

PROCEEDINGS AND ADDRESS

OF THE

SECOND CONVENTION

OF

DELEGATES,

HELD AT THE CITY OF TRENTON, ON

THE FOURTH JULY, 1814,

TO THE

PEOPLE OF NEW-JERSEY.

PROCEEDINGS

Of a Convention of Delegates of the People of New-Jersey, chosen in the several counties of said state, and held, by public appointment, at the city of Trenton, on the 4th of July, 1814.

The Delegates being assembled at ten o'clock proceeded to the nomination and choice of a President and Secretary, and did unanimously appoint the honorable WILLIAM COXE, President, and FRANKLIN DAVENPORT, Esq. Secretary.

On motion, *Ordered*, That the names of the Delegates be inserted in the minutes, as follows :—

BERGEN COUNTY.

John Outwater,
Robert Campbell.

ESSEX.

Aaron Ogden,
John N. Cumming,
Jonas Wade,
Philemon Elmer.

MIDDLESEX.

John N. Simpson,
Daniel Snowhill,
Moses Morris,
John Vancleve.

SOMERSET.

Richard Stockton,
Abraham A. Duryea,
Frederick Frelinghuysen,
Joseph Annin,
Thomas King,
John Frelinghuysen,
Martin Schenck,
Andrew Howell,
Frederick Vermule,
William Worth,
James Kinsey,
Henry Blackwell,
John Stryker,
John W. Scott.

MORRIS.

John G. Cooper,
Mahlen Ford.

MONMOUTH.

Thomas Henderson,
Elias Conover,
William Lloyd,
Robert Montgomery,
Richard S. Hartshorne,
Garret P. Wikoff,
Moses Sproule.

HUNTERDON.

James Stevenson,
William Potts,
Ralph H. Smith,
Charles D. Green,
John Phillips,
Lewis Phillips,
William Maxwell,
Aaron D. Woodruff,
Enoch Hunt,
Alexander Chambers,
John Scudder,
Lucius H. Stockton,
Nathan Beakes,
Benjamin Yard,
Charles Ewing,
David Manners,
Israel Carle,

Richard M. Green,
William McGill,
John Schenck,
John Lequear.

BURLINGTON.

William Coxe,
William Griffith,
Charles Ellis,
Richard Cox,
William Irick,
Samuel J. Read,
William Earl,
John Wright,
Caleb Earl,
Cleayton Newbold,
William Pearson,
Richard L. Beatty,
Benjamin Hollinshead,
Samuel Haines.

GLOUCESTER.

Franklin Davenport,
Joshua L. Howell,
Job Eldridge,
Dayton Lummis,
John Kinsey,
John Roberts,

Robert Pearson,
Elias D. Woodruff,
Edward Sharp.

SALEM.

Clement Acton,
Josiah Harrison,
Abraham Boyce,
Joseph Cook,
Philip Freas,
Charles Seely,
John Tuft.

CUMBERLAND.

James Giles,
Josiah Seely,
Ichabod Compton,
William B. Ewing,
Richard Campbell.

SUSSEX.

Jacob S. Thomson,
Robert C. Thomson,
Caleb Dusenbery,
John Kinney, jun.
Ezekiel Dennis.

CAPE-MAY.

Joseph Falkinburge,
Robert M. Holmes.

On motion, *Resolved*, That this Convention will proceed to consider on the alarming state of public affairs, and particularly on the means for constitutionally and speedily relieving the people of this state from the dreadful and increasing evils and dangers of mis-government and war.

Whereupon, after full debate on the principles and measures proper to be adopted at this time for the foregoing purposes, it was, on motion, ordered that a committee be appointed of thirteen members, (each county delegation naming one) to report a Ticket for Congress, draft Resolutions and an Address to the People of New-Jersey, in conformity to the instructions and sense of this Convention—and that they report at four o'clock in the afternoon.

Whereupon the following delegates were chosen for said committee :—

For Bergen,
Essex,

Robert Campbell.
Aaron Ogden.

Middlesex,
Somerset,
Monmouth,
Hunterdon,
Morris,
Burlington,
Gloucester,
Salem,
Cumberland,
Sussex,
Cape-May,

John Vancleve.
 Richard Stockton.
 Thomas Henderson.
 Charles Ewing.
 John G. Cooper.
 William Griffith.
 Joshua L. Howell.
 Josiah Harrison.
 William B. Ewing.
 Caleb Dusenbery.
 Joseph Falkinburge.

The Convention adjourned, to meet again at four o'clock in the afternoon.

Afternoon, 4 o'clock.

The Convention being assembled again at said hour—present as before—the committee appointed in the forenoon, made report by Thomas Henderson, their chairman, as follows :

1. On the subject of a *Congress Ticket*, that in consequence of the death of the honorable Jacob Hufty, and it being made known to your committee that the honorable Richard Stockton, James Schureman and William Coxe, decline a re-nomination for the next Congress, it became necessary to form an entire new ticket for the consideration of the Convention.

Your committee have performed this delicate and important duty, with entire unanimity, and with all that care of selection and respect to local circumstances, that the case seemed to admit of : In regard to *local* distribution, (which, however, should ever be a subordinate consideration) we have confined ourselves to the *principle* contained in the late *district law*. The names which follow will shew that of the twelve persons proposed as candidates, *four* are taken from each of those districts. We hope this will meet the approbation of all. Your committee propose the following six persons to be voted for by the "*Friends of Peace*," in New-Jersey, as Representatives in the next Congress of the United States, viz :

JAMES GILES, of Cumberland.
 SAMUEL W HARRISON, of Gloucester.
 JAMES PARKER, of Middlesex.
 JOHN FRELINGHUYSEN, of Somerset.
 JACOB S THOMSON, of Sussex.
 JOHN N. CUMMING, of Essex.

And as by death, or from other causes, vacancies may occur in this nomination, we have, (observing the same rule of locality)

recommended the following persons as substitutes in such case, in the order stated, viz :

WILLIAM B. EWING, of Cumberland.
 BENJAMIN CHAMPNEYS, of do.
 JOHN N. SIMPSON, of Middlesex.
 SAMUEL BAYARD, of Somerset.
 ROBERT COLFAX, of Morris.
 JOHN OUTWATER, of Bergen.

2. Your committee also propose WILLIAM B. EWING, to be voted for by the "*Friends of Peace*," as a Representative in the Congress of the United States, in the place of Jacob Hufty, Esq. deceased.

3. On the subject of *Resolutions* and an *Address*, we report unanimously those which will be presented by our chairman.

Signed, in behalf of the committee,

THOMAS HENDERSON, *Chairman*.

Whereupon, after some progress made, the Convention adjourned, to attend, with other public bodies and private citizens, an Address, by *Lucius H. Stockton, Esq.* at the Presbyterian Church, in Trenton, delivered at the request of the Convention. Adjourned until 8 o'clock in the evening.

