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From the NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

That it is as natural for men, to differ in opinions, as to differ in size, shape, or complexion, will readily be allowed; but that they should preserve in doctrines contrary to the convictions of their own minds and to self-evident facts, shews at once such a perverseness of understanding and such a malignity of heart, as are not so easy to be accounted for. To the honor of the great body of the American people be it remembered, that they are free from those depravities. Though they had supported, with an honest zeal, the doctrines of federalism, yet, we now find, that they are susceptible of those manly convictions, which are ever characteristic of the true patriot and the upright man. We now behold with pleasure, that having discovered their delusion they are correcting the mistake! For honest errors every apology must be admitted, as the convert to truth and right reason, is entitled to the merits of an amiable character, and consequently, republicans can now receive into their bosoms their fellow citizens, who once so widely differed with them in sentiments. This is acting, in both instances, like rational beings, and like men who prefer the happiness of their common country to selfish considerations.—But unfortunately there are exceptions to every general rule, and consequently, there are to be found in every society, characters who have such a proneness to perfidy, that they sicken at the happiness of their fellow men. This must be owing to their suffering the passions in the first instance, to take a wrong bias, for certainly man is not by nature wicked; that would argue the necessity of vicious actions to promote his happiness. Where then shall we look for the cause? In that all disposing passion, self love, which in some men is so inordinate as to induce them to espouse any measure for its gratification. There is no tie so sacred that it will not unloose, there is no crime so wicked that it will not perpetrate. Uncontrouled, "it makes men idolizers of themselves, and would make them tyrants to others, if fortune furnished them with the means of doing it." Country, kindred and kind, are but secondary considerations to the selfish soul. Should they perceive their neighbor to increase in property or popularity, they set themselves in hostile array against them, in order to blast their promising prospects, and thereby enjoy the spoil. Such characters as those, fellow-citizens, are pests to society—such are the bane of all human institutions. Ever at variance with one another, for precedency, they are ever plotting the destruction of each other. It would be well for the world if their schemes and stratagems were confined to themselves, but as they find means of disseminating them among the honest and unsuspecting, and of drawing thousands into the vortex of their preconcerted villany. Thus involved, they can view, without concern, except only as it may affect their own personal purposes, contending thousands butchering each other. Not a principle of humanity operates in their hearts, not a particle of patriotism stimulates their actions.—It is for themselves alone they act, and should the dearest interests of their country, or of the universe be put in competition, they would sacrifice them to their desires. Are those men, or their measures, or their motives, then, to be encouraged; or are they not such as deserve the universal detestation of mankind? There is no well minded person who will not answer the latter part of this question in the affirmative. Yet they have been encouraged, and they have been sanctioned in every age and country, from the days of "Macedonia's madam to the Swedes," and both before and since, and will continue to be, so long as such demagogues and enthusiasts have any influence, or receive any attention from the people. The true patriots is the promoter of universal concord, and the devisor or cultivator of those measures only, which tend to meliorate the state of man; there is nothing selfish in his principles; whatever he desires for his own personal happiness, he also desires for his country, and for the world. Let us then mark the mighty contrast, and by discouraging the one and abetting the other, endeavor to bebome happy.

