Chapter X: Parties in the United States

Chapter Summary
Great distinction to be made between parties—Parties which are to each other as rival nations—Parties properly so called—Difference between great and small parties—Epochs which produce them—Their characteristics—America has had great parties—They are extinct—Federalists—Republicans—Defeat of the Federalists—Difficulty of creating parties in the United States—What is done with this intention—Aristocratic or democratic character to be met with in all parties—Struggle of General Jackson against the Bank.

Parties in the United States
A great distinction must be made between parties. Some countries are so large that the different populations which inhabit them have contradictory interests, although they are the subjects of the same Government, and they may thence be in a perpetual state of opposition. In this case the different fractions of the people may more properly be considered as distinct nations than as mere parties; and if a civil war breaks out, the struggle is carried on by rival peoples rather than by factions in the State.

But when the citizens entertain different opinions upon subjects which affect the whole country alike, such, for instance, as the principles upon which the government is to be conducted, then distinctions arise which may correctly be styled parties. Parties are a necessary evil in free governments; but they have not at all times the same character and the same propensities.

At certain periods a nation may be oppressed by such insupportable evils as to conceive the design of effecting a total change in its political constitution; at other times the mischief lies still deeper, and the existence of society itself is endangered. Such are the times of great revolutions and of great parties. But between these epochs of misery and of confusion there are periods during which human society seems to rest, and mankind to make a pause. This pause is, indeed, only apparent; for time does not stop its course for nations any more than for men; they are all advancing towards a goal with which they are unacquainted; and we only imagine them to be stationary when their progress escapes our observation, as men who are going at a foot-pace seem to be standing still to those who run.
But however this may be, there are certain epochs at which the changes that take place in the social and political constitution of nations are so slow and so insensible that men imagine their present condition to be a final state; and the human mind, believing itself to be firmly based upon certain foundations, does not extend its researches beyond the horizon which it decrees. These are the times of small parties and of intrigue.

The political parties which I style great are those which cling to principles more than to their consequences; to general, and not to especial cases; to ideas, and not to men. These parties are usually distinguished by a nobler character, by more generous passions, more genuine convictions, and a more bold and open conduct than the others. In them private interest, which always plays the chief part in political passions, is more studiously veiled under the pretext of the public good; and it may even be sometimes concealed from the eyes of the very persons whom it excites and impels.

Minor parties are, on the other hand, generally deficient in political faith. As they are not sustained or dignified by a lofty purpose, they ostensibly display the egotism of their character in their actions. They glow with a factitious zeal; their language is vehement, but their conduct is timid and irresolute. The means they employ are as wretched as the end at which they aim. Hence it arises that when a calm state of things succeeds a violent revolution, the leaders of society seem suddenly to disappear, and the powers of the human mind to lie concealed. Society is convulsed by great parties, by minor ones it is agitated; it is torn by the former, by the latter it is degraded; and if these sometimes save it by a salutary perturbation, those invariably disturb it to no good end.

America has already lost the great parties which once divided the nation; and if her happiness is considerably increased, her morality has suffered by their extinction. When the War of Independence was terminated, and the foundations of the new Government were to be laid down, the nation was divided between two opinions—two opinions which are as old as the world, and which are perpetually to be met with under all the forms and all the names which have ever obtained in free communities—the one tending to limit, the other to extend indefinitely, the power of the people. The conflict of these two opinions never assumed that degree of violence in America which it has frequently displayed elsewhere. Both parties of the Americans were, in fact, agreed upon the most essential points; and neither of them had to destroy a traditionary (sic) constitution, or to overthrow the structure of society, in order to ensure its own triumph. In neither of them, consequently, were a great number of private interests affected by success or by defeat; but moral principles of a high order, such as the love of equality and of independence, were concerned in the struggle, and they sufficed to kindle violent passions.

The party which desired to limit the power of the people endeavored to apply its doctrines more especially to the Constitution of the Union, whence it derived its name of Federal. The other party, which affected to be more exclusively attached to the cause of liberty, took that of Republican. America is a land of democracy, and the Federalists were always in a minority; but they reckoned on their side almost all the great men who had been called forth by the War of
Independence, and their moral influence was very considerable. Their cause was, moreover, favored by circumstances. The ruin of the Confederation had impressed the people with a dread of anarchy, and the Federalists did not fail to profit by this transient disposition of the multitude. For ten or twelve years they were at the head of affairs, and they were able to apply some, though not all, of their principles; for the hostile current was becoming from day to day too violent to be checked or stemmed. In 1801 the Republicans got possession of the Government; Thomas Jefferson was named President; and he increased the influence of their party by the weight of his celebrity, the greatness of his talents, and the immense extent of his popularity.

