

XXIII. December Sessions 1790.

## Of the Alien Act

In circumstances of extraordinary danger or alarm, extraordinary measures must be adopted: for ordinary means are incompetent for extraordinary occasions. Though I may not ~~kill~~ <sup>kill</sup> a man, while I am in no danger from him, yet if he be <sup>in the air</sup> ~~preparing~~ to kill me, or I find him breaking into my house in the night time to rob me, I may put him to death. This results from the general law of self defence. The sacred right of property will not forbid us, when a house is on fire, to pull down the adjacent buildings to save the rest of the town. It will the right of personal liberty restrain the magistrate from committing to jail a man who has actually done no wrong, but is justly afraid of some injury to himself or his property. All these

extraordinary cases, to which the ordinary rules of  
property, or of personal liberty and safety, are  
not applicable: and the violation of those rules  
in such cases, is, in true construction, no violation  
of those <sup>them</sup> rules; for they were never meant to be  
applied to such cases, but only to the ordinary  
and peaceful state of society, and must yield to  
the great law of self preservation and common wel-  
fare.

Nations, like individuals, are also bound by  
the law of self preservation, in times of danger,  
to adopt measures, which would be altogether  
unjustifiable in ordinary times. They may destroy  
an hostile army. If a hostile army be <sup>suffered</sup> permitted  
to march through <sup>a neutral</sup> ~~an adjacent~~ country, to attack  
<sup>another nation</sup> ~~that nation~~ in danger may also enter that coun-  
try, and oppose its enemy. If fields, gardens, hou-  
ses, or towns, shelter its enemy from the full  
force of attack, they may be destroyed. If it be  
necessary, to weaken the enemy by want  
of food, and all kinds of provision  
both, and the



ed by the Writ of Habeas Corpus, which gives to every <sup>subject</sup> ~~person~~ imprisoned an opportunity of requiring the cause of his commitment, and of obtaining, in all proper cases, his enlargement. ~~With respect to our subject in this case, when~~ <sup>therefore</sup> the King of Britain's ~~his~~ ministers find it necessary, for political reasons, to restrain the personal liberty of any subject, without shewing any cause for it; a law must be obtained from Parliament, suspending the <sup>privilege of the Writ of</sup> Habeas Corpus, and Parliament may, whenever it pleases, pass such <sup>a</sup> Law.

Conforming to the principles of liberty inherited from our ancestors, the privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus, is established as a principle in the government of this state and of the union. And though ~~the Legislature of this State or the Congress or the General Assembly~~ <sup>may</sup> respectively, ~~may~~ <sup>like the British Parliament, by Law,</sup> suspend this privilege; yet they cannot, like the British Parliament, <sup>pass</sup> such Law ~~whenever they please~~. For the Federal and State Constitutions have declared, that the privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall <sup>not</sup>

not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it. So that in this country, no citizen can be deprived of his liberty, without an avowed and sufficient cause, unless <sup>in case of rebellion or invasion</sup> the Legislative think the public safety requires it, and suspend the privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus. But here the Constitution leaves aliens, as in other countries, to the protection of the general principles of the law of nations, or of the particular provisions of treaties made <sup>between the United States and</sup> with the <sup>governments of</sup> ~~governments~~ <sup>where</sup> subjects or citizens ~~the~~ <sup>aliens severally are.</sup>

Congress, in its last session, found the United States in extraordinary circumstances of peril, unequalled ~~in~~ since their Independence was solemnly acknowledged. France having, without any respect to the principles of liberty, the law of nations, or the rights of individuals, plundered the land, to the utmost <sup>reach</sup> ~~extent~~ of her grasp; extended the same unprincipled rapacity to the ocean, and

plundered indiscriminately friends and foes. Of all  
~~the~~ nations and governments none had, with  
more affection, regarded the revolution of France,  
none had more assiduously cultivated her friend-  
ship, none had more scrupulously observed  
the rules of neutrality, or, consistently with those  
rules, partially indulged the views of France;  
than the nation and government of the United  
States. And if neutrality, justice, affection, and  
gratitude, could have exempted any government  
and nation from injury from France, the na-  
tion and government of the United States might  
justly have claimed this exemption. But what  
weight has justice, with a government <sup>with</sup> ~~out~~  
~~out~~ <sup>out</sup> principle, without religion, and with-  
out an interest in the prosperity of the peo-  
ple over which it is placed! If the French go-  
vernment had regarded only the interest of  
France, it would have cultivated the affections  
of America. But the French government, like  
the false mother indifferent to the life of the  
child,

child, regarded <sup>not the interest of the French nation, but</sup> only the indulgence of its own  
passions, and the triumph of its own pride;  
which, exalted, by success, beyond the bounds  
of moderation, sought to humble all authori-  
ties in universal prostration at ~~its~~ <sup>its</sup> feet.

The commenced and prosecuted spoliations of our trade  
Her spoliations of our commerce rose to a vast  
to an extent which threatened its ruin; and its dismal effect  
amount, and threatened its ruin. The Anger  
are yet displayed in the bankruptcies of our merchants &  
can government patiently and peacefully  
the languishing state of our commerce and agriculture  
sought redress by negotiation; but the presump-  
tion and rapacity of France rose in proportion  
to the patience and peace of America; and,  
with unexampled insolence, she repeatedly  
drove away our <sup>ambassadors</sup> ~~messengers~~, sent to claim only  
an exemption from injury, and a payment of  
just debts; required us, by an ignominious tri-  
bute and bribe, to double the damage we had  
suffered; and, <sup>threatened us,</sup> if we refused, <sup>this</sup> with war and ra-  
vage on our coasts, burning of our towns, and  
even dissolution as a nation.

What could have swelled the insolence of  
France to this pitch of extravagance? Had we  
done

done her any injury? She can shew none. Was it  
her great success, and mighty power? We ~~are~~  
at a distance to defy her power. How then dared  
she thus to insult and injure us? She account-  
ed us a divided people, split into factions, among  
which she had zealous partisans. In this state,  
she knew, we must be an easy prey. In this  
state, she knew, we could make no resistance.  
And, while we remained in this state, she  
might safely persist in her proud oppression;  
and she did so. For men without regard to religion  
and justice, will do whatever they can do; and ~~it~~  
<sup>nothing but</sup> resistance and force ~~alone~~ <sup>will</sup> restrain  
them from injuring others. France had long known  
and promoted divisions <sup>and</sup> factions among us, and had  
sent spies <sup>into all parts of our country</sup> to procure information of our circum-  
stances and opinions, in all parts of our country.  
Those travelled through America, under various  
pretences, of curiosity, <sup>and</sup> philosophy, or of avoiding tyrann-  
ny or persecution at home. This ~~was~~ Talleyrand,  
who demanded the bribe and loan from our  
ambassadors, travelled through America as an e-  
migrant, and, <sup>on</sup> his return to France, was ap-  
pointed minister of foreign affairs. From its  
spies



spies and other agents here, the French government received constant <sup>intelligence</sup> information of the sentiments of the citizens, and the measures of the government of America; and was thus prepared to promote <sup>its</sup> their own views, and defeat ours.

If ever there was a time in which it was proper for any government, to order aliens to depart out of <sup>its territory</sup> the country, in case of war with their nations; it was proper, for the American government, to do so at this time. In other countries this would have been done by a proclamation of the Executive. This was a new case under the American Constitution, and proper for the interference of the Legislature. Congress, therefore, passed a law, the substance of which, in its own words, I shall here state.

It shall be lawful for the President <sup>39</sup> ~~17~~ ~~1788~~ ~~1789~~  
Whenever there shall be a declared war between  
the United States and any foreign nation or govern-  
ment, or any invasion or predatory incursion shall  
be perpetrated, attempted, or threatened against  
the territory of the United States; and the President

7 of 6<sup>th</sup> July 1790. of 25 June 1788

of the United States shall make proclamation of the event; all natives, citizens, or subjects, of the hostile nation or government, being males of the age of fourteen years and upwards, within the United States, and not actually naturalized, shall be liable to be apprehended, restrained, secured, and removed, as alien enemies. And the President shall be authorised, by proclamation or other public act, to direct the degree of the restraint, and in what cases, and on what security, their residence shall be permitted; and to provide for the removal of those, who, not being permitted to reside within the United States, shall refuse or neglect to depart; and to establish any other regulations, necessary in the premises, and for the public safety. After such proclamation, the several courts of the United States, and of each state, having criminal jurisdiction, and the several judges and justices of the Courts of the United States, are authorised, upon complaint against any alien as aforesaid, resident and at large within such jurisdiction or district, to the danger of the public peace or safety, and contrary to the tenor of such proclamation

proclamation, or other regulations which the President shall establish in the premises; to cause such alien to be apprehended, and conveyed before such Court, Judge, or Justice; and, after examination and hearing on such complaint, and sufficient cause thereof appearing, to order such alien to be removed out of the territory of the United States, or to give securities of ~~his~~ good behaviour, or to be otherwise restrained, conformably to the proclamation, or regulations established as aforesaid; and to imprison, or otherwise secure such alien, until the order be performed.

This law provides, that aliens resident within the United States, who shall become liable as enemies, in the manner aforesaid, and not be chargeable with actual hostility, or other crime against the public safety, shall be allowed, for the recovery, disposal, and removal of their goods and effects, and for their departure, the full time, ~~which is, or shall be~~ stipulated by any treaty between the United States and

<sup>2</sup>  
The hostile nation or government, of which they are natives, citizens, or subjects, and where no such treaty exists, the President may ascertain and declare such reasonable time, as may be consistent with public safety, and according to the dictates of humanity and national hospitality.

One would have thought, that a law so reasonable in itself, so conformable to the law of nations, and the practice of all governments, and, while it is altogether ~~to~~ consistent with the constitution, and so necessary to the safety and defence of the United States; if it did not obtain all praise, would, at least have escaped all censure. Yet this law was not only vehemently opposed in Congress; <sup>but</sup> even since it was passed, has been reprobated by ignorant, or wicked and seditious men; and, for their vile and selfish purposes has been held up to detestation, as unconstitutional and tyrannical. In many parts of the Union, it has been used as a pretext and instrument, to inflame the passions

passions of the people, disturb the peace of the  
 country, destroy respect for the laws, and <sup>thus</sup> ~~weaken~~  
~~relax the authority~~  
~~pen the energy~~ of the government; and, in one  
 state, to produce such a commotion, as to threat-  
 en an insurrection, if not a separation from  
 the Union. It is proper for men in all stations,  
 and peculiarly in my station, to endeavour  
 to counteract such mischievous passions, and  
 miserable consequences. With this view, I  
 shall examine the objections, which I have  
 observed to have been offered against this  
 law, ~~now~~ solemnly established by the au-  
 thority of the United States.

1. It is objected to this law, that it is contrary to the  
 express words of the Constitution.

We perhaps ought not to wonder that this objec-  
 tion is made. Added to the want of <sup>reason and</sup> knowledge in  
 some of the objectors, of modesty in most of them,  
 and the general disposition, <sup>from prejudices against</sup> excited and nourish-  
 ed by slander, to believe every act of adminis-  
 tration

14  
stration wrong, the habit of opposition prepares  
their minds ~~of the object~~ to make and receive  
it. For a habit of opposing every thing makes  
dreadful havoc, not only on the feelings and  
conscience, but on the understanding itself.

This objection is made on two grounds.

