NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER,

AND

WASHINGTON ADVERTISER.

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Address to Subscribers.

Two years have elapsed since the first appearance of the National Intelligencer. During this period much has occurred abroad to awaken curiosity, and much at home to excite interest. The intrinsic importance of the events that have occurred has necessarily and properly produced these effects. It had been well for the national character, if other effects had not accompanied them. Unfortunately for the peace of society, party violence has burst forth with unbridled fury, and threatens to prostrate the brightest talent and purest virtue of the community.

The transfer of power from one set of men, governed by certain political principles, to another set of men guided by different principles has kindled a resentment that prescribes to itself no limits; and too many of our presses, administering to its gratification, are filled with the basest and lowest detraction.

Under these circumstances it becomes the Editor of the National Intelligencer openly and distinctly to assign the rules of his conduct; rules which he has found no reason to abandon, and which it is not probable he will ever relinquish.

Believing the freedom of speech and of the press to be one of the great bulwarks of our liberties, it has been and shall be vigorously sustained. That freedom consists in the temperate discussion of all principles and measures on which the general happiness depends. While on the one hand, it holds no principle too sacred for examination, it forbids all personal slander and vulgar language. The National Intelligencer, therefore, has not, and will not enter into personal warfare with any wretch who by his crimes has abandoned himself to infamy, nor will it, elated with editorial consequence, make the nation the theatre of the petty feuds of hostile prints. Such falsehoods and follies will be left to their own fate. On the contrary detraction will be discountenanced, and the plain language of truth, whenever it shall be thought necessary, shall put down the slanderer.

Believing that our happiness essentially depends upon a republican government, and that such government is alike susceptible of abuse and improvement; whatever increases a love and respect for it, whatever tends to destroy its abuses or promises its amelioration shall be admitted.

Believing that the measures of the late administration tended to draw into disrepute the republican system by incorporating numerous and dangerous abuses, which were calculated with great rapidity to hurry us into the common vortex of ruined nations, those measures have been held up to public opinion as unworthy of imitation; while the measures of an administration, zealously attached to the republican system, and resolutely bent on keeping this country apart from foreign connection, have been enforced as the offspring of a wise and honest policy.

These measures are well known to the readers of the National Intelligencer, with the arguments urged as well in their opposition as support. Since the establishment of the paper, every document of importance has been given, and the debates of the legislature at a length which, it is believed, is unparralleled. Nor will the malice of party ascribe to them a want of rigid impartiality.

From this exposition, it will be seen that the Editor does not claim an exemption from decided political convictions. However the recluse student may shroud himself in apathy, the citizen of a genuine republic, in the midst of the political scene, must have little sensibility and less patriotism not to embrace with zeal one side or the other. If he believe the general happiness to depend upon the republican system, if he believe that system to depend upon the unimpaired enjoyment of peace, upon the moderation of taxes, and if he believe that the men now in power will insure these effects, while those in opposition would mar them, can he be indifferent? No fellow citizens, while we are moderate let us be vigilant; while we limit ourselves to truth, let us embrace that truth with zeal; and while we desire the happiness of our opponents, let us take care of our own.

So long as the National Intelligencer is conducted on these principles, it may, without presumption, claim the support of the enlightened patriot. That support it already possesses in an eminent degree. But an extended subscription, while it rewarded the Editor, would enable him to improve the plan of the Paper, and to enlarge the sphere of its usefulness. Under this impression, and with this view the Editor requests the person, who shall receive the accompanying specimen papers, to obtain as many subscribers as shall be in his power, on one condition, which experience has proved to be indispensable, the actual payment by each subscriber of five Dollars in advance.

October 31st, 1802.

For the National Intelligencer.

CATO, No. V.

Mr. Smith,

Have not the present administration manifested a respect for, and compliance with the public will, wherever it could be correctly ascertained?

This is a strong, clear test of republicanism. Whatever may be the prejudices of other nations, it is our pride, that all good government is established, and ought to be administered for the general welfare. Our constitution was made to "promote the general welfare." It is the sacred duty of rulers, enjoined by their oaths, to support it, and by their sense of moral honesty, to do that, and that only which advances the national interest.

