of heaven against men, neither entering themselves, nor suffering others to enter—devoured widow's houses—for a pretence made long prayers—compassed sea and land to make one proselyte, and

then made him two-fold worse than themselves; yet these conspirators, with such men in the seat of Moses, were so confident of their strength that they stoned Stephen, imprisoned Paul and Silas, scourged and persecuted the saints. The Catholics perverted the true religion as much and placed as bad men in the chair of St. Peter. Our unionists have completed the first point in the conspiracy by calling the wise, mighty and noble and every man, who could claim an inheritance of the woes, pronounced in the 23 of Matthew, to high rank in the church: whether they have secured the second point by conspiring against the spirit of Christ's kingdom must be decided by a comparison of the spirit of the gospel with that of church and state religion.

The spirit of the gospel is first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy. It takes man from his origin, with every propensity to evil, shews that his greatest enemies are the lusts, which war against the soul—that the leader of these enemies is subtle in the work of destruction—it offers him armour against every foe, opens to him a kingdom on which he may rely for protection, fortifies him against the evils of life, clothes him with humility, grants him a patient endurance of injuries, and for all his sacrifices of honor and wealth offers him future rewards. The same spirit having shewn him his worst enemies, next points him to the enemies of the church in the principalities of the world, which would avail themselves of all these lusts, and of the service of satan in the form of an angel of light, to deceive (if possible) the very elect, and instructs him how he may aid the church and the world by opposing the policy of the gospel to wars, oppression, hatred, revenge and cruelty. The distinct character of the gospel is found in perfect reverence for the Father of the universe, in affection for the whole human race, in a constant conflict within, and in constant exertions without, to promote the cause of truth and the good of man, even by means most humiliating to personal pride. “Even if thine enemy hunger, give him food—lay not up treasures on the earth: Seek not the honors which come from men.”

As christianity aims to redeem man from the ruins of the fall, so church and state has always aimed to restore him to these ruins; and to this policy are the kingdoms of the world and the armies and navies, which support them indebted for their majesty and power.

Let this proposition in all its relations be compared with that of Robison and Barruel and the preachers against infidel philosophy, and then let candid men judge who are the conspirators against christianity—whether visionary philosophers and infidels, selected from all ages and nations, connected with the republicans of the present day—or the kingdoms of this world, which must part

with their kings and their lords spiritual and temporal, with their generals and admirals—with their courts and ambassadors—with their wealth and splendor—with their weapons of war—with their victories and revenge—with the spoils of their enemies—with all their schemes of national glory, before they can bow to the spirit of the gospel.

In this number I have taken the spiritual ground of the New-Testament. He, who comes to this ground with a crown on his head, must come bowing lowly to the crown of thorns on the head of his Saviour. He, who comes here with a mitre and lawn-sleeves must acknowledge the superior majesty of the robes of the Redeemer's righteousness. He, who comes here with volumes of his own wisdom, must acknowledge the superior wisdom of him who was wiser than Solomon. Kings must bow before the king of kings, princes before the prince of peace, prelates before the high priest of the church, leaders of armies before the captain of salvation, fathers of families before the universal Father, and children before the babe of Bethlehem.—Every expectant of immortality must do sincere homage to him, who was laid in the grave and who arose from the dead, and captives must look for redemption to him who led captivity captive, and who in his triumphant ascent to heaven gave gifts unto men.—The riches of this world must yield to the treasures laid up in heaven; the luxuries of earthly tables to the bread and water of everlasting life, and the dearest connections on earth to love for him, who is the first born among many brethren, fairer than the children of men.—The graves must open to receive our departed friends—our confidence must be placed in the father of the orphan and the husband of the widow, and all our affections supremely centered in that world, where tears shall be wiped from every eye.

This is a transient view of the affections, which must characterize every man, who is moved by the spirit of the gospel. He, who feels this spirit will not be loud in professions nor ostentatious in services. If he is pious, it will be known in heaven; if he is sincere, it will be recorded; if in faith he gives even a cup of cold water to a disciple, he will not lose his reward; if he is persecuted, his season of rejoicing is at hand; if men despise him, if poverty, revilings, and perils assail him, he goes where he will be held in honor and where all distress and danger are unknown.—Are infidels on every side? He commends them to the light of truth.—Do men charge him with hypocrisy; but that God, who searches the heart and tries the reins knows his sincerity and will lead him in the way everlasting.—Are there seasons, when the powers of darkness press hard on the church, but his Redeemer liveth, wonderful in counsel, mighty in power, and will sustain his cause.

Compared with such impressions, resulting from such a spirit, what is the religion of church and state in New-England? An examination of this question will occupy the next number.

NO. VII.

Conspiracy of the Unionists against the Spirit of the Gospel.

NO credit is due to mere forms, because the Jews and catholics had them in abundance of the most solemn and impressive kind, merely to conceal their want of sincerity. The best of prayers and sermons may proceed from the worst of men. No credit is due on this subject to great theological science and artful disputation, for the questions of, where is the wise man? where is the scribes? where is the disputer of this world? are forever disposed of by the gospel. If the boast of, I am of Paul and I of Apollas and I of Cephass were of any avail, the unionists would abound in arguments. If the building of houses of worship, settlement of pastors, gathering of churches, attendance on Sabbaths, and all the busy out-door work of religion were proofs of piety, we have all these in abundance: but what are the substantial facts, by which our conformity to, or variance from, the true church, may be decided?

Our revolution was managed under the auspices of professions, favorable to civil and religious liberty, and it then appeared to the people and probably to many of the leaders that this was an opening of great triumphs in favor of true religion and the rights of men. The clergy wished for the downfall of papal Babylon and protestant hierarchies, and the civilians wished for an end of oppression. Enthusiasm often bears the public mind, especially in a season of war, above all selfish calculations of consequences; but the enemy of man, who watches narrowly the kingdoms, which the Saviour refused, improved an early season of peace to address his logic to some of the leaders of the revolution. He did not tell them that after a few years one of their number would *succeed* to the presidency and that under his administration the old order of things and the doctrines of the old school would be revived, that the enemies of the revolution would rise into favor; but he presented to them the restive temper of the people, the danger to religion and order, from an extension of liberty, the hazard of innovation, and promised them personal aggrandizement. Our unionists, thus stimulated, established a government, in which every passion ope-



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which are opposed to the spirit of the gospel, all professing to defend the church. In three of the northern states this union commands the weight of political influence and on its continuance are said to rest the hopes of federalism.

The exclusive claim of this union to piety, order and peace, its high charges against republicans, its hostile array against our cause render it important that we collect our premises at this point of our charge. Is not this the union, which has availed itself of the passion for wealth, honors and dominion, ever since the settlement of this country? Has it not always boasted of ancestral piety? Has it not artificially kept up the ranks of its leaders and followers? Has it not dealt largely in forms, professions, mysteries and doctrines? Surely there is no other union of church and state in New-England—and there is no pretence that its present character is more heavenly than it formerly was. If then the kingdom of the Saviour has not changed its policy and spirit, and if this union is serving the world under pretence of serving this kingdom, surely it is conspiring against christianity.

In every advance of this part of my subject I have endeavored to keep your attention fixed on the certain opposition of the spirit of the gospel to the spirit of the world—and to direct your search after the conspirators against christianity in the very places, where the Saviour said that they would be found, and in the place where nature and reason would teach you to seek them. It is now necessary to mark out the line, which separates the kingdom of the Saviour from the governments of the world.—The spirit of christianity extends just so far into the heart, affections, thoughts and actions of mankind as any goodness is found. It increases as fast as this goodness increases, and is said to have prevailed, wherever this goodness has gained the ascendancy over natural depravity. It meets the lusts of the flesh, the lusts of the eye and the pride of life, exactly on the frontiers of the kingdoms of this world. At this line the armies of heaven and those of earth have their strong fortresses. Here the champions of both sides contend. The chosen troops of the Captain of salvation are the meek, the poor and the humble, who have signalized themselves in single combat with satan. The chosen troops of the world are its kings, its mighty captains, its rich men, its proud men—all who have signalized themselves most in victories over their own consciences and the light of truth—in fact those who will lose most, of what the world holds dear, if christianity should prevail.—Thus just as far as lust, pride, avarice, ambition for applause or any other selfish passion prevails, church and state are sure of assistance. Great men will not join the armies of the gospel, so long as the combat wears such an aspect. Men, who have been accustomed to command in the high places of the field and to be called, *Excellency, right reverend or honorable*, are not zealous to join an army, where the highest officers must perform the humblest services.

If revelation is to be our guide, we are not to seek the subjects of the Saviour within the limits of this or that class of professors; but in every nation he, who feareth God and worketh righteousness, will be accepted of him. The invisible power of the gospel of the kingdom extends far and wide, producing a visible effect in all its subjects, which effect is the evidence of the power. Church and state abhors the spirituality of the gospel: it delights in hearing that religion is a very good thing, that it keeps society in order—that respect to the clergy is very important, and that civil rulers ought to support their influence. It is charmed to hear learned discourses or speculative theology; but cannot endure the dulness of morality.

When the governing of mankind by the aid of the clergy is regarded as being infinitely easier than to govern them by substantial attention to their interests; when we see all the passions ready to enlist under such rulers, and when time and sense, with all the arguments of wealth and honors, court our acquiescence in such government, we will not wonder at finding some of the clergy and laity joining in this work. A sanctified man will have nothing to do with it: a pious man would not calmly take his seat in congress or at the council board, if he knew that instead of being chosen by unbiassed votes, he was chosen through the influence of false alarms about religion: a pious man could not believe that a miserable worm of the dust like himself was important to the true church.

If our ambitious men can pass off professions, the paper currency of hypocrites, and receive in exchange as much of wealth and honors as they wish, we will not wonder at it. If by preaching the *real* gospel a clergyman would offend the great men, and if preaching subtle theology he can please them, it can at least be said that it is extremely *natural* for him to choose the last course. His salary is secured by law, but the heirs of the kingdom are often very destitute of taxable property, shall he offend these great men by telling them that they are hypocrites? perhaps they will return the compliment, then pride is to smart for a season: perhaps the card of invitation to partake of his luxuries will be refused! how much safer is it to deal in doctrinal religion. If the rich and luxurious cannot lead godly lives, *and if they must appear to be religious* in order to secure their objects, some substitute must be invented. If they cannot worship the true God, an image must be made for them, and this must be called God. If they cannot practise the gospel morals, they must have a set made for their convenience. If they cannot believe in the truths of revelation, some creed must be made up for them, to which they can subscribe, and this must be called revelation, and they must be called christians, and said to belong to the church militant, altho' they are officers of high rank in the opposite army. The church

and state religion, made up for such men, consists of curious, abstract propositions about the power of God, the agency of man, the origin of evil, and the mysteries of revelation. Believing in these is accepted in lieu of all the rest, and in the first rank of theorists and professors stand the followers of metaphysical preachers. Good men may have come out from this class, but their goodness never began, till they left the region of inconceivable theories and practised plain duties. Nearly all our fashionable *scarlet and fine linen believers* are found in the highest regions of speculative theology. From these you pass through many grades of professors, and as fast as this theory relaxes and gives place to practice, so fast you advance to the ground, which I first took, where the humble believer in plain truths practises plain duties and looks for a future reward. The first class follow an ingenious learned theorist to a magnificent house of worship, and are charmed with the fine polish of his sentences and the gracefulness of his address. The last resort to some lowly cottage, where no organ swells its notes, no ornament decks the room, no polished, graceful preacher charms the ear; but a humble man, who knows his God and duty, teaches his humble hearers the road to a heaven, where the miserable distinctions of this world are unknown.

It would be astonishing that such a fashionable religion could be received as christianity by a people having the bible in their hands, did we not reflect on the eternal eagerness of men to have a religion of their own making, and that church and state religion is exactly fitted to this eagerness. Say to the rich, increase your wealth, and from your abundance you shall be translated to infinite wealth; say to the proud, seek the honors of this world, and thus shall you secure the honors of heaven. Lead up the fashion in your great towns to appoint the *richest* men officers of the church; make your communion tables splendid and your houses of worship magnificent; enlist the powers of beauty and music; make your Sabbaths seasons of gallantry and fashion: let those who handle the public purse be liberal in the *exclusive** support of such a reli-

* Our unionists *tax* the people for the support of christianity. More than 70,000 dollars are annually collected in the parishes of Connecticut for this purpose, and the political clergy are very severe on all who wish this tax abolished. They are willing to trust their Maker for rain from heaven and fruitful seasons: They do not tax the people a vast sum in order to bring water upon the meadows in case of drought; but they cannot trust the Saviour for a rain of grace and truth, although that is repeatedly promised. Republicans have suffered severely, because federalists prefer their own to the Divine guidance. Every assumption of civil power over Christ's church, whether by Buonaparte, George III. or our northern unionists, is a decided overt-act of conspiracy against christianity.

Those, who argue that such tax is *necessary* to the support of the gospel are as destitute of skill as they are of grace. If our religion cannot be supported without such a tax, it follows that the people have no inclination to support

gion, and you will have an abundant train of leaders, and followers; colleges will literally make glad your cities with a supply of pastors after *your own* hearts; the political preacher will bless you and pray for your prosperity, and the office-seeking lawyer will subscribe the tithe of his *exactions* for your support. Those, who have cried that the church is in danger have actually done all this! and if the gospel is to be our guide, we are to regard them as conspiring against its spirit.

Most men fear to look at truth in this point, because most gain either directly or indirectly by such a state of things; yet the gain of all is far less than what religion, truth and aggregate society lose by it; but there is great hazard in appearing on the minority, (as every man must be for a time) on this subject; hence this world and its gains and honors are made to play a dreadful game against the other, and too often through the instrumentality of that class of men, who are expressly employed to fight the battles of heaven, truth and eternal righteousness, against earth, falsehood and hell. Finding that the men of this world love their honors, pleasures and self, and that they are willing to pay for any accommodation to their taste, *such* clergy leave virtually their cause and turn against their Lord.

The preachers of mysteries and dark sayings, and the dealers in smooth, polished sentences are equally the objects of these remarks. The first gain admiration for their ingenuity in handling subjects, which no one understands, and the other charm by their address in preaching what never rouses the conscience, touches the heart or influences the life. These are not the preachers, who add to the church of such as shall be saved; but under them are ranged the scientific, the rich, fashionable, debonair christians, whose heads are full of religion, whose hearts are full of the world, and who take good care that the right hand shall never know what the left doth in acts of charity. These are the christians, who hold the keys of St. Peter and the keys of all the treasure and power on earth. Alas! how little do such mysterious and such smooth ecclesiastics and their followers reflect how much our world has been afflicted by their pride, their pomp and their hypocrisy. These men profess to believe in the humble Jesus of Nazareth, but pay little respect to those true disciples, who destitute of wealth and honors are humbly seeking their way to him, through prayers, penitence, humiliations and faith; but if they really loved him,

it, and that our clergy would not engage in preaching without this security. It is true that church and state have been so accustomed to an artificial religion, that *their* religion would go to ruin, if they were suddenly to withdraw their *protecting* duties. The day, when christianity should be committed to the head of the church is a day, which our unionists wish may never be numbered among the days of the year; and should it ever arrive, they will, in the forenoon of their afflictions curse it, as Job did the day of his birth.

they would love his family, if they loved him, they would keep his commandments; but they neither believe in nor love him nor would they respect him or his likeness on earth. They believe in Pontius Pilate and Herod and the purple robes, and in the great ones of this world, and in lofty houses, splendid carriages and beds of down, and would fain persuade themselves that in this lolling, easy, luxurious attitude they may repose on him who had not on earth a place to lay his head.

To retain the *forms* of christianity is indispensable to the political objects of our unionists; hence they avail themselves of a fact, which long experience has established, viz. that it is easier to *profess to believe* than to practise, and that a religion of faith is on this account the most popular and most easy to be promoted. Men love cheap ways of gaining honor on earth and glory in heaven. Hence the artful unionist, finding that his neighbors love the world, forms up a religion apparently on the gospel, but in no respect conformed to its temper, and offers this as christianity, even joins in its ordinances, talks loudly of its excellence, thunders against his opponents, and thus enlists a great portion of passion in its favor—learns its votaries to curse instead of blessing—to persecute instead of convincing—to talk of infidelity rather than to practise morality—to avenge instead of forgiving—and thus to erect a system of INFIDEL PHILOSOPHY on the benevolent religion of Jesus. This is precisely the state of things which the unionists have produced in New-England, and by reason of it the Saviour of the world looks down on a class of christians, far unlike to him in character, christians, who deal largely in the theories of his religion, but who expend all the fire of their heavenly zeal within the circuit of political morality.

Surely when we reflect that the gospel of the kingdom is not of this world—but that it is invisible and spiritual, and when we cast our eyes upon the visible religion of the unionists; when we reflect how perfectly *natural* it is for proud priests to accommodate professions to ambitious statesmen, and how *natural* it is for these statesmen to support such clergy: when we reflect how *natural* it is for these united to avail themselves of a very accommodating religion in order to gain dominion over the people, and by what links their passions and gains are connected in the establishment of this dominion, we cannot forbear to see strong probabilities of a conspiracy against the spirit of the gospel. Revelation and our experience join to assist us in drawing fair inferences. We never read of any class of men, situated as these, who were pious christians; but from the days of Constantine (anno. 323) who first availed the Roman empire of an union of church and state, to the present day, every nation in Christendom has led up the same policy, and in New-England the rise, progress and present state of such a union are as visible as any portion of our civil history.

The brightest season of christianity was when it was wandering about in sheep-skins and goat-skins, persecuted, afflicted, tormented, and when martyrs were sealing the truth of it with their blood. Those who wish to see it in high places, surrounded with splendor and who seek to find its friends or enemies by any other guide than that of revelation are conspiring against the spirit of the gospel.