The means by which the Federalists had maintained their position were artificial, and their resources were temporary; it was by the virtues or the talents of their leaders that they had risen to power. When the Republicans attained to that lofty station, their opponents were overwhelmed by utter defeat. An immense majority declared itself against the retiring party, and the Federalists found themselves in so small a minority that they at once despaired of their future success. From that moment the Republican or Democratic party a has proceeded from conquest to conquest, until it has acquired absolute supremacy in the country. The Federalists, perceiving that they were vanquished without resource, and isolated in the midst of the nation, fell into two divisions, of which one joined the victorious Republicans, and the other abandoned its rallying-point and its name. Many years have already elapsed since they ceased to exist as a party.

a. [It is scarcely necessary to remark that in more recent times the signification of these terms has changed. The Republicans are the representatives of the old Federalists, and the Democrats of the old Republicans.—Trans. Note (1861).] The accession of the Federalists to power was, in my opinion, one of the most fortunate incidents which accompanied the formation of the great American Union; they resisted the inevitable propensities of their age and of the country. But whether their theories were good or bad, they had the effect of being inapplicable, as a system, to the society which they professed to govern, and that which occurred under the auspices of Jefferson must therefore have taken place sooner or later. But their Government gave the new republic time to acquire a certain stability, and afterwards to support the rapid growth of the very doctrines which they had combated. A considerable number of their principles were in point of fact embodied in the political creed of their opponents; and the Federal Constitution which subsists at the present day is a lasting monument of their patriotism and their wisdom.

Great political parties are not, then, to be met with in the United States at the present time. Parties, indeed, may be found which threaten the future tranquility (sic) of the Union; but there are none which seem to contest the present form of Government or the present course of society. The parties by which the Union is menaced do not rest upon abstract principles, but upon temporal interests. These interests, disseminated in the provinces of so vast an empire, may be said to constitute rival nations rather than parties. Thus, upon a recent occasion, the North contended for the system of commercial prohibition, and the South took up arms in favor of free trade, simply because the North is a manufacturing and the South an agricultural district; and that the restrictive system which was profitable to the one was prejudicial to the other. b
In the absence of great parties, the United States abound with lesser controversies; and public opinion is divided into a thousand minute shades of difference upon questions of very little moment. The pains which are taken to create parties are inconceivable, and at the present day it is no easy task. In the United States there is no religious animosity, because all religion is respected, and no sect is predominant; there is no jealousy of rank, because the people is everything, and none can contest its authority; lastly, there is no public indigence to supply the means of agitation, because the physical position of the country opens so wide a field to industry that man is able to accomplish the most surprising undertakings with his own native resources. Nevertheless, ambitious men are interested in the creation of parties, since it is difficult to eject a person from authority upon the mere ground that his place is coveted by others. The skill of the actors in the political world lies therefore in the art of creating parties. A political aspirant in the United States begins by discriminating his own interest, and by calculating upon those interests which may be collected around and amalgamated with it; he then contrives to discover some doctrine or some principle which may suit the purposes of this new association, and which he adopts in order to bring forward his party and to secure his popularity; just as the imprimatur of a King was in former days incorporated with the volume which it authorized, but to which it nowise belonged. When these preliminaries are terminated, the new party is ushered into the political world.

All the domestic controversies of the Americans at first appear to a stranger to be so incomprehensible and so puerile that he is at a loss whether to pity a people which takes such arrant trifles in good earnest, or to envy the happiness which enables it to discuss them. But when he comes to study the secret propensities which govern the factions of America, he easily perceives that the greater part of them are more or less connected with one or the other of those two divisions which have always existed in free communities. The deeper we penetrate into the working of these parties, the more do we perceive that the object of the one is to limit, and that of the other to extend, the popular authority. I do not assert that the ostensible end, or even that the secret aim, of American parties is to promote the rule of aristocracy or democracy in the country; but I affirm that aristocratic or democratic passions may easily be detected at the bottom of all parties, and that, although they escape a superficial observation, they are the main point and the very soul of every faction in the United States.

