	Jefferson.	Adams.
New Hampshire	2	4
Rhode Island	2	2
Massachusetts	4	12
Connecticut	3	6
New-York	8	4
Vermont	2	2
New-Jersey	3	4
Pennsylvania	13	2
Delaware	1	2
Maryland	7	3
Virginia	16	5
North Carolina	8	4
Georgia	4	0
Kentucky	4	0
Tennessee	3	0
South Carolina	4	4
	84	54

From this statement it appears that Mr. Jefferson would have, in case each state were divided into districts, 84 votes, which would insure to him the Presidency by a majority of 30 votes.

As the results of the late state Elections may not be fresh in the memory of every reader, I will here state them, and they fully establish the accuracy of the above view; they will even shew that in all doubtful cases I have been liberal in the votes I have given to Mr. Adams.

In New Hampshire the Federal candidate for governor had but a small majority over the democratic candidate; yet I allow Mr. Adams two thirds of the votes of that state. In Massachusetts at a late election to supply the places of Mr. Sewell and Mr. Foster, both federal members of Congress, the two democratic candidates obtained the largest portion of votes; besides, there are at present two democratic members in Congress. The reader will observe that the congressional district is somewhat larger than the electoral district. If the election for governor be resorted to as an evidence of public opinion, the citizens of that state appear nearly equally divided, for Mr. Strong gained his election over Mr. Gerry by but a small majority.

In Connecticut the Federal ticket for members of Congress had 6,150 votes; the democratic 3,250 votes.

In New-York two thirds of the members of the house of representatives are democratic.

Vermont sends two members to Congress. At the late election she has chosen one democratic member. In the other district no choice has taken place, as neither candidate had an absolute majority. Mr. Morris having 879 and Mr. Niles 872. Yet I allow half the votes of Vermont to Mr. Adams.

In Pennsylvania, there are 11 democratic, and 2 federal members of Congress chosen the 14th of October.

In Delaware, the Federal member of Congress prevailed over the democratic by the small majority of 300 votes out of between 5 and 6 thousand. Yet the above statement allows Mr. Adams two votes out of three.

In Maryland, the house of Delegates, chosen Oct. 14, contains 48 democratic, and 32 federal members.

In Virginia, the legislature is composed, four fifths of democratic to one fifth of federal members.

In North Carolina, the late election for members of Congress yielded 6 democratic and 4 federal members.

Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee are allowed to be unanimously in favour of Mr. Jefferson.

Rhode Island. A majority of the Legislature are stated from the best authority to be republican.

New Jersey. From the votes given at the late election for members of Assembly, as far as they have been ascertained the federal ticket had 9,695 votes, the democratic 6,235.

South Carolina. The last legislature was democratic. We have not learned the complexion of the present. In the above statement, the votes are equally divided.

If the above statements are correct, and I have sought with the most diligent enquiry to make them so, does it not conclusively appear that a great majority of the People of the United States are in favour of the election of Mr. Jefferson? Is it not equally conclusive that the same majority are hostile to the election of Mr. Adams?

These conclusions are irresistible. Nor can their truth be impaired by any event.

Should Mr. Adams become President by the major vote of the Electors, of which however there does not appear to be the least probability, *will that vote make him the real representative of the people!*

In what manner will that majority be constituted? It will be formed by depriving Pennsylvaniae entirely of her legitimate portion of authority, and by withholding from the respectable *republican* minorities of the Eastern States all participation in the election, while the minorities in the other states, that are friendly to Mr. Adams, will exercise their rights unimpaired. Thus should Mr. Adams be elected, his success will arise altogether from the superior cunning and stratagem of his supporters.

View Mr. Adams continued in the Presidency by these means. What will be the consequences?

In the next Congress, the representatives elected will enter upon the discharge of their duties, under the direction of that spirit which placed them there. It has been demonstrated that the latest expression of the public mind is decidedly republican. Who does not perceive that in every state in the union the republican interest is still gaining strength? It cannot, therefore, be doubted that in the ensuing House of Representatives, a vast majority of the members will be republican. The Senate, hitherto antirepublican, will be shaken in its attachment to Mr. Adams. It is known that several of the federal members are already inimical to him, and that they consider his late measures as pernicious to the country. In addition to the *impaired* support, which would by this scism be given to his administration, there will be seven members, at present federal, replaced by the same number republican; two from the state of New York, and one from each of the following states, viz. Pennsylvania, Maryland, South Carolina, Kentucky, and Georgia; the legislatures of all which states, by whom the election of Senators is made, being decidedly republican.

