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In the violence of party animosity the sincere attachment of Mr. Jefferson *to the pure principles of republicanism has been denied; and it has been asserted that his sentiments were once very different from those which he now professes. How true this assertion is, let the following extracts from his "Notes on Virginia" decide.*

Page 181, after stating the defects of the Constitution of Virginia, he observes:

"In enumerating the defects of the constitution, it would be wrong to count among them what is only the error of particular persons. In December 1776, our circumstances being much distressed, it was proposed in the House of Delegates to vest a *dictator*, invested with every power legislative, executive and judicial, civil and military, of life and death, over our persons and over our properties? and in July 1781, again under extremity, the same proposition was repeated, and wanted a few votes only of being passed.—One who entered into this district, knew the love of liberty, and a sense of injured rights, who determined to make every sacrifice, and to meet every danger, for the re-establishment of those rights on a firm basis, who did not mean to expend his blood and substance for the wretched purpose of changing this master for that, but to place the powers of governing him in a plurality not less odious to our choice, so that the corrupt will of no one man might in future oppress him, multiplied confounded and delayed when he is told, that a considerable portion of this plurality had meditated the surrender of them into a single hand, and, in lieu of a limited monarchy, to deliver him over to a despotic one! How must he have bled, and sacrifices abused and baffled, if he was still by a single vote be laid prostrate at the feet of one man! In God's name from whence have they derived this power? Is it from our antient laws? None such can be produced. Is it from any principle in our new constitution expressed or implied? Every lineament of this expression is against it, is in full opposition to it. Its fundamental principle is, that the state shall be governed as a commonwealth. It provides a republican organization, positively under the name of *prerogative* the exercise of all powers undefined by the laws; places on this table the whole system of our laws; and by confoundding them together, shelf it that they should be left to stand or fall together, never providing for any circumstances, nor admitting that such could arise, wherein either should be suspended, no, nor for a moment. Our antient laws expressly declare, that those who are but delegates themselves shall not delegate to other powers which require judgment and discretion in their execution.—Or was this proposition moved on a supposed right in the movers of abandoning their posts in a moment of distress? The same fatal right of abandonment of that post, even on ordinary occasions; and much more a transfer of their powers into other hands and other forms, must be exercised by the people. They never admit the idea that their lives or cattle, may be given from hand to hand, without an appeal to their own will.—Will it from the necessity of the case? Never. An which diffusive a government as this, scarcely is an history to an oligarchy or a monarchy. They throw back into the hands of the people, the powers they had delegated, and leave them as individuals to find for themselves. A leader may offer, but not impose himself, nor be imposed on them. Much less can their necks be submitted to his hoof, their breath to be held as his will or caprice. The necessity which should operate thefe tremendous effects should at least be palpable and irresistable. Yet in both instances, where it is pretended to have pretended with us, it was belied by the event. It was belied too by the preceding experience of our sister states, several of whom had grappled through great and difficulties without abandoning their form of government. When the proposition was first made, Massachusetts had been even the government of committees sufficient to carry them through an invasion. But we at the time of that proposition were under no invasion. When the second was made, there had been added to this example those of Rhode-Island, New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania, in all of which the republican form had been found equal to the task of carrying them through the severest trials. In this state alone did there exist so little virtue, that fear was to be fixed in the hearts of the people, and to become the motive of their exertions and the principle of their government. The very thought alone was treason against the people; was treason against mankind in general; as riveting for ever the chains which bow down their necks, by giving to tyrants so powerful a proof, which they would have trumpeted through the universe, of the impotentcy of republican government, in times of peril, and of their fitness to shield them from harm. Those who assume the right of giving away the reigns of government in any case, must be sure that the herd, whom they hand on to the cruel and hatchet of the dictator, will lay their necks on the block when he shall nod to them. But if our assemblies supposed such a resignation in the people, I hope they mistook their character. I am of opinion, that the government, instead of being braced and invigorated for greater exertions under their difficulties, would have been broken back upon the bungling machinery of county committees for administration, till a convention could have been called, and its models agreed on by a regular authority. What a cruel moment was this for creating such an embarrassment, for putting to the proof the attachment of our countrymen to republican government? Their attachment well, of the advocates for this measure, (and most of them meant well, for I know them personally, had been their fellow-labourers in the common cause, and had often proved the purity of their principles,) had been seduced in their judgment by the example of an antient republic whose constitution and circumstances were fundamentally different. They had fought this precedent in the history of Rome, where alone it was to be found, and where it had been used in a moment of danger, when tumult in from a republic rent by the most bitter factions and tumults, where the government was of a heavy-handed unfeeling aristocracy over a people fierce, and rendered desperate by poverty and wretchedness; tumults which could not be allayed under the best trying circumstances, but in the imperious hand of a single defpot. Their constitution therefore allowed a temporary tyrant to be erected, under the name of a dictator; and that temporary tyrant, when a few examples had been exerted, They misapplied this precedent to a people mild in their dispositions, patient under their evil, united for the public liberty, and adequate to their defence. Moreover, that the constitution of the Roman government there resisted to their senate a power of submitting all their rights to the will of one man, whereas in our case, the sovereignty of Virginia have the same authority. What clause in our constitution has substituted that of Rome, by way of ordinary provision, for the cases otherwise provided for? Or if they may flee ad libitum, from any other form of government for precedents to rule us by, for what opposition may one be precedent be found in this world? The bellum omnium in omnia is searching for the foundations of this proposition. I can find none which may pretend a colour of right or reason, but the defect before pointed out, that there be no barrier between the legislative, executive, and judicary departments, the legislature may seize the whole; that having seized it, and possessing a right to fix their own quorum, they may reduce that quorum to one, whom they may call a chairman, speaker, dictator, or by any other name they please.—Our Revolution is indeed peculiar, and I hope my countrymen will be sensible of it, and will apply, at a proper season the proper remedy, which is a convention to fix the constitution, to amend its defects, to bind up the several branches of government by certain laws, which when they transgress their acts shall become nullities; to render unnecessary an appeal to the people, or in other words a rebellion, on every infraction of their rights, on the peril that their acquiescence shall be construed into an intention to surrender those rights.

