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FROM THE BOSTON GAZETTE OF MARCH 22. THE ROAD TO PEACE, COMMERCE, WEALTH, AND HAPPINESS, BY AN OLD FARMER. (CONCLUDED FROM OUR LAST.)

We now pay the piper, in the increased price of foreign articles, our rum, tea, sugar, and English goods, as well as in the diminished value of some of our own products, our lumber and other articles; but we shall next summer feel it in the direct taxes, which will in July next be levied on our land and cattle, to an amount three or four times that of our state tax. You have thought it would not come, you are deceived. I have read all the acts of Congress, and you will feel it soon, as certain as speedy as inexorable, and as dreadful as death.

6thly. How much will Massachusetts pay towards this war, and what will be my proportion of this expense?

I shall take as my guide in this enquiry the calculations of Mr. Cheever, one of the most eminent speakers in Congress in favor of the war. He estimated the annual expense of it, at 40 millions of dollars. To prove that this is not overrated, I have already shewn that the expense of the last nine months, was sixteen millions, though we had not more than ten or fifteen thousand men under arms. When our standing army of fifty thousand men, shall be complete, and our four 74's and six new frigates are built, I am afraid the expense will much exceed Mr. Cheever's calculation, since being friendly to the war, he has doubtless made it as small as possible.

Of the forty millions thus yearly expended, Massachusetts must pay according to her census and representation, one ninth part, or four millions four hundred thousand dollars every year.

We farmers, accustomed to deal in hundreds and tens, cannot easily form an idea of these great sums.

I have taken the pains to calculate our proportions, compared with what we now pay, and I find from figures, that our yearly state tax is only one thirtieth part of what the National Government will impose upon us.

Thus for example, our state tax is 133,000 dollars, and the town in which I live, pays five dollars on every thousand, or 665 dollars. Now I find our little town will pay towards the war every year, nineteen thousand nine hundred and fifty dollars. My own state tax is usually five dollars and I am a pretty good liver, and it will during the war, be every year 150 dollars; and if the war lasts five years, our town's proportion will be 100,000 dollars and my share will be 750 dollars this is more than I can pay, besides all my state, town, and parish taxes, and much more than I am willing to pay for the protection of all the seamen in his Britannic Majesty's service.

I know they flatter us, that we shall have no direct land tax, but I have looked over the debates in Congress, and I find that they have adjourned to an early day on purpose to lay them. Besides, weak as they think us farmers are, I can see that if they tax spirits, and foreign produce, I must finally pay because I am a consumer. But Mr. Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury says he cannot get along without a land tax. I am not one of those spendthrifts, who are easy when great debts are accumulating, merely because I am not to day called upon to pay them. I know interest is running on, and will finally eat up all my substance. I am therefore against this war.

6thly. Whether the war has borne, and whether it is likely to bear equally upon all the states?

The war has borne very unequally upon the different states. While the northern states have been, and will continue to be great sufferers, the southern states have been great gainers by the war, for they have been enriched by it.

No man dreads disunion more than I do, and no man so much disapproves the sowing jealousies, and making distinctions between the states; but then I am not such a fool, I am not such a slave to my fears of disunion, as to approve of measures which ruin my own part of the country, my own native town and state, and enrich the other states who voted for it.

Now for the facts; Massachusetts owned more than one third part of all the shipping in the United States, and yet its representatives in Congress are only one ninth. As the shipping interests are the greatest sufferers by the war, so it follows, that Massachusetts must in this one article, lose three times her fair proportion. The fisheries and lumber trade, which are two others of our staples, and are nearly peculiar to us, are almost, or quite ruined. In these articles alone, we suffer more than all the states south of New-York do, from all sorts of losses. Our trade in salted provisions has also met a great check, and would have been ruined if Britain had begun the war in earnest, which

she never did till now. Next season we must kill our cattle as the South Americans do, for their hides and tallow, and abandon their flesh to the birds of prey.

While we thus suffer more than any other people from the loss upon our products, we pay four or five times our fair part of the expenses of the war, or at least of the present taxes.

This is because we are much greater consumers (in proportion to our numbers) of articles subject to taxation.

Thus there are one million and more of slaves, who are duly represented in Congress, and yet they consume no taxable articles; but a poor inhabitant of Barnstable county, or of the province of Maine, if they are a little weakly, and want a cup of tea, must pay the double duty of 25 cents a pound.

So on all spirits we pay 60 cents a gallon, but the southern people make their own spirits, and pay nothing. I see Mr. Quincy proposed to put the same tax on their whiskey, which they rejected. They like the Union, but they do not like equality; they like the war, but we must pay for it.

So when the direct taxes come, if the whole was to be raised upon the polls, a poll tax every year in our state, would be 44 dollars a head; yet in the southern states, their black labourers are not counted as polls, and the tax must there be levied on the rich planter.

The war is therefore much more heavily felt here than there, even when the burdens are fairly proportioned.