Eight o'clock in the evening,

The Convention met—present as before.

Unanimously Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be given to *Lucius H. Stockton, Esq.* for the eloquent and able Address delivered this day before the Convention, at their request ; and that General John N. Cumming, Colonel Joshua L. Howell, and William Griffith, Esq. members of this Convention, do present this resolution, and request from Mr. Stockton a copy of the Address for publication.

The Convention resumed that part of the report of the committee which respects a Congress Ticket, and after full consideration, adopted the same.

Whereupon, on motion, *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the *free Electors* of New-Jersey, to support the following six persons as Representatives of this state in the next Congress of the United States, viz :

JAMES GILES,
 SAMUEL W. HARRISON,
 JAMES PARKER,
 JOHN FRELINGHUYSEN,
 JACOB S. THOMSON,
 JOHN N. CUMMING,

and also to support **WILLIAM B. EWING**, as Representative in Congress, in the place of Jacob Hufty, Esq. deceased.

And this Convention most earnestly recommends to their fellow-citizens *unanimity* and *zeal* in promoting its success. Considering that to preserve our country from the destroying policy of the men in power, nothing short of a determined and united effort of the *people* to remove them, can be of any avail. And this Convention doth further recommend, in case of vacancies happening, the substitution of the names of those gentlemen reported by the committee, in the order, and from the parts of the state, as reported.

The Convention proceeded to consider the *Address* and *Resolutions* reported by the committee—which being read, debated and amended—on the question whether this Convention do agree to the same, it was unanimously voted in the affirmative. And further, it was resolved that the said Address and Resolutions, together with these proceedings, be inserted in the minutes, and be signed by the president and Secretary of this Convention; that *five thousand copies* be published and distributed, in a pamphlet form, among the several counties of this state, in such manner and proportions as may be deemed expedient; and that Charles Ewing, G. D. Wall and Wm. Potts, Esqs. be a committee to perform this duty.

Signed, by order of the Convention,

WM. COXE, *President.*

F. DAVENPORT, *Secretary.*

Trenton, July 4, 1814.

ADDRESS
OF THE
CONVENTION,
TO THE
FREE ELECTORS OF NEW-JERSEY.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

THE actual calamities brought on our country by evil councils, and the dangers which surround it, seem to have arrived at an extremity demanding the immediate interposition of the people. The capacity, virtue and policy of the two parties, have had a fair trial; the *people* have only to compare the *past* with the *present*, in order to decide between them. *Professions* and *pretensions* are easily set up, and often lead nations as well as individuals to dishonour and ruin.

The federal republicans of these states appeal to *facts*, conscious of pure and ardent attachment to the constitution and liberties of their country, established by their *own* hands and councils. *Professions* and *boastings* made no part of their claim to public confidence. We rest our abused principles and measures, fellow citizens, on your *senses*; by these let the Washington policy be decided. Under the federal administration of Washington and his successor, a period of but twelve years, the people of these states, from imbecility and impoverishment, rose to a height of prosperity, with a rapidity unexampled in the history of nations—a fact not controverted by any enlightened citizen. The American name and *character* were held in honour abroad; strength and union protected and cemented the *confederacy*; no spirit of hostility or envious feeling were then fostered by the men in office, aiming destruction at the vital interests of the *commercial and atlantic* states: the prosperity of one was that of all. *Justice* prevailed, both public and private. The fountains of *national* prosperity were laid open. Navigation, commerce and the interests they comprehend—those of the husbandman, the merchant, the ship owner and

the public revenue, all rose to a sudden and unrivalled perfection. *Peace* maintained with all the world, though shaken by revolutions and the tempest of human crimes and passions. Washington and his council could not be seduced or driven from the *safe* haven of neutral and impartial justice. We all remember the loud clamors raised in his time against *England* by the French or war party in the United States, but he resisted them and saved his country. He would not risk the mighty blessings in possession on the chances of war, nor plunge his country into untried scenes of horror and *certain* evils, on questionable points of maritime controversy—far less, without preparation, and under circumstances rendering failure and dishonor *inevitable*. In that period, the whole face of society exhibited one progressing, smiling prospect of general and individual happiness.

Not only did riches, honestly acquired in the arts of peace and industry, flow in upon the citizen, whatever his calling or profession, but the *public treasury* was made to overflow. Never did any men in office, (notwithstanding the calumnies of the time) establish more truly and firmly the *foundations* of public wealth, and provide the means of public justice. The *credit* and honour of the nation were untarnished and every where respected. The great departments of government, executive, legislative and judicial, were filled and directed by *native* Americans, possessing the knowledge of their stations. The men who presided in our *councils*, state and federal, pursued a safe, straight and honest *policy*. They *sought* not wars to gratify their passions, or the *purse* and the *blood* of their fellow citizens, as the means for their continuance in power. Their measures and their objects were purely *American*. They struck out no visionary *theories*—were influenced by no rash and vindictive passions, but proceeded on the sure grounds of *practical* wisdom and prudent legislation. In a word, who does not remember with pride (and regret that it is past) the wide extended and *substantial* happiness enjoyed by the American people, flowing from the *policy* of Washington, and those whom he loved and honoured with his confidence—the *federal republicans* of the United States.

Let the *reflective* and candid citizen *compare* that period with the present—the councils and policy which *then* prevailed—the *men* who then possessed the confidence and protected the interests of the people, and the measures and success of their administrations. Let the comparison be made, and who but must deeply deplore the arts, delusions and incapacity by which American citizens have been stripped of their prosperity, and reduced to all the extremities which now overwhelm our country.

Let the *people of New-Jersey* in particular, who have no interest in this war, estimate their losses by the interdiction of the coasting trade, by war prices, by increased taxes, and view the *prospect* before them.

Had the *last* twelve years, like the first, been devoted to a *peaceful* policy, and to the attainment of those immense benefits which our neutrality afforded, while all the world besides were in arms. *If* knowing the dangers of war where *power* only decides, and especially the dangers of a maritime war, defenceless as we were, and exposed at every point;—*if*, whilst we protested against aggressions and violations on supposed rights, not endangering our country, nor essentially checking the career of national greatness, we had *prepared* to assert them, by steadily persevering for a *course of years* in laying the *foundations* of their support, cultivating and increasing population, national wealth and national happiness and union;—*if* our *new* rulers had proceeded to build up *confidence* at home by pursuing the steady paths of justice, and exhibiting themselves in the light of practical statesmen and patriots, governing for the people and not for a party;—*if* they had aimed at giving *permanency* to *constitutional* principles, had cultivated the interest and union of the states, been the friends of *commerce*, of a gradual increase of *naval* strength and maritime defence;—*if* they had with wise and paternal feeling, healed the wounds of party by moderation and equal justice, considering only the general good;—*if* they had been satisfied with the honour of *securing* and strengthening the nation, by pursuing a cautious and honest *neutrality*, giving no offence to contending powers by indirect aid, irritating partialities, and setting up pretensions in the hour of their distress;—*if*, in short, they had *pursued* the policy which was bequeathed to them when they came into power, and *augmented* the mighty stock of national prosperity received at the hands of the *federalists*, whom they traduced—what might now have been the envied condition of *America*! The human mind (had such men and councils prevailed) could with difficulty estimate her progress in wealth, in population, in the means and possession of revenue—in national strength, and in permanent and immovable *foundations* of national glory and individual happiness.