MADRID, Sept. 28.

The affair of the capture of the two frigates at Barcelona, has been taken up very indignant here at the event, and we know not how to characterise the spirit which influenced the English on this occasion.

Our state of warfare not permitting the very king's ministers to address complaints directed to the court of London, they have confined themselves to denouncing the fact by a circular letter to the ambassadors of all the foreign powers, who reside at Madrid, and to inform them of it, more particularly the ministers of his Swedish Majesty, whom that event concerns more than any other, whose duty it is to require from the British government a satisfactory reparation for the outrage done to his flag, and the punishment of the officers concerned. The following are the papers mentioned above?

Circular letter to the ambassadors and foreign ministers to the Court of Spain.

Sir,

I have the honour to communicate to you a copy of the memorial which the king, my master, bestowed me to lend to his minister at Stockholm, in order to be transmitted to the ministry of his Swedish majesty.

The principles which are established in it, and the event which has given rise to it are such as will agree with the commercial relations of Europe, particularly the neutral powers.

His majesty is perfuaded that your government will take the affair in the same point of view, and he flatters himself that he will concur in effacing as much as possible, from the annals of war, an attack in destructive of the common tranquillity, which neutral and friendly flags enjoy.

I repeat the affurances of my considration and esteem, and I am, sir, &c.

(Signed) CHEVALIER D'EURQUIJO.

St Ildephonso, Sept. 17, 1800.

Letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the King of Sweden.

SIR,

The King my mother has been with the greatest indignation, by a report which the Consul of his Swedish majesty at Barcelona has transmitted to the consul-general of Catalonia, containing the declaration of captain Rudquist, of the Swedish galliot the Hilfang, that on the 4th of September last, in the afternoon, two English ships of the line and a frigate forced the said captain after having examined and found his papers according to rule, to take on board English officers and a considerable number of tailors, and to follow himself to be towed at night under the English flag close to the harbour of Barcelona, and under the cannon of its batteries.

That the English having reduced the said captain and his crew to silence, by holding a pistol at his breast, got possession of the helm, and made at 9 P. M. by means of the galliot and the shallops surrounding it, an attack against a vessel under the Spanish flag, who were at anchor, whose first officer, on this friendly and neutral ship conceiled carmines on board, and could be made use for the purpose, and were taken aboard by surprise and forced to surrender.