The first is, that the Constitution declares, that "The  
migration or importation of such persons, as any  
of the states now existing shall think proper to  
admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress,  
prior to the year one thousand eight hundred  
and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on  
such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for  
each person." From this it is inferred, that, as Con-  
gress cannot yet prohibit such migration or im-  
portation, they cannot remove the persons who  
have migrated or <sup>been</sup> imported; for this would be in  
effect prohibiting the migration or importation.  
It is ~~very~~ well known that the prohibition in  
view respected only slaves. This was universal  
ly understood at the time of the publication of  
the

Constitution, during its discussion, and ever since.  
All the members of the Convention know this. The  
Speaker of the House of Representatives of Congress,  
who was a member of the Convention, <sup>himself</sup> in ~~the~~ ar-  
gument on this Bill, in a Committee of that  
House, expressly declared this to have been  
the avowed sense of the Convention, <sup>on this</sup>  
clause of the Constitution; and no man has e-  
ver seriously entertained a doubt <sup>of any knowledge of the subject</sup> of this. The  
Convention was so averse to the traffick in hu-  
man beings, that they would not directly name  
slaves, slavery, or the slave trade. The southern  
members thought their states not yet prepa-  
red for the prohibition <sup>of this traffic</sup>. The other members  
agreed to give those states twenty years to  
think of it. In that space they would pro-  
bably abolish the slave trade themselves,  
or, after that, Congress might do it. In the  
mean time, the Convention would not give  
slavery the sanction of being expressly  
named

16  
named. Instead of the word slaves, the word per-  
sons was used; and, to correspond with this, the  
word migration, and, explanatory of this, the word  
importation, as more properly applicable to <sup>slaves, or</sup> per-  
sons considered, not as aliens, but as property.  
Or, considering this prohibition as respecting only slaves,  
we find another reason for this construction, in the  
power reserved to Congress "to impose a tax on  
such importation", while no such power is express-  
ed as to migration; and thus for construing those  
words as meaning a different manner of intro-  
ducing slaves. Congress is ~~is~~ restrained from  
prohibiting their importation by sea, ~~or~~  
their migration ~~from one state to another~~ by  
land, into any of the states; but <sup>may</sup> ~~might~~ lay a duty  
on their first importation, not on any subsequent  
migration; the duty in that case being presu-  
med to have been paid before. While the  
prejudices or necessities <sup>as to the slaves,</sup> of the states then ex-  
isting were thus indulged; the Convention con-  
fined this indulgence to them, and did not  
restrain



restrain Congress from prohibiting the migration or importation of slaves into any state there after to be established; but left them to the discretion of Congress. Whatever reasons may be assigned for it, <sup>this</sup> is certain, that it was the plain meaning of the Convention, and has been the uniform construction of the Constitution, that the restraint laid on Congress, by this clause of the Constitution, applies only to the prohibition of ~~importation or migration~~ <sup>introducing</sup> slaves.

But supposing this not the <sup>true</sup> construction of this clause of the Constitution, and <sup>supposing</sup> that Congress is thereby restrained from prohibiting the migration or importation of any aliens whatever; and that it <sup>does not</sup> follow, as a just consequence from this, that Congress can make no law. A rule will not be extended beyond the strict words, if this extension will promote much effect, especially if it enlarges the safety of the people, which is the <sup>supreme</sup> law. I would ask whether this restraint must not be limited to times of peace; <sup>and</sup> whether it must govern in ~~extraordinary~~ ordinary times of danger, or must then give way to the great rule of self defence and general

state, with whom the United States are at war, at the time of his application, shall be ~~they~~, admitted to become a citizen of the United States. Such aliens therefore, as may be removed by this law, cannot be naturalised, <sup>if they are condemned, must</sup> and remain alien enemies, and it results from the nature of the case, from the law of nations, and from the general constitutional authority of the Government of the United States, that alien enemies may be removed by a law of the United States.

But this law is said to be contrary to the express words of the Constitution, because the Constitution declares, that "the trial of all crimes shall be by jury."

There is one general observation, which applies to all the objections to this law, drawn from the Constitution. It is this, that aliens are no parties to this Instrument, and, therefore, can claim no benefit under it, unless they are expressly named. The Constitution is made by "the people of the United States". And for whose benefit? For the benefit of the people of the United States surely. It is the charter of the privileges of the citizens of the United States.

Law, of 18 June 1798 & Art. 3. sect. 2. Const. Preamble.

to which none but citizens of the United States <sup>herein</sup> claim <sup>rights</sup>. The people of the United States, limit the power of their government over themselves; but lay no restraint on the power of their government over aliens. This was not in their view at all. Untill aliens become citizens, they are in the power of the ordinary legislature. The legislature may receive them, and admit them to become citizens; or may reject them, or remove them before they become citizens. When they come here, they know, that they come at the discretion of the ordinary legislature, can claim no privileges as citizens, and have no reason to complain, if this legislature remove them, before they become citizens. The legislature may refuse to admit them to become citizens, by enacting, that citizenship shall be acquired only by birth. If the legislature receive them, retain them, and admit them to become citizens; then, and not before, have they a right to claim the benefit of the Constitution made for citizens. This is clear reasoning. The citizens, who made the Constitution, bargained for themselves, and all who, after them, should become citizens.

10  
ral welfare? Let us try this construction by the  
rules of reasoning. It is a rule, that, if an argu-  
ment prove too much, it is unsound. Suppose  
a body of Frenchmen to ~~land~~ <sup>arrive at</sup> Boston, with arms  
and ammunition, which men may carry for their  
own defence, and tell the people there, that they  
are persons who have migrated to settle peace-  
ably in the country. Another body of such emi-  
grants, with the same tale in their mouths, arrives  
at New York; another, at Philadelphia; ano-  
ther, at Norfolk; and another, at Charleston; ~~then~~  
the state legislatures of Massachusetts, of New York,  
of Pennsylvania, of Virginia, and of South Caroli-  
na, be convened, to order those several bodies  
of emigrants to depart out of their several  
states: Well; the Boston emigrants march  
peaceably into Connecticut; and the South Caro-  
lina emigrants into North Carolina; and so of  
the others, till they all meet peaceably in Mary-  
land; and then declare, that they are come, by  
order of the Directory, to settle there, and to  
prevail

that purpose, and then

prevail on the President and Congress, to give the tribute <sup>demanded by</sup> ~~due~~ to the Directory. All this they may do, and yet if Congress had proceeded to make a law to <sup>prevent their landing or effect their removal</sup> ~~exclude them totally~~ if we should be told, that Congress cannot prohibit the migration or im-  
 portation of ~~pass~~ <sup>a strange</sup> aliens! This seems ~~very~~ <sup>an</sup> ab-  
 surdity, <sup>and yet the absurdity in this case is only altered</sup> if power to make such law is clearly necessary, for the general defence and welfare of the United States, the care of which is pro-  
 perly deposited with <sup>the</sup> Government of the Uni-  
 ted States.

For the people of the U. S. <sup>in order to</sup> ~~submit~~ p. 37.  
 The absurdity of this case is only altered, it is not removed, by substituting the case on which Con-  
 gress has acted. Spies are at all times dangerous, they are generally not less, and they are often <sup>as those who corrupt opinions and pervert our duties are</sup> more <sup>the most dangerous</sup> dangerous, than open enemies. <sup>Spies are</sup>  
~~no~~ <sup>no</sup> natives, citizens, or subjects of a nation or government <sup>at war with the United States, and who are not actually</sup>  
~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Congress applies only to aliens <sup>truly</sup> naturalised. The Constitution gives Congress  
 power, "to establish a uniform rule of naturaliza-  
 tion throughout the United States." In the exercise  
 of this power, Congress has enacted, that no alien  
 who is a native, citizen, or subject of any nation or  
 state.

Art. I. Sect. 8. <sup>passed</sup> June 1798 turn to p. 11

but did not bargain for aliens. Would an American citizen, removing into France, claim, as a citizen, the benefit of the <sup>French</sup> Constitution against an act of the legislature? Would a man received, under the laws of hospitality, into the house of another, tell the master of the house, when he orders him to depart, because he suspects him of ill designs, "I will not go, you have a lease of this house, you have admitted me, I will continue in it under your lease?" Aliens are tenants at will, and may be removed, at the discretion of the owner. When they become citizens, they become tenants on fixed terms, and cannot be removed, but according to those terms: they are free holders, and cannot be deprived of their rights, but on a known forfeiture regularly ascertained.

If therefore, aliens have no right to remain, it is no deprivation of right to order them to <sup>depart</sup> ~~depart~~; and if it be no deprivation of right, it can be no punishment; and if it be no punishment, this order may be made, without any crime, on the mere suspicion or arbitrary will of the legislature, which, with respect to them, is sovereign; as  
with

with respect to citizens, the Constitution is sovereign. Even <sup>a</sup> ~~with respect to~~ citizen may be ~~be~~ deprived of his right to personal liberty, <sup>without any actual crime</sup> on the mere suspicion of another, on which a magistrate deems it necessary to require security of the peace. So may an alien be deprived of our indulgence to remain among us, on the mere suspicion of the Legislature, that his residence here is dangerous to the public peace. This being no deprivation of right, but a mere denial of a favour, is no punishment; but a mere exercise of the right of self-defence, which <sup>of the government of the United States, like that of</sup> every other nation, may exert at any discretion, without any ~~off~~ crime or any trial.

All that is said of a right to trial by jury is out of the question. That refers to an investigation of offences previous to punishment, or a deprivation of a right. Here there is no offence, but a suspicion, <sup>even</sup> alledged; and as in the case of a citizen, he may be <sup>imprisoned</sup> committed, for the security of an individual; so, in the case of an alien, he may be removed, for the security of the nation. And in this, there is no punishment, because there is no deprivation of <sup>it</sup>.

neither an injury, nor a punishment; it is right. It is a measure of self defence inherent in every sovereign nation, <sup>like that of</sup> and ~~lawful~~ for every owner of a house to use, by turning out of his house a stranger, whom he does not choose to entertain longer.

I will again put the case of a stranger admitted, under the laws of hospitality, into a house. The owner thinks he has reason to suspect, that this stranger intends to rob or murder him; or to assist a gang of thieves whom he suspects of this intention. He tells the stranger, that he has such suspicion; and desires him to depart. If the stranger say, "Your suspicions are wrong; you must ~~first~~ prove them; carry me before a magistrate, and let me be tried and convicted, before you take upon you to turn me out of your house; would this be an answer? Shall the master of the house, in order to give the stranger the privilege of being tried and convicted, give him and his associates an opportunity of accomplishing their <sup>wicked</sup> purposes <sup>suspected</sup>?"

Or will the master of the house reply, "I am not



not well acquainted with your character, but whatever it be, I have a right to turn you out, go to my steward, and if you can so explain yourself to him, as that he choose to permit you to remain, I agree; but, if he order you to depart, you must go; "Would not this be reasonable? Would this be any punishment of the stranger? No, it is the right of self defence. But, as a right to exercise this power will not authorise the master of the house wantonly to beat the stranger, or violently ~~and fraudulently~~ to take his money from him; so a right to remove an alien from our territory does not authorise a power to punish him without a trial by jury.

That aliens, before they can be punished, or deprived of any right, for an offence, must be tried by jury, results not from the express words of the Constitution, which refer not to them, but to citizens. It results from the that our courts know no other mode of ~~trial~~ must

and have no authority to adopt any other.

2. But, if this law should not be contrary to the express words, ~~if~~ it is objected, ~~that~~, that it is contrary to the principles, of the Constitution, which distributes the legislative, judicial, and executive powers into three departments; while this law confounds them all in the Executive; and thus, it is said, establishes despotism.

I might rest the answer to this objection, of a confusion and accumulation of powers being a violation of the Constitution, on the observation already made, that this <sup>Law</sup> ~~Law~~ operates upon none, for whose benefit the Constitution was established, or whom the Constitution was intended to affect; and cannot therefore be a violation of the Constitution. It operates only on aliens. No citizen has any despotism to fear from this law. Any citizen may, notwithstanding this law, plot as many "treasons, stratagems, and spoils," as he pleases; and, if he can escape the judiciary, may bid the President defiance. But the fact there is no confusion of powers in this law, <sup>consistently with the principles of the Constitution</sup> has ~~convenience or necessity~~ introduced into

into many other laws, <sup>to which no man would</sup> ~~perfectly consistent with~~ <sup>27</sup>  
~~the~~ dream of objecting.