NO. VIII.

Account current on this charge of conspiracy stated between the Unionists and Republicans.

NEVER before this, since the creation of the world, could such a charge of conspiracy have been made without certain hazard to the accuser. Men full of power could safely charge conspiracy on their opponents and if they did not acquiesce in it, could send an army with the logic of kings to enforce it; but at the present moment the serpent has lost his sting, and the devourer's teeth are broken, and we are at liberty to examine those accounts, which ages of terror have suppressed.

The first article for adjustment rests on the question, why federalists as such should conspire against christianity, and why republicans as such should wish to detect and repel the conspiracy? I have anticipated, in part, the solution of this question, but it remains to remark that as republicanism is the poor man's government, so christianity is the poor man's religion—and if the religion will not soften the heart, yet it may check the force, and in any case it will give patience to endure whatever political evils the powerful enemies of the common people can devise.

It has been natural for federalists in every age of the christian church to retain the forms of christianity, even to abound in them, because these forms would turn to their account, but to conspire against the substance, because it opposed their policy, and thus doing they were not in hazard as respected the concerns of this world, because they had the power of making laws and could guard their claims conclusively. He, who has the control of armies and bastiles can dispense with the laws of religion; but the poor subject, whose all depends on the caprice of such lords, is willing to have the aid of religion, because even if it does not protect his rights, it will punish his oppressor. Our federalists when full of power must necessarily have hated that spiritual influence, which was opposed to all their systems of war and wealth,

and if powerful clergymen were willing to combat the substance, but to retain the forms, and then to enlist those forms in favor of federalism, they would thereafter earn a seat on a spiritual bench in the senate. No federalist understood the *real tendency* of his party, if he devoutly wished for the prevalence of pure and undefiled religion.

It was perfectly natural for republicans *as such* to wish for the destruction of false religion, for the humiliation of the political clergy, and for an end of an aristocratic government; but let me ask, what earthly motive could they have for wishing the destruction of christianity? Civil power was wholly in federal hands and did those wish to free their opponents from restraint—and that these should be let loose on them with all their passions, especially after having seen their temper? You may suppose republicans to be infidels or atheists, yet you will allow that some of them understood well their political interests, and could it be their interest that a religion, which is said to inculcate peace, humility and universal benevolence should be abolished? Could a republican wish that his federal neighbors should feel no obligation to be kind and affectionate to him and to relieve him, when he should be afflicted in body, mind or estate? While religion should be in force he would have a claim on them to do to him as they would wish him to do to them in similar circumstances, and is it common for creditors to pray that their debtors may be released from their bonds?—

To pretend that republicans wished the destruction of christianity in order that they might sin more abundantly, is just as weak as to pretend that a man, who wishes to sin against as much light as he can, would pray that the sun and every other source of light should be extinguished. If a man wishes to be a conspicuous sinner he will not take pains to make all neighboring sinners conspicuous any more than the man, who wishes to be eminently rich would wish to have mines of silver and gold opened to all the world. The prisoner, who has broken his bonds, will not awaken his keeper, and if republicans had broken loose from restraint, yet they would have left every federalist to repose in a religion, which calmed his passions and prevented the ardors of pursuit. We will not be thought so tolerant as to wish the friends of order to be released from the little remnant of restraints, which the forms of religion imposed. We wish that the political clergy and civilians were *real* christians.

But what desperation could drive republicans to wish that after all religion should be destroyed, there should be an end of government? Had they lost all ambition to rule? Or had alien and sedition acts, funding and war systems, imprisonment and constant privation of rights so destroyed their faculties as to destroy all wish for personal power, all regard to property and reputation? Federal measures under Mr. Adams were calculated to perplex and



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“no other atonements than the observances imposed on them by their spiritual pastors. The greatest criminals were forward in a service, which they considered an expiation for all crimes. The nobles were moved to hope for opulent establishments in the east, and the phrenzy extended even to many aged and infirm, who joined the expedition in hopes of breathing their last in fight of the city of Jerusalem.” A cross was displayed on every arm, the name of Jesus was on every tongue: yet never did the light shine on a set of men, who had less of real religion; they committed all manner of depredations and cruelties on the route, and when they succeeded in taking Jerusalem the numerous garrison and the inhabitants were massacred without distinction, and even after this barbarity they marched over heaps of dead bodies to the holy sepulchre, and “while their hands were yet polluted with the blood of so many innocents, sung anthems to the common Saviour of mankind.”—Such was the character of man in the 11, 12 and 13 centuries, and such has it ever remained, capable of being deluded by shadows, and of being led to do honor to the Saviour by means most disgraceful to his cause; and there have never been wanting leaders, who were ready to conduct not only the credulous, well disposed, aged and infirm; but the most worthless of society, saying, *we are holy, we are pure, religion depends on us, we are on the high road to Jerusalem.*

Our unionists, with no more apparent sanctity and with no better motives, have led up a crusade against republicans under a charge of infidel philosophy, and though they have not put arms into the hands of their followers, yet they have put purposes into their hearts, not more benevolent than those, which governed the former crusades. I have already presented the motives of our unionists: To you will be submitted the merits of a comparison. It cannot be the cause of Christ which excites a minister of the gospel to become a political partizan; It cannot be the cause of Christ, which excites infidel civilians to profess christianity; but as the Pope, by haranguing at Placentia, a council of 4000 ecclesiastics and 30,000 seculars in favor of the crusades, was anxious to extend his dominion—and as kings and princes harangued their subjects in order to secure great possessions in the east, so it is with our political priests and federal rulers. Human nature has not changed: the state of society has introduced new arts of deceit; but crusaders against civil and religious liberty will probably be found in every age, and they will always come prophesying in the name of the Lord. The enemies of christianity and the enemies of all the oppressed men in the world have united in the same characters, because christianity demands a sacrifice of those passions, which cause oppression.

The sound of *infidel philosophy* was exactly to the purpose of our unionists; it was too late in the day to talk about the holy land.

Infidel philosophy, exclaimed Robinson and Barruel, *Infidel philosophy*, responded Drs. Dwight and Morse. *Infidel philosophy*, caught through the country—sermons against *infidel philosophy* abounded, and what was the great news about it? Why that the men, on whom the Saviour charged this crime, on whom all history had fixed it, and who would most naturally be guilty of it, were in fact innocent, and that Mr. Jefferson and his party were conspiring against all religion and all government. Republicans had never heard a word about this, and though *impossibility* lay at the threshold, *falsehood* in every stage and *the ruin of toleration and civil liberty*, in the advance; yet *infidel philosophy* became the delightful theme of federalists, and multitudes of Sabbaths were spent in hearing artful comparisons between Satan and the republicans—bold eulogiums in favor of the measures of the friends of order, and ingenious satires on the principles of our revolution. If it be possible that men should be spoiled “through philosophy and vain deccit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of this world, and not after Christ,” such measures were calculated for such effect.

NO. IX.

Account closed between Clerical Unionists and Republicans.

WHEN men have lost confidence in each other it is time for them to close their books and to settle the balances. The clerical unionists have sufficiently shewn their want of confidence in us:—They will please to accept our most unequivocal assurance that we have none in them.

This account is of long standing and has never been brought to issue, because the defendants in the present case have always occupied the bench, and the triers of facts have been *packed* juries, consisting of office-seeking civilians, obsequious to the nod of the court. To the bar of public opinion, a new judiciary, not erected by a midnight law, nor created to save the people from themselves, *but to protect their rights*, we bring our cause, and are sure of an impartial decision.

It is well known that men, who keep great books and who have many clerks, are very particular in their charges, and sometimes arbitrary, when they know that the debtor will not dare to dispute them. Men, who keep neither books nor clerks and who rely wholly on the other party, are in the habit of paying all which

they can spare from the earnings of each year, to be careless about seeing whether it is passed to their credit, to believe that their accounts are about equal, and after a long lapse of time their whole estates are insufficient to atone for their credulity, their liberty is taken and there is an end of them. The certain danger of delay and the rapidity with which the unionists are adding to their charges induces us to close the account at this time.

On Oyer of their books the first charge against the republicans is the rebellion, which Satan endeavored to excite in heaven, which was overpowered by Michael and his angels. Here the prince of the power of the air is considered as the head of our firm, and we are charged with a design to dethrone the king of kings, to usurp his dominion and to make pure spirits submissive to our infernal wills. These are the very words of the charge, and our only credit is the loss of heaven, which, considering our tempers, the unionists regard as of small account.

The second charge is the fall of man. Here we are represented as in the form of a serpent, using subtlety to deceive the woman. In this charge the unionists recognize themselves in the person of Adam, made in the likeness of God and possessing the purest principles, previous to seduction, and our only credit is the loss of paradise.

The next charge is the death of Abel, who, because he brought of the firstlings of his flock and the fat thereof and offered unto the Lord, is claimed to be of their number, and Cain is placed second in our firm, and our only credit is, that Cain was accursed from the presence of the Lord and declared a fugitive and a vagabond on the face of the earth.

The next charge is, that all flesh had corrupted its way on the earth, and here the unionists find themselves in the persons of Noah and his family, and our only credit is that we were overwhelmed by the waters of a mighty deluge. These comprise the charges and credits in the first age of the world. In the five succeeding ages between that and the christian æra these unionists recognize themselves in the persons of Abraham, Joseph, Moses and Aaron, David and Solomon, exerting themselves for religion, order and good government, and charge the republicans in the persons of the descendants of Nimrod with building the tower of Babel, in the persons of Pharoah and his host pursuing the chosen people, and in the persons of all, who rebelled against God in the exhibition of the wickedness of their hearts. Here we are credited by the destruction of the tower of Babel, by being drowned in the Red Sea, by being conquered and led into captivity; but in the midst of these charges stands conspicuous that of the Rev. Azel Backus, (in his election sermon*) that Absa-

* I refer the reader to this sermon, as it is a just sample of New-England political preaching.

lom was a republican, and that the same principles, which influenced us to oppose the friends of order, were the same which influenced him in his rebellion against David, and that our arts to win the people were like to Absalom's, when he said, "O that I were made judge in the land, that every man which hath any suit or cause might come unto me and I would do him justice." Here we are credited by having our heads caught in the boughs of a great oak and being taken up between the heavens and the earth, and being deserted by the mule from under us, and being thrust through the heart by the hand of Joab.

In a later book opened by the clerical unionists we find all the old charges and credits brought forward, and the head of our firm is charged with the ruined state of man, which induced the necessity of an atonement; with attempting to bribe the Saviour with an offer of all the kingdoms of the world: then Judas is placed second of our firm in the room of Cain, and we are charged with betraying the Saviour; with persecuting his followers, and opposing his church. Here the unionists find themselves in the characters of the holy apostles, earnestly contending for the faith; and our only credit is, by the stings of conscience, the frowns of an angry God, and the reversion of ceaseless torments.

In the last book of the unionists the whole account is brought forward, and they appear in their proper persons, claiming, under the firm of Adams & Co. to charge us with all the confusions, distresses and expences of the revolution; with opposing the salutary measures of government; with exciting the western insurrection; with enmity to order and steady habits, and with conspiracy against all religion and government. Here no credit is given us for any services in the revolution; for any losses by the funding system; for any imprisonments under the sedition law, nor for all which we have suffered under the ingenious tortures of the mild, pious and benevolent unionists; but we find the balance claimed against us to be immense—and that thousands of rams and ten thousands of rivers of oil will be as insufficient to appease the wrath of the unionists, as it would to atone for offences against the Ruler of the Universe.

On every ground we are induced to make our defence, and though this might be conclusively done by pleading that we were all born in the last century, and that our sphere of action has been very limited: yet if republicans lived in the remotest ages of time and ought to have been thus charged by these unionists, we assume on ourselves the responsibility. We deny generally that Satan, Cain or Judas had a right to involve us in debt, or that the clerical unionists have a right to charge us with those crimes which are common to themselves and us, or which concern only the commerce between God and man. What connection can be shewn between the fallen angels in the act of their making war in heaven and the republicans

of this country, who took a serious part in the revolution, expected a government of equal rights, failed of them, and for expressing their disappointment were consigned to prisons or reproach? What analogy between rebellion against the Creator and opposition to Mr. Adams' administration? what resemblance between General Hamilton and his army and Michael and his angels? Clerical unionists have presented such comparisons! Since the appointment of Mr. Jefferson has destroyed the application of the event of that rebellion, viz. the fall from heaven, we shall be certainly released from this charge.

As to the fall of man we have received no new light on this subject from all the doctrines of federal representation in Adam, and of imputation of sin. We can only say that we had nothing to do with this fall, and that it is enough for us to bear the consequences of it, which have been most dreadfully experienced from the tyrants of the world. We see nothing in the character of Cain in any way resembling ours: for we profess to be enemies to the shedding of blood with or without provocation. Our principles would never have led us to the building of the tower of Babel; we are opposed to costly edifices. We could gain nothing by joining the king of Egypt in pursuing the Israelites; Republicans are never voluntarily found in the armies of kings, especially to arrest those who are flying from oppression. As to the resemblance between Absalom and the republicans, we regard it as a mere effort of wit, intended to shew that the scriptures might mean any thing or nothing. It was high time indeed that judges should have done the people justice; for "judgment had been turned away backward, justice stood afar off, truth had fallen in the streets and equity could not enter." The reverend election preacher, who had been left by the Governor to choose his subject and to *make* his facts must have been awkward indeed not to have been able very aptly to resemble Absalom to any man or set of men, whom he wished to abuse. We claim to be exempted from these charges because no resemblance has been shewn between the agents and us: but surely when we have been called poor, ignorant and depraved, we cannot be suspected of any agency in betraying that Saviour, who came expressly to exalt and to save just such a class of characters, and experienced revilings, persecutions and crucifixion from men, reported to be such as have exhibited these charges against us.

In expectation of a release from such charges, we offer to release the credits, which they have given us, of a fall from heaven, of the loss of paradise, of banishment, of sudden destruction and of eternal ruin.

These unionists have not sought us in ancient history, where we should naturally have been found. They should have sought us among a class of poor untitled men, paying annually, whatever we could gain, to the order of imperious masters. They might have

found us in prison-ships, or chained to the oar, or among heaps of slain in the field of battle. Republicans have not been exalted among the nations. You may find them among the suffering and oppressed of every language and people, never ceasing to endure, so long as political evils were tolerable, and never rising for redress, till resolved to meet all which the force and subtlety of their oppressors could prepare for them.

As all the last class of charges will be subjects of consideration in the 3d part, our summary defence here is, that our interest has been uniformly opposite to the character, which we are said to deserve, and that the charges against us are of so gross and malignant an aspect as must leave on the public mind no other impression than that our accusers have not been restrained by considerations of truth or reason in their attempts to compass our ruin.

Our great misfortune has been, that the vital enemies of republicanism have been our accusers, witnesses against us, our judges and executioners, and that we have never before had a day in court. We improve the first season of a new order of things to exhibit a few charges: and though we might, by reference to history, shew that the world has been extremely distressed by clerical unionists; yet under the present head we could rely on such reference merely as proof that charges like ours have been justly made against a similar class of men.

We find a number of men, settled in the different societies of New-England, professing to be preachers of the gospel of the kingdom, to be successors of those, who were sent forth to teach the gospel to every creature, professing it their business to feed the flock of God, and to bring home lost sheep to the shepherd of souls. We have not suffered them to be destitute as were the first preachers, nor have we, like the Catholic church, deprived them of the comforts of domestic life. They and their families are as well situated as any class of people in New-England, and they enjoy a greater degree of respect, in proportion to their talents and labors, than any other class. Theirs are the firstlings of the flock and the fat thereof, and their support, secured by law, is drawn from all classes of men in proportion to their rateable property. If they would preach the gospel intelligently and leave the politics of this world to civilians, they would be reprobated by no man, they would improve the condition of society, the eye which saw, would bless them, and the ear, which heard, would bear witness of their fidelity: but with all this preparation what have they done for a few years past?

They have established missionary societies in order to "profelyte to a particular faith," the people of Vermont and of the northern parts of the state of New-York and some indian tribes; and several *federal* pastors, contrary to solemn covenant, have left their *unconverted* flocks in order to attend such missions and have then

written just such letters to their employers as all such missionaries had before written and an Evangelical Magazine has been published containing these letters. A single new fact has appeared of late, viz. that one of the missionaries, having written instructions as to the course of his mission, thought it his duty to vary from his instructions, and being in great doubt and after imploring divine guidance, providentially fell in company with the honorable and *pious* Uriah Tracy, whom Mr. Adams had sent on a mission to inspect the western fortifications, and Mr. Tracy concluded that he ought to obey God rather than man. Thus graciously instructed, he broke his orders. This forms one exception from the general remark; but these missionary societies with us are made up wholly of the unionists and if they are not visibly for political purposes, yet the institution of them is not more rational than it is for an husbandman to leave his farm half sown in seed-time and to wander abroad for employment. New-England needs the unceasing, undivided and conscientious services of all its clergy; but such institutions insidiously court the character of that charity, which covers a multitude of sins and are therefore popular. Republicans do not hesitate to declare that they have no respect for the motives, which originate these societies; they find civilians rising into office on the credit of them: their political aspect betrays them. The gospel has no blessedness for the shepherd, who leaves his own flock "to scatter on the mountains." This charge applies more generally to the clergy than any other; many of them (who are really conscientious in their labors) have been drawn in by the plausibility of this measure.

