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"Ours are the Plans of fair delightful Peace,
"Unwar'd by Party Rage to live like Brothers."

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EXTRACTS

From the late public Communications of
Tench Coxe, Esq.

This Gentleman has excited by his publications, the most violent invective of his enemies, who are disseminating their own observations upon his pieces, where the latter have never been published, we deem it a public duty to lay some of the most interesting parts of his communications before our fellow-citizens.

From an Address to the Public,
Dated Lancaster, Oct. 27.

"I knew many evidences of a British influence and party in this country. It never drew me from an earnest, candid and prudent disposition to preserve peace with England, to cultivate commerce, intercourse and harmony, with her; but it alarmed me. I knew the hostility of most of their officers, to those who are Republicans. Mr. Jefferson and Governor M'Kean were offered up as morning and evening sacrifices in the English gazettes which they had established or bought, for defending the republican principle of our Constitutions, and the republican men of our country. I noticed a British party here. I mentioned the words of a report of a committee of the Lords of the British Privy Council, of which the present Earl of Liverpool, formerly Lord Hawkesbury, originally Mr. Charles Jenkinson, was chairman. It was upon the American commerce and government, and was in the year 1791. The report states, and has been put on eternal record, that 'a party in favor of Great Britain was formed in America.' A copious abstract of their report I possessed. I laid it, according to my duty, before President Washington, Vice-President Adams, Secretaries Jefferson, Hamilton and Knox, Attorney-Gen. Randolph, Mr. Sedgwick, and a number of the Federal Senators and Representatives of both parties. I also laid it before Governor Mifflin, as the Chief Magistrate of that State, of which I am a native citizen. I was then Assistant Secretary of the Treasury of the United States; and I was engaged in the sixth number of my reply to Lord Sheffield. My zeal for the interest of my country, and for its harmony with England, induced me to write the seventh number, as a covert reply to some of the contents of the report [See chap. 7, in the pamphlet copy of my reply to Lord Sheffield, and page 241, section 7, of the reprinted copy in my 'View of the United States']. We had then no regular British Minister here; but Major Beckwith resided in Philadelphia, and to him I gave copies of each of the seven numbers for himself and his friends in Europe. He had been shown the first, by Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, he happening to lodge at the same house with the latter. When I published in 1799, in defence of the republican principles, and of the republican candidate for the government of Pennsylvania, I stated many of the proofs of an English party here, and among other things, mentioned that Mr. Adams, when Vice-President, had been of opinion, that British influence had been exercised in an appointment of Gen. Washington's. This was true, and ought not to injure Mr. Adams. This assertion, however, being repeated by Mr. Duane, he was prosecuted for it, as is understood, by order of Mr. Pickering, and I was compelled by the known and established law of evidence, and by duty to defend from the pains and penalties of a jail, and amercement of the printer, who had republished the fact. Public safety required it; for British influence bestrode the land like a Colossus, and was forcing my oppressed countrymen to seek for themselves dishonorable retirements. The principal Minister was denouncing from his place in Parliament, the American inventors of the sovereignty of the peo-

ple, as the enemies of mankind; and our own Secretary of State, Mr. Pickering, and our own Commander of the army, *de facto*, Mr. Hamilton, were considered to be decided friends to closer connections with the English and Austrian cause. It was but a little before that time, that I had received one intimation that I should be sent away, another that "a September" was menaced for the defence of republican government, and for the mere discussion of the question whether Britain or France first began to detain and spoliolate neutral trade. For this assertion, an outrageous and malignant attack was made upon me in the Gazette of the United States of the 23d inst. They call on Dr. Rush to contradict my assertion; but he not already told you, that he himself is at this time convinced that he should be persecuted out of the country, if he were to reveal the opinions and "wishes" for monarchy, which he has heard chiefly from private persons; that is, from public characters, as well as private men? Have we not both agreed in that grand, essential, alarming fact? Has Dr. Rush attempted to deny, that Mr. Adams is really, and truly, in principle, a Monarchist? Have not F. A. Muhlenberg, T. Matlack, Jacob Carpenter, Samuel Bryan, and myself, under an appointment from the county of Lancaster, published since the 17th of September last, that Alexander Hamilton has avowed himself a Monarchist, and do we not remain uncontradicted by him? Have I not also since the beginning of October, published the same thing, with a declaration, that it was made to me in an official conference? Does not this pointed charge remain entirely unnoticed, and uncontradicted by Mr. Hamilton, while he is active to refute the insinuation of his being of a British party. He shows the same warmth against Mr. Adams, for having suggested British influence, as he has shown against Mr. Jefferson. He has not denied his monarchism, which is a deeper infidelity, a more dangerous disaffection to the Constitution. He will not deny his Monarchism, while he retains any prudence, or any regard for truth; my allegations are not to be disproved.

