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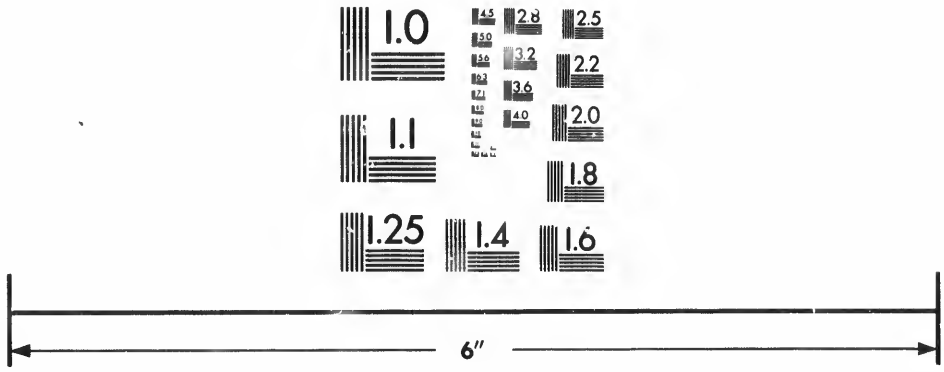

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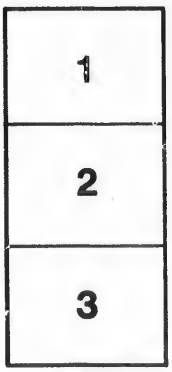

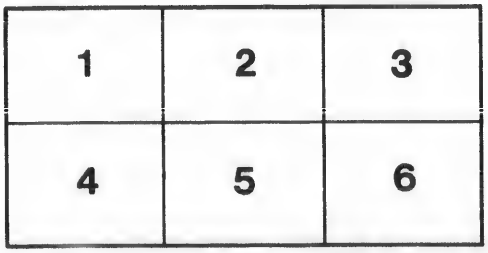

THE

CRISIS:

ON THE

ORIGIN

AND

CONSEQUENCES OF OUR POLITICAL DISSENSIONS.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED,

THE LATE TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN.

BY A CITIZEN OF VERMONT.

The greatest evils are not arrived at their utmost period until those who are in power have lost all sense of shame. At such a time those who should obey shake off all respect and subordination. Then is lethargic indolence roused, but roused by convulsions.

CARDINAL DE RETZ.

What can be done to save the Republic? Time that sooths all other sufferings will bring us no relief if we neglect or throw away the means in our hands. What are they? Truth and Argument. They are feeble means; feeble indeed, against prejudice and passion; yet they are all we have and we must try them. They will be jury-masts if we are ship-wrecked.

FISHER AMES.

ALBANY:
PRINTED BY E. & E. HOSFORD

1815.

PREFACE.

For twenty-five years the spirit of party has raged in this country, to the disturbance of its peace, the ruin of its interest, and the dishonor of its name.

The new actors in the political drama, and they are the principal or at least the most active ones, seem to have taken it for granted, that the quarrel among the leaders was well begun, and it is their duty to fight on, until the triumphs of party are consummated.

Since the commencement of the present war, experience has taught us that in times of great and common danger no measure can succeed, without more union among the people: and that will never happen unless the people will impartially review their political conduct, and re-examine the grounds of their political prejudices.

Unless these can be removed, the Author of the ensuing pages has long believed they will eventually lead to civil war and the ruin of liberty.

This to him is a sufficient apology, for an attempt at this time, to leave for a moment, the contest about measures, and to call back the attention of his fellow-citizens from the commotions and ruins which surround them, to the first causes of their political prejudices: to enquire who it was that enkindled the flames of civil discord among us, and why we are a divided people.

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THE CRISIS.

WRITTEN TOWARD THE CLOSE OF THE LATE WAR.

Courage may purchase liberty,
But wisdom and virtue must perpetuate its duration.

To the People of the United States.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS,

THERE are certain periods in the course of human events, when the affairs of civil government excite an extraordinary interest in the public mind.

Such a period has commenced. And in a free republic like ours, when a blind confidence in rulers could never be a virtue, it would at the present time be criminal.

When the public wealth is wasting, and its credit sinking in the dust; when the horrors of a ruinous and hopeless war are spreading around us devastation and misery; shall we, whose ancestors have purchased for us our liberties at the expense of their blood and treasure, amidst the thunders of contending nations, shall we their descendants stand still, and in stupid silence see the mighty fabric of our freedom trembling to its base, without one bold and manly effort to avert its ruin?

We believe still, that among our unalienable rights are those of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and to secure these rights and for this purpose only, governments are instituted among men. In 1774 we remonstrated against the administration of the British government because, as we believed, it became destructive of these great ends of its institution. And to provide for ourselves a constitution which should secure to us a remedy against the abuse of power, we appealed to arms, and after a conflict of eight long years, we victoriously triumphed.

This mighty revolution was effected, this dreadful sacrifice of blood and treasure was suffused, to secure to the people of the United States the right of changing the councils of the nation, whenever their interests or happiness should require it.

But we have as yet only learned from this event that oppressed man possesses the power of becoming free; that a bold and hardy race like that which achieved our independence, may by a long series of abuses and usurpations, be roused from the lethargy of oppression, shake off their fetters, fly to arms, destroy their oppressors, and rise to liberty and to glory. But to perpetuate the blessings of liberty, the wisdom and the efforts of man have hitherto been exhausted in vain.

Although we have seen the long and dismal train of fallen republics pass in awful review before us and consigned to the wretched dominion of despotic power; we yet indulge the hope that a constitution written on paper, will preserve our liberties entire, amidst the conflicts of contending factions, of passion, of vice and error! Vain and delusive hope. Man by his courage and physical power may acquire liberty, but wisdom and virtue must render its duration perpetual.

But if the seeds of dissolution are implanted in the constitution of our republic, and death must be its fate, it is a duty which we owe to the memory of our illustrious fathers and heroes, who purchased it for us with their blood, which we owe to ourselves, our country and posterity, to strain every nerve, exhaust the last power of intellect, and if necessary to surrender even life itself, to protract its dying nature, and from its expiring convulsions snatch the spirit of liberty, and render its reign on earth immortal. The boasted liberties of Greece and Rome could not survive the conflicts of contending faction; they have perished, and whatever remained of the spirit of real liberty in modern Europe, has found an asylum only in the United States.

In the political as well as the natural or moral world, the principle that like causes will produce like effects, is equally important and true. And the history of republics has taught us, that such a state of things as now exists, has always preceded, and been as it were the precursor of their ruin: And in every age and nation in which rational liberty has existed and been lost, they have proved the tocsin of civil war, its final catastrophe.

Men who are born, and educated in the same common country, do not fall to killing each other without some powerful pretext. A quarrel must precede; strong prejudices must be excited; the angry and malignant passions must first be put in motion, to

prepare men to commence the business of robbery, devastation and murder.

These passions and prejudices have already been engendered in the conflicts of party dissensions, and have so increased in magnitude and in virulence, that their influence seems to bid defiance to the dominion of reason. Cool and dispassionate disquisitions have given place to the asperity and malignity of party zeal; the interest and glory of our country are absorbed in the views of private ambition: a spirit of hatred, of malice and revenge has arrayed every man against his fellow; the discordant murmur of the multitude swells in every breeze, and like the terrific sound which precedes the earthquake, admonishes us of an approaching convulsion: The last republic on earth is divided against itself and trembles to its fall!

And is there no remedy? Or has the history of fallen republics been recorded for us in vain? Have the evils which surround us, resulted from an imperious and inevitable necessity? Many of you my fellow citizens, well remember that happy period of our history, when all hearts were united in the choice of the first chief magistrate, who presided in the councils of the republic.

The first organization of our government was hailed by all classes of our citizens, as the triumphant morning of a millennial day; never was there a more perfect union of sentiment exhibited on earth, than by the freemen of the United States, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, in the choice of their rulers. And never did the legislators of a free people command more confidence from their constituents, than those who at that time, administered the government. But only twenty-five years have passed away, and how changed is the scene; how portentous the prospect before us! All confidence in our rulers lost, all confidence in each other. No union among our citizens, except in the belief of this one solemn truth, that our disunion will soon put an end to our liberties.

Those party dissensions which palsy the arm of government, overwhelm the wisdom and defeat the councils of the republic, have had their origin. The present distracted state of things, has evidently been produced by a certain chain of events, which can as easily be traced to their original cause, as our rivers to their source; and it is just as absurd, to think of changing it for

the better without removing that cause, as to stop the flowing of the stream while its source remains.

It is not necessary to consult the oracles of inspiration for proof of this important truth, that a house divided against itself cannot stand: or that this maxim is equally applicable to a political state, as to a more domestic compact. Experience that unerring precept has taught us, that the influence of party spirit has been the principal cause of our present national calamities; and this it is which presents an awful barrier in the way of that relief, which not only our present necessities, but the very existence of our republican institutions imperiously demand.

The present war which has brought on our defenceless frontiers on every side, an invading and powerful foe, calls for the united energies of every class of citizens. To have insured to us a successful and glorious termination of the present contest, the whole spirit of the republic should have been wrought up to a degree of enthusiasm and ardor in support of the cause.

In a free state where every thing depends on the dispositions of the people, measures of great and awful magnitude like that of war, which is to put at hazard, life, liberty, and property, should correspond with the views, and wishes of the people.

With a frontier on the shores of the Atlantic, of more than fourteen hundred miles, exposed to an enemy who had at her command a thousand ships, completely manned and fitted for hostile operations, with about the same extent of territory on the west and north, bordering on numerous nations of the savage and merciless tribes, who might easily be engaged in the contest against us; and with a population of only about seven millions, thinly scattered over an immense territory, without a navy, without fortifications, without disciplined troops; under such circumstances, to declare war without an assurance that the people would unite heart and hand in support of the cause, must be worse than stupidity, it must be folly and madness in the extreme.

And had the authors of the present war this assurance? No, fellow-citizens, you well know they had not. No sooner was it known that war was declared against Great Britain, than one general expression of disapprobation and of anxious solicitude for the event, pervaded all classes.

In a free republic which has virtue for its base, and the general

happiness for its supreme object, the people uninfluenced by passion or prejudice, will never believe it to be wise or expedient, to make war, even when the cause would justify resistance, unless there is at least some ground to hope that the injured nation will be able thereby to redress her wrongs. The idea that the conquest of Canada, could it be effected, would compel Great-Britain to yield to our claims on the ocean, is too ridiculous to admit of any consideration: and no one, who had much knowledge of her political state, believed she would give up the right she claimed to impress her native seamen when found in neutral ships, to any one except her conquerors; and to become her conquerors the people had neither a disposition, nor confidence in their power.

The rulers of a free people would never hazard their popularity, by disregarding the great and fundamental maxims of their government, while they believed that cool and unprejudiced reason was predominant in the public mind.

But have we not reason to fear that happy period of our existence is passed, never to return.

"In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it should be enlightened." But when I ask were the people enlightened, when consulted, when were they called upon to deliberate seriously upon the expediency of making war on the British nation, for the purpose of compelling her to yield her right of impressment. Never until war was resolved upon, was it pretended that in the year 1812, this cause would justify resistance; or even if it would, that it was wise or expedient to declare war at that time. The British Orders in Council were equally with the French Milan and Berlin Decrees, considered by the people as the only causes which could justify resistance. These obnoxious Orders and Decrees it was believed were intended by the two great belligerents of Europe to annoy each other, rather than to be aimed at our neutral commerce.

When it was known in this country that the obnoxious Decrees of France were repealed, the people believed, they had good reason to believe, that the British Orders in Council would soon be revoked. When, therefore, the administration had recommended an immediate appeal to arms, and the federalists then in Con-

gress, saw the torrent of calamities about to burst upon the country, they warned, they intreated them to delay, even for a few days, until despatches from Great-Britain could arrive, which might announce the revocation of the Orders in Council; and if war was inevitable, they urged them to delay a measure of such awful magnitude, until the country could be better prepared to meet the event. But in vain; the war was proclaimed, contrary to the views and wishes of the people, not of that class only who are called federalists, but the great body of freemen, who have to hazard their lives and property in the contest.

Before Great-Britain could have any knowledge of this event, and within eight days after it happened, her Orders in Council were revoked, and that as soon as she had knowledge of the repeal of the Milan and Berlin decrees. This was an event which our rulers must have anticipated. No sooner had a knowledge of the revocation of the Orders in Council reached this country, than the people expected an armistice, and an immediate end put to hostilities. They did not believe the administration were seriously resolved on a war at that time, to compel the British to yield their right of impressment, as they well remembered that Mr. Monroe, who Mr. Madison had employed to settle that business, had declared that the propositions made by the British commission, and the explanation which accompanied it, was both honorable and advantageous to the United States: and that it contained a concession in their favour on the part of Great-Britain, on the great principle in contestation, never before made by a formal and obligatory act of their government, which was highly favorable to their interests. Therefore, with respect to that the people did not believe all hope of settlement by treaty had failed, notwithstanding what Mr. Madison had said to the contrary.

The public opinion had not been enlightened on any subject relative to the causes of the war, except the Orders in Council, so far as to induce the people to indulge for a moment a confidence, that any other cause existed at that time which could justify offensive hostilities. But their expectations were disappointed. No armistice was to take place, none was ever contemplated by our rulers, but only by the honest freemen who wished for it, who wished for peace.

This hopeless and ruinous war must go on; a war which has already driven from our defenceless frontiers the helpless and peaceable inhabitants; which has laid in ruins our flourishing towns and villages, which has filled our land with widows and orphans, with suffering, with sorrow, and with tears; and which has already entailed on posterity, a debt, which will inflict on generations yet unborn, years of toil and of pain. And after all this, our administration will be forced to accept of a disgraceful peace, if they can get any.

I am sensible there is a large class of citizens among us, on whom argument would be lost; who would shut their eyes against the light, and their ears to truth; who would rather see the last vestige of republican liberty in ruin, than see their leaders forced to resign the power which they have abused; in whose breasts the interests and the love of party has extinguished every glow of patriotism: To such men I do not appeal; but to those who would yet, to the paltry views of party, prefer the durable interests and glory of their country; to them I appeal, and to their candid and serious consideration I submit—whether the present war, and the ruinous policy which has led to it, has not been produced by councils founded in corruption and error.

On the nineteenth day of June 1812, could the voice of the people been heard in the capitol, would it not have thundered its solemn veto on the proceedings of that awful day? Could they for a moment have exercised the powers of legislation, would they not have indignantly annulled an act, engendered in the Court of St. Cloud, and recorded in letters of blood?

It is not necessary for me at this time to present to your vision all that formidable array of evils, which are fast gathering around us, and which have evidently been produced by the weak and corrupt policy of the last fourteen years, to convince you that the councils of the nation ought to be changed. The fact is acknowledged: not by the authors of this policy: not by those who have, or who expect to derive emoluments from their agency in the present administration: but by the honest freemen, who hold no office under the administration, and who expect none. They with the frankness and sincerity becoming republicans, who wish to perpetuate the duration of their liberties, they now declare they

believe the present policy must be changed, to save from ruin the interests and the glory of our republic.

But these good and honest citizens, have not as yet discovered the means by which this all important change can be effected.

They have hoped, and hoped in vain, that the men or the friends and advocates of these very men, who have produced the present state of things will change it for the better.

A strange fatality seems always to have marked the course of republics. Events happen, "and we are astonished, as if they were miracles." One would suppose that our citizens had already lost sight of the great object of our republican institutions.

Recollect for a moment what were your sentiments respecting a remedy for national calamities fourteen years ago. You then held it as a principle that power long exercised had a corrupting influence on the conduct of rulers: that whenever through corruption or error an administration had adopted a system of policy destructive to the interests of the nation, it was expedient to change that administration, by placing it in the hands of others, not of those who had advocated and supported such destructive policy, but of those who had opposed and condemned it. You then professed to believe that in a republic like ours, the administration should have no views, no object or no interests opposed to the views and wishes of the people. And you professed to believe, whether you had or had not grounds for your belief, that the federal administration had produced evils to remedy which a change was necessary. You called on your friends and fellow-citizens to aid you in effecting a change of *rulers* by their suffrages: they gave you their aid. Thousands at that time sacredly pledged themselves that they had nothing in view at that time, in wishing for a change *of rulers*, but the interests and glory of their country. That whenever they found themselves disappointed in the result of new measures, they would aid in restoring the power of the former administration.

And your new measures have now been tried for more than fourteen years, and beyond all endurance.

And now you ask what can be done to save the republic.

The united energies and the whole resources of the country are put in requisition, and we are a divided people. One pulls

this way and another that: the wheels of government roll heavily on and our enemies triumph.

You fellow-citizens who are advocates for the present policy, until very lately professed to believe that an opposition to the measures of the majority had a salutary effect on the administration: that it tended to keep alive the spirit of liberty, and awaken the people to a sense of the dangerous encroachments of abused power. Had the leaders of the party in power opposed measures only, you might at this time have gloried in the privileges of an elective government, and would long before this, have arrested the progress of those evils which have brought us to the present alarming crisis.

But their opposition was not confined to measures. Federalists have been proscribed, and denounced, as dangerous men, enemies to our republican constitution, tories and British partizans, unworthy the confidence of a free people. And this accusation has been repeated so many millions of times that many of the honest electors really believe it must be true. They tell you that it is in vain to question the truth of what has been believed for twenty-five years.

It is indeed a lamentable fact, that so many of our best citizens should after fighting and suffering eight years to establish an elective government, wish to erect on its ruins an hereditary monarchy: but our good republican rulers tell us, it is so, and we cannot doubt the truth of it.

In those countries where the structure and administration of the government is based on the ignorance and abject condition of the people, it is not strange that the arts of deception and falsehood should prevail against reason and common sense: but that a majority of the enlightened citizens of the United States, should fall the victims of the most absurd and fatal delusion, in the very infancy of that republic which their wisdom, their virtue and heroic deeds had but just achieved, is one of those political phenomenons, which prejudice alone can divest of mystery. One would suppose that many of our citizens had utterly despaired of saving the republic, and seeing the road to ruin inevitable, had resolved to shut their eyes against the light of truth, thinking that like asses they can travel "best in dangerous roads with blinders on."

For I ask what evils may not the leaders of the party in power inflict with impunity, so long as they assume the name of republican? Notwithstanding they have seen Napoleon under that assumed name enslave and oppress thirty millions of deluded Frenchmen, and on the ruins of liberty, erect a despotism so horrid and so stupendous, that nothing but the conflagration of Moscow could stop its progress to the ruins of a world!