The effect of these two causes will be decisive on the character of the Senate, independently of the influence of the firm and intrepid republican spirit of the house of representatives, which will, without question, pursue its course undismayed by Presidential frowns, unseduced by Presidential favour.

Hitherto Americans have believed and professed that the energy of the Federal Government depended upon the harmony of its several departments. A division in our councils has been deprecated as the severest national misfortune. Internal distraction and external imbecility have been pourtrayed as its inevitable attendants.

Is this maxim verified by all our experience? If it is, shall we, by one precipitate act of temerity, in its violation, undermine the foundations of our political happiness?

The view which I have taken, is on my mind awfully impressive. Ranking myself with no party, I am neither the dupe of their professions, nor the victim of their intrigues. Still I boast not, that I am neutral. When republicanism is at stake, there can be no neutrality among those who know and value their rights. Beyond an attachment to this principle, and a desire to see its true spirit transfused into all our political institution, I AM *neutral.* Who enjoys this office, or that office, can never shake my repose.

These are my honest convictions. I believe them to be the honest convictions of my countrymen. They love their Country with a zeal no less ardent than mine.

To them, then, do I address my voice.

Is the will of America decidedly, unequivocally in favor of the election of Mr. Jefferson? If this be the case, *can that will be resisted?* If it be smothered or repressed to-day, will it not soon burst forth with irresistable energy? Will it not appear in the election of the next Congress, and in the choice of the State Legislatures? What can the President do, if at variance with the Legislature of the Union, created and sustained directly by the People? Can harmony be expected? Will the men, to whom he delegates the public power, be respected? Will the laws which he enforces, receive the chearful and prompt obedience, which all laws constitutionally framed, should receive?

Even grant that we have no internal enemies, are we secure from external ones! Has France restored to us the mighty mass of wealth of which she has robbed us? Is the proud spirit of England submissive to the voice of justice? Is not the indignation of the one, and the jealousy of the other, ready to seize the favourable moment that may ruin us? And may not the unprecedented posture of European affairs soon present France and England allied in an exterminating war against all republics?

I pretend not to prophecy, but I say such things may be.

And if they should be, where is our safety? It is in our Union. It is in one spirit animating the people and the government. Then, indeed, we might brave the mad fury of the Universe in arms. Undivided, no force could subdue us.

Electors of the President! Ye who are too honest to be the slaves of party, I appeal to you as the defenders of your Country's peace and honor. What though, heretofore, you have supported Mr. Adams and approved his measures, do you not see that he has lost the confidence of his constituents? And are you not convinced, without this confidence, his very virtues may prove ruinous to his country; and that the purest measures which he can propose will be viewed with jealousy, perhaps opposed with effect.

Does not this solemn state of things convince you that the crisis of change is arrived? Ought not Mr. Adams, like a good citizen, imitating the example of his illustrious Roman predecessors, to reject those honors, which can only be retained at the expense of your welfare?

Pause, fellow citizens, I intreat you, before your votes shall decide the fate of republicanism. Once given, there can be no retraction. One mistaken vote may hurry us into discord, plunge us into war, and despoil us of our freedom.

LYCURGUS.

On the 10th Ult. the Governor of VERMONT met both Houses of the General Assembly and delivered the following SPEECH.

Gentlemen of the Council, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives.

IN obedience to the voice of the People, it is again become my duty to meet you in General Assembly.

The affairs of government will always be attended with difficulty, and will require much application, prudence and firmness, in those on whom is devolved the arduous task of conducting its interests. It is in confidence that I shall be favoured with your cordial assistance and support, that I enter upon the office and duties which the Constitution has assigned to the chief magistrate of the state. Collected from the different parts of the commonwealth, you must be intimately acquainted with the various situations and circumstances of your constituents, and with such information it will be in your power to pursue the public welfare with candor and success, in all the consultations and measures of the present session.

The business particularly entrusted to me by the Legislature at their last session, has been strictly attended to, and will be the subject of a future message.

The Auditor will lay before you a general statement of the accounts of the Treasury Department; a review of the accounts of that department for several years past, when contrasted with those of former years, will shew an increase of wealth in our State, and a degree of economy in the management of our finances, that must be pleasing to our fellow citizens. I, however, conceive it to be my duty, once more to submit to your consideration, the propriety and necessity of redeeming the public securities now in circulation, upon which, without any benefit to our government, we are annually incurring an accumulated interest; without adopting a measure of this kind no compleat adjustment of the Treasurer's accounts can be effected.