To quote a recent example. When the President attacked the Bank, the country was excited and parties were formed; the well-informed classes rallied round the Bank, the common people round the President. But it must not be imagined that the people had formed a rational opinion upon a question which offers so many difficulties to the most experienced statesmen. The Bank is a great establishment which enjoys an independent existence, and the people, accustomed to make and unmake whatsoever it pleases, is startled to meet with this obstacle to its authority. In
the midst of the perpetual fluctuation of society the community is irritated by so permanent an institution, and is led to attack it in order to see whether it can be shaken and controlled, like all the other institutions of the country.

Remains Of The Aristocratic Party In The United States
Secret opposition of wealthy individuals to democracy—Their retirement—Their taste for exclusive pleasures and for luxury at home—Their simplicity abroad—Their affected condescension towards the people.

It sometimes happens in a people amongst which various opinions prevail that the balance of the several parties is lost, and one of them obtains an irresistible preponderance, overpowers all obstacles, harasses its opponents, and appropriates all the resources of society to its own purposes. The vanquished citizens despair of success and they conceal their dissatisfaction in silence and in general apathy. The nation seems to be governed by a single principle, and the prevailing party assumes the credit of having restored peace and unanimity to the country. But this apparent unanimity is merely a cloak to alarming dissensions and perpetual opposition.

This is precisely what occurred in America; when the democratic party got the upper hand, it took exclusive possession of the conduct of affairs, and from that time the laws and the customs of society have been adapted to its caprices. At the present day the more affluent classes of society are so entirely removed from the direction of political affairs in the United States that wealth, far from conferring a right to the exercise of power, is rather an obstacle than a means of attaining to it. The wealthy members of the community abandon the lists, through unwillingness to contend, and frequently to contend in vain, against the poorest classes of their fellow citizens. They concentrate all their enjoyments in the privacy of their homes, where they occupy a rank which cannot be assumed in public; and they constitute a private society in the State, which has its own tastes and its own pleasures. They submit to this state of things as an irremediable evil, but they are careful not to show that they are galled by its continuance; it is even not uncommon to hear them laud the delights of a republican government, and the advantages of democratic institutions when they are in public. Next to hating their enemies, men are most inclined to flatter them.

Mark, for instance, that opulent citizen, who is as anxious as a Jew of the Middle Ages to conceal his wealth. His dress is plain, his demeanor unassuming; but the interior of his dwelling glitters with luxury, and none but a few chosen guests whom he haughtily styles his equals are allowed to penetrate into this sanctuary. No European noble is more exclusive in his pleasures, or more jealous of the smallest advantages which his privileged station confers upon him. But the very same individual crosses the city to reach a dark counting-house in the centre of traffic, where every one may accost him who pleases. If he meets his cobbler upon the way, they stop and converse; the two citizens discuss the affairs of the State in which they have an equal interest, and they shake hands before they part.

But beneath this artificial enthusiasm, and these obsequious attentions to the preponderating power, it is easy to perceive that the wealthy members of the community entertain a hearty
distaste to the democratic institutions of their country. The populace is at once the object of
their scorn and of their fears. If the maladministration of the democracy ever brings about a
revolutionary crisis, and if monarchical institutions ever become practicable in the United States,
the truth of what I advance will become obvious.

The two chief weapons which parties use in order to ensure success are the public press and the
formation of associations.
Iowa Core Social Studies Standards Chart

"The Whale that Swallowed Jonah," 1844

“Whig Harmony,” 1848

Grand Democratic Free Soil Banner, 1848
Governor James Grimes’ Letter to the Citizens of Iowa, February 12, 1856

The Federalist No. 10

The Federalist No. 10, November 22, 1787

The Same Subject Continued: The Union as a Safeguard Against Domestic Faction and Insurrection,

New York Daily Advertiser, 22 November 1787.

In the People of the United States.

O, Friends and Fellow-Citizens,

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduci to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations attending to the situation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his Country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no domination of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindneps, but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance in the office to which your suffages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return.
So that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the more perilous and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I suppose that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a weak and feeble judgment was capable. Not uninfluenced in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonished me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that of any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services.
they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

I look forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me, still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my invariable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my past. If benefits have resulted to my country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to madness, absurd appearances sometimes deceive, necessities of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has counteracted the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Pragmatically punctuated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing prayers that Heaven may continue to you the choicest blessings of its beneficence. That your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual, that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained, that its administration in every department may be
stamped with wisdom and virtue. That, in fine, the happiness of the people, of these states, under the auspices of Liberty, may be made compleat, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation, which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer to your serious contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent view, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear some all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested, unprejudiced, and unpremeditated expression of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his Council. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to you, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and no different occasion.