Yet in the United States this word republican has acquired a magic, a resistless, charm. One who assumes that appellation attaches to his character, all those admirable qualities, which constitute the pure patriot, the exclusive friend of an elective government, and the rights of man. While the man who has the misfortune to be called a federalist, is not only proscribed as a tory and dangerous citizen, but becomes thereby absolutely disfranchised. For as it respects the evils which may result to society or individuals, by excluding from office a large portion of our most respectable citizens, it is the same whether they are excluded through the influence of fraud and delusion, or by power of the constitution.

When during the French revolution, the deluded citizens of that devoted country, believed there was no way to regain their "long lost liberties," but by cutting off the heads of their best citizens, the error proved as fatal to the poor victims of the guillotine, and to the liberties of those who escaped it, as though they had suffered by virtue of authority derived from a constitution of civil government. When prejudice becomes deep rooted, so as to gain an entire ascendency over the mind, it has the power of a law upon the conduct and becomes even a more invariable rule of action. For men are sometimes disposed to violate the law, and when they can with impunity, will do it: whereas, they never feel disposed to act against their inveterate prejudices.

When in an elective government such prejudices have armed one part of the citizens against the other, and all confidence in each other is lost, the minority are thereby rendered ineligible to office, they are in effect disfranchised so long as such prejudices are predominant. The republic in such a state partakes of an aristocracy, in proportion as the number of proscribed citizens, re-

duces the number of those who only can administer the government. Suppose then we have in the United States, one million of free white male citizens, about five hundred thousand of these have the misfortune to be called federalists; and are denounced as enemies to our free constitution and to republican liberty. It is acknowledged these men are at least equally respectable, for their talents, their information, their wealth and useful habits. Among the remaining five hundred thousand, composing the party in power, the leaders of that party will not select and recommend to the people as candidates for office; more than one to five hundred, so that in the present state of parties, the electors who support the present policy by their suffrages, under the influence of these inveterate prejudices, which exclude federalists from a participation in the administration, have to select those who are to direct and controul our great national concerns, from less than one thousandth part of the freemen. And among these it will be acknowledged a great number are more distinguished for their party zeal, than by those important qualifications which the high respectability of their trust requires.

So long as the influence of these prejudices continues to blind and delude so many of our citizens, the leaders of the party in power may rest secure in the patronage of their constituents, until they shall establish an aristocracy on the ruins of liberty.

If it is said the electors are not bound to regard a nomination made by the leaders of a party, it may be answered, it is equally true, that under the influence of party spirit and inveterate prejudice, its usual concomitant; it is certain they always have, and always will regard it.

When therefore, it becomes an irrevocable principle with a bare majority of the people to exclude from the administration, a certain class of citizens, to be designated by a particular appellation, and comprising only a minority of the freemen, the leaders of that majority, may with impunity sacrifice the interests of their constituents, to the advancement of their own. For suppose you dismiss from their places in the national legislature, the leaders of the majority, and appoint others of the same party in their stead, it is evident a combination may still exist among the few well informed and influential leaders, of the party both in and out of office, for the purpose of promoting their own views, in opposition to the

views and wishes of the people; for so long as they assume to themselves the right name, call it republican or what you please, they may rest assured that the majority will support them.

And it is generally true, that the members of the national legislature, at the expiration of their term, if they are not re-elected, are still provided with some snug office, and go out among their constituents faithfully pledged to support that policy which they have been instrumental in establishing.

From the nature of man and from the invariable effects of the influence of party spirit on his political conduct, it will always be found, that to change the policy of an administration, in an elective government, where all the electors are divided into two great parties, a revolution of those parties is absolutely necessary. Federal measures would never have been changed by federal men. This truth you once believed. And those of you who pledged yourselves to restore the power of the federal administration, whenever you found yourselves disappointed in the result of new measures, would now, it is believed, gladly change the present ruinous policy by restoring to power federal men, had not your prejudices usurped the throne of cool and dispassionate reason.

You are convinced that the merits of an administration of civil government should be adjudged by its fruits and not by a name. And yet when the policy of our present rulers has involved us in scenes of calamity from which they have not power to extricate us, you persist in proscribing and denouncing as unworthy of your confidence one half of your fellow freemen, because they are called federalists.

But there are times when the triumphs of political delusion, over a minority must come to an end, when the errors of rulers cannot be practised with impunity. Such are times of great national calamity, when life, liberty, and property are put at hazard. Then it is that the errors of an administration, sheds on community its dire effects and awakens the spirit of inquiry into the causes of the evils which surround them. Such is the present crisis.—Until the commencement of the present war, the advocates for the late measures of the administration, have affected to view our political dissensions with great indifference: to consider a faction in a free state as a necessary appendage of liberty. But no sooner were hostilities proclaimed between this country and Great

Britain, than the minority were called upon to join heart and hand in support of the contest, or submit to the imputation of being identified with the enemies of our country. Thus was the opposition to be hushed into silence, and the liberty of speech and of the press, those great bulwarks of freedom, prostrated in the dust.

A powerful minority is no longer considered as a harmless faction. The affairs of the republic have come to a crisis, in which union has become indispensable to prevent a disastrous and inglorious termination of the present contest. But it is in vain to talk of union without just and correct views of the causes of our disunion. The advocates of the present policy are disposed at last to ascribe to our political dissensions, the present calamitous state of things, and to the federalists the first blameable cause.

If our misfortunes should lead us to retrace our steps, and uninfluenced by passion to review our political conduct, and impartially to investigate the causes of our divisions, we might still profit by them. The lessons of history are before us, and they have taught us that thus far we have travelled step by step, the downward course of fallen republics. The evils which the immortal Washington, warned us would be the effects of party spirit, have already completed half their work of ruin. They have distracted the public councils, and enfeebled the public administration: they have agitated the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms: they have kindled the animosity of one part against another: they have fermented occasional riot and insurrection: they have opened the door to foreign influence and corruption, which have found a facilitated access to the government itself, through the channels of party passions, and the policy and will of this country has thereby been subjected to the policy and will of another.

Is it not then our highest wisdom, while beset on every side by a foreign and powerful foe, to inquire with deep solicitude who it is that hath enkindled the flames of civil discord among ourselves.

The present war will probably come to an end, at no very distant period of time: And we have too much reason to fear that the issue will be disastrous if not inglorious.

But the event of it or of any of our foreign relations, can never secure to us durable peace and prosperity, so long as we are distracted with domestic animosity and dissension.

In a free republic like ours, where all may possess the same means of knowing the state of public concerns, and are equally interested in the general welfare, it is impossible that a mere difference of opinion should divide them into two great parties.—Other causes have operated to create our fatal divisions. These must be examined. It may not yet be too late.

Those who first excited ill founded prejudices among the citizens were their worst enemies. Search them out then, and let them know by the indignant voice of your disapprobation, that you will hereafter consider those who shall without a cause, excite party dissensions, as more dangerous to your liberties, and more fatal to your peace and safety, than myriads of mercenary troops, the miserable tools and slaves of foreign despots.

That will be the most important crisis in the history of our republic when it shall be recorded of us, that our reason and wisdom triumphed over passion and prejudice. Not that period when by our courage we purchased liberty, but when by our virtue we stamped on its existence, immortal duration.

No. 2.

That will be the most important CRISIS in the history of our republic, when it shall be recorded of us, that our reason and wisdom triumphed over passion and prejudice: not that period when by our courage we purchased liberty, but when by our virtue we stamped on its existence, immortal duration.

WRITTEN TOWARD THE CLOSE OF THE LATE WAR.

To the citizens of the United States.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS.

IN great and important revolutions which change either the form of government, or the policy of an administration, the people soon lose sight of the first link in the chain of events, by which it is produced.

That ardent love of power so generally, if not universally predominant, operates on the passions, and disposes men to investigate the means by which they may retain it, rather than those by which they have been elevated.

But if by any means weak or corrupt men gain the ascendency in the councils of the nation, no great or at least no very durable evils, need be apprehended from their political errors, provided their constituents seek for correct information, and remain uncorrupted by the influence of party interests.

There are men enough in every free state, who, to acquire power, are ever ready to put in their claim, to the exclusive title

to patriotism ; who to acquire wealth, would acquire political consequence.

It must therefore depend on the wisdom and virtue of the electors, composed of the great mass of useful citizens, to select such rulers as will best secure the perpetuation of liberty. But it unfortunately happens in popular governments, that the electors from local or other causes, are often involved in the same vortex of error and misguided zeal, with their rulers. It is not strange that men who have not much either of wisdom or virtue, to boast of, should in the exercise of power commit errors, and even persevere in them, when they are thereby deriving immediate emoluments to themselves.

But that the electors* who derive no benefits from the administration of civil government, but what result from the influence of wise and equal laws, that they should persist with persevering obstinacy, to support those, whose political conduct has been opposed to their views and wishes, and whose measures have disappointed their most sanguine hopes, cannot be accounted for in any other way than by supposing they are actuated by the influence of delusion and prejudice.

Our error and our misfortune has been, that while we have seen and suffered the effects of party dissensions, we have not retraced our steps to the first cause. According to the usual course of republics, we have progressed from bad to worse, until at last, the evils resulting from the policy of the last fourteen years appear to be fast approaching to a remediless crisis.

It has been well observed by a distinguished writer, " that the

* The author would apply his remarks throughout this address, particularly to that class of electors, who make no pretensions to the qualifications requisite to the duties of public office, and who, whenever they could discern the best interest of their country, would pursue it.

people are never in such danger as when placing a blind confidence in their representatives; who, acting in a body, divide the sense of shame or disgrace among each other, and do things from which a single individual, however dissolute, would shrink with disgust."

The electors may be said to act under the influence of such a confidence, when they support by their suffrages the authors of measures, of which they disapprove by whatever political name their representatives may be called.

But, say the supporters of the present policy, although it appears to us that the present war, and the measures which led to it, are ruinous to the interests of the country, and might have been avoided, yet our representatives have a better view of the whole ground, than we can be supposed to have, and therefore we must conclude they have done what was best, although we had other views of our political state; and it is our duty quietly to submit to the will of the majority.

The representatives of that majority may however sanction measures opposed to your will. In that event you have but one constitutional remedy; by electing other men, who condemn such measures, and will change them. This you will not do; no matter by what motives you are actuated, as it respects the evils which result to the minority and to our country; unless you will remove them by a wise use of your right of suffrage, they must be endured.

By the exercise of this right, the minority cannot remove them, although the proportion of their numbers to that of the majority shall be as ninety-nine to an hundred, and although the evils resulting from such measures should fall with tenfold greater weight on that minority, than on the majority.

This is not a mere chimerical view of the wretched condition to which a free republic may be reduced. For there is no degree of degradation and misery, to which a minority may not be reduced by a dominant party, acting under the dominion of infuriated passion, or inveterate prejudice.

But have you forgotten that there was a time when the leaders of a minority encouraged an open and violent resistance to measures of which they disapproved. In 1792 under the administration of President Washington, the execution of the laws imposing a duty on spirits distilled within the United States was resisted; and that resistance was encouraged by the very men who were then the leaders of a minority, but who now direct the destinies of our country.

If resistance could be justified then; so it could at the present time with equal reason. Many of you who support the men in power at this time, did not then think it was the duty of the people quietly to submit to the will of the majority; if that will was as you professed to believe, destructive of the great end of civil government.

When you were the legitimate subjects of Great Britain in 1775, you disclaimed the right of the British parliament to tax you without your being represented; you would not submit to it. You would no longer be subjected to the evils of an administration, which you could not change. You are now represented in the councils of the nation, and when your representatives tax you contrary to your wishes, and wantonly s[illegible] you devastation and misery, you presume they have [illegible] because they are men of your own choice.

But does the right of suffrage, give impunity to the errors or crimes of rulers?

You endured the privations and sufferings of an eight year's war, because you would not submit to the absurd maxim, that the King can do no wrong: And by a blind confidence, by an obstinate adherence to a certain class of citizens, you would adopt a maxim equally absurd and fatal to liberty. The privileges which the citizens are to derive from the right of suffrage, do not consist in the power which the freemen possess of exercising that right, but in the actual exercise of it by a majority of the electors, in a manner best calculated to promote their political interest and happiness.

Suppose a bare majority of the electors have established it as an irrevocable principle, that they will never elect to office, any one who shall be nominated by the minority; what benefits do that minority derive from the right of suffrage? You say they enjoy the benefit of laws made by the men who are chosen by the majority, which is all they can expect from an elective government. But suppose that majority elect men, who pursue a policy ruinous to the interest and happiness of the people, and should persist in supporting such men; ought such a policy to demand our confidence and cordial submission, because the authors of it enjoy the right of suffrage? If the rights of the people are to be invaded with impunity; if our liberties are to perish, is it a privilege of which freemen should boast, and in which they ought to exult, that they have the right of choosing the men who are to be the instruments of their ruin?

But it is said, the representatives who are chosen by a majority of a free and enlightened people, will, it is to be presumed, best understand, and be disposed to pursue, the best means to promote the public good.

This was not the reasoning of the party in power seventeen

years ago. At that time they arraigned at the bar of public opinion, and condemned the measures of the representatives of a great majority of the electors.

You who now advocate the present policy, had not then adopted the absurd maxim, that the representatives of a free people can do no wrong. You then gloried in the privileges of an elective government, because it authorized you to change the councils of the nation, by removing those who had deceived your confidence. You then complained of the measures of federalists, because they imposed unnecessary and oppressive taxes. But our republican rulers have imposed a tax on lands, houses, carriages, waggons, harness, licenses, auctions, stills, leather, boots, hats, caps, ladies' hats, sugar, tobacco, snuff, segars, bar iron, roll'd iron, pig iron, cut nails, brads, sprigs, umbrellas, furniture, paper, candles, playing cards, saddles, bridles, ale, porter, and a stamp tax, a double postage tax, and all to support a war which the people believed was unnecessary, and might with a little prudence have been avoided: and you have become silent as the grave upon the subject of federal measures: for if they chastised us with whips, it can no longer be concealed, that our republican rulers are now chastising us with scorpions. The people therefore have exhibited some symptoms of a disposition to exercise the right of suffrage, by restoring to power those men who have invariably warned them, that the policy of the last fourteen years, would lead to the present disastrous state of things.

But no sooner has the result of an election exhibited to public view, some evidence of an inclination in the electors, to consult their eyes rather than their ears, in forming their opinions of political characters, than the old cry of British influence, monarchist, and tory, is raised with redoubled efforts; so glaring is the dis-

crimination between republican and federal measures, in favour of the latter, that there is danger, that even the "moles will be cured of their blindness."

If the federalists committed errors in their administration fourteen years ago, they are no longer considered as obstacles to their restoration to power, since in that respect the little finger of Mr. Madison, has become thicker than the loins of Washington or Adams.

The republican leaders, twenty-five years ago, were well aware that the test of experience might eventually expose the fallacy of their new policy; and thereby restore to confidence and to power, the proscribed federalists.

It was not therefore against federal measures only, or principally, but against federal men, that the efforts of the first opposition were directed. They were denounced as dangerous men, attached to monarchical principles, and inimical to republican liberty. These accusations, unceasingly urged, have excited prejudices which have grown so inveterate as to become a rule of action, an inviolable law. And it is no longer a question whether they ought not quietly to submit to any evils which may result from the vices or errors of their republican leaders, rather than trust their political concerns to the controul of federalists. We now see a few individuals, who claim the exclusive title to patriotism and republican virtue, chosen from less than one thousandth part of the freemen, set at the helm, exulting in the triumphs of delusion and prejudice, over reason and truth: Our territory invaded by a powerful foe, and nearly one half of our citizens disfranchised, and identified with the enemies of our country. Such a state of things cannot long continue. Our political state must be regenerated. A revolution in the public opinion is indispensable.

Whatever may be the event of the present war, in the present state of the world, we cannot expect any very long and uninterrupted state of peace.

In times of common danger, we have found from recent experience, that union is the great bulwark of our safety. In the midst of surrounding commotions and ruins, pause then, fellow-citizens, for a moment, and review the motives of your political conduct, and with the integrity of virtuous freemen, examine the evidence upon which you have founded your political prejudices.

In the long conflict for power which has engaged the two great political parties in this country, it is evident the great mass of electors, who would at this time exclude from office federal men, have lost sight of the origin of our political dissensions.

You now believe that those of your fellow-citizens, who are called federalists, are enemies to republican liberty, and friends to an hereditary monarchy.

But where is your evidence of the fact? There are but two modes of proof, by which we can attest to the sentiments of others: one of which we derive from their professions, and the other from some overt act, the nature of which clearly evinces to the mind, the principle which must have produced it.

And has any federalist, whose political opinions have been thought to merit public consideration, ever announced to his fellow-citizens, in any communication of his political sentiments, either public or private, his predilection to a monarchy, or his attachment to the British nation? If so, who was that federalist? when and on what occasion, and to whom was such a communication made? If there had been one such instance of republican degeneracy, would not the fact admit of proof, and the evidence have been distinctly announced to the public through the medium

of the press? But no such evidence has ever been exhibited, for this plain reason, that it never did exist. But on the contrary, whenever the sentiments of federalists on this subject have been disclosed, they have invariably evinced a strong predilection to our republican constitution as the only form of government which could best promote the happiness of the people.

Fisher Ames, whose character for political science, and pure morality, stands unrivalled in our history, about ten years ago wrote a dissertation on the "Dangers of American Liberty," and sent it to a friend for his perusal, who returned it with an expectation that it would have been published at that time. In that interesting work we find the following remarks which cannot be thought impertinent to our present object.

"This is certain, the body of the federalists were always and yet are essentially democratic in their political notions. The truth is, the American nation, with ideas and prejudices wholly democratic, undertook to frame, and expected tranquilly and with energy and success, to administer a republican government. It is, and ever has been my belief, that the federal constitution was as good or very nearly as good as our country could bear; that the attempt to introduce a mixed monarchy was never thought of, and would have failed if it had been made; and could have proved only an inveterate curse to the nation if it had been adopted cheerfully, and even unanimously by the people." The manuscript which contained these remarks, remained in the possession of Mr. Ames about three years, and until his death; which clearly shows that he had no anxiety that it should have been published. That great and good man who had no enemies but what were created by party influence, never indeed believed it was necessary, or the duty of patriotism, to use a single argument through

the whole of his writings, to convince the people that the federalists were friends to republican liberty: and thought as he expressed himself, that the assertions to the contrary were "impudent falsehoods," made only to gull the unsuspecting freemen out of their confidence in federal men.

It is a fact, that since the commencement of our political dissensions, only two men have been designated among the whole body of federalists, as having publicly announced sentiments favorable to a monarchical government.

