

Ms. B.9.1 (13)

No. 1st Nov. 4th 1824

Is the transportation of slaves to Hayti or to Africa preferable?

It is a fact too well known though I believe too feebly felt that the number of slaves in our Southern States is rapidly and to an alarming degree increasing; And it is also a fact which cannot be concealed or denied that in exact proportion as the number of slaves & of free negroes increases their impatience of slavery and their hatred to the whites also increases. Indeed judging from the disturbances which have arisen within a few years past, it would seem that even now there is rankling in the bosoms of the slaves a deep & rooted hatred towards their masters which needs but only the plotting intrigues of a ^{few} determined, active & skillful men to kindle it into ^a flame (which shall consume not merely the possessions but the possessors,) which shall not merely lay waste our fruitful fields ^{in ashes} bury our thriving and opulent cities; but which shall deluge our land with the blood of her sons gallant sons & which shall expose our wives & our

children to all the crimes of ~~an~~ infuriated ignorant and lawless mob. In short there is a great and rapidly increasing evil in the ~~very~~ heart of our country. There is a deep and deadly canker gnawing upon the ^{very} vitals of our republic, which if not soon remedied, threatens her, though not with destruction at least with rebellion and bloodshed.

In the consideration of this question therefore, we are to bear in mind, that the evil of slavery is great and dangerous and being such, that it demands not ^{an} ~~an~~ ^{immediate} ~~immediate~~, cheap and temporary remedy, but a remedy which though it may be more remote, and more expensive shall notwithstanding be lasting and effectual.

Since then only ^{two} means of removing the evil are presented viz, transportation to Hayti or to Africa, we must consider the advantages & disadvantages of the two countries in connection, that we may be enabled to form a just conclusion to which the preference belongs.

I am sensible that the cheapness of transportation, and the comparative shortness of the time in which it would naturally seem that our country could be rid of the evil of slavery, are arguments, which at first sight appear ^{as} almost ~~an~~ conclusive, in favour of Hayti. But I am equally ~~con~~ sensible that, if we take ^{them} into careful consideration we shall find, that ~~they are altogether the contrary~~, instead of removing the evil of slavery, (although we may thus release some, perhaps all now in our country from it) we are in fact increasing the evil of slavery. For, unless our ^{government} shall be more independent and energetic in the execution of its laws

prohibiting the slave trade, of which though there may be some prospect, yet there is by no means ^{any} certainty, it ~~certainly~~ cannot fail to be obvious to every one, that while we are releasing one we are only making room for another; that while we are releasing one and giving him all the advantages of a free and civilized ^{society} ~~country~~ smugglers will be ~~smuggling~~ privately secretly bringing others into our country and into all the miseries incident to slavery.

But dismissing this part of the subject ~~us~~; by transporting our slaves to Hayti we are raising up on our borders, a nation, not only numerous but one possessing which soon promises to become strong and which, possessing as they now do a strong dislike if not hatred to our countrymen, would in time of war when allied to our enemies become a dangerous and powerful foe. And not only this but ~~we~~ if we may be allowed to judge from probabilities, we have reason to fear that when they shall have learned the art of navigation, they will furnish many, who actuated by a spirit of revenge shall play the part of pirates with cruelty and success.

The Haytian ~~government~~ cannot but know that, since the negroes which they ~~may~~ ^{from} furnish time receive under their protection are most if not all of them extremely ignorant, means must be devised and put into active operation for their instruction if they would preserve their ~~in~~ ^{peace} and harmony or if they would preserve their government ~~from the incursions of factions and parties or~~

from becoming the tools of the factions and party spirited men or if they would preserve their government in a state of peace & prosperity. We may therefore reasonably expect that they will our slaves will soon become instructed in all the arts of civilized life: and when thus instructed they cannot fail to feel estimate & feel sensibly the degraded situation in which they were formerly placed; and, unless some stronger motive than the gratitude, which we might naturally expect from persons released ^{as it were} from a state of unjust confinement, that hatred which even now ^{is} planted in many a bosom will increase cannot fail to be rooted deeper and deeper.

② (But ~~as~~ far different is the picture presented in Africa) ^{and} although at present transportation to Africa is attended with considerable expense yet we have reason to believe that, when the several colonies now ~~from~~ planted upon her shores shall have become flourishing and populous, a ^{communication} ~~door~~ will be opened to ~~commerce~~ between that country and our own which shall ~~make it~~ render ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~very~~ advantageous to ~~those engaged in commerce~~ ~~the~~ transport ~~emigrants~~ to that country for ^a trifling consideration, the transportation of emigrants to for a very small compensation peculiarly advantageous to those engaged in commercial pursuits.

① I ^{am also} well aware that it will be urged in

favour of Hayti that those slaves which are transported will enjoy advantages far superior to those which can be enjoyed in Africa for a long time to come. But I believe it will be found upon examination that though this ^{is} true it cannot have any ^{important} bearing upon the present question: For I presume no one will contend that we are bound to love our neighbours better than ourselves, in other words that we are bound to regard the advantages and welfare of the blacks to the neglect or injury of our own. This cannot be. We have an evil on our hands and although ⁱⁿ ~~it~~ ^{is} ~~removing~~ ^{it} we are bound by the laws of God & nature to ~~rid ourselves of it~~ we are not to regard the welfare of the blacks and to use our utmost endeavours to redeem them from that state of degradation and ignorance into which they partly by our means they have fallen we are not therefore to neglect our own interest both as a nation and as individuals. ~~Much less care the feelings of nature~~ ~~suffer us to after~~ ~~Much less ought the feelings of our~~ ~~to the~~ ~~miseries, woe and ignorance of slavery,~~ ~~ought our character as a nation to suffer us to turn~~ ~~them off our hands with the least possible expense~~ ~~and leave them to the protection of others.~~ ~~But on~~ ~~the contrary it ought to prompt us~~ ~~to~~ ~~active and~~ ~~effectual efforts, not only to remove the stigma~~ ~~which slavery now casts upon us; but to gain~~ ~~in its stead the renown and applause of having~~ ~~planted~~ ~~upon the shores of Africa~~ ~~a~~ ~~ref~~

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a government, which I like ~~our own~~ upon
shall extend the blessings of civil and religious
liberty to ^{the} wretched ignorant and degraded
African.

Again I can imagine of no way in which the
slave trade can be effectually abolished but by
planting (settlement) on the coast of ^{Africa} themselves ex-
-perience of ~~felt~~ the evils miseries of slavery and the happiness
of liberty. We cannot for a moment imagine
that ~~with~~ while our planters continue to
purchase slaves our government ~~can~~ with all
the vigilance which it is able to exert can entirely
suppress that hellish traffic in human blood.
Slaves will ~~either~~ can we imagine, that, while
slaves can be obtained in Africa with so
much ease as at present, this trade will cease.
We see then ~~to be driven to~~ ~~necessity~~ if we would
entirely suppress this trade to be driven to the
necessity of either of supporting an immense
navy upon the coasts or of forming ~~estab~~
establishing settlements on the shores of Africa
~~to~~ for the sake of guarding strictly the whole extent
of ^{her} coast. And what men I ask would be more
zealous for its suppression than those who have
felt the galling chains of slavery? The streams
will not cease to flow while the fountain is un-
diminished.

But a more important argument than any
yet advanced in favour of Africa is, that this
seems to be only ~~the~~ effectual method by which
the now ignorant superstitious and idolatrous
African can become enlightened and acquainted

with the only true religion.

It is well known that ^{the} climate of Africa is very unfavourable to foreigners. No way seems therefore to present itself for spreading the gospel throughout Africa; but by means of the natives; and no way seems better calculated to prepare the natives for this ~~than~~ employment than the establishment of settlements upon the most healthy parts of her coast, which shall be superintended by men of talent and piety. Thus as from a center we may expect that the light of civil and religious liberty will spread over the thick darkness of ignorance and superstition

In short while in ~~the one~~ case we merely transport them to another country and leave them to the protection of those upon whom they have no claims; while we are raising up an ~~an~~ ^{an} ~~an~~ ^{an} borders a strong and perhaps dangerous population; while we are populating a country which in all probability will be inhabited with a numerous population quite soon enough for the good of our republics; while we are leaving the negroes our slaves without any exertion on our part to remove that hatred ^{towards us} which seems to be rankling in their bosoms ~~to~~ ^{to} become acquainted with the knowledge of a civilized life in the ~~other~~ we not only obviate all these objections, and remove all these dangers, but we are effecting ~~to~~ ^{to} Africa the abolition of the most horrible and ~~to~~ ^{to} Africa the most destructive of all ~~traffics~~ traffics; we are introducing a accomplishing

the two fold purpose of removing from our
country the dangerous evil and from our char-
acter as a nation the foul stain of slavery and of
introducing into Africa the benefits of a free and ^{religious}
enlightened nation and the enjoyment ~~of~~ ^{of} the

No. 2nd Nov. 1824.

When we visit our prisons and view the misery and degradation which is presented to our view; when we reflect that this constitutes but a small part of the distress attendant occasioned by imprisoning debtors and when we see many before us who are in the prime of life and many upon who have families dependant upon them for daily support I am well aware that our sympathy will be excited and our imagination will portray a picture ^{to our minds & create a picture} of innocence reduced to beggary or starvation of multitudes of suffering innocence & virtue ~~fastening for reward~~ from which our feelings recoil with horror. When we consider ^{also} ~~we are apt not only~~ that ^{no} advantage is gained by the creditor, but that he thus deprives ^{the} ~~of~~ every means of payment and more than this that for a paltry sum of money the personal happiness and liberty of the debtor is subject to the will an caprice of the creditor we ^{very} naturally exclaim that laws which produce ^{such evils} in their execution might to be abolished.

But I believe our imagination deceives us There is something in the human breast that always excites pity and sympathy at the sight of misfortune and distress. So that when these objects of compassion are presented to our

view without enquiring into their character or circumstances we ~~at~~ but ~~being~~ as if governed by our feelings ~~and~~ instead of our judgement and reason we at once conclude that they are all men who by ~~some~~ misfortune of some kind or other have been reduced to poverty and distress. We do not even seem to suppose it possible that they should be men who would gladly deprive their creditors of their just claims, that they are men of dissolute lives and morals, that they are the pest of society; but on the contrary ~~we take~~ without the least enquiry we take it for granted that they are virtuous in their lives and morals, but by means of sickness or other misfortune have been ~~reduced~~ involved in debt and thus for not paying debts which they were absolutely unable to pay though very willing to pay have been thrust into prison to gratify the revenge of the creditor.

But this is far from being true: for in 9 cases out of 10 I will venture to assert that those who are imprisoned are persons of the most degraded and vicious characters in society. They are not the honest and virtuous poor, but they are ^{very} many of them drunkards and spendthrifts, they are the dishonest and vicious. And I believe if that without much trouble facts might be alledged to support this assertion, if then a large proportion of the debtors in our jails are persons of this description I think they had better remain where they are: for they are then deprived of the means of mending themselves

miserable and their families distressed.)

But even if facts from the walls of our prisons cannot be alleged in support of this assertion daily observation must and will determine.

When do we see a man who ^{is} virtuous in his life and morals ~~and~~ who endeavours by his industry and frugality to preserve himself and family from want and uses every possible means to pay his debts in short one who is an honest poor man dragged from his family and employment & shut up in prison very rarely indeed. It is not such men as these who are imprisoned but it is those who do not and will not pay their debts without the compulsory power of the law.

But suppose for a moment that this is not a true statement of the case but that the number of the virtuous and honest poor ^{are imprisoned} far exceeds that of the contrary class. Even ^{then} the misery and degradation of which we are apt to form such a gloomy picture is not so great as ~~we~~ ^{is} often imagined. Indeed it cannot be called either misery or degradation. For when a poor man is imprisoned if he is really poor in a very few days he has the right or privilege of swearing out as it is termed: and if after this the creditor is disposed to keep him in jail he must support him and the poor man if his character be good can usually ~~may~~ ^{find} ~~some~~ ^{one} indeed I may say always find some one in the circle of his friends who will place confidence enough in his word to give the necessary bonds to obtain for him the liberty of the yard; which in most places where there are jails, is very

extensive. When this is the case the industrious and honest debtor can always find employment; and being supported by the creditor he can gain more from his labour than in his usual ~~employment~~ occupation. (Indeed I have heard many say they never made money so fast in their lives before.) I have known of many instances where the debtor has moved his family within the limits of the yard and thus lived with them as happy and contented as before save now I think a disagreeable feeling arising from the ~~consider~~ reflection that they were still confined, not in the unlimited enjoyment of liberty. Another thing in favour of the debtor under these circumstances and one which I believe has a powerful effect upon the mind is the avarice of the creditor.

The creditor though he may continue to support the debtor in prison for a little time will when he is ^{satisfied} ~~convinced~~ that this will ~~not~~ have no effect towards obtaining his debt, of which the frequent calls for the payment of the debtors support united with his avarice will soon convince him will let his prisoner go. This I believe has far more extensive effects upon the amelioration of the debtors distress than is at first imagined. It cannot be otherwise. I never yet knew a man who loved revenge better than his money. So that in cases where the debtor is maintained in prison by the creditor merely to gratify the revenge of the creditor we may be assured that his imprisonment will not continue long.

I am aware it will be said that this has no application to a part of the prisoners in our jails viz. ~~merchants~~ ^{merchants} who ~~have~~ by ~~some~~ their own negligence or some misfortune have been reduced to poverty and consequently being unable to pay their debts have been thrust into prison:

But in this ^{case too} I imagine that we magnify the evil. We never hear that a merchant who has lost his property at sea or by fire or some other unforeseen accident is cast into prison for not paying his debts: on the contrary subscriptions are always raised for his relief and his creditors ~~will~~ if they do not give up their claims will at least wait until he is again placed in prosperous circumstances. It is not merchants of this class who are imprisoned, but it is those who have been negligent in their business or who have spent their gains in rioting. ^{and} such persons ~~as these~~ I say deserve to be imprisoned as a punishment for their negligence and prodigality. Merchants I know when imprisoned are usually kept in confinement ^{by the creditors longer than other debtors} for ~~some time~~: But this ^{I believe} is ~~commonly~~ done from a belief that they ~~either~~ have secreted their property or unjustly conveyed into the hands of others.

But suppose we grant that the evils resulting

from the execution of these laws are as un-
-gracious and oppressive as our opponents would
have them appear, suppose that our imagination
does not deceive us, that the distressing picture
it presents to the mind when beholding the
~~wretched and degraded prisoners~~ ^{unhappy inhabitants of our prisons} is reality.

Because the laws are abused is no reason why
they should be abolished. Neither because there are
numerous evils resulting from the execution of
these laws if we can show that greater evils
would exist in the contrary state of things does
it follow that they ought to be abolished.

