

**POLITICAL HISTORY.**

*Additional Papers illustrating the Charges brought against the Northern Federalists.*

Extract of a letter from John Quincy Adams to William Plumer, Esq. dated at St. Peter, 16th August, 1809.

The spirit of party has become so inveterate and so violent in our country, it has so totally absorbed the understanding, and the heart, of almost all the distinguished men among us, that I, who cannot cease to consider all the individuals of both parties as my countrymen; who can neither approve nor disapprove in a lump, either of the men or the measures of either party; who see both sides claiming an exclusive privilege of patriotism, and using against each other weapons of political warfare which I never can handle; cannot but cherish that congenial spirit which has always preserved itself pure from the infectious vapours of faction; which considers temperance as one of the first political duties; and which can perceive a very distinct shade of difference between political candor and political hypocrisy.

It affords me constant pleasure to recollect, that the history of our country has fallen into the hands of such a man. For as impartiality lies at the bottom of all historical truth, I have often been not without my apprehensions, that no true history of our times would appear at least in the course of our age. That we should have nothing but Federal Histories or Republican Histories—New-England Histories, or Virginia Histories. We are indeed not overstocked with men capable even of this, who have acted a part in the public affairs of our nation. But of men who unite both qualifications, that of having had a practical knowledge of our affairs, and that of possessing a mind capable of impartiality in summing up the merits of our government, administrations, oppositions, and people, I know not another man with whom I have ever had the opportunity of forming an acquaintance, on the correctness of whose narrative I should so implicitly rely.

Such a historian—and I take delight in the belief—will be a legislator without needing constituents. You have so long meditated on your plan, and so much longer upon the duties of man in society, as they apply to the transactions of your own life, that I am well assured your work will carry a profound political moral with it. And I hope—though upon this subject I have had no hint from you, which can ascertain that your view of the subject is the same as mine—but I hope that the moral of your history will be, the indissoluble union of the North American continent. The plan of a New-England combination, more closely cemented than by the general ties of the Federal Government—a combination, first to rule the whole, and if that should prove impracticable, to separate from the rest—has been so far matured, and has engaged the studies, the intrigues, and ambitions of so many leading men, in our part of the country, that I think it will eventually produce mischievous consequences, unless seasonably and effectually discontinued by men of more influence and of more comprehensive views.

To rise upon a division system is unfortunately one of the most obvious, and apparently easy courses which plays before the eyes of individual ambition, in every section of the Union. It is the natural resource of all the small statesmen, who, feeling like Cæsar, and finding that Rome is too large an object for their grasp, would strike off a village where they might aspire to the first station without exposing themselves to derision. This has been the most powerful operative impulse upon all the divisionsists, from the first Kentucky conspiracy down to the negotiations between Massachusetts, Connecticut and New-Hampshire, of the last winter and spring. Considered merely as a purpose of ambition, the great objection against this scheme is its littleness. Instead of adding all the tribes of Israel to Judah and Benjamin, like David, it is walking in the ways of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who made Israel sin by breaking off Samaria from Jerusalem. Looking at it in reference to moral considerations, it is detestable, as it certainly cannot be accomplished by open and honorable means. The abettors are obliged to disavow their real designs—to affect others—to practise continual deception—and to work upon the basest materials, the selfish and dissocial passions of their instruments. Politically speaking, it is as injudicious as it is contracted and dishonorable. The American people are not prepared for disunion—far less so than these people imagine. They will continue to resist and defeat every attempt of that character, as they uniformly have done, & such projects will still terminate in the ruin of their projectors. But the ill consequences of turbulent spirit will be, to keep the country in a state of constant agitation, to embitter the local prejudices of fellow-citizens against each other, and to diminish the influence which we ought to have, and might have, in the general councils of the Union.

To counteract the tendency of these partial and foolish combinations, I know nothing so likely to have a decisive influence as historical works honestly and judiciously executed. For if the doctrine of Union were a new one now first to be inculcated, our history would furnish the most decisive arguments in its favor. It is no longer the great lesson to be learnt, but the fundamental maxim to be confirmed, and every species of influence should be exercised by all genuine American patriots to make its importance more highly estimated and more unquestionably established.

Perhaps you will find it impossible to avoid disclosing the New-England man—I have enough of that feeling myself most ardently to wish, that the brightest example of a truly liberal and comprehensive American political system may be exhibited by New-England men.