Another, next in political artifice, has been the preaching of sermons against infidelity. These originated in a design to humble republicans. Infidel books did not abound, republicans could not have wished to abolish christianity and not an infidel would have remained on earth, provided the preachers, instead of such war-measures, had sat down peaceably with their hearers, having the testimony that in simplicity and godly sincerity not with fleshly wisdom they had their conversation in the world. Christian lives are the only conclusive arguments against infidel writings; christianity has suffered more by injudicious attempts to defend it than by all attacks against it. The watchman of Israel is abundantly able to guard his church and to cause that no weapon formed against it shall prosper. Those, who are often alarming his followers, pay little respect to his vigilance or his promises.

We next charge the political clergy with regulating their prayers and other Sabbath exercises by the politics of the day, and with publicly promoting known infidels under a pretence of serving the church. Under this head we do not blame them for praying generally for the President and administration of the government, but for their partiality in this service. Surely if the blessings and frowns



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clerical unionists were never converted, that they are in heart infidels of the most dangerous kind, that their praying, preaching and examples tend to infidelity, and that not one of them has ever been improved as the instrument of making a single convert.

If our persuasions are considered as ill-founded, let the political unionist be named (with his own consent) as a real christian, and we offer to join issue on the point of his character, and if comparing it with the gospel and making all suitable deductions for remainders of corruption and evil companions, it shall appear that we have done him injustice, the world will pronounce on us a sentence of exemplary severity. Charging us with infidelity, atheism and all manner of crimes will not be relevant: quotations from Mr. Jefferson's notes will not save a sinking hypocrite, the question is, Are you, reverend mortal, a servant of the king of kings or of the politicians of the day? Where, reverend unionists, was christianity under the last administration? Was it on board of a navy or at Union-camp in Jersey, or was it electioneering in New-England against Mr. Jefferson, or was it at Mr. Adams' levee or at our council board? Where did the unionists exhibit their forces during those four years? Pious preachers were, during this time, preaching the gospel; pious christians were practising christianity; but the clerical unionists were in every political contest, making powerful exertions to restore the old order of things, in which ignorance was to take the lead, fear to follow in its train—honors, wealth and power to grace the rulers, energy to crush opposition, the lords spiritual and temporal to ride the whirlwind and direct the storms and the season of peace on earth and good will to men, to be adjourned to another century and another continent. In those days zeal for liberty was an offence; zeal for toleration a high crime and opposition to the clerical unionists, conspiracy against God, against all religion and government.

We submit our charges against the clerical unionists with a few remarks to the tribunal, on which a decision rests. If there be any of your number with whom sounds and faces pass for religion, and who expect to gain heaven by the testimony of the political clergy, that they have been faithful to *Adams and liberty!* and that they have conformed to the whole routine of federal righteousness, to such nothing can be addressed; but let others dispose of the first impressions on these charges by reflecting what the Jews thought when their chief priests and rulers were denounced—what the Catholics thought, when their holy father and cardinals were denounced. To them it appeared as if all religion would suffer by the conviction of such leaders; yet these leaders with all their shew of sanctity, were hypocrites. After every reformation there is always less *appearance* of religion than there was in the midst of imposture. The first moments of a revolution

are more distressing than the tyranny; the first pangs of amputation greater than the pains which preceded the operation. The state of religion requires a radical application and if you value your altars and your souls more than you do the offices of justices of the peace, representatives, counsellors, &c. you will be in earnest for a reform. The religion of the unionists in New-England is worse than none, and however their vengeance may be directed against the man who declares this; yet the declaration is not less true. He calls them impostors, if they sell the cross for offices or favors. He takes from them the *earthly* rewards of piety, but presents a future crown.

Thousands of freemen, who know their rights, wait your decision and surely if our opponents have left their God and duty, they must expect to abide the mild decisions of reason and common sense, especially when the only penance to be inflicted is an injunction to practise hereafter according to the religion, which they profess to teach.

NO. X.

Combined view of the Unionists in the act of their conspiring against Christianity.

WHERE powerful causes coincide, their natural effect becomes inevitable. I have adverted to ancient connections between similar causes and effects, and for the purposes of the present disclosure have relied on the natural enmity of man to christianity, on the natural course, which this enmity has taken in New-England, and on the general facts illustrating the change of this enmity into *conspiracy*, under the influence of political motives. The names of *all* the unionists might easily have been furnished, with notes under the head of each, shewing his connection with the conspiracy, and the season and motives of his joining it, and the profits, which he has received from it. Should republicans hereafter furnish such a list, every man of them will be found in New-England, and they will be pledged to the accuracy of any billory, which may be connected with the disclosure. In order to such a task we should reduce them to their simple elements by a process, which the gospel has directed; we should regard them distinct from their titles of excellency, honorable and reverend, and nothing more of them would remain than their *works*, evidencing the sincerity of their zeal for the gospel of the kingdom;

“for every tree, which bringeth not forth good fruit shall be hewn down and cast into the fire:—Not every one, who saith, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that *doeth* the will of my Father.” These words express the only legal test-act in Christendom; by them are to be tried the characters of men.

It is not our wish to impress the public with any persuasions of our own faith or infidelity: we take the scriptures as we find them, and regard them as a faithful exposition of this religion, and we claim that those, who profess this religion, shall practise it, instead of merely using it as an instrument of their own glory in the destruction of our cause.

The intrusting of religion to federal or republican rulers is equally antichristian. The invisible kingdom must be in the hearts of believers, and their lives must shew that the gospel reigns within. My absolute knowledge of the men to whom I allude, and the certain hostility of the political temper of church and state to the temper of the gospel, has emboldened me to expose my pages to those exorcisms, *which will prove my charges to be correct*. These church and state religionists are very vindictive, and no man ought to expose himself to their arts of terror, till he has learnt that their power like that of death is limited.

Having hitherto improved scripture language and allusions in illustration of my subject, I shall combine the different views of this part, by regarding satan as the grand conspirator against christianity, and as availing himself in the present case of the passions of men in aid of his conspiracy. That he did this under the first dispensation of the gospel; that he pursued the same policy in the Catholic church, and that he is always exerting himself to establish kingdoms for himself, must be unquestioned.

In consideration of the favor of heaven, during our revolution we had promised to have, in this new world, an equal government and a pure religion. Men often promise, in the season of a storm, what they forget to perform after the danger is over; yet at the season of promising they do not foresee the temptations, which will prevent their compliance. We saw a powerful conspiracy in England against christianity and the rights of men; but discerned not the power and wealth, which rendered the deformity of this conspiracy invisible to their unionists. Passion closes men's eyes against the perception of their own characters, and shuts their ears against the complaints of the oppressed. David discerned not the application of the parable of Nathan, and Saul verily thought that he was doing God service, while he persecuted the church. The defender of the faith, with his apostles in the house of lords, and his civil and military officers, who partook of the sacrament *once a year according to law* as an atonement for exactions and cruelties during the rest of it, considered christianity as in a thriving way: they were in full pos-



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by such quarrelling we should shew a spirit of ingratitude, which is a kingly attribute. We could then insult the remains of our friends by a treaty with a nation, which had eminently succeeded in a similar experiment under the same auspices : and after every thing was prepared, we could raise an army and navy ; then make laws to punish men, who should deny this to be a fair, equal, christian government.

Those, who deny that Satan works in the hearts of the children of disobedience, or that he has offered his temptations to those, who were far more holy and upright than our leaders, must deny at once the truth of revelation. His direct addresses are never made to the body of the people, but to the great men, who can forward his views ; he always bribes them plausibly with wealth and honors, and promises them, in case of acceptance, they shall be as gods ; his uniform aim is to have kingdoms of his own, officered by proud ecclesiastics and ambitious statesmen, to corrupt the church and ruin the world. His plans are full of subtlety, perfectly tempting, always practicable, and it will hardly be pretended that his operations here were under any restraints of nature, grace or climate.

His plan of a new kingdom here was so full of glory for the leaders, for the old tories, for every military man, for every man anxious to be rich, that it was most cordially embraced and most faithfully carried into effect. The revolutionary spirit was gone ; christianity trampled on ; our capital abounded in luxury, and the old soldier was bankrupt. New-England church and state was an old trading house, which readily saw the chances of gain, adopted the new system, and powerful measures were concerted and effected, to add a new kingdom to the lands and tenements of the enemy of man.

Men are willing to hear that Satan operated some centuries ago, or that he is at work in other countries, or in the hearts of their neighbors ; but cannot endure to hear that he is in them and their actions. Federalists, especially after their charges of his dominion over republicans, will not patiently see him followed into their cardinal plans and even into some of their churches : yet such is the course, which the analogies of my subject demand.

It is not proveable that the advocates of the funding system knew under what influence they were acting. They might flatter themselves that their ambition for wealth and honors was consistent with the liberties of the people : but charity would hardly impel us to believe that they considered themselves doing right, when they took from the soldier his earnings, under the false pretence that it was impossible to discriminate between the original holder and the purchaser. The expresses, who rode day and night with letters to and from members of congress, and the agents, who purchased up the paper, while the funding bill was suspended,

had raised up arguments, which all the logic of sufferers could not confute. As all the progeny of that system have been like the fire, it is unnecessary to trace their influences.

I contend that no ordinary impressions could have produced a state of things so antichristian, so antirepublican as the maturity of these plans, under the administration of Mr. Adams, presented. The kingdom was full in view, and the scenes of the drama succeeded each other so rapidly, as even to confuse the actors: yet the names of christian and republican were retained, even though every measure for their support was relinquished.

As the deceiver's process is always to *change the leading men from the characters under which they gained influence, and to conceal this change from those, who are to be influenced*, he contrives to retain their power after their integrity is gone. Hence the measures which were called republican, passed as such among the people, till our government had assumed the form of the British government, and a few changes of names would have made it in fact British.* This was an American kingdom in every thing but name: Republicans would endure no longer, New-England church and state found its energies called into action. Those, who sat in the seat of Moses joined the political clergy, and the conspiracy was embodied. The projects of Satan never disclose their true character at once. Of the monarchical spirit of our government, there was a gradual disclosure from the first measure to the reign of terror, when the bitter enemies of our revolution were projecting or approving the severest measures for our humiliation. From the first dawnings of church and state to the perfect day of conspiracy, there was a gradual disclosure. Satan had ample materials for his work in New-England. Their boasted piety was the least of his concern. *Steady habits* were quite to his purpose; for he understood these magic words to mean no more than "*Every man to his own interest.*" He knew that the paper currency of religion was abundant among the unionists; but that the specie capital was wanting. He always knew the value of professions. He knew that the rich and ambitious were in a state of nature, and as such had every propensity to his cause: He was always sure of their aid, whenever he wished to establish or protect any of his kingdoms. He had all the passions of this world on his side, and nothing opposed to him but humility and poverty, rendered more humble and poor by reason of the long continuance of this union.—

My account of the formation and character of this union has probably led to a perception of all that selfishness, which combines itself in favor of the kingdoms of this world, and to a view of the passions, which insured the aid of New-England in favor of

* See Third Part.

the new kingdom. This selfishness and these passions were expressly called into action by a new paper, entitled the Palladium, in which every real motive was concealed under the following masque of church and state :

“ Should the *infidel*, Jefferson be elected to the Presidency, the seal of death is that moment set on our *holy religion* : our churches will be prostrated ; and some infamous prostitute, under the title of the goddess of reason will preside in the sanctuaries, now devoted to the most high.”

What can all this mean ? Are the editor of the Palladium and its clerical patrons christians ? Was the invisible kingdom of Christ to have the seal of death set on it ? No, it was the very mortal religion of church and state, on which the election of Mr. Jefferson would set the seal of death. It was that profitable church, which ensured to clergymen influence without grace, and to lawyers promotion without love to their country. It was the church of our clergy-courting senators and members of congress, and counsellors. If religion is left to the nursing care of such men, it could only have been so left in order to afford a conspicuous display of that infinite power, which has promised it an everlasting support. But Mr. Jefferson is President ; the gospel of the kingdom is safe ; the churches are not prostrated, and reason presides in our councils without any heathenish name or attribute ; and it is the ardent hope of republicans that a rational worship will be restored to those churches, which have been prostituted to political prayers and sermons.

From the federal cry about religion, a stranger might imagine that in New-England every church would be supplied with a pastor—that the people would freely part with their temporal goods for instruction in righteousness—that societies would be united—that few preachers would be dismissed—that houses of worship would be crowded by humble, adoring federalists, devoutly joining in prayer and praise, and listening with anxious concern to the words of life—and that at a distance from such occasions of grace, the democrats were embodied under some prince of the infernal legion, bidding defiance to the heavenly host, and striving to drive the Saviour and his humble followers from their territories ; but none of these imaginations would be realized.—It is true that there is no want of expence in building and decorating houses of worship : the unionists are ambitious enough in these points for very obvious reasons ; but in settlement of ministers there are frequent disputes about his theories and amount of salary. This last is often poorly paid, and not unfrequently diminished. Removals and exertions to remove are abundant. The abstract doctrinal preachers, who generally take the lead, are the coldest of all cold instructors. Their *federal* hearers do not appear as anxious to attend worship, or as devout in it as they do in their pursuit of wealth.



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From every attempt to drag you from your strong holds, you fly to meeting-houses, ordinances, church music, laws against Sabbath breaking, and fasts and thanksgivings; but all these are not religion. Your life, professor, must shew that you are governed by better motives than you were born with, and your light must shine before men. The life of one pious man sheds more light on the truth of revelation than volumes of sermons against infidelity; one act of charity ennobles christianity more than all your noise about modern philosophy. Never again will you succeed in repelling our charges against you by retorting charges against any of us: personal vindication is out of the question. More than 30,000 freemen of New-England are resolved to drive wandering shepherds back to their folds; noisy professors to practice, and rulers to the art of rising without making the gospel their footstool.

In the victory over Jewish church and state, the veil of the temple was rent in twain, and the rocks burst asunder. The dreadful anathemas of Romish church and state, at the season of the reformation, filled with terror many protestants. Your last agonizing efforts to sustain your union will alarm multitudes; you may for a season diminish our numbers; but the minds of our people will be emancipated, and the New-England union of church and state will be divided into two unions, each equally friendly to religious and civil liberty.

NO. XI.

Review of the past Numbers, addressed to the People.

YOU have nothing to gain by imposture, hypocrisy and church and state union. You seek no promotion—you wish your rights secure, your government directed to this object and your religion undisturbed, and you do not covet any false alarms on these subjects. This world is to you important in a variety of concerns; the other infinitely so: religion is necessary for your well-being in both, and hypocrisy is the most deadly enemy of christianity, which is doubtless the religion of your choice. If you have been in the habits of observation and reflection for a few years past, you will know that what I have written is true. *Hypocrisy and practical infidelity have characterized our church and state union, which has had the exclusive gift of offices, and the entire control of our religious and political concerns.* You have seen the basest of men bow before this union and receive, in reward for their homage, offices

proportioned, not to their religion, but to their ability to serve the league against God and our country. You have seen Sabbaths devoted and sanctuary privileges prostituted to these men: and where is your joy or hope or crown of rejoicing! How long can this state of things last? Will it land you on the shores of heavenly rest? Or is it that comfortable broad road of public life which leads to destruction? Pause well and consider the real state of religion in your country. Infidelity does abound, and many of you have been nursing and feeding it with your votes. Say, on your oaths, which will God choose for his people, those humble Methodists, Baptists, and other dissenters from privileged orders, who have hardly a place to worship God, or those proud sultanlike professors, who demand a contribution of votes from every house of worship which they deign to visit?

Let not sounds nor words nor faces nor drefs deceive you. A little practice will enable any man to appear gifted in prayer—to use solemn tones and words—to look gravely, and to dress in black. These do not all constitute the hidden man of the heart. Habit has a great effect on most minds; but never carry the enthusiasm of habit as far as did a devout Catholic. “Take from us,” says he, “our crucifixes, our images, our lights, incense and the solemn exteriors of worship, and you destroy our religion.” Never let it be said of your religion, that you know nothing of it, except what you can see of it. External acts are the natural expressions of affections; but mere external acts, not accompanied with practices, demonstrating the existence and sincerity of those affections, are good for nothing: yet on the destruction of these externals have your alarms been falsely excited by political religionists. They have said, that your meeting-houses and bibles would be burnt; but if the destruction of places, where they might dispose of their marketable religion would ruin them, be it your consolation that nothing can destroy christianity. It stands on the rock of ages.

If in a lapse of years, some inventions of men have been added to the institutions of God, be not offended that men observe them; but if they avail themselves of such observances to insult you, set this down as an evidence of their hypocrisy and sacrilege. Pure and undefiled religion deserves your practice, homage and respect; but hypocrisy and double-dealing deserve your abhorrence.

If you have any present wish for public confidence, repress it; for the most perfect character for pure christianity will not bring you nearer to it than the most open infidelity. These church and state dealers will never promote you, unless you turn your religion into their stock. That righteousness which flows not out in votes is not to their purpose. You will survive this state of things. That spirit of toleration, which is pervading our country will destroy all privileged orders. Young, ambitious infidels, who have

lately joined church and state, in prospect of the temporal glory to be revealed, will be astonished at the overwhelming of the unionists; and whenever this crisis shall arrive, the great cry of the ship-wrecked adventurers will be, that christianity is ruined forever. This is precisely the cry, which every impostor, since the days of the Saviour, has used, when his impiety was detected. Till the moment of detection he contents himself with crying, "the church is in danger of ruin." These two exclamations, neither of which was ever used by a true christian, and neither of which is or ever was true, will designate the artful, deceitful hypocrites, who, after robbing men of their rights expire with a lie in their right hands.

If christianity needs the support of civil institutions, it has not come from God. If the head of the church delights to protect it, he will not lose that delight for the political promotion of our officers of government. The men, who are constantly crying, "we are pious, we are holy, christianity depends on us, our political opponents are vile, wicked and depraved," are the last men to be entrusted with the defence of a religion, in which he, who thought most humbly of himself, was to be the greatest in the kingdom of heaven.

