

dressed. A federalist in the presence of the writer of this essay was not long ago reproached by a democrat, "with the attachment of all the old Tories to his party." The federalist to my great surprise (for I have no very high opinion of the candour of these gentlemen) frankly admitted that the greater number of old Tories did support federal men and measures, but that he must be allowed to claim the benefit of some exceptions. Among others of this political genus he instanced a Mr. C., accused of having conducted the British into Philadelphia, but (be that as it might) fully convicted of old Toryism, who had figured in the ranks of republicanism and obtained preferment under the great apostle of that faith Mr. J. Now, sir, said he, with great nonchalance, "it is in proof that the objection of your party is not to old Toryism, pure and unsophisticated; but to old Toryism combined with federalism, which (in your opinion, I suppose) gives activity to its virus. Decompose the mixture and separate the federalism from the old Toryism, and (as in the case of Mr. C.) this last becomes in your judgment deprived of all its acrimony." There was something I suppose in this retort, not calculated to provoke a reply; certain it is, however, it received none.

Washington I have said was a soldier and a statesman—bred in camps and senates in the great school of mankind. To the misfortune of his country he was succeeded by two gentlemen of the bar, a profession of which it has been justly remarked, that it has a greater tendency to whet the ingenuity, than to liberalize the understanding or to enlarge the heart. One of them at a very late period of his life—having served an apprenticeship to the trade of a courtier at St. James's returned (whatever he may now pretend, while striving to recommend his son to office) a rank Englishman. Weak minds receive their opinions at second hand; great ones impose them. His successor having made his debut on the theatre of the great world at the court of Versailles, came home, in due season, in dress, taste, politics, philosophy and religion; in short, in every thing but the polish of his manners, a finished Frenchman. Accordingly we find that Porcupine flourished under the reign of the one, and Dana under that of the other. Mr. Adams would so doubt readily shift off Porcupine, or his answer to the address of the Bath county militia, or any other of his famous retainers, or ridiculous and wicked acts on the political stage of your deceased friend Gen. Hamilton. Do not forget I pray you, sir, that you yourself were off of the faction whom that impotent garrulous doctard threatened to humble in dust & ashes; that faction made you secretary of state, and, by consequence, president. Disband, I beseech you, sir, from your countenance and council forever, either John or a prating scribbling pair. Both father and son have no other object but to sell their political "notions" in any market they can find. The Russian embassy has too much the appearance of a reward for apostacy. It looks to something like an under hand mission to the great emperor, through the little one.

I have said, sir, that I had found more to approve than I had expected in the course of your administration. Among acts, however, of this description, I cannot reckon the appointment to the first place under your government of a man notoriously incompetent to the discharge of its duties; whose ignorance of the marine department on which he hung for eight years, could be equalled only by the profusion with which he outstripped the legal appropriations for its service; A man who received the salary of secretary of the navy, whilst the business of the department was conducted, after a fashion, by his chief clerk. But the manner of his first appointment to his present office—the first act of your administration—is calculated to wound the feelings of every independent American. They feel themselves insulted in the person of their chief magistrate, when they hear the insolent boast, that you were dictated to on that occasion. Nither, sir, can I approve the appointment to the second military command in our country, of the head that contrived and the hand that executed the great master fraud of the Yazoo; of a man who rolls in princely wealth the fruits of that stupendous corruption. I say nothing of Wilkinson. He is in the last stage of putrefaction: touch him, and he falls to pieces. Nor is it creditable, sir, to the American government that it should be represented, even at the court of France, by the imputed author of the celebrated anonymous letters published at Newburgh at the close of the war, inviting the army to turn their swords upon their country. As long as the dread father of that army and that country lived; as long as the beams of his glory irradiated the land of his birth; this recreant, unworthy to be called his fellow soldier, sought shelter in obscurity & darkness; but when the sun of our country's glory had descended below the horizon; in the political twilight that forebode the darkness of the night to come, this speculative parasite (with many an obscene animal that shuns the day) crept forth from his hiding place. This minion of France who (from his insolent pamphlet in mockery of the distress of the American merchants robbed under colour of the Louisiana convention) appears to have studied his art in the school of Cambaceres; is unworthy to be your representative. Let him be turned out of the style of sensuality in whose "zibnate he now wallows." Ship Wilkinson (if he will bear the sea sweat) to his friends in Cuba. Send Wade Hampton back to his cotton gins & tan vats—Let him enjoy if he can under the tenure by which he holds it, his miserable wealth; or let him, "riven and blasted by the lightning of eloquence," pay to the offended majesty of virtue the dread homage of his remorse. Strip, sir, the epaulets of an American officer from shoulders

