a guarantee and the importance of protection.

Even amidst so much hostility, when almost every power combines with France and acts by her direction, it does not appear that we have cultivated any close correspondence with Austria. The two powers that, in an especial manner seem to be the mark at which the projects of France are levelled, stand at a distance from each other. Neither a community of interests, community of insults, nor community of danger, has produced sympathy of union. No common effort seems to have been made to resist the dictatorial mandates of France and Russia in the affairs of the empire. Surely England has as much interest in the affairs of Germany as Russia, but has she ever been consulted—has her "good advice" ever been asked? We know not what effect the fear for the safety of Hanover may have upon the acquiescence of our ministers, in the project of indemnities, which annihilates the influence of Austria in the empire, and confers it directly or indirectly upon France. If it could produce a timid acquiescence, instead of giving a firm stand on the continent, it only becomes a badge of security for our dependence upon France; and in this light certainly the French consider the subject.

It is nunc-fitary to recapitulate the other powers of Europe, over which France exercises the most unlimited control.—We cannot find in all Europe a single ally, a fast friend, or even a useful dependent.

We do not deny that this deplorable state of things is in a great measure the consequence of the late fatal and ill-conducted war; but it is evident that ever since the peace, things have been daily growing worse. Since the peace France hath completely subdued or won over the cabinet of Petersburgh. Had ministers no means of counteracting that influence in a court where we have so many sources of influence? Since the peace France has completely recovered her authority over the Porte; and the now exhibits the extraordinary example of what French politicians consider incompatible, a close alliance with Russia and with the Turks. But the power and activity of the French government smooth all difficulties and reconcile all contradictions.

The facts we have stated, and which might be illustrated in great detail, are the test by which to try the merits of the administration of our foreign affairs. It is for lord Hawkesbury to shew by what unfortunate circumstances it has happened that our influence has been so completely banished from every court of Europe. Either his measures and his agents must have been all chosen, or he must complain of *his fortune* as Bonaparte rejoices in *his*. But indeed the French in many things point out the expedient we should follow. They leave no effort unemployed to compass their objects. They employ all sorts of agents. While our diplomatic men slumber out their million in idleness, or appear merely at the parade of a levee, the French penetrate into the secrets of every cabinet, and acquire the direction of every resolve.

The tories, however, of the remnant of which the present ministry is chiefly, and of the principles of whom it is entirely composed, may affect to depreciate the importance of continental connections. Between the use and the abuse there is infinite difference. We ought neither to be the slaves of the continental powers, nor altogether indifferent to their concerns. Always to have an interest wherever it is practicable to oppose the extension and aggrandizement of France. This can only be done by a judicious alliance with those continental powers which have the same interest to pursue. For England to withdraw wholly from the continent, or feebly to exert her influence, is a dishonorable abdication of a great dignity, and of a great power conferred by providence for the general happiness of mankind. The present aggrandizement of France is the consequence of what we had not done, and what we have attempted unskillfully.

In truth, whenever the power and influence of England are exerted upon the continent in favor of sheriffs, it is not with a mean and selfish and occasional purpose of stirring up war for the sake of a diversion, it will be beneficial to our neighbors. The influence of England is conservatory—that of France is offensive, violent, and destructive. E. land interferes to preserve—France to change and destroy. Yet when the objects of the one are so laudable, those of the other so odious and destructive, why do the French succeed so much better and act with more system, perseverance and constancy.

In a word the *federative* power of the nation at the present moment is absolutely null. One great member of our political body is thus cut off. The *military* as well as *federative* power of France is at a height it never before attained. What would our great statesmen of the last age—What would the whigs have said to such a state of things under the house of Bourbon, and is France better disposed to us now than formerly? Many people repose with an unthinking security on our commercial prosperity. To say that France is not so rich as England, is to say that a soldier is not so rich as a merchant. France is a most formidable military power. If England is suffered to decline as she has to great by done in political importance, it will be very idle to boast of our commercial prosperity. A nation of poor soldiers is a dangerous neighbourhood indeed for a nation of rich merchants. This country combines, as Mr. Burke truly observes, more great objects in the arms of its government than any other. We have hitherto combined political power with commercial prosperity, and truly the former is the only security for the latter. Nations, like individuals, have their peculiar professions. That of France at present is arms exclusively, and she cultivates it with an intensity of aim that will render her a most formidable. Indeed she is the more formidable from being so exclusively warlike. In this country our profession is mixed. The commercial character, from our forefathers in its purlinus, is in danger of becoming predominant, and thence sad undone. Arms, glory and dominion, the sole objects of France, are with us collateral. Our ministers are financiers, and nothing else. We have made war on financial calculations, and on the rules of Cocker.