These states, with such immense boundaries, so dispersed a population, so rich but exposed a territory and commerce, required many years of peace, before war could be safe or honorable; but to the shame and misery of our country, no such views, feeling or wisdom actuated the councils which *succeeded* those of Washington. The very *condition* on which *they* claimed power and ob-

tained it, was to *overturn* the policy which had prevailed ; and this indeed is the only promise which, fatally for the country, they have kept.

It were useless now to *review* the acts of calumny and the delusive pretexts which placed those men in power, who for the last fourteen years have *mis-ruled* these states ; and it were endless to bring before the American people all those enormities of abused trust, of ignorance, rash councils, party violence and lust of office, which have at length laid national and individual prosperity in fearful ruins. The *recollections* of the people of this and of every state must supply the *particulars* of that long, unbroken series of misrule and abuse of official authority, which has reduced them to this deplorable condition. This convention can only present an *outline*, and most willingly would they be spared from a retrospect so painful and disgusting, were it not for the hope of some good from the *recital*. It may conduce to a change of the present authors of so many evils, and serve in future to warn our country, if once again restored to its lost blessings, from yielding to *specious* innovations and promises of visionary reform.

The American people may hereafter set a greater value on tried friends, on practical wisdom, and on *substantial* liberty and prosperity. It is *now* made evident to us all, and to the world, that the *reforms* which were promised have consisted in dangerous and extravagant innovations, in pernicious experiments, and in multiplying offices and grasping at the paltry objects of party influence and official emolument. They have ended as was foretold, in the *violation* of all sound principles of American government and policy, and in the actual destruction of every great national interest. Navigation, trade, revenue, increasing wealth, union, public character, constitutional principles, and all the solid acquisitions which lie at the foundation of permanent national strength and independence, have well nigh *disappeared*.—To fill up the measure of our calamities, an odious, hopeless and most devouring *war*, is entailed on the land. The whole bent and employment of those in power for fourteen years, has been to engage men's minds in hopes and fears, from useless and pernicious projects of legislation and *politics*. Instead of *preserving* what had been secured, and augmenting the national securities and means, in a plain, honest and undeviating course of public rectitude and wisdom, they have kept the country in one continued state of suffering and commotion, the more effectually to justify their absurd selfish and ambitious designs.

There seems to have been no fundamental *rights* of the American people—no national *interests*, which in this short term have not

been violated or sacrificed ; and this by the men who obtained and have kept power by professing and promising to preserve and secure those interests and rights *more* effectually than their predecessors.

In their hands, the CONSTITUTION of the United States, once so venerated and always so necessary to the liberties of the people, has been *broken* in almost every article. The facts are notorious.

Military law has been established to enforce revenue laws.

Private property has been wrested from its peaceable possessor, without legal process, by the military under *executive* orders.

Innocent citizens, seized by military force, have been torn from their homes, transported to the seat of government, and discharged without accusation, or redress for ruined characters or fortunes.

Commissions lawfully issued and completed, have been illegally withheld from the citizens appointed, by the preceding president, only because partizans were to be gratified.

The *habeas corpus act*, the only practical security against tyrannical abuse of personal liberty, has been suspended in time of peace, and this merely to overawe freedom of opinion.

Judicial questions, frequently on the revenue laws, often most penal in their nature, have been determined by *edicts of the executive*, contrary to their legal purport and obligation on the citizen.

The *independence of the Judges* has been taken away by the legislature, on the recommendation of the executive. The office of Judge is made dependent on the *will* of presidents and party majorities, against the express terms of the constitution, declaring "they shall hold their office during good behaviour."—Thus, by a single stroke of usurpation, making one independent department of the government *subject* to the will of the other ; and in effect, subjecting men's lives, liberty and property, to judges dependent on party, and not on their "good behaviour" or rectitude in office.

A whole article of the constitution, and one independent branch of the government has been annihilated, setting a precedent and productive of consequences, fatal to the rights and liberties of the people, as secured by *themselves*.

To perpetuate their *political* ascendance, and in violation of the principles and interests of the confederacy, a pernicious ARISTOCRACY of STATES and PERSONS, has been created. This has been effected—

By making *new states* in that quarter of their influence, favourable to a southern domination and Virginia dynasty.

By employing immense sums taken from the treasury, in the *purchase* of an *useless* foreign country, and converting it into states

for the same purpose of multiplying official dependents, and giving preponderance to Virginia and the southern states, in the national legislature and councils.

By changing the constitution in the mode of choosing the president and vice-president, by which the larger states are enabled to controul the smaller, and make traffic of these important offices.

By the monstrous usurpation of nominating a president and vice president at the seat of government, in the vortex of intrigue, and under the smiles and patronage of the candidate proposed, instead of leaving the nomination to a free and unbought people.

By proscribing men for their opinions, and banishing from trust and employment, the friends of Washington and his policy, thereby depriving the nation of the counsels and support of its wisest and best citizens, and alienating men's minds from the love of each other and their common country.

By multiplying offices and salaries, and appointing officers civil and military, without experience or knowledge, remarkable chiefly for party violence and incapacity, consequently more dependent on the will and opinions of the president, and his weak but rash advisers.

By conferring high offices on strangers, possessing no attachments but to the party which upholds them, and by these instruments strengthening themselves in office at the risque of exposing the people to the intrigues, ignorance and passions of foreign agents—men who it must be evident cannot love *our* country, nor care for or understand its interests.

And finally, by violating the freedom of speech and opinions, overawing elections, and introducing terror and military despotism.

Taking a view of legislative and executive conduct, a scene of weakness and deplorable mis-rule unfolds itself. The American freeman who reviews all this mass of political intrigue, imbecility and corruption, may well exclaim "Give us back peace and the honest policy of Washington." Year after year has passed away in busy and officious mischief—In holding out false hopes—In ambiguous presidential messages—In feigned negotiations—In multifarious projects, and in contradictory and futile resolutions—In vain boasting, and inflammatory speeches—In imbecile threatening against our foreign government and abject submissions and even aid to *none*, more insolently a *wrong-doer*.

By all this the public mind was kept distracted, and the great purposes of a steady, useful government, overlooked or abandoned.—The substantial interests and prosperity of the nation literally and shamefully sacrificed!

