MR. ADAMS' CORRESPONDENCE
CONTINUED.

To the Printers of the Boston Patriot.

SIRS,

In *pamphlet*, page 27, it is said that the great alteration in public opinion had put it completely in the power of our executive to control the machinations of any future public agent, of France.—— Therefore Philadelphia was a safer scene of negociation than Paris.

Mr. Hamilton's erroneous conceptions of the public opinion may be excused by the considerations that he was not a native of the United States; that he was born and bred in the West Indies, till he went to Scotland, for education, where he spent his time in a seminary of learning, till seventeen years of age; after which no man ever perfectly acquired a national character; then entered a college at New York, from whence he issued into the army as an aid-de-camp. In these situations he could scarcely acquire the opinions, feelings or principles of the American people. His error may be excused by the further consideration, that his time was chiefly spent in his pleasures, in his electioneering visits, conferences and correspondences, in propagating prejudices against every man whom he thought his superior in the public estimation; and in composing ambitious reports upon finance, while the real business of the treasury was done by Duer, by Wolcott, and even, for some time and in part, by Tench Coxe.

His observation that "France will never be without secret agents," is true —and it is equally true that England will always have secret agents and emissaries too. "That her partizans among our citizens, can much better promote her cause than any agents she can send," is also true: but it is at least equally true of the partizans of Great Britain. We have seen, in the foregoing papers, glaring and attrocious instances of the exertions of her public agents, secret emissaries and partizans among our citizens. But none have yet been mentioned that bear any comparison, in point of guilt and arrogance, with those of all kinds that have been exhibited within the last two or three years.

My worthy fellow citizens! Our form of government, inestimable as it is, exposes us more than any other to the insiduous intrigues and pestilential influence of foreign nations. Nothing but our inflexible neutrality can preserve us. The public negociations and secret intrigues of the English and the French have been employed, for centuries in every court and country of Europe.—Look back to the history of Spain, Holland, Germany, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Italy, and Turkey, for the last hundred years. How many revolutions have been caused? How many emperors and kings have fallen victims to the alternate triumphs of parties, excited by Englishmen or Frenchmen? And can we expect to escape the vigilent attention of politicians so experienced, so keen sighted, and so rich?—If we convince them that our attachment to neutrality is unchangeable, they will let us alone: but as long as a hope remains, in either power, of seducing us to engage in war on his side and against his enemy, we shall be torn and convulsed by their manœuvres.

Never was there a grosser mistake of public opinion than that of Mr. Hamilton. The great alteration in public opinion had not then, nor has it yet, taken place. The French republic still existed: the French people were still considered as struggling for liberty, amidst all their internal revolutions, their conflicts of parties, and their bloody wars against the coalitions of European powers. Monarchy, empire, had not been suggested. Bonaparte had appeared only as a soldier; had acted on the public stage in no civil or political employment. A sense of gratitude, for services rendered us in our revolution, by far more sincere and ardent than reason or justice could warrant, still remained on the minds, not only of our republicans, but of great numbers of our soundest federalists. Did Mr. Hamilton recollect the state of our presses? Recollect the names and popular eloquence of the editors of the opposition papers? That scoffing, scorching wit, and that caustic malignity af soul, which appeared so remarkably in all the writings of Thomas Paine and Caliender, which to the disgrace of human nature, never fails to command attention and applause? The members of the senate and house, who were decided against the administration, their continual intercourse and communications with French emissaries? The hideous clamor against the alien law, and sedition law; both considered as levelled against the French and their friends, and the surrender according to the British treaty, of the Irish murderer Nash, imposed upon the public for Jonathan Robbins? Did he recollect the insurrection in Pennsylvania. The universal and perpetual inflammatory publications against the land tax, stamp tax, coach tax, excise law, and eight per cent loan?—Did he never see nor hear of the circular letters of members of Congress from the middle and southern states? Did he know nothing of the biting sarcasms, the burning rage against himself and his own army? Did he know nothing of a kind of journal that was published of every irregular act of any officer or soldier, of every military punishment that was inflicted, under the appellation of the Cannibal's progress? Did he see nothing of the French cockades ostentatiously exhibited aganst the American cockades?

Had a French minister been sent here with his suite, he would have been instantly informed of every source and symptom of discontent. Almost every Frenchmen upon the continent, and they were then numerous in all the states, would have been employed in criminating the American government, in applauding the condescension of the French directory, and the friendly, conciliating disposition of the French nation. Nothing could have been kept secret. The popular clamor for peace on any terms would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to resist.—The multitude in Philadelphia, as it was, were almost as ripe to pull me out of my house as they had been to dethrone Washington in the time of Genet. Even the night of the fast day, the streets were crouded with multitudinous assemblies of the people, especially that before my door, and kept in order only, as many people thought, by a military patrol, ordered, I believe, by the governor of Pennsylvania.

