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**MONDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1827.**

From the Democratic Press.  
**LETTER to the Hon. SAMUEL D. INGHAM,**  
*Member of Congress, New Hope, Bucks*  
*County, Pennsylvania.*

Sir—A citizen in humble life, who has none of the artificial influence of office to give currency to his opinions, who expects not whether Gen. Jackson or his competitor succeeds at the next election, any personal benefit, ventures to address you, and to call in question your "EXPOSITION," and its motives. It was shown to me first by a friend, who knew that I was familiar with the character of Mr. Adams, with a request that I would answer it. I must confess to you that my first impression on reading it, was indignation, and the next disgust. I did not before believe that any of my countrymen, who are honored as you are, by an important trust, could openly, unblushingly, and in the face of day come before the public, with such baseless accusations, such gross deceptions, such entire perversion of language, and such utter contempt of that people whom you attempt to court, no less than to deceive. From the recollection of the contents of your letter, from repeated perusals I can hardly call to mind a single paragraph, which is fairly stated, and in which you do not pervert the sense; and your witnesses are such as would not be admitted to testify even in the Old Bailey, or a Vice Admiralty Court.

Is the cause of your candidate in such imminent hazard in Pennsylvania, that you must resort to such desperate attempts to save it? Will not truth and candor save him? Are your only hopes, based on deceiving, duping, and misleading the people? Success which must thus be gained by such means is not worth the pursuit. It degrades the individual who seeks it, and debases the community.

I cannot consent, in answer to your "exposition," to spin out as you have done, eleven ponderous columns, nor to notice all your frivolous charges. Your "exposition" may fairly be divided into two heads. First an attack on the character of the late John Adams, imputing to him notions of government repugnant to our National Constitution, and favoring aristocratic and monarchical views. Secondly, on his son John Quincy Adams, with sundry charges, prove that he apostatized from the federal to the republican party for sinister purposes.

We shall first shew that John Adams never entertained such notions as you have imputed to him, and that his son never acted with the federal against the republican party, that he never acted as a partizan, but always as a republican. We shall afterwards notice some of the minor misrepresentations of this exposition or manifesto.

Before I enter on this task, however, I cannot withhold a remark on the extraordinary nature of this "MANIFESTO" of the Jackson party. First, the general committee of the party concert the measure, and then to give it its full effect, address their circular to a member of Congress, to give it the authority of his name. A paper, therefore, issued with such solemnity must necessarily be considered as embodying all the substantial objections that this party can raise against the president: if these are shown to be unfounded, all objections must be considered as removed. In an "exposition," thus prepared, what must be the astonishment of the reader to find that in a paper directly aimed at John Quincy Adams, of nine columns, seven are aimed against his father, one against the Centinel and scarcely one against the direct object of the attack. And do you, sir, and the Jackson party then confess that Mr. J. Q. Adams character, is so immaculate that you must attack him who in himself is invulnerable, through others. Do the violent opposers of hereditary rights, contend that the son should be judged by the father. That his virtues may not be imputed to him, but that his demerits should be laid at the door of his offspring. Are they aware what high encomium they thus pass on John Quincy Adams that they must go to a past generation to find ought to bring against him.

Your first attack which I shall notice, is that of the late John Adams. That I may not misrepresent you I will give your own words, "Mr. Adams the elder, was amongst the monarchical party, he had labored with great and persevering industry to establish independence, and in the days of that independence with no less zeal and ability to inculcate monarchical principles. For that purpose he had written several volumes of labored papers, sometimes insidiously disguised occasionally open and unequivocal." Such sir, is your charge against John Adams, which, through columns of misrepresentations and disingenuous quotations, you have endeavored to establish. As Mr. Jefferson is probably as high authority in Pennsylvania as yourself, I will call your attention first to what he says of the man whom you charge "with insidious disguise."