Mr. Pitt never made a speech like a flatesman in all the last contest. He pleased himself and deceived others by vaporing harangues about the energetic resources of our country, as if he had a merchant's clerk, bragging to his master of the profit of the last year's adventures. In truth, the fall war was carried on and supported upon very mean principles.—Those who (wisely & unwisely) think that it a necessary war, and would have carried it on upon great principles, never for an instant had the smallest share in its direction. Great as the object of commerce is, we ought not to allow it to much to sway upon our national character, and to infest with something mean and peddling our national counsels. Let us not fall ourselves with the conceit that we are a great nation merely on the authority of the Colonchalch returns. We must preferve our political power; we must recover consideration which we have so shamefully lost; we must, as formerly, be courted and respected by the nations of Europe; if France continues to spread over the continent and exert such influence, as she now does, the nation of merchants will be subdued by the nation of soldiers; and England, which first emerged from barbarism into the view of Europe, as a Roman province, England, which has all thrated herself by arts and arms, may be doomed, through the imbecility of her commercial age, to see her letting glories extinguished under the rod of a prefect of Gaul.

From the National Argus.

TO THE PEOPLE.

No. XIII.

Fellow Citizens,

Of all deliarable objects, of all unknown expeditions, the most valuable would be those, by which falsehood could be detected, and true principles propagated, in times of great political contention. Could this be effected, deep differences would subside; a furious party spirit become cool, or be borne down; tranquility would be established; an ufeful confidence be placed in government, and a dignified direction given to the public sentiment, throughout the nation. Although so happy a condition is not attainable, yet if all persons, who honestly wish their country's good, were candid in their enquiries, and faithful in their purfuits of those measures which their judgments approbate, yet a portion of the United States would be torn, distracted and disgraced, by the wantonness of faction, or the more deleterious and maddening effects of the frauds, falsehoods, and dandiers, of deliperate and unprincipled individuals. The prefent difficult way to correct so pernicious an evil, and to depoil thefe defamers of them power to influence, is to furnish the great body of the people with fome leading facts and principles, by which they may form their opinions. If this can be accomplifhed, in truth, and in good faith, it conftitutionally laboring for the fafety and prosperity of the public, and not, as defamers fay, for individual aggrandizement, to its injury or deftruction; his reft people will be fatisfied. If it is true that the legiflature and executive are, feriouily, faithy, and intelligently, confraing the conftitution according to its true intent and meaning, and, in the formation and execution of the laws and their duty, are affiduoufly confarming to its real defigns, principles, and provifions, as they were originally underifood and contemplated by the people, *they* will fupport them. Where this defign and meaning are not underftood, the conftitution is underftood; where thofe are complied with, this is conformed to;—the oath of office to fupport the conftitution, is an oath to preferve thofe principles, and to execute thofe provifions in the genuine fenfe in which they were viewed by the makers and adopters of the inftrument containing them. Indeed thefe principles and thofe provifions, in fuch a fenfe, are the conftitution itself. The officer who alters this meaning, violates his oath; he who depreciates their utility or their practicability, is an Anti-Federalift. He who oppofes them is a diforganizer; and he teach who dares to fubftitute in their place, a principle of force, terror, fraud and corruption, or a fyftem of pride, privilege, arifto-cracy and patronage, is a *parricide*, and commits an act of treafon to his country. If the Conftitution is deficient, let it be made more perfect;—if the government is too weak, give it ftrength; if the Executive wants more energy, enlarge its powers; if too limited, let them be extended. But let this be done, not by ftealth, not infenfibly, not by fubtlety, art and management, not from a perfuaiion conftruction, not pittering here a little and there a little of an increafe of power, and an extenfion of prerogative. But let it be done by the People; let power be fairly delegated, expreffed in an amended conftitution, adopted, legitimated by thofe, from whom all power is flifl derived. This will be fafe for the prefent, and fafe for the future; for the people, and for thofe who may govern. In civil contentions there will then be an agreed criterion by which to decide. In political convulfions, a rallying point, an explicit tefts, which cannot be feen and reforted to. If our own, or the experience of others, have given us a prediction for the fopperies and follies of the old world; if it has prepared us for the tinkering of fyftems, and the fhifting, to meet the degradations and the privations, appendant to their fyftems of government, vaffalage, and mifery; if, from the trials they have made, the people are already convinced there is too much trouble in being always on the watch, too much expence in the care of themfelves and their higheft concerns, too confiant a labor in the frequent election of their rulers, and in the inveftigation of the principles of their conduct; if, in fhort, they are fick of a freedom which alone can give dignity to man, and make life happy, then let them abandon thofe laborious and expenfive, but all important, privileges, to thofe who are claiing their furrender. Let the new modelled conftitution, by an explicit act of our own, confide the care of ourfelves, and confign our poftterity, with all the involved confequences, to the management of a hereditary Senate, and to the gracious difpofal of an hereditary Senate, who will fave us from *our worst enemies*, OURSELVES.