One of these, and the first, who was denounced as one, whose sentiments had a dangerous influence was John Adams, late President of the United States.—When I say he was the first, I speak in the language of those citizens who have been deceived with respect to the origin of our political dissensions. If truth can prevail over falsehood and prejudice, and they will hear it—it will convince them that the opposers of federalism, directed their first efforts against Washington and his policy. But so unchangeable was the confidence, of the great body of the people in his talents and his character, both as a hero and statesman, such their unbounded admiration of his wisdom, his virtue and disinterested patriotism, that the torrent of calumny and abuse, which issued from the democratic presses at that time, against him and his policy, had no effect, in withdrawing the confidence of the people from the man on whom they had rested their hopes through the trying scenes of the revolution.

It would have been indeed an Herculean task, to have destroyed the credit of an administration over which Washington presided. It must indeed have been a work of much time, and have required arrangements, difficult in their execution, to operate

with success against an administration, which commenced under the most flattering auspices, and which had inspired our citizens with the most flattering hopes.

A considerable time had elapsed, before those papers, which were the vehicles of slander against federal men and measures, were extensively circulated. And those who might have early discovered the calumnies against Washington, must have concluded they were the effect of some invisible and mysterious policy, not founded in a disposition hostile to his character or conduct.

Although that opposition to federalists, which has ended in fixing the present inveterate prejudices of our citizens, began with the first operations of the government, certain it is, that the great mass of electors, who by their suffrages support the men now in power, trace the origin of their party prejudices, no farther back than to the administration of Mr. Adams, who it was said, was disposed to extend the influence of his principles both by his precepts and example; that he was a dangerous man, because he thought the British constitution better than our own.

Where is the evidence of this fact to be found? Did he ever make any declaration, either directly or indirectly, that such were his sentiments? You have said they were to be found in his writings.

It will be recollected that after the establishment of our independence, the people were free to form for themselves, civil constitutions, according to their own ideas of liberty, independent of any foreign power. The then thirteen states, therefore chose and established for themselves, constitutions of government, founded on principles similar to that which the United States have since adopted.

Mr. Turgot, a Frenchman, in a letter* to Dr. Price, acknowledges that he was not satisfied with those constitutions, and observes, that "by most of them, the customs of England were imitated, without any particular motive. Instead of collecting all authority into one centre, that of the nation, they have established different bodies—a body of representatives, a council and a governor, because in England, there is a house of commons, a house of lords, and a king!" Against this attack of Mr. Turgot on the American constitutions, Mr. Adams wrote and published a defence; a defence of those very principles of a republican form of government, which are recognized in our present constitutions. It has been the peculiar province of a few leaders of democracy in the United States, to discern in this celebrated defence of republican principles, a predilection in the author to an hereditary monarchy. This work of Mr. Adams, is now before me, from which it appears that those who have represented his writings as proof of his predilection for a monarchy, have either misunderstood, or misrepresented them. The question between Mr. Adams and Mr. Turgot was not whether a republican form of government was preferable to a monarchy, but what form of government was best calculated to secure the duration of republican liberty. Both

* This letter of Mr. Turgot and the principles contained in it, had beyond a doubt, a great influence on the conduct of the democratic party, in opposing the constitution in its present form. The respective states had in their constitutions provided, that there should be three departments or branches of the legislature, a governor, senate, and house of representatives, and under such constitutions, had formed their political principles and habits. It must be ascribed to French influence, that in forming our present constitution, those who professed an excessive partiality for France, were for abolishing the office of chief magistrate and senate or council. The object of Turgot's letter was evidently to influence the conduct of the Americans in forming their present constitution. French influence is of no recent date in the councils of the nation.

agreed that the people were the source of all legitimate power, and had a right to choose for themselves, such a form of government as they believed would best comport with the great ends of its institution.

Mr. Adams contended in his book against Mr. Turgot's opinion, that a chief magistrate, and senate or council, as provided in the American constitutions are indispensable to constitute that equilibrium of power, necessary to secure the rights of the people in every free state. He believed that the British nation had improved on the science of government, by introducing three separate and independent branches into her constitution to support that equilibrium.

But to prove him a monarchist his writings have been misquoted, garbled and misconstrued.

As evidence of his predilection for a monarchy, the following part of a sentence has been often quoted as his sentiment, from the 70th page of the first volume of his Defence: "The English constitution is the most stupendous fabric of human invention."* But does this prove that he prefered this stupendous fabric to that which the American Convention erected in forming our own constitution? On the succeeding page of the same volume, Mr. Adams has disclosed his sentiments relative to our republican institutions, in expressions which cannot be mistaken. "They, meaning the Americans, says he, have not made their first magistrates hereditary, nor their senators: here they differ from the English constitution and with great propriety. The agrarian in America is divided into the hands of the common people in every state, in such a manner that nineteen-

* The whole sentence reads as follows, "I only contend that the English constitution is in theory, the most stupendous fabric of human invention, both for the adjustment of the balance, and the prevention of its vibrations."

twentieths of the property would be in the hands of the commons, let them appoint whom they could for chief magistrate and senators: the sovereignty then in fact, as well as morality, must reside in the whole body of the people; and an hereditary king and nobility, who should not govern according to the public opinion, would infallibly be tumbled instantly from their places; it is not only most prudent then, but absolutely necessary, to avoid continual violence, to give the people a legal, constitutional, and peaceable mode of changing their rulers whenever they discover improper principles or dispositions in them." In another part of his writings* on this subject, he makes the following remarks:—"It is become a kind of fashion among writers to admit as a maxim, that if you could be always sure of a wise, active and virtuous prince, monarchy would be the best of governments. But this is so far from being admissible, that it will forever remain true, that a free government has a great advantage over a simple monarchy. The best and wisest prince by means of a freer communication with his people, and the greater opportunities, to collect the best advice from the best of his subjects, would have an eminent advantage in a free state, more than in a monarchy."

But it is unnecessary to quote farther from his writings, to convince my fellow-citizens, that many of them have been deceived with respect to their import. It is true that Mr. Adams like every other man who has any knowledge of the history of republics, well knew that the election of chief magistrate, and other great officers of state, had in every great nation, been attended sooner or later, with violence, anarchy and every spe-

* Vol. I. p. 8.

cies of corruption: and was apprehensive that such might be our misfortune, when it might be necessary to resort to that remedy provided in the constitution, by calling a convention. But even in such an event he exults in the reflection that "such a convention may still prevent the first magistrate from becoming absolute as well as hereditary."* I have quoted some sentiments of his from his writings, to present to the public view one of those absurd falsehoods, on which that stupendous system of delusion and prejudice has been erected, by which federal men have been driven from the councils of the nation.

The truth is, the writings of Mr. Adams have been represented as evidence of his monarchical principles, by those who never read them, and who knew nothing of their contents: and thousands have received such representations as truth: and have therefore infered that those who would confide in him to execute the important trust of chief magistrate, must have been attached to the same principles by which he was influenced.

While he was writing his celebrated Defence of our republican institutions in England, the Convention framed our present Constitution, which came to his knowledge, when he was about drawing his work to a conclusion: upon which he made the following remarks: "It is now in our power to bring this work to a conclusion with unexpected dignity. In the course of the last summer, two authorities have appeared, greater than any that have been quoted, in which the principles we have attempted to defend, have been acknowledged. The first is an ordinance of Congress of the 13th of July, 1787, for the government of the Territory of the United States Northwest of

* See Adams' Defence, Vol, III. p. 283.

the Ohio; the second is, the report of the Convention at Philadelphia, of the 17th of September, 1787. The former confederation of the United States was formed upon the model and example of all the confederacies, ancient and modern, in which the federal council was only a diplomatic body: even the Lycian, which is thought to have been the best, was no more. The magnitude of territory, the population, the wealth and commerce, and especially the rapid growth of the United States have shewn such a government to be inadequate to their wants; and the new system, which seems admirably calculated to unite their interests and affections, and bring them to an uniformity of principles and sentiments, is equally well combined to unite their wills and forces, as a single nation. A result of accommodation cannot be supposed to reach the ideas of perfection of any one; but the conception of such an idea, and the deliberate union of so great and various a people in such a plan, is, without all partiality or prejudice, if not the greatest exertion of human understanding, the greatest single effort of national deliberation that the world has ever seen. That it may be improved is not to be doubted, and provision is made for that purpose, in the report itself. A people who could conceive, and can adopt it, we need not fear will be able to amend it, when by experience, its inconveniences and imperfections shall be seen and felt."

Thus end the writings of Mr. Adams, with the strongest expressions of his approbation of that very constitution which he was accused of wishing to subvert.* Because he had dis-

* It is a well known fact, that since Mr. Adams has expressed some opinions in favour of the late measures of the present administration, the republicans have spoken of his political character in the strongest terms of

cernment to discover the dangers to which republican liberty was exposed, and had wisdom to point us to a remedy, he has been denounced as an enemy to republics.

The delusion which has been practised upon the honest freemen of this country respecting the political principles of Mr. Adams, may yet convince them that if they would preserve their rights, they must become their own guardians, and not trust to a constitution written on paper: nor to a blind confidence in men whose title to patriotism is evidenced only by their professions.

Perhaps no one thing has had more agency in effecting that change of men and measures in this country, by which the present policy was introduced, than the prevalency of an opinion among the people, that Mr. Adams was hostile in his principles to republican liberty, and that he hoped by the influence of his measures, gradually to undermine our republican institutions, and erect on their ruins, a monarchy.

What man is there then, among us, who believes that wisdom and virtue are essential requisites, to support and perpetuate the privileges of a free constitution, who has not reason to be alarmed for the existence of our own?

When it is considered that in this enlightened age, and in this free republic, where the means of correct information are as well provided, as the condition of man, and the course of human affairs will admit; even here it is found on a review of our political state, that a large portion of the honest freemen, have

approbation: which proves that they never had any apprehension as they pretended, from the dangerous influence of his monarchical principles, for they make no pretension that these have in any degree changed. Let a man approve of the conduct of the men in power, and there is no danger of his predilection for a monarchy: he is orthodox.

in the great concerns, which relate to the security of their dearest rights, acted under the influence of as absurd and barefaced falsehoods as were ever imposed on the wretched and degraded votaries of despotic power. And that those who have been the authors of such falsehoods, and who have given them currency, with the seal of enthusiasts, and the malignity of fiends, have thereby become the guardians of our rights, and the disposers of our national wealth, and fortunes!!!

Men who to acquire power would violate the truth, and silence the voice of reason, will never fail to tyrannize and oppress whenever they can do it with impunity.

Mr. Adams has remarked in his book, on the subject of corrupt elections, that "mankind have universally discovered that chance was preferable to a corrupt choice, and have trusted Providence rather than themselves." And this, mankind always will discover for this very obvious reason, that chance may sometimes do that for us which is best: whereas a corrupt choice must inevitably do that for us which is worst.

But we hope and believe that the public morals are not yet so far corrupted, that we have no longer any ground to hope, that our elections may yet be restored to their original purity.

If reason and truth will not convince us, our misfortunes may, that if we suffer ourselves to be deceived in the choice of our rulers, we shall have to pay for our folly, by a surrender of our property and our rights.

Alexander Hamilton whose name "would have honored Greece in the age of Aristides," has been also designated from among the federal ranks as a monarchist, and as having possessed principles hostile to republican liberty. His enemies have attempted

to adduce proofs of this from remarks he made while a member of the convention which framed our present constitution. During the debates on that occasion he expressed opinions in favour of a system of government which should render the executive and senate, though elective, more permanent than they are by the constitution which was finally adopted by the people. But it is not known that he ever explained the extent of the duration which he would have fixed upon for those departments. His enemies have said that he would have had the president and senate hold their offices during good behaviour. And this is the highest accusation that even his enemies have raised against him. But even this is not true, and if it had been, it would prove nothing of his predilection for a monarchy. It is well known that he afterwards supported the constitution, as framed, with great ability, and contributed essentially to its adoption.

He might without the spirit of prophecy, have looked forward to such a state of things as now exists: when it might become necessary that Congress should possess the power more effectually of controuling the sovereignties and commanding the resources of the respective states.

There was a great diversity of opinion among the members of the Convention respecting the extent and duration of the power which should be vested in the chief magistrate and the senate. The leaders of those who advocated these opinions were Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Jefferson.

☞ To the difference of opinion,* which arose on this sub-

* It is not necessary to trace the causes of our political dissensions farther than to that difference of opinion between Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Jefferson, on the subject of the constitution: to show the origin of the two parties which are distinguished by the names of federal and republican,

fact, may be distinctly traced the organization of those two parties called federal and republican, which have since agitated and shaken the foundations of our republic to its centre.

The animosity, which might have been created on that occasion, ought not to have survived the adoption of the constitution. For it was finally unanimously adopted by the convention, and the instrument itself inclosed in a letter signed by the president: in which, he remarked that the "constitution was the result of a spirit of amity and of that mutual deference and concession, which the peculiarity of their political situation rendered indispensable: that it will meet the full and entire approbation of every State is not to be expected; but each will doubtless consider, that had her interest been alone consulted the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious to others: that it is as liable to as few exceptions as could have been reasonably expected, we hope and believe; that it may promote the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all, and secure her freedom and happiness, is our most ardent wish."

I have mentioned this happy result of the convention to show that the conciliatory motives by which the members of that body, appear to have been actuated, were such, that they ought not, neither could sound policy, or any principle of real patriotism for a moment admit, that they should ever after, have been arraigned at the bar of public opinion. Yet notwithstanding the

and to show that the prejudices which were soon after excited against the federalists were founded entirely in falsehood and delusion. The origin of our dissensions may be traced to a disposition which was apparent among the people soon after the termination of the revolutionary war. It is hoped that a full view of this important subject may yet be presented to the people of the United States, before the errors which result from mistaken conceptions of our political state shall produce evils remediless and fatal to republican liberty.

happy result of the convention, and the subsequent adoption of the constitution: immediately after the organization of our government under President Washington—a party made its appearance in Congress, and uniformly opposed almost every measure of great national concern; and from the opinions of Mr. Hamilton on the subject of the constitution, attempted to adduce arguments, to prove that both Hamilton himself, and the advocates for his policy, were influenced by monarchichal principles.

Mr. Hamilton, it is true, openly avowed the opinion, that the greatest danger, to which the constitution was exposed, arose from its imbecility; and that our liberty had more to fear from the encroachments of the great states, than from those of the general government. In the event of a foreign war which we now experience, he doubtless believed, that those states which might not approve of the policy which produced it, would not render those essential aids, which might be necessary to insure its success: and it is not impossible but that he might have preferred a constitution which would vest in Congress that power to command the military forces of the respective states, which they have attempted to exercise in the present war, without any authority derived from the constitution. But while a member of the convention, or on any other occasion, it is not known, that he ever expressed a sentiment which evinced his predilection for an hereditary government, or attachment to the British nation. Those thousands of republicans who knew his transcendant worth, and had seen and felt the influence of his wisdom and benevolence, witnessed their love and admiration, of his personal virtue, and excellence, in the effusions of their indignation against the base *author* of his final catastrophe, and the profound respect, with which they paid their last sad honors to his remains.

It is true that distinguished men of both political parties, have, in private conversation, expressed their apprehensions that our republican constitution would not long endure the attacks of faction, of passion, of vice, and error. And such expressions when utterred by federalists, have been construed into principles, and represented as proofs, of a disposition to change our government for a monarchy.

During the presidency of Mr. Jefferson, the writer of this address well recollects, that Mr. Granger, late post-master general, in a conversation relating to the dangers of republican liberty, remarked, that he did not think the period very remote, when a despotic government would be established on the ruins of our republic. But that gentleman like all others, who have made similar remarks, doubtless founded his opinion on his knowledge of political events, the nature of man, and the usual course, and fate of republics. But the man who would receive such opinions as proofs of a predilection for a monarchy, cannot be competent to exercise the right of suffrage.

Attempts are not made to practise imposition, relative to this subject, on those who know the history of our political concerns. Mr. Jefferson at the time of his inauguration, must have known, that many of the freemen throughout the Union, had received false impressions, respecting the motives and principles of federal men. But surrounded as he was, at that time, by the officers of government, and others distinguished for political science, he would not risque his reputation, by making a false discrimination between the political principles of those who were his advocates and opposers. A sense of the dignity and high responsibility attached to the characters of those who are placed at the head of

the respective departments, and who in reality direct the destinies of our country, presents a motive too vast, too irresistible, to admit the supposition that they could prevaricate in announcing facts, which are to constitute a public and official document. On that occasion he announced to the public and to the world the truth, when he said we have called by different names, brethren of the same principle. "We are all republicans, we are all federalists." And again, recall to your recollection fellow-citizens, his farther remarks on that occasion. "Let us then" said he, "with courage and confidence pursue our own federal and republican principles."

Had a suggestion escaped him that his political opponents had a predilection for the British government, he knew too well, the ridicule and contempt to which it would have exposed him. No, fellow-citizens, it is not known that Mr. Jefferson himself ever pretended to any one, that a difference of opinion with respect to the choice of a government, was the origin of our political dissensions. But he well knew that great numbers of the freemen had been duped by political quacks and impostors, into a belief, that federalists were attached to monarchical principles; and that to those false prejudices he owed his elevation.

Had he believed that certain influential leaders of the federalists, entertained principles opposed to our republican form of government, and to the union of the States, it would have been his duty to have publicly announced this information to Congress, and to have warned the people to avoid the influence of such men, and denounced them as dangerous citizens. But although such a measure might have been highly gratifying to the deluded votaries of his power, it would have excited among the people a call

on him for his proofs of the existence of such principles. The republican chief was not to be caught in such a dilemma. The triumphs of delusion, over truth and reason, were not thus to be defeated.

Let it not be forgotten, that after every effort had been made by the friends of Mr. Jefferson, which cunning or hypocrisy could devise, to establish in the public mind a difference between the principles of those who were called federalists and republicans, in favour of the latter, the first act of his administration was to declare, there was no difference.

For this act of treachery towards his copatriots, it was thought at that time he might be justified, even in dispensing with the old maxim, "honor among thieves," when he thereby excited such flattering hopes of his intention to break down that spirit of party, which had disgraced the country, and threatened the ruin of her interests and happiness. But subsequent events soon taught us, that the man who owed his elevation to dissensions among the people, was not destined to unite them.

I have presented to your view the evidence that has been exhibited to the public, to prove from the writings or declarations of John Adams and Alexander Hamilton, that they were monarchists.

