

country would resemble that, but, as matters were stated, the case is reversed. There is a charge of inconsistency, much more of duplicity, can be established, it will injure, if not ruin, our Opposition, while the Administration, like their model, Napoleon, not only practices, but glory in, deceit. In moving a resolution to obtain information, you are certain that it will pass or be rejected according to the nature of the information; that it will be granted if it will do you mischief, but, if good, withheld. It seems to me, therefore, that in making these motions you place yourself in a condition which permits your adversaries to do as they please. The game of tossing up heads I win, tails you lose. For days later Mr. Morris writes to the same correspondent: "Your sentiments of our rulers are just. I ask a serious question: What chance is there of better rulers if the Union be preserved? When you have turned that well over your mind, consider this other: What chance is there that better rulers could do better and not forfeit the support of the many-headed monster whose barking annoyances from the head of Kennebec to the mouth of Mississippi?" It is evident that Morris did not believe in universal suffrage, or even in the relatively low property qualification for the franchise which was listed in New York. He was, in truth, thoroughly disillusioned with regard to our republican experiment. There is no reason, however, to suppose that King shared his opinions on this subject, so far, at least, as the correspondence thus far printed is concerned, and we have no means of knowing that he shared his views. He speaks of "Democracy" in the following paragraph, he obviously, has in view, not the theoretical upholders of a democratic scheme of government, but the Jeffersonians, against whom he had contended all his life, and who were in power at Washington. Writing from Jamaica Plain to Governor Morris, he says: "Of terms [of peace] I can suggest no new thought, except that, should a Continental peace have been concluded, or its conclusion be believed to be near, our Envoys would have the question of improvement had to be considered as present importance. Peace might be concluded upon the stars and stripes and the discussion respecting improvement taken up after the conclusion of the war. This would be but a poor escape; but, if I mistake not, would be preferred to the continuance of the war. Wise and intelligent as we are, does not our country deserve that we should adhere to and approve such a device of the Administration? I am persuaded that those who approved the Embargo, &c., and approved also its repeal, will, after approving the war for all our rights, approve of a peace that takes no care of them. Democracy honored and loved in the XVII. century, and honored and despised in the XVIII. century, it is now being reborn. It is a goodly Bonaparte, who overturned them, and should it happen that Louis XVIII. expels Bonaparte and reigns in his place, he will succeed to the good will, favor and partiality of our democracy. And there is no inconsistency in this, because it is not attachment to France, but hatred of England, which occasions these apparent changes."

In Oct. 13, 1814, after the public buildings at Washington had been destroyed, after strenuous measures had been taken to defend the city of New York, and when it was known that a strong British expedition was preparing to invade the United States, Mr. King addressed a letter to the friends of the Administration, from which we make the following extract: "In a word, the condition of the country is dangerous, and every day becomes more so. The Administration possesses neither the confidence of their own nation nor that of any other. Even Mr. Madison lately complained to me that the Administration was not assisting France! Our rulers can neither make nor conclude peace. What are the minority to do? The country is invaded; it is threatened with waste and destruction. Must we not unite to defend it; must we not join in granting supplies; ought we not to hold a language firm and consistent, and not to be divided among the rights and honor of the nation? And ought we not to tell them, after doing all this, that it is our solemn conviction that the present Administration is incapable of carrying on the war, or of bringing it to a safe and honorable conclusion? How is this to be done?—By a new Administration, and a new Administration address? How often do I regret that you are not here and that the country remains deprived of your talents and great experience!"

