



One are the plans of fabled Peace, / Unwar'd by party rage, on life like Brothers.

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From the Christian "Strength of the People." TO THE AMERICAN TORIES. No. II.

In my last, I mentioned that you had had the address to change the uncouth name of TORY, for the more gentle and deceptive title of FEDERALIST. I will now shew by what means you effected this extraordinary and important titular revolution.

Soon after the close of the war, it was seen by these venerable sages, who had stood at the helm of affairs, through the contest, that their labors were not yet at an end. They saw, as did every political friend to America, that the powers delegated to Congress, by the several States, were unequal to the purposes of a government, such as would comport with the pure and unsullied character of their country. They knew that "her setting out into life, like the rising of a fair morning," had been "unclouded and promising." Her cause was good. Her principles just and liberal. Her temper serene and firm. Her conduct regulated by the nicest steps, and every thing that wore the mark of honor. They knew that no nation ever began with a fairer character than America, and that none could be under greater obligations to preserve it. But this, they saw, could not be done, unless several States, like individuals in society, would yield up a part of their rights to make the whole secure.

At this time, the United States were forty millions of dollars in debt, to those with gratitude, as well as honor, bound her to pay; and had no revenue, even to discharge the interest: Nor was it probable she could ever raise an adequate one, under her then existing Constitution. Therefore, every friend to his country, every true Republican, wished to have it new modelled, or another reformed; by which the Federal head should be vested with such powers, as would meet the exigencies of the case. And, indeed, such a step was viewed, by the best friends of the country, as a matter of such important necessity, that the very existence of the government seemed to depend upon it. "I do not conceive we can exist long as a nation," said General Washington, "without lodging, some where, a power that will pervade the whole Union in as energetic a manner as the authority of the State governments extends over the several States."

At length, on the 21st of January, 1788, the Legislature of Virginia, adopted a resolution, appointing certain commissioners, who were to meet such as might be appointed by the other States in the Union, at a time and place to be agreed upon, to take into consideration the trade of the United States; to consider how far an uniform system in their commercial resolutions might be necessary to their common interest, and their permanent harmony, & to report to the several States such an act, relative to this great object, as, when unanimously ratified by them, would enable the U. States, in Congress assembled, effectually to provide for the same."

Annapolis, in Maryland, was appointed as the place, and the ensuing September, as the time of meeting. But, before the period at which these commissioners were to assemble, had arrived, the idea was carried by those who saw and deplored the complicated calamities which flowed from the inefficiency of the general government much further than was avowed by the resolution of Virginia."

The convention at Annapolis was attended by commissioners from only five States. Having appointed Mr. Dickinson their chairman, they then proceeded to discuss the objects for which they had convened. It was soon perceived that powers, much more ample than had been confided to them, would be requisite to enable them to effect the beneficial purposes which they contemplated."

For this reason, as well as in consideration of the small number of States which were represented, the convention determined to rise, without coming to any specific resolutions on the particular subject which had been referred to them. Previous to their adjournment, however, they agreed on a report to be made to their respective States, in which was represented the necessity of extending the revision of the Federal system to all its defects; and in which they recommended that deputies, for that

purpose, be appointed by the several Legislatures, to meet in convention, in the city of Philadelphia, on the second day of the ensuing May."

Thus far, without interruption, did the people of the United States proceed, by slow and progressive steps, towards the formation of a new and permanent constitution for their government—and Republicans of every class, from one end of the continent to the other, rejoiced in the prospect. But, unfortunately, there lurked in the bosom of America, an influential party, who were inimical to a Republican form of government. This party had discovered itself, in an attempt to corrupt the officers of the army, when on the point of being discharged, by the circulation of an inflammatory anonymous letter; & in the formation of the Cincinnati. It has been said, that it took its rise among this class of citizens; but, be that as it may, it is certain that such a party existed; and that, at this time, Colonel Hamilton stood at its head.