~~The Constitution has not, and no human constitution can estab-~~  
~~lish a perfect, but only a modified, separation of powers. What work~~  
~~of man is perfect! It is very common, and is convenient and necessa-~~  
~~ry, for the legislature to pass a law fixing certain~~  
principles, and leaving it to some other part of the  
administration, the executive or the judiciary, to  
ascertain the cases to which such principles  
shall be applied, to detail the minute modifi-  
cations, which no foresight can suggest, and  
experience alone can disclose, or to pass a law,  
which shall operate on a certain contingency, lea-  
ving it to some other part of the administration,  
to declare when this contingency occurs, and the  
law begins to operate. This lessens not the au-  
thority of the legislature, for such discretion can  
not be exercised by any other part of the admi-  
nistration, without the authority of the legisla-  
ture; may be restrained, corrected, or sup-  
pressed whenever the legislature thinks fit  
and is therefore altogether under the ~~power~~ <sup>control</sup> must

of the legislature. The legislature, therefore, only de-  
 termines something, which it is necessary for  
 them to determine, and leaves it to some other  
 part of the administration, as cases shall occur,  
 to determine something else, respecting this, which  
 the limited powers of man, the principles of just  
 discrimination, and public convenience render  
 it impossible for them to determine. Were the  
 legislature to take upon them to modify their laws  
 to every case, they must be constantly in session;  
 and human capacity would render it impossible  
 for any one body of men, to discharge their tasks.  
 Therefore the legislature wisely contents itself  
 with establishing general rules, and leaves, to  
 some other part of the administration, the authority  
 to ascertain the modifications and exceptions.  
 Thus the legislative power determines, that certain  
 actions shall be punished; but, as there may be  
 degrees of such actions, more or less aggravated,  
 leaves it to the judiciary to ascertain the degree  
 of punishment; and, as in some cases, all pu-  
 nishment may be dispensed with, leaves it

to the executive to pardon, at its discretion. All this is necessary, for the sake of humanity, justice, convenience; and it seems absurd to say, that the principles of the Constitution are thereby violated.

on such principles as p ~~xxx~~ 42.

On such principles, this Alien act is granted. It is the President may order such aliens as he shall judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or suspect are concerned in any treasonable or secret machinations against the government thereof to depart out of the territory of the United States <sup>if there be no public danger</sup> may be such whom it would be more proper to remove. <sup>this law authorizes the removal only of those whom the President shall judge</sup> ~~lingency, alien enemies may be apprehended, restrained, secured, and removed. But as there~~ it authorises the President to hermit some to remain dangerous, and even ~~to be~~ <sup>to be</sup> ordered to depart if any

<sup>alien</sup> under such degree of restraint and security, as he may direct, and to establish such regulations on this subject, as he may think necessary, and for the public safety. What more prudent or proper method could the legislature have adopted? While they were in session, and a war was in view; must they wait, till there was a declared war, or an actual invasion, before they established the principle, that aliens ~~enemies~~ might be removed in a certain manner? When they established this principle, were they obliged to establish it without any exceptions? Or

must

must they sit, or be convened, to decide on every case proper as an exception? This would seem if not absurd, and impracticable, at least very inconvenient. Surely the legislature did better. Congress has <sup>by this</sup> made a law <sup>Declared</sup> that aliens are removeable, just as that offenders are punishable; and has said, that the President may choose out of all <sup>what</sup> what aliens shall be removed, just as he may choose out of all, what offenders shall be punished. The President may <sup>permit or license you to remain</sup> tell any alien, ~~I will not restore you~~, as he may tell any offender, I will pardon you. And, in doing this, Congress has violated no principle of the Constitution.

3. Least this law, when tried by the words, and by the principles, of the Constitution, should appear unexceptionable, and escape censure; it has been endeavoured to excite a clamour against it, by drawing a melting picture of the distress of aliens, who may thus be ordered <sup>to depart</sup> out of the country, at the will of one man.

This is all work of imagination. It cannot be denied, that there is a right in the United States, as in every other nation, to remove aliens; and that there

and then  
31

there may be cases, in which the safety of <sup>the</sup> nation will  
And I think it cannot be denied, ~~that~~ ~~it~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~possible~~ ~~to~~ ~~render~~ ~~it~~ ~~necessary~~ ~~to~~ ~~exert~~ ~~this~~ ~~right~~. If there may be  
cases of humanity, which may make this exertion, where  
not absolutely necessary, savour of severity; the ques-  
tion is, with whom the power of indulgence may be  
best lodged, so as most to favour humanity. <sup>As a measure of national defence, this discretion of indulgence seems</sup>  
~~to be~~ ~~best~~ ~~lodged~~ ~~in~~ ~~that~~ ~~branch~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~government~~ ~~peculiarly~~ ~~charged~~ ~~with~~ ~~the~~ ~~direction~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~executive~~ ~~power~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~land~~ ~~in~~ ~~affairs~~ ~~that~~ ~~concern~~ ~~a~~ ~~numerous~~ ~~and~~ ~~complex~~ ~~body~~ ~~of~~ ~~men~~ ~~had~~ ~~a~~ ~~more~~ ~~tender~~ ~~conscience~~, ~~than~~ ~~an~~ ~~up-~~  
~~right~~ ~~individual~~. Where many do wrong, each  
can cast the censure from himself upon others.  
But a responsible individual must take all the  
burden of the blame. Any man, with any claim  
to tenderness, would rather risk the success of that  
claim to an impartial and humane individual,  
than to a numerous body of men. ~~And besides,~~  
~~it~~ ~~remains~~, ~~there~~ ~~fore~~, ~~only~~ ~~to~~ ~~determine~~, ~~whether~~  
the character of the President be such, as to render  
him a proper depository of this power of indul-  
gence. Has the President no feelings of huma-  
nity? Is a life of piety and justice no ground of  
confidence? The character of the President is well  
known. And no alien, who meddles not <sup>in</sup> ~~in~~ ~~our~~ ~~affairs~~  
~~punition~~

politics or plots, who favours not the views of our e-  
 nemies, and injures not the peace, safety, <sup>or</sup> de-  
 fence of the country, has any thing to fear from this  
 law. Even with respect to dangerous aliens, Con-  
 gress has provided, that the rights of humanity (so  
 far as consistently with the supreme law, the  
 safety of the people, they can) shall be secured  
~~that it shall be lawful for any alien, who may be ordered to be removed~~  
~~to them, if they <sup>it is enacted</sup> exacting, that they shall be allow-~~  
~~ed a stipulated or reasonable time, for the removal~~  
~~any of it, that it shall remain subject to his order and disposal.~~  
~~any disposal, and removal of their goods and ef-~~  
~~fects, and for their departure.~~

But is all our pity to be extended to strangers,  
 and shall we extend no care to ourselves, to our wives,  
 and our children? the French have threatened us  
 with pillage, plunder, burning, and massacre.  
 Such threats they have carried into execution in other countries.  
 They have threatened us with a party among our-  
 selves, which will promote their views. <sup>It is said that some of them</sup> They have  
 told us, that we dare not resent their injuries;  
 for there are Frenchmen now among us, to  
 burn our cities, and cut our throats. And it seems  
 ed, we are not remove those gentle lambs! <sup>Yr</sup> <sup>our</sup>  
 every.



ous Heaven! are we an independent nation, and dare we not do this? <sup>Shall our</sup> ~~Have we made~~ a Constitution, intended as a shield to defend, become a sword to wound us? Have we made a Constitution to restrain our administration from oppressing ourselves, and so restrain it, as to submit our cities to alien incendiaries, and our throats to alien assassins?

It is no unreasonable calculation see p 46.

Vain is all our defence against our enemies without, if we guard not against enemies within. If we leave an Achan in the camp, can we hope for victory? If we leave a band of traitors in the fort, can we hope to defend it? If we suffer French spies to stroll through our cities, our harbours, our shores, and our country, and give information of all our strength, and all our weakness; how can we be guarded against attack? If we suffer them to remain here, to give information of every ship that sails, that it may fall into the hands of French privateers; how can we protect our trade? If we suffer French agents to remain here, to corrupt the minds of our citizens, our printers, and our officers, to pry into our councils, purchase and export our arms and ammunition,

munition, influence our opinions and elections, render our people careless, and our administration weak; what have we to expect, but all the horrors of a French invasion? What have we to expect, but to see our houses in flames, and our families in blood?

I trust in God, that this will not happen. I trust, the measures adopted by our administration, with cordial union among ourselves, will preserve us <sup>from</sup> this calamity. But if it should come upon us, we will curse those, ~~among us~~, who have lulled us with a sweet song of security, and gentle fraternity of the French; who, professing motives of economy, have endeavoured to tie up the hands of the administration from effectual measures of defence; and, under the pretence of valuing and <sup>seeking</sup> ~~loving~~ peace; do in the most secret manner invite war.

And it is to be feared, on the brink of some calamity, we are at present in a perilous state. Menaced with the resentment of a foreign nation, we are distracted among ourselves. In proportion to our dissensions will be our danger; and our only safety lies in love to our constitution, and confidence in our administration.

administration. If the people will cordially unite in supporting active measures of the administration, France will change her tone from resentment to complacency. But experience of her conduct towards all other nations, must convince us, that it is her <sup>and not her object,</sup> measures, only, that she will change. Her object will remain the same, to reduce <sup>us to a subjection to</sup> ~~to a compliance~~ her will. Let us beware therefore of supposing, that when she speaks peace, she means peace. She will speak peace, while <sup>we</sup> ~~the people~~ support our administration; and again war, whenever she can persuade our people to oppose ~~the~~ administration of their government. Divide and subdue is her maxim.

With a view to lessen the grounds of distrust in our administration, so fatal to our own interests; and that <sup>to increase</sup> ~~affection~~ confidence in it, so essential to our safety; I have endeavoured, with <sup>care and candour</sup> ~~care and candour~~ to examine <sup>the principles of a</sup> ~~the~~ law which has been made <sup>one pretext for</sup> ~~one pretext~~ for her <sup>in</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>damages</sup> ~~damages~~ I have, I think, shewn, that it is constitution

and necessary.  
 al. I have said (what is well known) that there  
 is such ground of confidence in the President,  
 that there is no fear, that he will suffer it to  
 operate against any alien, who comes and re-  
 mains to live honestly and innocently among  
 us; and that he will exercise his authority only  
 against aliens, who use the opportunity of  
 their being here, for the purpose of disturbing  
 our peace, alienating the minds of our citizens  
 from our government, betraying our situa-  
 tion, corrupting our measures, <sup>or</sup> and weakening  
 our defence. And I hope it will appear, that,  
 if our rulers had not exerted this authority, we  
 should have had just reason to say, that they  
 had betrayed their trust.

It is to be hoped that some of the constitution's wise and  
 hand you may see the wisdom of their minds, with such qualifications,  
 and admiringly, how happily might we be. May the  
 God of wisdom and of peace open our  
 eyes to the excellence of our constitution, and the  
 purity and prudence of our administration;  
 and to the folly, madness, and wickedness of those  
 demagogues, who mislead the people from  
 their

...that purpose; and their  
and glory in their guilt. 37  
their interests and duties. May he wean us from  
all partialities and prejudices towards any fo-  
reign nation; ~~and~~ unite our hearts in love and  
support of our government; and preserve us  
from the machinations of a government, am-  
bitious, desperate, faithless, and corrupt;  
which flatters, <sup>only to</sup> ~~but that it may~~ deceive; and  
caresses, <sup>only to</sup> ~~but that it may~~ destroy.

