

**MR. JAY'S SECOND
LETTER ON DAWSON'S
INTRODUCTION TO THE
FEDERALIST**

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Mr. Jay's Second letter on Dawson's Introduction to the federalist by Various

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VARIOUS

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LETTER ON DAWSON'S
INTRODUCTION TO THE
FEDERALIST**

NEW PLOTTINGS IN AID OF THE REBEL DOCTRINE OF
STATE SOVEREIGNTY.

MR. JAY'S SECOND LETTER

ON

DAWSON'S INTRODUCTION TO THE FEDERALIST.

See Political Pamphlets, vol. 1 1st Letter

EXPOSING ITS FALSIFICATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION; ITS
LIBELS ON DUANE, LIVINGSTON, JAY AND HAMILTON; AND
ITS RELATION TO RECENT EFFORTS BY TRAITORS AT HOME, AND
FOES ABROAD, TO MAINTAIN THE REBEL DOCTRINE OF STATE
SOVEREIGNTY, FOR THE SUBVERSION OF THE UNITY OF
THE REPUBLIC AND THE SUPREME SOVEREIGNTY OF
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

"The bantering—I had liked to have said—Mosses."
Washington to Jay on State Sovereignty.

"If any man attempts to haul down the NATIONAL FLAG,
shoot him on the spot."—*Dia.*

NEW YORK:
AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY, 121 NASSAU STREET.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER & COMPANY, 60 PATERNOSTER ROW.

1864.

WASHINGTON TO MADISON, 1787:

" * * * Thirteen Sovereignties pulling against each other and all tugging at the Federal head, will soon bring ruin on the whole."

FRANKLIN PIERCE TO JEFFERSON DAVIS, Jan. 6, 1860:

(Quoted in the *Boston Journal*.)

" * * * The fighting will not be along Mason and Dixon's line merely. It will be within our borders—in our own streets," &c.

VALLANDIGHAM TO COL. D. D. INSHALL, of the 8th Alabama Volunteers, 1863:

(Quoted in the *Boston Journal*.)

" * * * You have but to persevere, and the victory will easily be yours. You must strike home. * * * You can have your own terms by giving battle on your enemies' soil."

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DAWSON'S INTRODUCTION

TO

THE FEDERALIST.

To the Editors of the Evening Post.

Sirs,—When in February I wrote my first letter on Mr. Dawson's edition of the *Federalist*, I had been chiefly struck with the instances to which I called attention, of the singular misappreciation exhibited, in the "Introduction," of the character of the work, its extraordinary misrepresentation of the course pursued by the friends of the Constitution, and its inexplicable violation of historic truth in regard to the most familiar incidents in the life of my grandfather.

In the face of the fact apparent to every student of American history, and which is thus stated by John Adams, "Mr. Jay had as much influence in the preparatory measures for digesting the Constitution and in obtaining its adoption as any man in the nation," a fact which has been eloquently dwelt upon by Mr. Webster in his well known letter to the Honorable James A. Hamilton and other citizens of Westchester county, the declaration of Mr. Dawson that Jay found in the Constitution "little that he could commend, and nothing for which he could labor," seemed to me to exhibit a very remarkable amount either of ignorance or of malice.

A more careful reading of the "Introduction," the tone of Mr.

Dawson's reply printed in the *Evening Post*, and facts that have since come to my knowledge of his association with certain writers in the interest of the Rebellion, convince me that it would be unjust to attribute Mr. Dawson's errors purely to ignorance, or his assaults upon Jay simply to personal malice; and I propose to consider the bearing of his Introduction upon a wide spread attempt now being made to mystify and demoralize the American people in regard to the American Constitution: to convince them, if possible, that they do not constitute a nation: and to persuade them that their only safety consists in dissolving the Union, and recognizing the individual sovereignty of each separate State.

The questions involved in the examination, relate to the constitutional history of the country, and in their bearing upon the issues of the pending war, concern the gravest interests of the American people. In noticing, therefore, some parts of Mr. Dawson's letter, I shall not reply to the gross personalities which he has introduced, seemingly with no other intent than to divert attention from the real issue. If he has misrepresented the facts of history, as I shall prove that he has done, he cannot justify those misrepresentations by perverting the facts of the last decade: nor can he, by his abuse and slanders of the living, atone for his libels on the dead.

MR. DAWSON'S PLEDGES IN ASKING ASSISTANCE.

Before proceeding to expose the character and aim of Mr. Dawson's introduction, it may be proper for me to explain how I was induced to countenance, at his hands, an edition of the *Federalist*. Having known him some ten years since as an active member of an Anti-Slavery League, my intercourse with him had been interrupted by causes to which it is unnecessary to refer, until, on the 17th of February, 1862, he wrote to me that he had undertaken to carry an edition of the *Federalist* through the press, and asked my assistance. He said:

"I desire to make such a work as will satisfy all who may examine it." And he closed his letter with this assurance:

"In making this request, I beg to assure you that I am actuated entirely by a desire to render justice to the memory of your ancestor, as one of the authors of the work in question:

“and I trust that for the same reason, and for the purpose of this enquiry at least, I may be met in the same spirit, regardless of past differences on less important subjects.”