"I believe that truth and reason impartially brought before the Legislatures, the Presidential Electors, and the People, at this time, will save us from the miseries of a revolutionary struggle, to change a form and plan of government the best that Providence has ever dispensed to man, and to which this nation is cordially attached. I find it necessary to meet the dangerous manoeuvres of a citizen (Alexander Hamilton) with whom I was years in office, who joins to his monarchism, avowed to me, the most acrimonious and unfounded misrepresentation of my native state, which is second to none in a faithful and intelligent devotion to the Constitution of the United States. It was his known disaffection to our Constitution in part, that excited me to exertion in 1796, that most injured Mr. Thomas Pinckney, whom he supported at that and the former election. It is his known disaffection, that now greatly and justly injures General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, whom he so openly supports by his equal violence against Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams. Believing as I do, that the addition of one or more to the number of Republics, is the most sure method of maintaining our American Republic safe and tranquil, I have ever considered the success of the French, Batavian, Swiss, and Italian Republics, as matters the most interesting to us. I have therefore known with regret and alarm, that Mr. Hamilton, prudently professing to have been well disposed to the

first movements of the French Revolution, avowed that he had given up all favour to them in August, 1792, when they suspended their royalty, and that from thenceforth "he heard of their successes with regret." My countrymen will remember, that this was before the reign of Robespierre, the reign of terror, the trial or death of the King, the opening of the Scheldt, the decree of fraternity, the proclamation of encouragement to the oppressed, or the insurgents of all nations. It was the date of the establishment of the Republic. From that date, he heard with regret of the successes of those become republicans, whom he professed to favour under a monarchy.—Our Republic wanted a second. A great second was raised by the hand of Providence. Their successes were important to the stability of our Republic. Mr. Hamilton heard of those successes with regret. This was in 1792. The whole scope and tenor of General Washington's wishes were then for the French Republic. He avowed the same sentiments and dispositions on the first of January, 1793, in the house of the government, when he received the colours of the French Republic. Such was the spirit of the government of that President. Mr. Hamilton, therefore, was completely disaffected to the whole tenor of those measures of the government. He is perfectly consistent and steady, then in his disaffection to the recent measures to conciliate the French adopted by the present government, though he believes Mr. Adams to agree with him in a predilection for monarchy. After I became acquainted with Mr. Adams's declaration about monarchy, before Mr. Langdon and Mr. Taylor, I spoke to Mr. Hamilton of the impropriety and impossibility of electing him President, since his monarchical principles were known. Mr. Hamilton evidently admitted them, but said, "the clannish spirit of his countrymen (the people of New-England) would carry him through." This event was between April, 1794, and February, 1795.

"Every citizen is bound to make known whatever he perceives by which the Constitution may be injured. I solemnly believe it was in 1799, in the road to ruin. No citizen has a right to injure or endanger the Constitution, under the veil of secrecy and confidence, nor have I been treated with attention to my confidential communications. I opposed Mr. Adams's last election with many others solely upon the same principles as I have mentioned in this paper: he was sworn into office in 1797, and I was removed in the course of that year. When I was removed, it was asserted in the Treasury department, that every man in my office, of my political sentiments, would be removed, down to the door-keeper. Mr. Hamilton, in one of the moments of diffidence, explicitly told me, that I had been a very useful officer, and a decided Federalist, but "that I had certain sympathies with certain people, which would land me where I did not perceive; that for that reason he had opposed my name, just before, for an appointment, because he did not chuse to encrease the political consequence of a man so circumstanced." Those sympathies I believe were a decided and reflected opposition to monarchy, and attachment to republican government; and a solicitude for the success of the French Revolution, because it would ensure the safety and stability of our own Republic.

From a Communication addressed to
the Editor of the Aurora,
Dated Oct. 29.

"I had not expected, that my guarded notice of an opinion in an unknown letter, without names or dates, could ever in any way produce a publication of it. This was

owing, as I learn, to the ardent disposition of Mr. Pickering, in prosecuting you."

Though I will not be induced to comment upon Mr. Adams's defence of his letter to me, I shall remark upon some other parts of his communication to Mr. T. Pinckney.

Mr. Adams represents, that I was very assiduous in my attentions to him, made him many visits at his house, and many invitations to my own, and wrote him many letters, when he was absent from the seat of government. There is an air given to our intercourse, that requires explanation—

"When Mr. Adams was our Minister in London, there was at the Temple, and afterwards in his family, a very intimate acquaintance of mine. At the same time Mr. Jefferson was our Minister in France. I corresponded with my acquaintance in Mr. Adams's family, very much at large, and often devoted an evening to the most important communications in my power, that might serve us in London, and even in Paris. I had then no personal acquaintance with Mr. Adams or Mr. Jefferson. My letters to my friend were particularly well received by Mr. Adams and his family, who I found often saw them. They were made the sources even of some important information to Mr. Jefferson, but I do not know whether it was with his knowledge that it went from me. The manner in which they were received, and the footing on which they placed me with Mr. Adams, his secretary, and family, may be seen from the following extracts, from my friend's letters.

[No. I.]

London, May 1, 1786.