I regret that I could not have the pleasure of a full and confidential personal interview with you, before my departure.—My father I am sure will be happy to see you at Quincy, and to furnish you any materials in his power. He has been for the last three months publishing papers which I think will not be without their use in your undertaking.

A plea, my dear sir, I write you this letter on the Grand Bank of Newfoundland, after passing the night in catching cod—of which, in the interval of six hours calm, we have caught upwards of sixty.—In the association of ideas there is no very unnatural transition from codfishing on the Grand Bank to the History of the United States. No man will I trust be better able than yourself to supply the intermediate links in this singular concatenation.—Let me only hope it will appear to you as natural a transition, as that from any subject whatsoever to the assurance of that respect and attachment with which I subscribe myself, your friend and humble servant,

**JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.**

[From Austin's Life of Gerry.]

Extract of a letter from a distinguished citizen of the United States, dated at St. Petersburg, 30 June, 1811.

The Massachusetts election appears to agitate the Americans in Europe almost exclusively; of all the other elections going on at the same time in many parts of the Union, I see paragraphs in the newspapers, but hear not a syllable from any other quarter. But American federalists in this city have received letters from their friends in London and in Gottenburgh, in high exultation announcing the election of Mr. Gore, by a majority of more than three thousand votes. Other Americans of different politics, contest the validity of this return, and affirm that Mr. Gerry and Mr. Gray have been re-elected, though by a reduced majority, compared with that of last year. Why this extreme anxiety for the Massachusetts election? Is it Mr. Gore for whose elevation all this enthusiasm is harbored? I think it by no means difficult to account for. There is much foreign hope and fear involved in these Massachusetts elections; all the rest, even New-York, are despaired of. But the Massachusetts federal politicians have got to talk so openly, and with such seeming indifference, not to say readiness, for a dissolution of the Union; they are so valiant in their threats of resistance to the laws, they seem so resolute for a little experiment upon the energy of the Union and its Government, that in the prospects of a war with America, which most of the British statesmen now at the helm consider as in the line of wise policy, they and all their partizans calculate boldly and without disguise or concealment upon the co-operation of the Massachusetts federalists. The Massachusetts election, therefore, is a touchstone of national principle, and upon its issue may depend the question of peace and war between the United States and England. However hostile a British ministry may feel against us, they will never venture upon it until they can depend upon an active co-operation with them, within the United States. It is from the New-England federalists alone that they can expect it. From the same view of the subject, though prompted by very opposite feelings, I too take a deep interest in the Massachusetts elections. I have known now more than seven years the projects of the Boston faction against the Union. They have ever since that time at least, been seeking a pretext and an occasion for avowing the principle. The people, however, have never been ready to go with them, and when in the embargo time they did, for a moment, get a majority with them, they only verified the old proverb about setting a beggar on horseback: Mr. Quincy has been at the pains now of furnishing them with a new pretext, which will wear no better than its predecessors. Mr. Quincy should not have quoted me as an authority for a dissolution of the Union. He may be assured, it is a doctrine that never will have my sanction. It is my special anxiety for the result of the Massachusetts elections. They are a contest of life and death for the Union. If that party are not ultimately put down in Massachusetts, as completely as they are in New-York and Pennsylvania, and all the southern and western States, the Union is gone. Instead of a nation co-extensive with the North American continent, destined by God and Nature to be the most populous and most powerful people ever combined under one social compact, we shall have an endless multitude of little insignificant clans and tribes, at eternal war with one another, for a rock or a fishpond, the sport and fable of European masters and oppressors.

Extract of letter from William Plumer, heretofore a Senator of the United States, and afterwards Governor of New-Hampshire.

Epping, N. H. December 29, 1828.

During the long and eventful session of Congress of 1803 and 1804, I was a member of the Senate, and was at the City of Washington every day of that session. In the course of the session, at different times and places, several of the Federalists, Senators and Representatives, from the New-England States, informed me that they thought it necessary to establish a separate Government in New-England, and if it should be found practicable, to extend it so far South as to include Pennsylvania; but in all events to establish one in New-England. They complained, that the slaveholding States had acquired, by means of their slaves, a greater increase of Representatives in the House than was just and equal—that too great a portion of the public revenue was raised in the Northern States, and too much of it expended in the Southern and Western States, and that the acquisition of Louisiana, & the new States that were formed, and those to be formed in the West and the ceded Territory, would

soon annihilate the weight and influence of the Northern States in the Government.