So far we are all nominally agreed. There may be men among us who *wish* the establishment of a different rule of action; but they dare not avow the treason that lurks in the recesses of their heart. They know, and long may they continue to feel, that the voice of the people, if not the voice of God, is a voice whose energy can appal, as it has appalled, all human opposition. All acknowledge that the people are the fountain of power; but all do not agree that this power should be exercised by the people for their own good, or that the people should be the supreme arbiter of that which promotes their happiness. There are those who deny these points; who contend that the people, though possessed of irresistible power, when uncontrolled, should rarely, if ever exercise it; who deny their competency to make laws for their own government, or even to select those who are competent.

These men are busily and perseveringly engaged in decrying the intelligence of the people, in painting in hideous colours the lawless rage of their passions, and in denouncing, under the name of democracy, whatever is truly republican.

Here are the roots of division that strike deep through the whole extent of our country, and from which spring those noxious principles which ambition and venality know so well how to direct to their sinister purposes.

Of those men, who hold these sentiments, there are two classes. The one avows, without a blush, its contempt for the *sovereign* people! the many headed monster! the swinish multitude! with whom it considers association contamination; while the other, more politic and profound, practises what it dares not profess. These last are demagogues on their tongues, but tyrants at heart. Hear them, and you would believe that their respect for the people transcends their respect for their God, and even that which they entertain for themselves. But observe their actions, and you behold a succession of measures made up of violated rights and usurped powers.

Scrutinise the features of this picture, fellow-citizens, and say whether they are not the features of federalism; I mean not of open and virtuous federalism, but of that spurious federalism, which, under the auspices of a popular name, has aimed its deadliest shafts at the vitals of liberty. These shafts are to be traced on our records in the establishment of a large standing army, never popular with a free people, in the imposition of burthensome taxes, in the attempt to embroil the nation in war, in sedition and alien laws, and in many, many other acts only inferior to these in turpitude.

These things have been done! Fain would the leaders of the federal van dash them into oblivion! Alas, for their views, they will either survive, or immortalise their authors! 'Tis true, the temple was not burnt, but the torch was light; and another day of protracted power might have conflagrated every rampart of liberty.

These things have been done by federalists! They have been done in shameful violation of national sentiment, of the proudest love of liberty, of the loftiest sense of its sacred claim. What have *republicans* done? What has the present *republican administration* done?

These republicans, and this administration, hold a different creed. They acknowledge the supremacy of the people. They believe that they are the depository of all power—that governments, being established for their benefit, ought to act in obedience to their will. Not that every mob or faction in the country should by the exercise of lawless force, sweep before it all constituted authority. No—This is the calumny of their enemies. By the people, they mean the whole nation. By their wills they consent, may they glory to be governed.

Taking the experience of their own country, they have, in every vicissitude of its affairs, seen no body, numerous or select, so competent to understand, and through the organ of representation pursue, its own interests, as the people. It is not pretended that even they are free from error, but it is believed that they are more free than any other body that could be selected. In one respect they have the advantage of any other body. *Their views are and must be honest*, because all men pursue faithfully their own good; while the views of any other political body may be, and generally are in some degree vicious.

The present administration, therefore, are devoted to the people, no less than the people are devoted to them. Between them there is no shame of association. Their destinies go together.

Respecting the public will, elated by no imaginary dignity, not despising the source of their elevation, they have faithfully laboured, while they enlightened the people, to discover their wishes, and to carry them into honest effect. It is to their labours that peace, with all its blessings, strikes its roots still deeper and deeper into our soil. It is to their labours, that the mad career of infuriate power in the prostration of all that was dear to men or freemen, has been successfully arrested. It is to their labours, that not one man among five millions can say I have been unjustly injured in my person, property, life, or liberty by the government.

And is this the administration that calumny in every form incessantly assails—calumny, that, in its chalice, mingles all the poisons of personal hatred, of disappointed ambition, of base ingratitude, and of gross vulgarity. Is this the administration, that these despicable passions strive to represent as hostile to the people?