"Gentlemen, (says Mr. Jefferson,) you do not know that man: there is not upon this earth a more perfectly honest man than John Adams. Concealment is no part of his character; of that he is utterly incapable. It is not in his nature to meditate any thing that he would not publish to the world." Again he says, "do not found your opinions, on the notion, that there is the small, cal piece of dishonesty, moral or political in the character of John Adams; for I know him well, and I repeat it, that a man more perfectly honest

never issued from the hands of his Creator." Such sir was Mr. Jefferson's opinion of the man whom you charge with "insidious disguise." I now come to your garbled extracts. I cannot examine them in detail without writing more columns than you have, nor is it necessary that I should, to confute you. They are, as you use them an utter perversion of the whole. 1,400 pages octavo from which you have selected them. Mr. Adams' object in writing them was to produce what he did produce, just such a government as we now have, and he is in reality the FATHER not the ENEMY of our present constitution. The FRIEND of a republic not of a monarchy or aristocracy. Mr. Adams in his great work a defence of our state Constitutions as they existed previous to the federal constitution, and on other occasions uses many words particularly monarch, monarchy, aristocracy, &c. not in their common or popular sense, but in a more correct and technical sense. It has been a base perversion of his obvious meaning which has led to all the charges against him, of maintaining monarchical and aristocratical opinions. Thus he says "by kings and kingly power, is meant both by our author and me, the executive power in a single person," as in the government of this state and of the United States. He also speaks of the two classes into which societies are naturally divided. Those who possess great wealth, talents and superior education form one class, those who pursue mere laborious avocations the other. The first as distinguished from the "common people" he calls "gentlemen." He says "by the aristocratical part of the community we will understand the gentlemen." I sir have ever been a democrat, and every quotation you have made from Mr. Adams in the sense in which he used them, and in the connection, are unquestionable truths, though cropped of their sense and isolated they present a formidable array. But sir, I shall not examine these extracts in detail, but show what Mr. Adams has done to establish constitutions in this country and what was the occasion of his writing the book of which you are not even the thousandth slanderer and perverter. You, sir, have allowed Mr. Adams, zeal in the revolution and establishing independence; we will shew it was equal in founding our present system of government. On the 6th of May 1776, Mr. Adams moved the resolution (the real Declaration of Independence) for establishing governments over the states independent of the crown of Great Britain. Previous thereto his compatriots in other states had called on him to devise for them models of government, as his treatise on the Canon and Feudal law and Novanglus had evinced such profound learning on the subject. The first model of any of our constitutions is one which contains the substance of all and is contained in the following letter:

Philadelphia, Nov. 15th 1775.

Dear Sir—The course of events naturally turns the thoughts of gentlemen to the subjects of legislation and jurisprudence; and it is a curious problem, what form of government is most readily and easily adopted by a colony upon a sudden emergency. Nature and experience have already pointed out the solution of this problem in the choice of conventions and committees of safety. Nothing is wanting in addition to these to make a complete government, but the appointment of magistrates for the due administration of justice.

Taking nature and experience for my guide I have made the following sketch, which may be varied in any one particular an infinite number of ways so as to accommodate it to the different geniuses, temper, principles and even prejudices of different people.

A legislative, an executive and a judicial power comprehend the whole of what is meant and understood by government. It is by balancing each of these powers against the other two, that the effort in human nature towards tyranny can alone be checked, restrained and any degree of freedom preserved in the constitution.

Let a full and free representation be chosen for a house of commons. Let the house choose by ballot twelve, sixteen, twenty four or twenty eight persons, either members of the house or from the people at large as the electors please, for a council. Let the house and council by joint ballot, choose a governor annually, triennially or septennially, as you will. Let the governor, council and house, be each a distinct and independent branch of the legislature and have a negative on all laws.

Let the Lieut. Governor, secretary, treasurer, commissary, attorney general, and solicitor general be chosen annually, by joint ballot of both houses. Let the governor with seven counsellors be a quorum. Let all officers and magistrates, civil and military be nominated and appointed by the governor by and with the advice and consent of his council. Let no officers be appointed but at a general council, and let notice be given to all the counsellors, seven days, at least, before a general council. Let the judges at least of the Supreme Court, be incapacitated, by law, from holding any share of legislative power; let their commissions be doring good behaviour, and their salaries ascertained and established by law. Let the governor have command of the army, militia, forts, &c. Let the colony have a seal and affix it to all commissions.