And do you, as you pretend, believe in the political character and policy of Washington? Then let me tell you that he never, on any occasion, on which it was proper for him to notice their principles or measures, neglected to give them his entire approbation and perfect confidence. Mr. Hamilton, after having been falsely accused by the republican party, of accumulating great wealth by illicit means, was finally urged by necessity, to resign the office of

Secretary, which he held under Washington; having spent in the public service a great part of the fruits of his former labours.

Mr. Adams, at the end of his presidential term, retired at the request of the republicans, to make room for Mr. Jefferson, who at that time declared the government was in the full tide of successful experiment: And I need not tell you, it is now overwhelmed with suffering and disgrace.

Towards the close of the presidential term of Mr. Adams, the views which Washington had at that time of his measures, and the political state of the country as it respected our relations with France, are concisely stated in a letter addressed by him to Mr. Adams, of which the following is an extract:—

"It was not possible for me to remain ignorant of, or indifferent to recent transactions. The conduct of the directory of France towards our country; their insidious hostility to its government; their various practices to withdraw the affections of the people from it; the evident tendency of their arts and those of their agents, to countenance and invigorate opposition; their disregard of solemn treaties and the laws of nations; their war upon our defenceless commerce; their treatment of our ministers of peace, and their demand, amounting to tribute, could not fail to excite in me sentiments corresponding with those my countrymen have so generally expressed in their affectionate addresses to you. Believe me, sir, no man can more cordially approve the wise and prudent measures of your administration. They ought to inspire universal confidence."

Yet that party who assumed the name of republican, that party which Washington called the French party, and which he said were the curse of this country, and the source of all the evils it

had to encounter;* had it seems withdrawn their confidence from Mr. Adams, and the measures of his administration, and denounced them as hostile to republican liberty. And your republican leaders, even to this time, would have you believe, that your prejudices against federal men commenced with the administration of Mr. Adams.

But let the voice of reason and truth be heard. You have been deceived; you was jealous of your liberty; in an unguarded moment you yielded to the dominion of passion; you did not consider the fatal tendency of ill founded prejudices; and you have arraigned and condemned the political characters and principles of a great portion of your fellow citizens, against reason, truth and justice.

I have observed, that there are but two modes of proof by which we can attest to the sentiments of others, either by their professions or some overt act, the nature of which clearly evinces to the mind the principle which must have produced it. But federalists from the greatest to the least, profess a strong predilection

* "The following extract of a letter from General Washington to Charles Carrol of Maryland, dated Mount-Vernon, August 2d, 1798, several months after passing all those laws, which seem so obnoxious to the party now in power, will show what right they have to claim any advantage from the popularity of his name."

"Although," says Gen. Washington, "I highly approve of the measures taken by the government, to place this country in a posture of defence, and even wish they had been more energetic, and shall be ready to obey its call, under the reservations I have made, whenever it is made: yet I am not without hope, mad and intoxicated as the French are, that they will pause before they take the last step. That they have been deceived in their calculations on the division of the people, and the powerful support they expect from their party, is reduced to a certainty, though it is somewhat equivocal still, whether THAT PARTY who have been THE CURSE OF THIS COUNTRY and the SOURCE OF THE EXPENSES WE HAVE TO ENCOUNTER, may not be able to continue THEIR DELUSION.—What a pity it is the expense could not be taxed upon them."

for our republican constitution; they say they are republicans, one and all, and Mr. Jefferson has also said the same, and nothing they have ever said or written, which has ever come to the knowledge of the public, has furnished any evidence to the contrary.

And here permit me to ask you, who claim the exclusive title to the appellation of republican, what other proofs have you to evince to the mind the republicanism of your principles, than your professions?

Were you to reason with an ancient christian on this subject, he would probably say to you; shew me your principles without your works, and I will shew you my principles by my works. If it would not give offence in this enlightened age, to ask the same question, the answer would be the same now as then. Principles are not of themselves objects of vision, but fundamental truths, which exist in the mind, and are the source from which actions are produced. It is impossible therefore to show to the world that your principles are republican, except by measures, which are the natural result and effect of such principles; unless the name republican is to be considered as evidence of the principles of him who is pleased to assume the appellation.

This kind of proof however will not pass current unless it is among mad men and ideots.

It reminds one of the limner who before he exhibited his pictures to public view, took care to designate the respective animals which he would represent, by writing directly over each one its proper name, that the spectator might not mistake the lion for the lamb. If the artist wanted either skill or disposition to exhibit any other evidence of the nature of the animal he would represent than the name, he was blameless, provided he taxed the people nothing for his exhibition.

Should this be considered a digression from the subject, I hope it will be pardoned; for I confess I feel an irresistible inclination to treat the subject of distinguishing political principles by names, with contemptuous levity. If names are hereafter to be admitted as evidence of principles, I would beg leave to suggest a measure of convenience to prevent mistakes in future. Let Mr. Madison appoint one or more persons in each county throughout the union, whose business it shall be to go about and investigate the qualifications of those who shall assume the name of republican, and baptize them only, who shall be found orthodox, in the name of the God of liberty and equality; who shall thereupon be entitled to a red cap with the word republican, written in large capitals on the front, to be provided at the expense of the government, and direct that it shall be worn on all days of election. This would have a tendency to exclude impostors from assuming that honorable title, and enable the people thereby to discern and duly appreciate their real friends. Should such a regulation take place, there would still be found a great number of citizens, who although they profess their attachment to republican principles, yet do not claim an exclusive title to that appellation, and therefore would not be entitled to the red cap. They believe that men who are governed by certain principles, may be designated by a particular name, but that name constitutes no kind of evidence that such principles do exist.

I should not have made these remarks, was it not evident, that the plainest dictates of reason and common sense, have been disregarded, in making political discriminations among our citizens. It is time to look about us, and examine the evidence which has given to names a magic influence, which in the old world has

overwhelmed courts and cabinets and churches, and in our own country, has dissolved the endearing ties, which bind together society, and bless the condition of man; and like the horrid din of the tocsin, arrayed the fiends of misguided passion, against the laws of heaven and nature, and would erect for its votaries, a throne on the ruins of liberty.

If those who are called republicans have no other or greater evidence, by which they can prove themselves to be the friends of our constitution and republican liberty, our party distinctions at once are at an end; and the only inquiry respecting the qualifications of candidates for office will in future relate only to their wisdom and integrity, and not the insignificancy of a name.

If then political names do not furnish any evidence whatever, that the principles they are designed to designate do in fact exist; it follows of course that the man who assumes upon himself the name of republican, is entitled to no confidence in his attachment to an elective government by virtue of his name. Neither does the appellation of federalist, furnish any evidence whatever, that he who is called by that name, is under the influence of monarchical principles. And as to the professions of men, if they are to be admitted as proofs of their principles: federalists have equal and the same evidence that they are attached to an elective government, as those who are called republicans. But the truth is, the professions of men respecting their principles can no farther be admitted as competent evidence to prove what are their real principles, than their actions which result therefrom, correspond with their professions.

If then you would form correct opinions respecting the political sentiments of your fellow-citizens, you must derive your evidence from a pure source; from some overt act, some political measure

the nature of which clearly evinces to the mind the principle which must have produced it.

It will be recollected that although the members of the Convention which framed our constitution, were divided in opinion on the subject of the constitution, it was finally unanimously adopted. But Mr. Hamilton or any others who might at that time have had objections to the constitution similar to those which he had suggested, did not suppose after it was adopted, they could be justified in making that instrument which had become the great bulwark of our liberties, any longer a subject of political dissension. They were, and continued to be, its firm and uniform supporters.

But there was a party throughout the United States who were opposed to the constitution even in its present form: they would have had neither a chief magistrate or senate, but the whole legislative body to consist of an assembly of representatives similar to that which was established in France after the destruction of their monarchy. This party had charged the advocates of our present constitution with a desire to establish a monarchy on the ruins of republican liberty: and the constitution itself it was alledged, contained principles which would prove the truth of this charge.

The leaders of that party had therefore been ready from the instant the government came into operation, to discover in all its measures, those monarchical tendencies, which they had perceived in the instrument they opposed.* They insisted that the constitution bore a strong resemblance to that of Great-Britain: and that some of the first measures of the administra-

* See Marshall's Life of Washington, Vol. V. p. 350.

tion, also were founded in a policy similar to that which that country had adopted. By refering to the Journals of the Conventions of the respective States, which were called to discuss the merits of the constitution, and to reject or adopt it, it will be found, that those very men throughout the United States, who were opposed to the adoption of the constitution, were the men who commenced the opposition to the administration of Washington.

The first great and principal leader of that opposition was Thomas Jefferson, then Secretary of State. And between him and Alexander Hamilton who was then Secretary of the Treasury, there was a difference of opinion on those great national questions, the decision of which completed the organization of those two parties which at this time are agitating and confounding the councils of the republic.

Mr. Hamilton in pursuance of the duty pertaining to his office, digested and reported various plans for establishing the credit of the United States, by providing for the payment of the public debt. These were approved of by Washington and a great majority of his administration, and passed into laws, and constituted what was called the Funding System, similar in some respects to that which existed in Great-Britain.

It should here be recollected that our ancestors who established for us our republican institutions, derived all their science in the policy of legislation from Great-Britain.

In that country, as in others on the eastern continent, the business of taxation has been practised in almost every possible form, no one of which ever did, or ever will give entire satisfaction, in that or any other country. But it could not be

expected that a system of taxation could ever be devised in the United States, which would not bear some strong resemblance to those of Great-Britain. It is not necessary therefore to attempt an investigation of the nature or effects of those laws, to show that no evidence whatever could be derived from them, which could in any way evince a disposition in the authors, favourable to a monarchy, or to the British nation. If in a free state laws are made which are unequal in their operations and unnecessarily burdensome to the people, such laws may furnish evidence that the authors of them are destitute either of talents or integrity; but the most devoted partizan, the most jealous guardian of our liberties, could never believe, that such laws of themselves, could furnish any proof, that the authors of them were monarchists or enemies to republican liberty; the idea is too absurd to admit of any consideration.

But the opposers of the administration, at that time, arraigned and condemned at the bar of public opinion all those measures which had originated with the Secretary of the Treasury, as well as many others of great national concern, all which were finally adopted, with the entire approbation of Washington.

The authors of these measures were censured, because they, in the first place, had been instrumental in forming a constitution, which it was said must have been the result of monarchical principles, from the resemblance it had to the British constitution: alleging that similar powers were vested in the President, Senate and House of Representatives, to those which by the British constitution were vested in the King, Lords and Commons.

There was perhaps no measure of Washington's administra-

tion more pointedly and strenuously opposed than the funding system, by which provision was made for payment of the public debt which had accrued during the revolutionary war. The republican party contended that the funding system furnished conclusive evidence that the authors of it were actuated by monarchical principles, and British influence; because in Great Britain they have a funding system, and the government of Great Britain is a monarchy. And because our federal rulers established a funding system, they must therefore have been attached to a monarchy. But it was contended that this measure was also founded in bad policy. The original creditors many of them had parted with the certificates which contained the evidence of their respective debts, at a great deduction from the nominal value: and it was said those creditors had thereby manifested their willingness to add to their other sacrifices this deduction from their demand upon the nation: and therefore the purchasers of that debt, ought not to receive any more than what they had paid the original creditor.

Those who were in favor of the system contended, that it was subversive of every principle on which public contracts are founded, for a legislative body to diminish a debt the amount of which had been ascertained, and for the payment of which, they considered the property and sacred honor of the people of the United States was pledged. Of the justice or policy of that measure let the people judge: but permit me to remind you that some of those very men who opposed that measure, and many others who have been the firm supporters of their policy and power, are at this time, purchasing of the poor soldier, his claims on the government, at prices reduced below

the nominal value, in proportion to the pressure of his necessity, occasioned by the ruin of that policy which had given to the funding system life and vigor. But it was not these laws only which constituted the funding system, by which the republican party, attempted to excite prejudices against Washington and his administration: the opposition was soon directed against almost every measure, and the authors of them accused of being the enemies of republican liberty. "The salaries allowed to public officers, though so low* as not to afford a decent maintenance to those who resided at the seat of government, were declared to be so enormously high, as clearly to manifest a total disregard of that simplicity and economy, which were the characteristics of republics."

"The levees of the President, and the evening parties of Mrs. Washington, were said to be imitations of regal institutions, designed to accustom the American people to the pomp and manners of European courts. The Indian war they alleged was misconducted and unnecessarily prolonged for the purposes of expending the public money, and of affording a pretext for augmenting the military establishment and increasing the revenue. All this prodigal waste of the people's money was to keep up the national debt, which united with standing armies and immense revenues, would enable their rulers to rivet the chains which they were secretly forging."† It was not long

* The salary of the Secretary of State which was the highest, was three thousand five hundred dollars. Mr. Jefferson himself patronized the press at that time which denounced federal men for high salaries.—He and his co-patriots have doubtless, become since convinced of their error, in that respect, as we have heard nothing of that complaint for fourteen years.

† See Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. 5. p. 350. See also the Journals and debates of Congress at that time.

after the commencement of Washington's administration, that a clerk in the office of the Secretary of State, became the editor of a certain newspaper, called the National Gazette, which was patronised by Mr. Jefferson, and soon became the vehicle of calumny against the most important measures of the first administration, and the men who proposed and supported them.

It was through the medium of the press only, that the base slanders, the most outrageous abuses of the conduct and character of Washington and his policy, came to his knowledge. The republicans have been told millions of times, and they have as often denied, that Washington and his political friends, were the men against whom the first efforts of democracy were directed. But in this they have been deceived: they have derived the evidence on which are founded their political prejudices from an impure source.

So violent and unceasing was the opposition to the measures of Washington's administration, that he was filled with the most painful sensations for the event. As proof of this fact, I refer you to a letter* which he addressed to Mr. Jefferson on the 23d day of August, in the third year of his administration, in which he wrote as follows:

"How unfortunate and how much is it to be regretted, that while we are encompassed on all sides with avowed enemies and insidious friends, internal dissensions should be harrowing and tearing our vitals. The last to me is the most serious, the most alarming, and the most afflicting of the two; and without more charity for the opinions of one another, in governmental matters, or some more infallible criterion by which the truth of speculative opinions, before they have undergone the test

* See Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. 5. p. 367.

of experience, are to be forejudged, than has yet fallen to the lot of fallibility, I believe it will be difficult, if not impracticable to manage the reins of government, or to keep the parts of it together: for if instead of laying our shoulders to the machine, after measures have been decided on, one pulls this way and another that, before the utility of the thing is fairly tried, it must be inevitably torn asunder; and in my opinion, the fairest prospect that ever was presented to man, will be lost, perhaps for ever."

But all his endeavours to conciliate the opposition to his measures, were unavailing. On the 21st day of July, the next year after the letter of which the above is an extract was written, Washington addressed a letter to Gen. Lee, then Governor of Virginia, on the subject of the opposition to his administration, which was made through the medium of the press—from which letter the following is an extract:—"The arrows of malevolence, therefore, however barbed and pointed, can never reach my most vulnerable part; though whilst I am up as a mark, they will be continually aimed at me. The publications in Freneau's and Bache's* papers are outrages on common decency; and they progress in that style in proportion as their pieces are treated with contempt and passed over in silence by those, against whom they are directed. Their tendency however, is too obvious to be mistaken by men of cool and dispassionate minds, and in my opinion ought to alarm them; because it is difficult to prescribe bounds to their effect."

Will you ask, how do the calumnies against Washington, and the measures which he approved, furnish evidence that our pre-

* Bache was a Clerk in the office of the Secretary of State, and his paper patronized by Mr. Jefferson.

judices against federal men are ill founded? In answer to this, let me enquire of you, how you came by them? Through what channel did you derive your evidence that federal men are under the influence of monarchical principles, and therefore dangerous men? They, as I before observed, have made no professions of such principles. No: they tell you, they prefer an elective government; and to prove it, they refer you to what they have done and suffered to acquire such a government: to their blood and treasure, and that of their fathers and friends, which has been freely expended in the acquisition: and they tell you they are still ready to fight and to die in defence of that Constitution, which by their courage and wisdom they have achieved. They point you to the field of battle, to which they have flown to victory and to death, that they might repel an invading foe, which your miserable policy has brought upon our borders, and which your dastardly efforts cannot repel without their aid.

The question returns then, how came you by your prejudices? They are not the creatures of a day. That sudden impulse, by which we are led to resist or to oppose another for some supposed offence or intended injury, is the effect of passion. Prejudice is a sentiment or judgment formed without examining the grounds or evidence necessary to support it. Judgments or sentiments therefore, that are founded in prejudice, can never be considered as any evidence of themselves, that the facts on which they are supposed to be founded do exist. That you entertain prejudices against federal men, you do not deny: and that these prejudices are producing serious evils among us is certainly true: and it is seriously believed that unless the differences among the people, which have been created by these prejudices, can be reconciled, they will end in the ruin of our republic.

You are therefore, at this alarming crisis, urged by the duty which you owe to your country and to posterity, to examine the evidence on which your prejudices have been founded. And to this end your attention has been invited to the calumniators of Washington and his policy; as the men, from whom, on a review of the subject, you must be convinced that you have derived the evidence, to which your present prejudices, owe their origin; evidence which will be found on examination, totally incompetent, in its very nature, to decide the most unimportant civil right.

Strictures on the administration of government are made through the medium of the press, and through that channel communicated to the people, by those individuals who approve them. Those presses which are established at the seat of government, where measures originate, and where it is believed the real views and principles of their authors are best known, are the first to give them currency. The National Gazette to which I have alluded, and other papers became the vehicles of the calumnies against Washington and his administration, soon after the government went into operation; and those, or their contents copied into other papers, were circulated among the people.

It must therefore be through the medium of democratic papers, first published at the seat of government, that you derived your first information, that your liberties had been entrusted with dangerous men. This is evident. There is no other mode by which the motives, views, and principles of men, so far removed from the great bod, of the electors as those who reside at the seat of government, could be communicated. To extend the circulation of these papers, and thereby communicate what were called republican sentiments, a democratic society was formed at Philadel-

phia, on the 30th day of May 1793, which was the fifth year of Washington's administration, and soon after the arrival of Mr. Genet, the French minister. « These societies were the resolute champions of all the encroachments attempted by the agents of the French republic on the government of the United States, and the steady defamers of the views and measures of the American executive."*

By this society a corresponding committee was appointed, through whom they might communicate with other societies established on similar principles, throughout the Union. It was through the aid of this society, that the calumniators of Washington and his measures, extended their influence to the great body of the people. It was from this source, then, and no other, that you have derived your evidence, that federal men are under a dangerous influence, and Washington himself was never made an exception to the number of those, who were marked for proscription and doomed to exile.