From the London Courier, of Sept. 3d.

EXTERNAL POLITICS OF BONAPARTE.

France had many errors to repair in her external system of politics—Old friendships chilled or abandoned—imprudent alliances eagerly courted—the Porte neglected—Prussia sacrificed to Austria—all these errors had diminished that consideration, and preponderance in the scale of Europe, which she had attained in the reigns of the predecessor of her last ill fated Monarch. The revolution dissolved all her old connections, and, whatever faults or crimes it may have produced in her domestic, has eminently improved and ameliorated her system of foreign politics.

Her return to those principles which sound policy dictates, was apparent, even in the early periods of the revolution, and in the most critical state of her affairs. Pressed on all sides by foreign enemies, by enemies carrying on open war, and provoking and assisting domestic insurrection, France first turned her eyes to Prussia. It was so contrary to the real interests of Prussia to desire the humiliation of France, that we are at a loss to account for her entrance into the coalition. Some feeling of resentment for the conduct of the antient government might influence her—she might too have caught the enthusiasm of those projects which prophesied and promised the subjugation of the *enemy to social order*, and more than hinted the necessity of diminishing her territorial possessions. But whatever were the motives that drew Prussia into the contest, she soon abandoned them, and to her belongs the merit of having been the first nation that opened its eyes to the desperate enterprise in which the European powers had engaged.

It could not escape the sagacity of the Prussian Cabinet, that the most important advantages were to be derived from being the first to withdraw from the coalition. To husband its own resources, whilst the other powers were exhausting theirs, was not, perhaps, amongst the most prominent of those advantages. Peace with France would bring a vast accession to the weight and importance of Prussia in the Empire; the North would enjoy the blessings of neutrality, whilst the South remained a prey to the horrors of war, and all Germany would not fail to draw a comparison between the happy situation of the States under the protection of Prussia, and the miserable fate of those under the power of Austria. By this prudent policy, the Cabinet of Berlin gradually sapped the influence of the Cabinet of Vienna, and paved the way for that period when the Empire should no longer weigh any thing in the balance, as Head of the Germanic Empire.

From the day on which the Treaty of Basle was signed, we might almost say, from the commencement of the Revolution, France has persevered in the system of elevating the House of Brandenburgh. The vicissitudes of her fortune, and the contests and convulsions of parties and of factions, diverted her not from her purpose. Her domestic politics might change—one demagogue might be supplanted by another—a Robespierre might give place to a Reuble—the tyranny of the Committee of Public Safety might be succeeded by the despotism of the Directory—the Directory might be displaced by a Consular Government—Barras might be expelled by Bonaparte; but the foreign politics of France still remained the same, and were pursued with the same undeviating step and the same persevering ardor.

A few days only have elapsed since we have been enabled to view the accomplishment of her projects in the gigantic injustice of the indemnities.

History informs us, that the invectives which foreign powers indulged against the administration of Cromwell, before he had consolidated his power, were only surpassed by the meanness of their submission and deference to him afterwards. France, to whom the powers of Europe were to dictate, has become the arbiter of the fate of the Continent (we had almost said, of the world) and it is not amongst the least extraordinary events that have occurred, that all the great powers of Europe seem to enter completely into her views. She dictates laws, and they obey; she parcels out Germany, and they acquiesce; and she appears to have learned the secret of managing them all by the science (a science first taught in *their* school) of skilful dismemberment and plunder.

Her object in this system of indemnities is twofold: 1st. To elevate the House of Brandenburgh to an equal importance with the House of Austria. 2d. To render the House of Brandenburgh essentially dependent upon France. In other words, to introduce an uncontroulable French influence into the affairs of the German empire. And this effect she has produced—she has so modelled and managed the balance of Germanic power, that her interference in every affair that relates to the empire will become indispensably necessary, and will certainly be irresistible. A nation that can interfere with effect in the affairs of another nation, will never, it is to be feared, be in want of a pretext.