Interswoven as is the love of Liberty with every ligament of your breasts, no recommendation of mine, is necessary to satisfy or confirm the attachment.

The unity of Government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to
President George Washington’s Farewell Address, September 19, 1796 (pg.5)

To you. It is justly so, for it is a main pillar in the safety of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity of that fair Liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many devices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political safety against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively, though often covertly and insidiously directed, it is at this moment you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a constant, habitual, and inviolable attachment to it, accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Pellicain of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can be any wise be abandoned, and indignantly from the first dawning of every attempt to divide any portion of our country from the rest or to separate the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

affection derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same
religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed
together, the Independence and Safety of your parts are the work of joint councils, united efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and losses.
But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. How every portion of our Country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole.

The North in an uninterrupted intercourse with the South protected by the equal laws of a common Government, finds in the productions of the latter great extensive sources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South in the same intercourse benefitting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the streams of the North, it finds its particular navigation enriched; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general spirit of maritime navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is equally adapted. The West, in a like intercourse with the West, already feels, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will

more and more find a valuable use for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the peace and enjoyment of indestructible. solids, to its own productions of the kind, of the instance, and the said maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, deemed by an indispensable community of interest as one nation. Any other means by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apposite and instrumental connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the mutual means and effects greater strength, greater resource, proportionally greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of inestimable value! they must derive from union an exemption from those bicks and 'tops between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not less together by the same government, which their own strength alone would be sufficient to produce, but which separate foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those expensive military establishments, which under any form of government are pusillanimous to liberty, and which are to be judged as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty. In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered.
President George Washington’s Farewell Address, September 19, 1796 (pg.8)

considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the loss of the one ought to induce to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations, speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of Patriotice desire. Is there no doubt, whether a common government, can embrace, so large a Sphere? Let experience decide. To listen to mere speculation in such cases were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective sub-divisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiments. In well worth a fair and full attempt, with such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken its bond.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations; Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western; poise designating men may endeavour to excite a belief, that there is a real difference of local interests and passions. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to disregard the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot, shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and hard burnings, which spring from these.
These perversions: they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a perfect lesson on this head. They have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the Treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the German Government and in the United States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Albigi. If they have been faithful to the formation of treaties that with great Britain, and that with Spain, which serve to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confining their prosperity. Will it not be the wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to these, and other, if such there are, who would secure them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union as Government for the whole is indispensably. No alliances, however strong, between the parts can be an adequate substitute. They must inevitably experience the impetuses and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensitive of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This Government, the offspring of your own choice, unshckled and unaided, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in...
its principle, in the distribution of its powers, tending naturally with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, had a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to contract and to alter their Constitution of Government. But, the Constitution, which at any time may be changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is doubly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the rights of the people to establish Government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the sole design to direct, control, counteract, or subvert the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties to make the public administration the mere tool of the ill-concealed and insidious projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and judicious plans digested by common councils, and adopted by mutual interests.
However, combinations or associations of the above description may now and then assume popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and sophisticailed men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to secure for themselves the purges of government, instilling afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust domion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you cherish discontents, and oppose to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however savorous the pretense. One method of asphyxiate may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus undermine, what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions. That experience is the safest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country. That facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion exposes to perpetual change, from the variableness of hypothesis and opinion. And moreover, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of so much power as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a
a government with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardians. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the Society within the limits prescribed by the Laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of persons and property.

I have already intimated to you, the dangers of parties in the State, with particular reference to the spreading them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, Generally—

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature; having its root in the common passions of the human mind. It exists and acts under different shapes in all governments. More or less strong, continuous or intermittent, and in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest madness and is truly the worst enemy. The alternate domination of one faction over another, the easy conquest of the public mind, even when such conquests are made in the regular forms of representative government, may, in fact, be regarded as fatal. It appears to me no worse than a tyrannical despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent revolution. The discontents and mischiefs which result, gradually incline the minds of men, so far, from security and peace, or the absolution of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate, than her competitors.