§ 21 [For the people of the United States, in or-  
der to form a more perfect union, insure domestic  
tranquillity, provide for the common defence, pro-  
mote the general welfare, and secure the bless-  
ings of liberty to themselves and their posterity,  
established a constitution by which  
~~and for the~~ objects of general concern to the  
nation are properly submitted to the manage-  
ment of the General Government. And <sup>this Government</sup> ~~is~~  
precisely bound to guaranty to every state in the  
Union a republican form of government, and to  
protect each of them against invasion and do-  
mestic violence; and has power to make all  
U.S. Const. Preamble. of Const Art 4. sect 6. long

38  
 laws which shall be necessary and proper for  
 carrying into execution all the powers vested  
 by the Constitution in the Government of the  
 United States, or any department or office there  
 of. The ~~use~~ restraint or expulsion of aliens, in  
 times of war or danger has, by almost all na-  
 tions been considered as <sup>a necessary</sup> ~~an essential~~ measure  
<sup>& from the nature of the case, the law of nations, and the gene-</sup>  
<sup>ral constitutional authority of the government,</sup>  
 of protection and self defence; and, I cannot per-  
 mit myself to doubt, that a power to restrain  
<sup>in the Government of the U.S.</sup>  
 or expell them necessarily exists, in every go-  
 vernment charged with the general welfare,  
<sup>the</sup> common defence, and protection against inva-  
 sion and domestic violence. If this be a necessa-  
 ry mean of accomplishing any object with which  
 the Government of the United States  
~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> charged; the power of exerting it be-  
<sup>comes</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> clearly vested in that Government.  
 The difficulty of obtaining the universal con-  
 sent of the individual states to any measure  
 however salutary was sufficiently expe-  
<sup>rienced.</sup> ~~rienced,~~ <sup>as the great evil to be remedied by the Constitution</sup>  
 And a construction of this Constitu-  
 tion, were it ~~an~~ admissable, will not be fa-  
 voured.

39

voured, which would leave the general defence of the nation at hazard on the caprice of a single state.]

But this law ~~of Congress~~ is said p. 18.

§ 9 It shall be lawful for the President of the United States to order all such aliens, as he shall judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or shall have reasonable grounds to suspect are concerned in any treasonable or secret machinations against the government thereof, to depart out of the territory of the United States, within such time as shall be expressed in such order. Which order shall be served on such alien by delivering him a copy thereof, or leaving the same at his usual abode, and be returned to the office of the Secretary of State, by the Marshal or other person to whom the same shall be directed. <sup>But if any alien see p. 40.</sup> And if any alien so ordered to depart shall be found at large within the United States, after the time limited in such order for his departure, and not having a licence from the President to reside therein; or having obtained such licence, shall not have conformed thereto; every such

such alien shall, on conviction thereof, be imprisoned for a term not exceeding three years, and shall never after be admitted to become a citizen of the United States." But, if any alien so ordered to depart shall prove to the satisfaction of the President, by evidence to be taken before such persons as the President shall direct, that no injury or danger to the United States will arise from suffering such alien to reside therein, the President may grant a licence to such alien to remain within the United States, for such time as he shall judge proper, and at such place as he shall designate. And the President may also require of such alien to enter into bond to the United States, in such penal sum as he may direct, with one or more sufficient sureties to the satisfaction of the person authorised by the President to take the same, conditioned for the good behaviour of such alien during his residence in the United States, and for not violating his licence; which licence the President may revoke whenever he shall think proper." — And if any alien <sup>be</sup> <sub>in</sub>

This law further enacts, "that it shall be <sup>lawful</sup>



lawful for the President of the United States, when  
ever he may deem it necessary for the public safety,  
to order to be removed out of the territory thereof any  
alien who may be in prison in pursuance of this  
act; and to cause to be arrested and sent out of the  
United States such of those aliens as shall have  
been ordered to depart therefrom, and shall not  
have obtained a licence as aforesaid, in all cases  
where, in the opinion of the President, the public  
safety requires a speedy removal. And if any a-  
lien so removed or sent out of the United States by  
the President shall voluntarily return thereto, unless  
by permission of the President of the United States,  
such alien, on conviction thereof, shall be imprisoned  
so long as in the opinion of the President, the public  
safety may require."

But it is ~~also~~ provided, "that it shall be lawful  
for any alien, who may be ordered to be removed from  
the United States, by virtue of this act, to take with him  
such part of his goods, chattels, or other property, as  
he may find convenient; and all property left in  
the United States by any alien who may be re-  
moved

moved as aforesaid, shall be subject to his order and disposal."}]

one would have thought see p. 12

see p. 29 [On such principles this alien act is framed. It establishes an authority in the President, "to order all such aliens as he shall judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or suspect are concerned in any treasonable or secret machinations against the government thereof, to depart out of the territory of the United States." But as a general exertion of this authority may not be necessary, it provides, "that if any alien so ordered to depart shall prove, to the satisfaction of the President, that no injury or danger to the United States will arise from suffering such alien to reside therein, the President may grant a licence to such alien to remain within the United States for such time, as he shall judge proper, and at such place, as he may designate."}] What more prudent see p. 29

45

[ And I think it cannot be denied, that, in the last session of Congress, the United States were, if any nation ever was, in a condition that required it as a solemn duty to exert this right. The rights <sup>and</sup> safety of individuals must never be put in competition with the rights and safety of a nation. Aliens have but an imperfect right, the right of hospitality and civility to remain in any nation to which they are not bound to permanent allegiance. And if the rulers of the nation, in which they have a temporary indulgence to reside, suspect any danger to the nation from their residence, and order them to depart, they have no right to remain. The United States were threatened with danger from France, and by the same means which France has uniformly adopted, to bring danger and destruction on other countries; intestine divisions. Aliens having the least interest in the prosperity of this country, and owing the least duty, only a temporary duty to it, were the most likely to yield themselves the readiest

readiest agents of France. And the little respect, which in this country is paid to the rights of elections, give them here an opportunity of mischief, which they could in no other country enjoy. Though some of our own citizens may be base enough to yield themselves as instruments of a foreign power, the Government of the United States has no authority to remove them. But it has, like every other government, in time of danger, authority to expell aliens; and the right and duty, of common defence, and protection against invasion and domestic violence, required, that this right of expulsion should be exerted. Nor was the exertion of this right proper only against French aliens. The principles, <sup>professed</sup> ~~defended~~ by the government of France, have excited through the world an enthusiasm, which nothing, but experience of their destructive consequences, can ever correct. There is, in all nations, a number of warm speculative men, combined together, to promote the diffusion and prevalence of this theoretic liberty. Many of these, either expelled or flying from their own country, reside in the United

ted States; and are <sup>here</sup> it seems systematically, <sup>united</sup> <sup>in</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>same</sup> <sup>purpose</sup>,  
not in support of the principles of our government  
of an imaginary political millennium, a government which  
never existed & which <sup>is now</sup> <sup>regarding</sup> <sup>as</sup> <sup>his</sup> <sup>super</sup> <sup>consequence</sup> <sup>in</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>pro</sup>  
gress of those fanciful principles, which, in the pro-  
gress of its revolution to anarchy and despotism,  
have brought so much misery on France, and on eve-  
ry country, where the arts and arms of France have  
prevailed. These <sup>men</sup>, like the preachers of a new religi-  
on, think all other rights and duties ought to yield to  
the great duty of establishing their principles. To this  
duty they will sacrifice all other considerations; and  
nothing, however cruel or destructive, that can pro-  
mote this will, in their eyes, be a crime. Such men  
will be dangerous to any country in which they reside.  
Instigated by the zeal of proselytism, the apparent  
benevolence in their principles will give them an  
irresistible influence on the young and unexperi-  
enced. And no country, in which such men prevail  
can hope for safety against the arts of France. Nor  
can any Frenchman more earnestly promote the  
views and success of France, than any native of any  
country

46  
country, who <sup>by</sup> ~~has~~ adopted her principles, has brought  
himself within the pale of this new political church.  
Insensible of error, and deaf to instruction,  
They are born forward, with the courage of conscience,  
the ardour of inspiration, and the inflexibility of <sup>obedience</sup>  
impetence, by an impetuous enthusiasm, to all  
the mischiefs, which the blackest guilt could ef-  
fect. And whenever there is no hope of conversion,  
while we are in danger, the exertion of the right  
of expulsion becomes a duty, which the rulers owe to  
the safety of the nation.

If there may be cases of humanity, see p. 31.

→ p. 33 = Threats to alien affairs.

It is no unreasonable calculation, that there have been at one time,  
(and may be now) from twenty to forty thousand French, within  
the United States. There is also a great number of United Irish, and  
fugitives from other countries, notoriously disaffected to their own  
to this, and to every other government; and devoted to incessant  
revolution. If an invasion from France were projected, every thing  
but arms, organisation, and discipline, would make all  
these as complete a French army, as if recruited in France,  
and transported under her banners to the United States. And  
will any one say, that the Government of the United States, which  
is bound to protect each state against invasion, is not bound  
on a reasonable fear of invasion, to remove such internal  
enemies, before they are armed, organised, or disciplined?

Vain is all audacity against enemies without &c p. 33.

XXIV March Sessions 1799

Importance of <sup>Public</sup> Institutions for ~~public~~  
Instruction.

A republican government on the principles of representative democracy, so modified as to secure its own preservation and the welfare of the people living under it, is one of the noblest efforts of political skill. It is most honourable to the author of our nature, and to the pride and dignity of man, providing equally for each as is adequate to his merit, and directing the force of all to the good of all. This is the estimate which, in theory, is made of a Representative democracy: whether, in practice, it will deserve this praise will depend on the virtue and wisdom of the people. Among a wise and virtuous people, it may be the best, and among an ignorant and wicked people, the worst of all forms of government. <sup>virtue</sup> ~~is~~ is synonymous with vice, and wisdom with <sup>ignorance</sup> ~~is~~ is often in proportion to wisdom, and

and both are essential qualifications of those  
 who are to have any influence in public affairs.  
 Wisdom depends on talents and experience. Edu-  
 cation is a system of experience by which the mind  
 is trained up to wisdom. Providence has not gi-  
 ven to all men equal talents, nor to all of equal  
 talents, equal education. Supposing, therefore,  
 (what in fact there is not) equality of virtue,  
 there must be inequality of wisdom, and there  
 must be some men more fit than others for  
 public station. But as the permanence of  
 the government, and <sup>the</sup> welfare of the people de-  
 pend on the virtue and wisdom of the people,  
 and as virtue may be said generally to be in  
 proportion to wisdom, it becomes the duty of a  
 state, in whose government the whole people par-  
 take, if it would preserve its own and its people's  
 welfare to exert all its means to make its people  
 equally wise, since it has made them equally  
 powerful.

The scripture uses the word folly as synonymous with  
 vice, and wisdom with virtue.



powerful. Equally wise it cannot make them, since providence has established an inequality of talents. But as wisdom depends also greatly on education, a state may, as far as is consistent with other important duties, remove the inequality of education by affording to all its citizens competent means of instruction, in the most essential articles of education. Protection of the body from danger and disease is not more a duty, than the protection of the mind from ignorance and vice. The importance of the duty is in proportion to the value of the object, and as the mind is more valuable than the body, more susceptible of improvement, and more characteristic of our species, the duty of improving it becomes the more important.

The monuments of human industry, the wall of China, the pyramids of Egypt, the Roman aqueducts and ways, the canal of Languedoc, a city, a palace, a castle, or a ship, fill the mind with admiration.