The Constitution and laws of our country, has made it the duty of the Legislature at this session to choose Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States. This consideration gives a peculiar importance to the business of this session. Those men who are to be immediately instrumental in the appointment of persons, who are to fill the highest offices our country can bestow, ought to be selected from the most worthy of our fellow citizens. It is sincerely to be hoped that the importance of the crisis may induce such Electors when chosen, to unite their suffrages on men, who are attached to the interests of their country, and who are the friends of order and good government. Should the Chief Magistrate of the Union, be destitute of the virtues of a *real* Patriot; should a predilection for foreign principles or an ardor for untried theories influence him to depart from the sober maxims of our ancestors, and from those principles of national interest which WASHINGTON recommended in his last legacy to the people, and which ADAMS has so happily pursued in his executive administration of the general government: in a word, should our first Magistrate be other than an independant American, the most injurious consequences to us and our posterity, are justly to be apprehended.

From the situation of this State, Agriculture must be a primary and an essential object of our attention; separated from harbors of Commerce, the inhabitants of Vermont must at all times look for support from the labors and productions of the field. And it is with much gratitude to the benevolent Author of nature, that we have to remark that our prospects in this respect are highly encouraging. Not only have the harvests of the present year been greatly productive, but the general spirit of Agriculture is much improving in every part of the State: and the happy effects of it are every where to be seen in the improvements of our farms, in the rapid increase of our buildings, and in the produce of our fields.

But while we observe with pleasure the improved State of our Agriculture it is of importance that we bear in mind that Agriculture in all its interests is most intimately connected with those of Commerce and Manufactures, and cannot be carried on to any considerable extent, but in connection with them. If the Farmer finds no demand for the produce of his land, a great part of it becomes useless; thus the various interests of every state in the union become mutually dependant and connected; and that which is a benefit to the one is an advantage to the whole.

All our interests whether public or private, are so inseparably connected with the principles that regulate the conduct of mankind, the principles of morality and religion, that there cannot be any permanent prosperity in the one without a steady cultivation of the other; what can restrain the passions of men, regulate their views and pursuits, confine them to the bounds of reason, duty and integrity, produce industry, economy and regularity, or a steady obedience to the laws of our country, but substantial and permanent principles of action? and can these be expected, or will they be found in any other principles but those of morality and religion.

If any thing can be wanting to convince us of the importance of moral and christian principles, the fatal and horrid consequences that have arisen in modern times, from treating them with neglect and contempt, must carry conviction to the mind of every person who has heard or read of the revolution in Europe. In every attempt therefore to promote the interests of science, the education of youth or to render respectable the institutions & precepts of christianity, we shall be in the discharge of a duty highly useful in a christian country, and every way interesting to a free people.

While the concerns of our state government more immediately engage our attention, they are so essentially connected with the government of the United States, that we cannot discharge our duty to the former, without taking into view the interests of the latter.

The wisdom, the prudence, the firmness and success with which our late President, the great, the good, the *immortal Washington*: administered the affairs of the Federal government, can never be forgotten by us, and will ever be remembered with admiration and gratitude by all succeeding generations. It was never given to any man, to render more important services to his country, than was done by him, for the states of America; and were the wishes of mankind ever allowed to controul the laws of nature, that most worthy and excellent man had never died.

But although removed to an higher sphere of action, we and I trust all future generations of men in the United States, will share largely in the benefits he procured for his grateful county.

The same measures of government have been pursued by his worthy successor. The effect has been peace, prosperity, increasing wealth and population in every part of the United States; while the rest of the world are involved in the miseries and calamities of civil war, slaughter and destruction, that have not a parallel in history.

If any thing could silence the voice of calumny, or terminate the mischievous effects of misrepresentation as to men and measures, so dangerous to a free government, and so much regretted by all good men, it would be the singular happiness this country has enjoyed amidst the scenes of general distress which have afflicted other nations. But whatever may be the language or the attempt of the opposers of our government, the wise and virtuous, cannot but find in the prosperity of our country, abundant reasons for an undeviating attachment to the federal constitution and laws, and to those measures of government that have tended so much to produce public tranquility and happiness. Our commerce, and with it our national resources have been extended; our manufactures have been increased; our agriculture has flourished; our national government has by its laws supported its citizens at