This gentleman, "when the war was at an end, and the army disbanded, betook himself to the study of the law. For this purpose, he retired to Albany, where he secluded himself for several months; at the end of which he appeared at the bar of New-York, where, in a short time, he acquired the reputation of an able advocate, in point of legal knowledge and rhetorical talents. At this period, the political sentiments of Mr. Hamilton were observed to change. From being a zealous Republican and a defender of the rights of America, he gradually imbibed the tenets of Aristocracy; until at length he became the admirer and advocate of every measure allied with monarchy."

"This change in Mr. Hamilton's principles, which at first proceeded from conviction; and has since been strengthened by views of interest, is easy to be accounted for."

"Mr. Hamilton, unfortunately, was a native of that part of the civilized world [1] where tyranny prevails, in a manner even unknown to the despots of Europe; it was utterly impossible, that the habits and prejudices he contracted in his infancy could ever have been eradicated. The desire of ambition and power, which pensioned the first drop of blood which flowed in his veins, could only have been suppressed by a more powerful passion; this was the passion of war. Mr. Hamilton panted after fame and glory, and joined the Republican standard as the most promising field for a display of those powers he possessed. He fought for liberty with the same zeal as a Briton would engage in the support of the Grand Turk or Dey of Algiers. To acquire the applause of his fellow soldiers, and the respect of his fellow citizens, was his pride and ambition. In this he was successful; and while liberty was the object of his struggle, he was a Republican;—but, when America had procured her independence, and the horrors of a civil war were at an end, Mr. Hamilton had no longer a scope for his ambition, in the theatre of arms. In his study of law, he perceived another path to power; his copious imagination took a rapid survey of his civil code, the fascinating structure upon which the feudal system is raised, and the combined policy of English jurisprudence. In these fabrics of human knowledge, the production of ages, Mr. Hamilton perceived something more lofty & splendid than in those simple forms, which modern Republicanism cultivates. The grandeur attendant on hereditary titles pleased his mind and flattered his vanity. The American Tory against whom he had fought, he now began to defend; his cause he espoused, and in every suit where a loyalist was concerned, Mr. Hamilton was the royal pleader. It is a certain fact, that a great majority of the loyalists in the State of New-York, owe the restoration of their property solely to the exertions of this able orator."

Thus qualified and prepared, Colonel Hamilton arrayed himself at the head of this formidable conspiracy (for it was nothing less) for the purpose of exterminating, if possible, every principle of republicanism from the American government; and your party flocked to his standard. Here then, it was that you took to yourselves a name among the politicians of America. Here it was, that you discarded the worn out and thread bare name of tory, too thin to cover your villainous designs, and assumed to yourselves the high sounding,

suspicious, and plausible title of federalist.—Covered with this mask, and headed by some of the best blood of the nation, you immediately raised the cry against republicanism, and used every exertion for its overthrow.

For this purpose, your plan was ingeniously and deeply laid, your professed object being the same with that of the republican party, to give more power and energy to the general government. But the fact was, your real design was to suppress the republican form, by vesting in the federal head such powers as would be equal to a monarchy and aristocracy. I cannot better illustrate this fact, than to give the following articles from a constitution, sketched about this time by Mr. Hamilton himself.

"3. The senate to consist of persons elected, to serve during good behaviour: their election to be made by electors chosen for that purpose by the people—in order to this, the state to be divided into election districts. On the death, removal or resignation of any senator, his place to be filled out of the district from which he came."

"4. The supreme executive authority of the United States, to be vested in a governor, to be elected during good behaviour; the election to be made by electors chosen by the people, in the election districts aforesaid, the authorities and functions to be as follows: to have a negative upon all laws about to be passed; to have the direction of war when authorized or begun, to have with the advice and consent of the senate, the power of making all treaties; to have the sole appointment of the head or chief officers of finance and foreign affairs; to have the nomination of all other officers, ambassadors to foreign nations included, subject to the approbation or rejection of the senate; to have power of pardoning all offences except treason, which he shall not pardon without the approbation of the senate."