We have said that, such as Mr. King disapproved of the war and of the conduct of it by the Madison Administration, he considered it his duty as a citizen and a Senator to meet the crisis and supply. Governor Morris in New York, and a good many more in Massachusetts, thought that, under the circumstances, he should show himself more of a Federalist and less of a patriot. Or, rather, they held that patriotism and Federalism were indistinguishable, and that both dictated the crippling of the Administration in every possible way. Morris's views are set forth with great vigor in a letter dated Oct. 18, 1814: "In reply to your question, What is to be done? I answer decidedly, and without the slightest hesitation, *Refuse supplies of every sort.* Should the Grand Signior ask for men, send him the British army, you would tell them, *We send both to you and to the Emperor.* Tell Mr. Madison the same thing and let him show what interest we have in the conquest of Persia or Canada. There is, thank God, good sense in Massachusetts. Should the rest of New England join her I shall have hopes of my country. In this question, I feel myself pledged, in duty and honor, to resist that anything like a pledge by Federalists to carry on this wicked war strikes a dagger to my heart. Whoever shall utter a word of that sort will repeat it. The passions of honest men are played on by contrivers, who laugh at their credulity and are content in the name of God how often will you agree to be cheated, and how often will you gain by giving Mr. Madison men and money? Has he not told you distinctly that he will not defend you? How are you going to defend yourselves when you have parted with the means? If you go on at this present rate, in six months you will be unable to pay for the war. Patriotism is one thing, but nation is another, and, though patriotism may turn out soldiers, it cannot buy bread. As to any protestations you may make after giving men and money, they are mere wind and puff, and in the form you may give, they will make no more impression than wind. If you withhold supplies your opponents will call you enemies of your country. And what of that? These, also, are mere words; hard words, if you please, but they break no bones. Withhold supplies, and they hate, but they do not kill. It is acknowledged that the letter indicates the kind of pressure which at this crisis, Mr. King was continually subjected. He remained unmoved by it, so far as his fundamental convictions of duty were concerned. That he did not believe in the secession of the States north of the Potomac, and that he was not in any way connected with a general reaction among our citizens that might take the form of a National Convention, like that which met at Philadelphia in 1787, is evident from a paper in his handwriting on the Hartford Convention, which assembled on Dec. 15, 1814. He begins by admitting that one purpose of the means for obtaining correct information is to ascertain that feelings of deep dissatisfaction and of strong resentment exist, and are rising to such pitch in the Eastern States that, without great precaution, there is danger of an open rebellion to the measures of the General Government. It is acknowledged that, in the belief of the conduct of the Administration has afforded only too much ground. Mr. King does not hesitate to say that "the same error has been committed by Mr. Madison—the consequence may be

threw resemble each other—as were President George III. The King, the President, were ignorant of the true opinion of New England, depending upon the reports and advice of his Governors, Custom House officers and others, who either held places under him, or hoped to obtain places—faithless men, who by inspiring jealousy and animosity against the Administration, may give different information from their own, effectively exclude or discredit their opinions; not only is the truth concealed, but those dangerous men, knowing that the Administration desires to succeed in its measures, and feels displeasure toward such men as are ready to oppose their measures, are not slow to furnish accounts of the numbers of the friends and opponents of the Executive, ascribing to the latter selfish and dishonest views, and to the former, not only great strength, but more purity and higher influence than they really possess. It is a fact that is notorious throughout the States, that the Administration that the men selected for office by the National Executive—the commissioners, the district attorneys, loan officers, marshals, contractors and navy agents, post officers, officers of the customs, taxgatherers—are not only taken from the class of citizens that the Administration has chosen to employ, but that the Administration either for intellect or integrity; and if Congress were to call for an account of losses by unfaithful agents, although the aggregate sum would not be found to be great, the number of dishonest agents would astonish the country."