Violent and arbitrary measures, will produce like effects, and though all must feel the baneful consequences, yet all are for acquitting themselves of any imputation, as all are innocent, except those "calm thinking villains," who have been the instigators of them. Even those begin after a while to throw the fault one upon the other, and as the great body of the people know there is something wrong, yet from the circumstance of their close attention to their several employments, they are not immediately able to discover the source. At the same time, one of those fiends of discord, is busily engaged either in a town-meeting, or at a private convocation, for the purpose of making converts; his opponent is in some other situation employed on like occasion. My neighbor, for instance, is among the auditory of the one, myself among that of the other. Each of us, in our turn, imbibe their various and contradictory doctrines. We meet and we converse on the subjects; we differ of course, as widely as our orators, with this difference, that we are sincere, whereas they are not. Knowing, however, that a grievance exists, and in consequence of its being invelloped in clouds and darkness, by the sophistry of our champions, we set it down to the account of that side which we have been taught to condemn. From this moment we become professional opponents, without knowing why or wherefore, until at last the principles of charity and hospitality are entirely extinguished between us.—I associate with those partisans only, who coincide with me in principles that are not my own; my neighbor does the same; as we encrease in numbers we encrease in frenzy, till, in short, the matter becomes as really personal between us, as it was in the first instance betwixt our demagogues; and finally, it is left to posterity, or a few of ourselves who may survive, to see the fatal oonsequences, and to laugh or mourn at our folly. But when the wrong of a nation, or the commission of crimes, are not equally in the disposition of both parties, matters seldom come to this extremity. In such case the majority has the governing power, and measures are boldly carried into effect; therefore, it rests with the people to judge of the motive and of the action. For though it is a majority who is culpable of the crime, yet it is not a majority of the people, but of their representatives, or rather of a few intriguing men of influence in this majority; and if they have not a mercenery soldiery to interfere, all may be put to rights, as the people will find it their interests to displace them, and to appoint others in whom they can confide. Here then we see the cause of our late party struggle, exactly depicted. All the unwarrantable measures which we have heretofore experienced, originated on the side of the federalists: and as far as their short lived power authorised them to go, they were carried into effect. But fortunately, their calculations were erroneous, as it respected the chief engine for execution,—a standing army. Had the republicans been as susceptic of injustice, but impelled by an opposite impulse as to measures, the people would have been made the dupe of both;—"bloody fields and sights to come," would end only in the destruction of the one or the other; and finally, all would become slaves to either a single or a few despots. Such are the scenes which other countries have been marked with, when rival families, contending chiefs, heads of sectaries, or ambitious demagogues, have inveloped the whole body of the people in their disputes But alas! as neither equity, reason, nor humanity had the least share in those disputes, the people became free booters one upon the other, and the consequence was such barbarity, ignorance, and wretchedness, as required the work of ages to rectify the folly. But are those enormities to be imputed to the honest and industrious, who constitute the great body of the people; who live by each other from a mutual interchange of good offices; and whose greatest happiness depends on a reciprocity of all the social virtues? certainly not, for though they have been made the instruments of crimes, they have not been criminal; the act as it respected them, sprung from a pure fountain, a love of liberty and equal justice; but as it respected their leaders, was replete with the baneful poisons of ambition, envy, and premeditated murders of which poluted compound they had imbibed most copiously.

If mankind would but once learn the lesson of accommodation, and exercise themselves in the virtue of forbearance, until a proper understanding should take place; would they but consult their understandings instead of their passions, or their heads in place of their hands, most undoubted they never would suffer themselves to become the tools of tyrants, or the instruments of destruction to one another. But we are told, that mankind is prone to wickedness, and more ready to believe the foul tongue of slander than the fair page of truth. It is a falsehood? man is naturally a lover of justice and a lover of truth, and wherever he can find them unadulterated, he is ready to idolize both the one and the other with awe and veneration;—but alas! hypocrisy has so often assumed the garb of those heavenly attributes, and man has had so often to repent for his cruelty, that it is no wonder he should be slow to believe, even truth itself, without a demonstration. Enquire the cause of all this, and you will find, that it originates in the man of the greatest intrigue, enterprise, or cunning. Such a character is sure to be the first in coming forward, to offer his services, and as he is in no degree conscientious in making such professions as are best calculated to please, he is the most likely to succeed in gaining the confidence of the people. But lo! when he gets hold of the reins of royalty, he ceases to be a dissembler;—we then behold the hypocrite unmasked, and thus we are taught the first lesson of infidelity by the very persons in whom we had reposed the greatest confidence. This is not the worst of it, for those who happen to be next in power, soon catch the contagion, and perceiving by what steps he mounted the pinnacle of splendor, adopt the same measures to exalt themselves. Hence universal duplicity prevails among the higher ranks, and a general distrust and discontent amongst the lower.