"9. The senate to have the sole power of declaring war, the power of advising and approving all treaties, the power of approving and rejecting all appointments of officers, except the heads or chiefs of the department of finance war and foreign affairs."

"10. All laws of the particular states, contrary to the constitution or laws of the United States, to be utterly void; and the better to prevent such laws being past the governor or president of each state shall be appointed by the general government, and shall have a negative upon the laws about to be passed in the state, of which he is governor or president."

"11. No state to have any force, land or naval, and the militia to be under the sole and exclusive direction of the United States, the officers of which to be appointed and commissioned by them."

"Here is a specimen of the constitution you contended for. A constitution that would have extirpated every vestige of the liberties of America, could you have palmed it as you wished upon her citizens. This constitution is as complete a model of the British government (for England has no constitution) as the ingenuity of Alexander Hamilton was capable of drawing. A governor and senate, holding their offices for life, and having the sole direction of the military, would at pleasure have become hereditary; & have been KING & LORDS under another name. This would no doubt have been pleasing to the sycophancy of tories; but the friend of liberty and independence thought too highly of that inestimable prize, which was the price of their brave countrymen's blood, tamely to give it up.—They viewed with disgusting horror, the idea of apostatizing into a form of government, the shackles of which they had recently paid and suffered so much to shake off. They determined to oppose it: nor was their opposition, vain. They met in convention at Philadelphia according to appointment; where, after a struggle of four months and a half in arduous debate, during which time there was, more than once, reason to fear they would have risen without effecting their object, on the 17th of September, 1787, they presented to America that constitution which is to this day the bulwark of her liberties, the boast and pride of her citizens, & which will descend, with the names of those who formed it, through the hearts of a grateful posterity, to the remotest ages of futurity.

Your party being thus defeated and disappointed, have to this day, under the name of federalists, continued to abuse

the government and people of America, with every reproachful and scandalous epithet, that spite and malice could invent. And such is your inveteracy against republicans, that many of you have been heard to say, you despise the very name. HESPER.

From the National Intelligencer.

THE NEW WORLD.

No. V.

AN ENQUIRY

Into the National Character of the People of the United States.

We have ventured to intimate, that revolutions in the English institutions had been occasioned in this country in the times of the provinces; or that they had been effected by the Americans themselves.

The church of England in the late provinces, was occasioned to be in a small minority in the year 1776 by the presence and weight of the various Calvinistic Churches, by those of the friends of truth, of the Roman Catholics, of the Baptists, of the Mennonists, of the United Brethren, of the German Lutherans, of the Episcopalians, of the Tankers, of the Hebrews and other religious societies. In one province only, that of Maryland, where the family of the Prince or hereditary proprietor and chief executive magistrate was of the Roman church, power was confined to the church of England. In the rest all christians were admitted to the Legislatures, and to the offices created by them.—There was no Arch-Bishop, Bishop, Prebendary, Dean or Chapter, in this country. The tenets of the church of England were not adhered to in the minds of its American members, for their first act after the revolution was to alter the ritual and to rescind twenty of the thirty nine articles. It is true that since that period the twenty articles were first left at the discretion of the members, and afterwards were restored in form. No public officer was required to have complied with two sacraments, according to the manner of the church of England. Neither any proprietor, nor the crown or its governors, had the right to advowson in any part of the American provinces except in the province of Maryland where all the advowsons of the church of England were given to the Baron of Baltimore in Ireland, a sincere catholic—of a Flemish family transferred to England. In the province of Pennsylvania the powers of incorporating churches and other bodies, was held and exercised by William Penn, a sincere and able member of the society of the friends of truth; and his deputies, advised by a council of state, who were of his church. There were no tythes in favor of the English church in America. No convocation of its clergy. No ecclesiastical court apartment to it. Civil offices for the registry of wills were established by the provincial legislatures. There were no episcopal members in those legislatures, no representatives of ecclesiastical universities. The members of the congregations chose the vestries. The vestries chose and granted the salaries of the rectors. There were no curates. There was no connexion between the corporations or parishes, beyond a voluntary association, if desired. This communication was not often if ever used.