Although any fuch arrangement, or any material change of our government, would be dangerous, it would be dangerous to the very fouls of Americans, with few exceptions, yet *they* are not fufficiently awake to the importance of a ftrict adherence to their old principles, and the danger of the gradual, redical, and ultimately ruinous changes, from fmall, gradual, but conftant deviations. If the people will be faithful to themfelves, their government will be perpetual, and their latell generations be great and happy under it. The great bufiefs of politics is on principles, which ought to make every voter a party. The active of both fides call on the people to fupport their government and the conftitution, and accuse the oppofers of inimifitiy to both. In a country, indulged with freedom of thinking, and of communicating the refult of reflections, there muft be a diverfity of fentiments, on the expediency of fubordinate principles, and political difcuffions, relative to variety of expedients. From this, in itself, there is no evil. The danger is from the extreme, and from the mode of managing them, by queftioning or facrificing the great and fundamental principles of a free government to their fupport. Political difputes, if confined to bounds, and managed with temper and intelligence, would be generally falutary, feldom injurious, never ruinous. The final refult would be, an increafe of wifdom and of ftrength to the civil eftablifhment; of ultimate harmony and ftability to the union; and of folid force and duration to the provifions of the conftitution.

In all civil contentions and inveftigations of the theory and principles of government, the people will be much influenced by the opinions of men of learning, wifdom, ftudy and experience; and it is right they fhould be. If thefe opinions have been formed, unbiaffed by prejudice and abftracted from fhifter or perfonal views, they merit refpect. Propofitions approved under fuch circumftances ought to be embraced, and not fuddenly given up. But no politician, no ftatefman in office, in warm party times, with his intereft, pride, feelings, and place depending, can be relied upon. In deliberating, he will be in danger of miftaking feeling and intereft for fentiment, his party for the public, and habit and prejudice for the convictions of the underfiandings. This was in a degree infiftrated, in the tranfactions of the laft Seffion of Congrefs, and is remarkably fo, in the conduct of the leading partizans throughout the United States, at the prefent moment. We were then, and are now divided, not only on queftions of expediency, where a difference is natural, but on independent principles, queftions of conftruction, and matters of fact: as our party politics direct. It ought to be mortifying to our pride, with our fnalled powers of perception and reafoning, that the evidence of abftract truths fhould depend for its force, altogether, on the party we act with. One fide muft, from necefsity, be wrong. To decide which, and on the fame fubjects, the members of the leading characters, the confreemen of their principle, their mobility, and chiefs; it will be needful to ftudy and review the various reasons thereof which we have paffed, the principles of the prominent characters acting in them, and to bring together kindred things which time has feparated.

