

reserve, a rich, tho not general establishment. The fact is a melancholy one, but it is true that a vast proportion of the regular, paid Clergy of this country are not deemed friendly to our republican institutions. Drawn from New England, where a church is essentially established, & from the Monarchical countries of Europe, in great Numbers, they too often alloy the purity of their religious discourses by injurious mixtures of an anti-republican state & church policy. It appears upon the whole, that the peace does not free mankind from the example of the vast french Church establishment. It has been reduced in wealth and power to contend with the public authority by that Government, & so was it by Henry the 8th. of England, and other kings of the most arbitrary dispositions. The spoils of the Mitre invigorated the Sceptre and the Sword, to the injury of the Nation.

The Stadholder is sacrificed: That is to say the British influence in Holland is annihilated. But what is that little republic to do, surrounded by the antirepublican governments, *de facto*, which touch her every where. Her fleet, her private shipping, her active capital, her cape of good Hope, her Ceylon & her neutral rights at sea are either lost, and not known to be secured: and awful possibilities occur to our apprehensions in regard to the future *authority* or influence of Prussia over her. Since so many prime characters in France have proved untrue to republican liberty, I have often feared that the northern naval establishments of Batavia with the connected ports & provinces would be allotted to Prussia & the southern to France; & Holland, like Poland & Venice, be blotted from the Map of Europe. England, to regain an universal state of Monarchical Government in Europe, would agree, I believe that Prussia should take Holland, perhaps to more. Perhaps I may be too jealous on this point, but a love of Justice & firm attachment to republican government, being wanting almost every where in Europe, I expect great & bold changes upon other principles. At all events the states of Holland, however well disposed internally to second our republican motions & efforts, are neither respectable, weighty or comfortable. They give our cause little support. The state of religious liberty there is more sound than in even some of our states, which must have a good effect on Europe.

The British Government has deteriorated greatly since our revolution, as to purity and freedom. The Irish part of it & the East India part are fit to annex to any despotism in Europe. They are far from republicanism indeed. It is not in favor of that *general spread* of free Government, which would make us *safe & tranquil*, that Ireland & India remain as they are at the end of this War, & that the British Dissenters are not relieved, and that their slave Trade continues, encreases and extends from year to year. Canada approaches with the forms of Monarchy, and aristocracy, and hierarchy. A general survey of the British Dominions & governments will

principles laid down in the Manifesto of our independence and in all our national and state constitutions. To estimate with accuracy our relation to that war, to the peace which is about to end it, and to the state of things accomplished or confirmed by that peace, we must always and well understand & remember that all the *genuine* French, Batavian, Swiss & Italian republicans have been fighting for "*American principles*" in their councils or in their fields since the meeting of the notables in 1788. This truth is now deeply impressed on the minds of all the enemies of representative Government on both sides of the Atlantic, tho they affect to call those principles *French*, with a view to raising & extending prejudices. The accounts to the 2d. of October assure us that preliminaries of Peace are signed on the part of the present "*Government*" of France, & the King of Great Britain.¹ If there be not a gross forgery this is clear. The state of things in Europe, immediately before this treaty, the points settled by it, the consequences it is manifestly to produce & the state of things it is to secure are objects, it is conceived, to be *well* considered by the United States, as they oppose, confirm or in any wise touch the principles of her revolution—the universal cause of human freedom, religious & civil. Our standard must be that digest of republican maxims compounded of the declarations of American rights from our first settlement, (purified of the Monarchic, aristocratic & hierarchal parts) of the declaration of Independence, of the state constitutions and of the federal constitution with the amendments.

Let matters be tested by this standard, with a view to ascertaining the safety or danger of our situation—& the prospects of future tranquility or molestation.

The Bourbons are sacrificed by Executions, Battle and the ultimate abandonment of the survivors. But ours is a cause of principle, not an affair of men. It is no matter whether a King Bourbon or a Chief Consul Buonaparte governs by means *other than elective*. The efficient causes of his filling the consular chair are not freemens votes, as in the case of all our Chief Magistracies. He is not limited there by the plain letter of a constitution regarded by the nation, the army & himself. He is not supported there by the unbiassed & free wishes of a Majority, but too much by the Bayonet, and it seems, that, with no religious predilections, he is willing to support his power by an established Church.² The nonjuring Bishops, as Bourbonists, he requires to abdicate, but maintains & establishes their principles & hierarchy in the Bosom of France. *The equality of Churches*, dearer, if possible to American Republicans than the equality of Men—the *equal religious rights of men*, more to be respected, as divine are infinitely superior to human things, are openly and exemplarily violated by the order of things *to be confirmed & secured by the approaching peace*. This will be a vast encouragement to that practical religious intolerance, which exists in our North, and which has, in the appropriation of the Connecticut