In the 1st place then, in every community there
must be something which shall secure the fulfilment
of mutual obligations. Indeed a community can-
not exist without some such bond. If then the
honour and integrity of the individuals who compose
that community is sufficient to secure this and
nothing more is necessary; but if not then some
thing else must be devised which will. And
since, whenever we become members of any ~~government~~
community we ~~voluntarily~~ by that very act give up
at least tacitly every natural undivided
right which may clash with the interest of the
whole, then I say no natural rights are violated by
the enactment of laws which are for the general good.

And that those laws which imprison for debt
are for the general good I think ^{is proved by} the bare fact
that no civilized ^{nation} ~~what~~ has ever existed which
has ^{not} found it necessary to enact some law to
secure the payment of debts: For no ^{law is} ~~nation~~ ever
~~yet~~ enacted ~~laws~~ to prevent evils which ~~never~~ had
not existed beforehand. Therefore we may
reasonably conclude that in the first stages
of society no laws were made to secure the
payment of debts until ~~they~~ it was found that the
honour and veracity of the individuals who
composed the community ~~was~~ were insufficient
to secure this end.

Again by abolishing these laws we strike a
fatal blow to all credit and consequently to
one of the main springs of our government & our
commerce.

Every one must see in ~~the~~ a moment that ~~they~~
all credit will be destroyed or if not where credit
is given a wide door will be opened for the prac-
tice of fraud. We cannot in any instance
~~exactly~~ determine exactly the situation of any
persons affairs even now much less could we
do it when there was any great object to be
attained by the person from concealing them.
It cannot be denied either that, ~~the~~ commerce
that ~~might~~ almost inexhaustible source of
improvement and intellectual refinement, of
wealth and power to our country, ~~will~~ ~~be~~
devoids its chief support from credit and conse-
quently when ~~credit~~ this support is destroyed that
commerce is also destroyed. Thus ^{we} strike a destruc-
-tive

blow at the very foundation of our govern-
-ment.

I might ~~it go on and~~ should also prove
that these laws are not so ineffectual as they
are sometimes represented, that they are an
incitement to industry and frugality, and that
no improvement of them can be made which
shall ~~entirely~~ be free from objections, but
time forbids.

Ought imprisonment for debt to be ~~at~~
abolished? No.

Was the last war justifiable? Dec 1824. V. 3.

It has ever been the opinion of our wisest and most experienced statesmen that, for a nation situated like ours, far from the commotions and wars which have from time to time shaken the European world; for a nation in which the principles of civil and religious liberty are as yet in their infancy, neutrality is indispensable for its prosperity and independence. Assuming, this opinion as correct in order to come to a satisfactory conclusion with regard to the questions now before us, we must carefully consider whether the causes alledged for the war were such as to render it ~~it~~ ^{ex} just; and if just whether they were of such a nature as would render it expedient, whether they were such as the war could or did remedy?

The principal causes of the war ~~me~~ ^{it} seems were, blockades orders in Council and impressments.

In the 1st place with regard to blockades. The government of the United States has ever acknowledged that all blockades which were supported by an adequate force were just and lawful. England has ever professed the same principle.

In Aug. 1804 England declared all the ports on the French coast from Biscay to Brest to be blockaded. In May 1805 she declared all the coast of France from the river Elbe to the river Rhine to be ~~under the~~ in a state of blockade. The ~~words~~ terms of this decree are as follows "That the said coast rivers & ports must be considered as blockaded" but that such blockade shall not extend to prevent neutral ships & vessels, laden with goods, not being the property of his majesty's enemies and not being contraband of war from approaching the said coasts and entering into and sailing from the said rivers and ports save and except the coast, rivers and ports from Brest to the river Seine already in a state of strict and rigorous blockade and which are to be considered as so continued, with a proviso

"that the vessels entering had not been laden at a port belonging to, or in possession of, the enemies of Great Britain, and the vessels departing were not destined to an enemy port, or had previously broken blockade."

The question here arises whether England enforced these ~~blockades~~ blockades by an adequate force? If she did not then we had just reason for complaint; but if she did, according to what the U. S. have ever acknowledged as just, we had ~~no~~ ^{none} reason for declaring war against her. And here I would ask what evidence have we that these blockades were not supported by an adequate force? ~~Was~~ Was it even pretended at that time that they were unjust? Did those who favored the war and who made these blockades a specific ground of complaint ever ~~publ~~ make known any official documents which gave satisfactory evidence that they were not thus supported? I answer etc. ~~What~~ Why then, since those whose duty and interest demanded that they should show that these blockades were unjust and unlawful have never done it; why I say shall we not, why ought we not to conclude that they were supported by an adequate force and therefore ~~unjust~~ ^{unjust} just? Again we know that England at that time ~~did~~ possessed a ~~suff~~ naval force sufficient to blockade that part ^{of the coast} which she declared to be ~~under~~ in ^{such} a state of ~~it~~: and we know too that this coast lies very near to England, that it is situated in the most convenient manner possible for her to support and to hold frequent communications with, this force. What then did Great Britain do with all her naval force ~~when~~ at that time? did she keep ~~them~~ ^{it} at home to ~~repel~~ ^{repel} invasion, or did she not rather send it to hover on the coast of France and while she thus prevented the French from making an invasion, also supported the blockades?

This to be sure is a difficult point to determine. The most that I can find relating to it is, that Mr Foster the British minister at that time repeatedly declares that the blockade of May 1806 including that of ¹⁸⁰⁴ ~~the~~ was not ~~rescued~~ ^{renounced} until it was satisfactorily known that a ~~sufficient~~ ^{sufficient} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Majority~~ ^{Majority}

Board of Admiralty possessed the means and would employ them of watching the whole coast from West to Elbe and of effectually enforcing the blockades, while our ministers at the same time contend that they were not thus supported. The whole proof on this point seems to consist in assertions only. The American minister contradicts what the British minister affirms. ~~The nature~~ The particular ~~situation~~ nature of the case may be some excuse perhaps for not producing direct and certain evidence upon it; but I am notwithstanding inclined to believe that such evidence might have been produced if it ever existed: and I do not know that any such ever was disclosed.

And ~~even~~ if they were not enforced what injury did we receive from them? I would not by any means favour paper blockades; but as long as England professed a principle which she was unable to maintain so long at least we could receive no injury.

But this is not all the evidence to prove that it was unjust to make this a cause of war. Mr. Hauncey then our minister in England in his communications with Mr. Canning often speaks in favour of them. In a letter dated May 20th 1805 he expressly says that "he had been strengthened in ~~the~~ opinion that the order of the 10th was drawn with a view to the question of our trade with enemies colonies & that it promises to be highly satisfactory to our commercial interests." This is the declaration of a man who afterwards made this same order a cause of war; but I have already dwelt upon this too long.

The next thing orders in Council next claim our attention. These have always been considered in connection with the French decrees. ~~It would however~~ ~~be~~ And since it would be almost endless to mention all the concomitant circumstances in detail I shall give only a brief view of them arranged as nearly as possible in the order of the time.

On the 21st Decr 1805 the Berlin decree was issued as a retaliatory measure for the blockade of May preceding which at that

time the U.S. States did not pretend to be unjust, declaring "all the British Islands in a state of blockade; prohibiting all commerce and correspondence with them, all trade in their manufactures; and making lawful prize of all merchandise, belonging to England or coming from its manufactures and colonies."

On the 11th of Nov^r 1807 The British orders in council were issued as a retaliatory measure to the Berlin decree declaring "all ports, and places belonging to France, and its allies from which the British flag was excluded, all, in the colonies of his Britannic majesty's enemies, in a state of blockade; - prohibiting all trade in the produce and manufactures, of the said countries or colonies; and making all vessels, trading to or from them, and all merchandise on board subject to capture and condemnation, with an exception, only in favour of the direct trade, between neutral countries and the colonies of his Majesty's enemies."

On the 17th Dec 1807 ~~he~~ but little more than a month after the orders in council were issued Napoleon issued his Milan Decree declaring "every ship of whatever nation which shall have submitted to search, by an English ship, or to a voyage to England or paid any tax to that government, denationalized & lawful prize: also that the British islands were in a state of blockade by sea & land, and every ship of whatever nation, or whatsoever ~~it may be~~ the nature of its cargo may be that sails from England, or those of the English colonies, or of countries occupied by English troops, and proceeding to England, or to the English colonies, or to countries occupied by ^{the} English to be good prize."

On the 22nd same month (Dec 1807) only 5 days after the Milan decree was issued ~~and~~ the Embargo was laid on the part of the U.S. States.

On the 1st May 1810 an act was passed giving the President authority in case France ~~or~~ England revoked her decrees to revive the ^{non intercourse act.} embargo against England if she did not repeal her orders in council.

~~See a letter from the Duke of Cadore to the minister of foreign relations to General Armstrong~~

On the 1st March 1809 the non intercourse act was passed by the U.S. States.

On the 23rd March 1810 Napoleon ^{issued} his Rambouillet decree "declaring all vessels navigating under the flag of the U.S. or possessed in whole, or in part

by any citizen or subject of that power, which counting from the 20th of May 1809 have entered or shall enter into the ports of our empire, of our colonies, or of the countries occupied by our arms, shall be seized and the product of the sales deposited in the surplus fund."

On the 5th of Aug. 1810 the Duke of Cadore in a letter to General Armstrong says "I am authorized to declare to you, sir, that the decrees of Berlin and Milan are revoked and that after the first of Nov. they will cease to take effect."

~~Thus by a succession of almost contemporaneous decrees the U. States dep. wth England and France of all intercourse or commerce with our country, while they were at~~

Thus by a continued succession of almost contemporaneous decrees all intercourse between G^o. Britain, France and the U. States was cut off.

Now I would not pretend that we had not just cause for war against both of the European powers: For both by their decrees trampled upon all the laws of nations; both did immense injury to our commerce, & both issued decrees directly contrary to principles which they had before considered and acknowledged to be just: and neither ~~can~~ has ever pretended to justify their measures on any other principle than that of retaliation. Now I contend that if ~~then~~ these decrees were revoked by either power if then either power did revoke her decrees then I say that we had just cause of war against the other. Here then the question arises whether the repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees announced in the duke of Cadore's letter was real? Now I contend that it was not.

and in the first place the duke of Cadore's letter itself is an evidence that they were not: For what does he say? He merely says that he is authorized to declare them repealed; but gives no evidence of it. If he had such authority why did he not send some official document with his letter. Why did he not Napoleon if he had repealed these decrees issue an imperial annulment and if the Duke

of Cadore ~~possessed~~ was authorized to declare ^{them annulled} to the government of the U. States, why did he not send ~~copy~~ ^{such an} annulment signed by the Emperor with his letter? Why did not the President of the U. States refuse to acknowledge such annulment until he had received such ~~off~~ a document from the Emperor's own hand? Was it right that a subject of such immense ^{such vital} importance to the U. States should rest simply on the word of a minister of France unsupported by any official proof? Does ~~the~~ our government proceed in this manner on any ~~and~~ subject ~~however~~ of any importance? The only satisfactory solution that can be given to these questions is that Mr. Madison was a great friend to the French and only waited for the slightest pretence to exercise the power vested in him of reviving non-intercourse &c against Great Britain.

But this is not all this same Duke of Cadore in a report to his majesty dated Dec 3^d. 1810 ^{more than a month after these decrees were to take no effect} ~~about~~ ~~some~~ says expressly "as long as England shall persist in her orders in council, your majesty will persist in your decrees" The Duke of Cadore then seems to tell two different stories ~~at two~~ ~~different~~, which of these then ought we to believe?

Napoleon also in his address to the council of commerce on the 31st March 1811 says "The decrees of Berlin and Milan are the fundamental laws of my ~~nation~~ Empire. For the neutral navigation I consider the flag as an extension of territory. The power which suffers its flag to be violated cannot be considered as neutral. The fate of the American commerce will soon be decided. I will favour it if the United States conform themselves to these decrees. In a contrary case their vessels will be driven from my empire". Here then we have Napoleon's declaration that they were still in force and shall we believe him or his minister who sometimes says one thing, and sometimes another?

Again if ~~they~~ these decrees were revoked why were our vessels taken by French armed vessels and privateers after Nov 1810? our vessels were taken and many of them destroyed after that time. It ~~has~~ is said that several were afterwards taken and destroyed at sea without the formality of a trial. "By" ~~in the official two ships were~~

~~London~~ "By the official reports it is stated that two ships were taken and condemned, by courts at Paris. One of them the ship Julian was taken on the 14th July and on the 10th Sept 1811 was condemned by the council of prizes at Paris, because, among other reasons, she was visited by several English vessels. ~~but~~ The other the ship Hercules was condemned on the same day by the imperial court of prizes, because "it was impossible that she was not visited by enemies ships".

dated May 8th 1811
Mr Russell also in a letter to the Secretary of State, says it may not be improper to remark that no American vessel taken since the 1st of Oct 1800 has yet been released. These facts speak for themselves and I shall therefore say nothing upon them. Others might be produced but it is needless.

It then being evident that the decrees on the part of France were not repealed it remains the duty of those who ~~favor~~ take the affirmative to show that when France had issued decrees ~~far more extensive~~, far more injurious to our commerce; when she had falsely declared those decrees repealed with the hope that ^{we} ~~we~~ ^{should be} ~~we~~ thus to be involved in a war with Great Britain; when she had practiced a deceit upon us so injurious, so fatal to our interests, why Great Britain ought in justice to be selected as our enemy and France as our friend; why we should declare war against one in preference to the other?

Impressments next claim our attention. But I have already said too much I shall therefore merely mention them and let them pass.

~~It is said that~~ The United States claim that their flag is a protection for all who sail under it whether in merchant vessels or in ~~armed~~ ships of war; while England like every other ~~nation~~ sovereignty claims the service of her ~~seamen~~ in time of war wherever she can find them except in our armed ships. Now it is evident that these two principles when carried to their extent must clash with each other and unless so modified by the two nations that little or no injury is done to either must be the cause

~~difference at least complaint between the two them.~~
Without attempting to prove ^{whether} these two principles ^{or} considered in the abstract is just. Without attempting which of these two principles is just or whether either considered in the abstract is just I shall come directly on a few facts on this point.

It is not pretended that over 4000 American seamen were impressed for 15 years antecedent to the war. Of these I think have seen it asserted I think in the New England Farmer that all except 1500 were returned if not immediately at least as soon as satisfactory evidence was given that they were Americans! For I do not believe that all who had certificates were Americans. It seems ^{then} that the number who were ~~kept~~ ^{not returned} was small.

The affair of the Chesapeake frigate is often mentioned, but I think it is sufficient to set this forever at rest "that the English government disapproved of it that they in consequence removed ^{commodore} the officer from his station, and that they made such satisfaction as was accepted by our government.