In my laft I recited, from ftate conftitutions, principles which were once confidered as important, and effential to the fafety and freedom of the people, and which, as yet, every officer acting under them, fwears to preferve them. When thefe conftitutions were formed, we were at peace among ourfelves. Things were viewed with unfcpaffioned minds. Truth was received as it prefented itself, and applied as wifdom and experience directed, for the good of the country. The national government was framed under ftill more advantageous circumftances. The officials and the objects of both, may, fo far as a reliance ought to be placed on the authority of any individual, be learnt by the fentiments of a gentleman, to whom *Massachusetts* is indebted for the moft valuable and democratic part of its conftitution; and the continent at large, for eminent republican fervices. In 1776, on the application of the honorable GEORGE WYTHE, of *Virginia*, to the late prefident, for his opinion, he difclofed thoughts on civil government, MR. ADAMS, as appears by a *Boston* paper, published in 1790, expreffed them in a letter, from which the following are extracts:

"If I were equal to the tafk of forming a plan for the government of a colony, I fhould be flattered with your requeft, and very happy to comply with it; becaufe, as the divine fcience of politics is the fcience of focial happinefs, and the blefings of fociety depend entirely on the conftitutions of government, which are generally inftitutions that laft for many generations, there can be no employment more agreeable to a benevolent mind, than a refearch after the beft.

"Pope flattered tyrants two much, when he faid,

"*For forms of government let fools contest,*
"*That which is best administered, is best.*"

"Nothing can be more fallacious than this: But poets read hiftory to collect flowers, not fruits—they attend to fancifull images, not the effect of focial inftitutions. Nothing is more certain, than the hiftory of nations, and the nature of man, than that fome forms of government are better fitted for being well adminiftered, than others.

"We ought to confider what is the end of government, before we determine which is the beft form. Upon this point, all fpeculative politicians will agree, that *the happiness of society is the end of government*, as all divines and moral philofophers will agree, that the happinefs of the individual is the end of man. From this principle it will follow, that the form of government which communicates *ease, comfort, security*, or, in a word, *happiness* to the greateft number of perfons, and in the greateft degree, is the beft.

"All fober enquiries after truth, ancient and modern, PAGAN and CHRISTIAN, have declared that the happinefs of man, as well as his dignity, confifts in virtue. CONFUCIUS, ZOROASTER, SOCRATES, MAHOMET, not to mention authorities really facred, have agreed in this.

"If there is a form of government, then, whofe principles and fundamentals are virtue, will not every fober man acknowledge it better calculated to promote the general happinefs, than any other form?

"Fear is the foundation of moft governments; but is a *bad and debasing passion*, and renders men in whofe breafts it predominates, fo ftupid and miferable, that *Americans* will not be likely to approve of any political inftitution which is founded on it.

"Honor is truly facred, but holds a lower rank in the fcale of moral excellence, than virtue. Indeed, the former is but a part of the latter, and confequently has not equal pretenfions to fupport a form of government, productive of human happinefs.

"The foundation of every government is fome principle or paffion in the minds of the people. The noble principles, and moft generous affections in our natures, have fuch a fair fcope and chance to fupport themofbleft and moft generous models of government.

"*A man must be indifferent to the sneers of modern Englishmen, to mention in their company, the names of Sidney, Harrington, Locke, Milton, Needham, Neville, Burney and Hoadly. No small fortitude is necessary to confess that one has read them.* The wretched condition of this country, however, for ten or fifteen years paft, has reminded one of their principles and reafonings. *They will convince every candid mind, that there is no good Government but what is Republican; that the only valuable part of the British Constitution is so, because it is a Republic in the formation of its laws; that Empire of Laws and not of men*, that as a Republic is the beft of Governments, in that particular arrangement of the powers of fociety, or, in other words, that form of government which is beft contrived to fecure an impartial and exact adminiftration of juftice, is the beft of governments.