From those considerations, fellow-citizens, it would seem, to be high time for mankind to have done paying any attention to plausible professions of specious appearances; but to turn their thou'ts on actions and results. These are speculations in which we are not so likely to be deceived.

It cannot be a very abstruce investigation, to determine whether an action is calculated to contribute to the general happiness of society when the end proposed is once effected; or if not effected, when in its progression, it is effecting it. And surely it requires no very extraordinary stretch of human understanding, to determine, what measure is best adopted to further the general good. We all know that the promotion of religious and civil freedom is one, the due distribution of general and impartial justice another, a rational plan of national economy and industry, a third, the encouragement of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, a fourth, the cultivation of harmony, domestic and foreign, a fifth, and in short, whatever tends to the melioration of all, in preference to local and partial purposes. Certainly that measure must be bad, when its consequences are bad; and whatever may the pretentions to the contrary, it either originated in ignorance and folly, or in premeditated injustice. When we hear of frequent insurrections, robberies, riots, and public executions, for such, in a country, we may depend upon it, that the fault lies in the government and governors, and not in the governed. That government must fall, and that policy must end in infamy, where distructive justice is partial and unequal; because it is the birth-right of man to have it impartial and equal. On the contrary, that policy must be pure, when experience has proved that its measures are virtuous; and that administration must be honest, when it carries those measures into execution, with equity, justice and promptitude. Let the base scribe, the hirling scribler, and the unprincipled politician, detract from the merits of such actions and motives, in whatever manner they may; they but added the more to their lustre. The more personal abuse a public character receives, when his private deportment and public conduct are blameless, the greater are his virtues and merits, as they excite in equal proportion, the secret envy and malice of the base minded. For certainly unmeritted abuse, is as much an encomium, as "praise undeserved is satire in disguise."

Now, fellow-citizens, let us take a circumspective view of our own concerns, and put the question to ourselves, how are we circumstanced in all those particulars? The answer must inevitably occur to every unprejudiced mind, happy in the best constructed constitution that could have been devised, which makes no distinction betwixt man and man, but such as his own actions may make;—blessed in a virtuous administration, which strictly adheres to the letter and spirit of this constitution and the laws emanating from it;—releived from those laws, the objects of which were to incur unnecessary expenses, foment insurrections, encourage persecutions, deprive us of our rights, as citizens, and the emigrant of the laws of hospitality and protection, as aliens;—prosperous at home, at peace with the world, except a few piratical robbers, for the purpose of self preservation; what have we to wish for more than a continuation of these blessings, and a universal contempt or reclamation of those foul fiends, who would wish to prostitute them. Surely this is not an exaggerated picture of our domestic happiness and of our national advantage—for I solemnly believe, that there is not an honest man in the union, who has not been misled, nor in the universe, who knows any thing of the matter, whose conscience would not sanction his subscribing to the truth of it.—What then can it be, but a perversity of mind, or a weakness of intellect, which prevents a general unanimity of sentiment.

Such fellow-citizens, is the tenor of our constitution, such are the principles by which our administration is governed: and thus established, and thus circumstanced, both the one and the other, may defy the shafts of envy and the malice of malcontent. Let not those characters say, that they are patriots or christians, though they profess to be federalists, who would declare, that they would rather see the country involved in anarchy and confusion, than that the present chief magistrate should preside; let not those men imagine that they are friends to their country, to truth, or to impartial justice, who assert, that this government is lax and fluctuating, and that there can be no peace or security amongst us, until it is converted into a monarchy; for maugre the propensities of the one, and the predictions of the other, the present administration has added, and will continue to add, union to the confederation, and stability to the constitution.

PLAIN SENSE.

From the NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

SERIOUS CONSIDERATIONS.

Addressed to all sincere Federalists.

No. II.

Fellow Citizens,

By the federal constitution, six important objects were provided for.

