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PAID IN ADVANCE.

Abstract of Mr. Hamilton's pamphlet.

The universal attention, which Mr. HAMILTON'S "Letter concerning the Public Conduct and Character of JOHN ADAMS, Esq. President of the United States," has excited, is a sufficient proof of the interesting nature of its contents.

So decidedly does it tend to impeach the official character of Mr. Adams, that it should, at this interesting crisis, be read by every citizen; that, if true, it may have its due weight on the ensuing election; if false, that charges so hostile to his reputation, should be repelled by more correct information.

It is the duty of the press to diffuse the contents of such a performance. This purpose would be best answered by the entire publication of the pamphlet which is not long; thereby avoiding any imputation of incorrectness or misrepresentation which might be thrown upon partial or mutilated statements. But this is unfortunately forbidden. The copy right is vested in Mr. Lang of New-York. Under this restriction the best alternative seems to be to furnish an abstract of the most important parts. It will be fairly given, without regard to party views.

The performance begins with an avowal of its object.

"Some of the warm personal friends of MR. ADAMS are taking unwearied pains to disparage the motives of those Federalists who advocate the equal support of General PINCKNEY at the approaching election of President and Vice-President. They are exhibited under a variety of aspects equally derogatory. Sometimes they are versatile, factious spirits, who cannot be contented with any man that will not submit to be governed by them:—Sometimes they are intriguing partisans of Great Britain, who devoted to the advancement of her views, are incensed against MR. ADAMS for the independent impartiality of his conduct.

"In addition to a full share of the obloquy vented against this description of persons collectively peculiar accusations have been devised to swell the catalogue of my demerits. Among these, resentment of disappointed ambition forms a prominent feature. It is pretended, that had the President, upon the demise of GENERAL WASHINGTON, appointed me Commander in Chief, he would have been, in my estimation, all that is wise, and good, and great.

"It is necessary, for the public cause, to repel these slanders; by stating the real views of the persons who are calumniated, and the reasons of their conduct.

"In executing this task, with particular reference to myself, I ought to premise, that the ground upon which I stand is different from that of most of those who are confounded with me as in pursuit of the same plan. While our object is common, our motives are variously dissimilar. A part well affected to MR. ADAMS, have no other wish than to take a double chance against MR. JEFFERSON. Another part, feeling a diminution of confidence in him, still hope that the general tenor of his conduct will be essentially right. Few go as far in their objections as I do. Not denying to MR. ADAMS patriotism and integrity, and even talents of a certain kind, I should be deficient in candor, were I to conceal the conviction, that he does not possess the talents adapted to the Administration of Government, and that there are great and intrinsic defects in his character, which unfit him for the office of Chief Magistrate.

"To give a correct idea of the circumstances which have gradually produced this conviction, it may be useful to retrospect to an early period."

After these remarks Mr. Hamilton observes "that he was one of that numerous class who had conceived a high veneration for Mr. Adams, on account of the part he acted in the first stages of our revolution."

In the course of the war Mr. H's opinion of Mr. A. was changed, from the attachment of the latter to the annual enlistment of troops, and his desire that a new commander of the army should be annually ap-

pointed, both of which measures Mr. Hamilton considered as injurious.

Just before the close of the war, Mr. Hamilton became a member of Congress. He there discovered "symptoms of a party already formed, too well disposed to subject the interests of the United States to the management of France." He at once determined to resist this bias; and to this resolution he ascribes the political persecution he has since experienced.

Mr. Adams was one of the commissioners for treating of peace with Great Britain. The commissioners received from Congress instructions dictated by a regard to France, under which sentiment they were directed, if required, to make certain concessions to France. "Mr. Adams had the fortitude to break through the fetters which were laid upon them by those instructions; and there is reason to believe, that, by doing it, they both accelerated the peace with Great Britain, and improved terms, while they preserved our faith with France."

This conduct of Mr. Adams inspired Mr. Hamilton with high respect for him; though to Mr. Jay is due the greatest credit for the "lead he took in the several steps of the transaction."