Another reason for not making this a just cause of war is that our government is greatly to be blamed for admitting into our service foreign seamen. What good will such seamen do our country in the day of battle but in their trepidation and non interestedness give up our ships to the enemy? And what else is it but to give encouragement to foreign seamen to the exclusion of our own.

~~Agree~~ Much is often said about the ~~plot~~ hellish plot of the great and influential Mr Henry. But this needs only to be mentioned to be ~~ridiculous~~ ^{considered} despised.

With regard to the expediency of the war let the advantage or disadvantage which we gained by it decide

No. 4. Jan'y 1825

Are there supernatural appearances?

In considering this question, we are not to conclude, ~~that~~ because many appearances which at the ^{time} were thought to be supernatural have in the end been shown to be nothing more than certain phenomena of nature, ~~that~~ ~~no~~ supernatural appearances never existed: "Because a parson once had the ~~his~~ knavery to take phosphorus and ~~write~~ picture upon the curtains of his companions' ^{bed} a cloven-footed monster with the words "prepare to die" issuing from his mouth and because instead of his companion a female slept in that bed and waking up in the night saw the said monster and was so affrighted as to die in three weeks after I say we are not therefore to conclude that no such monster or supernatural appearance ever existed: Neither because a ram (though by the way I shall give a different explanation of this story by and by) once got into the cellar of its owner and upon being discovered by the faint glimmerings of ^{two} wick candle, all ~~at~~ at once converted a noisy, playful, & happy throats giving party into a silent, motionless, miserable circle of human beings; some with the bible in their hands and others on their knees and all so affrighted ~~that~~ they could neither read, nor speak, nor pray ~~or~~ nor because when the parson had arrived with his surplice on and his bible in his hands and when with all

deduction and dignity, firmly relying in the
uprightness of his cause he encountered his
~~singly~~ powerful antagonists and
consequently was entangled in ~~the~~ his hunting
apparatus and overthrown, are we therefore to
conclude that ghosts do not sometimes appear.

It is a saying no less true than old that
every thing has a counterfeit. This indeed we see
exemplified in almost every day's experience.
Now nothing can be more rational than to
suppose that as every thing else has a counterfeit
so supernatural appearances have also, and then
to conclude that those phenomena in nature
which our antagonists would have us think
are nothing else than what we call ghosts, are
merely imitations of these. Therefore I say that
as we have no right to make an exception to
any ^{other} general rule, unless such exception can be actually
proved so we have no right to make ^{one to} this.

Again we are informed that the devil
is sometimes transformed into angel of light.
Now if the devil can transform himself into
an angel of light can he not with much
greater ease transform himself into a ram?
And can we not ~~we not~~ therefore reasonably
conclude that, (since in the story above we are
not informed that farmer's ram was missing),
the devil finding himself encountered by ~~so~~

such a holy, reverend, antagonist, ~~made~~
~~me~~ ~~desperate~~ transformed himself into a
vorn and made one desperate effort and
that the person not being inspired with
any great degree of courage and fighting too
under such a ~~to~~ disadvantageous principle
was overthrown and drawn into the cellar
by his Plutonic majesty

Now I would ask what we are to understand
by supernatural appearances except communica-
tions between ^{the inhabitants of} this and the invisible world?

If this is the true meaning of supernatural
appearances (and no one I think will say it is
not) then I say it cannot be proved that they
do not exist: For we know that ^{such} communica-
-tions were made in ancient times and
why I ask should they not now exist? There
is no divine prohibition to ~~prevent it~~ ^{now} ~~there~~ ~~is~~
~~there~~ any natural or moral cause ~~which~~ to
prevent it. The world goes on now just
as it always has. It revolves upon ^{the same} ~~its~~ axis
is subject to the ^{same} laws of attraction and gravita-
-tion, is peopled by ^{the same} ~~man~~, and ~~by~~ ~~beasts~~ of
the field, species of ~~kind~~ ^{the same} the same species as
it was in old testament times; therefore I say
no natural cause exists to prevent ^{the appearance of} ~~ghosts~~
Nor is there any moral cause ~~sufficient to~~
~~destroy them~~. For men are men though they
do not live so long as they ~~were~~ did in old times

they are as prone to ~~commit~~ sin as ever ~~and~~
are influenced by the same feelings and
passions, which influenced our first parents
The descendants of Ishmael retain ^{to this day} ~~them~~
characteristic curse denounced upon their
primogenitor.

I therefore conclude that since no divine
prohibition ~~is~~ and since no natural or moral
causes exist to render the communications of
ghosts necessary than in old testament
times or to prevent it that they do actually
exist. ~~It~~

I would not indeed assert that every piece
of lightwood we may see in a dark night or
that every long eared appearance ~~which~~ which
may ~~be~~ be seen by our ~~own~~ opponents
(~~though I hold~~ is in reality a ghost. Because
in the first instance it merely ^{is} a phenom-
-enon of nature and in the second all long
eared ghosts ~~with~~ I believe (when analysed by
~~nothing~~ our opponents) will be found to be
nothing more nor less than their own shadow.

J. A. Phelps

July 17th. 1826

Is novel reading beneficial?

Among all the productions of the present day none afford more amusement to, or make deeper impressions ^{upon} not only the young but also upon ^{the} middle aged and the old, than those of the novelist. "But which in the one ~~instance~~ case the mind has become matured and stable and the character fixed in the other it is unfixed and in danger of being ⁱⁿ ~~unfixed~~ ^{unfixed} ~~upon~~ ^{upon} the vortex of error." While in ^{the} one the character is formed and established in the other it is unformed and exposed to destruction by every false impression which may be made upon the mind.

If then novels make good impressions upon the mind; if they give us correct views of the occurrences of common life; if they tend to cultivate a good moral and a noble character we cannot object to their perusal, but if on the contrary they do not though in some instances (when ^{not} carried too far the effect may not be bad still their ^{bad} ~~effect~~ ^{destructive influence} upon a young and tender mind cannot easily be imagined.

All novels, if they answer the expectation and intention of the novelist, whether upon moral or immoral subjects produce intense feeling and excitement ~~in~~ in the mind. The passions are excited and inflamed & the imagination becomes ^(as it were) enchanted. When once the mind is strongly attached to novel reading every other is neglected or if not neglected becomes dull uninteresting and tedious. History and

Mathematics are insufferable and as the
specimen eater without his pill is never ^{contented} ~~happy~~
or happy so the mind thus dissipated, without
a novel to invigorate and enliven it is dull
insipid and restless. This then I consider as
an objection against novels of every kind.

Again ^{often} presenting to us scenes of the
most intense interest and feeling, do novels ~~to~~
~~to give a correct estimate~~ enable us to form
correct views of the occurrences of our mortal life.

The novelist ~~presents~~ introduces ^{us} into a
world where all is life and animation. Every
heart beats high with expectation. We read the
feelings of the heart in the countenance. Every
face we behold is brightened with the prospect
of future happiness or dejected and sorrowful
under affliction or disappointment. It is a world
of wealth and prosperity. We behold the rich man
living in ease and quiet and apparently
enjoying the greatest happiness imaginable.
No cares disturb his breast: no dangers threaten
~~at home~~ or if for a time he is involved in
perplexities and difficulties we soon see him
rising above them all and again reposing
himself in peace and happiness. The poor
man though subject to all the privations and
hardships of poverty is seldom discontented. ~~He~~
~~is~~ or unhappy. Often we see him all at once
raised from ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{tenant of a} ~~poor~~ and humble cottage
to ^{the possession of} ~~a~~ ^{of} a castle or a palace. The most unexpected
and many times the most unnatural
changes and accidents are presented to our
view. All is interest and excitement. Not
a movement ~~is made or a deed~~ not an action
but is ^{high} productive of some important
and interesting consequences. Thus by often
viewing the magic world of the novelist in the
~~retirement~~ we believe them real and conclude

that this ~~is~~ is only a faint representation of the events of life. We go forth into the world and instead of the feelings and pleasure we had expected, all is dull and lifeless and disagreeable. We become sick of this world and rejoice when we can retire from its uninteresting scenes ~~and~~ to the more delightful and happy world of the novelist. Thus we are unfitted to engage in the pursuits of life with ardour and consequently our usefulness in life which otherwise might have been productive of immense good is almost wholly destroyed.

The principle objection however to these novels of the present day is their immoral tendency.

If writings which in the retirement of a chamber solitude and retirement of a study, present to our view scenes of drunkenness and debauchery at which no virtuous man would be present; if those which often make us present at scenes of love, which though they may be innocent in themselves never admit the presence of a third person; if such productions as those of Fielding, himself ^{in many principles} debauched and libertine tend to form a good moral character then novel reading is beneficial: But if they do not, if they only excite ~~these~~ the passions and the imagination, which rather need restraint then a general course of novel reading cannot but prove fatal to the mind devoted to it.

Much may be said of the ~~the~~ ~~no~~ advantage and instruction derived from the Waverley novels. We may indeed derive much instruction and advantage from these works; but even these while they inculcate one good moral principle inculcate two bad ones. Besides if they do not it is no argument in favour of novels: for the productions of Waverley are far superior

an exception to the generally great class of novels. He has taken events in history for his subject while almost other novels are nothing more than the strange adventures & ~~than some of~~ ~~less than~~ love stories the fiction oftentimes of a disordered ~~brain~~ and love cracked ~~brain~~ imagination.

I think that Novel reading however in connection with history unless pursued to far cannot be objected to. But when other reading is neglected and all the mind becomes ^{so} strongly attached to novels ~~and~~ as to peruse every ~~frivolous~~ ~~novel~~ ~~fictional~~ work ^{with} which it may meet without any regard to the ^{its} character ~~of them~~ ^{of their} ~~novel~~ ^{novels} that reading cannot fail to exert a most baneful influence upon it.

Were the Crusades beneficial?

I am well aware that the practice of making long ^{preparatory} excuses and bitter lamentations over the difficulties which array themselves against us whenever we are forced, by ^{the} imperious call of duty or by the more imperious and unchangeable decree of the laws of the Greeks and Persians, to write a composition or a dispute, is becoming somewhat common: But ^{which} the heart is full and the feelings excited the mouth will give utterance. Since then

In spite of health, of reason spite
Since nolens volens I must write
Squint not your eyes, nor make a grin
But stare away and I'll begin.

Sickness and disease had laid their hands heavy upon me and my mind like my body became emaciated and inactive. The reason why mind was reduced to such a state was, because during the weakness of my bodily frame I had neglected to store ^{it} with such reading, as was instructive and useful. In the same manner ~~I suppose that~~ because my body had not been stored with such food as was nutritive and palatable (or in other words because the magnificent white edifice in delightful hall afforded us butter which if not made some centuries ago, ~~would~~ would at least afford matter for the speculations and conjecture of antiquarians), I suppose that I can account for this indisposition of my body. I suppose you will think that this has nothing to do with crusades but I believe that ~~if~~ in the sequel you will change your minds and all to a man agree with me that ~~the~~ crusades ~~were~~ not only were, but might even now be beneficial to the world.

At the time when the crusades were first commenced all the west of Europe was little more than a barbarous and uncivilized country. Barons and Princes possessed the land. The Feudal system ~~was~~ extended over the whole. The common people possessed no property of any account; but lived ~~+~~ in a state of almost absolute slavery, dependant upon their particular nobles for even for a scanty and miserable support.

They were no less ignorant than poor. They knew just enough to obey their masters and to satisfy the cravings of nature. There was no religious or literary knowledge among them. Ignorance swayed her scepter over their minds undisputed and unmo-
-lested. The ^{Pope} maintained his authority over them and used every effort to keep them in total darkness. They were superstitious and looked upon the ministers of this holiness ~~the Pope with awe~~ and the most reverent awe. They believed them almost another race of beings, not only sinless themselves but able to pardon the sins of ~~and pardon~~ others. All they commanded was implicitly obeyed and the anathemas of the Pope were an instrument by which the most cruel and tyrannical commands were easily enforced.

At such ^{extreme} the attention of the Pope and of all the west of Europe was turned to the prosecution of the holy wars. The pope in this ~~and~~ in other ~~cases~~ instances proclaimed all to be sure of the happiness of heaven who should engage in this war and denounced his most solemn curses upon all who opposed it or injured those engaged in it. Under such a situation as was natural to suppose an immense ~~multitude~~ ^{multitude} gathered around the standard of the cross, composed of men, women and children gathered around the standard of the cross. It is needless to mention the fate of such an army.

It is useless in the consideration of this question to pursue the history of the crusades farther. It is sufficient to add that millions of Europeans perished in these holy conflicts. & That the east of Europe and west of Asia was drenched in the blood and strewed with the dead bodies of those wretched and superstitious devotees.

~~It is not the object of this question to prove.~~

It may not be possible perhaps to prove that the beneficial effects of the crusades were equal to the expense of blood and treasure ~~and~~ which they cost, or that they were equal to what would have resulted to Europe had those who perished in them remained at home, nor is it necessary. We have only to consider the consequences resulting from them not in comparison with others ~~then~~ but simply ~~alone~~ by themselves.

Granting the conclusive argument that all the dispensations of providence are for the best, I ^{shall} consider some of the advantages arising from them.

In the first place they exerted a powerful influence towards enlightening and civilizing the barbarous nations of the west. The countries through which the crusaders past were far more enlightened and civilized than their own. The arts of civilized life had arrived in some of them to considerable perfection: while in others evident traces of former liberty and improvement yet remained. Constantinople like many other places was a rich populous and magnificent city. The people were refined and ~~and~~ when compared with the rest of Europe, had ^{made} eminent advances in science and the arts. It was the principal ~~market~~ market of the East. The inhabitants were free, and enjoyed many of the blessings civilized life. No barons had dominion over them. Each one was his own master and though a subject was still independent. Passing through countries so much superior to their own in refinement and civilization the crusaders could

but adopted many of their customs and manners. As new crusaders were continually coming on and the old ones returning home the improvements and learning of the East were gradually transferred and introduced into the west. The state of society became gradually improved and the mists of ignorance and superstition ^{were} gradually melted ~~away~~ beneath the dispersed by the light of knowledge and civilization refinement.

Again a new and important opening was made to the commerce of the west. A ^{close} communication was then opened between the east and west of Europe which continued for two or three centuries to be frequent. Genoa Venice and some other countries became immensely rich by means of the commerce which they carried on with those nations. And in fact this communication gave a spur to the commerce of all the countries in the west: For as it was a profitable employment so all were ready to engage in it. By this means the arts and manufactures of the east were rapidly introduced into the west. The rich ~~rapidly~~ immediately purchased them & the refinement, magnificence and splendor soon began to appear among the inhabitants the houses of the rich and the halls and palaces of princes.