Their intention, they said, was to establish their new government under the authority & protection of State Governments. That having secured the election of a Governor, and a majority of a State Legislature in favor of a separation, the Legislature should repeal the law authorizing the people to elect representatives to Congress, and the Legislature decline electing Senators to Congress, and gradually withdraw the State from the Union, establish custom-house officers to grant registers and clearances to vessels, and eventually establish a federal government in the Northern and Eastern States. And that if New-England quitted in the measure, it would in due time be effected without resorting to arms.

Just before that session of Congress closed, one of the gentlemen to whom I have alluded, informed me, that arrangements had been made to have, the next autumn, in Boston, a select meeting of the leading federalists in New-England, to consider and recommend the measures necessary to form a system of government for the Northern States, and that Alexander Hamilton, of New-York, had consented to attend that meeting.

Soon after my return from Washington, I adopted the most effectual means in my power to collect the opinions of well informed leading federalists in New-Hampshire, upon the subject. I found some in favor of the measure, but a great majority of them decidedly opposed to the project; and from the partial and limited enquiries I made in Massachusetts, the result appeared to me nearly similar to that in New-Hampshire.

The gentleman, who in the winter of 1803 and 1804, informed me there was to be a meeting of federalists in the autumn of 1804, at Boston, at the session of Congress in the winter of 1804 and 1805, observed to me, that the death of General Hamilton had prevented that meeting; but the project was not, and would not, be abandoned.

I owe it to you as well as myself, to state explicitly, that in the session of Congress in the winter of 1803 and 1804, I was myself in favor of forming a separate Government in New-England, and wrote several confidential letters to a few of my friends and correspondents, recommending the measure. But afterwards, upon thoroughly investigating and maturely considering the subject, I was fully convinced that my opinion in favor of separation, was the most erroneous that I ever formed upon political subjects. The only consolation I had, was that my error in opinion had not produced any act injurious to the integrity of the Union. When the same project was revived in 1808 and 1809, during the embargo and non-intercourse, and afterwards during the war of 1812, I used every effort in my power, both privately and publicly, to defeat the attempt then made to establish a separate independent Government in the Northern States.

You are at liberty to make such use of this communication as you shall consider proper.

Accept the assurance of my high respect and esteem.

[Signed.]

**WILLIAM PLUMER.**

Extract from a Sermon preached at Boston, 23d July, 1812, by a highly respectable clergyman intimately connected with the most eminent leaders of the then Federal party.

“The alternative then is, that if you do not wish to become the slaves of those who own slaves, and who are themselves the slaves of French slaves, you must either, in the language of the day, cut the connexion, or so far alter the National Constitution as to secure yourselves a due share in the Government. The Union has long since been virtually dissolved, and it is full time that this portion of the disunited States should take care of itself. But this, as Mr. Burke expresses it, is high matter, and must be left to the united wisdom of a Northern and Eastern Convention. The voice of the people, who are our sovereigns, will then be heard, and must be respected. To continue to suffer, as we have eight years past, from the incapacity of a weak, if not corrupt administration, is more than can be expected from human patience or christian resignation. The time has arrived when common prudence is pusillanimity, and moderation has ceased to be a virtue.”

Extracts from the Journals of the Hartford Convention.

Rules of proceeding—adopted 15th Dec. 1814, the first day of the meeting.

2. The most inviolable secrecy shall be observed by each member of the Convention, including the Secretary, as to all propositions, debates, and proceedings thereof, until this injunction shall be suspended or altered.

3. The Secretary of this Convention is authorized to employ some suitable person to serve as a door-keeper and messenger, together with a suitable assistant, if necessary, neither of whom are at any time to be made acquainted with any of the debates or proceedings of the Board.

JANUARY 3, 1815.

After the acceptance of the final Report.—On motion, Resolved, That the injunction of secrecy, in regard to all the debates and proceedings of this Convention, except in so far as relates to the Report finally adopted, be, and hereby is, continued.

N. B. This injunction of secrecy was never removed. The Convention adjourned the 3th of January.

Extracts from the final Report of the Convention.

“To prescribe patience and firmness to those who are already exhausted by distress, is sometimes to drive them to despair; and the progress towards reform by the regular road, is irksome to those whose imaginations discern, and whose feelings prompt, to a shorter course. But when abuses, reduced to system, and accumulated through a course of years, have pervaded every department of Government, and spread corruption through every region of the State—when these are clothed with the forms of law, and enforced by an Executive whose will is their source, no summary means of relief can be applied without recourse to direct and open resistance.”