"But this did not hinder me from making careful observations upon his several communications, and endeavoring to derive from them an accurate idea of his talents and character. This scrutiny enhanced my esteem in the main, for his moral qualifications, but lessened my respect for his intellectual endowments.

"I then adopted an opinion, which all my subsequent experience has confirmed, that he is a man of an imagination sublimated and eccentric; propitious neither to the regular display of sound judgment, nor to steady perseverance in a systematic plan of conduct; & I began to perceive what has been since too manifest, that, to this defect are added the unfortunate foibles of a vanity without bounds, and a jealousy capable of discolored every object.

"Strong evidence of some traits of this character is to be found in a Journal of MR. ADAMS, which was sent by the then Secretary of Foreign Affairs to Congress. The reading of this Journal extremely embarrassed his friends, especially the delegates of Massachusetts, who more than once interrupted it, & at last, succeeded in putting a stop to it, on the suggestion that it bore the marks of a private and confidential paper, which, by some mistake, had gotten into its present situation, and never could have been designed as a public document for the inspection of Congress. The good humour of that body yielded to the suggestion.

Mr. Hamilton's opinion of Mr. Adams did not prevent him from cordially supporting him for the Vice Presidency.

"But it was deemed an essential point of caution to take care, that accident, or an intrigue of the opposers of the government, should not raise MR. ADAMS, instead of General WASHINGTON, to the first place.

"Great was my astonishment, and equally great my regret, when afterwards, I learned from persons of unquestionable veracity, that MR. ADAMS had complained of unfair treatment, in not having been permitted to take an equal chance with Gen. WASHINGTON, by leaving the votes to an uninfluenced current.

Mr. Adams was elected Vice President; and Mr. H. declares himself to have been well satisfied with the official deportment of Mr. Adams, who, as a one of the Trustees of the Sinking fund, gave him his decided support against the systematic opposition of Mr. Jefferson.

"The epoch at length arrived, when the retreat of Gen. WASHINGTON made it necessary to fix upon a successor. By this time, men of principal influence in the Federal Party, whose situation had led them to an intimate acquaintance with Mr. ADAMS'S character, began to entertain serious doubts about his fitness for the station; yet, his pretensions, in several respects,

were so strong, that after mature reflection, they thought it better to indulge their hopes than to listen to their fears. To this conclusion, the desire of preserving harmony in the Federal Party, was a weighty inducement. Accordingly it was determined to support Mr. ADAMS for the Chief Magistracy.

With Mr. Adams, it was agreed by the Federalists to support Thomas Pinckney. It was understood that both these gentlemen should be supported by the undivided strength of the federal party.

Mr. Hamilton does not disguise his preference of Mr. Pinckney to Mr. Adams. He appeals to his confidential friends in corroboration of this, and as proof that his "disapprobation of Mr. Adams has not originated in the disappointment to which it had been uncandidly attributed."

"The considerations which had reconciled me to the success of Mr. PINCKNEY, were of a nature exclusively public. They resulted from the disgusting egotism, the distempered jealousy, and the ungovernable indiscretion of MR. ADAMS'S temper, joined to some doubts of the correctness of his maxims of Administration. Though in matters of Finance he had acted with the Federal party; yet he had, more than once, broached theories at variance with his practice. And in conversation, he repeatedly made excursions into the field of foreign politics, which alarmed the friends of the prevailing system."

Mr. Adams was elected President.

"It is a fact, which ought not to be forgotten, that MR. ADAMS, who had evinced discontent, because he had not been permitted to take an equal chance with Gen. WASHINGTON, was enraged with all those who had thought that MR. PINCKNEY ought to have had an equal chance with him. But in this there is perfect consistency. The same turn of temper is the solution of the displeasure in both cases."

"It is to this circumstance of the equal support of MR. PINCKNEY, that we are in a great measure to refer the serious schism which has since grown up in the Federal party."

"MR. ADAMS never could forgive the men who had been engaged in the plan; though it embraced some of his most partial admirers. He has discovered bitter animosity against several of them. Against me, his rage has been so vehement, as to have caused him more than once, to forget the decorum, which, in his situation, ought to have been an inviolable law. It will not appear an exaggeration to those who have studied his character, to suppose that he is capable of being alienated from a system to which he has been attached, because it is upheld by men whom he hates. How large a share this may have had in some recent aberrations, cannot easily be determined."