Considering the emphatic manner, in which the King of England is declared to be the head of the church in that Kingdom, and the power given by some of the American charters, to do all things pertinent to humane societies, and among other things relative to the churches, the several Kings of England who signed those charters may be considered to have negatived the establishment of the church of England in America, and to have disclaimed the quality and power of head of that body, in the original American provinces. Thus was a great revolution, actually occasioned and effected in each of those States of our ancient empire, which lay on this western coast of the Atlantic ocean.—The rights of conscience, the essence or spirit of religious liberty were almost exempted here from the injuries they sustain in England from the established church. The sword of the state could not be drawn here to enforce the articles and discipline of that church according to the course of England. A national religion was rejected in America as a tyranny of the most exception-

able nature. The Kingly revenues of the church in England were effectually barred in the old American provinces. In short, to attain future happiness, it was not requisite to be a member of the church of England, as by law established, but it was sufficient to observe the divine laws of the word of God.

In like manner, several of the late American provinces repealed the established and favorite rule of the common law of England, respecting the descent of Lands and all other real property; and it was the universal custom to depart from the principle of the English law of descents even in those provinces, where the royal governors negatived repeals. This spirit of the people, correcting the letter of the law, will receive further elucidation in the proper place.

The English court of chancery was rejected by several of the late American provinces. The English borough system, fatal to the soundness of their legislature, was excluded, as a rock of destruction, from the provincial institutions of this country. The English game laws, capable as they are of being perverted to prevent the general use and possession of arms, were decidedly rejected in the North American provinces.

It was provided in some of the most eminent of the American colleges in the times of the provinces, that the principal chairs should be filled by persons of different religious principles to prevent the preponderance of any church.

So materially were the English ideas of Parliaments rejected in all the provinces, that they chose their own speakers. In one their Legislature was elected oftener than once in seven months instead of years, in others they were chosen annually. In two or three the viceroy, or second or upper house of Legislature was rejected. In no one was that branch hereditary. In some of the provinces the legislatures sat on their own uncontrollable adjournments and could not be prorogued or dissolved by the King or Governor.

Every person was free of every port and town within the provincial jurisdiction, and exempted from those badges and chains of general slavery, which result from the individual monopoly, called in England the freedom of boroughs. There were no monopolies of the trades to the Indies, nor the fisheries, nor of banking, nor of any other pursuit in commerce, the arts or manufactures.

There were no troops raised, but for evident and real occasions, and these were always voted under the most serious convictions of the danger of standing armies, or of any considerable military force in time of peace. Never did a state freely use a standing army without the loss of liberty; never did a nation lose its freedom, without the agency of a standing army.

The American provinces do not appear to have been desired to provide, in a permanent way, an armed ship.—Much less did they meditate a proportionate participation in the naval institutions and establishment of England. In this they were more assimilated to Scotland, which did not ever aim at a fleet, while governed (with England) by the houses of Stuart and Orange, before the union, nor while she existed as a separate and unconnected kingdom under her native kings. On the final conclusion of peace of 1783, the congress of the United States deliberately agitated the three questions of retaining their revolutionary navy—or of increasing their public ships by certain additions, or of selling off all their revolutionary ships and discontinuing their navy.—They decidedly proving that they were not, as provinces or even as belligerent and confederated states, adopting the English principles of political economy on the subject of naval expenditure, power and wars.

COLUMBIANUS.

State of North-Carolina.

Hertford County.

Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, August Term, 1809.

W. H. Boyce and Wife, to the Court, Petition for division of the Lands of Richard and Wm. Bacon, deceased.

IT having been suggested to the Court that Josiah Bacon, a tenant in common, is without the State.—It is therefore ordered, that publication be made in the Raleigh Register for six weeks, notifying the said Josiah to be and appear before the next court, at the courthouse in Wintou, on the fourth Monday of November next, and shew cause to the contrary, otherwise the prayer of the petitioners will be granted. Test.

JOS. F. DICKINSON, CL.