If you have the least propensity still to adhere to these men, recollect that the same propensity in the Jews to respect a class of men, just like your leaders, brought your Saviour to the cross; that a misguided zeal delayed for centuries the reformation; that imposture is slow in letting go its hold of its subjects, and that if you wish for religious and civil liberty, you must make one spirited effort. What though the ecclesiastical and political associates of this church and state union be powerful in talents; and sustained by their deceived followers, appear as a mighty forest, yet rejoice in this,

"That an axe is laid unto the root of the trees, and that every tree, which bringeth not forth good fruit shall be hewn down and cast into the fire."

Had the members of this union contented themselves with the ordinary profits of hypocrisy, they might have been unnoticed; but when our rights are attacked; when the country, in which we are to spend a part of our being, is to be gradually subjugated, as others have been, it becomes our duty to drag the monster of hypocrisy however ferocious, into open day, and to risque present ease and safety for the certain benefit of exposing him in all his deformity to the public. To reason coolly with the members of this union and to pray them for the sake of religion and the good of man to desist would answer no purpose. A war of opinions must be raised against them: you must take from them the public confidence and the public honors. No man ought to regard this subject with indifference; or to stay his hand, because the friends of



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days, when a dark cloud threatened to overspread the morning of our national existence. See with what rage these men retain all the power, which they can hold ; how they avenge the removal of their adherents ; how they decry and oppose the will of the nation, how they even threaten their southern brethren—talk of civil war and dismemberment, and all this in the name of order, which they despise, and of Jesus, whose cause they have wounded.

The zeal in one class of men to have dominion over the rest has appeared in every country. It is inseparable from the hearts of proud men. Those, who seek this dominion will always deny it. Call them monarchists or hierarchs, they disclaim your terms ; but in every nation, where there are men, this spirit walks in darkness as a pestilence—and though its operations are subtle, yet in every country you may as surely find its origin in an union of church and state, as you may trace vegetation to the earth.

Cast your eyes through the country and discern by the true light, whether my views are correct. Do you see any violently inveighing against infidels and infidelity ? Such have never been in the way with Jesus, for he wept even over Jerusalem, the citadel of his enemies, and would have gathered its inhabitants, as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings ; he ate with publicans and sinners, and on his cross prayed for his enemies.—Do any talk loudly about their own holiness, virtue and piety ? So did the Pharisees : But Paul, in humility, said “ I am not meet to be an apostle.” Do preachers become busy-bodies in political concerns ? But the Saviour’s direction was, “ Go preach the gospel.” Are any working, with over-heated zeal, in church concerns, and striving to humble their christian brethren ? But the Saviour directed that he, who was without sin, should throw the first stone, let such set their own houses in order. Wherever you pursue your enquiries you will find that now, as formerly, the proud and boasting, the elevated and conspicuous seekers of power have no religion ; they wash carefully the outside of the cup and platter, and make a fair shew to be seen of men ; but the meek will inherit the earth, and the poor and persecuted will be heirs of the kingdom.

This charge of conspiracy against christianity will bear your strictest scrutiny ; your conviction of its truth will be strengthened by every enquiry into its merits. Such conviction will disclose the duties which devolve on you as men and christians, which duties you will have the virtue to assume and the fortitude to discharge. Never will you make the place of your own feet glorious, till you take from these unionists the earthly profits of professions. “ Never will your vines increase their fruit, nor your olives their fatness, till the paths of their feet be covered, and the work of their hands destroyed.”

THIRD PART.

CONSPIRACY OF CHURCH AND STATE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

NO. I.

Introductory View of this Conspiracy.

TAKING nature for our guide we shall find the unionists conspiring against the poor man's government under the influence of the same passions, which led them to conspire against the poor man's religion.

The history of the world presents two classes of men, as distinct in their motives and means, as if they were of an entire different species of being; and formed of different materials.

1st. The body of mankind, honest and industrious, contented with a little, laboring hard to support a class of men, who are always promising to bring them to a degree of happiness and independence, which they have never seen and never will see, if they trust such promises; fighting when they are told that religion or their rights are in danger; trembling before court-martials; mounting the scaffold, when the pride of a courtier or the petulance of a midshipman requires it; dying when they are bid to die; drawn by the force of fraud, falsehood and passion, from the mild government of their heavenly Father, under the dominion of men, who fear no power but that of death, and no enemies but the intrepid asserters of the eternal rights of men.

2d. The lordly tyrants of the world, known by different titles; *the well-born*, scorning the lowly task of the Saviour, who had a feeling of human infirmity, because he took upon him our nature. These great men know not the value of labor nor the stings of poverty, nor the sense of danger, nor the tenderness of affection, which binds together those, whose sphere of action is limited. These tyrants bind heavy burdens on the people; talk of millions of debt with as little concern as the people do of pence; declare war with perfect composure, and assume on themselves to answer

for the blood of the slain, as if they considered the books of record to be forever closed, and as if a season would never arrive, when the sea would give up its dead. They enter peaceable families and drag their hopes into the field; desolate villages and destroy their thousands, and when vengeance says it is enough, they pray that swords may be turned into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks, and that nations may learn war no more. The war serves as an apology for an increase of taxation, and having before taxed all which the labor of man produces, they tax the light which heaven bestows, and if discontent arises by reason of oppression, another war is declared in order to hush the tumult.

Thus wars are excited under pretence of serving the kingdom of peace, and all the rights of mankind are violated under a pretence of advancing those rights. Every thing has always been in danger; these men have affected to avert the danger, and the state of things has, under their management, been always growing worse: yet these pilots, who are always steering among the rocks, are still at helm, and multitudes of listless men, whose all is at stake, say, "let the ship sink, we are only passengers"—and this stupid confidence is among the "*steady habits*," which receive the constant eulogy of the great men.

Such is the history of the world—on the one hand an easy, unsuspecting confidence, and on the other a bold and daring assumption of all power, human and divine; and through these two causes the earth has been filled with artificial miseries, and the souls of those, who have been slain, have been crying, "How long, O Lord, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?"

When our declaration of independence was penned, all these facts were known and recognized by our people, and Britain was expressly charged with tyranny, and we called ourselves the oppressed. In that day we were resolved to be free and to have a republican government, in which the people were for once to be sovereign, and to take in charge their own rights. By the government, against which I claim that the unionists have conspired, is intended the government for which our revolution was effected; not that republic, which under Mr. Adams, meant any thing or nothing; nor any particular set of men, composing an administration; but *that political system, which has been always denominated republican*.—By the conspiracy charged is intended that portion and kind of enmity against such a government, (arising from the same motives, and conducted by as insidious means) which animated the court of St. James and the British army to conspire against our independence.

My charge will be occasionally illustrated by brief references to measures; but my principal reliance will be on the operations of nature and the system of passions, which have always sustained the



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questions or will you refer it to the mild editor of the church and state paper, the Palladium?—Or is it expected that thirteen republican States shall yield to three federal States, and acknowledge themselves wrong in all their opposition to federal measures? Will they restore the favorite measures of the last administration? And will they acknowledge, that their principles led to anarchy, and to conspiracy against all religion and all government?

I see no middle ground, where the parties can meet without losing their political existence. If no principle distinguished them, and the only contest was about words, both are too destitute of integrity ever to trust or be trusted.

The greatest zealots for *conciliation* are generally a class of men, who would not yield a single point of opinion to be at peace with the whole world. All nature must bend to them and they will be *conciliated*. There is a small number of our unionists, who, though they feel all this impression, yet have the address to win, *by insinuating manners and smooth language*, the people into a persuasion that they would yield and sacrifice every thing to harmony and the federal union: but if you push these men a little beyond their speed on any cardinal point, they will shew that they are among our most dangerous enemies. They betray with a kiss—I like no such blandishments. Republicanism can never thrive by accessions of men, merely dissatisfied with a few measures, nor by accessions of doubtful men, nor by men affecting to yield up their federal principles on motives of conciliation. It must rest on its own basis and depend for force on this fact, that *the body of mankind in every country are radically republicans, and that they will always act as such, whenever they are redeemed from the terror or impostures, with which the unionists have invested them.*

If it be true that republicans are conspiring against *all* government—or if the federal leaders are conspiring against *our* government, the idea of conciliation is out of the question, until one party shall come forward and avow that they have been pursuing, with the worst of nations, the worst of ends.

But the object to be gained by conciliation is an incorporation of 3-16th of federalism with 13-16th of republicanism, and with such a discordant mixture all is to be right, and there are to be no more parties! Can any man calculate that there will ever be more unanimity in the country than there now is? The federalists roar like lions and say that there is great confusion; but can we expect that more than 13-16th of the United States will be in favor of any administration? Unanimity is gained as far as could have been expected; but a conciliation with men, who employ daily their tongues, pens and services to promote dissention; to vilify the President; to abuse the republicans, is neither to be expected nor desired. “Let them eat of the fruit of their doings and be filled with their own devices.”

Forgetting and forgiving the offences of the *penitent* has excellent effects in private life ; but extend it to imperious nations and you bid a bounty on every kind of violence. If Great-Britain, after burning our towns and slaughtering our brethren, had no other arguments to offer for our forgiveness, but the fineness of her cloths and the generosity of her credit, and yet these were accepted by our leaders, it was a cheap way of settling for blood. There is much of diplomatic dignity in such work ; but what is the consequence to the world ? Dismal wars and commercial treaties at the end of them ! The common people bleed by thousands, and their leaders close the account by a treaty. If the making of offensive war had outlawed Britain among all nations ; if no nation would afterwards have dealt with them, far different would have been the condition of the world ; but the great ones of a nation must have access to the first markets, and commerce must annihilate the principles of a righteous defence against oppression.

It was politically glorious to invite those Americans, who had assisted the British in distressing us, to settle in our towns with their ill-gotten gains ; but it was a cruel insult on those, who had suffered ! it was bidding a bounty on treachery ! it was sowing the soil of freedom with the seeds of monarchy ! It may be glorious to cherish the adherents of the last administration, who ceased not day and night to distress us ; glorious to embrace those, who imprisoned us, and to love those, who charged us with the tempers of assassins, and who still continue to oppose us ; but to others be this glory ; every true republican will regard them as “ *monuments of the safety, with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it.*”

NO. II.

History of the Conspiracy of the Unionists against our Government.

AT the accession of Mr. Jefferson to the presidency, twenty six years had elapsed since the commencement of our revolution, and during this period the whole of the human character had discovered itself, and some of our *self-styled* holy men, and many of our *self-styled* federal civilians had performed the routine of all their artifices upon a well-disposed people. We will take a view of the unionists from each noticeable point of the above period. In my seventh number of the first part, it was remarked that church and state was once in a small way of traffic. This

was the case at the opening of our revolution. Their little arts had been played over and over again, without affording much profit or amusement. The idea of going to heaven or leading others there without taking a good portion of this world on the road never occurred to our unionists. Had Britain offered them as much of wealth and honors as they could calculate to gain by a revolution, our weapons of war would have continued to be instruments of husbandry and we should have been under the moderate domination of masters abroad, instead of having been under the severe dominion of our own brethren. The unionists pourtrayed in glowing colors the intolerance, irreligion and tyranny of the British—the public temper was excited; yet the burdens complained of were laid on by a legitimate government, which protected us, and they bore no proportion in point of weight to those, which we since endured; but liberty of conscience was to be gained and political liberty and a thousand other blessings, which have only lived in political sermons and songs. The events of the war were various, and the unionists were forward enough in praying and in giving words of command, and the people who were to be elevated to the rank of freemen were brave enough in fighting.

Had the unionists told our army at the northward, “In a few years you will have new stamp-acts and excise,” Burgoyne might have marched with 5000 men through the country. Had they said to our brave army at the siege of York-Town, “In a few years stockjobbers will be rioting on the fruits of your labors,” the siege would have been raised, and Cornwallis might have taken possession of the country. Had the country anticipated a treaty with Britain, a quarrel with France or the diplomatic masquerade of 1798, they would have laid down their arms—or had one of the numerous expresses, who rode the country with tidings to an anxious people, have said, “In a few years, men, who publicly deride the very term of republicanism, and who treat with abhorrence the rights of men, will be at the head of your affairs; the diplomatic fops of all nations will throng your courts; tories will be in your senate, and the liberties for which you are now contending will be bartered for silks and broadcloths;” the friends of such an express might have sought him and not a hair of his head would have been found. The little dealers in scraps of Barruel and Godwin (the waiters of our great men) conceive not of the ardors of that day, when the inhabitants of an extended country resolved on freedom or death; nor do they conceive of the intelligent force with which such ardors will be directed against those, who have put their machinery in motion.

During our revolution, church and state did not sleep; all its passions were operating for future advantage: little indeed did it dream of Zion or of the liberties of mankind. Church and state embosomed at that moment all those propensities, which impeded



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government on this side of the water, and as they had been the leaders, they led the people no further.

Had a government been formed at this season, it would have involved all the principles of the revolution—no tory nor monarchist would have had a seat in the convention—no plan of a *limited monarchy* would have been brought forward—no provision would have been made for diplomatic agencies—no great national plans provided for; but the states being secured in their separate sovereignties, the general concerns would have been left in a general depository. It is impossible to decide what form it would have assumed, it is enough that it would have been the legitimate child of its parent. How would a legislature, fitting at that time, have succeeded in establishing a funding system, to deprive the soldier, whose wound was yet bleeding, of his hard earned commutation? How would the proposal of a British treaty have been received? Our unionists well knew that the ardors of the revolution must abate, before they could advance with their systems. The pretence that the country was not prepared for a regular government is idle: they were prepared for peace, for order, for economy, for political equality, for toleration, and for support of an administration, which was seriously in favor of such a government; but they were not prepared to sacrifice at a stroke the fruits of a revolution. They were not prepared to bid an eternal adieu to the hopes, which had sustained them through an eight years war.

The people, whom the federal leaders have since called and treated as a miserable rabble, who needed a corps of judges to save them from their worst enemies, *themselves*, were then their own best friends. The revolution had given a keenness to their perceptions: they saw the arts, by which foreign courts held in subjection their people, and they had no calculations but of loss by any great plans which might be led up here. They did not wish for them. A private man, who does not expect promotion, and who is willing to admit domestic and social happiness among the articles, which compose the aggregate of political blessings, never wishes to see his country the richest, most populous, most warlike and powerful nation on earth. Every thing, which constitutes national greatness, sinks the citizen: he pays for every article of this greatness more than his dividend of it is worth. Can the navies of his nation spread terror on the ocean? Can its armies spread desolation through the earth? Are its ministers highly respected at foreign courts? Are its counsellors eloquent? Does its president keep a splendid levee? What then? We, the people are neither admirals nor generals—our money must support our great men, and our sons must supply those armies and navies. Had our declaration of independence expressed our zeal for such a course, the war would have been instantly at an end. But in

the midst of all these great plans, in what obscure corner of the country is the religion of us common people to be nursed? Surely *not in our hearts*, if we approve such measures; and as surely our clergy are not to nurse it, if they pray for men, who advance such measures. Why were we placed so distant from Europe, if by treaties we are to stretch our arms across the Atlantic, and to embrace her courts and her vices?

At the season which we contemplate, our people knew all these things, and the impressions of the people were known to the leaders; but their's was a course of national glory, and the season had not arrived for laying the foundation of it. If a pure republic is ever established, it must be at a time, when the public mind is not corrupted; when it has virtue enough to sacrifice the tempting baubles of present splendor to the substantial interest of the present and future generations. The principle of virtue may be generated in a single mind by reason of reflection; but public virtue results from some occasion powerful enough to overwhelm the passions, and this virtue will abate, as it advances from its producing cause. To the revolutionary eye of the people, it was clear that to a nation the avoidance of evil communications, the habits of economy, peace and humanity, with moderate wishes, were as necessary as to an individual: that the plans of monarchs and the principles of republicanism could not coincide, and that any attempt to enjoy the blessings of the last, under the auspices of the first, must be unsuccessful.

The unionists well knew that the public memory soon fails; that public passion, when ceased to be blown, soon expires, and that a few years would change the aspect, and therefore delayed to come forward with the great plans, which were to annihilate the principles of the revolution; to domesticate the power which we had acquired; to reduce the people to the European standard of dependence, and to elevate themselves above all control, except the nominal power of elections, in which their management was to deprive the people of volition and choice.

In this connection you will not fail to see the line, which distinguishes between the interests of the common people and those of their leaders—the advantages, which these last may take of the first—and the cautious manner in which the unionists watched the relapse of public ardor in order to compass their ends. *The lion crouching for his prey*, was the attitude of church and state during the five years succeeding our revolution.

History of the Conspiracy of the Unionists, continued.

IN my last number I have spoken freely of the unionists, as having interests distinct from the body of the people. For this I might rely on former explanations; but it may be well to notice definitely this distinction of interests, because it forms the basis of this conspiracy.

It will not be pretended that the union of church and state, as it existed when our revolution commenced, could have any systematic calculation of *specific* benefits, or that every member of them contemplated individual interest; but nature will act itself. The young lion roars after his prey, even before he knows what branch of business he is to follow, and before he has strength enough to secure his prey, if it was in his reach. We have multitudes of young unionists, who roar about religion and steady habits, and jacobinism and anarchy, who have no ideas attached to their words. They make a great noise about national strength and the *moral force of federalism*. They have learnt these notes from some one, and they serve as discordant expressions of some inward feelings. They have **no** meaning in all this, except that they intend to gain advantage of mankind, as others have done before them, and that when they gain their strength they will do their portion of mischief.—Some men are born with greater conceptions of themselves than others; they conceive themselves to possess superior mental or personal accomplishments, which entitle them to a Benjamin's mess of political blessings. Some boast of superior lineage and affect to be *well-born*. Some are descended from opulent parents. Some have been in the habit of receiving more than their share of respect. Various causes conspire to raise a certain set of men in their own estimation above the level of mankind. These are unionists, and they associate together for the purpose of securing that superiority, which they claim.—Death settles all these accounts with infinite exactness, and places on a *level* in the earth those, who ought to have been on a level upon its surface.