“It is a truth not to be concealed, that a sentiment prevails to no inconsiderable extent, that the administration have given such constructions to that instrument, and practised so many abuses, under colour of its authority, the time for a change is at hand. Those who so believe, regard the evils which surround them as intrinsic and incurable defects in the Constitution. They yield to a persuasion, that no change, at any time, or any occasion, can aggravate the misery of their country. This opinion may ultimately prove to be correct. But as the evidence on which it rests is not yet conclusive, and as measures adopted upon the assumption of its certainty might be irrevocable, some general considerations are submitted, in the hope of reconciling all to a course of moderation and firmness, which may save them from the regret incident to sudden decisions, probably avert the evil, or at least insure consolation and success in the last resort.”

“The lust and caprice of power, the corruption of patronage, the oppression of the weaker interests of the community by the stronger, heavy taxes, wasteful expenditures, and unjust and ruinous wars, are the natural offspring of bad administrations, in all ages and countries. It was indeed to be hoped, that the rulers of these States would not make such disastrous haste to involve their infancy in the embarrassments of old and rotten institutions. Yet all this they have done; and their conduct calls loudly for dismission and disgrace. But to attempt, upon every abuse of the power, to change the Constitution, would be to perpetuate the evils of Revolution.”

“Finally, if the Union be destined to dissolution, by reason of the multiplied abuses of bad administrations, it should, if possible, be the work of peaceable times and deliberate consent. Some new form of confederacy should be substituted among those States which shall intend to maintain a federal relation to each other. Events may prove that the causes of our calamities are deep and permanent. They may be found to proceed not merely from the blindness of prejudice, pride of opinion, violence of party spirit, or the confusion of the times; but they may be traced to implacable combinations of individuals, or of States, to monopolize power and office, and to trample without remorse upon the rights and interests of commercial sections of the Union. Whenever it shall appear that these causes are radical and permanent, a separation by equitable arrangement will be preferable to an alliance by constraint, among nominal friends but real enemies, inflamed by mutual hatred and jealousies, and inviting by intestine divisions, contempt and aggression from abroad. But a severance of the Union by one or more States, against the will of the rest, and especially in a time of war, can be justified only by absolute necessity. These are among the principal objections against precipitate measures tending to disunite the States; and when examined in connexion with the Farewell Address of the Father of his Country, they must, it is believed, be deemed conclusive.”

“In this whole series of devices and measures for raising men, this Convention discern a total disregard for the Constitution, and a disposition to violate its provisions demanding from the individual States a firm and decided opposition. An iron despotism can impose no harder servitude upon the citizen, than to force him from his home and his occupation, to wage offensive wars, undertaken to gratify the pride or passions of his master. The example of France has recently shewn, that a cabal of individuals, assuming to act in the name of the people, may transform the great body of citizens into soldiers, and deliver them over into the hands of a single tyrant. No war, not held in just abhorrence by a people, can require the aid of such stratagems to recruit an army.”

“That acts of Congress in violation of the Constitution are absolutely void, is an undeniable position. It does not however, consist with the respect and forbearance due from a confederate State towards the General Government, to fly to open resistance upon every infraction of the Constitution. The mode and the energy of the opposition should always conform to the nature of the violation, the intention of its authors, the extent of the injury inflicted, the determination manifested to persist in it, and the danger of delay. But in cases of deliberate, dangerous, and palpable infractions of the Constitution, affecting the sovereignty of a State, and liberties of the people, it is not only the right, but the duty, of such a State to interpose its authority for their protection, in the manner best calculated to secure that end. When emergencies occur which are either beyond the reach of the judicial tribunals, or too pressing to admit of the delay incident to their forms, States which have no common umpire, must be their own judges, and execute their own decisions. It will thus be proper for the several States to await the ultimate disposal of the obnoxious measures, recommended by the Secretary of War, or pending before Congress, and so to use their power according to the character these measures shall finally assume, as effectually to protect their own sovereignty, and the rights and liberties of their citizens.”

“The last enquiry, what course of conduct ought to be adopted by the aggrieved States, is in a high degree momentous. When a great and brave people shall feel themselves deserted by their Government,

and reduced to the necessity either of submission to a foreign enemy, or of appealing to their own arms, those measures of defence which are indispensable to their preservation, they cannot consent to be passive spectators of approaching ruin, which it is in their power to avert, and resign the last remnant of their industrial earnings, to be dissipated in support of measures destructive of the best interests of the nation.