Waller. B. 1. sect 112-3. 129-30 &c.

imitation. But human industry produces no-  
 thing useful and great till it is directed by learn-  
 ing. Nature has not more distinguished one  
 species from another, than education has distin-  
 guished one man or one nation from another.  
 Compare a savage with a sage, and you seem  
 to contrast a brute with a man, or a man with  
 an angel. View an Indian hut or canoe, toge-  
 ther with an English palace or ship of war, and  
 estimate the difference between ignorance and  
 learning! No man or nation ever attained  
 grandeur, without a sedulous cultivation of  
 learning, science, and religion. The nation who  
 neglects the establishment and cultivation of  
 learning, science, and religion, neglects the only  
 means of real refinement, prosperity, and hap-  
 piness. Among an ignorant people there will  
 be no means of discerning truth, detecting  
 falsehood, or preventing misrepresentation;  
 and if this people live under a democratic form

... that purpose; and then

of government, they will be peculiarly <sup>unfortunate</sup> ~~unhappy~~.  
 Disturbed by the violence of conflicting passions,  
 distracted by the malignity of tempestuous factions,  
 duped by the machinations of ambitious intrigues,  
 and harrassed by the jealousies of ignorance and  
<sup>they will be deluded by one falsehood after another and hurried</sup>  
<sup>on from folly to folly.</sup>  
 error, their ~~social~~ state will be miserable, and  
 their government unsteady, fluctuating, ~~and~~ in  
<sup>and short lived.</sup>  
 effectual. Without learning and religion, there  
 will not be knowledge and virtue. And without  
 knowledge and virtue, liberty will not be a  
 blessing but a curse: it will be a sword in the  
 hands of a fool, to wound himself; it will be  
 firebrands, arrows, and death, in the hands  
 of a madman, to cast about in sport.

No duty therefore is more incumbent on a go-  
 vernment, whose people are free, than to make  
 them wise and good. Without this, liberty will  
 neither be useful nor lasting. In most nations,  
 some institutions for public instruction are  
 maintained at public expence; and, in all,  
 more

more or less of the burden is left for individual  
 exertion. The concurrence of both seems necessary  
 for an extensive and useful effect. And I think  
 no man of any reflection will doubt that public  
 instruction is a public duty, and an important  
 object of government; and that the importance of  
 this object and duty is <sup>in proportion as the government is</sup> the greater, ~~the~~ freer. ~~the~~  
 for the instruction of the people ought to be in  
 proportion to their power. <sup>In other countries see p. 64</sup> Government is esta-  
 blished to enforce the welfare of society, and eve-  
 ry thing essential or conducing to that, is an es-  
 sential or important duty of government; though  
 the benefit to many individuals be not imme-  
 diate but remote, and to some perhaps there  
 be no benefit. If to provide a gaol and a gaol-  
 laws, a judge and an executioner, be a public  
 duty, in order to punish vice; will not a nobler  
 duty to prevent vice, by enlightening the mind  
 with knowledge, inspiring it with the love and  
 esteem of virtue, furnishing it with motives to duty,  
 and thus breaking the force of those passions, <sup>whence</sup>

whence spring crimes and disorder? Civilized nations therefore have their temples and their colleges, their priests and their preceptors. In Sparta, the children were considered as the property of the state, and educated, by the public care, at the public charge. Among the Jews whose civil polity was dictated from heaven, a whole tribe were dedicated to the cultivation of religion and the science of their laws; were exempted from the service of war, maintained by stated contributions of the whole nation, and had no peculiar inheritance allowed them among the other tribes. In Greece and in Rome, religion was cultivated by public establishments, and philosophers devoted their time and their science to the education of youth, and received high rewards. In modern Europe, religion has every where been maintained at public expence, and universities, colleges, academies, and other schools, have been occasionally founded and endowed, and regularly supplied with learned professors and

and masters, paid by salaries annexed to the institutions. In the small kingdom of Scotland, besides ~~many schools supported by private benefactions, & many~~ <sup>many schools supported by private benefactions, & many</sup> ~~there are five universities, and nearly a thousand schools, all supported by established funds and filled with masters, besides a great number of private schools depending for support on the scholars only.~~ The benefit of these institutions is well shewn, in the character and acquirements of the people of that country.

In America the diversity of opinion, and a zeal for liberty, perhaps more generous than intelligent, have generally prevented or discouraged public institutions of this kind; and, <sup>submitted</sup> instruction, in religion and literature, is generally ~~submitted~~ <sup>submitted</sup> to the discretion of individuals, liberators, or interest. Yet in some states, public instruction both in religion and literature, is put under the protection of government, and without violation of the rights of conscience and freedom of will, regulated by law and supported by public authority. Every parish has a parish school supported by a kind of land tax, <sup>(in addition to the price of patronage)</sup> as well as a parish church and minister.

The states in which these institutions prevail are the wisest, and best governed, and to them <sup>may</sup> ~~must~~ be attributed the general prevalence of piety, knowledge, and rational liberty in these New England states.

It were happy for the other states, if by means of similar institutions, similar effects could be produced. In the territory of the United States west of the Ohio river, Congress directed, that in surveying the townships of six miles square, there should be reserved in the centre of each township, a tract of two miles square. Those reservations may be happily improved to the salutary purpose of public instruction.

The Constitution of Pennsylvania has directed the legislature, to "provide by law for the establishment of schools throughout the state in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis." Either from parsimony, which is all ways

+ ~~Constitution~~ - Art VIII. sec 11.

ways censurable, when <sup>indulged</sup> exercised to defeat an useful purpose, or from the difficulty of combining in one direction the opinions of many, or from some perplexity in the subject; only some feeble attempts have been made to comply with this important injunction of the Constitution. It yet remains therefore unexecuted; and to every man who has reflected on the value of the object, will be a standing monument, that the exercise of the powers of government ought to be accompanied with wisdom. To delay the establishment of these institutions, till every man, or perhaps the people generally, understand their importance, and approve their establishment, will be to delay passing the river, till all the water run down, or to delay administering the medicine, till the disease be removed. Opposition to such institutions generally results from ignorance, and ignorance cannot be removed without such institutions. The

wise



57

wiser part of the state ought to unite their exertions, to promote institutions for public instruction: when their effects are felt, they will be valued; and the fogs and darkness of opposition will flee before the rising sun of science.

But if it should be thought imprudent to attempt the introduction of these institutions, on an extensive scale at once, no opportunity ought to be omitted of promoting their establishment by degrees. Every step made in the progress shortens the distance to the end. Every new institution for public instruction takes from the dominion of ignorance, and lessens the opposition to establishing those institutions on a great and general plan. Every advantage gained by ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~science~~ <sup>science</sup> weakens its enemy, and if it cannot scale the walls of ignorance, it may gradually undermine their foundation.

In the support given to the University in Philadelphia

58  
Philadelphia, to the College in Carlisle, and to several  
other institutions of inferior note, something has  
been done to promote the views of the constitution.  
The College in Carlisle has proved itself peculiarly  
useful, and well deserving the patronage of the  
government. Other institutions, when their  
funds become active, will, it may be hoped,  
contribute to the diffusion of knowledge, the sta-  
bility of government, the preservation of li-  
berty, and the improvement of society. Let  
the legislature therefore not stop, but, until  
they can accomplish the great plan of a gene-  
ral establishment of institutions for public  
instruction, let them seize every favourable  
occasion of making partial establishments,  
which will gradually lessen the great work  
to be accomplished, and facilitate the way to  
a general scheme.

A favourable occasion now offers itself

to the legislature of establishing useful institutions in some parts of an extensive country, which in a few years will be distributed into <sup>five or six</sup> several counties, and which, as it most needs, is least able to procure means of instruction. At Presque Isle, at Le Boeuf, at the mouth of French Creek, at Canewango, and at Beaver, tracts of land were reserved, and towns laid out for the use of the state. Some part of each has been sold, and some remains unsold. If the legislature would incorporate trustees of an academy at each of those towns, and endow them ~~generally~~ with the unsold part of those tracts, useful foundations might thus be established at very little charge from the state. It can be no objection to this plan, that the state has not land to provide in this manner, for other parts of the state. This land, divided among <sup>all</sup> the counties, would be altogether insignificant; and the state has <sup>ready</sup>

ready given to institutions of this kind in some counties larger donations than this, while in other counties none have been given. What I have proposed could be easily done now, and what ever is thus done will diminish the task to be accomplished, when a general provision shall be made according to the injunction of the constitution.

In forming new counties &c  
 It is a melancholy prospect, and gives but poor hopes of the rising generation, to see in what hands the education of youth in this country generally is. <sup>Any</sup> man, fit for nothing else, thinks himself fit for being a schoolmaster, and parents generally have no choice, and are compelled to be content with any one that offers. To remedy this evil, which all must allow to be great, a prospect of permanency and profit must be given to the instructors of youth, that will justify and reward the exertion of competent qualifications, and render the sta-  
 tion

tion of a schoolmaster respectable. This cannot  
 be done <sup>except perhaps in cities, and populous towns,</sup> without the aid of government, ~~except~~  
~~there~~ In the country generally there will be  
 such diversity of opinion, such caprice of pa-  
 rents, and such thinness of population, as  
 will defeat all hope of procuring respectable  
 or useful schoolmasters. A man, qualified for  
 this important station, will find in many others,  
~~perhaps in any other~~ a better reward for his in-  
 dustry. Were even the reward competent, <sup>his state</sup> it will  
 be continually embittered by the dependence,  
 in which a temporary engagement, and caprice  
 and partiality of parents, will place him, if he  
 means to avoid ~~to avoid~~ giving offence. This will al-  
 so prevent that salutary discipline, so necessary  
 to education, and foster by indulgence, violent  
 passions destructive of peace. To remedy these evils,  
 and promote the useful and general instruction  
 of youth, public authority must establish funds  
 to aid individual exertions. Schools will thus be  
 more

more numerous and permanent, masters better qualified; parents, less arbitrary, will be better

pleased; and youth better instructed. <sup>In this country</sup> At present if a man can but read, write, and cypher a little, he is considered as well educated and fit for any office; and a tolerable education for one <sup>some</sup> may <sup>say</sup> that those only who have <sup>parents</sup> can afford. Hence we often see offices and even the learned

children should maintain schools. This is a burden to which they are generally not competent, <sup>profession</sup> occupied by men of an education very inadequate to their station. This is injurious to our interest ~~and it is incumbent on the state to wipe off this stain on its reputation.~~

evils, must be removed at public expence. <sup>No</sup> renders offices contemptible, and professions void. <sup>No</sup> construction is a public blessing contributing to the general peace and prosperity of the country, and so occupied and it is incumbent on the state to wipe off this stain on its reputation.

wisdom and experience, and, more than wealth, promotes the improvement of the country. By

instruction, to eradicate or correct dangerous professions, is as much a public duty, as to restrain a madman or robber, or to guard against the ravages of fire. It results from the nature of a

society, that the burdens of each should be borne by all: and objections of this kind would defeat

all the purposes of society and government. If such objections were suffered to prevail, No money would be raised for a courthouse, <sup>of justice</sup>

63

for many would say, "we never go to law, let those  
~~public~~ who use it build a courthouse." In like manner,  
there would be no roads, no bridges, and no pub-  
lic officers; for the greater part of the expence of  
these must be collected from men, to whom they  
are ~~only~~ of no peculiar or immediate benefit.  
It is only because we have not been accustomed  
~~public~~  
to institutions for public instruction, supported  
more or less at public expence, that we object to  
this manner of supporting them, more than  
any other public benefit. After experience  
of their utility, all good men would cheerfully  
contribute to their maintenance. They are pro-  
per objects of the care of government, and the  
constitution has expressly sanctioned and in-  
joined them. It is therefore the duty of the Legis-  
lature to proceed without delay, in the most  
prudent <sup>and</sup> useful manner, to their establish-  
ment. Nothing will have a more happy ten-  
dency to preserve our liberty, and our  
government

government: for these will never be safe nor useful, while ignorance <sup>or</sup> ~~and~~ vice prevails among our people; and these will prevail, till institutions of public instruction are cherished by the government.

With a hope that these sentiments may make a favourable impression, I refer them to serious consideration; and turn to our peculiar duties at this time.

p. 52 In other countries where power is in the hands of a few great pains and expense are bestowed to educate them for the exercise of it. Here, where power is in the hands of the whole people ought pains or expense to be spared in educating the whole people, in order to the power being exercised. If the people be the sole owners of the power, they not to be instructed in the exercise of their power.



