

VOL. LXXIV.

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precious Confessions.—In the extract which we give this evening from a Long Talk of brother Leib, we present a curious discussion, by the eminent leader of that section of the democratic party, called Clintonian, of the question whether the people are in a better condition than they were under the administration of John Adams?—A little enquiry (says he) will demonstrate that they are not. List them, oh! List, ye Tammanies of Tammany Hall, for these are the words of your own brother; one who has wintered and summered with you; one who, by the side of your own Clinton, has counted the calumet in your wigwam, and the times that tried men's souls; one who has graced your Indian file on many a torrid fourth of July, and whose paposes were sacrificed to the honor of the occasion; one who held an exalted place in the senate of Pennsylvania and a still more exalted one in the senate of the United States; who has for twenty-eight years been an attentive observer of public men and measures: this is the man you are now called upon to listen to; this is the man, and not a federalist, who tells you explicitly that your national administration is corrupt and abandoned; that the republic is rapidly on the decline, owing to the profligate and incompetent rulers who have the management of your affairs; and yet a little longer, (I quote his own words, Tammanies,) yet, a little longer in such hands, and we shall understand how Augustus abused the Roman people with the shadows of the Commonwealth, while the substance was held by the hands of Caesar. We see (says he) that in fact the president nominates his successor.—But read for yourselves what follows:

N. I. Herald.

From the Carlisle Herald. EXTRACT FROM A LONG TALK delivered before the Tammany Society, or Brethren of Principle; at the celebration of their Anniversary, May 13, 1816,

BY DR. MICHAEL LEIB.

"A political association such as this society presents, ought to be the picket guard of a camp, in the presence of an enemy, always on the alert, and ever watchful to guard against the approaches of every enemy to our republican institutions, and to aid in defending the palladium of our liberties against the assaults of open or concealed enemies. It is a sacred duty which we have pledged ourselves to perform, and from which we cannot shrink without being infidel to our families and to our country. What is there so important as dear to a man as freedom? Disguise thyself as thou wilt, still slavery, still thou art a bitter draught; and whether the draught be brought upon us by profligate friends or avowed foes, 'thou art not the less bitter on that account.' To avert this bitter draught and to transmit that glorious inheritance acquired for us by a Franklin and a Washington, and the other sages and heroes of the revolution even to our children, it has become necessary for every patriot in a republic to be upon the watch tower, and that no son of Tammany should slumber upon his post. The guards provided by the constitution are founded on the experience of all times, that a republic is always in danger from men in power, and that it is by vigilance, unceasing vigilance alone, that it can be preserved. History, said Lord Bolingbroke, is philosophy teaching by example; let us recur to this melancholy record, that those who were elevated to power by the indulgence of the people, and in all countries, with rare exceptions, became the robbers of their rights and the assassins of their happiness. If then, on an examination of the conduct of

men in power in our yet young republic, we shall discover that the same causes which have produced the decline and fall of all republics, are already in operation among us, and arrived at an alarming height; we must resist the sinister encroachments in time, before evil becomes inveterate, and by a recurrence to first principles and a prompt and vigorous opposition to bad men and measures, or nothing short of miraculous interposition can save us from a similar fate with all the republics that have flourished and fallen before us. It will be in vain to pray to Hercules unless we put our own shoulders to the wheel and help ourselves.

Brothers, let us ask ourselves this question, are we in a better condition now as a people and a political party, than we were under the administration of president Adams?—A little enquiry will demonstrate to us that we are not: 'tis true that individuals who were in opposition to his administration, and who call themselves republicans, have profited by the change; but has our country benefited? Have our principles been improved? Has our constitution sustained no rude shock? Have those abuses which were then reprobated been corrected? Have the enormities complained of in former times been avoided or diminished? Has the purity and simplicity of republican manners been preserved or chastened by the example or the practice of the public agents?

