FOR THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

THE FEDERALISTS.

A period of more than five years has now elapsed since the leaders of this party, were compelled by the indignant voice of a much injured & insulted people, to abandon the helm of state. They, however, flattered themselves with soon regaining their lost authority and influence—To effect which it was considered necessary to *destroy* the *popularity* of their successors, and particularly that of the *President*. A number of mercenary Editors were employed to "*write down the administration*," and the American character has been disgraced by the vile and infamous calumnies which have issued from these *Jacobine* presses. The virtuous and enlightened part of our citizens, however, saw with indignation, these base attempts to injure the character of their virtuous and patriotic chief magistrate; and at the late Presidential election, he was *re-elected* by the almost *unanimous* voice of the nation. Persuaded, from this strong proof of public opinion, that neither *calumny* nor *misrepresentation*, would produce the effect which they expected, they have found it necessary to change their mode of attack—The most insidious arts that can possibly be imagined have been practised to *foment division* among the republicans—Unfortunately these vile machinations have been too successful. By availing themselves of the *schism* among the republicans in Pennsylvania, they have gained an ascendancy in the councils of that state, to which their numbers by no means entitle them.

It is to be regretted, that for some time past, the Republicans appear to have been *lulled into a fatal security*. They have not sufficiently estimated either the numbers or the resources of their political opponents. They have not reflected that the federal party are still numerous, and that they are closely united, and act on all occasions like a *machine* which can be put in motion, and stop'd again, by a single person. They have not reflected that this party have at their disposal *more than one half of the presses* in the United States. In a word they have not reflected, that this party have many other powerful engines to promote their views, such as most of the banks, and all the agents of British merchants in this country—These considerations ought to shew the necessity of still viewing the federalists as opponents worthy of republican vigilance and jealousy.

Republicans—Your camp is still surrounded by implacable and irreconcilable enemies. They have long since *rejected the olive branch*, and *dashed the cup of reconciliation from their lips*. Many of them have been retained in office, but even among these are to be found *venomous vipers*, who are ready to *sting to death* those by whom they are fostered—The fact is, that this Junto have sworn *eternal hatred* to the *President*, and to every other person, who like him has uniformly adhered to the severe maxims of democracy. With certain characters they will no doubt unite, I mean with *traitors and apostates*—with these *honorable gentlemen*, they are willing to form "*an union of all honest men*"—but view their conduct towards firm and decided republicans, and it must convince every candid person that they have no desire to harmonise with the friends of the administration—The *die is therefore cast*, & it is to be hoped that the republicans will never make any farther overtures to this *implacable faction*, but that they will in future, act with a degree of *firmness* and *decision* worthy of the glorious cause for which they so nobly contended.

FRANKLIN.

We take the following impressive lines from the WITNESS, *wherein they are said to be original, but whether from the pen of Mr. Osborn is not stated.*

EXTRACT FROM
WAR.
A Poem not yet published.

****Such is thy lot, COLUMBIA, happy land!
Such may it be while time and nature stand.
PEACE! thee we hail, with gratitude sincere,
And bless the hand that waves thine Olive here.

While Eastern tyrants light the blaze of war,
And mete out woes too great for man to bear,
HIS* name unrivall'd on the lists of fame,
The just shall honor and the good proclaim.

O'er that *Old school* whose lessons are but groans,
O'er Europe's courts, and blood cemented thrones,
Rising, with nobler views his genius towers,
The rights of Man concentring all his powers.

From that old school of politics and laws,
He builds no plans—no precedents he draws—
On Nature's equal base his system stands,
LIGHT for its guard, and JUSTICE for its bands,
He asks no nation's spoils his fame to raise,
He courts no vain applause, no empty praise.
Wher tombs of tyrants crumble in the dust,
By their own slaves remember'd to be curst,
To deafer monuments of lasting fame.
His Country's love shall bear his worthy name.
On him in vain the storms of slander beat,
He hears the tempest howl beneath his feet—
Detraction's tongue in vain may strive to wound,
Back on the FEW their calumnies rebound.
At Freedom's sacred fane 'tis his to bend,
And his, in Peace, to make mankind his friend,
Virtue his bliss—his joy a country's good—
And his the laurel that's unstain'd with blood.