In these circumstances it was my opinion, and it is so still, it was infinitely better to conduct the negociation at Paris than in Philadelphia. But if this was and is an error, it was certainly not of such consequence as Hamilton tho't fit to represent it. If it was an error, I humbly conceive it would have better become Mr. Hamilton to have been silent, than to endeavor to make it unpopular—since the step was taken and irrevocable, when he wrote.

But the real truth is, he was in hopes, as well as Mr. Liston, that the French government would neither send a minister here, nor receive one there—in short, that they would have gone to war with us. If we had waited for a minister here, much time would have been lost; our little naval force under Talbot, Truxton, Decatur, Little, &c. was doing wonders in protecting our commerce, and in fighting and capturing French ships of war. Some of our citizens were not wanting in irritating expressions of exultation of triumph, particularly in parading a French national ship that had been captured by Decatur, up the Delaware, in sight of all the citizens of Philadelphia, with the French national colors reversed under our American flag. Hamilton hoped that such provocations would produce an irreconcileable breach, and a declaration of war. He was disappointed and lost the command of his army.—*Hinc illæ Lacrimæ!*

There were other circumstances of more serious and solid importance, indicative of public opinion, which Mr. Hamilton, if he had been a vigilant and sagacious statesman, could not have overlooked. The venerable patriarchs, Pendleton and Wythe of Virginia, openly declaimed for peace; the former came out in priat with his name, protesting against a war with our sister republic of France. General Heath came out with an address to the public in Massachusetts, declaring that every man he met was decidedly for peace. When the election was coming on, the legislature of Massachusetts dare not trust the people, either at large or in districts, to choose electors, but assumed that office to themselves. In New York, the great interest and vast bodies of people, who were supposed to follow or direct the two great families of Clintons and Livingstons, aided by all the address and dexterity of Aaron Burr, was decidedly for peace with France. In Pennsylvania, gov. M'Kean, with his majority of thirty thousand votes, or in other words, at the head of the two vast bodies of Germans and Irish, reinforced by great numbers of English Presbyterians, Quakers and Anabaptists, were decidedly against a war with France.

After enumerating all these symptoms of the popular bias, it would be frivolous to enlarge upon the conversations of which I was informed at taverns and insurance offices, threatening violence to the president by pulling him out of his chair, upon the French cockades that were every where paraded before my eyes, in opposition to the black cockade, or upon the declarations and oaths, which I know were made by no small numbers, that if we went to war with France, and the French should come here, they would join them against the federalists and the English. These things I recollect with grief, because they do no honor to our country: but I must say they disgrace it no more than many more solemn actions and declarations of the opposite party against France, and in favor of England, have done within the last twelve months.

In these circumstances, it was the height of folly to say as Hamilton says, that it would have been safer to negociate at Philadelphia than at Paris.—As to our ambassador's being overawed in Paris, by any finesse of politicians, or triumphs of the French arms, we must take care to send men who are equal to such trials. The French have not, as yet gained any great and unjust advantages of us by all their policy. Our envoys were precisely instructed. Every article was prescribed that was to be insisted on as an ultimatum. In a treaty they could not depart from a punctilio. A convention they might make, as they did, at their own risque. But the president and senate were under no obligation to ratify it. Had it betrayed a single point of essential honor or interest, I would have sent it back, as Mr. Jefferson did the treaty with England, without laying it before the senate. If I had been doubtful, the senate would have decided.

Where, then, was the danger of this negociation? No where but in the disturbed imagination of Alexander Hamilton. To me only it was dangerous.—To me, as a public man, it was fatal, and that only because Alexander Hamilton, was pleased to wield it, as a poisoned weapon, with the express purpose of destroying. Though I owe him no thanks for this, I most heartily rejoice in it, because it has given me eight years incomparably the happiest of my life: whereas, had I been chosen president again, I am certain I could not have lived another year. It was utterly impossible that I could have lived through one year more of such labors and cares as were studiously and maliciously accumulated upon me, by the French faction and the British faction; the former aided by the republicans, and the latter by Alexander Hamilton, and his satellites.

JOHN ADAMS.

Quincy May 26, 1809.