Novelties, most inconsistent with our ancient habits, and most injurious to American rights and interests, have been introduced and persevered in, to the almost entire subversion of the forms of American policy.

Such extraordinary acts of government too, have proceeded from the very men who affected to condemn them as anti-republican and despotic. These *novelties* consist—

In *secret legislation*, hiding from the people the opinions and conduct of their agents—Closed doors and concealment, have become habitual, and continued from day to day. The American people at this moment are kept in ignorance on points of vital importance to their interests and honor—

In *Presidential Recommendations*, adopted by the legislature, in cases calling for the most mature reflection and enquiry, without either. All investigation, even of *facts*, refused, thereby putting the greatest national rights on the issue of *executive* veracity, or his *infallible* judgment, remarkable, perhaps, for neither. Most of the monstrous and pernicious plans which have sunk the country to its present condition, came to the representatives of the people, not for discussion, but adoption—

In *preventing free debate*, whereby the representatives of the people opposed to the measures of administration, under an arbitrary *rule* of the majority, have been deprived of their essential rights, and the rights of the people to the opinions and services of their representatives violated—

In *repressing the right and freedom of petition* against grievances. The people's remonstrances and requests being ordered to *lie on the table*, or contemptuously thrown aside to a distant day—

In the invention of *permanent systems of embargo, non-impertation, and non-intercourse*, by land or water, even along our own coasts—Perseveringly followed up for near the term of two presidencies—Systems first introduced by the tyrant of France, and to him useful in promoting his grand schemes of universal conquest, but in America, novel and destructive to the last degree—Systems calculated to bear down and impoverish the commercial states, to depress our own products and raise the price of foreign—to extinguish national revenue, ships and sailors' rights, to encourage smuggling and immoral evasion and breach of the laws. Systems of legislation, in short, fatal to industry and the productive arts of life, and beyond all question more injurious to these states than *war* itself, in as much as the suffering fell wholly on *ourselves*—other nations looking on unhurt by these insatuated acts of self-destruction, rejoicing to see this fine and prosperous country,

which aimed death at them, falling the victim of its own wrath and folly.

With respect to the *public* resources and wealth that have been *annihilated*—

The men in power, who professed *economy*, have far exceeded not only the preceding administrations in expenditure, but any which ever before squandered the substance of a patient and confiding people.

Before this war, they had received not less than two hundred millions of dollars into the treasury: all this (except about 30 millions paid on the old debt) was spent or squandered without strengthening the nation, or adding a single important item to the *stock* of *American* securities. Not even a frigate was added to the federal navy, but offices and salaries were continually multiplied.

Fifteen millions paid for useless territory, and to fill the coffers of Bonaparte.

Vast sums expended in fruitless or injurious embassies, and on diplomatic favourites.

The navy, army and civil list expenses, were enormous, and yet inefficient.

Untold thousands were drawn from the treasury in projects useless and disreputable to the nation.

In building, equipping and maintaining gun-boats.

In *secret* service monies.

In torpedo experiments, and in paying *English impostors* for the purpose of calumniating *American patriots*.

In short, the expenditures of peace were little less than those which might have supported a successful war.

In our *foreign relations*, the same infatuated policy prevailed.—The usurper and tyrant was countenanced, obeyed, and all his projects admired.

France, jacobin France, was courted and aided, whilst she insulted and plundered us, and her enormities as much as possible concealed.

England was threatened and irritated—treaties with her rejected—her ambassadors deceived and sent away, and every means adopted to create and keep alive resentment, and prepare for her destruction by a long fought war, when the propitious moment should arrive.

Spain, fighting against the tyrant for her liberties, caused no sympathy: Spain, that fought for American liberty, possessed not even their good wishes. On the contrary, they wished success to her destroyer. They denied her *bread*, refused her ambassador, and

and in her distresses seized upon her territories, and countenanced the invasion of her provinces, placed as they were under the safeguard of American faith and honour.

With Tripoli, Algiers and the Indian tribes, there has scarcely been a cessation from wars, tribute and expense.

The invasion of the Indian country and burning their towns in 1810, lighted up the vengeance, and brought upon our frontier all the horror of the united savage tribes.

Thus did the administration conduct with *foreign* governments, getting deeper into European quarrels. They exhausted and wasted the resources of our country, in contemptible schemes for starving colonists, or raising insurrections among European manufacturers. In passing laws **CONDITIONED** to make them *keep the peace*, or go to war with us; thus entangling ourselves in nets of destruction made by our own hands.

This race in the road to ruin seemed nearly run—but one *enormity* yet remained; and **FINALLY**, after exhausting the national resources in twelve years of prodigal wastefulness, wearing out the national spirit, creating disunion of the states, and general disaffection to their schemes of misrule, without preparation, and scarcely with a real *pretext*, they **DECLARED WAR** against **GREAT-BRITAIN**.

Fellow Citizens, we have not language to depict the sense we entertain of this death blow to the best hopes and interests of our beloved country.

How can those in the state or general government, who so rashly plunged their country into war, unprepared, and against an enemy so powerful, answer to God or to the People for the dreadful **CONSEQUENCES**. Surely they should no longer be trusted by their fellow men.

This war, as was most certain it must, in such hands, under such circumstances and on such grounds, has progressed in shame, loss and disappointment. It has been *conducted* with a folly and profligate *wastefulness* of the people's blood and money, in so short a time unexampled in the annals of the world.

What do we all bear *witness* to but

A fickle, divided and dismayed *cabinet*.

Useless armies employed on the lakes and devouring the land.

Military commanders without skill, sacrificing brave men, captured, defeated or disgraced at every point, throwing the blame on the administration, and the administration on them.

An exhausted if not a bankrupt treasury.

A destroyed commerce and agriculture.

A captured or blocked up navy.

Our coasting vessels and trade demolished on two thousand miles of seaboard.

Immense *Loans*—government receiving eighty-five dollars, and pledging the people to pay one hundred to the lender!

Multiplied and increasing taxation on all the necessaries of life—the excise system most inequitably bearing on the poor.

Double duties, war prices, the exportation of specie, and no export of our own products, giving discontent, and we fear a dissolving confederacy.

A desperate administration who refuse peace and are shedding the blood and spending the substance of *Americans*, on questions about the rights of English sailors and emigrants.

A *people* impoverished, distracted with apprehensions, exposed to fire and sword, torn from their homes, and bleeding at every point on a circumference of five thousand miles.

A stupendous system of public frauds and delinquency among contracting army agents, and the host of retainers upon government.

Yet, not a *single* national object secured!