This was a revolutionary sentiment and by it was intended that *political equality, which balances many of the artificial and unavoidable inequalities of life*. Imperceptible as may be the point of distinction to be taken on this sentiment; yet at this point the friends and enemies of our revolution took their departure from each other. The people did not contend that the man, who was possessed of an ample property, should divide it equally with one



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sed the body of the people in every age, and the blood of millions has been shed in contest about it. When the curse was pronounced on Adam that the earth should bring forth thistles and thorns, and that in the sweat of his face he should eat his bread, he doubtless considered it a hard case; but his was a blessed condition, compared with that of millions of his posterity, who in the sweat of their faces have been obliged to gain bread for others to eat: they have sown that others might reap, and their wine and their oil have made the hearts of others glad, and the faces of others to shine, while they have been left to hunger, sadness and despair.

Early and most seriously did the enemies of the common people, (whom heaven has in wrath sent abundantly into every nation) undertake to contend *that he, who earned bread, should not eat it*, and at the opening of our revolution they had completely gained their point in every nation of Europe. The common people had indeed the crumbs, which fell from their master's tables and paid most severely for the indulgence. The original curse had descended exclusively on the common people and no part of it reached their lords. These took the bread and left the thistles and thorns to the laborers, and had even formed systems, on which they rested the righteousness of this distribution. The body of the people, which term includes 9-10ths of them, originally possessed the soil as tenants of the great Proprietor, and with a knowledge of their rights might have kept these lords under such allowances of bread, as would have tamed their natural imperiousness; but through various causes these lords claimed the soil, either in virtue of conquest or artifice, or because they had the honor to descend from an illustrious race of ancestors, who owed their first glory to the extent of impositions, which they had practised on mankind. These lords gave portions of the people's bread to such of their number as would join them in arms, and thus completed by force, what had been begun in fraud, and the glorious system of feudal tenures was a declaration of the rights of the lords in consequence of a boundless system of wrongs.

The body of mankind once humbled and disarmed, lose their natural force, forget that they were made but a little lower than the angels, take their rank among the brutes, and assume that very attitude that gives keenness to the contempt, which their masters feel for them. After such premises we are not to wonder at the state of oppression in Europe—at the vast power, wealth and magnificence of their kings, princes and hierarchs, nor at the readiness with which these obsequious slaves look up to the will and pleasure of their masters. What ambitious men would join such a servile, contemptible group? Who would advocate the rights of those, who had no spirit to assert their rights and who would sooner join an army, whose object was their own total humiliation, than to join a band of men resolved on death or liberty? Who

would plead for men, who would reply the arguments of their masters? When man sinks below his being, he sinks lower than any other animal. A man, born free and who tamely submits to slavery, is unspeakably contemptible.

But the height of this state of things did not appear at first. The father, who lost his freedom, felt through life as if he had suffered wrong. The son had heard of the oppression from his father: he felt something of it; but what the eye does not see, the heart does not distinctly feel, the impression abates, and after a few generations the heir apparent of the miseries of society comes into the world a slave, he looks like a slave in every feature, he feels like a slave, his first impression is that he came into the world to labor in the service of others, to obey his masters and to return to dust when he is ordered to do so. He patiently repairs to that part of his lord's lands, where he is to have the honor to encounter thistles and thorns, and as patiently leaves his labor to follow his lord into the field of battle. Through thick ranks of needy dependants on royal favor, he seldom sees so far as to his majesty's throne, and through ranks of proud prelates he never sees to heaven. As his body is under the dominion of systems, so is his mind. He never dreams of toleration: the height of his ambition is to know what he is to believe, and if the creed comprehends thirty-nine articles or ten times that number, it is all of a piece to him; he believes the whole of it. As to liberty he has no conception of it. In such a view of things, the words *political equality* and *the majesty of the people* are ridiculous. There is neither equality nor majesty predicable of a set of beings, who have no power, no will, no choice, and who have lost the spirit to assert their right to bread, founded in the act of earning it.

Such was the condition of England at the opening of our revolution, and predicated on this condition were all the systems of policy, legislation, ecclesiastical and legal relations, which informed the minds of that class of our people, who become learned by knowing what other men, fallible as themselves, had published, and such is the basis of the European political tracts, out of which our young unionists now learn their lessons. Britain was above the rest of Europe by reason of occasional revolution, remnants of charters, the eloquence of patriots and the superior light of philosophers, who could discern through the gloom some possibility of a republican government; but their ideas were regarded as visionary. Though free from monkish darkness; yet with a weight of debt the poison of systems had wrought throughout the frame of Britain, and the remnant of her religion and liberties were under the control of men, who hate both in proportion as each is hostile to all their pride. Thus Britain, exhibited the two classes of *lords* and *people*, though the characteristic difference was less distinct than in the kingdoms on the continent.

When Britain offered us the wager of battle on the question, "Whether he who earnt bread should eat it," the *people* of America deliberately decided to accept it, and it was the *people*, represented in congress, who declared our independence, and the title of an American republic will always be, "We the people of the United States." By that revolution the people recovered from the contempt and humiliation in which they had been held, regained their majesty and assumed to transmit this character to posterity.

The establishment of the simple proposition, "that he who earnt bread should eat it," changed the whole face of society, and the people were to issue the allowances instead of receiving them from their lords. The consequence of experiment on it would have been the ruin of all, who calculated to live and be wealthy without rendering services to society. Before it would have fled all excessive emoluments—much of the expences of litigation, and instead of looking up to the heights for wealth, and for splendor among men exalted above service, we should have fought for competence among the people. No inordinate taxes, to support useless expences, would have driven the citizen to be anxious for high prices at the expence of other nations. The idolatry of wealth and magnificence, and the contempt of poverty and plainness, which stimulate courts to impoverish a country, demoralizes a people and ensures their degradation, and whenever the great men can command all the wealth of a country the people will be slaves, and a set of artificial principles will take place of those derived from nature and reason.

But our people had discovered that the great men, who in other nations had robbed men like themselves and continued to oppress them, had no superior claims to respect, and that dukes, earls and even kings rather deserved the execration than the homage of the multitude. They ceased to estimate men by their titles or wealth, and high birth and low birth were of equal rank. Murders and robberies appeared to them as dreadful in high life as in low life, and they saw no extenuation of crime in a commission to commit it. Strip our world of its rattles and ribbons and where is all its grandeur? And if these constitute the nobility of man, what is he?

An experiment on such an unfashionable revolutionary sentiment would have shocked every delicate nerve and alarmed every man, who dreaded equality with his fellow-mortals as a premature death.

But mere personal freedom was not the only object: the mind of man had been enslaved for centuries, and its strongest fetters had been put on by the clergy. Toleration became a favorite theme and the people resolved that religion was a connection between God and man; that as every man was to render account for himself he ought to think and decide for himself, and that the mind ought always to be balanced by the greatest weight of evi-



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of men composing them. When experience is opposed to our passions, we reason and practise against its precepts, vainly calculating that our superior wisdom or good fortune will guide us clear of the evils, to which the same practices have exposed others. Nations will hazard political experiments, which have uniformly destroyed other nations. The first article of notice under this head will be, *the devotion of our people to great men.*

All history had shewn that the interest of these was wholly opposed to that of the people. Reflection taught that with every check and restraint they would gain more than their share of power and wealth. The whole providence of God shewed that there was no particular connection between great talents and goodness, and the history of redemption taught that there never would be. Great men will do well enough, if they are not overfed; but such is the constitution of man that if you overload him with wealth or power, you ruin him. You may always trace not only the calamities but the ruin of nations to great men, and no man would look among the common people for the source of political mischiefs; *but our great men were better than those who had gone before them.* This impression has been the bane of all before us. What nation ever dared to think lightly of its great men? Will the French people dare to think lightly of Buonaparte and his associates in the consulate?—No! in full confidence that his goodness is equal to his bravery, they will establish him for life. He will then shew them some samples of greatness, and they will shew him in return free access to a country, where there are no consuls *for life.*

The servility of the human character under this head has been a dreadful impediment to freedom. A man cannot be sovereign who feels like a slave; a people cannot be sovereign, who feel as if they ought to have masters. An intelligent firmness resting on principle, must accompany a sense of sovereignty in any people, and this firmness can never be gained but in the season of a revolution. When men begin to reason themselves into fortitude, their fears rise more rapidly than their arguments. A short history of this respect for great men will shew at every stage of it the extent of this impediment to republicanism.

Our ancestors had seen enough of great men in the events which drove them from their native country, and surely could not respect their motives; but when the minions of his majesty came over here with their stars and garters,* they were treated as a superior order of beings: The records of that day shew a servility towards his majesty and his majesty's ministers, and his majesty's governors, inconsistent with republicanism. Our great men (for we had a few of them in that day) spoke with great reverence of

* The bed, on which Sir Edmond Andrus lodged in New-Haven, and the chair, in which he sat, have been preserved with great care, while chairs and beds, which have contained better men have gone to decay.

those men, whose systems they abhorred, and the common people treated them with a kind of homage. The bibles in use were dedicated to the *Dread Sovereign, most high and mighty Prince James*: the prayers were full of compliments to the royal family, and it was not unfrequent to recite all their names in a petition to the throne of grace: the magna charta was esteemed a most gracious boon, and charters were received with the profoundest submission. Rivers paid tribute to the ocean; but in society all was reversed, the people paid tribute to the lords, and those, who were the source of all power, and who might have granted a commission to the king to serve them, so long as he behaved well, or during their good pleasure, very humbly received charters from him, and most obsequiously bowed themselves to the earth in thanks for the *privileges*, which he had graciously condescended to bestow.

That power which raised Lazarus from the grave, was alone able to raise our people from this servility and to place courage in their hearts to assert their eternal rights against these great usurpers. It stands on our records that this power produced the courage, directed our armies and secured our independence, for purposes, infinitely variant from those, which have been pursued by our great men. The same records give no intimation, that we were redeemed from foreign to domestic oppression; from British armies, navies, sedition, alien and stamp acts, to similar measures of our own; from British balances to the miserable balances of Zug, Appenzel and St. Marino; * from the abuses of justice in English courts, to excessive expenses and delays in our own; † from British to American hierarchies; but we were to be a people, “saved of the Lord, zealous of good works.” When a republican contemplates what Americans expected to have been, and reflects on the use to which their great men applied their revolution, he will discern their characters.

But the great men said that it was high time for a revolution; the *people* saw no more of evils than they now do: (the restraints of civil and religious liberty are invisible) the *people* fought, paid and bled; but the great men contemplated objects, wholly inconsistent with the sovereignty contended for. If their after conduct did not prove this to be true, the man, who charges them with conspiring against republicanism, deserves public execration. This after conduct will be noticed in its place; but at present we will leave the people struggling for emancipation from personal and mental servility, and will contemplate a collateral impediment, viz. the concealed passions of our unionists. These did not die; they only slept during the revolution, and they had confused dreams of future national greatness. The sleeping lion has lost none of his powers of destruction.

* See Mr. Adams' Defence of the American Constitutions.

† If any lawyer wishes to call me out on this subject, he will find me perfectly at home.

Where in that day was the aristocracy of those clergy, whose influence balanced the overbearing democracy of Connecticut? * Where was the aristocracy of the bar and the compting-house? At a season, when the universal cry throughout the continent was, "Where liberty dwells, there is my country," the selfish passions were prudently silent, political equality prevailed, and a general government, issuing from the revolution, was contemplated: but what was the case after the spirit of the war had subsided? It was soon discovered that God had made distinctions among men, which societies must recognize, that the *artificial* respect of the clergy must be restored, that liberty of conscience was dangerous to religion, and that civil liberty tended to insurrections. † The ardors of the revolution had abated, professional influences had begun to operate, a convention of the states was railed to form a constitution, and here the sovereign people were called to see AN AUGUST ASSEMBLAGE OF WISDOM, DEBATING ON THE AUGUST CONCERNS OF EMPIRES. The addresses expressing these ideas, and even resting the merits of their measures on these *august* facts, were a lucid commentary on the doctrine of political equality.—Angels view Newton and Locke as we view an ape; probably their views are correct; and if such be the correct views of superior beings; if revelation confirms such views; if experience teaches that in the midst of great knowledge are great errors, and if these men had convened to establish the metes and bounds of their own future greatness, we ought to suspend a little of our idolatry on this *august* subject.

Several of the men were tories, publicly known as such through the war, some were monarchists, some aristocrats, and there were some republicans. They debated on samples of constitutions, differed much, and finally presented a constitution, in which the great men were balanced under the heads of executive, legislative and judicial, and a power of balancing them all by elections was reserved to the people; which balance, if carefully kept entire, would be competent to the purpose; but the bestowment of enormous powers to the three balances and leaving the counterpoise only the dust of a balance heavier than the rest, exposed this last to a diminution of its powers and to an eventual disuse. The recognition of an aristocratic principle was distinct in the six years term of the senate. The appointments of president was left to accident, not to the choice of the people. ‡ Surely it will not be

* See the Encyclopedia under the title, "Connecticut," extracted from Doctor Morfes' Geography

† Shays' insurrection gave rise to this idea, and the enemies of the revolution were expert enough in their management of it.

‡ Electors vote for President and Vice-President without designating; which is intended as the first officer, in consequence of which it may happen that the man, who had not one vote as President may become President. At the last election the candidates were equal, each having seventy-three votes,



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tion. That constitution is the property of a republican people, and they will defend it; but from that *august* assemblage of wisdom they could have wished for more wisdom and for greater respect to the *mare august* assemblage of a free people.

The resolution of the great men to avail themselves of the habitual fervility of man and to deprive the people of their independence only originated in this occasion: Its details are visible at every advance.

To destroy the balance of the people all the sciences of government were introduced in our national councils; rapid discoveries of the wisdom of European governments were made; long speeches were the order of the day, and the people, who knew nothing of Latin and Greek and little of ancient and modern history, and who had no conception of a *republican government, managed by monarchical machinery and operated for the chief benefit of the governors*, were not qualified for a seat in our councils. The language to them was, "Be quiet, trust to us, we have all knowledge, and those, who teach you to distrust us, are your enemies."

A strange state of things was introduced, the people understood nothing about it; but they retained their honest confidence; the political clergy of New-England made rapid conversions to the doctrine of passive obedience, and the age of political mysteries commenced. To aid the opening scene Connecticut sent to congress a senator,* whose politics were so hostile to their revolution, that he had been sent to reside at a distance from the sea coast. The people had no want of respect for his talents or integrity; but could not then conceive how their great men in the legislature should elect him to carry into effect a republican government. The funding system and British treaty, and quarrel with France, were all astonishing to the people: they had no conception, why government should be supported at an enormous expence and why we should court foreign alliances, nor could they see less deformity in an American than in a British excise; but the language was, "Be quiet, great men are at the helm, your blessings will arrive, if you have patience to wait."

But several new discoveries were made, viz. that the object of our revolution was visionary—that a representative of 30,000 people is not in fact their representative, but that he represents all the United States, and that religion was very closely connected with the existing order of things. The first of these propositions was a gross insult on the people—the second was a vital aim at the only power, which the people retained, and the third was wholly mysterious; but the argument was, "Be quiet, great men are at helm." The men, who called the revolution visionary, treated it

* Dr. William S. Johnson.

as such, ridiculed its principles, outraged its advocates and adopted every measure, which could impoverish and humble its friends. When the patriotic republicans were opposing the British treaty, our northern unionists considered it a glorious manœuvre in one of their number* to let loose the Savages suddenly in favor of the treaty and to carry by a war of words a measure, which a world of woes had been indured to prevent. Patiently did our people hear themselves called a mob! a rabble! destitute of sense, their own worst enemies, ignorant of their rights and having only discretion enough to select for their rulers the men, who despised and abused them.

This was a glorious height of character for a people, who were but a few years before founding, "death or liberty." They had escaped a natural death in their contests with Britain, and had the honor to meet a political death and the loss of liberty from men, who affected to support republicanism. The point was gained by the New-England unionists, that the great men should deal out allowances to the people, and the fervility of the people, which the revolution had for a moment removed, was restored under circumstances, promising its perpetual duration:—But there were other impediments to a republican government, which the northern unionists more particularly improved for the subjugation of the people. These will be the subject of the next number.

NO. VI.

Further Impediments to Republicanism, considered.

IT has been already remarked that the unionists hate christianity and conspired against it because it was hostile to their passions and political plans, and that they did this under pretence of regard to it. There is a great consistency in these unionists; they hated republicanism, because it was opposed to their religious systems and to that domination of the clergy, which had always been subservient to their advancement.

To the natural fear of great men was superadded that of the clergy, and this last kind of terror, if it is ingrafted into the young stock, will bud and blossom through life. The greatest science of a clergyman consists in his having realized the depravity of man, his nothingness, his duty to be humble and his destitution of claim

* Mr. Ames.

to the mercy of God or the homage of man. If feeling these things he is personally humble, unsolicitous of applause, ardent for the spiritual good of man, and sensible of his unfitness to guide their political concerns: in fact, if he has modelled his character after the fashion of the New-Testament, he will secure a kind of respect; but how many of them in New-England have been political preachers, zealous for war, for taxes, for imprisonment and for every thing, which could humble the common people.