"The few real friends of America here, to whom I freely communicate the political facts, which you have been so good, from time to time, as to transmit, unite with me in thanking you again and again, for the favor you thus confer upon us all. Mr. Adams in particular says, and has said repeatedly, you are a better correspondent, and give abler sketches, as they arise in Pennsylvania, than he has seen or known, during his residence at the court. As to Col. Smith (the Secretary of Legation) he rests on your communications as if they were official, and demands a sight of your letters, at least of parts of them, as regularly as I receive them."

[No. IV.]

London, April 3, 1788.

"After a long silence, your very intelligent letter was put into my hands, and afforded me uncommon satisfaction. I received it just half an hour before Mr. and Mrs. Adams proceeded to Portsmouth for the purpose of embarking for Boston. Your address to ——— was a treat to us, as many others among your late useful and ——— productions have heretofore been. There was another circumstance which you illustrated for us, concerning which we were previously in doubt and darkness—to wit: the real cause why so Federal a State as Massachusetts, should be carried in favor of the new national system, by such a minute majority. We could not till we received your hint, account for so puny a predominance of voices in that Commonwealth. Pray continue your obliging, and in some instances importantly useful letters: others as well as ourselves have derived benefit and credit from them repeatedly."

"It will be seen from these extracts, that Mr. Adams must have arrived in America, with professions in favor of my zeal, equal to anything I could desire, and with opinions of my capacity to serve her, beyond any pretensions I have ever made. He knew too, that I had been a member of the Annapolis Convention in 1786, three years after the peace. Mr. Adams was appointed to the Congress of 1788, and so was I; and he must have known my wish that he should be elected President of the old Congress, when Mr. Griffin's time should expire, but he did not attend that body until the new government was assembled. It is well known to Col. W. S. Smith, and Mr. Adams, that I was applied to at New-York, by the friends of Mr. Jay, to use my influence in Pennsylvania, which I represented, against Mr. Adams, and in favor of Mr. Jay, as the Federal candidate. I conferred unreservedly with Mr. Adams's son-in-law, Colonel Smith, and constantly

maintained, that Pennsylvania would be unanimous for General Washington, would present no candidate of her own for the Presidency or Vice-Presidency, and would, and ought to support Mr. Adams as Vice-President, from his standing in our country, and to conciliate New-England, wherein no State had been unanimous as elsewhere; where New-Hampshire and Rhode-Island had declined to adopt, Vermont was acting a more alarming part, and Massachusetts adopted by a small majority. Mr. Adams's family then were very assiduous in their attention to me, and gave me frequent invitations. He knew himself my movements in his favor. I must, however, do Col. Smith the frank justice to say, that I never have perceived the least resentment from him towards me; no, not even when I told him (in the same apartment in the Treasury, where Mr. Langdon informed me of Mr. Adams's monarchical declaration) that on account of Mr. Adams's predilection for hereditary government, I should no longer support him.

"Colonel Smith observed, as he ought, a perfect silence.

"I returned from New-York at the expiration of my appointment, as a member of the old Congress, on the 4th of March, 1789. In May, 1779, I was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and again went to New-York. I waited, of course, the first day on Vice-President Adams. He called to see me early the next day. He invited me to dinner there, and at Philadelphia, with the Heads of Departments, Foreign Ministers, &c. contrary to the usual course of our new ceremonies. It is perfectly true, that I paid Mr. Adams the respect of full returns of attention, and invited him to dinner also occasionally, in return. He kept this up till he ceased to entertain. In 1794, I became acquainted with his declaration to Mr. Langdon and Mr. Taylor, and I own I was entirely weaned thereby from him. I then read his books, called a Defence of the Constitutions; and they completed my mental alienation. Yet I always treated him with respect as our Vice-President."

"Let Mr. Adams remember the language in which he has opposed the living and reprobated the deceased venerable Franklin. Let him reconsider the language in which he and Mr. Alexander Hamilton have opposed each other; nay, let him remember the terms in which he has often in Europe and America, spoken in opposition to General Washington himself; and let him do me justice for having opposed his election, as President, though with the utmost decision, yet with a decorum and respect, that I am proud to say, do equal honour to free elections, and to the decency of free and principled discussion."

"It has fallen to my lot to take a great interest in relieving Pennsylvania from the deep disgrace, and deeper injuries of the late Connecticut intrusion upon our soil and jurisdiction. Mr. Wolcott is known to have been a leader in that business, which was since intended to dismember and partition our State, notwithstanding the "conclusive" settlement in our favour, by the decree of the Federal Court at Trenton, in 1782." I knew that even after the formation of the present Federal Constitution, Mr. Wolcott had written the letter from Connecticut, which occasioned the forcible carrying off of our then Commissioner and civil officer, Col. T. Pickering, from his bed, at midnight, in Wilkesbarre. I saw from the conversation with himself and others, that my firm and steady defence of the government, and territorial rights of Pennsylvania, excited Mr. Wolcott's enmity: I believe this, with an undignified jealousy, to have actuated him personally, and that I had in