COMMUNICATION.
TO THE REPUBLICAN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Too much applause cannot be rendered to an honest yeomanry, who unmindful of the deprivations of luxury, and sometimes of convenience, have remained firm to the interests of America, regardless of every sordid appeal which was made to their avarice or passions.—During the continuance of the embargo, you suffered, no doubt, but you suffered in the cause of your country. You thought it better to sustain a few temporary inconveniences than see the wives of your bosoms yielded to the unsated lust of foreign spoilers, the daughters of your affection torn from your bleeding arms, and the sons of your hopes dragged into foreign captivity amid the revilings of the conquerors and the tears of the conquered.—You knew the embargo was a substitute for [illegible] you willingly approached the altar of peace and laid on it the burnt offerings of your labour. You thought it better that your wheat, and your corn, your cotton and tobacco should remain on your farms, hoping for a future and a better market, than that an invading army should, in one disastrous moment, seize the fruits of your labor, and the hopes of your harvest—burn down the mansions of your fathers which had so long sheltered you from the storms of the sky and changes of the seasons, and turn you out to wander friendless and cheerless over your fields, still flaming with the ruins of your fortunes, and reeking with the blood of your friends. You knew the contest was, whether Britain was dependent on America, or America dependent on Britain; whether we, shut up in our ports, and confined to our homes could live without her manufactures or her products, or whether we could not force her to submission by refusing employment to her manufactories, labor to her poor, and luxuries to her rich. The issue has been most glorious, and America knows at this day that she can war with Europe with weapons more powerful than the deep toned thunder of artillery, or all the pomp and pageantry of war. She can conquer her manufacturing towns without a soldier; pull down her looms without committing the ravages of war; and silence the "busy hum" of her cities without the discharge of a cannon. Like her own tarapin she can withdraw within herself and find a shelter in the kindness of the God of nature. At first the British ministry with their accustomed insolence and ill timed irony, laughed at your conduct, and derided your threats. Mr. Canning in his letter to Mr. Pinkney, our minister, says, that his majesty would adhere to the orders in council least "it should hereafter be imputed to Great Britain that she was compelled to court an intercourse with America as absolutely necessary to her own existence." Such was the proud tenure of his language. But Canning is not the first political champion that has looked stern when he threw his gauntlet, but upon the acceptance of the challenge, has appeared with the faltering steps of virgin temidity.—This Canning, who has been eulogised as a minister, has proved himself entirely unacquainted with the sources of the British empire, with the East India concerns, with the only mode of retaining that balance of power on the continent which has since been lost, and finally with the close of independence on America which has since exhibited.—But the now thrice noble Canning, the bastard son of the blooming Mrs. Cherry when she was first rine of the fruits of love, and ready to yield up her virgin honor to one of the virtuous peersage of England; and the sacred lunatic of the Hanoverian house, whose madness has been consecrated by holy unction, have at length, in spite of fulmigating language, been forced from the position they had assumed, and confessed that "intercouse with America is absolutely necessary to her existence." To you citizens of America, are we indebted for this. The government had laid an embargo, but it remained with you to give it effect. Your patriotism and unshaken fortitude enable the government to atchieve a victory more permanent and more glorious than those obtained in the blood stained fields of Jena, Marengo, or Austerlitz: more permanent because we fought with the weapons of nature which may always be resorted to; more glorious, because no widow went over the bloody corps of her husband, no orphan lamented the loss of his sire. When a great nation has receded with reluctant, but necessary steps for the situation she had assumed, the humiliation of her character pierces her deeply, but though writhing under defeat she not renew her former aggressions. View her conduct scrutinize it well.

1st. Britain refused to make reparation for the aggressions committed on the Chesapeake, and even disdained to inform us what reparation she would make until the proclamation of the president was revoked.	1st Yet she has spotaneously made every reparation that our government demanded while that proclamation remained unrepealed.
2d. Britain refused in the most positive manner, to repeal her orders in council, although the president offered to suspend the embargo as far as related to her.	2d. Yet she has offered to rescind her orders in council if the president would open a commercial intercourse with her.
3d. Britain refused to renew a negociation for a treaty, alleging that she had already offered the only one which she would make.	3d. Yet she now proposes to make one.

Who would have thought, two centuries past, when our fathers flying from religious and civil persecution sought this clime as a refuge for freedom of opinion, that they were cradling in the winds of America an infant nation that would one day revenge their wrongs, and make haughty Britain atone for the injustice she had been guilty of. One century more, and the waves of the ocean will roll round the British isles with hollow repercussion, no longer float to her port the tributary riches of the world; for commerce will have fled from a country whose corruption enters at every portal of the government, and saps the whole fabric to its fall. But, people of America, you have shewn that the strength of a republic exists in the virtue of its freemen. In vain were you reproached by the enemies of the administration for imposing the embargo; in vain were you assailed with misrepresentations of its design, and consequences; in vain were sordid appeals made to your interest. You rose superior to them and you are amply compensated for the sacrifices you have made by the attainment of peace, the joyful harbinger of individual and national property.

MAXIMIN.

Capture of the Toulon Fleet.