But the greatest advantage arising from the crusades was ~~an equal & more equal distribution of property among the inhabitants and the downfall of the~~ Feudal tyranny, and the more equal distribution of property among the inhabitants.

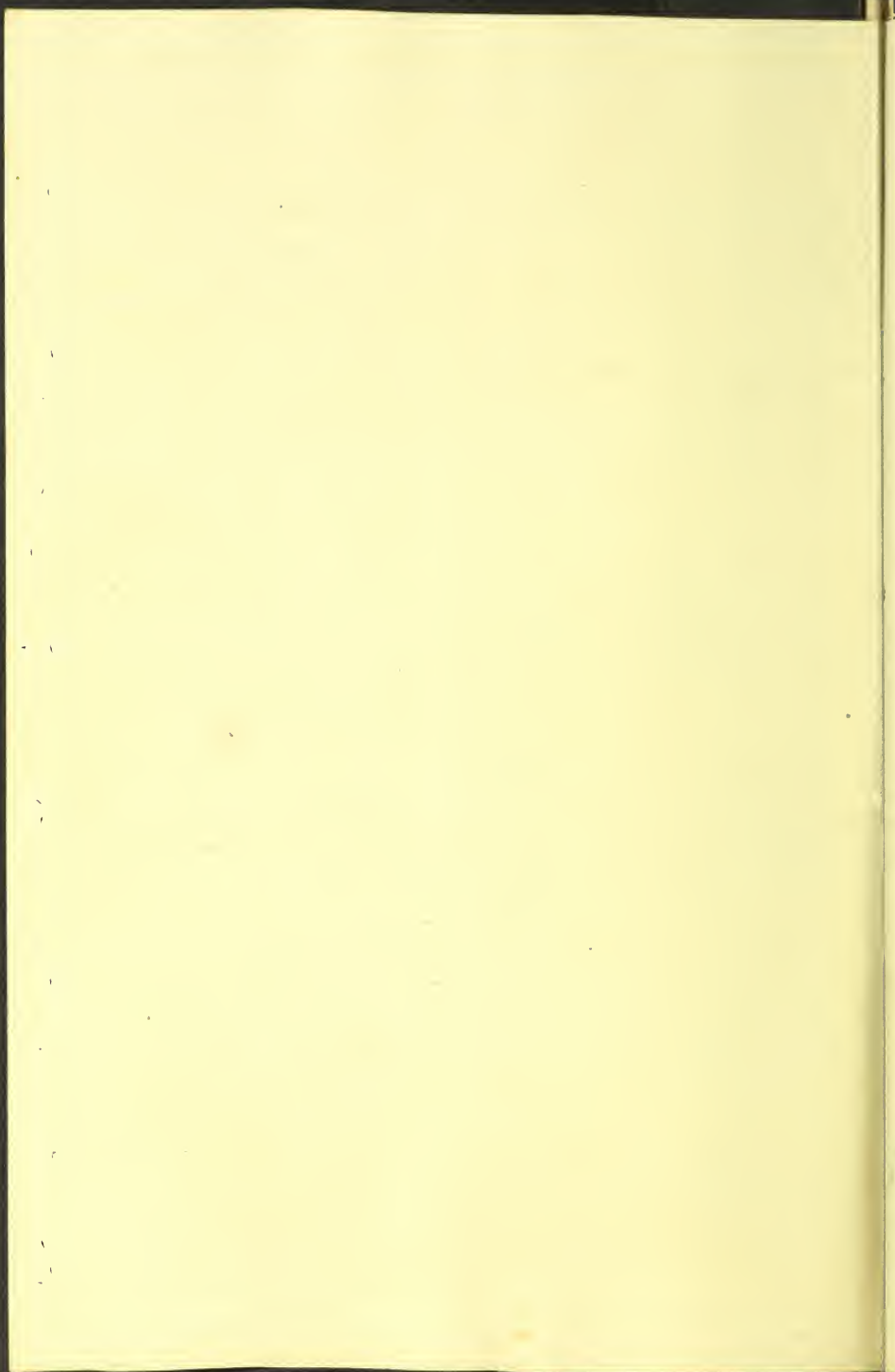
The barons, ^{who engaged in them} as no taxes could be levied upon their dependants were forced to sell at a low rate a great part of their possessions. Consequently those, who remained at home, who were the only persons besides the ecclesiastics who were able to purchase their possessions.

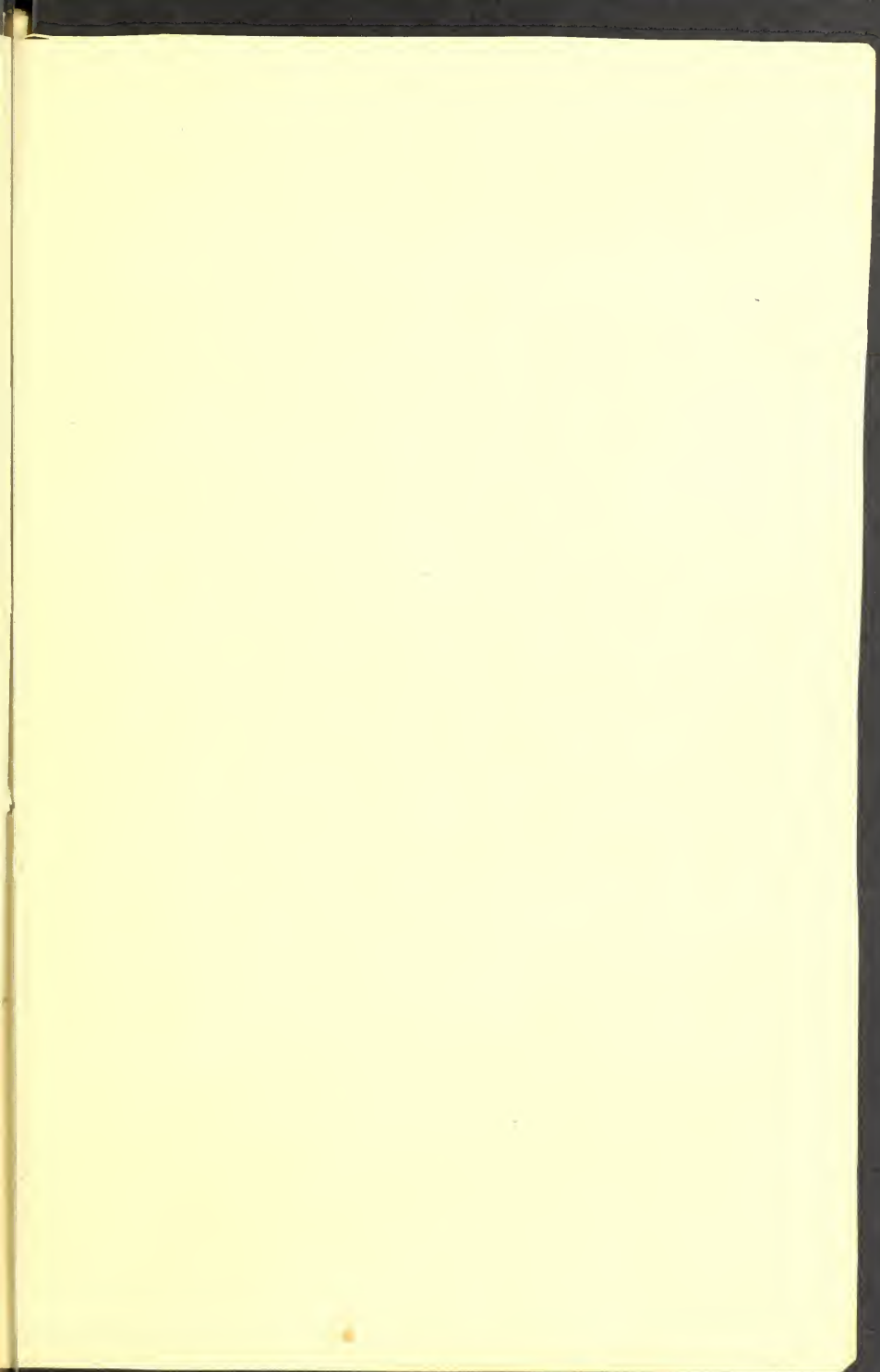
~~required immense~~ Consequently, the sovereigns and those who remained at home had an opportunity, to increase their power at a trifling expense, in this way the Feudal system was destroyed and monarchical governments ^{were} established in its ~~stead~~ stead.

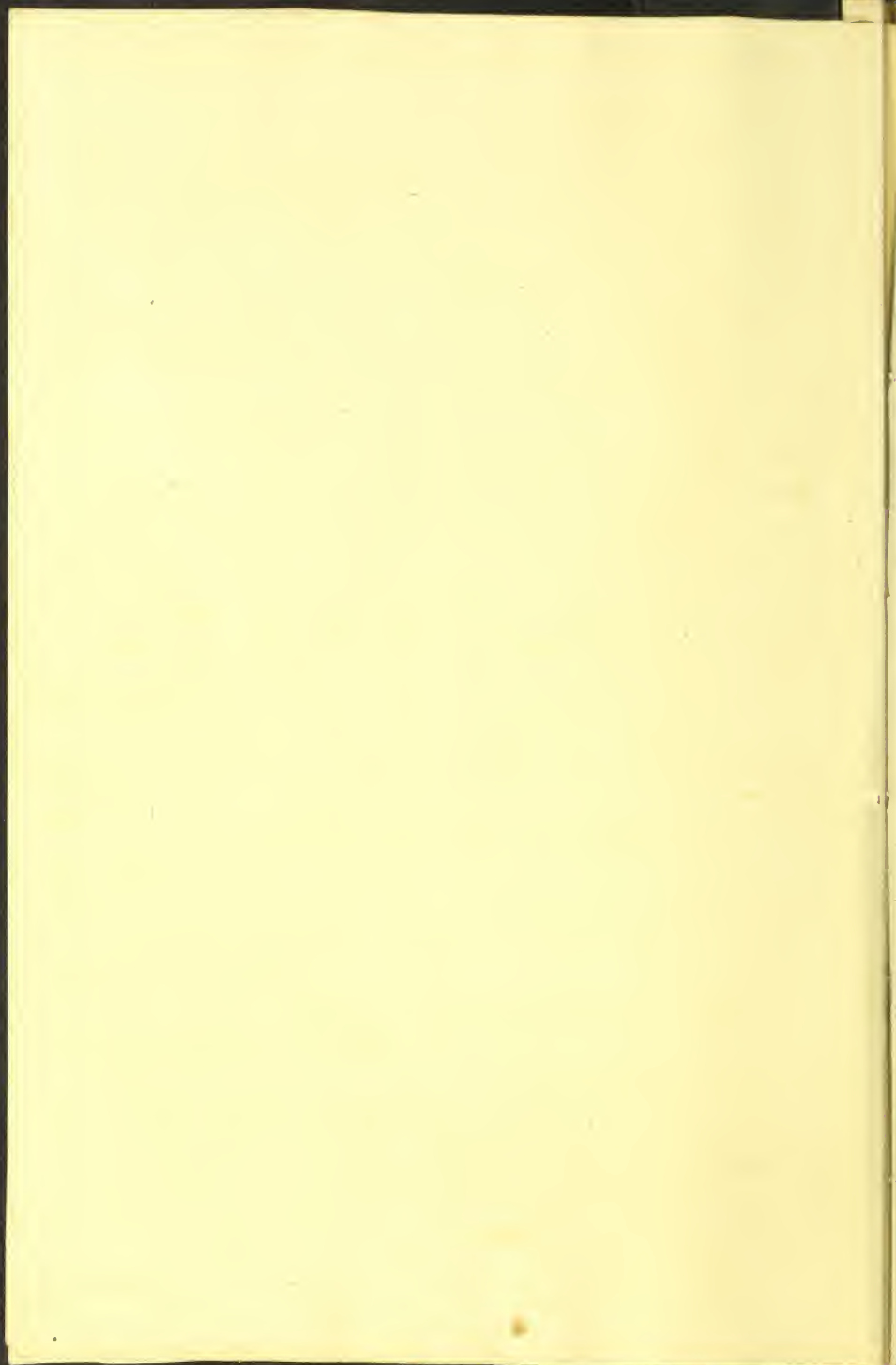
The same causes also which overthrew Feudal oppression released & unfettered the slave. The poor became if not rich at least free and instead of allegiance to barons he was no longer subject to a dominating master but, though he paid allegiance to his sovereign he was independant. He was at liberty to cultivate his farm or to engage in manufactures as his own interest or inclination disposed him.

If then a flood of light ^{and knowledge} broke in upon the darkness and ignorance of western Europe; if Commerce ^{was benefited} and manufactures were introduced among the inhabitants; if the iron chains of Feudal oppressions were broken and the captives let free we may justly conclude that the crusades were beneficial.

Query? Would not a crusade to exterminate those who make frowy butter be beneficial also?







Ought the Quakers to be compelled to do
military duty?

There are two ways in which men can perform
military duty - by actual service or by paying
an equivalent. Now the same reasoning,
which will prove the justice and expediency of
the ^{one}, will prove the justice and expediency of the
other.

The Quakers profess to believe that all wars and
contentions are unjustifiable and therefore
make it a fundamental principle in their
religion never to engage in or to contribute
to the support of them. The Question then arises
shall we compel them to do what they say
is a violation of their consciences? ~~By the~~
~~problem~~ To decide this question it is only necessary
to enquire into the sincerity of their professions and
to calculate the effects of not compelling them to
do duty upon the interests of government.