“This convention will not trust its selves, to express their conviction of the catastrophe to which such a state of things inevitably leads.”

“It would be inexpedient for this Convention to diminish the hope of a successful issue to such an application, by recommending, upon supposition of a co-terminus, ulterior proceedings. Nor is it indeed within their province. In a state of things so solemn and trying as may thus arise, the Legislatures of the States, or Conventions of the whole People, or delegates appointed by them for the express purpose in another Convention, must act as the urgent circumstances may require—before resolved.

“That it be and hereby is recommended to the Legislatures of the several States represented in this Convention, to adopt such measures as may be necessary effectually to protect the citizens of said States from the operations and effects of all laws which have been or may be passed by the Congress of the United States, which shall contain provisions, subjecting the militia or other citizens to forcible drafts, conscriptions or impressments, not authorized by the Constitution of the United States.”

“Resolved, that it be and hereby is recommended to the said Legislatures, to authorize an immediate and earnest application to be made to the Government of the United States, requesting their co-operation in some arrangement, whereby the said States may, separately or in concert, be empowered to assume upon themselves the defence of their territory against the enemy, and a reasonable portion of the taxes, collected within said States, may be paid into the respective treasuries thereof, and appropriated to the payment of the balance due said States, & to the future defence of the same. The amount so paid into the said treasuries to be credited, and the disbursements made as aforesaid to be charged to the United States.”

“Resolved, That if the application of these States to the government of the United States, recommended in a foregoing resolution, should be unsuccessful, and peace should not be concluded, and the defence of these States should be neglected, as it has been since the commencement of the war, it will, in the opinion of this Convention, be expedient for the Legislature of the several States to appoint Delegates to another Convention, to meet at Boston in the State of Massachusetts, on the third Thursday of June next, with such powers and instructions as the exigency of a crisis so momentous may require.”

“Resolved, That the Hon. George Cabot, the Hon. Chauncey Goodrich, and the Hon. Daniel Lyman, or any two of them, be authorized to call another meeting of this Convention, to be held in Boston, at any time before new Delegates shall be chosen, as recommended in the above resolution, in their judgment, the situation of the country shall urgently require it.”

In addition to these papers, the two Letters of Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Giles, which gave origin to the controversy, are published.

**HEWSON'S PRIZE LIST.**

**Grand Consolidated Lottery, CLASS 14,**  
Drawn at Washington 4th April—the following numbers were drawn, viz.  
**2 3 48 40 15 14 57 26 23**  
No. 2 3 48 drew 30,000 Dollars,  
14 15 40 15,000 Dollars,  
23 26 54 10,000 Dollars.

As usual, several of the large Capitals sold at Hewson's Office, and the cash already paid. To those who were unfortunate in this Lottery, I would recommend the renewal of all small prizes and make another trial in the following.

**Rich & Splendid Scheme,**  
(Draws on Wednesday, 16th April.)  
**\$30,000, D**  
HIGHEST PRIZE.

**Union Canal Lottery, CLASS NO. 3,**  
SCHEME.

1 Prize of 30,000 Dollars,  
1 do 15,000 Dollars,  
1 do 10,000 Dollars,  
1 do 5,000 Dollars,  
1 do 4,000 Dollars,  
10 do 1,000 Dollars,  
10 do 500 Dollars,  
10 do 400 Dollars,  
10 do 300 Dollars,  
10 do 200 Dollars,  
51 do 100 Dollars,  
Besides numerous smaller prizes, 90's, 80's, 70's, &c. &c.

Whole Tickets \$10, Quarters \$2 50, Halves 5, Eighths 1 25.

Rare sport is anticipated in the distribution of the above prizes. Send your orders immediately for the lucky numbers. Prizes payable in Silver, Gold, or Bank Notes.

**TICKETS & SHARES**  
For sale at the Lottery and Exchange Office of **B. W. HEWSON,** Petersburg, Va.

The Drawing will be received on Saturday evening, April 3, 1829. 65 It

**City Taxes.**

THE Intendant of Police informs the inhabitants of the City, that he will receive their lists of Taxable Property, at his office, on Tuesday next, and hopes that none will neglect to comply with the law in this respect, as a failure will subject them to a penalty.

J. GALES, Int'd.  
Raleigh, April 8th. 62