3 p. 60 — according to the injunction of the Constitution. 65

In forming new counties, opportunities will occur, without any eventual expence to the state, of making useful provision for a Public School in each county town. If Trustees for that purpose were incorporated, and enabled by law, and by a loan of money from the state to purchase a quantity of land for a town and out lots; the sale of the lots, with proper reservations for public purposes, would enable the Trustees to repay the money lent, ~~with interest~~ and to lay an useful foundation for a Public school.

Those County schools might be nurseries for supplying Township schools with qualified masters; and thus, and by a general superintendance, might bring the system of education to an uniform and improved state.

It is a melancholy prospect. see p. 60



... whose; and then  
67  
blished by God himself, the pride of Reason has been con-  
stantly making. It was begun before the world was made,  
and has been persisted in, with unwearied industry, in all  
ages and countries. It has been shewn in reasoning down  
all authority, rejecting the influence of all opinion, and  
resisting all power. And its source is Pride, inspiring  
discontent ~~discontent~~ with the condition allotted by  
the Author of Nature, and desire of exaltation above the  
prescribed measure. The first effort of this destroying  
passion was against the throne of God. Lucifer, son  
of the morning, conspired to dethrone God; and drew  
down, on his and his deluded followers guilty heads,  
everlasting destruction from the presence of their Al-  
mighty Lord. Man in paradise, inspired, by Pride,  
with discontent, slighting the happy state assigned by  
his Maker, from a fatal ambition of light, knowledge,  
and power, and a vain desire to exalt his nature abo-  
ve its degree, brought sin, misery and death on him and  
his posterity.

"Aspiring to be Gods, if Angels fell;

"Aspiring to be Angels, Men rebel."

The pride of the Jews to govern themselves made them  
neglect the government of God, and discontent with its  
dispensations made them rebel against his providence.

and these distracting passions brought on them calamity, and ruin.

The slightest observation will shew us, that God hath set bounds to human Liberty, and rendered Equality impossible. Yet, in spite of all experience, a pursuit of these vain phantoms has been incessantly repeated; and, like the Ignis fatuus, they have constantly led their followers into the bogs and fens of Anarchy, confusion, and misery. They spring from pride, and end in destruction. They declare war against all authority, resist all power, oppose all influence; and, as with the fabled Giants, Heaven itself is not too sacred for their attacks.

Let then a people, who, like us, enjoy a Government of rational liberty, strive rather to prevent its abuse, in too licentiousness, than, by aspiring at more, neglecting all experience, and contemning all authority, destroy the blessings of true liberty, and plunge ourselves into confusion, anarchy, and despotism. Ours is not like the state of nations in Europe, where, to arrive at our state, such sad scenes have been acted, as will long darken the picture of human calamity. A people once roused from submission to authority, and loosed from the restraints of law, and the influence of opinion, was never yet known, without the compulsion of external force, or the sad experience of internal calamity.

larity, to stop at the happy mean between liberty and  
slavery. And in the struggle, what dreadful havoc has  
been made of all the charities of social life; till man  
has seemed more cruel, than the beast of prey, and  
more barbarous, than the savage of the wilderness! By  
such a struggle, the people of the United States have  
no addition of liberty to gain, but much of liberty and  
happiness to lose. It becomes us, therefore, justly to  
value, and wisely to improve the government which  
we enjoy; and, casting an eye over the conduct of other  
nations, to learn wisdom by the experience of their errors,  
without a participation of their sufferings.

The Revolutions now operating in Europe sprung  
not from the impulse of a day, nor a sudden concu-  
rence of random passions and circumstances. Their  
foundations were long laid, deep and wide, in an exten-  
sive and systematic operation on public opinion, by  
a combination of vast art, industry, and influence. The  
full extent of the force of this combination was not at  
first seen. It was developed only by degrees; and suc-  
cess in one step opened the view, led the way, and spen-  
ded the diligence to another; till it acquired ~~gigantic~~ <sup>gigantic</sup>  
force, that, it would seem only the hand of Heaven  
an arrest.

But let us not hastily suppose, because human power has not yet been able to stop its progress, that the cause of Revolution is the cause of God; or that he favours its progress or success. The ways of God are wonderful; and with nations, as with individuals, when wickedness is to be punished, he permits passions to rage and prevail; employs one wicked nation, to scourge not only itself, but other nations, till he has worked his own ends; when he quiets the storm, and restores such order, as accords with the views of his providence. It is not therefore from success, ~~but~~ <sup>but</sup> from ends and means, that we are to determine whether a cause be favoured by God. Success alone, without relation to ends and means may be a mark only of his vengeance and fiery indignation.

The end, which the promoters of those Revolutions had in view, was the destruction of all authority, human and divine, of all authority founded on faith, and all authority founded on reason and experience; the destruction of all revelation, of all Government, of all established opinion, and of all the bonds of human society. This they pursued to accomplish in the specious way of re-forming corruptions, removing prejudices, and restraining of passion. Their Equality was that man should be equal to God, and any man equal to every

... that purpose; and the  
ny other. Their Liberty was that every man should be  
free from all Law, and be a law to himself.

The means, by which these ends were to be effected,  
have been detailed by several writers; and their com-  
bination, from its secrecy, system, and art, has been  
justly called a conspiracy. I have seen them best un-  
folded and digested in Barrue's "Memoirs for illustra-  
ting the History of Jacobinism," a book which well de-  
serves the perusal of every serious enquirer. If the  
horrid nature of the plots there disclosed should shock  
credibility, the narrative is so supported, as, at least,  
to make a deep impression, that such things may have  
been, if it do not make it impossible to withhold  
belief, that such things really were. He divides the  
conspiracy into three parts; 1. The Antichristian Con-  
spiracy, whose object was to destroy the Christian Re-  
ligion; 2. The Antimonarchical Conspiracy, to destroy  
all Kingly Government; and 3. The Antisocial Con-  
spiracy, to destroy, not only all principles of Govern-  
ment, but all principles of Civil Society, and bring  
men back to the Savage state of Nature.

Let

72  
Let no man, who has not read this book, reject <sup>the belief of</sup> these plots, as incredible, because they are horrid. The extravagance of the Reforming and Revolutionising principle, when excited, exerted, and indulged, knows no bounds. Look at the history of the Religious sects, which sprung from the Reformation in Germany, and then say whether any thing be too absurd or shocking to be true!

1. The object of the first conspiracy was the destruction of the Christian Religion.

Though it be <sup>now</sup> clear as demonstration could make it, that man cannot be restrained within rational and moral bounds, without Religion; yet Religion, in all ages and nations, has had its enemies and opponents. Ever since the Revelation of the Gospel, the Christian Religion has had its enemies and opponents. But they acted separately without union, and it was reserved for the Philosophers of France in the present century, to form a combination for the avowed purpose of systematically tearing up by the roots the whole plan of the Gospel, and abolishing the whole doctrine and worship, and the very name of Christ; to divide among themselves the several parts of this conspiracy, and pursue its accomplishment with persevering



ring and exulting co-operation. It was not the Catholic Church, nor the Protestant Church, but the Christian Church; <sup>the Religion and name of Christ</sup> against which their united efforts were levelled, and these efforts were pursued, as the main business of their lives.

Deism is but a resting place on the way to Atheism, and those philosophers made the whole progress of the journey. Having successfully propagated the abolition of the belief in Christ, they next proceeded to abolish the belief in God, Heaven, and Hell; and to set men free from all restraint of God, from all authority of Faith, from all hopes and fears of a life to come. Thus were men <sup>freed from authority</sup> enlightened <sup>to Reason; to</sup> from ignorance, reformed from prejudice, <sup>restored</sup> to liberty of each forming an opinion and Faith for himself; and to an Equality, which put the dictates of Man on a par with the Revelation of God, and the opinion of each man on a level with that of every other.

Corruptions will creep into every Church, and these will be the first objects of attack by all Enlighteners and Reformers. In reforming these, they may reckon on the support of sensible and honest men. In all matters of Faith, there must be some, which human reason cannot explain; for who, by searching, can find out God? By at

74  
Lacking these, they may reckon on the support of human  
pride and vain philosophy: for man will be easily <sup>seduced</sup>  
above that which is written, and will oppose <sup>what</sup>  
he cannot comprehend. In the commencement of  
their attack on Religion, they were thus sure of a  
party; and, a party once gained, it was easy to in-  
flame their passions, and lead them to any extent  
of extravagance beyond their first views of Reforma-  
tion. If they met with opposition, their zeal would  
rise in proportion, and reason and utility be lost  
in the conflict. Such is the pride of man, and so  
delusive his boasted reason, when it casts off the les-  
sons of experience, the influence of opinion, and the  
authority of Faith!

To these enlightening and reforming projects the  
opposition of the Clergy of the established Church  
was to be expected; and to destroy that opposition,  
the character, influence, and establishment of the  
clergy must be attacked. Their vices and their fol-  
lies (for what order of men is without them) were  
exposed and exaggerated; and all the power of  
reasoning and of ridicule was exhausted, to render  
them odious and contemptible. All their person-  
al

al virtues, and all the benefits of their establishment,  
were cautiously concealed from <sup>every</sup> sight, and buried in  
silence; and they were <sup>represented</sup> ~~represented~~ as the Deceivers and op-  
pressors of the people.

Besides the secular clergy, the Christian Church  
in France had powerful supporters, in the Religious  
orders, which had long been established there. These  
also must be overthrown, to make way for the new phi-  
losophy. To overthrow any establishment, unsupported  
by force, licentious censure and ridicule will suffice;  
and of these the philosophers had ample store, which  
they lavishly expended on all Religious societies.

But there was one, which, above all others, the Con-  
spirators hated and dreaded; the Society of the Jesuits.  
The members of this society were the guides of the educa-  
tion in France. It was vain to corrupt the opinions of  
the existing generation, if the rising generation was  
to be educated in the doctrines of Faith, and hostility to  
the new philosophy. Philosophy could never pro-  
vail, if Religion were left like the Hydra ever shoot-  
ing up new heads. Voltaire and his infidel associates,  
with all their light and reformation, must fall; on the  
society

76  
Society of Jesuits must be destroyed. Against this society,  
the masters of education in France, was the force of the  
philosophers directed. They succeeded; the society was  
abolished; and the instruction of youth was surrender-  
ed to the philosophers.

They then laboured, with mischievous success, to sur-  
round princes, ministers, and great men, with Confess-  
ors of the new philosophy; to fill places of trust and pow-  
er with converts to the new philosophy; to fill the chairs  
of the colleges with professors of the new philosophy; to  
put all town and country schools under the direction  
of the new philosophy; to fill the country with books  
and pamphlets of the new philosophy; and to have  
lessons and pamphlets of the new philosophy recited  
in schools and places of resort; till philosophy fill-  
ed the kingdom, and Religion vanished.

In this struggle between Philosophy and Religi-  
on, both prince and people were deluded into a  
fatal neutrality, or a <sup>blind</sup> treacherous co-operation  
with the enemies of both. Priestcraft <sup>(as they called Religion)</sup> was represent-  
ed as hostile to the sovereignty and power of the  
prince, and to the liberty and equality of the people,  
and both united to destroy the true guardians of  
each.

each, and saw their <sup>error</sup> only when it was too late; like the sheep after the surrender of their dogs, when the wolves tore them in pieces.

2. Having thus prostrated the altars, the philosophers turned to the throne, and with fresh courage and zeal, and increased force, engaged in the Antimonarchical Conspiracy, to destroy all kings. To have begun their attack here would have been unsafe, because they might have been instantly crushed by the force of Government. And, if there had been no force immediately at the command of Government, to have begun this attack till first they had destroyed Religion in the minds of the people would have been unsafe, because subjection to the higher powers is an ordinance of God. But, when they had succeeded in corrupting the minds of the people, and persuading them, that there was no power above man; it was easy to persuade them, that all men are equal, and free to think and do as they please. Destruction of human authority is an easy thing, after all divine authority is destroyed.