No more their conquer'd lands let monarchs boast,
So dearly purchas'd with the blood they cost.

And ye, proud wonders of triumphal stone!—
Ye chissel'd piles, that vaunt what arms have done!
Time bruving columns! monuments that tell
What conquest plundered, and what kingdoms fell!
Hence, low in dust, let your vain ruins lie,
While JUSTICE rears *her* pillars to the sky.

Behold the tressur'd land† his wisdom gain'd—
No conquest gor'd it, and no battle stain'd—
No heaps of dead, no scenes of dire despair—
No widow's tears, no wailing orphans there—
No slaughter'd thousands gasping on its plains—
Nor blazing towns, nor captive slaves in chains—
A nobler conquest fame shall long record,
Bought without blood, and gained without a sword!

**Jefferson.* † *Louisiana.*

WASHINGTON CITY.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 22.

At an annual commencement celebrated in Columbia College nineteen young gentlemen have been admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

[The following performance with the preliminary remarks, are taken from the Enquirer. It will be parused with interest from the importance of the topic, but *principally* from its presenting to the public, for the first time, the confidential message of the President of the sixth of December. With the exception of this document, we do not notice any new disclosures of facts or arguments, which have not already appeared before the public in a variety of lights; notwithstanding which we unhesitatingly publish the piece entire, that the nation may have all that can be said on either side. It is to be hoped that some member of the majority on Spanish affairs (as no one else will be competent) may give the public a view of the arguments offered in support of the measures pursued.]

REMARKS OF THE ENQUIRER.

The importance of the following *communication* must speak for itself. The editor has neither inclination nor ability to impart to it a higher interest than what it intrinsically possesses.

To such of his republican friends as may *expect* from him some apology for having lent his columns to its publication, his answer is fearless and ready. He has published this production:

Because he holds it to be a correct principle that the Press is free for the publication of *all* opinions and statements, relating to *public* matters, which are couched in decent and forbearing language. Let the editor of a public Journal devote *himself* to whatever side it may suit his conscience or his interest to support, he ought to recollect that his *paper* itself should be "opened to all parties, and influenced by none," with regard to any Essays which are tendered to him for publication:

Because however he may lament, in common with his republican friends, the temporary warmth and the petty schism of which such a communication may be productive, he cannot but rejoice at the discussion itself, which it is likely to provoke. *Now* all *mystery may* be *expected* to be at an end. The secret message of the President, the whole proceedings of Congress during closed doors, and it is to be presumed, the main spirit and force of the *arguments* employed by the republican minority during these secret proceedings, will now be laid before the nation. Nothing *seems* to be wanting to make the chain of History complete, but the arguments of the *republican* majority, and an entire view of the wishes and designs of the administration. All the *facts* will then be laid open to the people, and it will be in their power to form their own conclusions; to censure or condemn according to their unbiassed and unsuspicious judgments. Vague surmises will no longer pass for indisputable truths; nor *can* half-suppressed rumours about confidential messages, be *offered* as sufficient grounds for condemning the administration.

To such of his republican friends, who think that the confidential message of the President ought to have formed an exception to these principles, he has to reply; that he has published that message,

Because he can no longer hesitate to believe, that this confidential message has long since been in the hands of the very men, from whom *alone* it was important to withold it; the ministers of foreign powers resident in our own country:

Because even admitting the supposition that it is now for the first time to be presented to the cabinet of Madrid, its publication can have *no longer* any effect upon our negociation with that cabinet: As, long before the message can arrive in Europe, the negociation must either be broken off or successfully concluded:

Because he is well apprised of the fact, that this confidential message has *already* been exhibited to the eyes of *several* individuals, and he can see no satisfactory reason why the *people at large* should not have an equally *fair* opportunity of deciding on its merits:

Because he cannot entertain a doubt, that if Congress were at this moment in session, it would *itself* take off the injunction of secrecy from its own members.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENQUIRER.