Is not all this the fruits of *two years of war*, and present to our senses?—And is Great-Britain humbled? is Canada taken, after the loss of ten thousand men and one hundred millions of dollars, with all the other more dreadful mischiefs of this war; or are we not baffled and dishonoured by the misconduct of the men who govern and command? By those men who are calling on us *even yet*, to support them and their *measures*! Have we established sailor's rights, or any right, or has it ever been made known what we *are* fighting for? On the contrary, are we not now merely scrambling for our lives and firesides, and in the wonderful providence of God, left alone on the theatre of the world, abandoned of every nation, and contending with or rather trusting to the *mercy and magnanimity* of the nation *we attacked*, invaded, and meant, with the aid of the tyrant, to destroy.

Fellow citizens, we cease this catalogue of *public woes*—of so many dreadful evils brought on us by *men* who were to *amend* and *improve* our condition—men who scorned the safe and prosperous policy of Washington and his friends; and *promised* to the people that they should be without wars, taxes, navies, armies, public debts, loans and numerous officers of government. Instead of which, they have done *nothing else* but create and increase all these *evils*.

We cease to speak of this long course of downward and destructive mis-government. But shall we interpose *no remedy*?—

Are such *men* and measures longer to be upheld? Surely it is time to think of a *remedy*; and what other presents itself, what other ought we to take, but to make a general and thorough *change*

All governments, at times, are forced to *change* the men in administration, or perish by their faults and continuance.

What causes or complaints to be compared with those we have enumerated, induced us to raise these men into power who complained and promised so much? and to put those out of power who under Washington had made us great and prosperous?

It is full time for a people who have so patiently endured such evils, and desire at length to escape from them, to put their affairs in *other* hands. Let us, fellow citizens, endeavour to get back to Peace and to the Washington policy.

Even should a forced *peace* on paper be announced, let us take care to maintain and improve it by placing in every department of the general and state governments the Friends of Peace.

The men in power have forfeited all confidence. They found us in peace and prosperity—their course was foretold—they have involved us in disunion, lost rights and poverty.

Should this direful contest unhappily be *continued*, can this nation longer trust her honor, safety and existence in such *feeble* hands? Our greatest enemies could not have devised plans more injurious to American interests.

Whether we have war *or* peace, let us *restore* to our councils the experience, the wisdom and the policy, which raised our nation to such exalted greatness.

We beseech you, fellow citizens, to lay aside mere party attachments, and look at the state of the country. Reflect that such continued and great evils could not have come on us but by the most egregious folly and *misrule*. Indeed the path of wisdom and security seemed plain. Let a *thorough change* be made: fear not that it can be worse for us. The friends of Washington and peace will not betray or desert their country. Give them the means of directing and aiding it, by your suffrages, and they will not disappoint your hopes.

This Convention addresses itself to the *People* of New-Jersey.—These ruinous measures, and this hateful, most unnecessary and wasteful *war*, cannot be laid to the account of the *people*: we know on the contrary that *they* are dissatisfied, injured, and desire to be relieved from so many present sufferings and expected dangers. These measures, and this war, and all these miseries, flow from a weak, infatuated *administration*--from men in *office*, upheld

by delusions and promises, and whose interests and obstinacy combine to encourage and maintain plans and principles which have proved, as was foretold, the bane of public prosperity.

It is our duty to be plain.—We repeat our unfeigned belief that there must be an entire *removal* of visionary men and the friends of this war, in every state and department of legislation, before the blessings of peace and of good government can be restored. The remedy is in our *own* hands. Let us all firmly *resolve* (however we must endure the *existing* evils with fortitude and patience) that the *freedom of suffrage* shall finally re-establish the Friends of Peace and the Policy of Washington.

Signed by order of the Convention,

WILLIAM COXE, *President.*

F. DAVENPORT, *Secretary.*

RESOLUTIONS

PASSED BY THE CONVENTION

DEEPLY affected by the gloom which surrounds the destiny of these states, reduced to a condition so precarious, by a course of *misrule* not to be paralleled, this convention nevertheless, confiding in the final discernment and virtue of the *people*, do not despair of the republic. We will not confound the *people* and the *men in office*. This convention is free to declare they believe the *people*, of whatever party, mean the good and the prosperity of their country. It is to a virtuous and independent body of citizens these proceedings are addressed. We are persuaded they will not uphold an administration or set of men in office, if convinced of their unfitness and mis-government. Errors and deceptions have been thickly sown, and produced the greatest calamities.—Happy if becoming wise by our experience and misfortunes, we shall all at length perceive the *cause* of them—the weak, violent and fatal measures of the men in power, and turn for redress as is done in such extremities, to a *new* and a better *administration*:
Wherefore

Resolved, That at the ensuing election for Representatives in Congress, it be recommended to the Free Electors of New-Jersey to support with their united exertions, the following Ticket :

JAMES GILES,
SAMUEL W. HARRISON,
JAMES PARKER,
JOHN FRELINGHUYSEN,
JACOB S. THOMSON,
JOHN N. CUMMING,

and also WILLIAM B. EWING, as Representative in the Congress of the United States, in the place of Jacob Hufty, Esq. deceased.

To these, the country may confidently look for the support of its *true* honour and prosperity. They will restore *peace* if it can *now* be obtained without national degradation, or if war must be continued, they will not disgrace Americans: And in respect to Representatives for the *State Legislature*, this convention do earn

ably recommend it to the people in *each* county to hold meetings, make nominations, and use all diligence and prudence to *prevent* the reelection of the *advocates of the war*, and of such a ruinous course of policy; and in their places to return men known to be attached to peace and to the Washington policy.

Whereas the right of the people to *express their opinions* upon the *conduct of men in office*, their ability and motives, is brought into question, the persons now in office and their adherents denouncing it "moral treason" and "enmity to the country" for the *people* to speak and vote against *them* and their measures; as if in their ruinous and changing acts, opinions and policy, were to be found American *liberty and independence*—

We the Convention of Friends of Peace in New-Jersey, for ourselves and the great numbers of freemen whom we represent, do PROTEST against such slavish and anti-republican principles.

We hold it the first and most precious of all rights, that the *people* enjoy perfect freedom of *opinion, of speech, and of suffrage*. No matter *who* the men are, or *what* their measures, nor with what pretences of purity, wisdom and patriotism, they claim power, or prosecute their schemes of policy and government: every citizen and every class of men in society may freely examine the conduct and ability of those entrusted with their dearest rights, and act according to their honest convictions. These rights are so necessary and undoubted, this convention will not impair their inestimable value so much as to debate their existence or extent.

The *people* who *elect* men to office for the good of the country, may, if their measures prove injurious to the commonwealth, or, if believed incapable or corrupt, *turn them out* of office for the good of their country, and choose again.