In this way a single month is sufficient, without the least convulsion, or even animosity, to accomplish a total revolution in the government of a colony. If it is thought more beneficial, a law may be made by this new legislature, leaving to the people, at large, the privilege of choosing their governor and counsellors annually, as soon as affairs get into a more quiet course.

In adopting a plan in some respects similar to this, human nature would appear in its proper glory, asserting its now real dignity, pulling down tyrannies at a single exertion and erecting such new fabrics, as it thinks best calculated to promote its happiness.

As you were last evening polite enough to ask me for this model, if such a trifle will be of any service to you, or any gratification to your curiosity, here you have it, from sir your friend and humble servant, JOHN ADAMS.

Richard Henry Lee, Esq. Present.

In January 1776 Chancellor Wythe the instructor of Jefferson called on Mr. Adams for a

model of a constitution which he gave him more at length, which was then published anonymously, and then afterwards ascribed to Mr. Jefferson. It is too long for insertion here, but may be found in Niles' Register, May 10th, 1817, and attached to the biography of Mr. Adams in the lives of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Although we cannot copy the whole we will present a few extracts: "Fear is the foundation of most governments, but it is a sordid and brutal passion, and renders men in whose breasts it predominates, so stupid and miserable, that Americans will not be likely to approve of any political constitution which is founded on it."

"Honor is truly sacred, but holds a lower rank in the scale of moral excellence than virtue. Indeed the former is but part of the latter, and consequently has not equal pretensions to support a frame of government productive of human happiness."

"The foundation of every government is some principle or passion in the minds of the people. The noblest principles and most generous affections in our nature then, have the fairest chance to support the noblest and most generous models of government."

"They will convince every candid mind, that there is no good government but what is republican." "The very definition of a republic is 'an empire of laws and not of men.' "Thence it is plain that the best of governments, so that particular arrangement of the powers of society, or in other words that form of government, which is best contrived to secure an impartial and exact execution of the laws, is the best of republics."

"The principal difficulty lies and the greatest care should be employed in constituting the representative assembly. It should be in miniature, an exact portrait of the people at large. It should think, feel, reason and act like them. That it may be the interest of this assembly to do strict justice at all times, it should be an equal representation, or in other words, equal interests among the people should have equal interests in it. Great care should be taken to effect this and to prevent unfair, partial, and corrupt selections."

"If he (the governor) is annually elective, as he ought to be." "These and all other elections, especially of representatives and counsellors, should be annual, there not being in the whole circle of the sciences, a maxim more infallible than this, 'where annual elections end there slavery begins.'"

"Laws for the liberal education of youth, especially of the lower class of people, are so extremely wise and useful, that to a humane and generous mind, no expense for this purpose would be thought extravagant." "Frugality is a great revenue, besides curing us of vanities, levities and fopperies, which are real antidotes to all great, manly and warlike virtues."

"A constitution framed on these principles, introduces knowledge among the people, and inspires them with a conscious dignity becoming freemen. A general emulation takes place which causes good humor, sociability, good manners and good morals to be general. The elevation of sentiment inspired by sound government makes the common people brave and enterprising. That ambition which is inspired by it makes them sober, industrious and frugal. You will find among them some elegance perhaps, but more solidity; a little pleasure but more civility. If you compare such a country with the regions of domination, whether monarchical or aristocratical, you will find yourselves in Arcadia or Elysium." "If a constitutional constitution should be formed, its authority should be confined to the cases, viz. war, trade, disputes between colony and colony, the post office, and unappropriated lands."

"These colonies under such forms of government, would be unconquerable by all the monarchies of Europe." Thus you see, sir, that at the period when you charge John Adams with laboring with zeal and ability to inculcate monarchical principles, he was drafting the models on which all our constitutions are formed and was consulted for that purpose by the Wythes and Lees, the sages and patriots of the revolution. But from theories we proceed to practical facts. In 1779 John Adams was called upon and selected to draft a constitution for his native state.