This is evident, if you believe what he has written on the subject. And of his integrity you never doubted. He was one of those rare characters, whom the temptations of earth could not corrupt, and who by uniting in himself, every virtue, was destined to bless his country by uniting every heart. By a long series of illustrious actions, and by an unrivalled display of disinterested patriotism, that great and good man had so engravened himself on the affections of his fellow-citizens, that his very name palsied the tongue of slander, and his transcendant influence rendered abortive the efforts of his detractors.

In that long catalogue of illustrious patriots, heroes and statesmen, who have adorned and blessed our country, and who would have honored any age or nation, it was our lot to enjoy one, and we have reason to exult in the proud recollection, that among that number, even one could be found, who alone was destined by Heaven to command the undivided confidence of his fellow-citizens. Will you ask, who then are his enemies? he had none. Why then had he traducers? Thousands of our citizens will still indignantly answer, he had none: he lived only to bless and serve his country, and died in her service. And could that country raise

* Marshall's Life of Washington, v. 5. p. 427.

against her benefactor, the voice of detraction? It could. Washington was traduced; by a few indeed, a despicable few of his fellow-citizens. And had not his hand recorded the evidence of their degeneracy, you never would have believed it. It was reserved for him alone to transmit to us for the benefit of our country, the evidence of the degeneracy of the age in which we live, as a warning against that fatal system of delusion and falsehood, which he saw was preparing to entangle us in the corrupt politics of foreign courts, and to enkindle among us the flames of civil discord.

Notwithstanding every effort which was made by President Washington to restore harmony and to reconcile his opposers, the democratic party continued with unabating zeal, to publish the grossest and most insidious misrepresentations against every act of his administration. In the third year of the second term of his presidency, he evidently discovered that strong sensibility which the unqualified abuse of his opposers could not fail to excite. In a letter to Mr. Jefferson on this subject, he has the following remarks:—"Until the last year or two, I had no conception, that parties would or ever could go the lengths I have been witness to; nor did I believe until lately, that it was within the bounds of probability—hardly within those of possibility, that while I was using my utmost exertions to establish a national character of our own, independent, as far as our obligations and justice would permit, of every nation of the earth; and wished, by steering a steady course, to preserve this country from the horrors of a desolating war, I should be accused of being the enemy of one nation, and subject to the influence of another; and to prove it that every act of my administration would be tortured, and the grossest and most insidious misrepresentations of them be made by giving one side only of a subject, and that too in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could scarcely be applied to a Nero—to a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pick-pocket."

And who were the men that tortured every act of Washington's administration to prove that he was an enemy to France, and subject to the influence of Great-Britain? They were the men who directed and supported the National Gazette and other presses which first denounced federal men: They were the men from whom you derived your evidence that Mr. Adams and Mr. Hamil-

ton were monarchists, and their political friends tories and British partizans.

You say you believe in the integrity and republican virtue of Washington. Well you may: no one ever doubted of them. For he appeared to belong to, (if I may be permitted to use the expression) an higher order of beings, and actuated by motives purely disinterested, and in this respect distinguished from any, and every other man whose life has been recorded.

I well know therefore it must be mortifying to human pride, to be forced to acknowledge that your political prejudices, have been founded on opinions and sentiments, the evidence of which you have derived from the very men who, to bring into discredit and disrepute, his political character and conduct, tortured every act of his administration, to induce the people to believe that he was partial to Great-Britain, and an enemy to France, and who to effect their diabolical purpose, have made the most insiduous misrepresentations of his measures, by giving only one side of a subject, and that too in the most exaggerated and indecent terms.

But history will be faithful to posterity. And however humiliating to the pride of Americans, and to the dignity of man, the truth will be recorded, and transmitted to future generations through the long annals of ages to come, that the flames of CIVIL DISCORD were first enkindled among the people of the United States by the calumniators of Washington.

But how comes it to pass that these men gained credit among the people, and succeeded in all their efforts to bring into discredit federal men and measures, except those which were directed against Washington? For they certainly denounced him and his policy with as much zeal, and apparent pretences to sincerity, as they did others?

The truth is, with respect to him you could not be deceived. Your sentiments respecting his political character were immoveably fixed: you did not, you would not consult the opinions of others respecting his integrity—his wisdom, or the purity of his motives. But with respect to others who were the authors of federal measures, you had no other source of information on which you chose to rely for evidence of their private views and principles, but the declarations of those who opposed these measures, or from the nature and effects of their

political conduct. Could you have known that those who first sounded the alarm, and excited your jealousy against federal men and measures, were the very men who were the revilers of Washington, the men who were making the most insidious misrepresentations of him and his views and policy, you certainly would have doubted respecting, either their integrity or the correctness of their views. You must indeed have held them in disrepute and utter contempt, as men without integrity, without honor, and without correct views of political measures, or you must have discarded Washington himself, and considered him as no longer entitled to your confidence, your gratitude or your respect.

The authors of the present policy and its advocates, will attempt in vain to acquit themselves of the imputation of having been the political enemies of Washington and instrumental in subverting his policy and discarding his councils. Do they expect it, by saying their political prejudices originated under the administration of Mr. Adams? But Washington has publicly announced to them and to the world, that he most cordially approved of the wise and prudent measures, as he is pleased to call them, of Mr. Adams' administration, and declared that, in his opinion, they ought to inspire universal confidence. Discard the wisdom and councils of Washington then, and erase them for ever from the record of your memory; and to be consistent with yourselves you must be forced to do it; and tell the world, that federalists lost your confidence, by the vices and errors of their political conduct, during the presidency of Mr. Adams. In what did their vices and errors consist? They imposed taxes which were burdensome to the people, and you then said they were unnecessary. But suppose they were; the representatives of a majority then thought otherwise. You displaced them and have introduced new men called republicans, who have introduced different measures and a new order of things. Your new men tax the people without measure, and it may almost be said without mercy. You say it is necessary—the minority think otherwise: and it cannot be concealed at this time, that even a majority of the electors are of that opinion, although they may not openly avow it; and our republican rulers themselves acknowledge that they have indeed been unfortunate in their policy, but insist that, if they have com-

mitted errors, they have been honest ones; and above all evils warn you against that of confiding your national concerns to federal men. They remind you of the sedition act, which in contempt of its authors, has been called the gag-law; and this ought not to be passed over in silence. For in no one measure have the views and principles of federalists been more perverted than in the construction of this law; and the effect of that perversion has been extensive and fatal. This was said to have for its object the abridgement of the liberty of speech and of the press; and every attempt to execute it, was considered as proof of a disposition influenced by the principles of despotic power. The electors were told by their republican leaders, that the object of that law was to prevent the people from exposing the vices and errors of their rulers. Barefaced as this falsehood is, it was, and even to this day is believed by thousands of honest freemen, who never had any knowledge of the law or its object, but what they have derived from those, whose political efforts were made only to betray, mislead and excite ill founded jealousies, and thereby elevate themselves to power. The object of the act of congress, called the sedition act, was so far from abridging the liberty of speech and of the prese, that express provision was made in the act, that if any person should be prosecuted for writing or publishing any libel against the goverment, it should be lawful for the person who was so prosecuted, upon trial of the cause, to give in evidence, in his defence, the truth of the matter contained in the publication, charged as a libel: And the jury who should try the cause, had a right to determine the law and the fact, under the direction of the court, as in other cases. The act made it criminal to publish any false, scandalous, and malicious writing against the government for the purpose of destroying the confidence of the people in their rulers: and of bringing them into disrepute and contempt; but prevented no one from speaking, writing and publishing the truth. Since Mr. Jefferson came into office, that law has not been in force; but the old common law principle has been adopted in prosecutions for libels against the government which makes it criminal to write or publish any thing which shall tend to bring the government into discredit and disrepute, however true the facts may be, that are thus written and published. Under the sedition act, the citizens had perfect liberty to write or

publish the truth respecting their rulers; but to do the same now, by the common law, which is the only rule in such cases, is criminal, and exposes those who shall do it, to punishment. Had the electors examined the nature and object of this law before they had condemned it, it would have had no effect in exciting prejudices against its authors; and this may be said with truth, respecting all the measures of the federal administration.

It is evident the people of this country did not duly consider the importance of making every effort to guard against the evils of party dissensions in the infancy of our republic. They did not wisely weigh the consequences of creating against any considerable portion of their fellow-citizens, prejudices, which might be interminable in their duration and fatal in their effects.

Since the dominion of party spirit commenced its progress over the minds of the republicans, they have been apprehensive of no danger but what resulted from the possibility that the persecuted federalists might eventually prevail in the councils of the nation. Never was the world cursed with a more fatal or more mysterious delusion than that which has prevailed in this enlightened republic, within the last 25 years. And this has been the result of the abuse of that great bulwark of our liberty, the freedom of speech and of the press. The most important facts relating to our national concerns have been either concealed, misconstrued or misrepresented. The people were at liberty to place their confidence in such men as they chose. They have placed, it is to be feared, a blind confidence in certain favorites who have deceived them, and who still have an interest in continuing the delusion. In the first slumbers of the revolution, the minds of the people seem to have been prepared for the reception of that fatal system of delusion and falsehood, which at that time was cunningly devised. When our government first went into operation, a general sentiment inspired our citizens with an unconquerable attachment to an elective government, and an abhorrence of monarchy equally strong. The few individuals who opposed the revolution were called tories, were held in contempt and considered by the great body of the people as traitors and enemies to their country.

The war which terminated in 1783 had left also in the bosoms of Americans a strong attachment to France: the services which had been rendered us by that country in our revolutionary

struggle were fresh in our recollection, and inspired our citizens with sentiments of affection and gratitude.

But there was a difference of opinion respecting the influence which ought to be allowed to those sentiments over the political conduct of the nation. With such evident sentiments of partiality to France and such deep-rooted enmity to Great-Britain, it required all the energy and wisdom of the administration to prevent the nation from inconsiderately precipitating itself into the war which had broken out between those two powers.

In such a state of the public mind, the ingenuity of man could not have invented a more effectual and fatal excitement of the prejudices and the malignant passions against any of our citizens than by inducing the people to believe that they were monarchists, and had a predilection for the British government.

Soon after the organization of the government, it was found that the opposers of the administration were disposed in our commercial regulations, to make discriminations between France and Great Britain in favor of the former; while the whole cabinet council except Mr. Jefferson; and also a great majority of congress were of the opinion, that no such discrimination ought to be made—"that trade ought to be guided by the judgment of individuals"—and that it was our duty as a wise people to adopt the maxim that with respect to other nations, we ought "in war only to be enemies, in peace, friends." Happily separated as we are from the belligerents of Europe, by a wide ocean, and having established a government on principles entirely different from theirs, and peculiar to our own modes and habits of thinking and acting, it was thought that no consideration either of duty or interest would require us to pursue any measure, which should have a tendency to "entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition—rivalship—interest—humor or caprice."

Such were the views of the administration, with respect to our relations with Great Britain and France, when the war between those powers commenced. Those men, therefore, who had been for a discrimination in favor of France, were of the opinion, that such were our obligations to that country, we could not be justified in taking a neutral position. But subsequent

events have taught us, how highly we ought to appreciate that policy which saved us from the wretched condition, in which we must inevitably have been involved by an alliance with France, at that time; or by granting to her those favors for which the opposition contended. Yet no sooner was it known that the administration had determined on a neutral position, and the president had issued his proclamation of neutrality; than they were denounced as the enemies of republican liberty —the friends of monarchy and the obsequious devotees and dastardly hirelings of despotism.

It is evident that no measure could have contributed more to our national prosperity than that neutral policy, to which the federal administration ever inflexibly adhered. Yet this measure, as well as every effort made by the administration of Washington, to save us from the horrors of a foreign war, were represented as the effect of a criminal attachment to Great Britain, and ungrateful hostility to France.

During the administration of Mr. Adams, the French without any pretext of right but what they derived from their despotic power, indiscriminately captured and destroyed our vessels, and would not even condescend to treat with us, unless we would first pay them tribute money, for the privilege of humbly requesting them to desist from plundering our defenceless commerce, and, to add insult to injury; ordered Mr. Pinkney, our minister then in Paris, to depart from that city, in forty eight hours. This was tantamount to a declaration of war; and to defend ourselves against their aggressions, and to redress our wrongs, a few troops were raised. The extraordinary expense, which this measure rendered indispensable, was represented by the democratic party as unnecessary and oppressive; and our differences with France at that time, which gave rise to it, were ascribed to an undue attachment to Great Britain, and a disposition hostile to France and to republican liberty. The views which Washington had, at that time, of the war with France are stated in his letter* to Mr. Adams, on his acceptance of the appointment of commander in chief of the armies. It will be found by an examination of this subject, that our differences with France at that time, and the evils

* See his letter page 43

which resulted from them, may be ascribed to the confidence which the French had, in the aid they expected to derive from their party in this country, which was opposed to the administration, and to the neutral policy which it had endeavored to maintain.*

It is a truth which cannot be concealed, that ever since the first organization of the government, the opposers of federal men and measures, have been disposed to palliate the injuries which have been inflicted upon us by the French, while they have exaggerated those of the British beyond the bounds of reason and truth.

The efforts of both Washington's and Adams' administration were exerted to counteract the effect of this unwise disposition, tending in its consequences to embroil us in foreign contests, and to defeat the great objects of that system of neutral policy, which they had adopted and were determined to support. Yet every effort that has been made for this purpose, has been represented as the effect of a dangerous British influence in the councils of the nation.

In the vast and complicated system of delusion, of intrigue and of falsehood, by which the men in power have gained their ascendency, and created those inveterate prejudices against federal men, the imputation of British influence among them, has had no unimportant effect. That allegation brought against the federalists, with such bare-faced impudence and supported with such persevering obstinacy, however glaring and improbable the falsehood, has been attended with effects pernicious in the extreme. Like the pestilential mists of Hades, it has blighted into deformity that which was beauteous; it has darkened the prospects, and prostrated the energies of our once happy country. It had been the firm resolution of the federal administration not to involve us in a war with either of the belligerents, until all hope of reconciling any differences, which might exist had failed.

With such views the administration under Mr. Adams, did not commence hostile operations against France, until that government had ordered our minister to depart from that country, under circumstances highly insulting to the dignity of our government.

* See Washington's letter to Charles Carrol, p. 44.

Through the whole term of Washington's administration, France by her ministers and agents in this country had been indefatigable in her efforts to influence our government to adopt a system of policy partial to her interests. And after the war had broken out between that country and Great Britain, Mr. Genet the French minister, soon after his arrival in the United States evinced his determination to treat this country, as one which was in alliance with his own, and thereby virtually involve us in their contest with Great Britain.

Immediately after his arrival, even before being recognized by our government as the French minister, "he undertook to authorize the fitting and arming vessels in our ports, enlisting men, and giving commissions to cruise, and commit hostilities on nations with whom the United States were at peace." About this time an event took place that places on the record of our history the most conclusive evidence of the falsehood of the assertion that the federal administration have been influenced by motives partial to the interest of Great Britain, and of their fixed determination to adhere to that neutral policy which they considered as the surest pledge of our future peace and prosperity.

A British merchantman called the Little Sarah, had been captured by a French frigate and brought into the port of Philadelphia where she had been armed and equipped as a privateer. Being completely armed and manned, partly by Americans, she was about to sail on a cruize under the name of La Petit Democrat. In pursuance of the regulations which had been made by the President to prevent the fitting out armed vessels in our ports, Mr. Secretary Dallas was sent to prevail on Mr. Genet to desist from such a proceeding, and thereby prevent the employment of force to compel an acquiescence in our fixed regulations. On receiving the message he peremptorily refused a compliance with the requisition; and said that if any attempt was made to seize the vessel, she would unquestionably repel force by force. In consequence of this positive refusal to comply, a sufficient portion of the militia were ordered out by the governor for the purpose of taking possession of the vessel; and the case was communicated by him to the executive. The next day Mr. Jefferson waited on Mr. Genet, in the hope of prevailing on him, if not to desist entirely, from the prosecution of his attempt, at least to defer it till the arrival of the President, who was then at Mount Vernon. After much outrageous and abusive

language, he concluded by making some remarks which gave to Mr. Jefferson an impression, that the vessel would not sail until the arrival of the President. This interview with Mr. Genet he imparted to governor Mifflin, in consequence of which he dismissed the militia.

Yet notwithstanding the favorable hopes and expectations that had been excited, the Little Democrat sailed before the arrival of the President, and before the government could interpose its authority, and in contempt of our laws, proceeded on her cruize. The President immediately arrived and convened his cabinet, and while they were deliberating on measures proper to be taken relating to the Little Democrat, they had determined to retain in port all vessels equipt as privateers, within our territories by any of the belligerent powers. Among the ships enumerated to be retained, was the ship Jane, a British armed merchantman, declared by Mr. Genet to be a privateer. An enquiry was made in relation to this vessel, and it was found that she had considerably increased her armament, by replacing old gun carriages with new ones, and opening two new port holes. The British minister requested that these alterations might be allowed to remain. But his request was peremptorily rejected; and in compliance with the requisitions of the government, she was restored precisely to the condition in which she entered the port.

Thus did our government, when administered by federal men, deal with Great Britain, while the minister of France insulted the officers of our government, and the majesty of the people: and openly set at defiance, our laws and regulations, with impunity. The rulers of France have since been changed, but their policy and their object, which has been the attainment of universal dominion, has never been changed. The same policy, the same unwarrantable and lawless presumption, which characterized that government, whether administered by a national Directory or a consular cabinet, has marked its progress from the reign of the unfortunate Louis, to that of its imperial tyrant. Neither has the attachment of many of our citizens, to French republicans, in any degree abated. The object of a war with England, which should end in the destruction of that government and open the way to universal dominion for the pretended friends of liberty in America and France has never been abandoned. And may the honest hopes of those who an-

ticipate and who would perpetuate the universal dominion of republican liberty, not be disappointed.

But it ever has been found and it is believed, that experience always will teach mankind, that, although by courage they may purchase liberty, yet without wisdom and virtue, its duration cannot be perpetual.

But has wisdom, has virtue marked the course and progress of our republic thus far? Are our liberties secure, because we possess the power of remaining free? So thought Greece; but where are her liberties now? The Romans also might have been free: but where are they? Their freedom too, has perished.—Frenchmen thought they were free, and that their liberties were immortal: but where are they? ask Napoleon: and he too is a republican! and once possessed the power of making millions free. Ask Frenchmen: they will tell you, that they have been ruled by successive factions, until the last more powerful than the rest, triumphed by the sword. And do you, my fellow-citizens, believe, that your republican liberties are secure, because there is wisdom and virtue among the people? But have our wisest and best citizens, always directed the destinies of our country? it will be acknowledged they have not.