The *means* to effect this necessarily make a part of their rights. These means are the liberties of opinion, of speech, of the press and of suffrage. They must all be used, and freemen have a right to use them, in order to save the country from a *continuance* in power of weak or wicked men—men who by breaches of the constitution, arbitrary power, useless taxes and extravagance, unnecessary and impolitic war, or any other mischievous policy, threaten the ruin of the nation. If those who have got into office and govern as they will, shall contend that exposure of *them* and the *abuses of their trust*, whether from folly or wilful measures of violence and wrong, is "opposition to the country and the government," we repeat our *protest* against such manifest arrogance and insult to the common sense of mankind. *Silence and passive obedience* to acts of folly, oppression and national ruin, never were and never

ought to be imposed upon the good people of these states. On this point, *those* are the real enemies of their country who support and countenance the opinion that the *men* in office are infallible, and gloss over their mal-conduct and destructive measures, by calling such measures the "government." Those are the enemies of republican and good government, who by threats, mobs, massacres and abuse, endeavour to crush the freedom of speech and of the press, and prevent the people from removing from public trust those who abuse it.

How are the dreadful evils of power abused, and of a whole people falling into the depths of public and private ruin, to be averted, if to complain of, expose and constitutionally resist such men and measures is "enmity to the country"?

If the *constitution* is violated by the persons in office, the better to execute their schemes of legislation, and perpetuate their party and power, shall these acts pass into *precedent* and remain unredressed, because to expose the *fact* and the *delinquent* is "opposition to government"?

If the *president* makes or interprets *laws*, arming subaltern agents with illegal *instructions*, giving them power over men's persons, property and lives, without trial by judge and jury, and the forms of legal procedure :

If *majorities* in congress, impelled by motives of party and passion, or governed by implicit reliance on executive messages, or acting under honest but erroneous views of the public good, proceed to measures and persevere in systems striking at the prosperity and endangering the existence of the union :

If having power only to "regulate" trade, congress should in a time of peace by a law destroy it :

If they should give away millions out of the public treasury for "foreign" territories, or obtain them by "conquest," through the expense and horrors of war, when such accessions are disputed, worthless or an encumbrance :

If then they should erect these territories into *new states* opposed to commerce, giving thereby a preponderance to a southern policy and domination, most destructive to the constitutional weight of the antient states, or any of them, and subversive of their essential interests and prosperity :

If when their country is at *peace* and more prosperous than any other nation in its commerce, yielding a revenue of sixteen millions, exceeding in amount any former year, they in that very year (on a loose suggestion of the executive) without suffering debate, should arrest and prohibit *all trade*, and that permanently, laying

up suddenly *fourteen hundred thousand tons of shipping*, with all their immense connections and relations to industry and wealth, on pretence of the possibility of losing a small part :

IF after these embargoes and non-intercourse with the world are continued five years, and nigh all our ships, sailors and trade lost by such self-destructive measures and sacrifices made to provoke England and aid the grand scheme of her enemy ; if then, after destroying the objects of war ourselves, a majority in congress should declare war *for injuries* done to ships, sailors and commerce, by *England* :

IF this war is declared without *notice* to hundreds of our ships in foreign ports—with revenue gone, our harbours and towns unguarded, without ships of war, men, money, magazines or preparation :

IF with state dissentions and clashing interests, divided councils, and against the wishes, opinions and remonstrances of millions of the people, a majority in congress should be found so rash and lost to consequences as to *risk*, under such circumstances, the *union* and great interests of these states, to the *chance* of WAR, when to defer the time and prepare the means was in its choice :

IF that war is declared against the most *powerful nation* in the world, in a most unexampled posture of preparation, especially on the ocean—our own territories on all sides accessible to the approach of her fleets, giving our enemy at once the *mastery* of the pretended *objects* of the war, “free trade and sailors’ rights,” almost ruined long before war was declared by our *own* acts of folly and passion :

IF before the horrid evils of the war had *set in*, and before its declaration was ever known to England, *that* government removed the principal pretended cause, and afterwards proposed an *armistice*, offering immediately to negotiate a friendly settlement of remaining complaints ; if yet the men in power should *reject* the armistice and negotiation, preferring to *risque* their country and *all* its rights and blessings upon the *issue of the sword* :

IF, instead of *fortifying* their harbours and preparing for defence on the seaboard, building ships of war and assailing the trade of the enemy, the men in power should leave the commercial towns and populous districts on the sea-coast without troops or defence, and meditate plans of *conquest* a thousand miles from the ocean—the conquest of a cold and worthless country beyond the frozen lakes of the north—expending in two years, *one hundred millions*, in vain and disgraceful attempts to conquer Canada :

IF the men thus making this war and directing it should from the beginning *conduct* it without intelligence, vigour or system, baffled, defeated and disgraced by a few weak and almost defenceless colonists, unprepared (in the confidence of our friendship and justice) to resist the horrors of invasion, and bayonets prepared for their bosoms :

IF military commands are given by the president and his councils to men who, one after the other without exception, prove laughing stocks for the world, sacrificing the lives of thousands of brave Americans by rashness, ignorance and cowardice, and bringing disgrace on the American name :

IF a scene of profligate and *boundless waste* of the public *treasure* ensues, unparalleled in any country, and pervading every department and quarter :

IF we and our posterity, at the end of only two years, are involved in one hundred millions of *new debt*, by a disgraceful war :

IF all this has been incurred by the men in office, besides the loss of *as much more* to private citizens, by the destruction of property and business, and yet not a single *object* attained by them for the country, unless the objects of the war were to aid the tyrant, feed and enrich the makers of it and their official partizans, and to create new props to their power by multiplying innumerable and insatiable bands of army agents, contractors and *dependents* on the war :

IF the Canadas remain unconquered, and even our own territory and fortresses are possessed by our enemy :

IF our *whole seaboard*, and every river and inlet is blockaded, and our *towns* become the scenes of bloodshed, fire and rapine :

IF our *frontier* settlements have undergone and are exposed to the most dreadful effects of savage warfare and retaliation for American invasion and cruelties :

IF our armies, notwithstanding the immense levies authorized by acts of congress, and the millions of money appropriated for their enlistment and support, are *diminished* and *diminishing*, whilst the war and the enemy are becoming more terrible :

IF our *ships of war* are blocked up and dismantled :

IF our GUN-BOATS, merchant ships, letters of marque and privateers, are laid up, captured or destroyed, with but few exceptions :

IF our coasting vessels, packets and small craft, with their cargoes, are by hundreds made prize of or burnt :

IF the *militia* of the several states, after all the treasure, taxes and loans spent for regular armies, are drafted, marched to the

frontiers, made to perform garrison duty and kept posting from place to place for the safety of defenceless villages, at an expense of time, loss and public money, not to be estimated, and if this must be continued :

IF national bankruptcy is at hand, public accounts in arrear, to the amount of millions concealed and even unlooked at, as the secretary at war declares ; the armies unrecruited and military stores and magazines unprovided :

IF all the *hopes* and *schemes* of a short-sighted cabinet from the success of a wicked tyrant over the liberties of Europe, are terminated by his downfall :

IF the abused and deceived *people* of these United States, in every quarter, *feel* nothing but the pressure of taxes, of high prices, and distresses produced by the destruction of life, property and business :