If christianity is the same as it was in the days of the Apostles, and if republicanism is what it was in the days of our revolution, church and state is neither christian or republican; yet they have the names and forms of both and affect to practice them as far as the state of the society and their own tempers will permit; but this is a kind of conformity, which the spirit of both of them disowns.

Previous to our revolution there were some thousands of men in New-England, who had a religion of the *first day of the week*, and who believed in what the clergyman said on that day. Their children were early brought forward to believe and the out-door religion was abundant; but if any layman undertook to believe for himself or to doubt what he was told, they were all ready to leave their work in order to cast him out of the synagogue. With such impressions we began the revolution, and let the world theorize as they will, the slavery thus induced is never entirely worn off. A man, who is early told that he must believe certain things, and that he must do it at this moment or the door of grace will be forever shut, is very apt to believe; yet his belief under a threat that eternal misery will be the consequence of his doubting, is no better than a promise made under duress or a confession with a bayonet at the breast. The man, who believes a few times in this way loses the freedom of his mind, and he who makes him believe, becomes his master. Men may call this an infidel sentiment; but in my view the man, who professes to believe, and yet his mind has not prevailing evidence of the truth or existence of what he believes is both hypocrite and infidel. In an attempt to deceive others he betrays himself.—But the people were not united in their faith: they had all sorts of creeds; but agreed in this one point, that the clergy of all denominations must be revered, and the clergy of all differing denominations appeared to unite in approving this sentiment.

No harm could follow from this reverence, provided it extended no farther than to a rational respect for them in their professions; but when a kind of infallibility was attached to them even in spiritual concerns, christianity must have suffered by it: the liberty of the Son of God is never gained by any obsequiousness of conscience: but when this infallibility extended to men and measures of government, it was dangerous to civil liberty—and



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quote catechisms as sound theology ; our unionists talk of grace by rote, and even our paragraph writers fall insensibly into testament allusions, without the least intention of paying court to the clergy. We learn from our cradles a number of prejudices, which our mature exertions, added to the ablest reasonings, are unable to abate. With these ideas in view, we shall see the portion of church and state religion, which was woven into the web of our revolution, and hence the impediments to civil and religious liberty, and the ease with which our unionists could always oppose the advances of a republican government.

This impediment being explained, it remains to remark in this number a substantial and durable impediment connected with it, which operates with great force, viz. the resemblance of the government, for which we professed to fight, to the religion, which we professed to approve.

Pure republicanism is as perfectly suited to the political interests of the common people, as christianity is to their spiritual concerns : but it demands such a sacrifice of the passions, such a devotion to the public good, such undeviating regard to justice and peace, that even the common people cannot long preserve it in its purity. Republicanism “delights in the region of civil and domestic quiet, extends its blessings to the fields of labor, and visits those most, who most approve it.” Revolutions produce a season of political virtue in the oppressed, and conceal those passions, which are hereafter to attempt the destruction of their natural effects. The ease of turning this impediment to federal account will be readily conceived.

But we had been under English dominion, and had imbibed many antirepublican maxims of government, which were so entwined with our other knowledge, that it was next to impossible to detach them. It is easier to conquer well disciplined troops than old prejudices, and the task is rendered more hopeless, provided at the moment of our attempting to reduce them a powerful class of men advance to their aid. *The sovereignty of the people*, which is indispensable to republicanism, was a principle too mighty to be adopted in its full force by the people, unless their leaders would precede them in it ; but the leaders secretly abhorred the principle, while in public they affected to idolize it. The world had so long kept servants in chariots and masters on foot, that to change this course required a powerful effort in the public mind. The principle was nominally established ; but its most vital enemies were the stewards of its own household. Connecticut had a republican government of a very simple construction : elections were semiannual and the people enjoyed a kind of sovereignty ; but all the power in operation was so trifling, that the sense of sovereignty was hardly susceptible. A popular sovereignty to be extended throughout the continent, balancing the jarring interests of the

states and subduing aristocracies of talents, wealth and professions, presented embarrassments, not alarming in the season of the revolution, but formidable when this sovereignty was committed to men, whose political existence depend on its destruction.

To these impediments may be added the zeal of our northern people for wealth, for enterprize and for comparative weight in political scales. More of their passions were silenced than subdued. Every blessing of the revolution depended on good management afterwards. A victory is worse than nothing, if you leave the fortresses which you have taken to be garrisoned by the troops which you have recently conquered.

Our artful unionists knew this to be the state of the public mind: they saw the facility of turning it to their account: they felt a cordial enmity to the principle of popular sovereignty. Hence the passions, described in the last number of the first part, were let loose on the principles of the revolution, and a system of measures was commenced, a summary view of which will shew that *our unionists were as hostile to our independence as was the British court.*

NO. VII.

View of the first overt-acts of the Unionists after the Revolution.

I AM not in the habit of believing that the soil, climate and manners of this country are so peculiarly acceptable to the Supreme Being that he has set his affections upon it exclusively; but had this been the case, are we to believe that he would have delighted in making us the greatest and richest nation on earth? The majesty of this world has yielded so little homage to his Divine Majesty that he could take no interest in such an event. He doubtless leaves nations as he does individuals with passions, capable of yielding good, with reason to direct those passions, and has left them to all the evils which result from giving them a wrong direction.

Partiality for our own country should not exclude an admission that in all seasons we have had a class of men, whose feelings and interests were from various causes opposed to those of the people, and that the rights of the people committed to this class will be in danger. Reading and reflection are useful in teaching us to avoid

evils, but it did not require the foresight of Locke or Newton to discern that if at any future day the tories, the monarchists, the political clergy and the civilians dependant on them should harmonize in measures, those measures would be antirepublican.

As there were two classes of men in our country, different in objects, so there were two paths to pursue. One was the narrow and humble path of religion, competence and peace, the delegation of the moderate powers, necessary to such a condition, and the bestowment of confidence on men, "who like the sun would shine not for their own good, but for that of the system;" a perpetual pledge on the part of the rulers to respect the sovereignty of the people and the principles of their revolution—and an undeviating firmness in the people to employ none, who refused to accept of trust on such terms. The other was the high and broad road of national glory. The course of the first was not found in any map of the world nor any page of history. The other was in every map and every history. The first led to the fields of labor, where gains are slow and sure, and the last conducted to a lottery, where an enormous prize and several great prizes conceal from the adventurers the great multitude of blanks and the chances of loss. It was easy to see that the day, on which the last of these paths should be decided on would be a dark day for the friends of the revolution: and such it has proved, "a morning of clouds and increasing in gloom to the close of it."

The advocates of national glory are full of dignity: they scorn the low region of the affections; they annihilate revolutions by destroying their infant effects. The work of conciliation with the domestic enemies of our cause constituted the funeral obsequies to our departed brethren.* This was the first overtact of our unionists. I call it *their* act, because in this policy as well as in every general measure, which has been combated by the friends of the present administration they have been united. Had this concilia-

* Doctor Stiles, in a sermon preached in 1783, expresses the sense of the country. After reciting the names of the heroes, whom we had lost, and the distresses of the war, he says, "Can relatives forget the cruel mockings, scourgings, assassinations of their dearest connections? Can they forget the thousands of their captivated countrymen consigned to destruction? Were these the kindnesses American brethren received from the hands of *loyalists*? Can we ever love Britain again?" This ardent patriot lived to hear a mortifying answer to his questions!—Federalists regard as puerile such sentiments; but theirs are not puerile; they exhibit an alarming maturity. They were mature in the courts of kings long before they adopted them. A marriage union between the leaders of nations, which had exhausted each other's blood and treasure, has closed with a festival, the desolation of war, and the miserable pantomimes of courtiers have succeeded to tragedies, whose impressions ought never to have been lost. A treaty of peace is necessary to close the horrors of war; but the first signer to a treaty of friendship, should be the man, whose wounds have been the deepest!



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ican possessed. A foreigner* was prime leader of the funding system. *In those days it was not criminal to have a foreigner at the head of the treasury.* It required strong nerves to drive such a measure against the whole force of southern eloquence, against manifest equity, and against the temper of the people. The magic words of "*national honor*" were sounded in vain, and the measure was not carried, till the monied aristocracy, intended to be created by the system, became powerful enough to give itself a being. A funding system is an engine of prodigious powers, it creates as many aristocracies as can be subservient to it, and has the complete control over them all. Thus among the first fruits of this measure, America was to establish a credit in Europe, founded on our having purchased, at seventy millions, paper not worth in market fifteen; by our having violated an eternal obligation of paying it to the men, who earned it, and having assumed the legal and precise idea of paying it to the men, who merely held the evidences of its having been earned: in fact, *by a great political fraud*, we were to become great among the nations.

This gave glorious occasion to raise a diplomatic aristocracy by sending to the courts of Europe American monarchists, who with great outfits and salaries were to persuade them how much we respected them, and how anxious we were to receive in return their Hammonds and Listons to expedite us in following their steps.— Under this monied aristocracy were soon ranged all its advocates in the subordinate aristocracies of the compting-house, the bar, the desk and the sword. For all these no balance was provided by the constitution. New-England church and state was forward and visible in all this business, and through its influence the murmurs of the people were bushed.

When the moral faculty of a nation has been depraved, every destructive consequence will follow. The funding system took the place of the energies which it destroyed, appointed members of congress, devised plans of expence, enlisted the presses, and managed all the appeals to the fears of danger, and lust of wealth, which influence the multitude. It gave the alarm of the western insurrection, and sent an army of governors, and hot-bed patriots to quell it, and exhibited in miniature all the little arts, which were thereafter to appear in full life. All was yet on too small a scale.—No army nor navy, nor land-tax, nor sedition law! some men had the effrontery to talk of the spirit of 1776. The British

* ALEXANDER HAMILTON. As it is customary to pay a turnpike toll of compliments at passing the name of this man, and as he is decidedly and eminently the head and *plan* founder of the federal party, I take occasion to remark, that he is probably a brave man, and doubtless a man of superior talents. All his plans have an *ingenious complication of structure* about them, which detaches the cursory observer from a view of their *interior* movements. The same character attaches to his writings, as may be seen by reference to his "*amours with Mrs. Reynolds*," and "*his letter to John Adams*."

treaty was set on foot. This was favorable to all the aristocracies, and promised to cut the knot of alliance between France and us. Had the British ministr been commissioned to manage our concerns, they would have adopted the same measures.

This treaty, made in 1794, was entitled a treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, and the first article provided that there should be a firm, inviolable and universal peace, and *a true and sincere friendship* between his Britanic majesty, his heirs and successors, and the United States of America, and between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns and *people of every degree, without exception of persons or places.* If the funding system was the warning, this was the stroke of death to our independence. But a few years before, this same king had “plunder-
“ed our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns and destroyed
“the lives of our people. He had transported large armies of
“foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation
“and tyranny, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and
“totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation. He had con-
“strained our fellow-citizens taken captive on the high seas to
“bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of
“their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.
“He had excited domestic insurrections among us, and had en-
“deavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merei-
“less Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare was an undif-
“tinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.” On such facts our DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE pronounced him to be a *tyrant*; yet with this tyrant, Mr. Jay in the year 1794, under truly federal auspices, united you in the bands of true and sincere friendship! !

Had this king changed his character, or what were his new claims on us? He had sent his minions and corrupted our political integrity: he was at open war with France, with whom we were in alliance of amity and commerce, made in order to guarantee each other against the well known tyranny of Britain. At the season of making this treaty, governor Monroe was our minister in France, pledging his reputation, by order of our government, that our fidelity and friendship for that nation was unabated. He had no suspicion that federalism was mature enough for such diplomatic work. He appeared to be the respected and well chosen envoy of a republic; but was in fact destined to be the victim of federal policy, and to sooth the court of France with smooth professions, while we were contracting (article 23d) to receive, at all times *hospitably* the ships of war of Britain! I forbear to comment on further violences to the French or to ourselves in that treaty. It was opposed by the republicans in congress, and has never ceased to be abhorred by them throughout the union. It was approved by the federalists in congress, signed with reluctance

by the President, admired by the tories, British agents, all the aristocracies, and New-England church and state has never failed to give it a cordial support.

After reading this treaty, we need not wonder at finding in the next page a treaty of amity with the Dey of Algiers, in which the prostituted affections of Americans were offered to Hassan Bashaw, his Divan and subjects, and on other occasions they were at the service of every petty prince, who had a *seaport*. Thus under the management of a class of men, who always hated republicanism, the United States, which in 1776, declared independence with a solemn appeal to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions, took early occasion, in presence of that Judge, to violate plighted vows, to commit abominations with the kings of the earth, and to embrace those very principles, which had always enslaved man and desolated the world.

NO. VIII.

View of some overt-acts of the Unionists under the administration of Mr. Adams.

PRESIDENT ADAMS, who is a conspicuous member of the New-England church and state union, was placed at the head of our government, under circumstances, peculiarly auspicious for an experiment of his balances of government. The majority of votes by which he was chosen, was indeed small, and there was some question whether fair management would not have given Mr. Jefferson the chair; but Mr. Adams was the constitutional president for four years, and having been a conspicuous patriot through the revolution, having held high confidential trusts in Europe, and having been vice-president for eight years, he took his seat with a weight of character and influence.

The revolutionary spirit was gone, our union with Britain was established, the funding system was in full operation, all the aristocracies were subordinate to cabinet measures, New-England church and state was organized and ready to pray, preach or fight for federal measures, the public offices were principally filled by men obsequious to the court, republicans were humbled on every side, and the idea of popular sovereignty was treated with sovereign contempt.



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ing the expences of foreign intercourse—800 dollars for the salaries for two extra clerks in the *war* department—200,000 dollars for completing and equipping three frigates—100,000 dollars for the pay and subsistence of the officers and crews—39,000 dollars for repairs and fabrication of arms and cannon-carriages, and 5000 dollars for the hospital department !

O ! how we loved the French ! and what blessed testimonies of affection were we preparing for Mr. Adams' new envoys to carry to France !

At this extraordinary session was brought forward the famous conspiracy of Blount, which being traced to the British minister, Lilton, was not in point for the politics of the day.

The president dispatched Messrs. Marshall and Gerry to join Mr. Pinckney, on a mission of explanation and conciliation with France ; but the plain English of his speech on the 16th of May, and the subsequent measures had reached France before them, and they were not received. The consequent pantomime of X, Y and Z need not be related ; the measures, which followed the dispatches shew conclusively the object of it. Every thing tended to a rupture with France, and to the fortifying of our administration against the just complaints which would follow the opening of their new systems.

The subsequent session of congress was opened with a long speech, followed by long debates and a humble echo, in which the houses had the honor to think just as the president had condescended to speak. At this session was appropriated a further sum of 115,000 dollars to *equip for sea* the frigates ; 216,000 dollars for pay and subsistence ; 60,000 dollars for expenditure of ammunition, &c.—The president was authorized to cause to be built, purchased, or hired twelve vessels of twenty-two guns each to be armed, fitted out and manned under his direction, and 950,000 dollars were appropriated to this purpose—provision was made to raise an additional regiment of artilleryists and engineers—a navy department was established—250,000 dollars were added to former appropriations for defence of our harbours—800,000 dollars were appropriated to enable the president to purchase cannon, small arms, &c.—80,000 dollars for small galleys.

These were among the preliminary war measures of Mr. Adams' administration, all advocated by the New-England federal members, approved by the tories and British merchants, all publicly hostile to the French nation. Yet our political clergy were praying for them, preaching against the French, charging them with a spirit of atheism and anarchy, and attaching these charges to all the republicans, who opposed these measures. The country was filled with Robison's proofs and Barruel's memoirs, and the season had arrived for striking a decisive blow at the root of republicanism. The federal papers announced that all piety,

virtue, patriotism and talents were on the federal side; but the aliens were troublesome and republican papers questioned the policy and integrity of administration.

To meet this state of things, to exalt church and state, and to humble republicans, *not to defend ourselves against the French*, the president was authorized to raise an army, in the event of a declaration of war against us, or of actual invasion, or of imminent danger of such invasion discovered in his opinion to exist, and provision was made for the appointment of a lieutenant general, inspector general, major generals, and great men enough to ruin a nation, and for caps, swords, pistols, sabres, &c. and 200,000 dollars were appropriated for the first exigencies of this business. Here was a modest opening for patronage, and a wide field of glory. This was a day of clues and plots, and the president saw danger clearly enough, and appointed the late president to be *nominal* lieutenant general, Mr. Hamilton to be *real* inspector general, federal pockets were soon lined with commissions, and recruiting officers were like locusts about the country. The body of the people regarded this measure with abhorrence; the veil, in which this business had been wrapped, was too thin. The unionists boldly advocated the measure even on its real basis, and Mr. Webster has been *said to say* that Gen. Hamilton declared the impossibility of governing this country without a military force to aid the executive. This was taking the true ground. That army was raised on the strength of artificial, well concerted dispatches, and was intended for the humiliation of republicans and for no other purpose. If our envoys were honest, the figure dancers, under the names of X, Y and Z, deserve death for imposing on them.

On the day, when the president approved this army bill, he approved another, empowering himself to grant letters of marque and reprisal to American vessels against the French.—Immense appropriations were made for a war establishment—the commercial intercourse between France and the United States was suspended—the alien act was passed, subjecting the persons of aliens, who had fled here for refuge, to the arbitrary control of the president, and to crown this *energetic* work, an act was passed, declaring the treaties heretofore concluded with France, no longer obligatory on the United States, and Mr. Adams, solemnly approved our exoneration by our own act from stipulations, solemnly entered into by himself. This was a daring stroke, considering all which had preceded; but federal nerves were strong. Next followed a declaration of a maritime war with France, which nation then was and has always since been at peace with us, and the president was empowered to commission private armed vessels to seize, subdue and capture the armed vessels of France.