branded by the scourge of the public executioner. Fear the cockade from the hat of every scoundrel in the army, if you can find honest men to accept their commissions.—Suffer no man holding an office under you, to abuse it by any attempt to influence the freedom of elections. Let not the government labour under the odium of supporting notorious swindlers and blacklegs, against men of the fairest character and pretensions; against men of honor and of science; against the orphan sons of heroes who sealed their attachment to their country with their blood; whose children, in gratitude for their fathers' services, have been educated at the public charge. I know, sir, that you have a difficult part to act. The rejection of the treaty negotiated by Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney, and more especially the manner of that rejection, has greatly enhanced the difficulty of an accommodation of our differences with England: The pride of the two governments, and of the two countries has been roused: But it is essential to the interests and (I might add) the existence of both, that they remain at peace. Far be it from me to palliate, much less to justify the misconduct of the British ministry; but let me remind you, sir, that the sentiment of hostility against America, engendered in that country by the revolution, was confined to the king and his ministers, and the virtues that prey on the vitals of every state; and that it is our interest that it should not be traustrued (as assuredly it must be, if we take part with France against whom they are contending for their very existence) into the breast of every honest Englishman.—Whilst we were fighting for our own liberties we had the good wishes of the majority of the English nation; but the case is changed when their own existence is put at stake.

You are advanced in life, sir, and you are childless. An honorable fame courts your acceptance. The interest of your country coincides with the ease of your administration. The people look in vain into the correspondence of Mr. Jackson for the outrages which he is alleged to have committed on the dignity of their government. They will support you in every proper exertion of spirit. They have been equally disgusted with the rashness of one, and with the meanness of another of your predecessors; but they will not be driven even by their most honest prejudices, into the arms of France, whose touch is pollution and whose embrace is death. Your minister of finance has told you, that (invasion out of the question) war is impossible. This extraordinary man although he has lent his transcendent abilities to the arbitrary and unconstitutional acts of the late reign, and to the insidious and covert attack made at the last session of congress on the sinking fund, that best hope of the nation—is yet "not less than archangel ruined." He is indeed no longer, "the apostle of truth and the favorite votary of liberty," immortalized by the pen of Currius—"Quam matura ab illo"—but he is yet an intelligent if not a vigorous statesman—versed in expedients and wiles, and upon him you must rely for whatsoever of wisdom and ability you may look for in the counsels of your cabinet. For "when the waters are out, and the file affords no precedent," you will turn your eyes in vain, towards the Giles's and the Smiths, and the Verrins, and that whole tribe of ignorance, imbecility and impudence, whom the first swell of the great stream of public opinion will sweep back into their native insignificance, never to rise again.

Such is the infatuated predilection of many of our leading republicans, who give the tone to public sentiment, for despotic France, and so strong the honest revolutionary antipathies of our people against Great Britain; fortified, too, by a just sense of recent wrong from that proud and haughty nation; that I am prepared to be represented by our demagogues, and to be considered by many of the honest, unsuspecting dupes of these impostors, as the partisan of England rather than the friend of my native country. No man is more sensible than myself of the violence, injustice and folly of her government; but I consider the existence of my country (at least of all that can render a country dear to a free man) to rest upon her independence. She is now paying the price of her own sins: her corruption and tyranny produced the American revolution, the immediate cause of that of France, from which, again, the present gigantic power of Buonaparte has sprung. Her proscriptions and oppressions have driven from their country thousands of the brave inhabitants of Ireland, in each of whom she has made a deadly enemy. Not only is the continent of Europe united against her; in the other hemisphere she has converted 6 millions of her own progeny into determined foes. Nothing is farther from my wish than to produce a rupture with France: such an event could be productive of no possible good. It is the interest of the U. States to be at peace with all nations, but with England more especially. We have the same interest in her preservation against France now, that we had twelve years ago, in the preservation of France against the combined powers.—But our interest (I may be said) is contingent and remote; that of England immediate and certain; and if she will not look to her own safety, but will force us into a war, it will become us to yield to considerations, to which, although of tenfold weight in her case, she pays no regard. In any ordinary case this view of the subject, which has often pressed itself upon me, would have great weight. But because her councils are ruled by infatuation and insanity; because every thing like political sagacity, or even common sense, seems to have been buried with her two great rival statesmen. I will not therefore disregard considerations which involve the very existence of my country. Besides, sir, I put it to your candour, whether the crooked and insidious policy of your predecessor was not calculated to give England (with all her faults) good ground to believe that whilst we did not dare to mingle in the dangers of the conflict, we anxiously awaited her downfall, and might be so indirectly subordinate measure that might tend, as we supposed, to accelerate it. But when England does fall she will fall like the strong man in the scripture, she will embrace the pillars of the temple of human liberty and human safety, and its destruction will be the last effort of her desperate strength; "impavidum ferient ruina?"