In a second letter, of March 15, 1862, he remarked :

“As I have said before, I desire to produce an edition of the *Federalist*, which shall stand the test of the most careful examination, and my plan of operations has been examined and heartily approved by Hon. James A. Hamilton,—Mr. John C., his brother, is too sick to be seen—and I have received the use of every paper which he has in his possession. It will afford me the greatest satisfaction, if I may also enjoy the benefit of your papers, and your advice on the same subject, that those who follow us may receive from our hands the uncontaminated writings of those who have preceded us.”

To these requests and assurances, after some hesitation, in view of the urgent occasion for an edition of the *Federalist*, I persuaded myself that I should accede. How Mr. Dawson's pledges have been kept, will appear in the sequel. I promptly wrote to him, as he says, a letter of sixteen pages, with numerous references to the works of Washington, Franklin, Adams, Jay, &c., which I thought might assist him to a thorough appreciation of the contest in regard to the Constitution; and I sent him three extracts from letters of Washington and Jay, bearing upon the same general topic, advising him, however, at the same time, as he admits, that I could find nothing among Jay's papers relative to the *Federalist*.

Having thus—setting aside personal differences—done what I could to assist Mr. Dawson (with whom I had not spoken for years) to make his edition of the *Federalist* as complete as possible, and his acknowledgment of my courtesy and my assistance having been rendered in a manner calculated to induce the belief that I approved of his conduct as an editor, I feel myself absolutely at liberty to subject his part of the work to “the careful examination” which he invited: and to show, not by vague assertions, but by particular facts, that he has not only broken faith with me in his volunteered pledge to do justice to my ancestor, whom, as I showed in my former letter, he has grossly misrepresented, vilified, and belied; but that he has with questionable faith towards the subscribers to the work, and

towards the American people, converted their reverence for the *Federalist* to his own purposes, and made this edition, which I was induced to believe would be "uncontaminated," the vehicle for circulating, in an introduction, distorted criticism on the work, monstrous misrepresentations of the truth of history, and unjust aspersions on the fame of the authors; in short, that this volume, so eagerly subscribed for by loyal citizens, as an honest edition of the *Federalist*, is welcomed by apologists of secession as coming from a sympathizer with the *London Times* in its assaults upon our nationality, and as calculated to strengthen that "monster" doctrine of State Sovereignty which is now striving to overthrow our Constitution.

NORTHERN CONSPIRACY TO AID THE REBELS.

The *Evening Post* has occasionally directed attention to "Papers from the Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge," organized under the auspices of Mr. S. F. B. Morse, and there is reason to believe that a wide-spread conspiracy exists throughout the North, among the sympathizers with the rebellion, for organizing a State's Rights party, for the subversion of the American Constitution, and its reconstruction on the basis, not of National, but of State sovereignty.

It will be remembered that the rebel commissioner from Mississippi to Maryland, in December, 1860, expressly declared that "their plan was for the Southern States to withdraw from the Union for the present, to allow amendments to the Constitution." And it is well known that the rebels have been recommended, by their Northern sympathizers, to continue their resistance, in the hope that the American people might be induced to acquiesce in a project of national suicide. In the Senate of New Jersey, a bill has been recently introduced, to punish, with fine and imprisonment, whoever shall enlist free negroes, thus exhibiting the spirit of State sovereignty, and the manner in which the doctrine may be made effective to weaken the National Government, and add strength to the rebellion. A recent Boston paper calls attention to new movements in Massachusetts, of rebel sympathizers, under the name of "Citizen Caucuses," and the use of this term, for the purpose of disloyalty and treason, recalls its employment for similar ob-

jects, during the administration of our first President. It was a favorite designation with that disreputable faction which fomented the rebellion in Pennsylvania, to increase the embarrassments of Washington, and, if possible, to overthrow the Government; which, in defiance alike of patriotism and decency, encouraged Genet, the Minister of the French Republicans, in his efforts to compromise our neutrality, and his threat to appeal from the President to the people, and which exhibited the extent to which party hostility may be carried, by gravely charging Washington, Hamilton, and Jay, with intent to subvert the Constitution and establish a monarchy. Such were the patriots who, in the excess of their zeal for the good of the people, imitated the Jacobins of Paris, and substituted "Citizen" for Mr., and "Citess" for Miss.

The efforts of the faction which is to-day repeating towards the administration of Mr. Lincoln the conduct of its predecessor towards that of Washington, are by no means confined to caucuses.

Among the elaborate works issued by this modern band of conspirators, who call themselves indifferently, "States' Rights Democrats" and "Federal Republican Citizens," is one upon which I chanced in the "Astor Library," entitled, "Citizenship Sovereignty, by J. S. Wright, assisted by Professor J. Holmes Agnew, D. D., Chicago. Published for American Citizens, the true maintainers of State Sovereignty, 1863." The latter of these gentlemen has since been announced as the editor of the *Knickerbocker*, which in an article of the March number, entitled, "The Issue Between the North and the South," denounces the Declaration of Independence as inspired by "a spurious philosophy." As Mr. Wright and Doctor Agnew cordially recognize Mr. Dawson, as an efficient co-worker with them in their labors for destroying and reconstructing the Constitution, and quote him as almost wholly concurring in their views, it will be useful to glance at the principles and theories, which, according to them, Mr. Dawson has brought to his editorial exposition of the character of the *Federalist* his elucidation of the history of the Constitution, and the fame and services of its framers and expounders. The work of Messrs. Wright and Agnew—no name of printer or