In the first place then are they sincere in
their professions? For my ^{own part} I have no doubt that
many of them are and perhaps we have no reason
^{at present} to say that all are not. But if we may judge
of the sincerity of ^a man's opinions by his conduct
I have no doubt that many of them are not. And
I found my belief on the following fact. In the

for independance
was, it is well known that many Quakers of the
own obligation engaged in actual service and
that many who did not do this contributed
largely for its support. Now I do not believe that
the Quakers adhere to their principles more rigid
now than in those days of primitive purity. But
even granting what we have no absolute right to
deny that all of them are sincere in their profession
shall we permit them to enjoy the protection of our
government without paying an equal share with
other citizens for its support. I care not how industri-
ous or how virtuous or how liberal they are there are others
~~as good as~~ equally as good. Their character has
nothing to do with the question ~~at all~~ but we are
to consider them as any other class of men and to
treat them accordingly. We are to consider
them as bound to support the interest of the State.
~~We do not scruple them to live under govern~~
And in connection with this we are to remem-
ber that man is what he always has been,
man; and that as long as his nature remains
the same it is impossible that wars should
not exist. There ^{always} will be disputes and divisions
between rival powers. It is inevitable from the
very nature of things that it should be otherwise.
The question then comes to this ~~where~~ shall we
allow a certain class of citizens when the others
are paying heavy taxes or performing actual

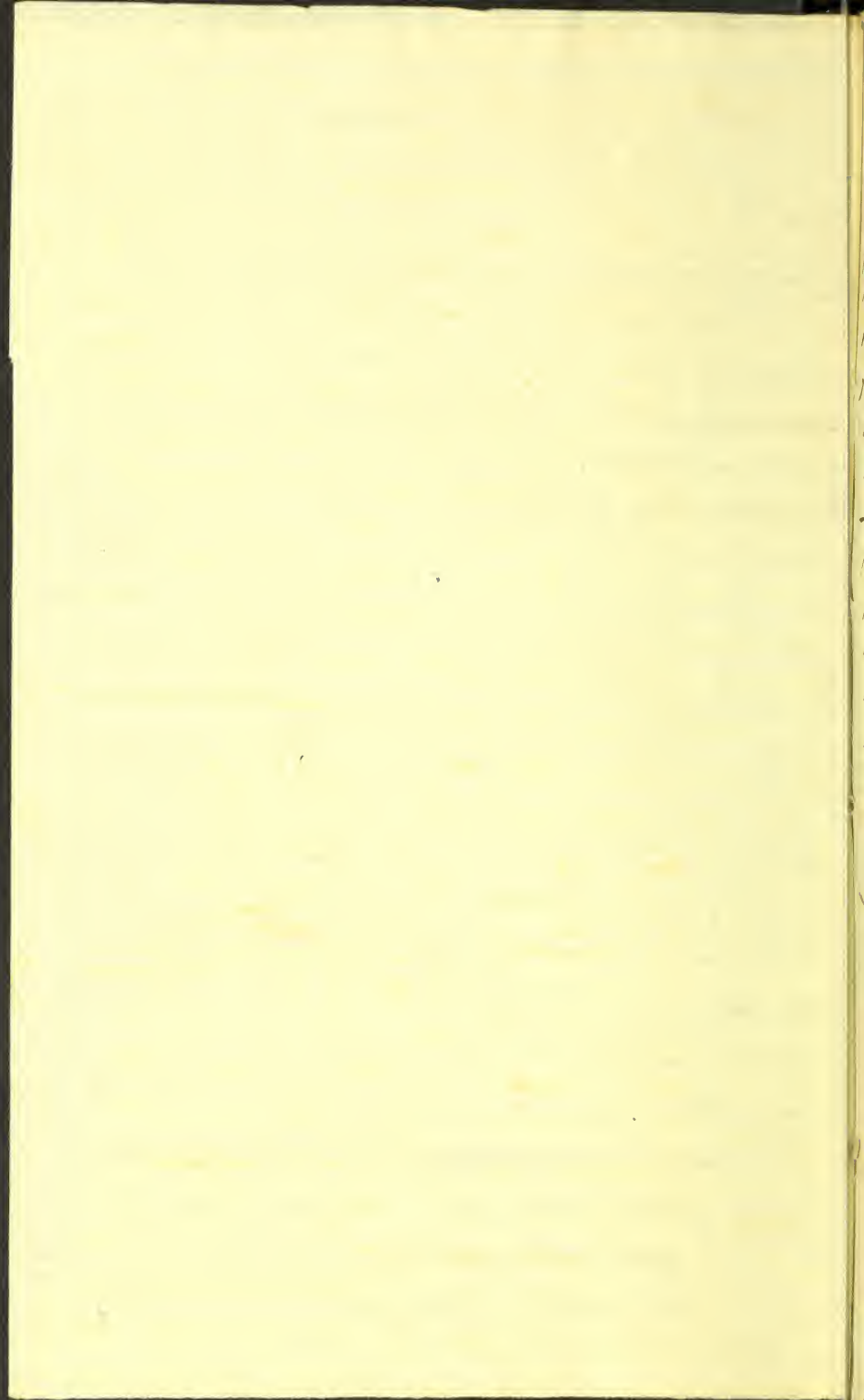
service in the defence of their country and
consequently for the protection and welfare
of these very individuals, to remain inactive.
Shall we suffer drones (if the figure can be
considered appropriate) to remain in the bee-
hive of government. The policy of the bees
will tell us no, it will tell us that every
member of this great family is bound to ~~perform~~
~~his~~ ~~part~~ give his proportional assistance
for the public good.
Suppose, what is not impossible that we
should be invaded by some foreign
power and that its troops should be
able to penetrate into our country
as far as some of the Quaker villages.
These villages its is true are not
many of them very large but they are
undoubtedly the wealthiest of ~~the~~ any
~~the~~ same size in the country. The fact is
the quakers possessing great immunities
under our government have ~~become~~
hoarded up immense wealth. And
it but just that they should pay for
its protection. "But again suppose
that some important frontier town should
be possessed by quakers in case of an
attack from an enemy what ^{then} would be
the consequence. The same in kind (thou-
gh ^{of} greater ^{importance} ~~than~~ ^{as} in the former case.

It is true that we have no ~~at~~ need of fear
from this quarter at present. But it becomes
us to provide for the future. The time may
come when, if we permit the Quakers to enjoy
this immunity, they will be so numerous as
in case of war ~~vital~~ to affect the vital int-
erests of our republic. They did do this even
in our revolutionary struggle and ~~in case~~
~~of another~~ it is by no means impossible
that they should have another opportu-
nity of displaying their adherence to
their principles. In that struggle when
the British troops were approaching
Philadelphia and while there was a
prospect of preventing them from
accomplishing their object many
of them of their own accord entered the
American service but as soon as the
city was taken the scene was changed.
It was then for their interest to assist the
English and they did so.

But it is said that ^{though} such a principle might
be consistent with a monarchical form of
government ~~but~~ ^{it} is not with ours. For my
own part I shall ~~regret the time~~ ~~do~~ hope
that I shall never see the time when there
shall be so little of a monarchical spirit in
our government as that it shall sacrifice
every motive of expediency and every the

welfare of the whole, to the interest and
conscience of a few. ~~Provinces~~ Governments
are not men: And ~~cons~~ cannot ^{always} like individ-
uals be governed by strict points of justice.
~~Expediency must rather guide in small~~
But this is granting what I am by no means
willing to allow that the measure which I am
advocating though expedient is unjust. The
very fact that it is of vital importance to
the state is sufficient guarantee of its justice.
I am as willing as any one to encourage
the Quakers. It is true they are good members
of community, and as such deserve our
patronage. But there is no precept of our
religion which ~~binds~~ commands us to love
our neighbours better than ourselves.

As long therefore as it is ~~an~~ an inevitable
consequence that wars should exist and
that we must engage in them ^{in defence of our rights} I say that
the Quakers in common with other citizens
of the common community should upon
every principle of expediency as well as
justice be ~~compelled~~ compelled to ~~do~~
perform military duty or what is the same
thing in effect though it may ^{not} ~~cost~~ all the conse-
quence so much to pay an equivalent in
cash.



Rotation in office to be established?

By rotation in office I understand that whenever a man has enjoyed the benefits of any particular office for a certain time he must then however faithfully and honourably he may have discharged its duties, be debarred the privilege of being again elected in order to make room for any one else who may be chosen in his stead. In other words the principle is this, that, whether there are other men capable of discharging the duties of any particular office or not, no man shall enjoy that office more than once. This principle evidently admits of no limitation. We cannot say that, when there are other men of equal qualifications, no man shall enjoy the same office more than once: And for the simple reason that if we do, we do not ~~establish rotation in~~ gain the end in view: For it in every free government where the people enjoy the right of suffrage, they alone must be the judges of the comparative merits of the candidates for offices. Consequently if we allow them the privilege ~~remaining~~ of electing a ~~new~~ new candidate for any particular office, ^{or not} ~~as they shall~~ ^{concerning} estimate his qualifications for that office we may be assured that whenever they wish to reelect any one to the same office they will always say if they do not think ^{so} that his qualifications are superior to ~~him~~ ^{to} ~~earn~~ to the other. ~~And~~ With this limitation therefore the people would not in fact be ~~under any more~~ any more obliged to elect a new candidate for any office than at present: For in both cases it is left to the discretion of the people whether they will choose another or not. The principle

Therefore in order to have the effect intended must be absolute; it must be independant of all circumstances; it must say to the people that whether you are willing or not ~~you shall~~ and whether there are men equally well qualified for the discharge of the duties of any particular office or not you shall not have it in your power to ~~select the same~~ ^{re-}select ~~the same~~ ^{any} man for the same office.

I have said thus much with regard to the meaning of the question because I was aware that those on the affirmative feeling the weakness of their cause would naturally be inclined to limit the principle in such a manner that there should be little or no difference from the present state of things.

It needs but little argument to prove that the principle of rotation in office is one of the most injurious and destructive character. Establish this system and we make Americans a nation of office seekers at the same ~~opening a wide door for the~~ opening a wide field for the exercise of liberty; we make America stationary as it respects her progress in the science of government and rob her of the dignity of a wise and experienced nation.

In the first place then let us consider the influence of this system upon the body of the people.

It may perhaps be deemed a little extravagant in me to say that such a system would convert Americans from an industrious and moderate people to a nation of frantic office seekers. This effect indeed if ever produced would only be when the principle was carried into ^{its} full force. But be that as it may the tendency of such a system of election although we cannot determine the exact amount of its influence upon the common mind, is evidently to produce such a state of things. Indeed our opponents

alledge as an argument in support of their affirmative
that the officers of government should be equally practical.
This I acknowledge but I do not therefore conclude that the
the ^{people} shall not have at their option to ~~not~~ select the same
man to the same office or in other words that rotation
in office should be established. It has always been con-
sidered (and experience has proved it) that that it is good
policy never to make innovations upon established customs
or laws unless there is some manifest evil resulting
from them. What dangerous and manifest evil
then I would ask has ever been experienced from our
present system of election? Does it open a wide door to bribery
and intrigue ~~in the same office?~~ Will the system of
rotation do the same? Bribery and intrigues are evils
which always have and always will ~~stand~~ be attend-
-ant on republicanism as well as other governments.
In both systems of election therefore there is an equal
opportunity for intrigue although in the system under
discussion it can justly be said that, should a
man by unwarrantable measures obtain any office,
the term of office being short and ~~no man~~ ^{no man} ~~be not~~
allowed to be ~~re~~ selected, he could never effect any
great change in the state of things even if he desired
it. This argument is indeed a good one in the support
of the affirmative and it is also another proof of the
truth of the meaning which I have given to the
of ^{term} rotation in office. Our opponents
however ~~usually~~ ^{usually} contend for this
system with the limitation which I have men-
-tioned while at the same time without thinking
that they are contending for a different thing they
bring ~~this~~ ^{this argument} in support of the affirmative.

But what effect would such a system of election have upon those who fill our offices of State? Suppose our judges were elected for a limited time and that after the expiration of that time unless chosen to some other office must retire to private life. What stimulus would excite men to make vigorous exertion in order to obtain a thorough knowledge of the principles of law? There would be little or none. Human nature is such that with very few exceptions, no man, unless he had if he was certain that he could never enjoy the benefits of any particular ^{office} more than once, would make any exertion to acquire eminence in that ~~office~~ ^{office}. It would be sufficient for him if he knew ~~only~~ just enough with regard to that department to discharge its duties to the general acceptance. To acquire a thorough knowledge of all the principles of legislation ~~it~~ would require a life of diligent study. Unless our judges therefore are chosen for life or during good behaviour we may look in vain for men of eminence in that department and who will be competent in all cases to discharge the duties of so important an station. There can be no stimulant sufficiently powerful to cause men to make the study of law a business for the sake of enjoying the office of judge for a limited time even supposing that time to be of considerable length. Ambition & rivalry would not effect it. For as to ambition ^{aspired} there would be but little. For as to rivalry ^{or rivalry} there would be but little. For as saying as true as true that the cheaper we obtain an office the less is our estimation the more. And as to the salary of such offices they are ^{not} sufficient to take a very vigorous hold upon a persons avarice or ambition. ~~It would rivalship do it: For where there is little ambition there is never much rivalry.~~ I know of no motive therefore which can excite our judges to strive for eminence in their profession unless it be

permanence in the enjoyment of it.

But farther what would be the effect of such a system upon our state & national legislatures?

Suppose that our representatives as in the case in this state, were chosen only for one year and that they could never be reelected. Every year we should have a legislature composed entirely of raw materials. What could such a body do? They would be obliged to call in members of the former legislature to teach them the ~~methods~~ ^{manner} of procedure; And they might be considered apt scholars if they learned ~~the~~ ^{during one session} the forms and methods of proceeding so as to be able to teach ^{them} the succeeding ~~body~~ legislature. This however may be considered an extravagant view of the subject: But still it must be evident to every one who has ever reflected upon this subject that the methods of procedure in such a body cannot be learned at once or without actual experience, and that no man even if he has turned his attention to the subject before can during one session become so well acquainted with these forms as to be able to act with any ^{great} efficiency. The fact is there must be men in every legislature ~~who~~ in order to effect any thing who are well acquainted with all the proceedings ^{of the former legislature} and ~~the~~ with all the reasons for such proceedings in order to effect any thing. It is experience which alone makes perfect ~~in~~ and without this our legislatures would be but infants who had not yet learned in the science of legislation.

The same remarks ~~that~~ may be applied, though with greater force to our national legislature.

suppose

Let this system be adopted with regard to the senate
and house of Representatives of the United States and
every one must see the effect. ~~It is not~~ In a few
years we should have the inexperienced to govern the
experienced. But this is reasoning upon theory,
let us then look at facts. Just look at one of our sta-
te legislatures and who possesses the most influence
it? Is it those who have been selected a number of
times or those who have not? I recollect once
attending a part of day in the house of representat-
ives and I could not but notice the influence of those
who had ~~not~~ been there before. I noticed in a
number of instances that the freshmen applied
to them to know who they should vote for and their
immediatly ~~with~~ as if they took their word for
gospel wrote their vote accordingly. But let us
look a little farther and see the ^{influence} which
some states of the ^{union} have in ~~our national~~ ~~assembly~~
the congress of the United States; and see whether it is
those who ~~are~~ ~~often~~ come nearest to this system
of rotation or whether it is those who have elected
the same man for a series of years? To what does
John Randolph (and consequently the state of Virginia) owe
his superior influence over Webster in the house of Repre-
sentatives? ^{Not because} His talents are ~~not~~ more brilliant ~~nor~~ his
~~more~~ speeches more eloquent. Evidently then to the fact
that he has had the experience of years. We have reason
to believe that, had Webster ~~been~~ seen as in any years
of experience as Randolph, his speech ^{in favor of the States} would have
produced a different effect.

