ally if these traits have shed a lustre over his actions during the periods of political gloom that have so recently passed, let us not, because he does not coincide with us in every thing, banish him from our communion and confidence. If God has not endowed him with the same happy intuition we enjoy, let us, while we pity the weakness of his head, not denounce the purity of his heart.

Let me not be understood as being desirous of removing the necessary lines that distinguish parties in this country. Two great parties exist, whose principles and measures are at war with each other. While each retains its distinctive principles a solid or safe coalition is impossible. The attempt would be ruinous. But let it be recollected that the toleration here inculcated is confined to republicans, to those who possess in common the foregoing traits of character; which are precisely those in which the federal party were deficient when in possession of power. While, therefore, to that body of men belongs the same freedom of enquiry with that claimed for the republicans, they have no title to our confidence, until they abandon their characteristic sentiments.

True republicanism consists, Secondly, *In discussing the propriety of proposed measures, under a sacred respect for truth, and the influence of an unprejudiced and uninflamed judgment.*

The republican system is the offspring of wisdom and philanthropy. Its sole object is the public good. Its sole means the wisdom and virtue of the people. Whenever these means do not exist, or these ends fail to be accomplished, republicanism is but a name. How then shall these be attained but by diffusing information in the shape of facts and just reasoning? They require not the aid of passion or sophistry. These are the subterfuges of far different systems. The people, to judge correctly, ought to keep their minds cool and unprejudiced. Every man knows that this is the only road to prosperity in private life; and it is equally so in public life.

But, if my actions and motives are assailed with malignant fury by a political opponent, who totally regardless of truth calumniates my character, shall I refrain from manifesting my resentment by retaliation? This must depend on the nature of the libel, and the source from which it flows. In most cases, however atrocious the libel, it will not touch the character at which it is levelled. Scurrility carries with it its own antidote; and such is the debased state of the press, that it is generally considered as the homage paid to distinguished merit.

Cases do undoubtedly occur in which replies are necessary; but there are none in which the vindication of the character of a good and great man requires a resort to scurrility. Let then the enemies of our republican institutions enjoy the unenvied distinction of monopolising defamation in all its atrocious hues; and let its friends never adopt the pretext of tyrants, that good ends sanctify bad means.

In the third place, genuine republicanism consists in *resolutely going, however at variance with pre-conceived ideas, whatever length reason and the public welfare require.*

Under systems, founded in error or fraud, it is not surprising that the mere suggestion of reform should appal those whose sole claim to power rests upon the continuance of abuse. It is unquestionably to this source that we are to ascribe the hue and cry which have in the old world invariably attended every effort made to effect a change in the existing systems of government. And such has been the fury with which all changes have been opposed, and so powerful the hostile engines put into motion, arising from the consolidated corruption of ages, that even good men have doubted the expediency of attempting them.

But are there in this country any such causes? Are our circumstances the least similar to those of the nations of Europe? On the contrary, is it not a distinctive feature of all our political institutions that they ought to change with circumstances; that there is no other criterion of their goodness than their competency to advance the general welfare? Has not, too, every great step we have taken in reforming our constitutions and laws been for the better? Theory, then, and practice concur in enforcing the propriety of the course we have hitherto habitually pursued. The truth is, that our systems of government are but experiments by which the soundness of political principles are tested; and most of them having been more the result of theory than practice may in their full delopement exhibit numerous and fatal defects.

From these considerations, it would seem to be a necessary feature of republicanism to keep in constant view the operation of existing systems, to compare the effects of different systems upon the several communities in which they are established, and at a proper season to transplant into all, the principles which have stood the test of fair experiment. In doing this there is, no doubt, the greatest need of circumspection, of reflection, of patriotism. It should never be lost sight of that great effects can rarely be produced without the allowance of considerable time; and that the effort to precipitate them is generally destructive of the good, which, under a more cautious spirit, they might produce; that it naturally tends to excite suspicion of the motives, and enmity to those, who are their advocates. On points too, so deeply interesting as the structure of governments, which necessarily affect all ranks and different ages, personal considerations or temporary objects should be studiously avoided.

With an abstinence from these feelings, and with a zealous regard for the public welfare, and a mind enlightened by reflection and experience, we have nothing to fear from any plans of reform that may be suggested.

Is there not, likewise, one further reason for encouraging such a spirit of investigation? It is universally allowed, that the vigilance of the people ought to be habitual. Can this be the case, if there are not objects constantly submitted to them worthy of exciting it?—What objects can be more worthy of exciting it than those which involve the correctness or incorrectness of the elementary principles of their governments? May it not be hoped that in the discussion of these, the feelings of the combatants will be purified of much of that debased spirit which mingles itself with ordinary political collisions, and which has gone so far to degrade the national character in the eyes of the civilized part of mankind.