The constitution of Massachusetts is his draft, and a more republican constitution is not extant. It has served in its leading features as a model to many of the other states and to the United States. This fact is sufficient to merit more columns of sophistry than you can array in twelve months. But you will answer that subsequent to this Mr. Adams changed his opinions, and that his great work contains the evidence of the change. That work was intended to defend that constitution, and others like it, against the attacks which they then sustained; and most miserably must Mr Adams have been deceived if he was demolishing the work of his own hands, and overturning what he intended to support. We will now examine the book from which you have extracted so copiously, and tell the occasion on which it was written, and this will fully confute the impression you make by these quotations. The state of Pennsylvania, under the influence of our Franklin, had adopted a constitution by which the whole legislative power was vested in one assembly, and the executive in a plural council of one from each county. Georgia had adopted a constitution somewhat similar. These constitutions Doctor Franklin had carried to France, and had an edition of them printed there. The effect of this was afterwards to produce in France the directory of five and the assembly of five hundred. A single legislative body and a plural executive. This constitution of Franklin's became very popular with the patriots and republicans in Europe, and produced an attack on our balanced constitutions from Dr. Price, Mr. Jurgat, and the Abby de Mably, and conventions were holden in some of the states to depose the Governors and Senators as useless and expensive branches of the government, and to leave the whole power, legislative and executive, in one assembly. To defend our constitutions against these attacks, at a period of peculiar danger, at the moment when the constitution of the United States was forming, was the object of Mr. Adams. In this elaborate work he reviews all the governments of past times, and

shews that there is no safety in any simple government, whether that government be a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a democracy. That the only safe government is the mixture of the three, as it exists in our constitution, balancing each other, that as a senate, an assembly and a single executive, each having a negative on the other in the passage of laws. He represents that a government of laws is the only government which will insure the happiness of the people, that a simple unbalanced government, whether in the hands of one, the few or the many, would be a government of men and not of laws, and of course arbitrary and tyrannical. There was no danger at the time of a monarchy or aristocracy, for every one's mind was set enough against them, the danger was from a simple democracy or the concentration of all power in one assembly, hence the necessity of a vivid and strong representation of this danger, which this work exhibits throughout. He demonstrates that an aristocracy inevitably results from a democracy, and a monarchy afterwards. The first volume was sent to this country before the framing of our constitution, and Mr. Adams corresponded with Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, (one of the five who reported the declaration of independence) on this subject. No one was more competent to form an opinion of a constitution than Judge Sherman, and being asked before the publication of the constitution by a friend what sort of constitution they had formed, his reply was, "we have adopted John Adams' plan or notions." Such then was the opinion of Roger Sherman, that Mr. Adams' book was really in favor of a republic, but if he had had your desire, sir, he might have seen in it the hideous forms of monarchy and aristocracy. But according to your notions Mr. Jefferson also would be an aristocrat and a monarchist, for he has expressed himself in terms nearly similar to Mr. Adams. We quote him. "The Senate [of Virginia] is too homogeneous as they are chosen by the people at the same time as the representatives and out of the same subjects. The choice falls of course on men of the same description. The purpose of establishing different houses of the legislature is to introduce different interests and different principles. In some of the states one branch represents persons & the other property. But with us wealth and wisdom have equal chance of admission into both houses. We do not therefore from a separation derive those benefits which a proper complication of principles is capable of producing, and these which alone can compensate the evils which may be produced by their dissension. All the powers of government, legislative and judicial, result to the legislative body. The concentrating theme in the same hands is precisely the definition of a despotic government. It will be no alleviation that these powers will be exercised by a plurality of hands & not by a single one. One hundred and seventy-three despots would surely be as oppressive as one. Let those who doubt it look to Venice. As little will it avail us that they are chosen by ourselves. An elective despotism was not the government we fought for, but one which should not only be founded on free principles; but in which the powers of government should be so divided and balanced among several bodies of magistracy, as that no one could transcend their legal limits without being effectually checked and restrained by the others." Such being the opinions of Mr. Jefferson we suppose, you will brand him also, to preserve your consistency, as an aristocrat, as aiming at distinct classes in society & wishing to introduce different orders and a monied aristocracy and as speaking treason against the wisdom and virtue of the people. Every sentence you have quoted to prove Mr. Adams being in favour of monarchy and aristocracy he cited to show the danger of their being introduced by a single legislative assembly in which are concentrated all the powers of government executive, legislative and judicial. Even a government Mr. Jefferson pronounces a tyranny, and that the election of fresh tyrants is no alleviation of it.