SIR,

THE events of the last session of Congress have furnished ample cause of speculation to the curious, and of regret to every true friend of his country. The mystery which enveloped their proceedings, and beneath which some of their most important transactions yet remain shrouded, could not conceal from the most careless observer, that a schism had arisen in the republican party. But the causes which led to this afflicting event are still buried in obscurity. In the history of this memorable occurrence, all is darkness, confusion and contradiction.—The public mind, impatient of suspence, and as if despairing of further information, seems to have out-run the evidence, upon which alone its judgment should have been bottomed. So far as their opinion can be gathered from the public prints, the voice of the people has declared for the administration. In this decision, perhaps, it might have been the duty of the republican minority, and of their friends, to acquiesce, had a fair view of the subject been laid before the public. But knowing, as I do, from the most indisputable proof, that facts have been mistated, opinions misrepresented—much truth suppressed, and more falshood suggested;—approving at the same time, from my heart, the course which they have pursued, I am impelled to offer to the world some facts and observations, which may enable them to form a more just opinion of the conduct of the republican minority, during the last session of Congress, and of the motives by which they were probably actuated.

It must be obvious to the most superficial eye, that every consideration of a selfish or prudential nature, would have dissuaded any man, or set of men, among the republicans, from an open opposition to any leading and favorite measure of the Executive, at that juncture. The President of the U. S. had just been re-elected by a great and imposing majority of the people. The acquisition of Louisiana had given an eclat to the Executive, and cast a splendor around the administration, in which every minor defect of the government was eclipsed and forgotten. The colossal popularity of the President seemed to mock at all opposition. Unmindful of past and dear bought experience, the republicans had erected a political idol, on whose altars he, who dared to question its infallibility, must prepare to bleed. In this posture of affairs, all opposition was indeed a forlorn hope. There was every thing to lose, nothing to gain. The minority had only to compromise their principles, to betray their duty to themselves, their constituents, and their country, in order to enjoy the countenance of the administration, to ensure the approbation of the public for a time, and their own contempt forever. They had but to acquiesce in measures which their conscience and judgment condemned, and swim in ignoble security with the current of the day. They were not insensible to the danger of the opposite course; but whilst they coolly estimated the difficulty, they had the fortitude to encounter it. Let it be admitted, for a moment, that these gentlemen were mistaken in their views; still I pronounce, that he who does not applaud their independence and firmness, is unworthy of the name of freeman. They had the courage to assert and maintain the deliberate convictions of their honest judgment against the proudest authority, and preferred the hazard of their popularity to the surrender of their understandings and consciences. Let the people look to it. Is there any danger of a dearth of timeservers, under any administration which has the power of rewarding them? that due respect will not always be paid to the loaves and fishes? The history of this government, of every executive with regal powers, must answer the question. Let the members constituting the republican minority be dismissed from the confidence and employment of the people—can they look for any thing like independence in their successors? It would indeed be an idle expectation. They must enter upon their legislative duties with instructions to lay aside the suggestions of their own understandings, and conform themselves in all things to the wishes of the cabinet. The first lesson which they learned would teach them to consider any variation from the executive standard, as the most heinous sin in the political decalogue. Would such men dare to oppose any Presidential project, however criminal? From the very nature of their appointment, they must become the puppets of the administration, for the time being. A house of representatives so constituted, must dwindle into a mere chamber for registering ministerial edicts: and whilst the forms of the constitution were preserved, its substance would vanish.