And it is said, that in a free republic, where all enjoy equal rights, those who are less wise and virtuous than others, ought sometimes to participate in the exercise of the sovereign power: and should any evil result from a weak or vicious administration, we may always find a remedy, in the good sense of the nation. But suppose the majority of the people are under the absolute dominion of passion and prejudice: neither good sense, nor even common sense can prevail—neither can the voice of truth or reason be heard. While parties exist, the majority will contend that their voice is the good sense of the nation. The Romans boasted of their liberties, while they suffered under the despotism of the most despicable tyrants, that ever cursed the condition of man. And Cicero himself, with all his boasted talents and good sense, pleased the Roman people by telling them only six months before Octavius overturned the commonwealth, "that it was not possible for the people of Rome to be slaves, whom the gods had destined to the command of all nations."

By taking a review of the history of our republic, it will easily be seen whether the wisdom, the virtue, or good sense of the nation has prevailed thus far over folly, vice and absurdity.

Some evidence has been adduced in the preceding pages, to show that the charge of British influence against federalists is false and absurd. For proof of this, it might have been sufficient to appeal to the common sense and reason of mankind. That the very men, who achieved our independence, and who, in the acquisition of it, had patiently endured the privations and sufferings of a long and bloody conflict—who had also made every effort in their power, to form a constitution of civil government, agreeable to their own views and wishes, and which was itself the surest pledge for the security of their dearest rights and those of their posterity: that these men should, without any discoverable motives, at once lose their attachment to those principles, which they had so strenuously labored to defend, and become the devoted partizans of that monarchy from which they had solemnly absolved themselves, is contrary to the plainest dictates of reason and common sense. And yet thousands of our honest citizens have believed, and even yet believe it to be true.

But in this monstrous tissue of deception and absurdity, who are the witnesses? The very men who bring forward the accusation;—and it is evident, from subsequent events, that those men had a deep interest in bringing into discredit, those they accused; that they might, thereby acquire to themselves, the emoluments of office.

You, fellow-citizens, who have believed, that federalists were monarchists and British partizans, have never had any other evidence of the fact, than that which you have derived from the declarations of those who have brought forward the accusation. Those who have spread ill founded jealousies and false alarms against the federalists, and thereby enkindled the flames of civil discord among the people to elevate themselves to power, must have been destitute of both wisdom and virtue. You, who have been the honest and unsuspecting dupes of this gross and fatal delusion, are indeed the subjects of compassion—And it is to you that we would most cheerfully lend our aid in your attempts to break through the thick, dark cloud of error and falsehood, which has long intercepted your view of the truth; and which even now threatens with destruction your fairest hopes and your best interests, in the final extermination of republican liberty.

For it is on you, fellow-citizens, that we rely, for the elevation of men to office, who possess wisdom and virtue; without which, it is believed, republican liberty cannot be long perpetuated.

And can you, on examination of the subject, believe that it is in such men, that you have placed your confidence and confided the destinies of your country? You have already seen from facts, which cannot be doubted and from evidence which is irresistible, that the men to whom, by your suffrages, you have entrusted the sovereign power, have grossly deceived and wickedly betrayed you. You every day witness the evils, which their miserable policy has inflicted on your suffering, bleeding country—You see your government, in consequence of that policy, already far advanced in the downward road of fallen republics. And can you yet think that these men possess that wisdom and virtue, so necessary to the preservation of our safety, and the perpetuity of our civil institutions? You must indignantly answer, No, they are not only unworthy of our confidence, but they merit our execration.

That one half of our citizens should array themselves against the other, and with the most inveterate prejudices, excited by falsehoods the most improbable and absurd, and should reward the authors of those falsehoods by their most unbounded confidence, in bestowing upon them, the first offices of responsibility and trust, can be ascribed to nothing but the power of a delusion, the most mysterious and fatal. Striking is this delusion in its resemblance, and more fatal in its effects, than that which doomed to an ignominious death, the wretched inhabitants of Salem, for the supposed crime of witchcraft. It will doubtless be recollected by some of our readers, that in an early period of our history, some of the good people of Salem, in the then colony of Massachusetts, discovered that that town was infested with witches—and to prove it, said they had seen them, and suffered by their witchcrafts.

In that period of our history it appears, that the evidence of the accuser was admitted as competent on the trial of these unfortunate victims of delusion; and on such evidence only, great numbers of the most respectable citizens of that town were consigned to death for the supposed crime of witchcraft. But so often and so indiscriminately were these strange accusations made, that it led to an apprehension, that, in that mysterious business,

there might be "something rotten in the state of Denmark;" and on a review of the origin and progress of that event, it was found that no evidence but that of the accuser had ever been exhibited against the unfortunate victims who had suffered, and that no other person had ever seen witches in Salem. The scales fell from the eyes of the judges, the people were enlightened, and the delusion and horrors of Salem witchcraft came to an end. Neither has any other evidence ever been exhibited, to prove that our country is infested with monarchy-loving federalists, but that of those by whom these unfortunate citizens have been accused; on the evidence of those, whom subsequent events have shewn, had an interest in denouncing them: neither has any other person ever discovered them.

I would not be thought disposed to treat the great concerns which relate to the public peace and welfare, with the least degree of levity. But it is a duty which we owe to the honor of our country, and to the dictates of reason and truth, to expose in all their deformity, the absurd falsehoods of those who have distracted and ruined the councils of this once happy republic, by the ridiculous story of British influence.

The vices and errors which have marked the course of our republic thus far, must be abandoned, or we are lost. If we disregard the great and immutable principles, to which republics necessarily owe their existence, and duration, we cannot expect to perpetuate our own.

It was an unparalleled display of wisdom and virtue that gave to the constitution of our republic, its existence; and whenever that wisdom and virtue shall become extinct, or yield their influence to the dominion of vice and error, the ties which bind that constitution to the affections of the people will instantly dissolve, and anarchy will succeed, and despotism finally triumph.

It has been observed that thus far we have travelled step by step the downward course of fallen republics. To the truth of this let history attest. No republic has ever fallen, without being first torn asunder by party dissensions.

Washington, when he made his last, address to his country was deeply impressed with this truth, and warned the people in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of party spirit. It is evident he had seen and felt the mischiefs resulting from party dissensions, when, in his letter to Mr. Jefferson, written five years before, he remarked that, "if instead of laying our shoul-

ders to the machine after measures are decided on, one pulls this way, and another that, before the utility of the thing is fairly tried, it must inevitably be torn asunder; and in my opinion the fairest prospect that ever was presented to man, will be lost perhaps for ever."* Thus it is that the administration is enfeebled and exposed to foreign influence, corruption, and eventual ruin. When a party, to gain popularity, and acquire the ascendency in the councils of the nation, have arraigned and condemned the measures of government, to be consistent with their professions, after they have succeeded in getting the power of the state into their hands, they must change the policy of their predecessors: Thus, before the utility of former measures are fairly tried, and which perhaps have been adopted at great expense, a new policy must be introduced, equally expensive, and uncertain too with respect to its operation, and always liable to be ruined in its very infancy, by the next successful faction, which is continually exerting itself to defeat its operations. Such a state of things encourages foreign aggression, insult and violence: and in the event of a foreign war, one party will always be charged with the crime of adhering to the common enemy; and if accused wrongfully, they will be impelled by a just sentiment of indignation to bring into contempt and discredit their accusers: and their efforts to effect this, if their numbers are considerable, will obstruct, if not entirely defeat the operations of government against the common enemy. Such events have ever marked the course of fallen republics, and thus far have marked our own.

From the first moment our government went into operation, the political conduct of the party in power, has throughout been distinguished by one prominent feature which has imposed an influence, resistless thus far in its progress, and fatal to the peace, the happiness, and glory of our infant republic.

Those who have directed the anti-federal administration, have from the beginning evinced a disposition to favor the views of the French nation against her enemies; to justify this disposition they have sought for motives in considerations of gratitude for her services rendered us in the revolutionary war: in a union of sentiments and pursuits, between that country and our own, and as resulting from these, a just and interminable hostility against Great Britain, her most formidable rival.

This disposition the federalists never have, for a moment indul-

* See page 53.

ged, but ever have, and will, while they have life and reason, oppose by all lawful means within their power.

None of these motives, ought to influence the political views of an American, who understands, and would promote the interest of his country. What debt of gratitude do we owe to France? She offered us her services on certain stipulations with which we have complied. She doubtless wished to cripple the power of Great Britain, by lopping off from her empire the American colonies; but it is evident by her interference, in our negociations with that country, she intended we should be so mangled and moddled by the incision, that we should eventually adhere to her own. She had an interest in aiding us; we never had, and probably never shall, have any interest in hazarding our peace and safety, in her contests for dominion. It is indeed folly for any nation to expect disinterested favors from another. "There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard."*

Neither do the federalists believe, that there is any resemblance between the pursuits and sentiments of Frenchmen, and those of Americans, or any other nation, who have any just ideas of rational liberty. Every one who knows any thing of the history of that country, well knows, that, from the commencement of their revolution, to that of the imperial dynasty, successive factions have enslaved and oppressed the people, until Napoleon seized the throne and sceptre, and triumphed by the sword.

We therefore can have no motive, from considerations of sympathy and affection for France, to hate Great Britain, or make war upon her, because France would have it so. And experience has taught us the folly of consulting the views of a foreign despot, with respect to the expediency of making war on Great Britain, to compel her to respect our neutral rights.

The declaration of war against Great Britain, was itself a most base and servile surrender of these neutral rights to France. Although France was the first to violate our neutral rights, yet our government tamely submitted to her depredations on our commerce for more than a year; and no sooner had Great Britain by her Orders in Council committed a similar act of aggression, than France is told by our administration, that if she will do us the justice to desist from plundering us, we would enter the lists

* See Washington's Farewell Address.

with her against Great Britain. This looks like French influence! The plain language of that shameful business is this. If France will permit us to enjoy our neutral rights, we will, submit to a much greater evil, by involving ourselves in a war with England. You may talk of the abuses of British power, as long, and as loud as you please, they never will surrender their maritime rights to an administration which, are the most devoted and servile partizans of her enemy.

There is foreign influence in the councils of the nation, but it is purely French, and ever has been. There never was through the whole course of the federal administration, a single measure, which was in any degree controuled or effected by British influence. The policy which Washington and his political friends had marked out, was intended to exclude foreign influence, entirely from the councils of the nation, as one of the most fatal foes of republican liberty. And with these views, they had wisely adopted that system of neutrality, which, has perhaps been productive of more blessings to the United States, than any one measure since the organization of our government. Yet every effort to carry this system into effect, has been ascribed to British influence.

It is a truth, which the history of our political state will clearly demonstrate, that ever since the commencement of the war between Great Britain and France, the republican party, at least the most influential and active leaders, have evinced by their political conduct, a disposition to entangle us in an alliance with France.

Excessive hatred to Great Britain, and partiality for France, has been the most prominent feature, in the republican administration. While the blood of the best citizens in France was sacrificed to the rage of an infuriated mob, our republicans were celebrating her victories, and exulting in her emancipation from the tyranny of kings.* She was represented as the great nation

* On the first day of May 1795, at a civic feast in Philadelphia, which was attended by a great number of American citizens, to celebrate the victories of France, and which was honoured by the presence of the Minister and Consul of the French Republic, and the Consul of Holland then subdued by the arms of France; the following toasts among others were given, which will furnish a just idea of the prevailing spirit of those times.

The Republic of France—May the shores of Great-Britain soon hail the tri-coloured standard, and the people rend the air with shouts long live the republic.

This shows that the object of French and American republicans at that time was, the conquest of Great-Britain: that object has not been abandoned.

The Republic of France—May all free nations learn of her to transfer

destined by heaven, not only to burst asunder her own chains, but to complete and perpetuate the triumphs of liberty throughout the world.

When application was made to our government by the French minister for anticipation of an instalment of the French debt, before it was due, and there was no money in the United States treasury to pay more than the current expenses and the interest of the public debt; a democratic member on the floor of Congress said, there would be no merit in paying only when it was due and when it was convenient to pay; he rejoiced, he said, that America could strain her means, and hazard something to shew her gratitude.

There was at that time, among the democrats, apparently much more solicitude for the welfare of the French republic, than for our own. Nothing but an inflexible adherence to the policy of neutrality, and their attachment from men to principles, and from individuals to the people.

Since the commencement of the French revolution, republican principles have never prevailed in that country against the most relentless tyranny of a few individuals.

The Republic of France—May her example in the abolition of titles and splendor, be a lesson to all republics to destroy those leavens of corruption. Old titles have been abolished in France since the revolution, but new ones created equally inconsistent with republican liberty.

The Republic of Holland—May her two sisters the republics of France and America, form with her an invincible triumvirate in the cause of liberty.

The Republic of Holland—May that government which they are about establishing have neither the balances of aristocracy, nor the checks of monarchy.

In this may be discovered the hostility to our present constitution, on account of the senate and chief magistrate which I have before noticed:—the balance of aristocracy has reference to the senate, and the checks of monarchy to the office of president.

The Republic of America—May the aristocracy of wealth founded upon the virtues, the toils, and the blood of her revolutionary armies soon vanish and like the baseless fabric of a dream leave not a wreck behind.

The aristocracy of wealth, alludes to the funding system, by which, the wealth of many individuals was increased, who had purchased public securities at a discount: this wealth could not be taken from these individuals without violating the fundamental principles of justice and public faith.

The Republic of America—May her government have public good for its object, and be purged of the dregs of sophisticated republicanism.

The Republic of America—May the alliance formed between her and France acquire vigor with age, and that man be branded as the enemy of liberty who shall endeavour to weaken or unhinge it.

Federalists ever have opposed an alliance with France—how justly this should brand them with the imputation of being the enemies of liberty let the people judge.

The Republic of America—May her administration have virtue enough to defy the ordeal of patriotic societies, and patriotism enough to cherish instead of denouncing them.

Patriotic societies; these were the democratic societies formed a short time before under the direction of Mr. Genet the French minister.

trality, would have saved us from the horrors of that war in which France was engaged against the combined powers of Europe.

For the most flagrant abuses, and lawless depredations committed by France on our defenceless commerce, scarcely a complaint has been uttered by our republican rulers; and whenever it has been, it has been easy to discover from the cautious mode of expression on that subject, that it was done only to save appearances, and preserve their popularity; rather than the result of a sentiment of just indignation, for unmerited wrongs, while our language has been ransacked and tortured, to find words expressive of their contempt and hatred of the British government.

For such a discrimination between these two nations, the federalists could never find motives, either in reason or sound policy. They have therefore opposed it, and warned the people of its fatal tendency, to prevent a reconciliation with Great Britian, if not to involve us eventually in a war.

But for their warnings they have been reproached, and every effort which they have made to establish a national character, independent of every nation of the earth, and to preserve the country from the horrors of a desolating war, has been ascribed to British influence. This pitiful story of British influence has excited prejudices which have now been so long predominant, that the honest electors can give no account of their origin or progress.

Yet to this strange delusion we may ascribe our fatal divisions; which while they have encouraged foreign aggression, have by distracting the councils of the republic, enfeebled the means, if not rendered the power of resistance ineffectual.

And now when at last all are convinced of the baneful consequences of our political dissensions, we find that our republican rulers are even more clamorous than ever in their efforts to excite the prejudices, the passions and the jealousy of the people against federal men. They call on them to aid in fighting the British nation!

But can they expect federalists will fight and destroy those they so ardently love: and to whose government they have, as they are represented, such an invincible attachment? You, fellow-citizens, have been told millions of times, that the federalists wished to become recolonized: or to establish a government in New-England, similar to that of Great-Britain. If this is true, why do they not at this time make an effort to do it? There certainly never was, and probably never will be a more favorable opportu-

nity to effect such a purpose. Were the federalists to unite their force to the Canadian provinces and the other armies of Great Britain, they would stand the tug of war, at least beyond the duration of Mr. Madison's life or energies. But if shame had not lost its power on these declaimers of British influence, the conduct of the federalists, would strike them dumb with confusion.

Instead of aiding the enemy, you see them braving death and danger in the field of battle, that they may expel from our borders, the hirelings and subjects of that nation by whose influence you say federalists are governed!!

And if this country is ever saved from the tyranny of Great Britain or France, if it is ever saved from the miserable degraded condition to which it has been reduced, by intrigue, by falsehood, by cowardice, by hypocrisy, and villany, it will be saved by federal men: Not all the efforts of a weak or deluded faction, aided by the hirelings, tools and sycophants of the imperial tyrant, can ever extinguish in them the fire which glowed in the breasts of their illustrious ancestors: they will yet exhaust the last power of nature, that they may transmit unimpaired to posterity our free constitution and all those privileges of freemen purchased by the courage, the toil and blood of their fathers: they are the men who achieved our independence, who fought and suffered with Washington, and who are still ready to fight and to die, in support of that policy which he recommended. And while they "at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as their own personal concern," they will with equal zeal oppose by all lawful means, the weak or wicked policy of our own rulers whenever it shall tend to subvert the great ends of government, and bring misery and ruin on the present and future generations.

The policy of the last fourteen years has been gradually though unceasingly draining the sources of our wealth, reducing the strength, and impairing the credit of the nation. But since the commencement of the present war, it has progressed to our ruin with bold and rapid strides: and the toil and wealth of an age has been sacrificed to the administration of a year. Yet such a sacrifice great as it is, would cheerfully be made to advance the glory and interest of the republic.

When federalists humbly ask, in what way present measures are to advance this interest of our country, our rulers tauntingly reply, we are not accountable to the minority: when they ask what glory is to be derived from a war without some probable

ground to hope that the ostensible object for which it is declared, will thereby be attained, we are insultingly told, that if it is not attained, the failure will be ascribed to the partizans of the enemy, the federalists.

So long as every evil which may result from the vices or errors of rulers, is to be ascribed to a large portion of the citizens and to them only, it is in vain to anticipate the blessings, or the duration of republican liberty.

It has long been believed, that nothing would save us from the dangers which result from a blind confidence in rulers, but actual suffering inflicted by their folly or vices. Then it is that "lethargic indolence is roused," and if it is not roused by convulsions, we have reason to hope that reason and virtue may triumph over passion and prejudice.