IF these are to *them* the *only fruit* of a war which they were told should redress their wrongs and encircle us with conquest and glory :

IF, looking *back*, nothing is reviewed but empty promises, vain boastings, errors, slaughter, defeats and wastefulness ; and surveying the *prospect before us*, we find our country without a friend among the powers of the earth, all nations viewing us as the confederates of the *tyrant* against their liberties :

IF we perceive an *enemy*, triumphant over the mightiest dangers, surrounded with glory and power, pouring her liberated ships and armies upon our defenceless waters and population, in an overwhelming torrent of war, to meet our challenge and revenge injuries and aggression in time of her distress :

IF instead of pretended rights secured, and territories conquered by war, (with as yet scarce an effort of the enemy) our cabinet must supplicate and receive peace from the *clemency* of England, or *fight on* through a hopeless and fatal war, risking our very *existence* as a nation :

IF the men, who by calumnies and popular delusions, wrested the administration of public affairs from the friends of Washington and his policy—who promised more of republican purity and moderation, more economy and equality, more ability to govern, more prosperity at home and abroad, and less of salaries, offices, taxes, armies, navies, and foreign entanglements—have, on the contrary, pursued the very opposite course :

IF these pretended patriots, intent chiefly on office, emolument, party ascendancy and power, have failed to perform a *single promise*, or reform a single grievance complained of—but by a baneful,

visionary and headlong course of passion, folly and extravagance, have overturned the sure foundations of national prosperity laid by Washington and the Federal Republicans of America, squandering away the blood, treasure and securities of the nation, without object or attainment of one public advantage, to compensate for such a series and mass of evil :

IF ALL THESE ACTS AND CONSEQUENCES have, in fourteen years, flowed from the men who *changed the policy of Washington*, and have pursued, and are now pursuing, and will persevere in these courses of public ruin (and all these grievances do manifestly exist)—then let it be asked—WHO is the “ENEMY to his country and her rights”—He who countenances and *supports* such *men* and *measures*, or he who would *save* it from entire destruction, by removing from trust such unworthy violaters of the people’s best interests and the nation’s good ?

This Convention assert the necessity and the right of making such a change—they *resolve*, therefore, that all attempts to stigmatise the *friends of peace and reform*, with disaffection to their country, are violations of the rights of freemen : That all means used by the men in power or advocates of such destructive measures, to intimidate the people, by representing their just complaints, under oppression and impending ruin, as factious and treasonable, are violations of public liberty, and if submitted to, public evils will be incurable and the domination of weak or unprincipled men be perpetual : It being evident that to oppose bad men or measures, and to change them, is not opposition, but support of good government.

This Convention, therefore, do recommend to all their fellow-citizens to assert their rights of opinion and suffrage, and if they believe *such* men and measures will ruin the country, whatever former questions divided them, to join in one common effort to change the administrations of the general and state governments, as their only chance of relief from so many grievances.

Whereas the war, hitherto so disgraceful and desolating, was *declared* against the remonstrances and opinions of a large proportion of the people of these states, and in all probability by a majority ; and whereas, in conducting it, the government has excluded the friends of federal policy, and of peace, who have no power or influence, and ought not therefore to be responsible for the calamitous events which such a war must produce : This Convention, for itself and its constituents, do avow their most devoted love and attachment to their country, its constitutions and prosperity : They are oppressed with grief and alarm at the dangers

and distresses which encompass it: They yield to no clamorous partisan of the men in power, or senseless pretender to extraordinary patriotism, in real attachment to the honor and just triumphs of the American character; and they are incapable of any sentiment or wish derogatory to the essential rights of the nation: But inasmuch as the acts of the men in power have been so destructive of both character and rights—as the friends of peace and the Washington policy are excluded from the cabinet councils and possess no control over the administration of public affairs; as in regard to this war, they deemed it the most unnecessary, impolitic, wicked and destructive measure ever vented upon by a deluded and desperate party: As this Convention and their constituents have no hope in the removal of public grievances while such men retain power and confidence, and as they cannot in duty to God and their conscience outwardly approve what is most abhorrent to their feelings and judgment—Therefore they deem it fit to *declare* that they disregard the reproach of not *volunteering* their *lives* and *fortunes* in favor of this war: They have no lot in the councils of the war—in army commissions and military commands, they undoubtedly believe that under such men as rule in the cabinet and camp, no people, whatever their rights, their numbers or means, can prosper either in peace or war. Those who made and advocate the war and the conductors of it, have not wanted numbers or means: Though the instigators of it keep at a distance from danger, yet they have had the resources of a great and flourishing country—Millions on millions have been at their disposal—In two years they have dissipated the whole on an inglorious and disastrous war, and now call upon the opposers of such policy and conduct to join their desperate standard—to rush headlong into their ranks, and be led under their generals and commanders to disgrace and certain destruction.

This Convention and the friends of peace will obey the laws, will defend their country, if invaded, at every point, and neither in peace or war yield any clear and essential right. It is a high consolation to the friends of Washington and his policy, that whatever of naval or military honor could spring from such a contest, it has been the result of federal valor. But under such men as now direct the public councils, under such commanders, and for objects of conquest and injustice, this Convention cannot but warn their fellow-citizens that if they are much longer permitted to mis-rule—if peace and rights are not soon secured by a *change of administration*, it may be too late for either peace or war to save our country.

This Convention do therefore *Resolve*, that in their opinion the way to a treaty of honor and speedy return of peace to our abused and endangered country, is not to *join* in clamours for war and blood, but to shew our *real* desire for peace with England by removing from our councils the agents and instruments of war. This Convention is firmly convinced that England would have rejoiced in peace, and even yet, though aggravated to the last degree, might embrace it on honorable terms to our country, if she could proceed with confidence in the sincerity and honor which characterised the cabinet of Washington. Until that happy period arrives, this Convention recommend patience under suffering, a courageous spirit in defence of our country and homes, when invaded—but remembering that all the precious blood and treasure which this war must cost, and all its awful consequences, are chargeable on the heads of those who encouraged and made it.

ERRATA.

In page 10, first line of first paragraph, for *acts* read *arts*.

Page 14, third line, for *that* read *they*.

Page 16, ninth line, for *giving* read *growing*. 18th line, for *contracting* read *contractors*.

APPENDIX.

Extract from Mr. Webster's Speech, delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, 14th January, 1814.

“WHEN we ask, sir, for the causes of these disappointments, we are told that they are owing to the opposition which the war encounters in this house, and among the people. All the evils which afflict the country are imputed to opposition. This is the fashionable doctrine both here and elsewhere. It is said to be owing to opposition that the war became necessary; and owing to opposition also that it has been prosecuted with no better success.