In the *fourth place*, genuine republicanism consists not so much in our abstract ideas of government, because the best and wisest men will differ on these points, as in the general tenor of our sentiments and actions.

This proposition we have already qualified. There is a certain limit beyond which political charity ought not to go. The sovereignty of the people must be allowed; so must the principle of representation, as being its only legitimate organ; and the necessity of rigidly circumscribing executive power, so apt virtually to swallow up the other departments. But with regard to the length to which the right of suffrage should be carried, the modification and distribution of delegated powers, and the periods of office; it is in vain to expect among republicans identity of ideas. On these points, we have shewn, that they differ from each other nearly as widely, as from their opponents. Wanting this criterion, we have, fortunately a much happier one in the general tenor of men's sentiments and actions.

If you entertain any doubt of the sincerity of their republican principles, mark their course for a succession of years. Their deportment in private life will shed no feeble light on their secret thoughts. Have they been virtuous, liberal, enlightened? Have they held a consistent language? Have they been industrious, and by the exercise of their own faculties strove to gain an honorable independence? These are the solid foundations on which the true republican character should rest. If to these, you can add that they have, on all public occasions, discharged uprightly the duties imposed upon them, and that they have in no instance sacrificed the welfare of the public to personal views, you can have no hesitation in pronouncing them republican.

In the *fifth place*, genuine republicanism consists in the habitual manifestation of respect for republican institutions and for the people.

This must be no hollow profession of devotion—a thousand demagogues have made this their ladder to power. It must appear more in actions than in words.—The want of this respect will perhaps be more evident in most cases than its possession. Those who want it will not generally openly avow their predilection for a monarchy or an aristocracy; but you will hear them pronouncing eulogiums on *energetic governments*; expressing their admiration of the *British constitution*; extolling whatever is English, and depreciating whatever is American; ridiculing the popular exercise of political rights; laughing at elections, and magnifying into flagrant excesses, their slightest deviations from decorum or good order. These men are not, cannot be, republicans.

In the *sixth place*, genuine republicanism consists in an habitual and cheerful submission to the will of the people as expressed by a majority.

However arduous the attainment of this duty, it is of cardinal importance; and he is *practically* not a republican, however pure his theory of government, who does not respect it. It results directly from the possession of equal rights, of which its non-observance is absolutely destructive.

So far as involves the independent and uncontrollable exercise of the powers of the mind it has its limits. These powers cannot be invaded. Whatever, therefore, the will of a majority may be, tho' I am bound to obey and respect it, while it remains in force, my mind remains unfettered; and if I consider it incorrect, I may controvert it by the weapons of argument and truth.

Genuine republicanism, in the *seventh place*, consists in a stronger attachment to measures than men, in an attachment so strong as to prevent a violation of the former from a regard to the latter.

This also is a duty of difficult performance. Men become the objects of our esteem, our affection, our veneration.—Accustomed to look up to them, from our earliest years, as models of patriotism, we repose the highest confidence in their motives and actions. In our estimate of these we do not always make a proper allowance for the influence of time and the intoxicating seductions of power. We do not realise the mournful truth, that power is a great magician that most wonderfully, and miraculously metamorphoses the human heart; we do not realise the truth, that such metamorphoses are often effected without the consciousness of those who are their victims, or that it is possible for a man, without himself being apprised of it, to cease to be a sincere republican. All these things, & many more, must be realised; feelings, painful because they cherish suspicion of our friends, must be indulged to a certain extent, before we can be ready to pronounce that our attachment is stronger to measures than men. And yet without this trait of character, how precarious is the tenure of our political principles!—We are led blindly by authority, when we ought to submit only to reason.

Let it not, however, be imagined that this necessary trait of character is inconsistent with a strong attachment to men. On the contrary, it is perhaps productive of the strongest attachment to them in a good cause. Having examined the nature and tendency of the measures of men, and having found them virtuous and wise, the vigor with which I support their authors will be increased; they become, in fact, my own measures, such as I would, were I similarly situated with them, adopt.

In the next place, genuine republicanism consists in a cautious abstinence from the exercise of all unnecessary power, leaving to individuals the unmolested pursuit of their own concerns, where it does not injure others:—

In the imposition of light taxes on ordinary, and of equal taxes, on all occasions:—and,

In the habitual maintenance of peace, unless driven to arms by the systematic and deliberate aggressions of an enemy.