Still, however, as there was a force immediately at the command of Government, it labored the

spirators to proceed with caution and secrecy. It was safer to sap, than to storm, the throne. And the engines they used were the press and secret societies. Books and pamphlets were secretly printed, and dispersed gratis through the kingdom, discussing the metaphysical doctrines of Liberty and Equality, without any direct application to the existing Government. The respective merits of a Republican and of a Monarchical government were discussed, as an abstract question, without relation to France; and a decisive preference was given to the former. The power of Reason and Morality was considered as sufficient to control man, in an enlightened state; and all force and authority was considered as useless. They were worse than useless; they were dangerous and tyrannical violations of natural rights. All authority was inconsistent with natural <sup>the</sup> Equality; and every social compact was inconsistent with natural <sup>the</sup> Liberty: and these natural rights were <sup>considered</sup> unalienable. To give indulgence to such opinions, ancient errors and perversions of Religion were called in. As they had established, that there was no God; the whole of nature was <sup>recently</sup> considered

received as their God, and every man was a part of this. Thus it became impious to suppose, that any man, a part of the divinity, should be held in subjection in this life, or punished in any future state; and thus all law and Magistracy was represented as a contrivance of the Evil Spirit Principle.

It is not to be supposed, that all these doctrines were taught by all the Reformers. Each would take his part. Some would go farther than others. Some would be restrained by their understanding; and others by their prudence. And all would see the necessity of working in secret, till their doctrines had made a sufficient impression, and they had secured a party of strength beyond fear.

They combined therefore in secret societies; secretly formed, digested, and matured their plot; and dispersed their opinions over the kingdom.

The Mason lodges established throughout France afforded the Philosophers a complete and extensive assembly. ~~It is not to be supposed that they were the only means of their~~ The Philosophers intruded themselves into these lodges, to their ~~parisisation of secrecy. They were not called in to the~~ ~~secret their former profane and other concerns; but their~~ ~~principles of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~principles of their Brotherhood; and~~ ~~the~~ ~~principles~~ ~~mingled with it, to introduce their doctrines~~ ~~side of the new scheme. The tie of Brotherhood was~~ ~~henceforth to influence men, instead of the obligations~~ of Religion and Government; and the world was to be

come one Mason Lodge. The poison now infected the whole country; and all that was wanting to compleat the scheme, was to corrupt the court and the army.

Courtiers and Ministers were seduced by this fashionable philosophy. "Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools." Secret societies <sup>and Lodges</sup> in the army initiated the officers and the soldiers. And the monarchy thus deprived of its force, and of the support of Religion, was led a bound victim to destruction, and fell <sup>at</sup> without a blow.

Hitherto Religion had been but hated, despised, and humbled: but, to the fall of the throne, succeeded the destruction of the altar. The Churches were converted into temples of Reason; and Reason, not God, became the object of worship. Solemn and public profession was made, that Christ was an Impostor; that there was neither God nor soul; and that death put an eternal end to Man. And the Reformers, having now nothing to fear, either from Government or Religion, laid their savage hands on the people, and violated, plundered, and murdered them, without mercy or decency.

3. It will have been observed, that the principles which led to the destruction of the French monarchy, lead equally



qually to the destruction of all Governments of every description. It is not probable, however, that <sup>all these persons</sup> the Philosophers intended this, or that they had all the same views on this point. Some may have intended only the ruin of Religion, under the denomination of Priests and Priestcraft. Others wished <sup>to</sup> go farther, and destroy all Monarchy and Kings, under the denomination of Tyranny and Tyrants. And here, perhaps, the more moderate of the <sup>Reformers</sup> Philosophers would have stopt, and been satisfied with the establishment of <sup>their</sup> ~~their~~ <sup>favoured</sup> Republic, if each could <sup>hope to</sup> succeed, in procuring the adoption of his own plan of Government. But the Philosophers had employed the Jacobins, as the executioners of their vengeance on the altar and the throne; and these agents soon became their masters, silenced or murdered the philosophers, and proceeded, in their own way, to reform the government. How little do men see, who promote insurrection or revolution, and hope to lead it, that they must soon sink under its force, and lie among the first victims of the fury which they excite! However honest may be the views of its promoters; in the progress of insurrection or revolution, ignorant, violent, and wicked men will soon take the lead, and conduct an enraged people to any

extremity,

The Jacobin Society at Paris soon bore down every authority, and in fact governed the whole nation. It guided the Parisian populace, overruled the National Assembly, and, by means of its affiliated societies throughout the kingdom, led public opinion, and directed all measures every where, as it pleased; and nothing could resist its force.

The views of this abominable sect were displayed in every part of France, by a disregard of all morality and justice, of the rights of marriage and property, of commerce and manufactures, of every thing which holds society together, or renders life valuable or safe. And, in pursuance of those views; outrage, violation, murder, pillage, burning and devastation, were every where perpetrated with indiscriminating fury; till all social order and happiness seemed to be destroyed, and France verged fast to barbarism.

This was the third part, or the Antisocial Conspiracy, to destroy the principles which adorn, support, and connect <sup>civil</sup> ~~human~~ society, and to bring men back to the savage state of nature. Such was the object of the Illuminism or Illuminati, members of the sect of Illuminism or Illumination. Its author was a German <sup>Professor</sup> of the name of Weishaupt, at <sup>Munich in</sup> Bavaria.

Bavaria; who founded and extended the sect, with  
 profound art and secrecy, and with the daring ambi-  
 tion of governing the whole world. This was his  
 end; and his means were secret societies, or corrupt-  
 ing public opinion by means of <sup>the press and</sup> secret societies. Hav-  
 ing associated to himself some confidential men,  
 they employed fit persons to gain converts to his opi-  
 nions, under the specious pretence of Instructing and  
 Enlightening them, and under the solemn impression  
 of secrecy and adjuration. When members were enlisted  
 and initiated, after some trial of their fidelity and fit-  
 ness, they were raised to a higher, and a higher order,  
 in proportion to their capacity and disposition to ad-  
 vance the interests of the sect; every order opening new  
 discoveries of the mysteries of the society, and new in-  
 structions in their doctrine; and every order guarded  
 with additional sanctions of secrecy, mystery, and respect.  
 The members of a lower class knew not the members  
 of any higher class, nor the members of any other soci-  
 ety of the same class. The Superior or President of every  
 class corresponded with the order next above that.  
 Their societies, spread every where, were distributed  
 into divisions, districts, and provinces. They had pre-

11  
lous names for distinguishing persons and places. All cor-  
respondence in the lower classes was directed to the officer  
superintending the smallest division, by him to the of-  
ficer superintending the division or district next more  
extensive, and so on till it came to Weishaupt and his  
Directory. Thus the different classes were ignorant of  
the persons or numbers of the society, but were strongly  
impressed with the strength, magnitude and extent  
of it. The council which directed it was unknown,  
but it was understood that it had but one direction,  
and moved with uniform and irresistible force. Every  
class observed the opinions taught in it to be incul-  
cated, at the same time, in every part of the civili-  
zed world; and every important event was repre-  
sented, and appeared, <sup>to be</sup> the work of the society. Thus  
its power appeared omnipotent; all its members were  
absolutely under its control; and its dominion over their  
minds was above any other dominion of God or man.  
Every member of it was prepared to promote its suc-  
cess, as the first duty, and to obey all the commands of  
the society. A great vengeance was known to be the con-  
sequence of disobedience or treachery. And every  
member was prepared for perjury, murder, or

any crime, that would promote the interests of the society,  
or the injunctions of his superior. In this manner did  
Weishaupt pursue universal dominion.

The first instructions to the converts were of a general  
nature, as the miseries of oppression, the corruptions of  
government, <sup>the delusions of superstition,</sup> and the evils of society. As they improved  
in disposition, and rose to higher and higher degrees,  
new instructions and mysteries were opened to them,  
and still they were spurred on by curiosity of greater  
mysteries and more light to be yet displayed. The evils  
arising from property, the inequality in its division, <sup>and</sup> the  
cruelty of all restraint on human will and conduct,  
were gradually explained to them. There was described  
the happy golden age, when all things were common,  
<sup>and</sup> when men lived, without labour, content with the na-  
tural fruits of the earth, and had no wants, or pains,  
because, each being satisfied with little, there was enough  
to supply all. In this happy time, there was no need  
for government, <sup>or</sup> restraint; for, there  
being neither property nor want, all things equal right  
and equal abundance. There was then no temptation to  
crime; and the mild influence of <sup>the</sup> instruction  
was sufficient control. To society and government,

Therefore, were all the evils of life to be ascribed, and from  
this or that man calling this house, this field, this woman,  
his, arise all the temptations to evil. Abolish the right  
of property; there will be no temptation to do evil. Dimi-  
nish wants, and you have no need for property. Destroy  
property; and you have no need for laws. Be content  
with the bounties of nature; and you have no need for  
agriculture, manufactures, commerce, arts, learning,  
or society. All men will then be free and equal, and  
may live, like the savage, on milk, honey, and acorns.  
Thus Society and Government may be dispensed with; Mo-  
rality will be Law; ~~and~~ Reason will be Religion; and  
Liberty and Equality will give happiness. This was the  
last secret of Illuminism; and, to give it all possible  
importance, it was represented as the true meaning of  
the Christian Religion; which was stated to be but an  
allegorical representation of the doctrine of Illumi-  
nism, or the Religion and state of nature; and to  
reduce the Christian Religion, and all other religions,  
and all laws, to subordination to his doctrine, its ori-  
gin was carried back to the beginning of the world. The  
Fall of man was represented as meaning man's de-  
parture from original Liberty and Equality, and enter-  
ing into the social and civil state. The Redemption of  
man

man was represented as meaning the destruction of Society and Government, and the bringing back of men to the patriarchal life. And the Gospel was made to mean Liberty and Equality, or Natural Religion.

While these abominable doctrines were taught in Germany, and dispersed through the world, the Jacobins in France, well instructed in them, <sup>opened</sup> ~~found~~ in the Revolution an opportunity <sup>and put</sup> of putting them in practice. Hence the destruction of property, the persecution of learned men, the burning of Libraries, the ruin of Lyons and other manufacturing towns, the depression of commerce, and the attempts to equalise estates, and dissolve marriages. And hence proceeded the vast flood of misery and mischief, which overwhelmed France, and will desolate any country cursed with such detestable opinions.

Yet these doctrines of darkness, desolation, and death, were propagated under the pretence of giving light, liberty, and happiness to man; to make men free, equal, and happy! All Government, whether Monarchy, Aristocracy, or Democracy, ~~and~~ all Magistratecy, was to be abolished, that an absolute and despotic tyranny might be exercised over the whole earth by the

206

88  
seed of the Illuminati directed by Weisshaupt. All government  
in France was to be destroyed, that Robespierre, directing the  
French Illuminati, the Jacobin society, might exercise a cruel  
and despotic tyranny over that unhappy country.

Such are the doctrines, measures, and men, which, in  
every age and country, rise out of insurrection, revo-  
lution, disorganisation, and disorder; springing from  
human pride and discontent, and ending in human  
misery and oppression.

From this view of the late Reformation and Revolutions  
in Europe, the following deductions may be made.

1. In every state of society and government, it results  
from the corrupt and imperfect nature of man, that  
abuses must exist. This is inseparable from our con-  
dition, as a law imposed by providence, and no hu-  
man care can prevent or remove it.
2. Such abuses will always furnish proud, discontented  
and ambitious men, who have no means of correcting  
them, with opportunity of clamour and censure.
3. This clamour and censure will collect a party, some  
of honest men, who really wish to see abuses corrected,  
without knowing or considering justly how this is  
to be done; and some of worthless and wicked men,  
who have nothing to lose by any change, and desire to



4. There is always less energy in those who enjoy or indulge the powers of government, or the benefits of society, than in those who would invade both; for there is never so much energy to retain as to acquire. Therefore the invading party will always gain strength over the defending party.

5. Whenever, therefore, the Government is not supported by force to defend itself against all attacks, or by the sound opinion and fixed prejudice of the people in its favour; the party undertaking to reform the abuses of the Government, if they employ secret societies and the press, to corrupt public opinion, will always succeed against the party exercising the powers of Government.