The policy of the last fourteen years has been founded in error and delusion, and it must be totally renounced; and you, my fellow-citizens, must go back to the days of Washington and commence anew your political career. You must go back to that happy period, when your only enquiry, your only solicitude, respecting candidates for office, were respecting their wisdom and their integrity, and not the insignificancy of a name: and as in the presence of your God and under that awful influence imposed by the fate of millions and millions yet unborn, make a final sacrifice of your passions and your prejudices on the altar of patriotism. And with the stern integrity of virtuous freemen, you must resolve that your future efforts shall be devoted to the interests of your country, and not to the paltry views of any political sect, by whatever specious name, it may be called. Remember that republican liberty is on its last and final trial. Republican virtue has been corrupted by the baneful influence of party spirit, and it must be regenerated.

That wise, firm, independent, and patriotic policy, which was recommended both by the precept and example of Washington, is the only system which can encourage us even to hope with confidence for any great duration to our republic. And in this it is believed you have placed your most sanguine hopes, your firmest confidence.

Your leaders, while they have claimed the popularity of his name, have induced many of you to believe that he was their political friend: while they have been elevated to power on the ruins of that very policy which he approved and which you once fondly hoped would stand against the rage of faction, and of passion, and endure forever.

It will be found on a candid review of our political state, that the leaders of the party in power, have falsely ascribed that policy to British influence, and thereby succeeded by the power of delusion only, in subverting it, and driving its authors from the councils of the nation.

To prove that the political conduct of the leaders of the party in power was opposed to the views and policy of Washington, you have been referred to his own testimony, contained in letters* written by him to the officers of government, as well as to his private friends. And if you doubt their authenticity, make a pilgrimage to Mount Vernon, that sacred deposit, where you may find the truth recorded by that hand which withered in the service of his country. Go to that venerable mansion, once the abode of him, who lived only that you might be free and happy, and whose spirit has ascended to heaven: and from that pure source, search for truth: and if your prejudices are not veiled with darkness impenetrable as adamant, a light as from heaven's own altar, will dissipate the clouds of error, of falsehood, and delusion, which have bewildered your long and dreary way, through the course of the last fourteen years. And had not the laws of God, and of nature, imposed on the tomb an inviolable silence, the voice of Washington would warn you in thunders, to restore his councils, if you would perpetuate your liberties.

Those councils are contained in his last affectionate address to his fellow-citizens. And that man who would not devote every effort in his power to restore them must be dead to sensibility, to patriotism, to the interest, the honor and glory of his country.

* "The following extract from a letter written to general Knox the day before the termination of his office, exhibits the sentiments with which he contemplated this event, and with which he viewed the unceasing calumnies with which his whole administration continued to be aspersed.

"To the wearied traveller who sees a resting place, and is bending his body to lean thereon, I now compare myself; but to be suffered to do *this* in peace, is too much to be endured by *some*. To misrepresent my motives; to reprobate my politics; and to weaken the confidence which has been reposed in my administration;...are objects which cannot be relinquished by those who will be satisfied with nothing short of a change in our political system. The consolation, however, which results from conscious rectitude, and the approving voice of my country unequivocally expressed by its representatives...deprives their sting of its poison, and places in the same point of view both the weakness and malignity of their efforts.

"Although the prospect of retirement is most grateful to my soul, and I have not a wish to mix again in the great world, or to partake in its politics, yet I am not without my regrets at parting with (perhaps never more to meet) the few intimates whom I love. Among these, be assured you are one."

No. 3.

Wanton and unnecessary wars have in every age and nation been the horrid instruments, in the hands of government, of subverting liberty and reducing to wretchedness the condition of man.

POLITICAL DELUSION TRIUMPHANT.

The horrible agitations which have distracted the councils and threatened the safety of the republic, have at length subsided.

The joy at the return of peace results from the irresistible impulse of nature and humanity.

We rejoice because the blood of our slaughtered citizens no longer flows in vain.

We rejoice because the ruin of our national wealth and credit is arrested in its fatal progress: and that the countless blessings of peace have succeeded the horrors of a ruinous and hopeless war.

But could not these blessings have been preserved, could they not have been as well enjoyed without this dreadful sacrifice of blood and treasure? Are our citizens wiser or more happy, or are their rights better secured than they were at the commencement of the late war? These are serious questions and they must be answered.

History has taught us that in every age and nation wanton and unnecessary wars have been the horrid instruments of subverting liberty, and reducing to wretchedness the condition of man. Does it not become our duty then as a wise people to inquire with deep solicitude whether the evils resulting from the late war have produced any good? and if not, why they have been inflicted? An offensive war should be the last resort of injured nations, and to which recourse should not be had except in extreme cases, when the peace, the safety and rights of the people are put in jeopardy.

But it cannot be considered expedient by a wise and virtuous people in any circumstances to declare war even when the cause would justify resistance, unless there is at least some ground to hope, that the injured nation will be able thereby to redress her wrongs.

This last proposition is denied by modern politicians both in

Europe and America. Who contend that independent nations ought to fight, when their national honor is assailed, however, it may affect the interests or happiness of the people. Under the influence of this principle, the rulers of Europe have for ages compelled their miserable subjects to fight for the blessings of national honor. But on whom do these blessings rest? not on the wretched multitude who fight and die, but on the few lordly tyrants who direct the war: and who prate continually about national honor.

But whenever the rulers of a free people declare a war which is more destructive to their interest and happiness than the injury complained of, for which resistance is made: or when there is no probable ground to hope that the injured nation will be able thereby to redress her wrongs; such rulers, could never in the event of such a war, expect either success or glory. Such were the circumstances attending the commencement of the late war, that no one but the most blind and stupid votary of present measures could presage, in its event, any thing better than disgrace and defeat.

At that fatal crisis, such was the situation of the United States, and that of the belligerents of Europe, that we could expect no advantage, but had much to fear from taking a part in their contest. France equally with Great-Britain had violated our neutral rights. Those rights we shamefully surrendered to France, by selecting the latter for our enemy, and thereby violated the pure maxim "equal and exact justice to all nations." Besides in doing it we could not avoid an entangling alliance with France.

But supposing by uniting our efforts with France, we had succeeded, even in subjugating the power of Great-Britain, and Napoleon had taken possession of her thousand ships. Would he have given liberty to the seas, and peace to our country? Praised be the ruler of the universe, that we have escaped the horrible grasp of his iron hand.

But when it is considered that the unbounded ambition of Napoleon, had driven the nations of Europe to madness, it was not difficult to foresee that the event of his downfall was more than probable, and that, in such an event, we should be left to contend alone, with the most powerful nation on the globe. Such was the condition to which we were reduced.

Do you not see then, fellow-citizens, that our administration had staked the success of their arms eventually, on the success

of Napoleon, and thereby entangled us in the destructive policy of the belligerents of Europe? Of this you must be convinced when you recollect the fact, that Mr. Madison rejected the proffer of an armistice made by Great-Britain, on any other terms than that she would first yield the very point in issue with regard to impressment;* a point which he well knew she would not

* There is no doubt but that the subjects of the government of Great Britain, in many instances abuse the right which they claim, to impress their native seamen, when found in neutral ships.—But the great question is, how far the exercise of the right of impressment in the sense they contend for is an infringement of our national sovereignty and independence. Great Britain found their right of impressment on two principles; one is, that all the members of the civil community are bound to each other by compact; the other is, that one of the parties to this compact cannot dissolve it by his own act. When therefore one of her native citizens attempts to expatriate himself, without the consent of the government, they contend that they have a right to remand such citizen, and compel him to submit to the service and regulations of his native country. And in this the government of the United States, of Great Britain, and France concur. There has been one case in which this principle has been the subject of legal adjudication, in the Supreme Court of the United States. "In 1792, one Williams was commissioned by the French Consul-General residing in America, as a lieutenant on board the Jupiter, a French seventy-four. The Jupiter sailed in the autumn of the same year for Rochefort, where Williams was naturalized, renouncing his allegiance to the United States. After his naturalization, he was commissioned by the French Republick a second lieutenant on board the French frigate, the Caront. He continued in the commission and service of France until the 27th of February, 1797, when he was seized and arrested for accepting a commission from the French Republick, to commit acts of violence against the king of Great Britain, and his subjects, with whom we were at peace. Williams pleaded in justification his naturalization in France, and his renunciation of his allegiance to the United States. Chief Justice Ellsworth gave the following opinion.

"The common law of this country remains the same as it was before the revolution. The present question is to be decided by two great principles; one is that all the members of the civil community are bound to each other by compact, the other is, that one of the parties to this compact cannot dissolve it by his own act. The compact between our community and its members is, that the community shall protect its members, and on the part of the members, that they will at all times be obedient to the laws of the community and faithful in its defence. This compact distinguishes our government from those which are founded in violence or fraud. It necessarily results that a member cannot dissolve this compact, without the consent or default of the community. There has been no consent—no default. Default is not pretended. Express consent is not claimed; but it has been argued that the consent of the community is implied by its policy—its condition—and its acts. In countries so crowded with inhabitants, that the means of subsistence are difficult to be obtained, it is reason and policy to permit emigration; but our policy is different; for our country is but scarcely settled, and we have no inhabitants to spare.

"Consent has been argued from the condition of the country, because we were in a state of peace. But though we were in peace, the war had commenced in Europe.—We wished to have nothing to do with the war; but the war would have something to do with us. It has been extremely difficult for us to keep out of this war; the progress of it has threatened to involve us. It has been necessary for our government to be vigilant in re-

yield to any but her conquerors: and that this very point was yielded by him, this mighty sine qua non, this insurmountable obstacle to peace was removed on the 27th day of June, about one week after the news of Bonaparte's abdication had reached this country in a shape so authentic, that it could no longer admit of a doubt.

At the event of Napoleon's defeat, the federalists rejoiced, because they saw through it the approaching termination of an execrable war.

Federalists have no pretensions to the powers of prophecy, but they have firmly believed and predicted, that the excessive partiality to France and hostility to Great-Britain which has been the distinguishing feature through every period of the republican administration, would eventually end in disaster and disgrace.

straining our own citizens from those acts which would involve us in hostilities. The most visionary writers on this subject do not contend for the principle in the unlimited extent, that a citizen may at any, and at all times, renounce his own, and join himself to a foreign country.

"Consent has been argued, from the acts of our government permitting the naturalization of foreigners. When a foreigner presents himself here, and proves himself to be of a good moral character, well affected to the constitution and government of the United States, and a friend to the good order and happiness of civil society; if he has resided here the time prescribed by law, we grant him the privileges of a citizen. We do not enquire what his relation is to his own country; we have not the means of knowing, and the enquiry would be indelicate; we leave him to judge of that. If he embarrasses himself by contracting contradictory obligations, the fault and the folly are his own; but this implies no consent of the government, that our own citizens should expatriate themselves.

"It is therefore my opinion, that the facts which the prisoner offers to prove in his defence, are totally irrelevant; they can have no operation in law, and the jury ought not to be embarrassed or troubled with them; but by the constitution of the court, the evidence must go to the jury."

"The cause and the evidence were accordingly committed to the jury. The jury soon agreed on a verdict, and found the prisoner GUILTY.

"The court sentenced him to pay a fine of 1000 dollars, and to suffer four months imprisonment."

But it is said that when a citizen of Great Britain becomes naturalized by our laws, her right to claim the services of such citizen ceases. Our law relative to naturalization had its origin subsequent to that by which Great Britain claims the right to the services of her native subjects. How far one independent nation has a right by a municipal regulation to interfere with a pre-existing national right, [illegible] other independent nation, although such national right as claimed, may be thought an infringement of natural right, is a great national question. I have made these remarks, and cited the case of Williams, to shew that it is not certain that even the British right of impressment which our administration would resist, at the hazard of our peace and happiness, would readily be yielded by our own government, was our condi[illegible] similar to that of Great Britain.—Federalists would not sanction the abuse of power, in any other nation, when it infringes on the rights of their own: neither would they sacrifice their national wealth and prosperity, in a hopeless pursuit of what is falsely called national honor.

And to complete the climax of insult, of abuse, of suffering, and of delusion, we are told that, from this war great and important advantages have been derived to the country!! And what is more a matter of astonishment, many of our good and honest electors, either do, or at least pretend, to believe what is thus told them!!!

It has been truly remarked that "the greatest evils are not arrived at their utmost period, until those who are in power have lost all sense of shame; at such a time, those who should obey shake off all respect and subordination; then is lethargic indolence roused, but roused by convulsions." And have we not reason to fear that such a period has already commenced. After a war of more than two years, declared by our own government, in which thousands and thousands of our fellow-citizens have fallen by the sword and by pestilence: have been subjected to disease and to death: in which our land has been filled with widows, with orphans, with sufferings and with tears. And a debt of millions entailed on posterity which can be paid only by years of toil and pain, and when every object of this war had been yielded to the enemy, we have seen our chief magistrate in an official and public communication,* congratulating the representatives of the people, that peace was restored at a period when the causes of war had ceased, and under circumstances that the nation could review its conduct without regret, and that thereby the government had demonstrated the efficiency of its power of defence: and recommending to the beneficence of the people the military and naval departments, which as he asserts, had contributed essentially to the restoration of peace!!

At the time this communication was made, neither at any time since, has the British practice of impressment, nor the cause which produced it ever ceased. Neither could it be said that the achievements of our armies contributed essentially to the

* See President Madison's Message to Congress Feb. 20th, 1815.

The following is an extract from Mr. Madison's instructions to our ministers, before Bonaparte's defeat—"But the business of impressments cannot be waved, nor postponed, nor informally arranged. It cannot be waved, because it involves an infringement of the national sovereignty and independence. It cannot be postponed, because being one of the main grounds of the war, the government cannot answer to the people, since the rejection of Admiral Warren's proposition for a suspension of hostilities, upon the basis of the repeal of the Orders in Council. It cannot be the subject of an informal arrangement, because the experience of Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney's arrangement has taught us, that such an understanding cannot be relied upon, for any practical purpose."

restoration of peace, when our peace is not better secured or better enjoyed than before the war. To say nothing of the incalculable miseries which this war has occasioned.

And is it no matter of regret, that these miseries have been inflicted without any adequate object, and to no purpose?

And is it matter of congratulation that in a war declared by our own government, we have evinced our powers of defence against the enemy? But the necessity of calling these powers of defence into exercise, we imposed on ourselves by commencing hostilities.

Nothing which relates to the war can be a cause of congratulation, unless it is the attainment of some object of the war: one of which was, if Mr. Madison is correct, to evince, that we were able to defend ourselves against the enemy!! And suppose we have proved by the late war, that we are able, to defend, and have actually defended ourselves against the power of Great Britain, at the expense only of about ten thousand of the lives of our fellow-citizens, and one or two hundred millions of dollars. No one who has much knowledge of our resources, or the character of Americans, ever doubted of our ability to do this, without making this dreadful sacrifice to prove it. And could the chief magistrate of a free and enlightened people attempt this imposition on the common sense of the people, had he not lost all sense of shame? Or can rulers who are thus insensible of shame, and regardless of the honor and interest of their country, expect still to command the people's respect?—Is it not rather to be feared, that the time is not far distant, when an injured and indignant people will throw off all respect, and all subordination to men, who under the specious name of republican, would thus abuse their confidence and sport with their dearest rights. Why does the chief magistrate attempt to make a false impression on the public mind with respect to the event of the late war? Why did he not in the frank and honest language of a real republican, tell the people that the defeat of the ruler of France had disappointed his hopes with respect to the powerful aid he expected to derive from that country, and that thereby the objects of the war had been defeated and the country unhappily involved in difficulties and distress, from which their virtue and patriotism alone could extricate them?

Can patriotism or sound policy, can the best interests of our

country require, that the people should be deceived with respect to the object or tendency of measures, with respect to the important concerns which relate to the welfare of the country? And has it become necessary, in order to secure the confidence of a wise and free people, to betray them into a belief that real injuries, that the most terrible national calamities are blessings in embryo, in which they should exult. Is this the policy which is to light our way to the millennial glories which Columbus saw in vision?

Whither, O my fellow-citizens, whither has fled that stern integrity, that firm and disinterested patriotism, that once seemed to win a short lived popularity, at the expense of our immortal glory? Is this the country in which republican virtue has claimed the triumphs of an immortal existence?

Yes, in this once happy country, destined by heaven, as we had fondly hoped, to illustrate the splendid achievements of her heroes, and the wisdom of her sages, in the examples of their sons, we have seen that duplicity, hypocrisy and intrigue, have constituted the only effectual passports to preferment and to power!!

> "Unprized are her sons, till they learn to betray,
> Undistinguish'd they live, if they shame not their sires;
> And the torch that would light them to dignity's way,
> Must be caught from the pile where their country expires."

The people in this country well know what were the pretended objects of the war; and those who have read the late treaty of peace* between this country and Great Britain, know also that not one of those objects have been thereby obtained. And many of the electors who support the men in power, have even had the honest candor to acknowledge, that they could discover nothing but disaster in the event of the present war.

But no sooner was the magic influence of Mr. Madison's message diffused among the people, than, this war of misery and disgrace, is at once transformed into a national blessing! their optics are enduced at once with new powers: the scales fall from their eyes, and they see advantages resulting from the war, of which before they had no conceptions.

There is not at this time a country on earth, however despotic,

* For the benefit of those who have not read the late treaty, it is hereto annexed. It is hoped the people will read and judge for themselves how much cause of congratulation it contains.

where rulers have a more absolute controul over the rights of the people, than in our own.

The popularity with which they have conducted the late war, renders it evident, that there are no evils which they may not inflict upon the people with impunity.

The federalists can neither controul nor change the councils of the nation, and the republicans with their present prejudices will not. Should Napoleon again re-establish himself in power, we may well conclude his continental system would be revived, and we again involved in the vortex of his policy.

With our present rulers at helm, our peace cannot be durable. By the late treaty nothing has been settled. The officers of the late army are urging their claims on the gratitude and patronage of the government; and are dissatisfied with the late peace. A host of the unfortunate sufferers in the late war are also putting in their claims for pensions, and will doubtless, obtain them to an enormous amount, which the people must pay: and they are already taxed to the extent of their abilities, and even beyond. But if you would duly estimate the result of the late war, if you would know what we have lost by it, lay aside for a moment Mr. Madison's message, and ask the thousands of weeping widows, and mothers who have been thereby left destitute and comfortless, to a merciless world: ask the thousands of orphan children who have been thereby deprived of their only protector and support: ask the miserable beings, mangled and maimed by wounds, and rendered useless to themselves and to the world, and who must either starve, or subsist on the scanty pittance of a pension! go to the hospitals, those abodes of misery; and ask the wretched beings who have been transferred thither from the field of battle, covered with blood and distorted with the agony of their wounds: ask them; ask the poor fugitives who have been driven from their burning dwellings, and reduced in an hour, from a state of comfortable competency, to want, and even beggary: and while you reflect on this miserable assemblage of suffering humanity, ascertain if you can, the millions of expense at which these evils have been purchased. Look then at the late treaty with Great Britain, and compare the end and object of the war, and its final event with the means which have been employed in its prosecution, and the policy which has led to it; and if you will then give the sanction of your approving voice to the political conduct of those who direct

the public concerns of our country, it may indeed be said, it will be said by an impartial world, that in the United States, political delusion is triumphant. This is at present our condition. Such scenes of suffering, so wantonly inflicted on a free, and generous people, were never before exhibited on earth!