These are *bold and unerring criteria* of genuine republicanism. He whose public life, for a succession of years, has indicated them, must be a republican.—In some subordinate points he may wander from truth, but in its essential characteristics he is her apostle. True to these principles, and carrying them invariably into practise, his political orthodoxy ought not to be questioned; whatever temporary clouds may shade his fame, its effulgence will eventually only shine the brighter.

These constitute the broad basis of separation between federalists and republicans in the periods of their power. The career of the former exhibited a steady violation of them; that of the latter has marked an undeviating devotion to them. This fact has been so luminously established by the able discussions with which the public prints have for some years teemed, and its truth is so deeply fixed in the hearts of Americans, as to require at present no illustration.

In the last place, genuine republicanism consists,—In strenuous and persevering exertions, by promoting education and the arts, to raise the poor to a state of comfort and independence, and to enlighten the whole community, so as to render them better able to enjoy personal happiness, and maintain social rights.

On this point republicans are all agreed in their closets; but are they in their conduct? Possessing the power to accomplish this vast object, do they zealously use it? Have they done all they could to effect it?

These are solemn questions. They ought to be repeated, without cessation, until the people, with one voice, demand the vigorous and effectual exertions of their representatives. The time has arrived when this becomes a paramount duty. Its instantaneous effects may not be so great as the extinguishment of the national debt, the reduction of taxes, or the maintenance of peace; but its eventual effects will infinitely surpass them. It will require many years to enlighten the rising generation; but enlightened they must be, or their liberties will perish. Let us not deceive ourselves! The ignorance of nations has made or keeps them slaves. Knowledge alone can make or keep them free. Let us then consider a solicitude to diffuse it, as an indispensable trait in the character of a republican.

These observations have extended much beyond expectation. The great duties they inculcate, are forbearance, vigilance, and freedom of enquiry. Mutual toleration among republicans will give a strength, consistency and vigor to their common plans, which alone can enable them to blast the hopes of their enemies; vigilance will guard them against the perils of misplaced confidence, and freedom of enquiry, conducted with temperance, will qualify them to select the best plans suggested for the advancement of the public welfare, while it sheds a light around them that will justify the confidence of a discerning people.

The *Legislature of Massachusetts* convened on the 29th inst. In the Senate 37 members attended. On proceeding to the choice of a President H. G. Otis (fed.) was elected by 19 votes, and John Bacon (repub.) had 18 votes.

In the House of Representatives 323 members attended. On proceeding to the choice of a Speaker, Timothy Bigelow (fed.) was elected by 169 votes, and Perez Morton (repub.) had 151 votes.

New York, May 31.

Gunboat No. 7, commanded by lieut. Ogilvie, returned yesterday from the squadron which sailed upon the —— inst. She had proceeded in company with the gunboats, and frigate John Adams, as far as lat. 37, and lon. 45, when she sprung her mast and was forced to put back to procure a new one. The accident occurred during a strong breeze of wind, and while under a press of sail, which they were necessitated to carry to keep up with the frigate.

Gunboats No. 2, 3, and 4, were spoken on the 14th inst. on the edge of the Current, 72 hours from Cape Henry. It is mentioned that they sailed remarkably fast.

LONDON, *April* 19, 1805.

The friends of Lord Melville and Mr. Trotter have set up, as their defence, that the public has been defrauded of nothing by all their speculations with the property which was (not) entrusted to their care. But the public is at this moment defrauded of every sixpence of the profits they have made by this illegal traffic; and that it may conjecture what may have been the amount of them upon 134,000,000l. sterling, which have illegally passed through their hands, let it be remembered, that Navy Bills have been at a discount of 15 per cent. that they bought Navy Bills with these millions; and if they could have employed them all in this speculation alone, the profits might have amounted to 150,000l. per million, or 20,100,000l. sterling.

Lord Hawkesbury, we understand has been appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, and is expected to be succeeded in the home department by Lord Harrowby.

SPAIN—ST. ROCH, MARCH 7.

In pursuance of orders issued by the commandant General, the battalion of Barbastree, with the company of carabiniers and artillerists, proceeded yesterday to the line; and the regiments of Gerona, of Cantabia, and that of the cavalry, kept themselves in readiness to march on the shortest notice. On the arrival of the troops, 50 carabiniers took post before the tower of Molinos, from the strand on the east side, to the opposite side; 120 men, armed with hatchets and other warlike implements, sallied from Fort St. Philip; 80 of those were commanded by Don Valdes, and the remainder by Don Cartates. The latter, at the head of his small party, conducted it to the stone piles which are situated at the foot of the mount on the north side, and Don Valdes marched directly against the English guard of the Devil's Tower, which he surprised. The English post was inclosed at the moment that resistance was attempted; the officer charged with the defence of this post was undressed in bed, and sleeping soundly. Two of the English were killed. The sentinel's musket missed fire; and the remainder of the guard fled to the citadel, and alarmed the garrison; on this both the Spanish detachments returned to their lines, taking with them the English officer and three soldiers, one of whom was mortally wounded. The Spanish fire ships had gone out of the river; but the night being too clear, they could undertake nothing.