1. To form a more perfect union.
2. To establish justice.
3. To insure domestic tranquility.
4. To provide for the common defence.
5. To promote the general welfare.
6. To secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

The first words of our constitution, those which announce its great ends, are, "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves, and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America."

In these declarations, and the delegations of power which follow, the above objects will be found to be fundamental ones contemplated by the framers of the constitution, and by the people of the several states who adopted it.

It will be remarked that those are all general and national objects, which for their execution required general powers, incapable of exercise by the states in their separate capacities. Thence the necessity of a concentration of powers in a federal hand.

But so jealous were the framers of the constitution of the preservation of state sovereignty, that every department of the federal government is made dependant for its very existence, on the existence and will of the state governments. The president is chosen by electors, whose mode of election is prescribed by the state legislatures; the members of the house of representatives are chosen by the most numerous branch of the state legislatures, and according to the directions of those legislatures; and the members of the senate are chosen by the state legislatures.

Here then is a dependance absolute and uncontrolable. The state government may exist independently of the general government; but the general government cannot exist independently of the state governments.

This feature of our political system is first noticed, because into an enquiry into the correctness of all powers exercised by the general government, it ought never to be lost sight of. Its permanent language to legislators, is, "consider the state governments as sacred; they are the pillars of the whole structure; remove them and the whole falls, the general government as well as the state governments.

Indeed it appears that the object of the constitution was not so much to establish a distinct government independent of the states, as to establish one capable of uniting the wills of the states, and carrying them into effect, constantly subject to the control of the states in the above constitutional manner.

Holding this great feature in recollection, let us proceed to inquire in what degree the present administration have carried into effect the great objects of the constitution.

The *first* object was to form a more perfect union. This may be considered as a *generic* object composed of the *species* comprehended under it. Whatever tends to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty, contributes to form a more perfect union. How far therefore this object has been pursued and reached, must, in a great measure, depend upon the subsequent examination into the measure and degree in which the embraced objects have been regarded.

It may not however be unimportant here to remark that at no period since the formation of the constitution has there been a more decided majority of the people on the side of the administration of the government. These consist of the president elected by a majority of electors, whose elections was afterwards confirmed by the house of representatives antecedently chosen by two years, in the the midst of the administration of his predecessor, and in the plenitude of his power; of a senate wherein there is a majority of 8 members, and of a house of representatives wherein there is a majority of 29 members. When, in addition to this, it is observed, that twelve, out of sixteen of the state governments are on the same side, amounting to three fourths of the states, and which represent in the ratio of members five-sixths of the whole population of the United States, there appears to be proof sufficient to demonstrate the fact, that the principles and the measures of the present administration have eminently contributed to form a more perfect union.

There is one other view of the branch of the subject, that from its important effects on public opinion, is entitled to much consideration. It will not be denied, that governments and laws should, wherever there is a difference in communities, be the offspring of accommodation. Of such nature, it is acknowledged, on all hands is the federal constitution. If the statesmen who formed that instrument consulted such a magnanimous spirit, how impressive is the lesson to those who administer it to yield to the same disposition. This accommodation *may* be effected by a mutual cession of opinions by members of the same body. But this is of rare occurrence, as it will be generally found in practice, that majorities in popular bodies rule with absolute sway, and surrender little, if any thing, to the desires of of their opponents. Such, in truth, has heretofore been our experience.

It followed, that for many years antecedent to the late change of the administrators of the government, what was denominated the federal party ruled with uncontroled power. Regardless of the voice of the other part of the community, though frequently nearly equal to themselves, they gave their favorite construction to the constitution, and exercised according to their discretion the pewers delegated by it. Thus the confidence and co-operation of *their* constituents were secured; and with the increase of their confidence and co-operation grew their attachment to the constitution, and of consequence their devotion to "a more perfect union." While on the other hand, from the ordinary operations of the common principles of human nature, it may be inferred that their opponents, generally denominated the *republican* party, became disappointed at the failure of all their efforts, and began in a degree, to doubt the adequa-