I refer you for the other particulars, and for the violence committed by the English on the Swedish flag, to the declaration of the captain mentioned above.

The King my mother could not confider that event but as interesting the rights, and wounding the interests of all the powers of Europe, without excepting England; and above all, as the heaviest insult to the flag of his Swedish majesty.

In fact, it is evident that the belligerent powers, by admitting neutral flags into their harbours and ports, affified to form the asyle of war, and to preserve thofe commercial relations between the people of different nations, which their mutual wants imposed.

Every thing therefore that tends to render the navigation suspected and dangerous, injures in an equal degree the rights and interests of all nations.

But in the prefent case, the rights and honour of the Swedish flag have been violated in fo outrageous a manner, that few examples of such a violation can be found in the Naval History of Europe.

The attack, if it were to remain unpuffified, would tend to embroil two friendly powers, annihilate their commercial relations, and cause the flag which should fuffer it to be considered as the secret auxiliary of the enemy's power, and would thus force Spain to take fuch measures as the interest of her vessels and the security of her ports should command.

Yet the king, my mother, wishes fill to believe that the Swedish captain him not been guilty of the least prevarication with the English, and that he yielded only to their force and their great number.

Under this supposition, the king has ordered me to lay before his Swedish majesty, this grievous insult committed against his flag; and not doubting the resentment which he will feel at a procedure equally low and difloyal on the part of fome officers of the British navy, he expects that the court of Stockholm will make to the English ministry the most fevere representations, in order that the officers who have rendered them felves culpable upon this occasion, be punished severely, and that the Swedish galliot be immediately set at liberty, off from the harbour of Barcelona by a flag, gem equally contrary to the rights of nations and the rules of war, be immediately restored to their officers, as having been illegally furprized by means of a neutral ship, which served as an inftrument to the attaiant.

His Catholic majesty thinks himself fo much the more entitled to consider the fucess of this reclamation as certain, as the English government even cannot diffemble that its enemies, by following a fimilar example, might themselves also make use of neutral vessels to infest its harbours, and do in its ports all possible damage.

But if, contrary to all expectation, the fleps of his Swedish majesty, at the court of London, to obtain reparation for the injury done to his flag, as well as the reftitution of the two Spanish frigates, should not have the defired fuccess before the end of this year, his majesty will be obliged, though with much regret, to adopt towards the Swedish flag, measures of precaution which fhall in future fhelter his harbours and ports from an danger as dangerous and revolting, as that which the English have just committed.

I have the honour to be, &c.

[Signed]

CHEVALIER D'EURQUIJO.

St. Ildephonso, Sepr. 19, 1800.

Note.—The declaration of the Swedish captain gives an editorical recital of the transaction.

Note communicated by the Minister of the Interior to the Citizens assembled in the Temple of Mars, for the purpose of celebrating the Festival of the Republic.

The First Conful to the Public Functionaries, first Clerks in the Departments.

"Preliminaries of peace were figned at Paris on the 28th of July, between Citizen Talleyrand, minister of Exterior Relations, and the Baron de St. Julien. These were ratified within 24 hours by the confuls. Citizen Duroc was charged with conveying them to Vienna. The intelligence of the fuction fcfilled to peace, which appeared to enjoy fome credit there, prevented the Emperor from ratifying them. The motive of this refusal was fluted to be, that a minister from the King of England, demanding to have his Envoys admitted to the Congress of Luneville, conjointly with he plenipotentiaries of the Emperor. From that moment the government was obliged to break the armiftice that the remainder of the autumn might not be loft in idle conferences. Gen. Moreau was ordered to acquaint the General of the enemy with the preliminaries, the fame that appeared in the Official Journal; and to inform him that if they were not ratified within 24 hours, or if the Emperor stand further explanations, the three garrifons of Ulm, Ingolfladt and Philipfburg, fhould be given up to the French army, otherwise hoftilities fhould be re-commenced. The government has alfo informed the King of England, that it fees no inconvenience in admitting his Envoys to the congress of