But it is often said that such a superior influence
in the power of one man is dangerous to our govern-
ment and is what is designed to be counteracted by,

the system of rotation. But ~~what~~ how would the
remedy it? Let all the states adopt the same plan
of conduct with Virginia and they might have
have an equal influence ^{in the House} that is their influence
would be so much greater ^{than at present} that, supposing their
virtue of equal talents, they would counteract the
influence of Virginia and place the states more upon
an equality. The system of rotation by giving all an
equal ^{term of office} ~~share of experience~~ might produce the
~~same effect~~ same effect: "But it ~~would be~~ because
in the latter case it would be an equality between
inexperienced ~~statesmen~~ whereas in the former it would
be an equality ~~all~~ between wise and practical
statesmen. We might indeed ^{in this way} ~~indeed~~ destroy the superior influence
of one state over the rest but it would be by the loss
of our influence ^{which} as an experienced wise and well
regulated government ~~as other states~~ we possess
over other nations.

I would not be thought to contend for aristocratical
principles. But there must be a proper balance maintained
between the three ^{forms} governments upon which our republic
is founded or American freedom will cease to exist.
I say therefore let the people be free to elect ~~whom~~
whomever they ~~shall~~ please. If they see fit let them
reselect the same man and if they do not let them
elect another: But never oblige them to elect another
whether they wish ^{it} or not. Let no curb be broken which
keeps them from running to licentiousness. If the popular
power draws the chariot ^{of government} let the aristocratical hold
the reins. Let the people be free but never licentious.

L. P. P.
alias L. P. P.



Are written or extemporaneous discourses preferable?

Comparatively speaking, there are so very few situations in which written discourses are ever used except in the desk that in the discussion of this question I shall consider it as exclusively confined to that class of our public speakers.

The great variety of subjects and the manner in which these subjects are brought before the lawyer render it impossible for him to do ~~more~~ any thing more than just sketch the most important points upon which he wishes to speak. Besides it unnecessary that he should do more. The court possess the same evidence and the same knowledge upon the subject before them that he does. His object therefore is to make this evidence appear to the best advantage, and to set it forth in such a manner as shall make the greatest impression upon the minds of the judge or jury. The passions are the grand machine which the lawyer would set in operation to gain his object. These are the strings which he endeavours to vibrate. Not so the preacher. He must reason ~~and~~: He must endeavour to bring up evidence ^{before} unknown to his hearers and thus to convince the understanding. The understanding is the first citadel which he must take: and until he does this his appeals to the passions will have no other than a transitory effect. The truths which he preaches never exert that salutary and lasting impression upon his hearers ~~impression upon the heart~~ which it is his object to make.

effect until the understanding unites with him in bringing them home to heart. His discourses therefore in ~~order to~~ be such as the case demands require time and research.

If then it can be shown that extemporaneous discourses ~~are~~ have the greatest power in accomplishing this end they are certainly to be preferred. I am well aware that the talents of men for extemporaneous speaking are very different and that, while some can speak extempore upon almost any subject with fluency, others, who are no less thoroughly acquainted with some subject and who are inferior to them in no other respect can scarcely utter a word. There is a natural timidity in some men which they can never overcome. But the differences of men for this kind of speaking can have no real weight in determining the question before us. We are to rather to decide upon the merits of the two by the effects produced upon ourselves.

To convince the understanding the preacher must gain the attention of his hearers. Men will not to a dull, monotonous & metaphysical discourse. A discourse may be metaphysical and yet ~~the~~ have so much interest and variety that the mind in attending to it will instead of being wearied and disgusted will be refreshed and pleased. And it is such ^{discourses as these} discourses if any which produce the most lasting effect. Now it must be evident to every observer that very much of that variety and animation which are so requisite to fix the attention of an

audience depends upon the ^{gesticulation} ~~measured~~ of the speaker. The countenance often expresses more than words can do. In this respect then the extemporaneous speaker possesses a decided advantage. He speaks as it were unshackled. He is mostly free from that dull declamatory style of the other class of speakers which seldom fails to weary the mind. He speaks more as man to man and ~~his~~ ^{his} discourses has more of that familiar and natural style which never fails to win and to fix the attention. He looks and acts what he delivers.

The man who speaks the feelings of his own heart seldom fails to affect the hearts of others. This is peculiarly the case with the extemporaneous speaker. He trusts to the excitement of the moment for what he is to speak and that he may do it with greater effect ^{when in his study} he sets the subject of his discourse up before his mind in all the various forms in which it can be exhibited; he thinks of the responsibility resting upon him; of the importance of great exertion on his part; of his audience and the immense interest which they have at stake; in short ^{when in his study} he uses all the means in his power to stamp upon a picture upon his mind calculated to arouse all his faculties and when he comes before his congregation, when he sees them looking up to him as to ~~an~~ an instructor and guide the picture or rather the reality comes home to his heart with renewed and irresistible energy. Every dormant feeling cannot then fail to be awakened and called

into vigorous exercise. There is a sort of inspi-
-ration in beholding an assembly which the
speaker in his retirement can never feel; and
consequently his language then cannot be as
full of animation and force as in the other case
or if we suppose that there is really no difference in
~~the force and animation of his language~~ this respect
the different manner in which, when written, it must
necessarily be delivered makes it appear ~~very different~~
much inferior.

It cannot be objected to extemporaneous
speaking that the speaker cannot reason as clearly
and conclusively ~~as~~ when before an audience as when
in his study. He may not ~~clearly~~ dress his arguments
in so elegant language in the one case as in the
other and it is not necessary that he should. It is this
very elegance and nicety of diction which in many
preachers ~~destroys all the force of their arguments~~
by rendering their arguments obscure, ~~at least to the~~
vulgar mind, destroys ~~almost~~ almost their whole
force. Besides it is not before ^{his audience} that the extemporaneous
speaker reasons. He reasons ⁱⁿ ^{his} closet as much as
one who writes what he delivers. The one has as
much time for reflection and research as the
other; and can therefore arrange the arguments
which he advances with as much regularity
as the other. If then we suppose their talents ~~in~~
^{in other respects} equal we must give the preference to the one who
states his arguments the most clearly & forcibly.
For unless they are stated ~~clearly & forcibly~~ clearly & forcibly they

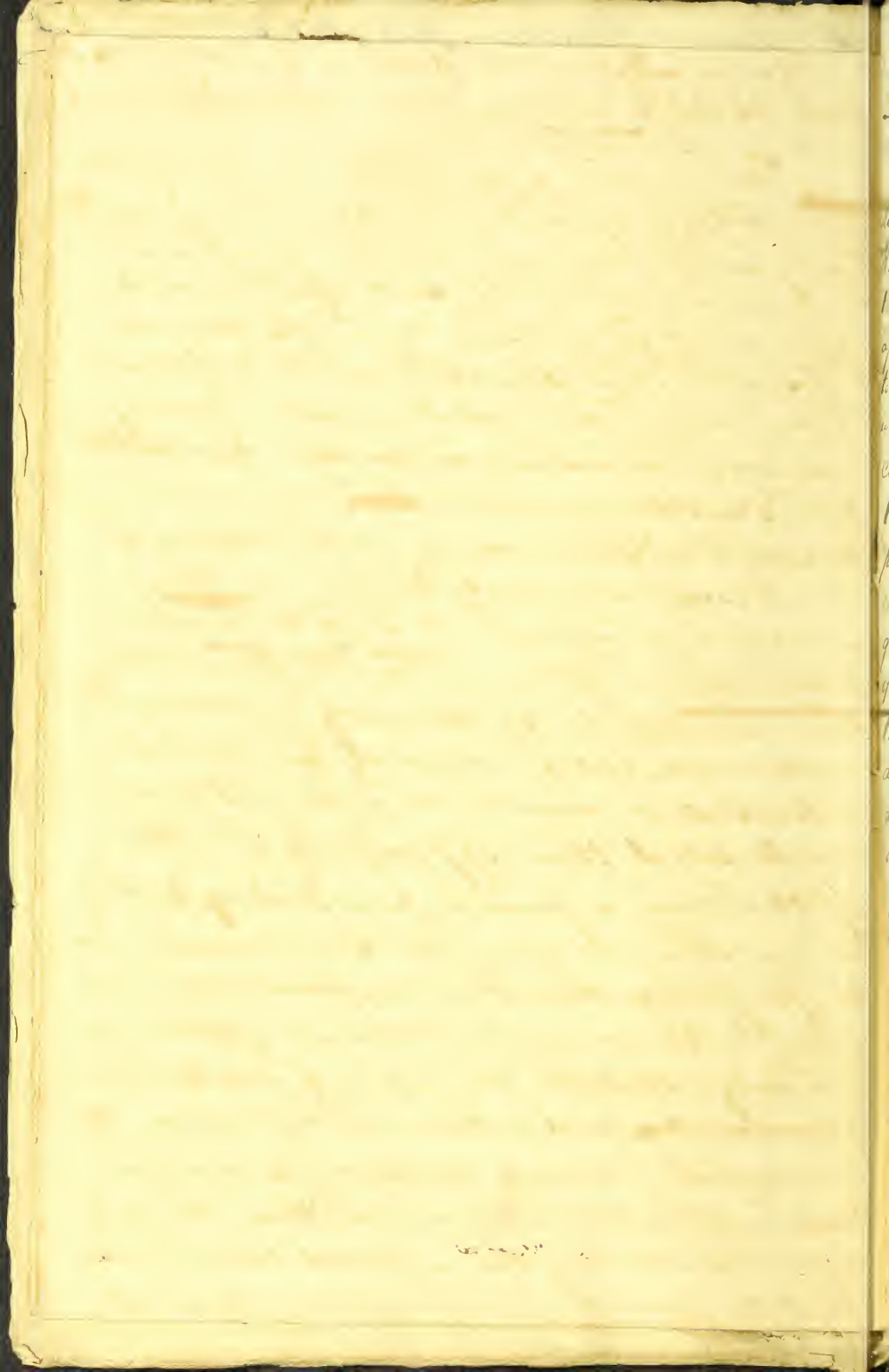
unless they are stated too in language ~~which~~ which all can understand they will never produce that effect which is necessary.

It would be natural to suppose ~~even~~ if ~~one~~ without the least observation, that the man, who had arranged his arguments beforehand but, who trusted to the excitement of the moment for the manner in which he was to advance them, would deliver them with more animation & clearness than one who did not. The person who ~~reads~~ demonstrates a proposition in Euclid upon the black-board ~~will~~ ~~must~~ ~~understand~~ must have a more thorough acquaintance with the reasoning and ~~be~~ ~~with~~ ~~the~~ ~~succeeding~~ ~~steps~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~demonstration~~ than one who does not. So with the good extemporaneous speaker ~~in his rehearsal~~ before he attempts to address an audience upon any doctrinal points gets a thorough acquaintance with all the arguments in favor of the doctrine which he would support: and when comes before his audience and he is enabled to give his reasons for one step and another ^{of the demonstration} with more clearness and accuracy than one who does not.

Nor can the fact that ^{we find} very few good extemporaneous speakers be any objection to this kind of speaking, but the contrary it proves that this is an acquirement not easily attained: and the difficulty of its attainment may be considered an argument in support of its superiority.



Q. D.



In monarchies or Republics most favorable to high attainments in literature & science?

This question is one of those in which it is difficult to fix upon the exact point in discussion. Hardly any one will agree as to the extent in which the two terms monarchies and republics are to be applied. It would seem desirable therefore, to fix upon some definite ^{rule} by which to determine what ^{can} ~~is~~ ^{can} be properly considered as coming under these two ~~titles~~ titles. But (this cannot be ^{fixed} ~~done~~ any more explicitly than the common understanding of men has already fixed it) - the terms are general - it is impossible to draw the exact line of distinction - ~~If then~~ ^{upon this subject} we ^{reason} from history ~~there seems to be no other way of coming to a conclusion but if we select an absolute or a limited monarchy as ^{an} examples on one side to select their opposites on the other.~~ If then ^{it} can be proved from history, ~~on this or any other principle~~ - that monarchies have the preference then it is also proved (whatever may be the immediate causes of this superiority) that the principles of monarchical governments - for it is these which produce the immediate causes - are more favorable to high intellectual attainments than those of republics - and if this is proved then it follows that the former ~~the~~ principles are the most

decisive will be their good effects - and therefore absolute monarchies should stand highest in intellectual greatness - But when was this the fact. I am aware that this reasoning ~~might~~ might be turned upon me; but in order to do this it must be proved that the experiment has been as fully tried with respect to republics as with respect to monarchies. But this cannot be done.

The republics that have ever existed have been so few in number and of so short a continuance that (even supposing them not to have been in the least distinguished for ~~strong~~ intellectual greatness) when compared with monarchies no conclusion can be drawn from history respecting them: For concerning the ancient governments we have little authentic account or if it is contended that we have them I say that all arguments that can be fairly drawn from that portion of history will be in favour of republics: For when did the great men of Greece flourish? Under the Grecian republics or not? When did Homer sing and when did Demosthenes pour forth his eloquence? But it is said that we are better acquainted with the history of these republics than with that of the neighbouring governments - why I would ask is this the fact? - What other reason can be given than, that these governments

were deficient in literary genius & therefore
~~had no historians.~~

But again set aside the portion of history
and come to that, more numerous and better
authenticated and we shall here come to
the same result: For here are no republics
except those which have existed but for a
moment & which even during the short time
of their existence have been so continually
harassed ~~with~~ ~~was~~ by wars with neighbor-
ing and powerful monarchs that all their
intellectual & physical strength combined
had been insufficient to secure their
preservation. I say then that history furnishes
no ground of argument against republics.

Not so with monarchies - they have exist-
ed from time immemorial - here the experiment
has been fully tried - and the result, with few ex-
ceptions, has been that in proportion as the power
of the monarch has been limited & the rights
of the people regarded - in proportion to the
introduction of enlightened & liberal prin-
ciples into the minds of the common people
has been the progress of intellectual attainments.
For ~~proof~~ proof of this we need only look at
Turkey & all the intermedial governments
from that to England & enquire in which
republics has shown forth most conspicuous.
I have said thus much concerning argument
considerations drawn from history because they

an often brought forward as a kind of
silencing argument against republics
whereas ^{think} that a very little reflection will con-
vince any one that history has little or
nothing to do with the part of the question
The only arguments that can have much
weight must be drawn from the nature of
the two different kinds of government.

What then is necessary to high literary
& scientific attainments? Obviously Genius and
patronage: For without genius patronage
can effect nothing and with ^{out} patronage, genius
little.