Was it less the interest of Sparta and of Athens instead of waiting themselves in the fatal Peloponnesian conflict, to husband their strength for the common foe, because one of those states was under a regal, and the other under a popular government? Even the Greek colonies of Asia Minor, although subject to the Persian monarch, refused to rivet their chains by lending their assistance to the great king against the parent country. It is impossible, sir, that a gentleman of your sagacity and political learning can for a moment be deceived by the craft of "the liberty of the seas and commercial peace, held out by the dictator of Europe to delude the multitude both at home and abroad." You are too well acquainted with the scantiness of our resources; with the inherent weakness of the government over which you preside; and with the powers of French intrigue, and French arms, not to know how dangerous our situation must become, when Buonaparte shall have "conquered the liberty of the seas." If, twenty years ago, in the infant state of our western settlements, a party could be formed to abjure their alliance to the United States and place themselves under the protection of a government at once odious for its despotism and despicable for its imbecility; what effects may we not expect from the French spirit of proselytism operating in the same country? Has it restored the tone to public morals? Do you suppose, sir, to see the chief agent of that conspiracy, loaded with caresses, and favors of a more substantial nature by the government of his betrayed country? Would the sternness of his republican virtue revolt at the cordon of the legion of honour, or the investiture of the grand duchy of Orleans? Or would the new duke efface from our recollection the turpitude and bestiality of his worthy prototype, the last duke who bore that title? Think you, sir, that the republican simplicity of general Smith would be started at a proposition to make him a grand dignitary of the empire of the two Americas? Or that the modesty of Mr. Giles would refuse to cut in for these new honors? In the number of applicants by whom you are beset for office, you have a tolerably good barometer by which to calculate the pressure upon the French prefecture for similar favours. Recollect, that the population of Louisiana, of the key of the Mississippi, is French, and that (take the British navy out of the way) you hold New Orleans and the navigation of the Mississippi by no better tenure than that by which the Dutch held Fort Lillo and the Scheldt. France, become mistress of the ocean, can take it when she pleases, and hold it as long as she pleases. What force have we to oppose her? Long proclamations and scanty levies? You, I am sure, sir, have too great an insight into the nature of man and the constitution of things to derive much comfort from the recollection of the display of patriotism and energy which defeated the conspiracy of Col. Burr, after it had defeated itself. I blush for my country when I hear it stated as matter of exultation that a needy and profligate adventurer has been unable with his single arm to overturn all our institutions and place himself at the head of the state, as a tavern bully would take the head of the public table.

In that transaction in whatsoever light I view it, I can find no matter for public congratulation in its origin, its conduct, and its consequences all is base, humiliating and revolting. To crush a single miscreant the constitution is heaved from its very foundation: Pelion is heaped upon Ossa; the rights of every man and society are invaded, and yet the criminal escapes! But enough and more than enough of this miserable wretch.

Although the public expectation has not been gratified by your administration, yet, you have hitherto done nothing which may not be retrieved. Lay aside the involved, ambiguous style in which your predecessor has deemed it expedient to clothe his dark designs. "Tacitus" (it has been well remarked) "some where observes of Tibertius, that his speeches to the Senate, by the involutions of the style, at once betrayed the character of their author, and seemed to shadow out the picture of his cautious, dark and crooked policy." Come forward to the nation, and in plain and manly language, such as they can understand without the aid of a commentary, exercise the functions devolved upon you by the constitution. Neither shrink from the responsibility with which it invests you, nor degrade your high office by paltry intrigues with the legislature. Give us your naked, unbiassed opinion on the state of our affairs: Tell us honestly what we have to expect. Do your duty; and be it at their own peril if congress fail in theirs. If it be necessary to express an opinion on the conduct of the court of St. James, or its ambassador let it not be done in the language of the court of St. Giles. Above all save us from the fangs of France. Leave us not to curse revolution itself; for which we shall have paid too dear a price, if we purchase a few years of independence at the expense of an age, perhaps an eternity of bondage. Can you anticipate for your country and for the world, the dark and horrid night of despotism which succeeded to the usurpation of Octavianus, and not shudder at the prospect? When the wretched victim could find no refuge within the haunts of civilized man from his oppressor? When the human mind itself sunk under the narcotic powers of despotism!

The observations which I have deemed it my duty to submit to you, and through you to the public, have been hastily thrown together under circumstances not the most propitious to successful composition. I write—or dictate rather [for without the aid of an amanuensis I should be unable to address you] under the pressure of disease, when the operations of the mind are, of necessity, slow and painful; and I am not unconscious of that obscurity and feebleness, which in my present situation I am unable to remedy. Under other circumstances, I flatter myself that this address would have been less unworthy of your attention. I write however neither to acquire fame, nor to gratify spleen; but to serve my country. I am prepared for imputations of foreign partialities and attachments. Every honest man, who, in 1798, attempted to arrest the mad career of our political Malvolio, was stigmatised as the adherent of France; and I hope, sir, that you had the honour to be of the number. On this subject of foreign partialities, permit me to conclude in the words of a treatise, which I earnestly recommend to your

most serious attention. "I shall be called a friend of Great Britain, I suppose, in pressing these sentiments. This is a matter of perfect indifference. I do my duty in publishing the facts and impressions which I think it of importance that the attention of the country should be directed; and am too occupied with the honest anxiety excited by these statements, even to be conscious of the insinuations with which, at another time, I might be insinuated."