It is important likewise, that the habit of thinking in a free country, should prepare caution, in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of innovation tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and this to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and propensity to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart—sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this practice. The necessity of proper checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different departments, and constituting each the guardian of the public forces against invasions by the others, has been proved by experiments ancient and modern, some of them in our country and ancient ones. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the People, the distribution or execution of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let this be made by occupant, for this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are defended. The precedents must always greatly overbalance in favor and yield any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that
man claim the tributes of protection, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these sacred groves of the duties of Men and Citizens. The more Patiency, equally with the great man ought to revere and cherish them, a virtue would not lose all these connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the security, for property, for population, for life, of the sense of religious obligation, what are the instruments of investigation in hands of justice? And let us with caution enquire the submission, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be deduced to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

The substantial reason, that public or national morality, a necessary spring of popular government. The public indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free governments. Who that in a remote island to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a Government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent

prevent much greater embarrassments to repel it, avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shun
ning, occasions of expense, but by rigorous economy in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasional, not immediately throw
ning upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. . . . The execution of these maxims belongs
to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate. To facilitate to them the
performance of this duty it is essential that you should practically bear in mind that towards the payment
of debts there must be Revenue. What to have Revenue there must be taxes; what no taxes can be devised which
are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant,
that the interest of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be aversive
motion for a gradual construction of the conduct of the
government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining Revenue which
the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all
Nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all; Reli
gion and Morality suppox this conduct, and can it be
that good policy does not equally require it? It will be
worthy of a free, enlightened, and, of a great Nation, to give to mankind the榜样
ous and the proved example of a people always guided
by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt
that in the course of time these errors of such a plan
would yield ploy any temporary advantage which
might be lost by a steady adherence to it? can it be.
President George Washington’s Farewell Address, September 19, 1796 (pg.17)

What Providence has not connected the permanent splendor of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Has it produced impenetrable by its price?

For the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inviolate antipathy against particular Nations, and passionate attachments for others should be excluded, and that in place of them just and amicable feelings between all should be cultivated. The Nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity, its contentions, its interests, and its antipathies. It is at all times in danger of being torn by parties, divided by sects, alienated from commerce, and involved in the miseries of war. Peace frequent collisions, odious, onerous, and bloody contests. The Nation, promptless by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels toward the government contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the nation’s prosperity and attends through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace is often sometimes perhaps the liberty of Nations has been the passion.

In like manner, a passionate attachment of one Nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite Nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary or material engagement in its interests.

imaginary common interest, in cases where, no real
common interest exists, and infusing into one the en-
vies of the other, begets the former, into a participa-
tion in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate
inducement or justification. It leads also to conceptions
to the favours. Nation of privileges denied to others, which
is not done to procure the nation, making the Congres-
sors, by unnecessarily pressing on what ought not to have
been retained; and by exciting jealousy, it will put
a disposition to the nation to stand, in the policies from whose equal
privileges are withheld. And it goes to ambitious,
conniving, or deluded Citizens! who devote themselves to
the favorite nations, to being or sacrificing the
interests of their own Country, without uttering
true, without popularity; seeking with the appearances
of a parental sense of obligation, a common subservi-
ce for public opinion. A lawful agent for public
good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corrup-
tion, or corruption.

As avenues to foreign influence, in imme-
turable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming
to the truly enlightened and independent faithful. How
many opportunities do they offer to tyrants and tyrant-
ic powers to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead
public opinion, to influence, or even the public Council.
Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a
great and powerful Nation, makes the former to be
the Satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious ways of foreign influence,
I conjure you to believe me, fellow Citizens, the
jealousy of a free people ought never constantly awake,
since
hazard the giving up preservation; when we may, choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel. Why, therefore, the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, interest, humor, or caprice? To our true policy, then, stem of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world, so far, Friends, as we are now at liberty to act, let me not be understood as capable of patronizing imperiously to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no left applicable to public than to private affairs that heaven is always the best policy. I favor it, therefore, let their engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unwise, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, in a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies. Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and proportionate hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; considering the natural course of things, establishing, with favor so disposed, in order to give shade a stable course, to define the rights of our Merchants, and to...
to enable the government to support them; conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be modified or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that the policy on one nation to look for disinterested favors from another, that it must pay a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors and yet of being approached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater evil than to expect or calculate upon such favors from nation to nation. To an illusion, which experience must cure, which as such ought to be discarded.