6. But when the Reforming party has succeeded so far as to destroy the influence of Government, they will feel no restraint or force above them. The sensible and honest may be content with the reformation of real abuses; but artful, ignorant, violent, and wicked men will rise up, take from the sensible and honest all influence; fogn abuses which have no existence, pervert the reformation into destruction of all peace and happiness, and introduce disorder, misery, and oppression. And there is no opinion so

25  
surd, and no extravagance so excessive, that a people, who  
have once shaken off the restraint of government, and  
the influence of opinions, may not be led to adopt and per-  
sue.

After this view of the Reformation and Revolutions in  
Europe, and the deductions from them, an important  
point remains, the practical application of these to  
ourselves. The use of History is to make us wise by the expe-  
rience of others.

Of those abuses which existed or exist in Europe, and  
against which the attacks of the Reformers were directed,  
The rights of Conscience are in full exercise, here  
~~ed, there are some which exist not in this country.~~ We  
have no established Church or Clergy, to riot on vast  
estates annexed to their functions, to control the con-  
science, or to extort the property of the people. Religi-  
on here is left, without any aid from government, to  
be supported or neglected as the opinions of individu-  
als may suggest. Whether this be a favourable state  
for Religion, Government, or Society, I am not here to  
examine. But, as every man is, in this respect, free  
to do as he pleases; no man, who wishes not to see Reli-  
gion entirely extinguished, has any room for complaint  
among us no tyranny. We have  
no King to become a tyrant over us by  
hereditary right, or for life. Every officer, from the  
highest to the lowest, is chosen either by ourselves,

by those whom we appoint for that purpose; and the  
authority <sup>of every officer</sup> is limited by law and by good behaviour  
<sup>amongst other things</sup> a political equality exists to its utmost  
<sup>practicable extent</sup> We have no privileged orders; the rights of all are equal;  
all are equally subject to laws, taxes, and duties; and all  
are equally free to acquire and enjoy wealth and office.

Our Constitution secured <sup>us</sup> in the enjoyment of Liberty.  
Our laws are made by Representatives chosen by our-  
selves. In choosing Representatives, it will hardly be pre-  
tended, that the whole people have not their full influ-  
ence; and no man, I think, who desires that the govern-  
ment should be conducted with any regard to the inter-  
est and happiness of the country, will wish to see the  
right of voting more widely extended.

As our Government is thus Republican, its admini-  
stration has been conducted with as much wisdom  
and integrity, as the limits of human nature will per-  
mit us to hope; and there is no reasonable ground of  
belief, that any change of officers would improve the  
Administration of the Government.

Our taxes are such as have been occasioned by our ne-  
cessities and duties; they are imposed by our Representa-  
tives; they are not burdensome; and they are light in  
comparison with those of other countries.

I do not see in our Government, a single subject

of clamour and censure any thing which a sensible, honest, and reflecting man could hope to mend. And such, <sup>may</sup> I believe, see, that the clamours and censures against our Government are raised on false grounds, and by vain fears; and can lead to no good, but may or must lead to mischief.

If we find, therefore, in this country, clamours and censures against our Government, similar to those in Europe, but without any of their causes; and like combinations, ~~words~~, and means used to carry them into active operation, in the work of Reformation, Insurrection, Revolution, and Disorder, we have reason to apprehend that they are directed, not against similar abuses (since they do not exist in our Government) but against the Government itself; that they spring from pride and discontent, and will end in confusion and misery; <sup>and</sup> that they lead to the destruction of all Authority human and divine, of all Government, of all Faith, and of all established Opinion. It is no security against this, that those, who now excite and conduct such clamours and censures, do not intend that such effects should ensue. If they do not, in the tumults which they excite, other men will arise who do; whose influence will soon overpower theirs, and lead to extravagances not to be foreseen. This is a lesson taught us by all experience of scenes of this nature.

We have seen, that the attacks of the combination of Reform

Reformers in Europe were <sup>directed</sup> levelled, 1, against Religion, 2, against Government, and 3, against Society; and that those attacks were <sup>directed at</sup> levelled first, against the abuses of those institutions, and, at last, against the institutions themselves. It has been stated, and, I think, cannot be denied, that those abuses exist not in this country; and, if we see, in this country, such combination, the attack here must be aimed not at the abuses, which exist not, but at the very existence of Religion, Government, and Society. It is not to be expected that such intention should be professed: if it exist, it will be denied; for a confession of it would excite such resentment and opposition, as would defeat it. It will, therefore, be concealed under some plausible pretext, till it gain force enough to be avowed without danger, and to ensure success.

1. I cannot permit myself to doubt, that the support of Religion is a public duty, and that whatever lessens the competent maintenance of Public worship injures Religion. Tithes, <sup>exists not here, but</sup> if imposed at the creation of an estate, are, as Rent, part of its price, given to an useful purpose, and protected by all the rules of property; and are not a tax, but a debt on the Proprietor. Estates given for the maintenance of Public worship are also protected by all the rules of property. Withdrawing these is withdrawing support from

94  
from Public worship, and injuring Religion.

Every attack on Revelation is an attack on the Christian Religion. How came it ~~then~~ that Paine's Age of Reason, the <sup>dit</sup> the account given in the sacred scriptures of the creation of the world, the origin of mankind, the deluge and other remarkable events recorded there, the most virulent, scurrilous, and blasphemous attack on Revelation and the Christian Religion, printed in France, and sent over in vast numbers to the United States, was circulated with such industry and zeal throughout this country? We see that things are so, but how they are so, we cannot explain. Shall we wonder then or Priestcraft, and the attack was levelled against the that in matters of Religion can enquire no farther than into the Gaspel, the Bible, and all revealed Religion. Is it not true that they are revealed by God? If there be a design, to destroy no evidence of a combination to destroy Revelation, and all faith in the Christian Religion and Revelation in general, brings us back to the Religion of Nature! Is it no evidence of a combination with the Reformers in France, who destroyed the Christian Religion there!

<sup>Further</sup>  
It is the end of the Christian Religion, and the duty of its ministers, to enforce the practice of all duties arising out of love, relation, as members of the state, of society, and of families. For the exercise of this duty, by ministers of the Gospel they are answerable to God, and ought not to be dependent on the temporary passions or resentment of their people. They ought to be guides not slaves to their flock. How comes it, that there is such zeal to keep ministers in a state of servile dependence on their people; to cast them off, not because they do wrong, but because they displease; to restrain them from instructing their people

ple in a duty, highly important, and much inculcated  
 in scripture, civil duty; and, when they give such  
 instruction, to withdraw their support, under the pre-  
 tence of their becoming politicians? Is not this a re-  
 straint and tyranny over the consciences of their pas-  
 tors? And does it not shew a design to destroy the in-  
 fluence of Religion over the duties of, at least, one im-  
 portant relation, if not every relation of life; thus  
 to cast off its restraints, and leave men free from  
 all fear of God?

I will not enlarge on the incessant eulogies of that  
 freedom of conscience, as they call it, which we enjoy,  
 in being free to contribute to the support of any mini-  
 ster, or no minister; of enjoying any Public wor-  
 ship, or no Public worship. Happily our opinions are  
 not yet so far corrupted, nor our Religious impressions  
 so erased, as to see the full extent of this boasted freedom  
 of conscience. But, when we consider from whose mouths  
 its praises come, we have reason to fear, that they praise  
 this Religious Liberty, as preparing the way for a liberty  
 from all Religion; when men will be left, without the  
 influence of the fear of God, to fear only each other.

If there be <sup>here</sup> a design to take off the influence of Religion, to show that there is a combination to take off its influence from human conduct, ~~that~~ nothing more is necessary: for we have no establishment to destroy.

2. If, as I think is manifest, there be no rational prospect of improving Liberty in our Government by enlarging the power of the people; to what but a dissolution of our Government, do the constant clamours and censures of it tend! And, as we hear them, nearly in the same words, in all quarters of the Union, from proud, ambitious, and discontented men, is not this evidence of a combination to destroy the government? Let any man, who doubts this, examine <sup>the</sup> proceedings of the Assemblies of Virginia and Kentucky; and then, if he doubt, I have no further argument to offer. I will not assert, that <sup>all</sup> the promoters of those clamours, censures, and remonstrances, intend a destruction of the Government. <sup>These deceivers may be themselves deceived</sup> But let it be remembered, that violence begun seldom <sup>if ever,</sup> stops where its authors intend that it should; and whatever limits they may set to themselves, in this violence, others will arise in succession, and each go beyond the bounds prescribed by his predecessor. The beginning of strife is <sup>as</sup>



as when one letteth out water." The promoters of these clamours may be "in sport"; but it is the sport of a mad man, who casteth firebrands, arrows, and death.

3 In our state of Society, we have no man born to pre-eminence, or from birth entitled to privilege or distinction. All that a son can inherit from his father, is his property. Office and wealth are open to every one who can acquire them by merit, reputation, industry, or ingenuity. That some will be stronger, wiser, richer, or more learned, than others, results from the dispensations of providence, and the varieties of the human frame; and no human power can prevent it. Will any man own a wish to change this order of Providence? Why then do we see those daily endeavours, to render odious all men distinguished, above others, for their wealth, their wisdom, or their learning; to put the worthless and the vile above the useful and intelligent; to confound honour with ignominy, <sup>and</sup> merit with mischief, and make Society a chaos of discordant qualities, without order or station, to hold up, as objects of hatred and envy, all who subsist without manual labour; and to reprobate manufactures, and yet more commerce

31  
as hostile to agriculture, and unfriendly to the poor? Does  
this shew no unfavourable disposition to civilized Society,  
and <sup>to</sup> that order and gradation, which God has impressed  
on all nature?

I ~~may not~~ <sup>can not</sup> confirm the opinion, that these attacks on Religion  
and Government, and Society, result from a combination,  
I will <sup>to</sup> only farther observe, that the attacks  
on Religion and Society come <sup>generally</sup> from the same description  
of men, whence come the attacks on Government.  
And the same arguments, against all, are used here  
as in Europe. Have we then no reason to fear <sup>that</sup> a  
similar conspiracy <sup>exists</sup> here; and that those, who have  
turned the world upside down, are come hither  
also?

As there seems to exist, in America, a spirit similar  
to that, which, in Europe, operated such fatal effects  
on Religion, Government, and Society, so it works  
by the same means, by secret societies, by the press,  
by occupying public stations, and places of instruction.  
That there are secret societies, in regular sub-  
ordination, which direct the movement of vast bo-  
dies of people, no man, who looks at the result of  
elections, will doubt. The organisation of the Soc.  
of United Irishmen, <sup>somewhat resembles</sup> so much resembles the

of the Illuminati, <sup>and seems to be</sup> ~~is~~ in operation here. That the pro-  
posed, to promote the views of such societies, will be  
doubled, by any who see the <sup>unprincipled similarity</sup> ~~uniformity~~ of  
publications, at the same time, from New Hamp-  
shire to Georgia. And it is evident, that every ex-  
tension is made, to fill public stations, and pla-  
ces of instruction, with men <sup>who</sup> will promote  
and bring it into action. <sup>And</sup> There is also reason to apprehend,  
from certain organisations of armed array, and  
certain plans of <sup>instruction,</sup> ~~schools~~, that open force is not un-  
meditated, and that the corruption of the minds of  
the rising generation is ~~not~~ in prospect. The effect  
of this spirit, so exerted in Europe, we have witness-  
ed. What may be its effect here, is for us seriously  
and seasonably to reflect. The same causes for it ex-  
ist not here; and we have, therefore, reason to ~~suspect~~  
that the worst purposes are ~~persecuted~~. We have no  
thing to hope, but every thing to fear from this  
spirit. <sup>My mind is laboring with a deep impression of the danger of this</sup> ~~and~~ I will repeat the warning, that it  
springs from human pride, and ends in hu-  
man misery.