President Adams did not pretend to be the friend of a representative democracy. He commenced that famous system of proscription which Mr. Madison has amplified and improved, that no man should hold an office under government who thwarted its measures, with this single difference between them that Mr. Adams directed his vengeance against his political adversaries, against democrats; while Mr. Madison, with a spirit more truly inquisitorial, comprehends within his proscription, men of the same political family to which he professes to belong, and spares and patronizes time serving federalists* while he persecutes and destroys independent democrats.

Names only have changed, or we might truly style the present, the administration of Mr. Adams continued. An examination of it will present us with the same features, the same extravagance, the same lust of power, the same disregard of the constitution, the same intolerance, the same impositions, the same injustice, in a word if Mr. Madison had succeeded by inheritance, he could not have been a more humble imitator of the maxims and measures of president Adams, though not of his candor. It was said of Gen. Hamilton, that he pronounced the constitution to be only paper and parchment: from this it would seem as if he had been gifted with the spirit of prophecy, and had foreseen that James Madison would become president of the United States.

Brothers, an accurate observer of the rise & fall of ancient republics, remarks, that "there cannot be a more certain symptom of the approaching ruin of a state, than when a firm adherence to party is fixed upon as the only test of merit, and all the qualifications requisite to a right discharge of every employment, are reduced to this single standard." What then must be our condition, when men are measured, not by their virtues, not by their talents, not by their adherence to republican principles, not by their devotion to their country, but by their attendance at a drawing-room, their subserviency to an executive magistrate, and an adherence to his party! To question the propriety of any measure, however it may be at war with all former professions, however injurious it may be thought to the public welfare, is sufficient to proscription of the individual who has this daring; and no merit, nor past services can arrest his doom. The offices of the people are thus made the means of corruption, and public officers, who of right belong only to the people, hold their offices by a kind of feudal tenure, and are converted into a body of Swiss, to march & to counter march, to present or to lay down their arms, to take aim, or to charge bayonet, as the captain general or some

satrap of his may direct.—Does this state of things, that you cannot be ignorant of, manifest the purity or the integrity of our government? We have no longer a republican party, holding the principles contained in the declaration of independence as sacred, and a rule of conduct for the government of a free people. It has been prostrated by power, and a party has arisen upon its ruins, composed of the friends of executive magistrates, not unaptly compared to the Butes of Great Britain, household troops made up of the king's friends. It is not a party of federalists, but of a character more abhorrent to the public mind; it is a party using gold and reverend names as a mask, who are oligarchs in practice, and use British maxims and British examples for their guide. The king can do wrong in England, and here the president can do no wrong, according to existing maxims. There, a chancellor of exchequer directs the national representatives like puppets; and here a secretary of the treasury, a hopeful and an imported sprig from the stock of monarchy, speaks to the representatives of freemen, as a pedagogue would to his school boys.—There venality stalks abroad in the face of day, and here it is covered only with a cobweb veil.—There, vice is arrayed in dignity, here it is studded with littleness and meanness. There the hard earnings of the poor are filched from them without a sympathy; and here the purses of freemen are considered as open, to glut the cupidity and the avarice of men in power. There, war is considered a pastime, and here it is a chess board for political gamblers to play upon. This short analogy will satisfy you, my brethren, that instead of a republican, we have the rule of oligarchs, who make public functionaries as George the Third makes knights of the Bath, or a minister of his members of Parliament; and that in such hands we shall soon finish our republican career.

What has become of economy, the boast of democrats, may the pass word to power? Have we seen any glimmerings of it through the darkness of the times? Shall we look for it in a late act of congress to increase their pay to more than 12 dolls. a day? Commerce is languishing, manufacturers are at a stand the currency embarrassed, taxes heavy, and the people in difficulties; and yet at such a moment, & with an enormous public debt upon their shoulders, our economical and democratic administration, so called, more than double the congressional pay! The people to be sure will no longer have cause to complain of long sessions, for as members of congress are salaried by economy, the course of legislation will be as rapid as impatience itself would desire. Hereafter congress will be enabled to dispatch its business in about three months, or less, and then the economical advocates of the new republican school may comfort themselves with an allowance of seventeen dollars a day.