The evidence you adduce from the testimony of the Cunningham's whether father or son, I shall pass over with the contempt it merits. You would not dare to carry a cause before a jury with such witnesses. A distant relative of the late president, he sought (at a time when the public press trembled with slanders of the grossest character against John Adams, of which your exposition is but the thousandth repetition,) to worm out of the late presidents confidence, by every art of flattery and exasperation. At the same time that he was pouring the oil of flattery so grateful to all men of advanced age, into one ear he was distilling into the other the venomous slanders with which the press then teemed. Is it wonderful that under such stimulents, nettled to the quick, an old man of seventy five should in ungarded & unsuspecting confidence, say many hasty things without much thought, and which in cooler moments he would never utter. And what did Cunningham extract, literally nothing, but the prattle of talkative age. He then proceeded to threaten the publication unless he was recommended to Mr. Madison, for an office of which he was utterly unworthy as he was of all. In his life he issued two publications, and after his death, his son completed the deed of infamy. Mr. Harris pursued the same course of threatening to suppress the testimony of John Q. Adams, but armed with conscious integrity, threats had as little influence with him, as with his parent. The Cunningham's, however, now are arrived at a degree of credit they never could expect, they are sustained by Mr. Harris and Gov. Giles, in breaches of confidence, and are summoned as the witnesses of the hon. Mr. Ingham.

In replying to your attack on J. Q. Adams I might well have passed by your attack on John Adams as wholly irrelevant. I thought best to demolish it and answer you in your own way. When I commenced I had no idea of continuing my remarks to such length and must postpone my further remarks to a future letter. I will finish however in this what relates to John Adams and I think no candid mind after reading this can value your quotations or authority as of any avail. Many of your remarks in relation to J. Adams my space prevents my replying to, I have already said more than enough, and I shall only notice your charge that he promoted his own son J. Q. Adams during his Presidency. You well know, sir, that although

he was the ablest minister of the country, he met with no promotion from his father. The only promotion from his being Resident Minister at the Hague to being Minister Plenipotentiary at Lisbon, was the act of Washington and not of J. Adams. He merely changed his destination.

At the same time that you are misrepresenting and slandering the character of John Adams you load that of Washington with eulogium. I suppose therefore that you will allow to Washington, a knowledge of men and things. This very Washington consulted the slandered Adams on every important measure, he rode thirty miles to give his vote for him as president and gave his decided approbation of these measures of his administration in which he took part and which you so vehemently condemn. And Jefferson whom you also load to the heavens spoke in the most indignant terms of the infamous conduct of your witnesses the Cunninghams and of the utter insignificance of evidence from their testimony.

Believe me sir, with due respect,  
 A GERMAN FARMER.

**Grand State Lottery of R. I. No. 20.**  
 Will be drawn in Providence to morrow, Dec. 4th.  
**HIGHEST PRIZE \$30,000.**  
 Tickets \$2; Halves 2 50; Quarters 50 cents.

**Virginia State Lottery, 10th class.**  
 For the benefit of the Dismal Swamp Canal Company, will be drawn at Richmond 12th December. 54 numbers—8 ballots.

**HIGHEST PRIZE \$16,000.**  
 Tickets \$5; Halves 2 50; Quarters 1 25.

**Grand Consolidated Lottery.**  
 Second Class—60 numbers—9 drawn ballots—will be drawn in the City of Washington on Wednesday, 12th December.

**HIGHEST PRIZE \$20,000.**  
 Tickets \$5; Halves 2 50; Quarters 1 25.  
**Maryland Literature Lottery, 2d Class.**  
 Will be drawn in the City of Baltimore on Wednesday, 19th December. Only 10,000 Tickets.  
**HIGHEST PRIZE \$10,000.**  
 Tickets \$5; Halves 2 50; Quarters 1 25; Eighths 62 1/2 cents. For sale at

**J. CORSE'S**  
 LOTTERY & EXCHANGE OFFICE,  
 King-Street, 2 doors West of Royal-Street, Alexandria.  
 25 22 42 27 7 33  
 are the drawn numbers in the New-York Consolidated Lottery, No. 10. One prize of 80, one of 150, and one of 30 dollars were sold at CORSE'S Fortune Office.