Such being, in Mr. King's opinion, the deplorable condition of the Administration, a state of things which unquestionably would ultimately call for redress, he could not but recognize that few men had ever been placed in a situation of higher responsibility or had been surrounded by greater difficulties than the representatives of the Eastern States who have assembled in the Hartford Convention. In this memorandum, which undoubtedly reflects the views which he was at pains to diffuse in influential quarters, he urges, with all the force at his command, moderation, caution and delay. He warns the members of the Convention that angry and powerful impulses should not be given to the Convention that some day may call mere pride or vanity, although unobserved, perhaps unsuspected, will stimulate them, as it is sure to do other men who have been called to difficult and responsible stations to devise and propose plans which shall be unavailing to the crisis and that may satisfy the public mind is from this quarter more than any other that the danger of premature measures may be apprehended, as no explicit remedy from the complications of the mischief can now be devised. As important results may soon occur, the subjects which ought to have a bearing upon the Convention should be discussed in the Convention, prudence will recommend further deliberation, more time, more extensive information, fuller evidence of common sentiment and more complete concord of opinion concerning the great interests which will be affected by anything of a positive character, and that now the Convention is in session, Mr. King goes on to remind the members of the Convention that the proceedings of the session of Congress then going on would have an extensive and powerful influence upon the country, and, with a touch of presence, he adds, that "delay will put us in the hands of the issue of the Convention, an invasion of New Orleans, an invasion which ought not to have furnished a moment's anxiety. Government was seasonably notified of the enemy's intention. They possessed abundant means to protect that important city, and if it falls, they ought to be, and ultimately will be, held accountable to the nation. Should the enemy be repulsed we should probably have peace in the spring, and, being free from a ruinous war, may then direct our whole attention to the reorganization and re-establishment of our affairs. If New Orleans passes under the dominion of the enemy, the war will be continued for many years." The conclusion of the paper has to do with the reputation which Mr. King enjoyed among his contemporaries for argumentative eloquence. "Although New England may have been more deeply humiliated and a greater sufferer than any other part of the country, it has not been so deeply and extensively disappointed as the other States of the Union; that the secret proofs of folly and weakness which occur without interruption are producing their just and natural effect. The evils that we feel are working their own cure. Patience, prudence, time are the only resources to which wise men can look for relief. Patiently persevere with the friends of their authors. They may do more; they may put at hazard measures of a comprehensive and permanent character. A deliberation untiring in its wisdom, the courage, and the experience of the whole nation may, at no distant day, be required; whether it can be accomplished, is uncertain. It is the desire that the Government of the nation should afford equal protection and distribute its honors with an impartial hand among the respective members."

It is well known that the Hartford Convention came to nothing. Before the committee deputed to submit its resolutions to the President, Congress were in the act of enlarging their office, the new City Hall was being erected on Jan. 8 at New Orleans had reached the Federal capital, while the treaty concluded at Ghent by the Plenipotentiaries on Dec. 24, 1814, was ratified by the Senate on Feb. 15, 1815. The chief grievance of the Federalists against the war, and the grounds upon which they made it, it was time to discontinue, and Mr. King's old friend, Gore of Massachusetts, presently announces that he has resigned his seat in the United States Senate, not perceiving any advantage to the public from any further struggle on the part of Federalists. The publication of the letter of Mr. King, however, was by no means over, as will be shown in the next volume of his correspondence. M. W. H.

In a volume entitled *Labour Co-operation* (Harpers), Mr. HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD gives an account of a journey he made through Great Britain in 1884, and which was the result of what was being done in the field of production of the cooperative societies. He inspected on his way the now familiar marvels of the distributive stores, which, in one generation, have grown to a membership representing one-seventh of the British population, and doing a business, including mail orders, of £27,000,000 a year, with a bank of their own which has deposits of £1,600,000, and which turns over \$200,000,000 a year. He examined, also, the huge factories which the English Cooperative Wholesale Society has established in its function of capitalistic lines. It is avowedly operating on capitalistic lines, and is engaged in giving them some of the profits and none of the control. The author's specific aim, however, was to see the factories, workshops and even farms, which have been planned, set up, operated and managed by the brains, money and moral energy of men, and the means of production, not on cooperative principles. At the end of the hundred pages of this book are devoted to an account of Mr. Lloyd's investigations in a final chapter, wherein the author lays his finger on a fundamental distinction by pointing out that, when democratic thought sought expression in democratic action on the Continent, it was in the workshopman on the other side of the Channel began kicking over thrones and slaying of the heads of kings and queens. The English workmen, on the other hand, saved their workmen for Bour, and fed, and fustian, when democratic thought sought expression in democratic action on the Continent, it was in the workshopman on the other side of the Channel began kicking over thrones and slaying of the heads of kings and queens. 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