But, brothers, there is a feature in this measure which so strongly marks the degeneracy of the times, that I must be permitted to call your particular attention to it. The act, which more than doubles the pay of the members of congress, is ushered into the world by a false title; it is a fraud upon the public, and a deception practised to keep the people ignorant of the measure, as if the authors were ashamed or afraid it should be known. There is a littleness and a meanness in it which has no legislative parallel in our country. The act is entitled "an act to alter the mode of compensating members of congress." Is this true? The mode of compensation remains the same, while the amount is more than doubled. The speaker, no doubt draws his check as usual. The money, I suppose, is put into his hands by the treasury, and the sergeant at arms calls at the bank, receives the money and pays it over to the members. Unless then this method be altered, the mode remains the same: how unworthy then of a national legislature to resort to a contemptible artifice to cover their outrage by its proper name, and say at once, that it was an act to double or treble the pay of members of congress; & to place them upon the pension list? This

would have been honest and an indication of their conviction, that the deed would bear the light.

Brothers, with real sorrow I say it, our republic is rapidly on the decline. That constitution which was made by the patriots and sages of our country, by the best hands, and by the best hearts in it, is already little more than a caput mortuum; & yet a little longer in such hands, we shall understand how Augustus amused the Roman people with the shadows of the Commonwealth, while the substance was held by the hands of Caesar. We see already, that in fact, the president nominates his successor; he nominates and appoints the secretary of state, and an imperial senate consultum, under executive advisement, constitutes the secretary of state president. The people are amused with slips of paper, upon which names are written; & they carry them to the poll and drop them into a box, and this is called the right of suffrage and the election of their public functionaries; when in fact sixty-five members of congress, out of two hundred and eighteen, prohibited by the constitution from being electors, assembled in divan, drilled for the purpose, and exercise the functions of electors by dictating to the people who shall be their president.

And all such men pretend to popular favour or public confidence? No, brothers, we have tried and found them wanting; let them retire from their stations, and be it our duty to look for men to supply their places, who will not abuse their trust, who will administer the government in its true spirit, and not employ it for their own sordid or ambitious purposes. Let not the walls of the rebuilt palace (as it is nicknamed) be profaned by the occupancy of a tenant, who ingloriously surrendered that palace and the national capital to a band of modern Saracens, under another Omar, without a struggle; and by a dastardly flight from the field of battle, appalled and dismayed the yeomanry of the country, who, with a different example from their chief magistrate, would have died in its defence.

Brothers, we have too much cause for sorrow and alarm, when we see venality, in almost every department of the government; prodigality and profligacy walking hand in hand; honest men driven from office for daring to think as freemen; women interfering, and directing public affairs; embassies planned to make room for a brother-in-law, § servants of the people assembling the pomp state of Persian satraps; when we see the constitution estimated as a piece of old parchment, and an oath of office considered as imposing no moral obligations; when we see an English adventurer, who is not by British laws, released from his allegiance, and who an illustrious chief magistrate pronounced an English agent not ten years ago, palsying the sinews of this nation in time of war with his monarch; and exercising a controul over its destinies; while we are seized with astonishment at the phenomenon, we cannot but behold in these things the rapid decline of this still infant Republic, and its hasty march on the road to ruin.