Now it cannot be pretended that native genius
is peculiar to any particular country or gov-
ernment - ~~the only~~ nor is it confined to the rich
it is nurtured in the cottage as well as in the
palace. In what state of society then are the
causes which tend to elicit this genius most
powerful? Is it in a monarchy, where a few
nobles are almost the only enlightened and
thinking class of community? - where mul-
titudes follow the caprice and opinions of a single
individual - without enquiring whether they are
correct or not? - where the lower classes are
purposely kept in ignorance by the higher and
where consequently they have no idea or am-
bition of exchanging their situation for one su-
-perior? Or is it in a Republic where every man
thinks and acts for himself? - where the multi-
tude feel themselves to be men and where they
therefore pay deference to no man's opinion?

~~may~~ (no matter how much superior to them he may be) unless their own reasoning and reflection convince them that they are correct - and especially where the lower classes are educated and are therefore, always dissatisfied with their present condition and striving for something superior? The fact is that in a republic there always exists among every class of community, a spirit of enquiry, and of ambition to excel, which can hardly fail of discovering native genius wherever it exists, while in a monarchy the contrary is true. Say then ~~that~~ supposing intellect to be equally distributed in these two forms of government, that a republic is much superior for the discovery of it.

The next inquiry is in which ~~we~~ will ~~this~~ are the best ~~means~~ for cultivating it when discovered - in other words which affords the most ample patronage?

Patronage is of two kinds that given to individuals of genius and that to literary institutions. Here our opponents say that monarchies have the advantage on account of the king's nobility, who have ample means for granting quick patronage if they will: now as to the fact of their possessing this wealth there can be no doubt - but does it follow as matter of course that patronage will be given? Has it been a general fact that when no motive of ambition to

to render their names renowned has act-
-uated them, they have extended the helping
hand? If so why did Milton live and die in
poverty? Why is it a common remark not
only that ^{poets but} men of genius are always poor &
scarcely able to gain their support? Is it said
that Milton's merits were unknown while he
lived - true - but must we wait for future gen-
-erations to disclose them & until the author is
dead for this patronage? I mention ^{this} merely to
show that even ⁱⁿ a monarchy patronage is
not always sure to be given.

Now is not genius equally as sure of support
in a republic? it said that it will not be
because property is so much divided - It is
true there ~~is~~ no nobility but the greater
~~number of men than it I think will~~
~~more than compensate the inferior wealth of~~
~~individuals; but~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{amount of the} ~~the~~ ^{very}
fact that property is so much divided puts
it in the power of all to cultivate their talents
to a certain extent and the fact that liberty is
the main spring of action & enterprise - that
that exists rank and fortune yield to merit - that
that a door is opened for all to rise and that conse-
-quently there always exists a spirit of enquiry
and emulation among all classes of society
proves that this power will be improved, and if it
is, before that means of even the poorest are expended
they will be brought into notice - and ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{more} ~~the~~ ^{greater}
number of individuals who possess wealth sufficient

to give them patronage though in individual instances the amount of wealth ~~may~~ is not much as that of individual noblemen) - yet, say that the greater number will render ~~such~~ support and patronage much more certain than in the other case! "Because if no other ^{for doing it} motives ^{actuate} them they will still have the same which actuate ^{it} ~~it~~.

The same may be said respecting patronage given to literary institutions: For it cannot be pretended that supposing the two governments of equal extent & age that on the whole there is more wealth in ~~one~~ than in the other - the only difference is that in one it is divided among a few in the other among the whole people. You should much rather raise a large amount of money for any particular object from a ~~small~~ number of individuals who possessed only the same amount with a particular individual than from that one alone - but should think the chance of drawing a large amount in a lottery much greater if I divided the price of a single ticket in shares of several than if I purchased only one. The cases are analogous for in one ^{we} depend upon the will in the other upon fortune - both are capricious and therefore the greater the number of chances in each case I should think, the greater the prospect of success.

But again we are pointed to England as a specimen of monarchical patronage and of the high attainments consequent upon it - ~~and~~ but had not the progress of these ~~been~~ just kept pace

with the progress of liberal principles there?
and again we are asked why the ^{institutions} ~~institutions~~ in
America are so poorly endowed? The answer
I apprehend is obvious - but ancestors as well as
the present generation have been aware that a
general diffusion of knowledge in a republic is
one of the principal safeguards of liberty - and
therefore have been anxious to effect this first.
But furthermore the great number of our institutions
and the manner in which they are even now
patronised argues with almost positive certainty
(setting aside ^{or any} observation upon the subject) that
there is diffused throughout the union and
~~throughout every department of government a~~
spirit of liberality and emulation on this subject
which as soon as the attention of the national &
State governments can be released from concern
of more vital importance & turned to this will
do much for the patronage of American genius.
The literature of this country is now in the first stage of its
existence while that of England has been "growing with her
growth & strengthening with her strength": but the high
standing we have already attained & the short time in
which it has been done is conclusive proof enough, that
future generations will witness a period when American
literature and science will stand on as high an
eminence as that of any other nation.

Much more might be said in favor of Republics -
as being undoubtedly the best field for the cultivation
of eloquence which I apprehend comes within the
limits of the question as well as leaving men of genius
to take their own course and to speak & write freely
their real opinions without any of that gross flattery
which often characterises ~~the~~ the writings of those who
receive royal patronage.

Ought the poor to be supported by law?

I am aware that the cry of suffering humanity is ^{often} raised and the commands of the Deity ^{urgently} by the advocates of the affirmative in support of their system. The impression seems to have been indelibly stamped upon their minds from what source I know not, that, unless the poor are supported by law, they must languish and die - that the same liberality and patriotism which gave birth to the poor law system, would if these laws were abolished, turn a deaf ear to the deserving as well as underserving supplicants and be entirely indifferent to the safety, prosperity and happiness of community. But I imagine that, if we consider what are the objects intended to be gained by this system and then enquire whether these objects are ^{in reality} attained, we shall find that this system is erroneous in its very principle.

The objects intended to be gained by this system are if I am not mistaken, chiefly these, not merely to relieve the wants of the poor; but to relieve them in such a manner, ~~as~~ as shall best promote their morality, industry and happiness ~~of the poor~~ in such as shall be most conducive to the welfare of the community and in such a manner that the number of paupers instead of increasing, with the increase of population shall diminish or

at least remain stationary.

How then do the poor laws accomplish these ends? What effect do they have upon paupers? Do they promote morality & industry among them? By means of this system the proclamation goes forth to all and it is one understood by all that if they are unable to support themselves the public is ready and ^{to do it for them} willing. The proclamation indeed is if you cannot, but this can not be in very many instances a will not. All are confidently assured of support by applying to the public funds. What then will ^{be} or rather what is the effect of this? Now it is the labouring and poorest class of community, those who live only from hand to mouth as the saying is, who expect and to whom this support is granted. On the one hand then they must obtain their subsistence by continued and daily labour; on the other they have but to make some false pretence or other for asking support and they receive it. Under such circumstances, when once a spirit of independance is lost and a character of respectable honesty is little valued the effect is obvious. But we need not wait until a man comes to such a state of feeling - when he is struggling hard for his subsistence - when he wishes to sustain a respectable character but cannot without unwearied exertions and strict economy - when

he wishes to live in a state of greater ease -
then his inclinations begin to warp his judge-
ment - then the assurance that he can obtain
his support by applying to the public funds
comes in with an influence that cannot be
resisted - his judgement and his sense of
rectitude begins to waver and ^{to} become weaker
and weaker - he sacrifices his character
to his inclinations, accepts the proffered bribe
which paralyzes all his efforts and becomes
instead of an honorable and industrious
though poor citizen a town pauper hated
and despised by all who know him.

He is sensible of that his character is gone &
he consequently cares for nothing save his personal
wants. He has no motive sufficient to rouse
him to a cession. The entreaties of a suffering
and dependant family are heard of with
indifference and neglect. He is deaf to every
~~thing~~ ^{call} because he will be idle and because
the law supports him in his idleness. ~~He~~ He
cares not for his rag or his character - The
frosts of winter but drive him to the poor house
Here his hunger his thirst and his nakedness
are provided for and his situation save
the loss of his reputation superior
to what it was before. Ask him
the reason of his idleness

his conduct answers the doors of the poor-
house are ever open to receive me.

This however is not the only way in
which this principle produces the same results.
Although the greatest amount of the taxes, which
are levied may not come from the poor and
labouring class of community, yet it is ^{worthy}
of remark that, it is upon this class that they
bear with the greatest weight - it is here that
they are felt, ^{with the deepest sensibility} and it is here that the yoke becomes
too grievous to be borne. Here then is another
check upon the industry of the poor and another
incitement to urge them to throw themselves
upon the public charity. The poor man
outraged that taxes should be collected of him
for the support of men able to support themselves
and driven on by ~~poor~~ pressing want
quits his habits of ^{industry} and becomes him-
self a pauper. That this is the effect of supporting
the poor by ~~poor~~ ^{on their industry} law is a conclusion
not founded on theory, ~~simply~~ merely but one
~~is~~ established and confirmed by the experi-
ence of ages. ~~##~~

What then must be the consequent effect upon
the moral habits of this class of community?

Man was never made ~~to be~~ for inactivity.

He may be idle but cannot
be inactive. His attention
and will
must be occupied by

something. Place him ^{there} in the situation in which paupers ^{are} generally placed, that is, remove from him all restraint, support him in idleness and were he insulated from all the world ^{even these} the vicious propensities of human nature would turn ^{him} from the path of honesty and rectitude; but let ^{him} have intercourse with others in the same situation and we should see vice in all its degrading and destructive forms. Experience and observation declare it to be impossible that a man should be habitually idle and at the same time be virtuous. Could we witness ^{such} an instance of ~~the~~ it we should gaze upon it with astonishment and consider it with propriety an anomaly in nature.

I shall remark farther on the demoralizing effect of this system under the next objection which I am to urge viz the increase of paupers. It is altogether unnecessary ^{here} to bring ^{forward} examples ~~in support of this assertion~~; but simply to remark what is obvious to all ~~and~~ that the experience of all countries where this ~~system~~ principle has been carried into operation, justifies ~~us~~ in this assertion. I have ~~nothing to do with~~ any system in particular but simply to show that they are ^{all} wrong in principle. I have already anticipated in some measure this part of the subject ^{itself} by showing the influence which is exerted

individual industry but the evil does not stop here. The individual who has been as it were bribed to pauperism commonly has a family dependant upon him for support which ^{is} consequently involved in the same ruin with himself. Thus the influence upon a single individual may and often does involve in its effects the happiness ^{and welfare} of several - thus paupers have and ever will increase so long as ~~they~~ they are supported by the public funds.

The numerous families which are thus reduced to pauperism however virtuous they may have been before when ~~they~~ once ~~come~~ within the threshold of a poorhouse, ~~they~~ begin to breathe another and a noxious atmosphere - one which vice and immorality have deeply infected. Example is contagious and ^{when} such a host of pernicious examples ^{as} are constantly ~~before~~ presented to the sight in a poorhouse are arrayed against virtue that must be of sterling worth which can withstand ~~them~~ their influence.

I am aware that it is usual for those on the affirmative to speak of workhouses as remedying all these evils. But this is far from being the fact. They may indeed do something towards but it is far from being sufficient. In some few instances where circumstances are peculiarly favorable ~~the~~ such establishments may support themselves and ~~they~~ may even be a profit to the parish where ^{they are} ~~so~~ situated. These instances however are very rare. In 9 cases out of 10 the expense of such estab-

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-ishments far exceed their income. England
has tried this system but to little purpose. What
if paupers are ~~sent up in a~~ obliged to labour
the moment their overseer is gone the work is
slighted or entirely neglected. You cannot control
the will. If they are not disposed to labour men
will invent a thousand plans to avoid it. The
fact is the principle itself, the very foundation of the
superstructure is unsound: The wisdom and experi-
-ence of England has been for centuries engaged
in varying and ~~modifying~~ the plan but under
every possible modification the ~~the~~ edifice has
become weaker and weaker until it now totters
on the brink of ruin. It is easy to propose plans for
remedying these evils but difficult to carry them
into execution.

~~The same objections hold good~~
But it is asked will not work houses be a sufficiently
dreaded by the poor to prevent the increase of paupers?
Why should ~~it do~~ they do this? The same support is
secured them as before and though they must
labour their task is far from being as severe as
when they support themselves ~~while they~~. The same
objections ^{also} with regard to morals hold good in this
case, as well as before in the other.

I would by no means assert that this system might
not be improved so as to ^{afford a} remedy ^{for} most of the evils
to which I have alluded: but I do not believe that
~~they~~ ^{it} can ever furnish one that is complete and
permanent. Pauperism is an evil that must
cure itself. Let it then be known by all the poor
that they must support themselves or depend upon
the charities of individuals - let it be known that
the law will not support their idleness and the

picture will be entirely changed. The poor man has no lure held out before him to entice him to throw himself upon the public - he maintains a spirit of independance - values a character of respectability, and pursues with diligence the path of honest industry. He has now every possible motive to ~~to~~ rouse him to a ction - he feels the importance and necessity of vigorous and active exertion - the wants of a dependant family are no longer observed with careless indifference and the ~~rough~~ frosts of winter no longer drive him to the poor-house, but inspire him with renewed energy.

There are many other reasons why these laws should be repealed which time and my paper forbid me to mention. I cannot however leave the subject without just referring to one of them viz the gratitude of those who subsist upon the public charities. No man can fail to see the importance of the higher and lower classes of society being bound together by the strongest ties of mutual affection and gratitude. Let us then appeal to our own experience and see whether the poor laws secure this advantage to the community? The answer is No. Indeed why should they produce this effect? The charities which paupers receive are from all indiscriminately and were they even disposed to be grateful to whom should this gratitude be exhibited? The truth is it is every one's business, and therefore no one's. Consequently we find ^{that} this is the most ungrateful class in ~~our~~ society. They receive their support as a debt which is due them from the public. But let these laws be repealed and here also as before the picture is reversed: and all the different classes of society are united by one strong and common bond of union.

Ought a national University to be established?

Having had little time to devote to the consideration of this question my remarks will therefore be accordingly.

I have no doubt that the time will ultimately arrive when this question will be important as well as interesting to our nation. It may indeed even now be interesting; but the time has not yet come nor has our government arrived to that state in which it is to have an important claim upon its attention. It is a true remark, but not the less true on that account, that ours is a nation of agriculturists. Government then should put those measures in operation first which tend to lay open the natural, before it can pay much attention to the intellectual resources of our country. These must for the present at least depend for funds to promote their development upon the liberality and good sense of the community at large: the government has weightier matters to adjust. Not that I would assert that the cultivation of the mind is not of the utmost importance, but what I mean is that considering the present state of our country both as it respects the general diffusion of knowledge and the ^{elevated} standard of literature to which it has already attained, so long as the public funds can be expended upon objects of more vital importance to the prosperity and happiness of the nation

So long they should not be appropriated to the establishment of such an institution as the one under consideration, let the plan on which it is to be founded or the method in which it is to be conducted be what they may.

