

giers or Turkey, or as if they could derive advantages from anarchy. Should they be cursed with final success in their endeavors, they and their posterity will mourn the consequences.

The national vessel is on rocks and quicksands, and in danger of shipwreck. There is, moreover, a larger and more formidable vessel preparing all possible means for her destruction. Yet, instead of efforts to extricate her, the crew are distracted by a dispute how she came into that situation. The grand and only object with a part of them is to seize the helm—and rather than not succeed, they are resolved she shall go to perdition. This party swears all our difficulty and danger are owing to the imbecility, the corruption, the madness, the folly of the pilot, whom they threaten with “a halter,” or to put him ashore “on the Island of Elba.” The others swear with equal vehemence, that the refractory, turbulent, and factious spirit of the mutinous part of the crew has run the vessel aground. They are accordingly determined to defend the pilot. A few individuals, who see that both parties had contributed to produce this calamitous event, in vain hold out “*the Olive Branch*,” and implore them to suspend all enquiries as to the cause of the danger till the ship is righted. It is in vain. While the parties are more and more inflamed against each other, the vessel bulges on a sharp rock—down she goes—pilot—and supporters—and mutineers—and peace makers—all in one common destruction.

This I am fearful will be our fate. But it may be prevented. All that is necessary is for a few influential men in the different states to unite—bury the hatchet—and lay aside all minor considerations while the vessel of state is in danger. This policy is so obviously just, that one hundred individuals throughout the union setting the example, would have sufficient efficacy to accomplish the blessed object of saving their country.

Will the Clarksons, the Rays, the Ludlows, the Remsens, the Ogdens, the Pearsalls, the Lenoxes, the Harrisons, the Lawrences, the M’Cormicks, of New-York—the Willings, the Francisces, the Norrises, the Biddles, the Latimers, the Tilghmans, the Walns, the Ralstons, the Lewises, of Philadelphia—the Gilmors, the Olivers, the Sterets, the Howards, the Smiths, the Bryces, the Grahams, the Cookes, of Baltimore—and other such estimable federalists throughout the union, continue to regard with apathy the dangers of their country, and not make a bold and decisive stand to rescue her? No. It cannot be. Heaven has not, I hope, so far blotted us out of its favourable remembrance, as to abandon us to such a frightful destiny. It will at this late hour interpose for our salvation and dispel the horrible mists of passion and prejudice—of madness and folly—which intercept from our view the abyss that yawns before us, ready to swallow us up in remediless destruction.

In England, the opposition to the ministry is always violent, and, like the opposition here, is too generally directed against *all the measures of government*, whether meritorious or otherwise. But there is in parliament a substantial *country party*, which occasionally votes with the minister, and occasionally with the opposition—supporting or opposing measures as conscience dictates.

It is a most unfortunate fact, that in congress the number of members of this description is *very small*. That body may be generally classed into federalists and democrats, who too frequently vote in solid columns. There are, I grant, laudable exceptions. But they are too rare.

This is one of the worst features in the situation of the country. The indiscriminate adherence to party, and uniform support of party arrangements, *encourage the leaders to proceed to extremities*, and to adopt violent and pernicious measures, which the good sense of their followers may reprobate, but from which they have not *fortitude enough to withhold their support*. This has been in all countries the most frightful of the consequences of the unholy and deleterious spirit of faction. Men, originally of the purest hearts and best intentions, are by this *ignis fatuus*, gradually corrupted, and led step by step to unite in acts at which they would, at the commencement of their career, have recoiled with horror and affright. I believe it is a sound political maxim, that a *thoroughgoing party-man never was a perfectly honest politician*; for there perhaps never yet was a party free from errors and crimes, more or less gross, in exact proportion to the folly or the wickedness of its leaders.