I am aware, brothers, that in giving you this imperfect portrait of our affairs, and in daring to speak as a freeman, I expose myself to the malignity of corrupt men, and that all their curs and spaniels will be let loose upon me. Be it so, let them rail and let them revile; the only regret I shall feel on the occasion will be, in the reflection, that the money and the offices of the people are employed to stifle free inquiry, and to sap the foundation of our republican system. But while I have the power of utterance, and am not gagged by a seditious law, nothing shall deter me from raising my feeble voice to unmask hypocrisy, and expose corruption. It was not to become the panders of professed republicans out of office, but tyrants when in; that we united our efforts with them to reduce President Adams to a private station. It was not a change of masters and a change for the worse too, which strung our nerves to resistance in the contest of 99 and 1800, it was principles and not men, which then formed our motto, and which I trust will never

shall abandon, but with our lives.— If the conduct of the men of our choice be worthy of our cause and worthy of themselves; if republicans sustain the high character to which they pretend, as well in as out of power, we owe it to our principles and justice to give them our cordial support; but if they become our betrayers, and seek our ruin in their own aggrandizement, they merit a double portion of abhorrence. To endeavour to gratify ambition of cupidity by the ruin of a friend is the worst of human vices, and ought to consign the perfidious wretch to everlasting infamy. We have been betrayed brothers; power has corrupted the men of our confidence, and our choice. A change has become necessary to our safety. Liberty can endure in a pure atmosphere, produced by frequent changes only; in fact, to use the words of an enlightened commentator on the British government, "Exclusion by rotation, is the only bulwark of freedom."

* To a democrat who remarked, that many of the old republicans were falling off from him, he replied, "we are numerically and physically as strong as ever, for what we lose among republicans we gain among federalists!"

† After the first rocket was fired by the enemy at Bladenburgh, Mr. Madison called out. "Come general Armstrong, come colonel Monroe, let us go, and leave it to the commanding general," and galloped from the field!!

‡ My husband and I, said the wife of a patriot of modern stamp, who boxed the political compass, are going to Washington to endeavour to get the — Office, and I mean to apply to Mrs. M. to use her influence, and we shall certainly succeed; for the office my husband holds will not maintain us, and there is so little to be done at the law, that we shall be obliged to remove into the country unless Mr. — gets the — Office. They went to Washington and in a few days he returned with the commission in his pocket!!

The nomination to a high and dignified office was depending before the Senate; at the request of Mrs. M. an officer of high rank waited upon a member of the senate, and in the name of Mrs. M. requested that he would vote for the nomination. "Tell Mrs. M. from me, replied the senator, that I came here to represent the state of —, and not to represent her, and whatever conscience and duty direct, will be done, and beyond this, neither she nor her husband have any thing to expect." This republican answer drew down executive vengeance upon the senator's head.

§ Mr. Russel, the present minister to Sweden, was designated as the superintendent general of military stores. Mr. Madison desired this place to be given to his brother-in-law, Richard Cutts, and said, that he would make provision for Mr. Russel in another way, and out of this grew the Swedish mission; for Cutts was converted into a superintendent-general of military stores, a sort of fifth wheel to a coach, and Mr. Russel was appointed minister plenipotentiary to Sweden.

|| Mr. Dallas.

By the Corporation of the City of Annapolis, June 11th, 1816.

Ordered, That the Treasurer be and he is hereby authorized and directed to cause surety to be issued against each and every delinquent debtor, whose account shall not be settled and paid on or before the first day of August next.

True copy. Test. John Brecken, Clerk June 13.

50 Dollars Reward.

Abandoned from the subscriber, living in Anne Arundel county, on the 4th day of June, A Negro Man.

Named HARRY BLUE, about twenty six years old, about five feet five or six inches high; when spoken to, he is rather awkward in answering; he has lost one of his upper teeth, has very thick lips and very large ankles, and turns his feet out very much, has a large scar on one of his arms. He took with him two pair of oznaburg trousers, and two shirts of the same, one black coat, an old fur hat, one blue roundabout jacket and trousers. I will give forty dollars if taken in Baltimore county, or twenty five if taken in Anne Arundel county, and all reasonable expenses, if bro't home to the President Farm, within a half a mile of Annapolis; or the above reward if lodged in jail.

John Mathews.

June 27.

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