What then can be done to save the republic? Truth and argument are our only means: with these the present policy, and the authors of it will be opposed by federalists while they have life and reason. If our republic must fall, as it certainly must, under such an administration as the present, and probably very soon; "Let the federalists cling to it, while it has life in it, and even longer than there is hope. Let them be auxiliary to its virtues;" and if death must be its fate, let them strain every nerve, and exhaust the last power of intellect, and if necessary, surrender even life itself, that they may protract its dying nature, and from its expiring convulsions snatch the spirit of liberty, and render its reign on earth immortal.

JAMES MADISON,

President of the United States of America.

To all and singular to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

WHEREAS a TREATY OF PEACE and AMITY between the United States of America, and his Britannic Majesty was signed at Ghent, on the 24th day of December, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen, by Plenipotentiaries respectively appointed for that purpose; and the said Treaty having been by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, duly accepted, ratified and confirmed, on the seventeenth day of February, one thousand eight hundred and fifteen, and ratified copies thereof having been exchanged agreeably to the tenor of the said treaty, which is in the words following to wit.

TREATY OF PEACE AND AMITY,

BETWEEN

HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY

AND

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, desirous of terminating the war which has unhappily subsisted between the two countries, and of restoring, upon principles of perfect reciprocity, peace, friendship and good understanding, between them, have, for that purpose, appointed their respective Plenipotentiaries; that is to say: His Britannic Majesty, on his part, has appointed the Right Honorable JAMES LORD GAMBIER, late admiral of the white, now admiral of the red squadron of His Majesty's fleet, HENRY GOULBURN, Esquire, a Member of the Imperial Parliament and under Secretary of State, and WILLIAM ADAMS, Esquire, Doctor of Civil Laws:—And the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, has appointed JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, JAMES A BAYARD, HENRY CLAY, JONATHAN RUSSEL, and ALBERT GALLATIN, citizens of the United States, who, after a reciprocal communication of their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

There shall be a firm and universal Peace between His Britannic Majesty and the United States, and between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns, and people, of every degree, without exception of places or persons. All hostilities, both by sea and land, shall cease as soon as this Treaty shall have been ratified by both parties, as hereinafter mentioned. All territory, places, and possessions, whatsoever, taken from either party, by the other, during the war, or which may be taken after the signing

of this Treaty, excepting only, the Islands hereinafter mentioned, shall be restored without delay, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any of the artillery or other public property originally captured in the said forts or places, and which shall remain therein upon the exchange of the ratification of this Treaty, or any slaves or other private property.—And all archives, records, deeds and papers, either of a public nature, or belonging to private persons which in the course of the war, may have fallen into the hands of the officers of either party, shall be as far as may be practicable, forthwith restored and delivered to the proper authorities and persons to whom they respectively belong. Such of the Islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy as are claimed by both parties shall remain in the possession of the party in whose occupation they may be at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, until the decision respecting the title to the said islands shall have been made in conformity with the 4th article of this treaty. No disposition made by this treaty, as to such possession of the islands and territories claimed by both parties, shall in any manner whatever, be construed to affect the right of either.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

Immediately after the ratification of this treaty by both parties, as herein mentioned orders shall be sent to the armies, squadrons, officers, subjects and citizens, of the two powers to cease from all hostilities: And to prevent all cause of complaint which might arise on account of the prizes which may be taken at sea after the said ratification of this treaty; it is reciprocally agreed, that all vessels and effects which may be taken after the space of twelve days from the said ratifications upon all parts of the coast of North America, from the latitude of twenty-three degrees north, to the latitude of fifty degrees north, and as far eastward in the Atlantic ocean, as the thirty-sixth degree of west longitude from the meridian of Greenwich, shall be restored on each side: That the time shall be thirty days in all other parts of the Atlantic ocean, north of the equinoctial line or equator, and the same time for the British and Irish Channels, for the Gulf of Mexico, and all parts of the West-Indies: Forty days for the North Seas, for the Baltic, and for all parts of the Mediterranean: Sixty days for the Atlantic ocean south of the equator as far as the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope: Ninety days for every part of the world south of the equator: And one hundred and twenty days for all other parts of the world, without exception.

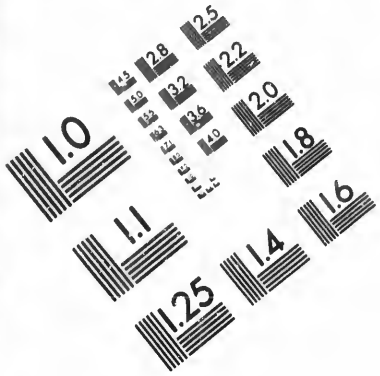
ARTICLE THE THIRD.

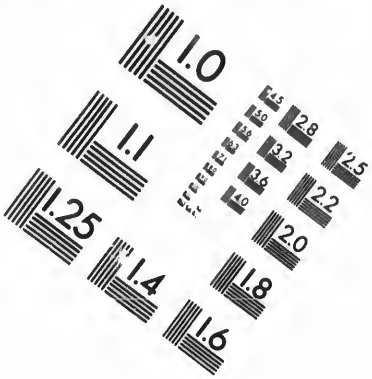
All prisoners of war taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, shall be restored as soon as practicable after the ratification

of this treaty, as hereinafter mentioned, on their paying the debts which they may have contracted during their captivity.—The two contracting parties respectively engage to discharge in specie, the advances which may have been made by the other for the sustenance and maintenance of such prisoners.

ARTICLE THE FOURTH.

Whereas, it was stipulated by the second article of the treaty of peace, of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, that the boundary of the United States should comprehend all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries, between Nova Scotia, on the one part, and East Florida, on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy, and the Atlantic Ocean, excepting such islands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of Nova Scotia; and whereas, the several islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy, which is part of the Bay of Fundy, and the island of Grand Menan, in the said Bay of Fundy, are claimed by the United States as being comprehended within their aforesaid boundaries, which said islands are claimed as belonging to his Britannic Majesty, as having been at the time of, and previous to, the aforesaid treaty of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, within the limits of the province of Nova Scotia.—In order, therefore, finally to decide upon these claims, it is agreed that they shall be referred to two commissioners, to be appointed in the following manner, viz: One commissioner shall be appointed by his Britannic Majesty, and one by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and the said two commissioners, so appointed, shall be sworn, impartially to examine and decide upon the said claims according to such evidence as shall be laid before them on the part of his Britannic Majesty and of the United States respectively. The said commissioners shall meet at St. Andrews, in the province of New-Brunswick, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit. The said Commissioners shall, by a declaration or report, under their hands and seals, decide to which of the two contracting parties the several islands aforesaid do respectively belong in conformity with the true intent of the said treaty of peace of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three. And if the said commissioners shall agree in their decision, both parties shall consider such decision as final and conclusive. It is further agreed, that in the event of the two commissioners differing upon all or any of the matters so referred to them, or in the event of both or either of the said commissioners refusing, or declining, or wilfully omit-





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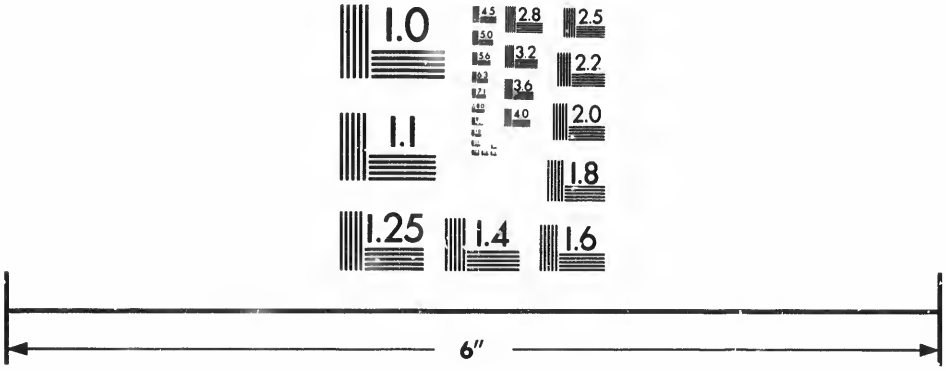

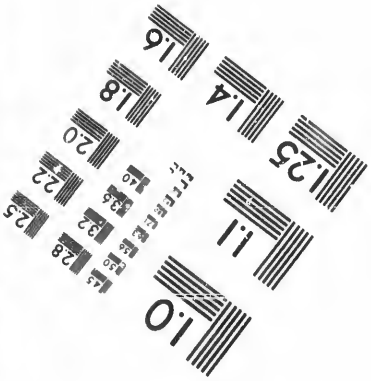

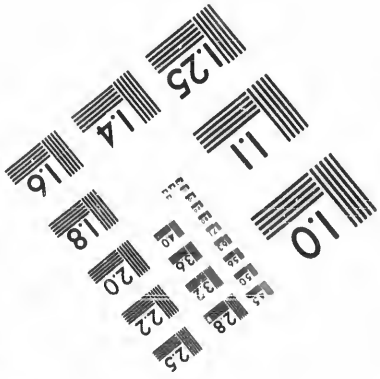

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ting to act as such, they shall make jointly or separately, a report, or reports, as well to the government of his Britannic Majesty as to that of the United States, stating in detail the points on which they differ, and the grounds upon which their respective opinions have been formed, or the grounds on which they, or either of them, have so refused, declined, or omitted to act.— And His Britannic Majesty, and the Government of the United States, hereby agree to refer the report, or reports, of the said commissioners, to some friendly sovereign or state, to be then named for that purpose, and who shall be requested to decide on the differences which may be stated in the said report or reports, or then the report of one commissioner together with the grounds upon which the other commissioner shall have refused, declined, or omitted to act, as the case may be. And if the commissioner so refusing, declining, or omitting to act, shall also wilfully omit to state the grounds upon which he has so done, in such manner that the said statement may be referred to such friendly sovereign or state together with the report of such other commissioner, then such sovereign or state shall decide ex-part upon the said report alone. And his Britannic Majesty and the Government of the United States, engage to consider the decision of some friendly sovereign or state to be such and conclusive on all the matters so referred.

ARTICLE THE FIFTH.

Whereas neither that point of the high lands lying due north from the source of the river St. Croix, and designated in the former treaty of peace between the two powers as the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, now the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river, has not yet been ascertained; and whereas that part of the boundary line between the dominion of the two powers, which extends from the source of the river St. Croix directly north to the abovementioned north-west angle of Nova Scotia, thence along the said highlands which divide those rivers which empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean to the north-westermost head of Connecticut river, thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; thence by a line due west on said latitude until it strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraguy, has not yet been surveyed; it is agreed that for these several purposes, two commissioners shall be appointed, sworn, and authorised, to act exactly in the manner directed with respect to those mentioned in the next preceding article, unless otherwise specified in the present article. The said commissioners shall meet at St. Andrews in the province of New Brunswick, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place as they shall think fit. The said commissioners shall have power to ascertain and determine the points abovementioned, in conformity with the

provisions of the said treaty of peace of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, and shall cause the boundary aforesaid, from the source of the river St. Croix to the river Iroquois or Cataraguy, to be surveyed and marked according to the said provisions. The said commissioners shall make a map of the said boundary, and annex to it a declaration under their hands and seals, certifying it to be the true map of the said boundary, and particularizing the latitude and longitude of the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, of the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river, and of such other points of the said boundary as they may deem proper. And both parties agree to consider such map and declaration as finally and conclusively fixing the said boundary. And in the event of the said two commissioners differing, or both or either of them, refusing or declining, or wilfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations, or statements, shall be made by them, or either of them, and such reference to a friendly sovereign or state, shall be made, in all respects as in the latter part of the fourth article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

ARTICLE THE SIXTH.

Whereas by the former treaty of peace, that portion of the boundary of the United States from the point where the forty-fifth degree of north latitude strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraguy, to the Lake Superior, was declared to be "along the middle of said river into Lake Ontario, through the middle of said lake, until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie, thence along the middle of said communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of said lake until it arrives at the water communication into the Lake Huron, thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior." And whereas, doubts have arisen what was the middle of said river, lakes and water communications, and whether certain islands lying in the same, were within the dominions of his Britannic Majesty or of the United States: In order, therefore, finally to decide these doubts, they shall be referred to two commissioners, to be appointed, sworn, and authorized to act exactly in the manner directed with respect to those mentioned in the next preceding article, unless otherwise specified in this present article. The said commissioners shall meet in the first instance, at Albany, in the State of New-York, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places, as they shall think fit: the said commissioners shall by a report or reports signed under their hands and seals, designate the boundary through the said river, lakes, and water communications, and decide to which of the two contracting parties the several islands lying in the said river, lakes and water communications, do respectively

long, in conformity with the true intent of the said treaty of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three. And both parties agree to consider such designation and decisions as final and conclusive. And in the event of the said two commissioners differing, or both, or either of them, refusing, declining, or wilfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations or statements, shall be made by them, or either of them, and such reference to a friendly sovereign or state shall be made in all respects as in the latter part of the fourth article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

ARTICLE THE SEVENTH.

It is further agreed that the said two last mentioned commissioners, after they shall have executed the duties assigned to them in the preceding article, shall, be, and they are hereby authorized, upon their oaths, impartially to fix and determine, according to the true intent of the said Treaty of Peace, of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, that part of the boundary between the dominions of the two powers, which extends from the water communication between Lake Huron and Lake Superior, to the most north-western point of the Lake of the Woods, to decide to which of the two parties the several islands lying in the lakes, water communications, and rivers, forming the said boundary, do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the said Treaty of Peace, of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three; and to cause such parts of the said boundary, as require it, to be surveyed and marked. The said commissioners shall, by a report or declaration under their hands and seals, designate the boundary aforesaid, state their decision on the points thus referred to them, and particularize the latitude and longitude of the most north-western point of the Lake of the Woods, of such other part of the said boundary as they may deem proper. And both parties agree to consider such designation and decision as final and conclusive. And, in the event of the said two commissioners differing, or both, or either of them refusing, declining, or wilfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations, or statements, shall be made by them, or either of them, and such reference to a friendly sovereign or state, shall be made in all respects, as in the latter part of the fourth article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

ARTICLE THE EIGHTH.

The several boards of two commissioners mentioned in the four preceding articles, shall respectively have power to appoint a secretary, and to employ such surveyors or other persons as they shall judge necessary. Duplicates of all their respective reports, declarations, statements and decisions, and of their accounts, and of the journal of their proceedings shall be delivered by them to

the agents of his Britannic majesty, and to the agents of the United States, who may be respectively appointed and authorized to manage the business on behalf of their respective governments. The said commissioners shall be respectively paid in such manner as shall be agreed between the two contracting parties, such agreement being to be settled at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty. And all other expenses attending the said commissioners shall be defrayed equally by the two parties. And in the case of death, sickness, resignation or necessary absence, the place of every such commissioner respectively shall be supplied in the same manner as such commissioner was first appointed, and the new commissioner shall take the same oath or affirmation, and do the same duties. It is further agreed between the two contracting parties, that in case any of the islands mentioned in any of the preceding articles, which were in the possession of one of the parties prior to the commencement of the present war between the two countries, should, by the decision of any of the boards of commissioners aforesaid, or of the sovereign or state so referred to, as in the four next preceding articles contained, fall within the dominions of the other party, all grants of land made previous to the commencement of the war by the party having had such possession, shall be as valid as if such island or islands, had by such decision or decisions, been adjudged to be within the dominions of the party having such possession.

ARTICLE THE NINTH.

The United States of America engage to put an end immediately after the ratification of the present treaty to hostilities with all the tribes or nations of Indians, with whom they may be at war at the time of such ratification; and forthwith to restore to such tribes or nations, respectively, all the possessions, rights, and privileges, which they may have enjoyed or been entitled to in one thousand eight hundred and eleven, previous to such hostilities: *Provided always*, that such tribes or nations shall agree to desist from all hostilities against the United States of America, their citizens and subjects, upon the ratification of the present treaty being notified to such tribes or nations, and shall so desist accordingly. And his Britannic Majesty engages, on his part, to put an end immediately after the ratification of the present treaty, to hostilities with all the tribes or nations of Indians with whom he may be at war at the time of such ratification, and forthwith to restore to such tribes or nations respectively, all the possessions, rights and privileges, which they may have enjoyed or been entitled to, in one thousand eight hundred and eleven, previous to such hostilities: *Provided always*, that such tribes or nations shall agree to desist from all hostilities against his Britannic Majesty, and his subjects, upon the ratification of the present treaty being notified to such tribes or nations, and shall so desist accordingly.

ARTICLE THE TENTH.

Whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcileable with the principles of humanity and justice, and whereas both his Majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its entire abolition, it is hereby agreed that both the contracting parties shall use their best endeavours to accomplish so desirable an object.

ARTICLE THE ELEVENTH.

This treaty, when the same shall have been ratified on both sides, without alteration by either of the contracting parties, and the ratifications mutually exchanged, shall be binding on both parties, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington, in the space of four months from this day or sooner if practicable.

In faith whereof, we the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty, and have thereunto affixed our seals.

Done, in triplicate, at Ghent, the twenty-fourth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen.

(L. S.) GAMBIER,
(L. S.) HENRY GOULBURN,
(L. S.) WILLIAM ADAMS,
(L. S.) JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,
(L. S.) J. A. BAYARD,
(L. S.) H. CLAY,
(L. S.) JONA. RUSSELL,
(L. S.) ALBERT GALLATIN.

Now, therefore, to the end that the said Treaty of Peace and Amity may be observed with good faith, on the part of the United States, I, James Madison, President as aforesaid, have caused the premises to be made public; and I do hereby enjoin all persons bearing office, civil or military, within the United States, and all other citizens and inhabitants thereof, or being within the same, faithfully to observe and fulfil the said treaty and every clause and article thereof.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand.

(SEAL)

Done at the city of Washington, this eighteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifteen, and of the sovereignty and independence of the United States the thirty-ninth.

JAMES MADISON.

By the President,
JAMES MONROE,
Acting Secretary of State.