O! how sincerely we loved France, when our envoys were sent there! and how destitute of discernment were the French!

In the capture of the frigate *Insurgent* we gave them a key to all this business, and shewed them *by a little*, what a great deal of federalism means!

The vast appropriations made at this session required extraordinary funds and most extraordinary ones were invented.—An act was passed for the valuation and taxation of lands, dwelling-houses and slaves, in the ninth section of which provision was made for a future window tax and in the last section an appropriation of 150,000 dollars for the expence of this useless and unequal tax, which sum fell short more than 80,000 dollars of its actual amount. The consequence of this was an immense patronage of the president, the country was filled with commissioners, assessors, surveyors &c. and our real property was mortgaged for the annual payment of such sums as administration should be disposed to lay on them. This was in fact seizing the fee of our lands and placing us in the condition of lessees under our liege lords of the federal cabinet. This corps of officers might silence some doubts about the wisdom of measures; but lest they might not effect it—the infamous sedition act was approved on the same day, the proceedings under which will be remembered with horror by every republican.

Several acts for *augmenting* the army were made in order to rise in action, as the federal fever rose, and on estimate of the expences it appeared that the two millions to be raised on the valuation would be inadequate—the president was therefore empowered to borrow, on such terms as he should judge most advantageous, five millions of dollars. His judgement, always equal, decided on eight per-cent and at that interest it was effected. He was also empowered to borrow, at six per-cent (of the bank) two millions to be refunded from the avails of the direct tax, which tax was never likely to be collected, except it was from states subject to federal rigours. Church and state paid it cheerfully and bestowed its blessing on the objects to which it was to be applied.

The last act of this war session provided that 10,000 copies of the instructions to our envoys and of the X, Y and Z business should be printed and distributed gratis in the country—and this is all, which the people ever received for millions of their money expended in the destruction of their principles and in the establishment of a reign of terror, which if continued through another presidential term would have entailed on themselves and posterity perpetual slavery.

These measures give the length and breadth of Mr. Adams' administration. The next session opened with a law to punish men, who should (as Doctor Logan had done) improve their private influence and wealth to obtain from foreign governments the political or commercial relations, which our government professed to wish—the English translation of which was, “we were not sincere in our wish to adjust all differences with France: such adjustment would



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people, his son was expending his outfits of 9000 dollars and annual salaries of 9000 dollars in learning to ballance kingdoms in Europe.

Regardless of his own loud outcry against France, that she had endeavoured to alienate the affections of our people from our rulers, Mr. Adams coolly made a treaty with Touissant, as governor of St. Domingo, in which the British were a party, and one secret object was a dismemberment of that valuable colony from France. That treaty is now in the possession of the secretary of state, together with the correspondences between Mr. Pickering and Mr. S. Mayer. This was a sample of political integrity.

The agency of Liston in the conspiracy of Blount did not cost him a momentary hiding of the President's face, though a conduct, less insidious and dangerous, of a French envoy, had nearly convulsed two nations.

The Vice-President (Mr. Jefferson) was constantly vilified and calumniated in the federal papers and toasts; but Mr. Adams was guarded by a sedition act. Federal printers rioted on the spoils of republican reputation; but republican printers were the victims of abuses, of legal persecutions and often of prisons. Benjamin Franklin Bache, editor of the Aurora, whose science and political integrity would have done honor to any cause, was the incessant subject of persecution not only from the truly federal Porcupine and the hireling Fenno, * but from every rank of federalists. His successor, William Duane, whose talents and assiduity have made him for years the terror of the terrorists, has been in one instance assaulted by a band of armed federalists, had his office invested, and suffered the severest personal abuse—has been harassed in the law by a multitude of federal prosecutions at an expence of several thousands of dollars, and his highest crime was an ardent zeal for the principles of the revolution, and a peculiar faculty of infusing that zeal into the body of the people. † The persecution of Ly-

* Fenno, the elder, was established in Philadelphia by Mr. Adams, and patronized by Mr Hammond, the British minister. Fenno, the son, deserted Mr. Adams; but was retained by a new federal interest and thus became printer to the Senate.

† As the unionists have insisted that Mr. Duane was born in Ireland, I take occasion to mention *another country*, where he was born.—He was born in Clinton county, in the state of New-York, in May 1760. His father died there. In May 1765, his mother removed with him to Albany. About the year 1774, he went with her to Ireland, where he was married, and for some time edited a paper as a means of support. In July 1787 he landed in Calcutta, having been previously engaged as the editor of the Calcutta Gazette. He acquired about £.10,000 sterling in a few years. Being too ardent a republican for that country, he was (in Dec 1794) treacherously seized, put on board an armed ship and carried to St. Helena, the governor of which would not suffer him to land, *because he was not a British subject*. In England he gained no restitution of his property, which had been taken; he came to America, and is now the editor of the Aurora, to the great annoyance of the federalists; and he furnishes some stationary for a republican Congress, which seems to be an affliction to them.—Such is the short history of a man who has been born in two countries.

on, Cooper, Holt, and others is well within the public recollection. These were the days of conciliation! 1

From every quarter were pouring in the most fulsome addresses to the President, which were graciously answered. Wherever he passed, a servile croud of political clergy, tories, British merchants and thorough-going federalists hailed his triumphal entries and were ready to kiss the hem of his garments. This was a proud day for every man who hated the revolution. All the power and wealth of the country were in federal hands: we had an army, a navy, a land-tax, a sedition act, an enslaved press, and church and state saw its best days.

The election of state officers in Pennsylvania gave the first alarm to federalism. Republicans had lost their patience; their latent energies were brought into action; glooms hung over the session of Congress in 1799—1800: but it was too late to retreat: Mr. Pinckney was to be supported as President; Mr. Adams as Vice-President; but this arrangement was to be concealed. Mr. Jefferson was the republican candidate for the Presidency. The election ball was opened, and the church and state unionists rang all their changes upon modern philosophy, illuminatism, atheism and anarchy against Mr. Jefferson—and upon order, religion, steady habits and good government in favor of Mr. Pinckney. They saw so much horror in having government return into the hands of the right owners, that they wrought themselves into a frenzy of zeal, and though all the measures of the past administration stared them in the face, though religion had been outraged, though economy had been despised, though order had been destroyed; yet for great men to retire to private life is like annihilation; for great plans to become abortive distressing. Those political clergy, whose only hope was in this life, foresaw that of all men they would be the most miserable, if the influence of church and state should be lessened. Could civilians bear to have their favorite schemes of war, wealth and taxation fail? Could the tories and British merchants bear to see a republican President in the chair?

The army and navy felt the shock of this crisis, especially after the result of the New-York election was announced. Mr. Adams saw the cloud gathering, and resolved on an effort to conciliate France. He appointed envoys contrary to the advice of his ministers: the treaty was effected; but it was too late to turn the tide of the people. Mr. McHenry secretary at war, retired from office: Mr. Pickering was dismissed; but it was too late! the measures of 1798 could not be forgotten nor forgiven.

Church and state in New-England continued to deserve well of federalism even in its last moments; for at the succeeding congress, after it was known that the republican candidates had succeeded, its friends established a new judiciary, which they considered irremovable: Mr. Adams continued to make appointments of

officers, who were never to serve under him—and in the contest of election the unionists, who positively knew that Mr. Jefferson had seventy three votes as *President* and that Mr. Burr had not one as President, resolved that the voice of the people should not be heard and that a fair experiment of republicanism should not be made, voted more than thirty times for Mr. Burr! These were friends of order and good government! friends of religion and steady habits, and such were the auspicious and melting overtures of conciliation, which were to usher in the morning of a republican administration.

Mr. Jefferson's inaugural speech, which was principally intended as an exposition of his political creed, was conceived in terms of perfect conciliation. He did not even notice the calumny and abuse, which he had suffered more than any other. The unionists affected to consider this speech as a bond on his part to place full confidence in them—to remove none of their number—to disturb none of their plans; but he was to be the nominal president and they had made up their minds to be conciliated, if he should conduct according to this exposition. These are the only ideas of conciliation, which they ever exhibited and as soon as he made a few removals, they called him the negro president; the mammoth philosopher, renewed their railings and essayed a reign of terror; but without an army and navy, with no weapons but the tongue and pen, their power was small. The appointment of Mr. Galatin increased their ravings—every advance of the president in his labors distressed them. The majority against them appeared formidable; yet they continued to roar that federalism was increasing, and in a short time its increase was from eight states down to three.

The first congress, under the new administration, presented a republican majority in both houses; the main force of federalism was centered in the states of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire and Connecticut, and in these it would instantly have perished, were it not for the nursing care of the political clergy. On the repeal of the judiciary every unionist raised his voice, professing zeal for the Constitution, and a federalist was heard for once to exclaim, "Spare, O spare my country." These worst enemies of the people, *themselves*, have taken the power into their own hands and unless we federalists keep up the bar, which we mercifully raised at the last session, they are ruined forever. To prevent the dreaded crisis the heroes of conciliation abused the president, reflected on the republican members, even Bayard spoke of them as unprincipled infidels, in whose hands nothing was safe and the party claimed for themselves that integrity, intelligence and patriotism, which the decision of their country had loudly denied them.

They had been in the habit of speaking contemptuously of republicanism, of proscribing every term, which expresses any por-



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View of the proceedings of the last Session of Congress.

IT is the right and the duty of the citizens of a free state to acquire and communicate a correct knowledge of all the proceedings of its government, and as far as possible, of the principles which produced its various acts.

Whenever a portion of the people are induced by the representations of influential persons to deny their confidence to the constituted authorities, it is peculiarly necessary for the friends of the government on its part to give publicity to its principles and measures, and for the people on their part to become acquainted with the nature, design, extent and operation of the measures; that they may be enabled to judge from the system and measures themselves, not from ill-natured and bitter invectives, what is the true character of the administration.

The people at the last national election reposed their confidence in, and elevated to office, men whose political principles are materially different from the principles of those gentlemen who composed the last administration.

Government is instituted to secure and increase the happiness of the people governed. It is the right and property of the public, not of its administrators. Therefore whenever the public withhold their confidence from one man and repose it in another it becomes the duty of every good man, as it will be the practice of every good citizen, to yield the same ready obedience to the laws and ordinances of the existing authorities as heretofore while the persons in authority were the men of his choice.

The decided majority which appeared in congress during the last session prove clearly a greater unity of sentiment, views and opinions, than has existed at any other period for the last ten years.

Although the federal government and thirteen out of sixteen of the state governments are united in a system of measures which they believe best calculated to promote public prosperity and national happiness, still a difference of opinion and of political views and principles exists. This difference produces an opposition to government, headed by disappointed partizans and supported by persons well-intentioned but misinformed. An opposition which attempts to distract the councils of the nation and palsy the efforts of administration; which circulates with incredible industry the most unfounded calumnies and falsehoods; which while in power heretofore secured itself from sober investigation by assuming as a fact charged the inference or opinion of another, and inflicted

severe punishment for the pretended crime of *sedition*, which enhances the public expenditures by retarding the progress and operations of government, and protracts the session of congress by presenting every obstacle in its power with a view to render the government odious to the people. An administration which labors to substitute order for confusion, economy for lavish expenditures, and the mild reign of *principle* for the intolerance of despotism, courts investigation and despises calumny. It does not fear but admires the plain language of truth. It never will entrench itself behind the palings of a sedition act. Conscious that it supports the just principles of our government, and moves within its constitutional orbit, it believes that its views and measures, when fairly understood, will be applauded.

To remove all jealousies from the uninformed, and to furnish the public with a just knowledge of the present improved state of the nation, the following view of the proceedings of the first session of the seventh congress, with such executive acts as are naturally connected with the subject and the remarks thereon, is submitted to the public.

The session of Congress commenced on the 27th of December; on the 8th the President's message was delivered to both houses.

By this message, after giving a general view of the state of our foreign relations and the prosperity of the nation, he recommended:

A reduction of expenditures in the civil department, and

In the army and navy departments:

And particularly to abolish useless offices: an operation which he had commenced where the existence of the office depended on executive discretion.

A repeal of the internal taxes—comprehending, the excise on domestic distilled spirits—the stamp tax—the tax on sales at auction—on licences to retail—on carriages—on domestic refined sugars, and the postage of newspapers.—

A careful attention to the interests of Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Navigation, especially of the carrying trade.

A revision of the laws on the subject of naturalization.—

A revision of the judiciary system, with a peculiar reference to the late judiciary act, passed on the 13th day of February, 1801; and provision for an impartial selection of Jurors.—

The man who devotes his talents and attention to a reduction of public expenditures—to the abolition of useless offices—to the diminution of public business—to aid, encourage and promote, agriculture, manufactures, commerce and navigation—to preserve a due administration of justice at a reasonable expence, and to provide for an impartial selection of jurors, richly merits the confidence of the nation.

Among the nations of the earth, it was reserved for America to exhibit to the world a government devoted to the interest of the people ; a government which, instead of increasing public burthens, removed many of those heretofore imposed ; which, instead of enlarging the powers already enjoyed, restores to the people those not essential to be retained ; at the head of which presides a man, who for the promotion of the public good and preservation of civil liberty, solicits the limitation of his own powers, the reduction of his own privileges, and the exercise of every constitutional check to limit the executive will.

The two houses of congress united with the executive in the great works of reformation and improvement.

They have reduced the army to little more than 3000 men, who are considered sufficient to take charge of, and to keep in repair the various forts of the United States, and hereby have made an annual saving to the nation of 522,000 dollars.

They have reduced a part of the navy establishment, yet retained in service a sufficient force to humble the Barbary pirates. By this reduction they have lessened the public expenditures 200,000 dollars annually.

Proceeding on the principle of giving efficient support to national credit, and of maintaining the national faith and honor inviolate, they have carefully compared the amount of every demand against government ; the terms of payment stipulated ; and the current expenditures as reduced, with the annual revenue. They have found that the annual revenue, exclusive of the internal taxes, exceeds the wants of the nation. They have, therefore, repealed all the internal taxes.

As the repeal of these taxes has been attributed to a design to promote the interests of one section of the union, at the expence of another ; a few moments may be well employed in considering this subject.

Excise is a tax always odious to a free people, from the extent of power which is necessarily given to enforce an obedience to the law : It seems hardly compatible with the temper of a free nation. It was so abhorrent to the feelings of the people of England, that the house of commons once voted to bring to condign punishment certain persons who charged them with a design to introduce it. It was, however, afterwards introduced into the nation, first levied on a few articles, from time to time extended to others as the people were found to submit to the imposition, until at last it embraced almost every article of convenience and many of necessity.

So here it commenced with a duty on distilled spirits ; but in the course of four years was extended to the ordinary sales, for consumption, of all spirits, brandies and wines ; to all sales at auction ; to all carriages for the conveyance of persons, and all re-



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report of the secretary of the treasury, lately published, evinces the falshood of the allegation.

Indeed when the excise on distilled spirits was laid, it was considered as particularly injurious to the interest of Massachusetts. Mr. Dalton and governor Strong both voted against the bill.— Thus it appears by the journals of the senate.

Congress were induced to repeal these taxes, from the following considerations :—That the remaining revenues of government were equal to its necessities ; that it would be an equal and great relief to the people, not only as it enabled them to apply the amount of the monies, say 900,000 dollars, yearly to their private use ; but as it would free them from the loss of time and expence which was necessarily required in travelling to and from the various offices to furnish them with licenses and stamp paper, and to make their payments. The difference in the consumption of the citizens' time and money in the collection of the external and internal revenues is immense. The first is limited to a very few commercial ports where the merchants and officers reside. The latter extends to every portion of the union. It operates more or less in every town, village and settlement. The system itself creates an embarrassment on business ; not unfrequently the expence of procuring the license on paper is equal to the whole revenue derived from it.

That the expence of supporting the various officers employed in collecting it, consumes more than twenty dollars out of every hundred dollars collected, and amounts to 180,000 dollars yearly, every cent of which is saved to the people by abolishing the system : While the duties on imported articles do not require an expence of more than five dollars on a hundred dollars paid.

That the system, by creating a vast number of officers, had a tendency to increase the power and patronage of the executive so far, that it might become, *if it had not already been*, dangerous to the liberties of the country.

That experience had shewn governments to have been expensive and extravagant in proportion to the means they possessed. It was therefore both just and politic to surrender and yield up to the people, that portion of revenue which was not necessary to the government. That this surrender ought to consist of those taxes which were most obnoxious ; which most embarrassed the ordinary pursuits of the people, and which were of political aspect the most suspicious : and that the history of the nations who have gone before us evinces this truth. That a system of excise when once established is usually extended from article to article, until it is applied to all the comforts and conveniencies of life and most of its necessities, when it sinks the body of the nation into wretchedness and poverty. Considering the conditions of the persons upon whom the carriage tax operated, it appears in some measure desira-

ble to continue that tax ; but when it was considered that it produced only 77,874 dollars and 41 cents, that it could not be continued without employing a vast corps of officers at an expence equal, or nearly equal to the tax, thereby preserving the seeds of another general excise system, the policy of the government forbade its continuance. It has been laid by opposition, that the repeal of these taxes only operated to relieve the more wealthy ; leaving the poor under the whole pressure of all their former burthens : That if the finances of the nation admitted a reduction, the duty on salt, bohea tea, and brown sugar, ought to be diminished. Yet they and their friends were the persons who levied the duties on these articles, two years before they levied any excise. They have from time to time increased the duties on the same articles. The first duty on salt was six cents per bushel ; they increased it to twelve cents ; on tea it was ten cents per pound ; they increased it to twelve cents. It was one cent per pound on sugar, they increased it to two. These duties they made perpetual, that is to say, to continue until a majority of both houses of congress and the president or two thirds of both houses agree to remove them.