**On Wednesday Next.**  
**Virginia State Lottery.**  
 No. 20.—To be drawn in Richmond on Wednesday, 5th December.

**SCHEME:**  
 \$16,000, 4,000, 2,500, 1,750, 1,500, 1,000  
 4 of 1,000, &c. &c.  
 Whole Tickets \$5; Halves 2 50; Quarters 1 25.

**On Wednesday, 12th December,**  
**Grand Consolidated Lottery, No. 2,**  
 will be drawn in Washington City.

**SCHEME:**  
 \$20,000, 4,000, 1,600, 1,225, 5 of 1,000, 10 of 500, 20 of 150, 40 of 100, 80 of 60, 51 of 40, 102 of 30, &c. &c.  
 Tickets \$5; Halves 2 50; Quarters 1 25; in a great variety numbers at

**RUNNELLS'**  
 Lucky Lottery Office, King-street, Alexandria.  
 Where has been sold several prizes of \$10,000, 5,000, 2,500, 2,000, 500, 400, 300, &c. &c. amounting to a larger sum than at any other office in the District, for the same numbers of tickets vendid.  
 All orders, as heretofore, will be promptly attended to  
 nov 24

**Spendid Lottery,**  
 With only 10,000 Tickets at \$5 each.  
**Second Class of the**  
**Maryland Grand Literature Lottery,**  
 to be drawn on Wednesday the 19th of December, in the City of Baltimore—all in one day.  
**HIGHEST PRIZE \$10,000.**

1 prize of \$10,000  
 1 prizes 5,000  
 1 do 3,000  
 1 do 2,000  
 1 do 1,000  
 3 do 500  
 10 do 100  
 20 do 50  
 50 do 20  
 &c. &c. &c.

**J. H. RUNNELLS,**  
 King Street, Alexandria, D. C.  
 Where tickets and shares can be had in the greatest variety of numbers at \$5; Halves 2 50; Quarters 1 25; Eighths 62 1/2 cents.  
 Orders from a distance promptly attended to, addressed to J. H. RUNNELLS, King-street, Alexandria, D. C.  
 nov 1

**Ladies' Patent Plated Buses.**  
 Manufactured solely by the inventor, William Morde, Sheffield, England.

MANY complaints having been made of rust in Ladies Steel Buses, which iron mould the stays, besides their liability to attract lightning, and of whalebone losing its shape and being inelegant, the Patent Plated Buses will not only prove free from such objections, but, from their neatness, durability, and not needing leather covering, will be found particularly advantageous as regards warm countries. They have numerous other recommendatory properties, the knowledge of which must ensure for them the most unbounded patronage.

The Subscriber, (agent for the patent,) invites the attention of the Corsetmakers in the District, to this superior article, now generally used in the principal cities.

A constant supply will be kept on hand at his stores in Washington and Alexandria, assorted, of every requisite length, width and curve, and sold to the trade by the gross or dozen, at the manufactory prices.  
 nov 29—eodt A. T. KENNEDY.

**Forty Dollars Reward.**  
 WAS stolen from the livery stable of Thomas Johnston, (colored man) in the City of Washington, on Sunday night last, the 31st inst, a very handsome **GREY HORSE**, (rather inclining to white,) with saddle, bridle and martingal. The horse is sixteen hands three inches high, with long switch tail; trots, paces and canters finely, high spirit, and moves very gracefully; six years old, and some saddle was covered with buckskin, quilted, and bridle with black leather reins—the snaffle bit with black longer cheeks than usual—the martingal of black leather, with plated hooks. The above reward will be given for the delivery of the horse, and thief to the subscriber—or twenty dollars for horse, saddle, bridle and martingal.  
 WALTER H. JENIFER, Washington City.  
 nov 27—1wd