But to come more particularly to the question. In the first place what does the term national University mean? The word University is applicable to institutions so very different; that to my mind the term conveys no very definite meaning. It may mean an institution in all respects similar to our own except that it is supported from the national funds, or it may mean one like those of Cambridge and Oxford.

I shall consider the question with reference to both without attempting to ~~decide~~ determine which of the two systems is meant. For the simple reason that the same objections can be applied with almost equal force and propriety to both.

~~Is then Yale or some similar institution~~
institution to be taken as a model?

With Yale or some similar ~~institute~~ institution for a model when let another be established & supported by the public funds. Will it raise the standard of literature in our country? Its funds being great and every possible advantage for success in the several pursuits being abundantly furnished it would be but reasonable to suppose that it would do something towards it. But does it follow as a matter of necessity

But these superior advantages being enjoyed
~~only~~ only in this institution no one as we have be-
fore remarked would consider his education
complete until he had graduated ~~there~~
The poor could not incur the additional
expense; consequently ~~it~~ the rich only
could enjoy its advantages. This measure then
is cutting off many from attempting an education
~~because~~ who might otherwise have done
honour to American literature. This will
not do: Genius is not always nurtured in the
lap of affluence, but oftener chooses the humble
collage for its dwelling place.

I will next suppose, what I think is the fact, that
this institution is to be founded on a plan similar
in all important respects to that of Oxford or Cambridge;
that funds for the support of scholarships &c are to be
established; that buildings, libraries and different
kinds of apparatus are to be ~~provided~~ and everything is to
be provided in the greatest abundance: With every
possible exertion and with funds sufficient to secure every
possible advantage this institution must necessarily
remain if not for ever at least for a great length of time
vastly inferior to those already mentioned. And the
reason is obvious. For supposing that "everything else
they were equal, they could not be in point of talent.
The most eminent men in our country have already
obtained situations which few of them would exchange
for any that could be offered them there. Necessity then
as well as ~~inclination~~ the expectation that more
learned men could be obtained would compel us to

send to Europe for most if not all of our professors & teachers. This I consider as a most serious objection to such a measure. But if we send to Europe another difficulty arises. The most eminent men in that country are already possessed of situations vastly superior to any that can be offered them in this country. So that at any rate we could not obtain the best men. We might it is true obtain those of considerable attainments but these are not such as are wanted: or if they were what would a set of European professors, bred up in the spirit ~~and~~ habits and prejudices of those countries do here? They would pursue the same course as though their pupils were of their own nation. But this would not do. The spirit and habits of the two people are entirely different and consequently a different course of instruction, in some particulars, should be pursued. The professors would not or could not accommodate themselves to these habits and experience has already proved it. To be sure there has been now and then a solitary instance where foreign professors have done well, but there has also been numberless instances in which they have not; in which they have come ~~to~~ here with high expectations and when they found that they were never to be realized have become mad with disappointment and unfit for every duty.

Another to them is that if they were well qualified for the duties of their office we might reasonably infer from the predilection which foreigners constantly exhibit with respect to their own country, that they

would be much less attached to the interests of the institution than Americans would.

Besides all these objections if we grant what is evident at a single glance, that this institution must continue for some time inferior to those of a similar character in Europe, it follows that these scholarships which are to be established will be filled principally by those whose circumstances forbid their travelling, or only by those who are necessitated to be content with them; while those master spirits who have the means at their command, as at present will resort to ~~the~~ Europe. So that in the end we shall be doing but little more, and that little at an immense expense, towards raising the ~~the~~ standard of literature in our country.

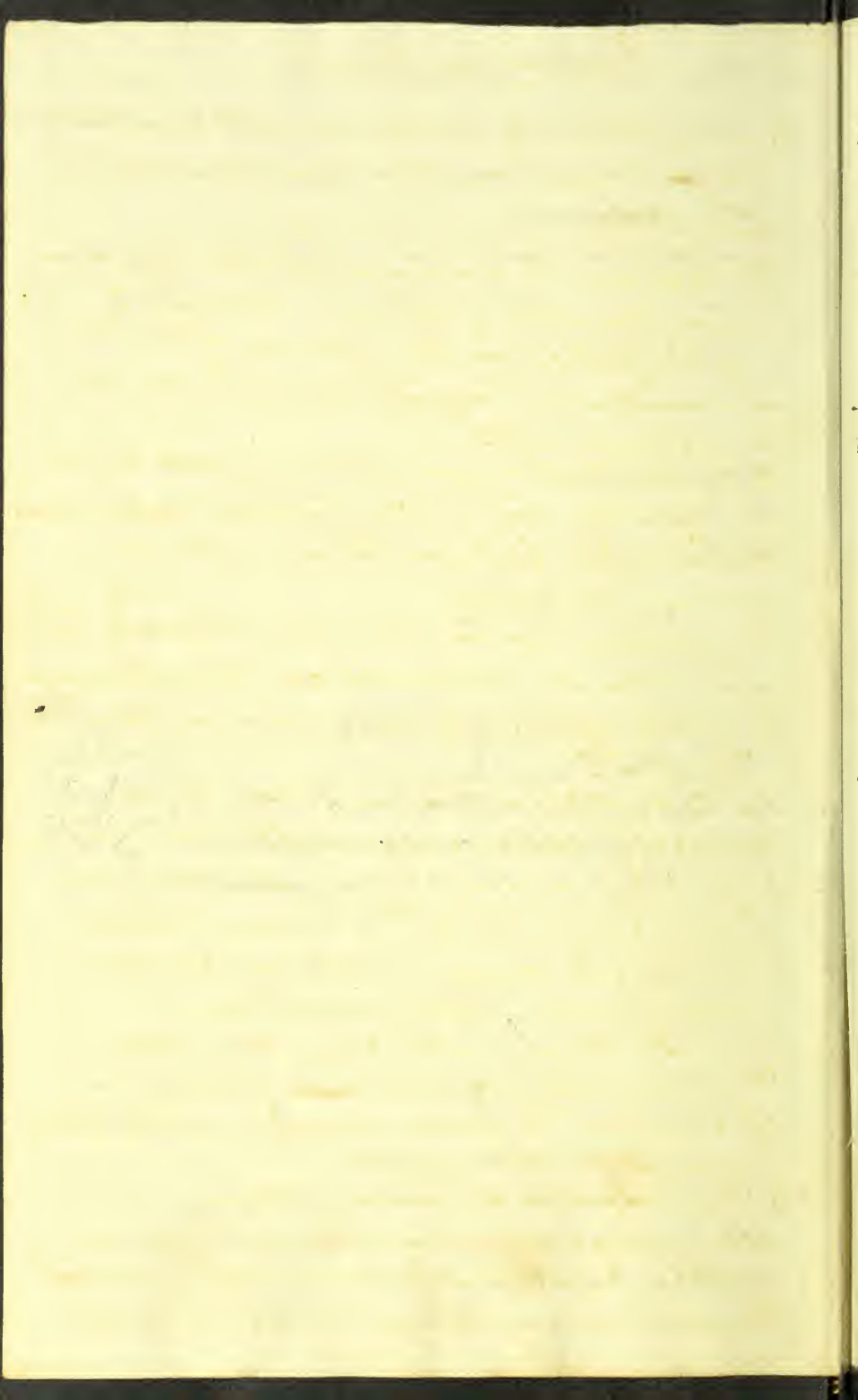
But again suppose that this measure should succeed to the best wishes of its supporters would it then be an object worthy the immediate patronage and attention of the Government? The only advantage or the principal one claimed as resulting from this measure is that it would raise the standard of American literature: and is this any thing of vital importance? What else is it but a measure desirable indeed and honourable, but not absolutely necessary? What if we cannot show men of as much eminence as England or ~~Europe~~ the Continent we can show a people more free and more enlightened than either. And we can show men too our Franklins and our Henrys. ~~What care we then~~ Has not our republic ever since its foundation and is it not now rising

in the scale of intellectual improvement with a rapidity almost unexampled? Let this state of things continue (and we have no reason to suppose ~~them will~~ that it will not) and when a few centuries have rolled another century or two has passed over our heads we shall not be far behind the old world in any thing.

Read in the P.B.K.

The principal arguments in the negative are 1st There would some difficulty arise respecting its location. 2nd On account of the different sects of Christians in our country. 3rd There would be a difficulty in filling the offices of the institution with able men. The most eminent in our country would be taken from the situations of presidents and professors in the lesser institutions now existing in our country and thus be an irreparable injury to the country.

4th Such a measure would be premature. If we wish for skilful engineers the school at West Point is amply sufficient to produce them. 5. If such an institution were established owing to our scattered population there would be a difficulty in furnishing the requisite number of students because those who lived very remote from it would resort to Europe. 6 There would be no rival, and if at all these objections were removed still instead of appropriating the public funds for this object they should be appropriated to the general extension of knowledge throughout the country since this is more according to republican principles and will best secure our liberties.



Questions for Debate.

1. Is a monarchy or republic best adapted to the ~~for~~ requirement of a high standard of Literature.

1st What are the causes which tend to produce a high standard of national literature?

In the first place the influence of the Government is one cause. In what way does this influence act?

1st By the patronage which is given to men of genius by rich and enlightened individuals. And secondly by the patronage given to literary institutions.

The question then ^{arises} in what state of society or ^{under} what form of government can this patronage be most effectually secured in a Monarchy or Republic?

In the first place this can be done in a Monarchy best on account of the patronage of the kings and nobility to individual men of genius and also 2nd on account of their possessing the means of bestowing the same patronage upon literary institutions.

Again 3rd. Because the kings have it in their power to put men ~~into~~ of talent into offices where the labour is trifling and the salary sufficient for their support.

4. In a republic the reverse is true.

The general diffusion of knowledge in a republic tends to dissipate the literary fund. Hence so many Colleges in the U. States.

2^dought the rate of interest to be established by law?

This were a question of expediency. Why should money be sold under a restriction more than any other species of property since it differs from it in so few essential characteristics. Such laws have little influence in preventing fraud and oppression.

Why should the law interfere when the individuals agree as to the rate of interest? Why should government interfere in the affairs of individuals. The object of the law is to protect the interests of those who borrow and of the ^{thus that} community at large.

1st Class of those who borrow money are young men just setting out in the world and who sad experience proves should not be entrusted with much capital. 2^d class are adventurers and speculators who in the first place have little or nothing to lose and who consequently are not materially injured if they fail in their project. 3^d class is spendthrifts. 4th class are men who are almost bankrupt and who would were it not for the law pay an exorbitant interest. It is for the advantage of the community that such men as these should not be entrusted with the capital of the country. But who will obtain it if the law does not exist. When the law is put in force it has a good effect. if not it may have a bad effect.

Ought religion to be supported by law?

1st This question must be decided upon the two points of right and expediency.

1st Is Government authorized to interfere in the subject. From past history we know that religion is necessary to the existence of government.

2. Were it only to suppress crimes and to diminish pauperism it would claim an interference on the part of the Government. 3. It is expressly enjoined in the sacred scriptures that ministers and places of worship shall in some way or other be supported. 4th Such a law cannot violate the conscience.

2nd The question then arises how will this support be best secured? By voluntary contribution or by law? To determine this is to determine the expediency of the thing. Here we must resort to facts. Do facts prove this? in populous cities it may sometimes be the case but where the community is scattered it is not.

The example of Connecticut does not prove that they will be supported by voluntary contribution because the habits of the people were formed when the law was in force. But will such institutions rise up in our newly settled countries without the interference of the law?

If they will then the law should not be passed.

Ought a representative to be bound by the will of his constituents?

There is a difference between the reasons and wills. A representative should undoubtedly pay great attention to the reasons which his constituents can offer for any measures. But this question refers not to these but to the judgements or conclusions of his constituents and consequently involves several absurdities. 1st The most enlightened man in society is always chosen and that he should be bound to give implicit obedience to the wills or opinion of the multitude is an impeachment of his character. 2nd Why spend his time and attention upon the consideration of any question? 3rd It is an impeachment upon the characters and talents of the most learned men in the country, that is, upon the representative body to suppose that they are to be guided solely by the opinions of the mob. 4th It involves the principle that a question can be decided before it has had due consideration better than after. Besides the aspect of a measure is often entirely changed by information from ^{the} various parts of the country and also by a communication from the executive which the people could not receive beforehand. 5th That the representative is to set aside all regard to the interest of the whole ^{country} and respect only that of his particular district. If it is asked why, if the representative is not to be bound by the will of his constituent, ~~and~~ is he chosen from various parts of the country the answer is for the sake of information. The will of the people should certainly be the guide for all decisions of Government but this will is to be determined by a comparison of the several

wills and interests in the country. on the whole
then this measure is unnecessary as it respects the
assumption of power &c, it is dangerous on acc-
ount of creating many clashing interests in
the nation and altogether unavailing.

ought imprisonment for debt to be abolished?

No man according to the principles of Liberty
can be imprisoned for a crime until he is con-
-victed of that crime. He may be imprisoned
on suspicion but only then until he can have
a trial. When it should be proved to the judge
not that the defendant owes the debt, but that
in neglecting or refusing to pay the debt he has
been guilty of a crime. A party interested should
not be the judge. We do not allow it in other
cases why then in this? The liberty of an indi-
-vidual should not be put into the power of
another. If this law were abolished there would
be more honour in men's dealing with each other.
A new spur would be given to industry
virtue and morality. Therefore some
amendment should be made to this law
so that those who are guilty of a crime
in failing to pay their debts should
be punished and no others. The Habeas
Corpus act the grand Palladium of
English liberty.

ought theatres to be tolerated?

1st argument on the affirmative is that they afford a rational and innocent relaxation from the toils of the day. 1st then who are the men who need relaxation from the business of the day? They are the labouring & reading class of community. It is no relaxation to the laborer to sit up until 12 or 1 o'clock at night nor does it fit him for the business of the succeeding day; For it neither rests the body or the mind. The mind must be either unoccupied or only slightly to be relaxed. The theatre does not accomplish this: For its professed object is to excite the passions and to keep the mind intent on what is exhibited.

2nd It is not a school of manners - a place to study human nature. 3rd It does ^{not} furnish a good place to make good speakers either for the desk, bar, or legislative assembly. It does fit them for the stage but for nothing else.

They do not exhibit specimens of literature. The style of the pieces is regulated by the vanity of the actors and the character of the audience.

They do not exhibit history nor is their moral influence upon the spectators or players good. If it is why are not players men of the first moral character and companions of the most respectable men in society.

2nd Term Senior Year

1. Ought a literary and religious publication to be issued from this seminary?
2. Does a susceptibility of strong emotion promote a ministers usefulness more than good intellectual powers?
3. Ought there to be an African College established in the U. States?
4. Ought the Colonization Society to be patronized.