More recent occurrences strengthened Mr. Hamilton's conviction of the unsuitableness of Mr. Adams for the station he held.

"The letter which has just appeared in the public prints, written by him, while Vice-President, to TENCH COXE, is of itself conclusive evidence of the justness of this sentiment. It is impossible to speak of this transaction in terms suitable to its nature, without losing sight that MR. ADAMS is President of the United States."

"This letter avows the suspicion, that the appointment of MR. PINCKNEY to the court of London, had been procured or promoted by British Influence. And considering the parade with which the story of the Duke of Leeds is told, it is fair to consider that circumstance as the principal, if not the sole, ground of the odious and degrading suspicion."

Mr. Hamilton, at some length, repels the insinuations made by Mr. Adams in his letter, and endeavours to shew that the inference deduced of the existence of British influence is futile and absurd. After several pointed remarks he asks

"But a more serious question remains: How will MR. ADAMS answer to the government and to his country, for having thus wantonly given the sanction of his opinion to the worst of the aspersions which the enemies of the administration have impudently thrown upon it? Can we be surprised that such a torrent of slander was poured out against it, when a man, the second in official rank, the second in the favour of the friends of the government, stooped to become himself, one of its calumniators?—It is peculiarly unlucky for MR. ADAMS in this affair, that he is known to have desired, at the time, the appointment which was given to MR. PINCKNEY. The President declined the measure, thinking that it was compatible neither with the spirit of the constitution nor with the dignity of the government, to designate the Vice-President to such a station."

"This letter, better than volumes, develops the true, the unfortunate character of MR. ADAMS."

"The remaining causes of dissatisfaction with him respect his conduct in the office of President; which, in my opinion, has been a heterogeneous compound of right and wrong, of wisdom and error."

After condemning as temporizing the inaugural speech of Mr. Adams, Mr. H. takes a view of his measures in regard to our foreign relations.

On the refusal by the French government to receive General Pinckney, "as a final effort for accommodation, and as a mean, in case of failure, of enlightening and combining public opinion, it was resolved to make another and a more solemn experiment, in the form of a commission of three."

"This measure (with some objections to the detail) was approved by all parties; by the antifederalists, because they thought no evil so great as the rupture with France; by the federalists, because it was their system to avoid war with every power, if it could be done without the sacrifice of essential interests or absolute humiliation."

Mr. Adams's conduct thus far receives the unqualified applause of Mr. Hamilton.

"The event of this experiment is fresh in our recollection. Our envoys, like our minister, were rejected."

"The friends of the Government were not agreed as to ulterior measures. Some were for immediate and unqualified war; others for a more mitigated course; the dissolution of treaties, preparation of force by land and sea, partial hostilities of a defensive tendency; leaving to France the option of seeking accommodation, or proceeding to open war. The latter course prevailed."

"The latter conduct of the President forms a painful contrast to his commencement. It has sunk the tone of the public mind—it has impaired the confidence of the friends of the Government in the Executive Chief—it has distracted public opinion—it has unnerved the public councils—it has sown the seeds of discord at home, and lowered the reputation of the Government abroad.—The circumstances which preceded, aggravate the disagreeableness of the results. They prove that the injudicious things which have been acted, were not the effects of any regular plan, but the fortuitous emanations of momentary impulses."

"The session, which ensued the promulgation of the dispatches of our commissioners, was about to commence. MR. ADAMS arrived at Philadelphia from his seat at Quincey. The tone of his mind seemed to have been raised, rather than depressed."

"It was suggested to him, that it might be expedient to insert in his speech to Congress a sentiment of this import: That after the repeatedly rejected advances of this country, its dignity required that it should be left with France in future to make the first overture; that if, desirous of reconciliation, she should evince the disposition by sending a minister to this government, he would be received with the respect due to his character, and treated with in the frankness of a sincere desire of accommodation."

(Continued on last page.)