On the third of December, 1805, the President's *public* message was laid before the two Houses of Congress. The aggressions of Spain were specially noticed. "With Spain, (says the chief magistrate,) our negociations for a settlement of differences have not had a satisfactory issue. Spoliations during the former war, for which she had formally acknowledged herself responsible, have been refused to be compensated, but on conditions affecting other claims in no wise connected with them; yet the same practices are renewed in the present war, and are already of great amount. Our commerce thro' the Mobile continues to be obstructed by arbitrary duties and vexatious searches. Propositions for adjusting amicably the boundaries of Louisiana have not been acceded to. Whilst however the right is unsettled, we have avoided changing the state of things, by taking new posts, or strengthening ourselves in the new territories, in the hope that the other power would not by a contrary conduct oblige us to meet their example, and endanger conflicts of authority, the issue of which may not be easily controuled. But in this hope we have now reason to lessen our confidence. Inroads have been recently made into the territories of Orleans and the Mississippi. Our citizens have been seized, and their property plundered in the very ports of the former which had been actually delivered up by Spain, and this by the regular officers and soldiers of that government. I have therefore found it necessary, at length, to give orders to our troops on that frontier to be in readiness to protect our citizens, and to repel by arms any similar aggressions in future."

It should be kept in mind that the "piratical acts" (mentioned in the second paragraph of the same message) "committed at the very mouths of our harbors, by private armed vessels, some without commissions, some with illegal commissions, others, with those of legal form, but transcending the authority of those commissions, plundering and sinking our vessels, and exposing their crews in open boats or on desert shores," were perpetrated chiefly, if not exclusively, by Spanish & French privateers, fitted out principally, from the Eastern ports of Cuba.

In the third paragraph, Congress was called upon to make effectual and determined opposition to the new principles interpolated into the law of nations:—in reference, no doubt, to certain decisions of the British court of admiralty. This address was re-echoed by a spirited (however precipitate) resolution of the Virginia Assembly.

On the sixth of December, the following confidential message was received from the President:

"The depredations which had been committed on the commerce of the U. S. during a preceding war, by persons under the authority of Spain are sufficiently known to all. These made it a duty to require from that government indemnification for our injured citizens. A convention was accordingly entered into between the minister of the U. S. at Madrid, and the minister of that government for foreign affairs, by which it was agreed that spoliations committed by Spanish subjects, and carried into ports of Spain, should be paid for by that nation, & that those committed by French subjects, and carried into Spanish ports, should remain for further discussion. Before this convention was returned to Spain with our ratification, the transfer of Louisiana by France to the U. S. took place: An event as unexpected as disagreeable to Spain. From that moment she seemed to change her conduct and disposition towards us. It was first manifested by her protest against the right of France to alienate Louisiana to us, which however was soon retracted, and the right confirmed. Then high offence was manifested at the act of Congress establishing a collection district on the Mobile, although by an authentic declaration immediately made, it was expressly confined to our acknowledged limits; and she now refused to ratify the convention signed by her own minister under the eye of his sovereign, unless we would consent to alterations of its terms, which would have affected our claims against her spoliations by French subjects carried into Spanish ports.

"To obtain justice, as well as to restore friendship, I thought a special mission advisable, and accordingly appointed James Monroe minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary to repair to Madrid, and, in conjunction with our minister resident there, to endeavor to procure a ratification of the former convention, and to come to an understanding with Spain, as to boundaries of Louisiana. It appeared at once that her policy was to reserve herself for events, and, in the mean time to keep our differences in an undetermined state. This will be evident from the papers now communicated to you. After nearly five months of fruitless endeavor to bring them to some definite and satisfactory result, our ministers ended the conferences, without having been able to obtain indemnity for spoliations of any description, or any satisfaction as to the boundaries of Louisiana, other than a declaration that we had no rights eastward of the Iberville, and that our line to the west was one which would have left us but a string of land on that bank of the river Mississippi. Our injured citizens were thus left without any prospect of retribution from the wrong-doer, and as to boundary, each party was to take its own course. That which they have chosen to pursue will appear from the documents now communicated. They authorise the inference that it is their intention to advance on our possessions, until they shall be repressed by an opposing force. Considering that Congress alone is constitutionally invested with the power of changing our condition from peace to war, I have thought it my duty to await their authority for using force in any degree which could be avoided. I have barely instructed the officers stationed in the neighbourhood of the aggressions, to protect our citizens from violence, to patrole within the borders actually delivered to us, and not to go out of them, but when necessary to repel an inroad, or to rescue a citizen or his property: and the Spanish remaining at New Orleans are required to depart without further delay. It ought to be noted here that since the late change* in the state of affairs in Europe, Spain has ordered her cruizers and courts to respect our treaty with her.

