

lengths to avoid rupture with France than with Great Britain ; to make greater sacrifices for reconciliation with the former than with the latter.

In making this avowal, I owe it to my own character to say that the disposition I have confessed, did not proceed from predilection for France (revolutionary France, after her early beginnings, has been always to me an object of horror) nor from the supposition that more was to be feared from France, as an enemy, than from Great-Britain (I thought that the maritime power of the latter, could do us most mischief) but from the persuasion that the sentiments and prejudices of our country, would render war with France a more unmanageable business, than war with Great-Britain.

Let any fair man pronounce whether the circumstances which have been disclosed, bespeak the partisan of Great-Britain, or the man exclusively devoted to the interests of this country. Let any delicate man decide, whether it must not be shocking to an ingenuous mind, to have to combat a slander so vile, after having sacrificed the interests of his family, and devoted the best part of his life to the service of that country, in counsel and in the field.

It is time to conclude--The statement which has been made, shews that Mr. Adams has committed some positive and serious errors of Administration ; that in addition to these, he has certain fixed points of character which tend naturally to the detriment of any cause of which he is the Chief, of any Administration of which he is the head ; that by his ill humours and jealousies he has already divided and distracted the supporters of the Government ; that he has furnished deadly weapons to its enemies by unfounded accusations, and has weakened the force of its friends by decrying some of the most influential of them to the utmost of his power ; and, let it be added, as the necessary effect of such conduct, that he has made great progress in under-

mining the ground which was gained for the government by his predecessor, and that there is real cause to apprehend, it might totter, if not fall, under his future auspices. A new government, constructed on free principles, is always weak, and must stand in need of the props of a firm and good Administration; till time shall have rendered its authority venerable, and fortified it by habits of obedience.

Yet with this opinion of Mr. Adams, I have finally resolved not to advise the withholding from him a single vote. The body of federalists, for want of sufficient knowledge of facts, are not convinced of the expediency of relinquishing him. It is even apparent, that a large proportion still retain the attachment which was once a common sentiment. Those of them, therefore, who are dissatisfied, as far as my information goes, are, generally speaking, willing to forbear opposition, and to acquiesce in the equal support of Mr. Adams with Mr. Pinckney, whom they prefer. Have they not a claim to equal deference from those who continue attached to the former? Ought not these, in candor, to admit the possibility that the friends who differ from them, act not only from pure motives, but from cogent reasons? Ought they not, by a co-operation in General Pinckney, to give a chance for what will be a *safe* issue, supposing that they are right in their preference, and the best issue, should they happen to be mistaken? Especially, since by doing this, they will encrease the probability of excluding a third candidate, of whose unfitness all sincere federalists are convinced. If they do not pursue this course, they will certainly incur an immense responsibility to their friends and to the Government.

To promote this co-operation, to defend my own character, to vindicate those friends, who with myself have been unkindly aspersed, are the inducements for writing this letter. Accordingly, it will be my endeavour to regulate the

communication of it in such a manner as will not be likely to deprive Mr. Adams of a single vote. Indeed, it is much my wish that its circulation could for ever be confined within narrow limits. I am sensible of the inconveniences of giving publicity to a similar developement of the character of the Chief Magistrate of our country ; and I lament the necessity of taking a step which will involve that result. Yet to suppress truths, the disclosure of which is so interesting to the public welfare as well as to the vindication of my friends and myself, must appear to me justifiable.

The restraints to which I submit, are a proof of my disposition to sacrifice to the prepossessions of those, with whom I have heretofore thought and acted, and from whom in the present question I am compelled to differ. To refrain from a decided opposition to Mr. Adams's re-election has been reluctantly sanctioned by my judgment ; which has been not a little perplexed between the unqualified conviction of his unfitness for the station contemplated, and a sense of the great importance of cultivating harmony among the supporters of the government ; on whose firm union hereafter will probably depend the preservation of order, tranquillity, liberty, property ; the security of every social and domestic blessing.



New-York, August 1, 1800.

SIR,

IT has been repeatedly mentioned to me, that you have, on different occasions, asserted the existence of a British faction in this country ; embracing a number of leading or influential characters of the Federal party, (as usually

denominated) and that you have sometimes named me, at others, plainly alluded to me, as one of this description of persons. And I have likewise been assured, that of late, some of your warm adherents for electioneering purposes, have employed a corresponding language.

I must, Sir, take it for granted, that you cannot have made such assertions or insinuations, without being willing to avow them, and to assign the reasons to a Party who may conceive himself injured by them. I therefore trust, that you will not deem it improper, that I apply directly to yourself to ascertain from you, in reference to your own declarations, whether the information I have received, has been correct or not ; and if correct, what are the grounds upon which you have founded the suggestion.

With respect,

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

A. H.

To JOHN ADAMS, Esq. }
 President of the U. States. }

New-York, October 1, 1800.

SIR,

THE time which has elapsed since my letter of the first of August was delivered to you, precludes the further expectation of an answer.

From this silence, I will draw no inference ; nor will I presume to judge of the fitness of silence on such an occasion on the part of the Chief Magistrate of a Republic, towards a Citizen, who, without a stain, has discharged so many important public trusts.

But thus much I will affirm, that by whomsoever a charge of the kind mentioned in my former letter, may, at any time, have been made or insinuated against me, it is a base, wicked and cruel calumny; destitute even of a plausible pretext, to excuse the folly, or mask the depravity which must have dictated it.

With due respect,

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

A. H

To JOHN ADAMS, Esq. }
President of the U. States. }

FINIS.