NEW YORK, July 12.

Capt. Dashiels, of the sloop Henry, in 8 days from Bermuda, informs us, that he sailed from Martinique on the 27th of June, and on that day, advices were received there, of the capture of the Toulon fleet, by lord Collingwood, consisting of five sail of the line, 6 or 7 frigates, and 30 transports, having on board the French garrison of Barcelona. Capt. D. further states, that a vessel had arrived at Martinique, having spoken an Amsrican ship from Gibraltar, and was informed by the American captain, that lord Collongwood had arrived at Gibraltar previous to his sailing, with the whole French fleet, his prizes.

The above account is confirmed by a letter from St. Croix of the 2d July, received by the Richard.

BALTIMORE, *July* 21.

In addition to the following news VIA Boston, London dates to May 22d, have been reccived at New-York, VIA Bermuda.

The Bermuda accounts are a confused jumble from which we can merely infer that affairs generally on the European continent are such as could not be wished for by England. As we have always feared, the British Cabinet have conducted themselves towards us with the most unparalelled perfidy.

Admiral Siniavin's squadron, taken in the Tagus by the English, have been sent home, as a lure to detach the Czar Alexander from his French alliance.

A change is talked of in the British ministry.

The British government has loaned to the Prince Regent of Portugal £.600,000, taking the revenues of the island of Madeira, as security.

Insurrections are talked of as having taken place in Germany and in the Tyrol.

The British represent affairs in Spain and Portugal as in a prosperous train to the united arms of England, of the Seville Junta, and of the Portuguese, but from the manner of narration, they do not appear fully entitled to credit.

Latest Foreign News.

BOSTON, July 17.

Arrived this morning Schooner Ann, Kelly, from Halifax, bringing London dates to May 25.

AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

LONDON, May 24.

In the House of Commons last night Lord Henry Petty, put a question to Mr. Canning upon the subject of the correspondence between Mr. Erskine and the American government—Mr. Canning replied, that the agreement purporting to be entered into by our Minister and the American Government was not made in conformity with the wishes of his majesty nor such as his majesty could approve of. It was neither founded on the instructions sent to our Minister, nor consistent with them. Yet, as it was possible, that, under the faith of that agreement, various speculations in trade might be entered into by the American Merchants, it became necessary, to prevent any inconvenience or detriment to them, to issue some order, by which they might be secured of indemnity in their speculations, at least till the sentiments of his majesty could be conveyed to America. An Order of Council will be speedily published to the above mentioned effect.—It will appear in Saturday night's Gazette. Previously however, to the meeting of the House of Commons yesterday. Mr. Sansom the chairman of the committee of merchants trading to the United States of America, received a note from Earl Bathurst, the President of the Board of Trade, requesting his attendance with such other Gentlemen of the Committee as might be inclined to accompany him at the Board.

The chairman and several members of the committee repaired at one o'clock to the Treasury chamber, and on their being introduced to the Board of Trade, were informed by Earl Bathurst, that the recent arrangements made by our Ambassador, Mr. Erskine, with the government of the United States, through its Secretary, Mr. Smith, were *unauthorised* by his majesty's ministers, and that he had sent for the committee for the express purpose of communicating the fact to them, with the view that the same might without loss of time be made known to the merchants trading to the United States. His lordship at the same time informed the committee, that no advantage would be taken or any impediment thrown in the way of those who had already, and in consequence of this *unauthorised* arrangement, sent consignments to any of his Britannic majesty's subjects; but that American ships and cargoes, under such circumstances, would be allowed to proceed to their destined ports in security.

The Gazette of Saturday contains an Order of Council, extending the blockade of ports under the controul of France, to the Eastern as well as to the Western Ems, and to prevent all vessels from sailing into or out of that river by any channel to the Westward of the Island of Juyst.

SURRENDER OF VIENNA.

RATISBON, MAY 12.—This morning the following Bulletin and General Orders have been published:—

"ARMY OF GERMANY.

"A Saxon officer, or Courier, who passed through Ratisbon last night, has brought the intelligence, that on the 9th his majesty the emperor and king entered Vienna.

By the Commandant,
(Signed) "J. L. FELIX.

Augsburgh, May 12—According to certain intelligence the French troops are already on the other side of Vienna. It is probable that they will proceed directly towards Hungary, in order to anticipate the insurrection there.

Austria, May 4.—We have heard nothing of battles since the retreat of the Archduke Charles over the Danube—He has fixed his great army in Bohemia.

Hague, May 22.—The following important intelligence is contained in letters of the 13th instant, from the Lower Rhine.

On the 25th of April, the emperor of Russia declared war against Austria, and ordered his armies to enter Gallicia and Hungary. The Russians have already