In offering to you, my Countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I have but hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will controvert the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations: But if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then succeed in procuring the inquiry of party spirit, to cease against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism, this hope will be a full remuneration for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

Here far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been
President George Washington’s Farewell Address, September 19, 1796 (pg.22)

The sentiments of interest for observing this conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to withdraw to your own home to our country to settle. No motive is yet urged institutions and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it. Suddenly speaking, the command of its own forces.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am far from thinking of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors, whether they may be I sincerely beseech the Supreme to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may lead. I shall also comply with me the hope that my Country will meacurs to view them with indulgence, and that after forty-five years of my life devoted to its service, with an enlightened zeal, the fruits of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon to the memory of few.

Relying on the kindness of this new state, and actuated by that feeling of love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself, and his predecessors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that it will in which I promise myself to reside, without alloy, the real enjoyment of repose, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the own favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I look, of our mutual cares, labours and dangers.

United States, 17th September, 1796.

G. Washington.
XLI.
HERMITAGE, June 2nd. 1840.

MY DEAR SIR: I have just seen your letter of resignation in the Globe, and your announcement that you will, until next November, become the editor of the extra Globe. Al tho I regret your resignation & still more the cause, still I am rejoiced that you will take hold of the extra Globe, as I well know you will give life & spirit to the paper, as well as to the democratic republican party throughout the union. The present crisis requires this, and all our papers require a stimulus to call things by their proper names, and to bring to the view of the people the present attempt of the Federalists to bring our republican system into perfect contempt by holding forth to the world there are none fit to rule a representative Government but those who drink some cider & live in Logg cabins. Was there ever such an attempt to degrade our republican system & bring it into perfect disgrace by the Federalists and all its unprincipled coalitions? This, by your pen, can be brought before the people in such strong colors that will destroy the opposition, and cause them & their humbug, to be deprecated by all men who are in favour of a republican government & representative system. It is only necessary to bring this attempt to degrade & destroy our government by the hard cider system fairly before the people, to destroy them.

By the way of a small encouragement I enclose you a five dollar Tennessee Bank bill just handed me by a Mr. William W. Gift, of Holly Springs, Mississippi, with a request that you will forward to his address to that place, five copies of the extra Globe. It is impossible here now to get Eastern funds to remit. Mr. Gift is a thorough going democrat, & wishes the five to be enclosed to him for distribution.

I enclose you a quarter Eagle, sealed to this letter, for which you will please send me two copies, one for myself & the other for Major A. J. Donelson, which you will please send to my address.

If you have leisure please write me & give me the political views of Washington. Our democratic members from some cause get on badly in Congress. Why is it that the independant treasury bill has not yet been acted upon? The passage of that bill now would have a fine effect upon our republican cause.

I have been quite sick lately; am a little better to-day; but with my various & continued affliction, my glass must soon run out.

I would be very happy to see you at the Hermitage once more.

With the kindest feeling myself & family salute you & yours.

Yr friend

ANDREW JACKSON

P. S. 5 copies to be sent to W.W. Gift, Holly Springs, Marshall County, Mississippi.

AMOS KENDALL Esq late P. M. General, Washington
True Republican Ticket

FOR PRESIDENT
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT
Hannibal Hamlin.

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   —JOS. A. CHAPLINE “ 2d “
Congressional—M. L. McPHERSON “ 1st “
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For Secretary of State..............ELIJAH SELLS.
“ Auditor of State...........J. W. CATTLE.
“ Treasurer of State........JOHN W. JONES.
“ Register of State Land Office.....A. B. MILLER.
“ Attorney General........CHAS. C. Nourse.
Representative to Congress........SAMUEL R. CURTIS.
Member of the Board of Education...S. F. COOPER.
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For Justices of the Peace, GEO. BENNETT,
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For Constable,............JOHN VOORHEES,
   “ “ “ CARLISLE CANTERBERRY.
For Assessor,..............JACOB MILLER.
Trustees, T. SHANNON, PETER CANINE,
   and MADISON TICE.
For Clerk,..............WM. MILLER.

Road Supervisor Dist. No.

Courtesy of the State Historical Society of Iowa, 1860