The internal taxes, whatever might be their wishes, they did not venture, until after the election of Mr. Jefferson, to make perpetual. These taxes were temporary, and most of them would have expired before this day, had not the desire of the party to preserve the trappings of monarchy induced them to pass the law of the 25th of February, 1801, by which they were made perpetual. To satisfy the public that the design of the opposition in objecting to the repeal of the internal taxes was solely to embarrass government, and not to relieve the poor (who while they use it with moderation, are as much comforted by spirits as by tea or sugar) ; it is proper to examine their conduct while in power, a little more minutely. Instead of lessening the duties on these articles, in the month of February, 1797, when they had the benefit of the knowledge of the operation of the duties for more than six years, they increased them. Every member of congress from Connecticut, (including Griswold and Dana) every member from New-Hampshire, and every member present from Massachusetts (excepting William Lyman) voted in favor of that measure. At the same session a law was passed granting relief to distillers, by removing the duties from the amount of spirits and fixing it on the capacity of the still. Every member from the states of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut voted in favor of this law. These facts appear from the journals of congress.

Here, people of New-England, is a just view of your representatives, who would induce you to believe that the government of the country was sacrificing its interest at the shrine of Virginia's ambition.

It has been said that sound policy required the application of these taxes to the discharge of the national debt. To this it is answered ; maintain the present economical establishment, the surplus funds arising from the remaining revenues will pay the debt as soon as congress have by law a right to pay it, and the exorbitant expence of collecting the excise will be avoided.

It has been said by the opposition, that these taxes are repealed and the duties on imported articles continued with a view to destroy commerce. Let the commercial interest reflect. There is not an additional cent imposed on commerce. As the taxes of the nation are lessened, the ability of the people to pay is increased. Let it be reminded with what promptitude the trade of the Mediterranean was protected. That government has completed a treaty with Great-Britain whereby our merchants are enabled to recover their lost property, and continue in the enjoyment of commercial enterprize ; above all, that government relying solely on commerce for her revenue, stands pledged by interest, the strongest of all ties, to cherish and support it. The removal of the internal taxes, so far from evincing hostility to commerce, furnishes proof next to demonstration of a determination on the part of the government to support it.

To close the remarks on this subject, it has been said, the repeal of these taxes was designed as a blow to the funds, and was a prelude to extinguishing the national debt with a sponge.

Nothing can be more unfounded than this aspersions. The payments are made with punctuality.

The government has by a law of this session appropriated 7,300,000 dollars annually towards the discharge of her debts : the funds in the market are worth twelve per cent. more than they were during the last administration.

Does the creditor's confidence in his debtor increase in proportion to the debtor's extravagance and dissipation ? Does a man's living beyond his income furnish the best evidence of his remaining able to pay his debts ? Does a debtor forfeit all claims to confidence by uniting rigid economy with a constant attention to business ?

Congress have repealed the act passed in February, 1801, establishing six new circuit courts and limiting the labours of the judges of the supreme court to the holding of two sessions in a year at the seat of government ; and, by another act, have remedied the evils of the former system, by specifying the districts in which each judge of the supreme court should hold a circuit court, and dispensing with one session of the supreme court : by this they have effected an annual saving of 33,000 dollars and abolished sixteen useless offices.

The measure was objected to, both as unconstitutional and impolitic. As to the constitutionality of the measure, the distinction



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annually, to 21,500 dollars; of course, in ten years, to 215,000 dollars. The salaries of the clerks, for the same time, is 2300 dollars. Total amount of salaries, for ten years, is 217,300 dollars. In the course of ten years, 43 causes only were decided, as appears by the reports of Dallas. By this it is manifest, that under the last federal judiciary system, which was repealed at the last session of congress, the people of the United States would pay more than 5053 dollars for each decision. Does that man exist who will say, the public money should be thus squandered?

A revision of the laws relating to naturalization has also taken place. The act of 1798 is repealed, and the former law revived; by which a residence of five years entitles a foreigner, of good conduct and reputation, to the rights of citizenship.

The justice due to a large number of people, who emigrated under the faith of existing laws, and the policy of opening the wilderness and acquiring the arts and manufactures of Europe, required this revision. It is only a revival of the Washington system.

Congress have continued to the officers, residing at the seat of government, the compensation they enjoyed under the act of 1799. This has been the subject of much newspaper abuse; it has been falsely represented as an augmentation of salaries.

The government has been charged with a departure from economical principles; and those gentlemen who supported the measure but opposed the grant in 1799, have been charged with inconsistency. These charges will not be accredited, when it is known that the expence of living is considerably higher at the seat of government than at Philadelphia.

To prove the fact, it is only necessary to resort to the acts of the late federal, and of the last session of congress.

The act of 1799 ascertained, as well the compensation of the clerks as of the officers. When the offices were removed to Washington, the increased expence of living rendered it necessary to augment the compensation of the clerks. They were accordingly increased fifteen per cent. The act allowing them fifteen per cent expired last winter: it was revived. Here is the concurrent testimony of both parties uniting in this proposition, there is a difference of fifteen per cent. in the price of living. To cover this difference of expenditure, the salaries of 1799 were established for two years. In fact, there was not a member of the opposition who contended that the salaries were too high.

To facilitate the progress of information and private intercourse, an increased expenditure of the revenue of the general post-office has been authorized; both to ensure the more safe and expeditious transportation of the mail, and to extend the benefits of the establishment to the inhabitants residing upon or near almost sixty new established post-roads. It was proposed to remove the postage from newspapers. The danger of retarding the progress of the

mails, and destroying country presses, prevented the adoption of this measure. This postage is not a tax. It does not amount to one fourth part of the monies expended, in their conveyance, by government.

In addition to these measures, the compensations of the collectors of the revenue have been reduced. This has effected an annual saving of about 17,000 dollars.

The prompt and ready payment of the public monies, and the eventual responsibility of the officers of government, have been secured by an act declaring, that each bond shall be a lien on the real estates of both principal and surety, and shall be renewed once in four years.

The object of every grant of money has been specified with accuracy and precision, to ensure its just application, and to limit the powers of executive officers, as far as possible.

The danger of war with the savages has been removed, by providing for a general establishment of our boundary lines and for a due regulation of the intercourse between this nation and the tribes.

And lastly, The people of the territory northwest of the river Ohio have been elevated to the rank of freemen and the consequent blessings of self government, by an act authorizing them to call a convention, form a constitution, organise a government, and become a member of the union.

Having concisely stated the important acts passed by the legislature, it only remains to give the public a general view of the reduction of national expenditure, since the change of administration.

These reductions are of two kinds. 1st. Of expenditures which are casual or temporary, and which ought not to be brought into the estimate, in ascertaining our yearly burdens, or in forming an opinion of the different systems contended for. Of these are, the erecting and repairing fortifications, the appropriations for the support of seamen, and the like. The expenditures of this kind for the current year have been lessened about 170,000 dollars.

2d. Those expences which, according to the late system of politics, were permanent and annual, and may be fairly taken into view, to determine which political party is best entitled to national confidence.

Of these expenditures, from the peace establishment of the late administration the following reductions have been made, by the executive, and by Congress, at its last session.

| | <i>Dolls.</i> | <i>Cts.</i> |
|---|---------------|-------------|
| By the executive, in reducing various offices, whose existence depended on his will, and other economical arrangements, made before the session of Congress, was effected an annual saving of | 161,695 | 91 |

By a further reduction of the marine corps, just ordered with a view to pay only those who are actively employed, has been produced a further saving of

39,000

| | |
|---|----------------------------|
| By Congress, by reducing a part of the army | 522,000 |
| By reducing a part of the navy | 200,000 |
| By repealing the whole system of internal taxation, there has been saved to the people, out of the fees of the excise officers, 135,000 dollars, over and above the sum necessary to defray the collections of imposts, to an amount equal to the whole revenue derived from internal taxation; it being the difference between the expences of the two systems | 135,000 |
| By abolishing the late judiciary system, and establishing the former system | 33,000 |
| By reducing the commission of the collectors of customs, say | 17,000 |
| Annual savings, | <u>Dolls. 1,107,695 91</u> |

The benefit of the reduction of expenditure will be more felt and appreciated by all classes, when they know that these annual savings exceed the whole expence of all the state governments in the Union; so that, in a pecuniary point of view, they are more than equal to bestowing upon the people, free from expence, the whole benefits of state government.

The following is a statement of the annual expenditures of the several states:—

| | <i>Dolls.</i> | | <i>Dolls.</i> |
|----------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------|
| New-Hampshire, | 38,000 | Delaware, | 11,000 |
| Massachusetts, | 120,300 | Maryland, | 53,000 |
| Connecticut, | 45,000 | Virginia, | 160,000 |
| Vermont, | 25,000 | North-Carolina, | 35,000 |
| Rhode-Island, | 6,000 | South-Carolina, | 150,000 |
| New-York, | 130,000 | Kentucky, | 50,000 |
| New-Jersey, | 35,000 | Tennessee, | 10,000 |
| Pennsylvania, | 150,000 | Georgia, | 42,000 |
| | | | <u>1,060,000</u> |
| | Total, | | |

Which, deducted from the aforesaid reductions, leaves the sum of 47,695 dollars and 91 cents; the excess of the reductions beyond the whole expence of the state governments. The statement of the states' expenditure is not accurate; it is substantially true; and it is believed, that the gross amount is equal to the expenditure of all the states. The reader will reflect, that in those states where the expenditures are small, the relief to the people is annually much greater than the expence of their state government.

Pursuing the same system of policy for twelve years, the period of time between the commencement of the present government and the close of Adams' administration, would, upon the princi-



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is not so perfectly republican, as it would have been under the same men, provided their administration had immediately succeeded the revolution. The evils of past aristocratic measures will attend us to the last moment of our national existence.

If the principles of a republican government are in their nature opposed to the tempers of our unionists, we will not be surprized that their measures have discovered their abhorrence of them, and in return they will not be surprized that we charge them with conspiring against such a government. They did every thing but levy a civil war against republicans. Franklin could easier snatch the lightning from heaven and the sceptre from tyrants, than he could extract from the unionists any portion of their vengeance against our cause. Jefferson could easier enlighten a world with moral and political science than he could turn the heart of one of our unionists. The invincible obstinacy and bitterness of northern federalism have never been thoroughly realized by men, who have lived in countries where reason and toleration have a residence. Religious bigotry, entwined for centuries with family aristocracies, produces powerful effects.

I had intended to have presented all the names of our leading unionists, with facts shewing their connection with the union and the profits which each derived from the connection—and to have entertained the reader with some extracts from political sermons and federal orations—with the toasts given during the reign of terror—with extracts of abuses on republicanism from the *Centinel of Russell*, *Palladium of Dutton*, *Connecticut Courant of Hudson & Goodwin*, *Spectator of Webster*, *Gazette of Brownson & Chauncey*, *Antidemocrat of Prentis* and some other federal papers, as far southward as the New-England unionists had sent their editors to poison the public mind; but these would have incumbered my work, and if my positions should be judged correct, New-England is full of illustrations.

Federalists attempt, in every false and insidious mode, to misrepresent our motives, measures and objects. They aim to make impressions, contrary to known truth. It is often questioned, whether this or that charge against President Jefferson is well founded. Is it not enough that he has stood like a rock against every attack, and that all the force of church and state was unable to deprive him of his election? Is it not enough that he has continued for more than a year to offer the olive-branch to men, who were aiming to wound him mortally? When you hear merchants' and attornies' clerks calling him names and abusing him, can it be worth your while to exert yourselves to persuade their masters that he deserves his station? His character is not put in issue to a federal jury: it is submitted to the decision of an impartial public. The political clergy and their associates cannot and will not tell the truth about him, *because they hate him and his cause.*

The federalists would prejudice republicanism, because Buonaparte is centering the powers of aristocracies in a consulate for life; but does this prove their case? He has only done on a large scale suddenly what they did on a small scale gradually. He is trying *conciliation* with the Pope of Rome, with the emigrants, with the kings, and he will soon have a funding system and treaties, and will go the grand round of the passions; but as soon as the people shall discover that their revolution is despised and that the leaders are seeking personal glory at their expence, they will have a new administration, and the French republic will be the wonder of the world. Their unionists, civil and ecclesiastical, who are now rising up like the plagues of Egypt, will oppose the new order of things, will call it atheism and anarchy; but their defeat will be as certain as that the great God never caused a million of men to bleed in order to produce such a miserable effect as placing Napoleon Buonaparte on the throne of France in the room of Lewis Capet.

Mén, who play their little passions against the manifest order of things, against the state of society, and against the temper and interests of a sovereign people, may be full of brilliant prospects for a season; but will be as surely defeated as insects, who should attempt to retard the revolution of the earth. Small portions of earth may be easily conveyed from east to west; but the great globe will revolve, and republicans (who have been called atheists) as fully expect that this country will, under divine guidance, continue to be a republic—that France will be a republic—that the republican principle will prevail—that kings will lose their crowns—that civil and religious liberty are to prevail, and that the work of emancipation is begun, as that the earth will continue to revolve.

After a revolution the patriot pauses to lament over the waste of blood and treasure, and over the fate of his friends, who did not live to enjoy the blessings, which his ardent mind contemplates, and before he can realize them, in step the subtle courtiers, who hated his cause, join hands with his enemies, enslave him anew, and often years elapse before he collects himself sufficiently to rid himself of these new tyrants. It must be consoling to republicans that such tyrannies soon expire *by reason of their own energies*. They rise artfully and advance easily, because not opposed. Success animates them, and as soon as all the enemies of a revolution have formed an alliance offensive and defensive, the spirit of a free people rises and scatters them to all the winds of heaven: but they will rally again, and the only security for republicans is, that the principles of popular sovereignty and political equality be well understood by the people, that the classes of men, who are hostile to them, should be distinctly known, and that the arts of delusion, by which they may be defeated, be thoroughly apprehended.

Federalists pretend that we are opposed to colleges, merely because we are unwilling to have the poison of federalism infused into

the minds of youth, who are preparing for public stations—that we are opposed to rich men, because we are unwilling to have aristocracies of wealth, politically associated for our ruin—that we are opposed to all the clergy, merely because we are unwilling to nurse a clerical aristocracy—that we are opposed to great men, because we are unwilling to have them formed into solid columns to destroy the body of the people. Here it may be proper to explain. We have great men in our administration; but their greatness is, during their continuance in office, deposited with the people, to be forfeited, in case they violate their trusts. They came into office on terms and professions, and they are bound to the whole amount of their greatness to be true to republican principles. This was not the case with the last administration: without any professions to the people, they were bound, to the amount of all their pride and passions, to make great treaties, to adopt great plans, to incur enormous expenses, to glorify themselves and to humble in dust and ashes the people—and never did a class of men work more faithfully. The annals of 1798 will bear witness of their industry!

But what is New-England church and state now doing? They are sending a regular supply of missionaries to congress to oppose every measure of administration, and in this way to make a fair experiment of a republican government! and they have decided, previous to such experiment, that republicanism is detestable and that the old order of things is to be restored, and from this they pretend to expect religion. Surely if it be that religion, which was exhibited under Mr. Adams' administration, not one christian ever wished to see it. But who are the leading agents in sending these men? **THE POLITICAL CLERGY?** And what pious selection of men have these self-styled ambassadors of the Prince of Peace made for these honest purposes? That very class of men, who have uniformly advocated war and every thing else, which the Saviour declared hostile to his kingdom—that class of men who have been so notorious for infidelity in all countries that if one really appeared to be pious, the fact was the subject of an epitaph—that class of men, who most disturb the peace of society, who expose the people to severe expenses in order to obtain justice—**FEDERAL LAWYERS**, of whom if your impression is not instant, *that they are the last men in the world to be entrusted with the concerns of religion and liberty*, a volume of arguments would be useless.

But, say the multitude of congregationalists (who are the standing privileged order in New-England) “We do not approve of these men and measures; but if we suffer our ranks to be broken, the episcopalians, the baptists, methodists and other dissenters will be in the midst of us.” Bishop Bafs* will be (ex officio) one of the governors of Harvard college, and bishop Jarvis † one of the cor-

* Of Massachusetts.

† Of Connecticut.



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al clergy and federal civilians, whose unmerciful abuse of republicans has led them beyond retreating ground. *We should anchor these at head and stern, lest they come round to our side; for their depravity is total, their influence is wholly undesirable.* To these men are joined a class of worldly christians, who see no chance of profit or promotion but by their influence: add to these their subalterns and the leaders of those aristocracies, which always aim at the destruction of freedom. Tyranny is uniform, its favorites are few and none but the leaders even of aristocracies can boast of its smiles.

Church and state are subtle: they will pretend that they are gaining strength even in the midst of debility: but their strength will be that of convulsions. They will precede your elections with false reports of forced loans and augmented salaries or some others equally false and to their purpose—they will abuse republican candidates—they will intimidate the weak—they may reduce us for a season: but we begin to work with solid capital—the republicans, who act with us openly, will be constant—those, who are opposed to us, must be knowingly opposed to the government of a majority and to every general principle, which their leaders formerly taught.

Their cause, their past means, their certain duplicity are so many arguments that they must fail. **THE POLITICAL CLERGY ARE THE WORST ENEMIES OF THE CHURCH. THE FEDERAL LEADERS ARE THE WORST ENEMIES OF OUR REVOLUTION, AND BOTH ARE ENEMIES TO THE COMMON PEOPLE.**

This declaration is not the *sentiment* of one man only, but of many thousands in New-England, whose united force and responsibility will be competent to its defence.

CORRECTIONS.

- Page 24. wary *for* weary.
 105. altitude *for* attitude.
 114. motives *for* nations.
 121. rational *for* national.