This plan of indemnity arrogates to itself the merit of being "most analogous to the political state of Europe, and most favorable to the maintenance of peace." To lay the foundation for permanent tranquility in a country composed of different independent states, it is necessary that the power of those states should be properly balanced. If Austria had formerly too much influence, she has now too little. In reality, Westphalia, Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria, though subject to different princes, have been by this artful scheme of indemnities, condensed and amalgamated into one power, capable of being directed at all times by France against the House of Austria. Prussia cannot maintain the elevated rank in which she moves, but by the strictest alliance with France. If France were to withdraw her support from Bavaria, would the electoral power be long respected by the Austrian eagle? Hence, we repeat, these states are in the hands of France but as one power, whose movements and resources she can direct at pleasure. Can it then be said, that any balance has been established, when Austria against all or one of these states is nothing, and when these states against Austria are every thing? In fact the emperor may be said to be almost driven out of the empire; and Germany, placed within the gripe of France, may expect to be governed by *Senatus Consulta* from the Thuilleries, with almost as much facility as the departments of the French Republic.

Hitherto we have only taken a general view of the plan. Examined in its details, it will be found to have as little regard to the proportioning the indemnities to the losses as to the preserving or establishing an effectual balance of power. Prussia and Bavaria have been more than compensated—the most sanguine expectations of Wirtemberg and Baden have been exceeded. If the whole system were not obviously founded upon the principle of humbling the House of Austria, we should ask why, in addition to the extravagant compensation bestowed upon those two princes, they are to be elevated to the electoral dignity in preference to the grand duke of Tuscany?—The reason is evident. France gains a double advantage. The emperor of Russia is flattered by the distinctions conferred upon his kindred, and the emperor of Germany will be deprived of a majority in the electoral college of the empire.

It is not a little curious that the first event that has taken place since the promulgation of this *pacific* plan, has been, the assembling a hostile army on the frontiers of Bavaria, for the purpose of opposing an arrangement "from which this very Austria is to draw the *immense advantage* of seeing all her possessions concentrated." It should seem as if she viewed this advantage of concentration with the same feelings as the man who was *concentrated* in a corner to be attacked with more effect by a host of enemies. He would have been better pleased with a little enlargement of territory.

Amidst these scenes of plunder, we ought almost to offer an apology for raising one voice in defence of the insulted cause of morality and justice. Because the ecclesiastical electors have been deprived of their territories on the left bank of the Rhine, they are to lose the remnant of their possessions on the right: to be subjected to all the miseries of a Ban of the empire; to be turned from their palaces, denied the shelter of the humblest of their peasants cottages, and their white and venerable heads to be exposed, houseless and homeless, to every warring wind of Heaven. Oh sad reverse of fortune! Oh unwearied chastisement!

In this scheme of partition nothing is sacred—it proceeds upon the principles of pillaging the weak to gorge the rapacity of the strong. The poor priests and the defenceless Imperial towns are huddled and packed together like so many negro slaves for sale in the West-Indies. The principal merchants, the Wirtemberg, the Baden, the Prussian, and Bavarian, are admitted to take their choice, and the rest are thrown to be divided among the lesser dealers. Here we meet a prince carrying away half an abbey and a whole convent of nuns—there we see his less fortunate brother with the other half of the abbey and a cargo of monks. This count slips away with a town without territory—that is forced to content himself with a territory without a town. Nothing is grand in the scheme but the guilt. No beauties of proportion are preserved—the whole is a hideous, misshapen mass. The constitution of the German empire, which harmonized the different states, and established the independence of each, whilst it united the whole in one common band; which gave to industry and commerce a political weight and importance in the state, and softened the asperity of the military orders by mixing and associating them with the learning and piety of the ecclesiastical; all this constitution is destroyed for ever. A foreign influence has been introduced into the state. The politics of France have diminished the importance of the head of the empire, and have raised a powerful rival in the House of Brandenburgh; but the rival of the Imperial must be the tool of the consular authority, and dearly has she purchased her elevation, by laying all Germany at the feet of the French Republic.