“This, sir, is no new strain. It has been sung a thousand times. It is the constant tune of every weak or wicked administration. What minister ever yet acknowledged, that the evils which fell on his country were the necessary consequences of his own incapacity, his own folly, or his own corruption? What possessor of political power ever yet failed to charge the mischiefs resulting from his own measures, upon those who had uniformly opposed those measures? The people of the United States may well remember the administration of lord North. He lost America to his country; yet he could find pretences for throwing the odium upon his opponents. He could throw it upon those who had forewarned him of consequences from the first, and who had opposed him at every stage of his disastrous policy with all the force of truth, reason and talent. It was not his own weakness, his own ambition, his own love of arbitrary power, which disaffected the colonies. It was not the tea act, the stamp act, or the Boston port bill, that severed the empire of Britain. Oh, no!—it was owing to no fault of administration. It was the work of opposition. It was the impertinent boldness of Chatham; the idle declamation of Fox, and the unseasonable sarcasm of Barre! These men, and men like them, would not join the minister in his American war. They would not give the name and character of wisdom to that which they believed to be the extreme of folly. They

would not pronounce those measures just and honourable, which their principles led them to detest. They declared the ministers' war to be wanton. They foresaw its end, and pointed it out plainly both to the minister and to the country.—He pronounced the opposition to be selfish and factious. He persisted in his course, and the result is in history.

“This example of ministerial justice seems to have become a model for these times and this country. With slight shades of difference, owing to different degrees of talent and ability, the imitation is sufficiently exact. It requires little imagination to fancy one's self sometimes to be listening to a recitation of the captivating orations of the occupants of lord North's treasury bench. We are told that opposition has divided the government, and divided the country. Remember, sir, the state of the government and of the country when war was declared. Did not differences of opinion then exist?—Do we not know that this house was divided?—Do we not know that the other house was still more divided?—Does not every man to whom the public documents are accessible, know that in that other house, one single vote having been given otherwise than it was, would have rejected the act declaring war, and adopted a different course of measures? A parental, guardian government, would have regarded that state of things. It would have weighed such considerations—It would have inquired coolly and dispassionately into the state of public opinion, in the states of this confederacy—It would have looked especially to those states most concerned in the professed objects of the war, and whose interests were to be deeply affected by it. Such a government, knowing that its strength consisted in the union of opinion among the people, would have taken no step of such importance, without that union; nor would it have mistaken mere party feeling for national sentiment.”

Extract from Mr. Pitkin's Speech on the Loan Bill, delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, February 10th, 1814.

“THE extravagant expenditures of former administrations, have for many years been the theme of both public and private declamation, as well as denunciation. It may be useful to look back, and to enquire whether the *practice* of those, who have professed so much *economy* in the expenditure of the public money, has been conformable to their *professions*.

By recurring to official documents, furnished us from the treasury department, we shall find that the whole expenses of the several administrations, (exclusive of the public debt) have been as follows :

1. The administration of president Washington—

The whole expense for military and naval establishments, Indian department, foreign intercourse, Barbary powers, civil list, and all others, (exclusive of public debt) from March 4th, 1789, to 1797, inclusive, being more than eight years, was Dols. 18,408,620 81

2. The expense, for same objects, during the administration of Mr. Adams, from 1798, to 1801, inclusive, being four years—was 23,496,430 13

Making from March 4th, 1789, to 1801, inclusive, being 12 years and ten months, } dls. 41,905,050 94

It will be remembered, that this sum includes the expenses of the Indian wars—about one million expended in suppressing an insurrection in Pennsylvania, and nearly one million for the release of American prisoners at Algiers, during president Washington's administration, and the whole expense of the war with France, in the administration of Mr. Adams.

3. The expense for the same objects, from 1801 to 1811, inclusive, being the eight years of president Jefferson's and two first years of president Madison's administration, making ten years in the whole, were \$ 54,437,478 06

Making whole expense (exclusive of the debt) } \$ 96,341,929 00
from March 4th, 1786, to Dec. 31st, 1811, }

Difference between the expense of Washington and Adams' administration, being twelve years and ten months, and the administration of Jefferson and Madison, for ten years, \$ 12,543,027 12

During the last period, there was paid under the Louisiana convention, and under the British treaty, and included in the above expenses, \$ 6,361,000 00

This sum was not equal to the extraordinary expense of the former period; each may, therefore, be offset against the other—but if deducted, will still leave a difference of \$ 6,182,027 00

From this statement, taken from official documents, it appears that the expense of the military establishment alone, for the year ending on the 30th of September, 1813, was greater than all the expenses (exclusive of the public debt) during the whole of the administration of president Washington. Strange, sir, as this may seem, it is nevertheless true.

From the 30th day of Sept. 1812, to the 30th day of Sept. 1813, there was paid from the treasury, for the military department alone, \$ 18,484,756 49

The whole expense (exclusive of the payments for the public debt) during the eight years of President Washington's administration, was only

18,408,020 81

Leaving a difference of

\$ 76,725 68

The estimate of expenses for the military department, for the year 1814, exceeds by about one million of dollars, the whole expense (exclusive of the debt) of Mr. Adams' administration. The expense of military establishment, for the present year, is estimated at more than twenty-four millions and a half, and the whole expense of that administration, (exclusive of debt) was a little short of twenty-three millions and a half. Yes, Mr. Chairman, the four years extravagance of president Adams, is to be outdone by the war department alone, during the present year. How often have we been reminded both here and elsewhere, of those hard and extravagant times. How often have the standing armies; the expensive navies, the 8 per cent. loans, and the enormous and oppressive taxes of John Adams, been refounded through every part of the United States—and with what effect? The authors of those measures were considered as unworthy of public confidence. And yet, sir, the expenditures of those times, in comparison with the expenditures of the present, were “trifles light as air.” In no one year did the military establishment of Mr. Adams cost more than about two millions and a half; for the present year it is estimated at more than twenty-four millions. Nor did he expend upon his favorite navy, more than about three millions and a half in any single year; the expense of the navy this year is estimated at 6,900,000. A little more than six millions was then borrowed at 8 per cent. This administration, during the last year borrowed twenty-two and a half millions of dollars, at about the same rate of interest, and we are now called upon to borrow twenty-five millions more, and which cannot, probably, be obtained on more favorable terms. A land tax of two millions of dollars was

then laid, with other internal taxes. A land tax of three millions is now in collection, with nearly all the other internal taxes of Mr. Adams, with some additional ones, and the amount of them is nearly doubled; and it is agreed that another land tax of three millions must be laid for the next year. I will not say that some of the expenditures of those times might not have been extravagant; but I will say, that those expenditures were economy, even parsimony itself, when compared with those of the present administration.

The expense of the war, at the close of the present year, at the present estimated rate of expenditure, will exceed the whole expenditure of president Washington's administration, for the same objects,

\$ 60,545,311 44

And will exceed that of president Adams,

55,454,902 17