DANCING SCHOOL.

Mr. GENERES respectfully informs the Ladies and Gentlemen of this city, that he has opened his Dancing School on the Capitol Hill, in the house occupied by Dr. May—The days of tuition are Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday in the morning; those ladies and gentlemen who wish to have their children taught, will please to apply at his Dancing School, where the particulars will be known.

June 5—3t

District of Columbia county, of Washington, to wit:

UPON the petition of JOHN BURNS an insolvent debtor confined in jail in the county of Washington, in the district aforesaid, praying relief under the act of Congress, entitled, "An act for the relief of insolvent debtors within the district of Columbia," it is ordered that notice of his application be given to his creditors and that on the 10th day of June inst. at 9 o'clock, A. M. at the court room in the Capitol the oath of an insolvent debtor will be administered to the said John Burns, and a trustee appointed agreeably to the said act, unless sufficient cause then and there be shewn to the contrary.

It is also ordered that this notice be published twice in the National Intelligencer and Washington Federalist before that day.

By order of the hon. Wm. Cranch, esquire, one of the assistant judges of the Circuit court of the district of Columbia.

U. FORREST, Ck.

June 5—2t

RUNAWAY NEGROES.

WAS committed to the jail of this county on the 12th inst. as a runaway slave, a negro man who calls himself BEN, about 40 years old, 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high, has a lump near his navel, one country linen, and one Oznaburg shirt, one pair white kersey and one pair tow linen overalls, stripped lindsey, striped Swansdown, and mixed cassimere jackets, one blue and one lead colored cloth coat, one pair nankeen and a pair corduroy overalls, old yarn stockings, two pair shoes and a new wool hat; says he belongs to John Willcox, late of Montgomery county but now of the state of Kentucky.

Also was committed on the 16th inst. as a Runaway slave, a negro man by the name of SAM, but says his right name is Eppy, about 25 years old, 5 feet 10 or 11 inches high, has a small scar on his left eye brow and on his forehead several scars on his right arm occasioned by a burn, same arm has been broke, a scar also on the back of his long head, has a coarse tow linen shirt and trowsers, blue jacket, old pair cloth trowsers and an old hat; says he belongs to captain Samuel Minnis but was lent to Dr. Timberlake or Timberlain of the state of Virginia near New town. Their owners are desired to come prove property, pay charges and take them away or they will be sold within eighty days from the date hereof agreeably to law.

L. HILLEARY, Sheriff.

Allegany county, Maryland.

June 5—3w

THIS DAY IS PUBLISHED,

BY SAMUEL H. SMITH.

—PRICE TWO DOLLARS—

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5. The speech of Mr. Harper on opening the defence.
6. The evidence on the part of Mr. Chase.
7. The speech of Mr. Early.
8. The speech of Mr. Campbell.

The advertisement prefixed to this edition will enable the public to form some opinion of its accuracy.

"The following report of the trial of Samuel Chase has been drawn up with the greatest care. To guard against misconception or omission, two individuals, one of whom is a professional stenographer, were constantly engaged during the whole course of the trial; and the arguments of the managers and counsel have in most instances, and wherever it was attainable, been revised by them. It is with some satisfaction that the editor of this impression is enabled, under these circumstances, to submit to the public a tract whose fidelity and comprehensiveness, he hopes, will amply reward the interest so deeply excited by the progress and issue of this important trial.

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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, to wit:

BE IT REMEMBERED, that [SEAL.] *on this twenty third day of April in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and five Samuel H. Smith of the said district, hath deposited in the clerk's office of the district court of the United States for the district of Columbia, the title of a book the right whereof he claims as author, in the words following, to wit: "The "trial of Samuel Chase an associate "justice of the supreme court of the "United States impeached by the House "of Representatives for high crimes and "misdemeanors, before the Senate of the "United States, taken in short hand by "Samuel H. Smith and Thomas Lloyd," in conformity to the act of Congress of the United States entitled an act for the encouragement of learning by securing the copies of maps, charts and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the time therein mentioned.*

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