Congress.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

(Continued from the last Page.)

Friday, Jan. 26.

This day was set apart for private business Saturday, Jan. 27.

CALL FOR PAPERS.

Mr. Mosely rose to offer a resolution for information. He quoted the message of the President of the United States at the commencement of the session in relation to our correspondence with France. The President had referred to the correspondence laid before them to the state of our affairs with France. Now the correspondence consisted of a letter from Mr. Armstrong, which Mr. Armstrong, in an excellent letter from him, declares to be the answer of the Emperor of France to the proposition made to him by the American government. What these propositions were was not stated. Being desirous to obtain information on this subject, he moved the following resolution:

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to cause to be laid before the House copies of the several communications to the government of France in pursuance of authority vested by Congress in the Executive mentioned in the President's message to Congress at the commencement of the session, excepting those thereof as may in his opinion require secrecy.

Mr. Rhea, (T.) moved an amendment for information as well as to Great Britain France.

Mr. Dana remarked that this amendment involve an absurdity; because the President in his message made no such allusions to his correspondence with G. Britain, as the resolution him to have made as to France.

Mr. Sheffey moved to add to the words "not already communicated."

Mr. Fiske, presuming the object of the gentleman from Connecticut, was to obtain a statement of all the propositions made to the President, therefore moved to strike out the word "Italian," and include G. Britain as well as the call, which would embrace all the propositions the gentleman wanted.

Mr. Mosely accepted the amendment of his motion.

Mr. McKee moved that the resolution lie on the table for consideration.—Agreed. Yeas and Nays, 79 to 53.

Monday, Jan. 29.

Mr. Rhea (Tens) offered the two following resolutions, which at the suggestion of Mr. McKee were ordered to lie on the table.

Resolved, That the committee of ways and means be instructed to enquire into the expediency of laying additional duties on all goods and merchandise, the growth, produce or manufacture of Great Britain or its dependencies which may be imported into the United States or the territories thereof.

Resolved, That the committee of ways and means be instructed to enquire into the expediency of laying additional duties on all goods and merchandise, the growth, produce or manufacture of France, or the dependencies which may be imported into the United States or the territories thereof.

COMMERCIAL BILL.

The house resumed the consideration of the finished business of Saturday; on the bill for commercial intercourse with foreign countries. The question before the house being stated, passed.

Messrs. Bibb, Alston, Sheffey and Gales spoke in favor of the bill; and Messrs. W. Heaton, Tallmadge, Dana and Livingston against it.

The FINAL QUESTION on the bill was then taken by yeas and nays, and CARRIED, yeas 73, nays 52.

Tuesday, January 30.

The order of the day was called for making appropriations for the support of the government for the year 1810. The bill was referred to a committee of the whole, Mr. Cullen Chairman.

The committee proceeded to fill the bill.

One hundred thousand dollars were reported to cover the losses sustained by government account of the elopement of Brown, the amiable collector New Orleans.

Before the committee had finished the session of the bill, on motion of Mr. U. Heaton, the committee rose, reported progress, and sat again.

The house then adjourned.

Wednesday, Jan. 31.

The house again resolved itself into a committee of the whole, on the bill making appropriations for the expenses of government for the current year.

After the blanks were filled the committee and reported the bill with amendments.

6,000 Dollars may be taken for SIX DOLLARS.

TICKETS in the Cape-Fear Lottery, at the Treasurer's and Comptroller's Office, and all the Printing Offices in Raleigh, and all Post Offices and other public places. From the number of Tickets drawn there is but little doubt the drawing will commence on the first of April next.

H. BRADLEY, Fayetteville, 23d Jan. 1810.

* The American reader may form some idea of the state of society in Paris, when he is told that the prince archbishop of the empire, the duke of Parma of the present day, is so notorious for his debaucheries, that a pretty youth, who frequented the Tuileries a few years ago, was well known to a young Parisian, as Madame Camille. Nor is this the only instance of the kind; the theatre of the Tuileries, the public walks, were swarmed with male prostitutes, and the streets were filled with the most infamous scenes of crime. It is to be named among christians, that which Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed by fire from heaven. O! for the pen of a Gaius or a Sam Johnson!

The above is related upon the faith of a respectable gentleman as any in the United States.