"The conduct of France, & the part she may take in the misunderstandings between the United States and Spain, are too important to be unconsidered. she was prompt and decided in her declarations that our demands on Spain for French spoliations, carried into Spanish ports, were included in the settlement between the U. S. and France. She took at once the ground that she had acquired no right from Spain, and had meant to deliver us none eastward of the Iberville: her silence as to the western boundary leaving us to infer† her opinion might be against Spain in that quarter. Whatever direction she might mean to give to these differences, it does not appear that she has contemplated their proceeding to actual rupture, or that at the date of our last advices from Paris, her government had any suspicion of the hostile attitude Spain had taken here. On the contrary we have reason to believe that she (France) was disposed to effect a settlement on a plan analogous to what our ministers had proposed,‡ and so comprehensive as to remove as far as possible the grounds of future collision and controversy on the Eastern as well as Western side of the Mississippi.

"The present crisis in Europe is favorable for pressing such a settlement, and not a moment should be lost in availing ourselves of it. Should it pass unimproved, our situation would become much more difficult. Formal war is not necessary, it is not probable that it will follow; but the protection of our citizens, the spirit and honor of our country require that force should be interposed in a certain degree. It will probably contribute to advance the object of peace.

"But the course to be pursued will require the command of means which it belongs to Congress exclusively to yield or deny. To them I communicate every fact material for their information, and the documents necessary to enable them to judge for themselves. To their wisdom then I look for the course I am to pursue, and will pursue with sincere zeal that which they shall approve."

This message with the documents accompanying it was referred to a secret committee consisting of Mr. John Randolph, Mr. Nicholson, Mr. John Cotton Smith, Mr. Mumford, Mr. Williams, of S. C. Mr. Bidwell, and Mr. Brown.

It may be proper to remark that this message, although deemed by the clerk (as he stated to the House) to be a part of the secret journal, which had been ordered to be printed, was nevertheless omitted; nor has the omission ever been satisfactorily accounted for. The House by a subsequent vote refused to make it public.

The chairman of the committee to whom the confidential meſſage was referred, immediately waited on the preſident and informed him of the direction which had been given to it; expreſſing at the ſame time his willingneſs and readineſs to co-operate, as far as his principles and judgment would permit, in ſuch plans as the Executive might have deviſed for the occaſion. He then learned, not without ſome ſurprize, that an appropriation of two millions was wanting to purchaſe Florida. He told the preſident, without reſerve "that he would never agree to ſuch a meaſure, becauſe the money had not been aſked for in the meſſage & that he could not conſent to ſhift upon

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* Coalition between Auſtria, Ruſſia, and Great-Britain, it is preſumed.

† Leaving Mr. Talleyrand "to infer," that it would afford him a ſecond glorious occaſion of dipping his hands into our pockets.

‡ Our miniſters had propoſed to ſurrender our claims to compenſation for the withholding of the right of depoſit at New-Orleans, and for ſpoliations, Spaniſh as well as French, and to eſtabliſh the Colorado as the weſtern boundary of Louiſiana. Although the Colorado is a vaſt diſtance to the weſt of the exiſting limit between the two nations, it was evident, from the face of the diſpatches, that our miniſters, in agreeing to eſtabliſh that river as the boundary, had been obliged to exceed the authority of their inſtructions; (the government of the U. S. claiming to the Rio Bravo.) This propoſition (the ultimatum on our part) was rejected by the court of Madrid with diſdain; and this ended the negociation. Yet France, it ſeems, was diſpoſed to a ſettlement on "analogous terms;" altho' Mr. Talleyrand had, in the moſt dictatorial ſtyle, declared that our claim on Spain, for French ſpoliations carried into Spaniſh ports, "muſt be abandoned."