"In the profound exigency of American affairs, I think, by an act of Parliament, we are not out of the royal protection, and confequently difcharged from our allegiance; and it has become necessary to affume governments for our immediate fafety, the governor, Lieut. Governor, Secretary, Treasurer, Commiffioners and Assistants, Generals, Officers, chofen by joint ballots of both Houfes. And thefe and all other elections, especially of Repreffentatives and Counfellors, fhould be annual, *there is no being in the whole circle of the sciences a maxim more indisputable than this, where annual* elections and there fhavery begins."

Thefe great men, in this refpect, fhould be, once a year,

"*Like bubbles on the sea of matter borne,*
"*They rise, they break, and to the sea return.*"

"This will teach them the great political virtues of *humility, patience and moderation*, without which, every man in *power becomes a venomous beast of prey.*"

"A *rotation of all offices*, as well as representatives and counfellors has many advocates, and is contended for by many plaufible arguments. It would be attended, no doubt, with many advantages; and if the fociety has a fufficient number of fuitable characters to fupply the great number of vacancies, which would be made by fuch a rotation, *I am not no objection to it.* Thefe perfons may be allowed to ferve for three years, and then be excluded for three years, or for a longer or fhorter term.

"A militia law, requiring all men, or with very few exceptions, fuffficient cafes of conficience, to be provided with arms and ammunition, to be trained at certain feafons, and requiring counties, towns or other fmall diftricts to be provided with public fhocks of ammunition and implements of war, and with well-conceived plans for transporting provifions after the militia, when marched to defend their country against fudden invafions; and requiring certain diftricts to be provided with field pieces and companies of matrofes, and perhaps fome regiments of light-horfe, is always a wife inftitution, and in the prefent circumftances of our country, indispenfible.

"Laws for the liberal education of youth at the expence of the lower claffes of people, are fo extremely wife and uefful, that to a humane and generous mind, no expence for this purpofe would be thought extravagant.

"The very mention of fumptuary laws will excite a fmile. Whether our countrymen have wifdom and virtue enough to fubmit to them, we know not. But the happinefs of the people might be greatly promoted by them, and a revenue raised independent of them. In ancient times, *frugality is a great revenue, besides securing us of vanities, levities and fopperies, which are real antidotes to all great, manly and warlike virtues.*

"A conftitution, founded on thefe principles, informed with knowledge among the people, and infpires them with a conficious dignity, becoming freemen. A general emulation takes place, which caufes good humour, fociability, good of man, as well as the public, and good morals. That elevation of fentiment, inspired by fuch a government, makes the common people brave and enterprizing. That ambition, which is inspired by it, makes them fober, induftious and frugal. You will find among them little intemperance, perhaps, but more folidity; a little pleafure, but a great deal of hafinefs; fome politeneffs, but more civility. If you compare fuch a country with the rigiem of domination, where *monarchical, or aristocratical, you will fancy yourself in Arcadia or Elysium.*

"If the colonies fhould affume governments feparately, they fhould be left intirely to their own choice of the forms, and to their own conventional conftitution. Should be formed, it fhould be a congrefs containing a fair and a dequate repreffentation of the colonies, and its *authority should accredly be confined to these cases*, viz. *war, trade, dispatches between colony and colony, the Post Office, and the inappropriated lands of the crown, as they must be called.*

"Thefe colonies under fuch forms of government, and in fuch union, would be *incorruptible* by all the monarchies in Europe."

"You and I, my dear friend, have been fent into life, at a time when the greateft lawgivers of antiquity would have wifhed to have lived. How few of the human race have experienced the opportunity of making an election of government more than of air, fail, or climate, for themfelves or their children. When, before the prefent epoch, hafl there millions of people had power and a fair opportunity, to form and eftablifh the wifeft and moft fuitable government that human wifdom can contrive? I hope you will avail yourfelf and your country of that extenfive learning and moral fagacity, which you poffefs, to affift them in the formation of the happieft government, and the beft character of a great people.—For myself, I muft beg of you to excuse my entering on fuch fubjects, for this feafon, and that it fhould be known to the public, that I am not to be applied to on fuch fubjects, or to be ftrongly