While we in Massachusetts have been suffering in our shipping, ship building, fisheries, lumber trade, and country products, while houses and stores, and wharves as I am told, in the towns, are falling in value every hour, the southern states have been enriched beyond all measure, since the war. Their flour, and rice, and wheat, have been sold at prices higher than was ever known, and so cunning are they, and so afraid is President Madison of making them opposed to the war, that after all his parade and angry speeches about Britain's licenses to carry their flour, it evaporated in smoke, and Congress rose, without forbidding that thing which the President represented as so naughty. Why so? Why, because it would be as much as his life would be worth, to forbid those high spirited Virginians to send out their flour even to the British armies. But he can make the cool and calculating yankees give up their trade, and even their last coat without danger of losing his popularity.

What made the war operate more cruelly on us, was, that 100,000 of our population, are supplied with bread stuff from the southern states, and we had to pay them these enormous prices, so that they have been enriched at our expense.

This, brother farmers, will explain to you, why the southern representatives all continue to vote for war, though the cause of war is removed.

7thly. What may be the effect upon us, of the late disasters of the French in Russia?

I never can think of the vast successes of the Russians, and the total overthrow of the French armies, without mixed feelings of fear and pleasure, gratitude to God, and admiration for that distant, but wonderful people.

When I consider that for twenty years, success had always attended the arms of Bonaparte, except in Egypt; that he had often subdued powerful nations in one campaign, I cannot but look upon the late total destruction of his army, as a signal interposition of divine providence. That a nation on the borders of Asia, thirteen hundred miles from France, should have been made the instrument of the liberation of the world, bespeaks something more than human contrivance. It must have been God, who hardened the heart of the French Emperor, and emboldened him to penetrate with all his forces, into the centre of Russia. It must have been the same divine power, which so blinded his usual faculties, as to induce him to stay at Moscow, until the severity of the season rendered his retreat desperate. It must have been HIM who inspired the Russian generals and soldiers, with the heroism which they displayed—who gave speed to their horses, vigour to their arms, and courage to their hearts.

I cannot but rejoice, that the invader has been humbled, and the oppressed relieved. I wish I was not obliged to make a comparison of the events in Europe with those which have passed in our own country. We made a diversion of the British force, just at the critical moment when Bonaparte would have asked us so to do. Just as he attacked Russia, the same month, and almost the same day, I believe the very same, we declared war against the king of Great-Britain, who was three thousand miles off, and did not know it for two months afterwards. We also invaded his provinces, but those provinces were under much greater disadvantage than Russia was. She was prepared, Cana-

da was not. Russia is as populous as France. Canada is thirty times less populous than the United States.

The interposition of divine providence against us, and in favour of Canada, was therefore more striking. The case of General Hull alone, is a proof of it. That man was as proud as Pharaoh. He told the Canadians he came to overwhelm them—that if they submitted, they should be free—if they defended their estates, he should punish them severely; he even added, if a certain class of the inhabitants of the British territory, should be found fighting, he would give no quarter, which means that he would murder them in cold blood. God hardened his heart, as he led Pharaoh into the Red Sea, and swallowed him up, and all his host, so he delivered General Hull and all his host, into the power of a hand-full of British troops.

If any man should be disposed to deny that the hand of Providence is manifest in this thing, let him consider the loss of two other powerful armies, which have since been delivered up to a foe, whose numbers are so small that their achievements are little short of miracles. If it be asked what I say to our naval successes? I answer—There we are not invaders—but the successes at sea are transient, and will not avail us against the force our enemy will have on our coast, in thirty days. Our triumphs are nearly over. Heaven will never, I believe, prosper us in this war.

But I ask, what is to become of us if Bonaparte makes peace, as he talks of doing with Britain? Will he include us as his allies? Or will he leave us to fight it out alone? We may not be conquered, but when all the British force is liberated in Europe, the conflict between us will be a dreadful one, too dreadful for such a cause. Even if peace is not made between the European powers, France may withdraw her troops from Spain, and Lord Wellington and his veteran army, who have beaten the French wherever they fought them, may be sent to fight General Dearborn, and some raw recruits.

As a sober man, I cannot but lament the folly of declaring war, and the still greater madness, in persisting in it after its cause was wholly removed.

8thly. What ought a plain honest farmer to do, to contribute his mite towards a peace? in other words, what is the quiet, natural, easy road to peace, commerce, and prosperity?

We who live out of the busy world, are apt to think that it is of no consequence to public affairs what we think or do. Never was a greater mistake—The question of war and peace in the next Congress may turn upon the vote of one single obscure farmer, in Oxford County in Maine, in Barnstable, or Norfolk, or Bristol.

A soldier in an army might as well reason in the same manner, and therefore run off in a battle, and if all his neighbours reasoned in the same way, it would be as bloodless a victory to the enemy as general Hull's. A little wheel in a watch, or a complicated machine, might as well be taken out without disturbing the movements, as a man, a private obscure man, can be permitted to live in the neglect of his political duties.

In three counties in this state, in the late election of members of Congress, there was either no choice, or a friend to the war was elected by a majority of some twenty or thirty votes. Now if one farmer in each town had not neglected his duty, all the members in the next Congress from this state would have been in favor of peace, and as Congress will now be so nearly balanced it is probable that this alone might have given us peace.

It is the same with the state elections—If this great and powerful state of Massachusetts should re-elect Governor Strong with an increased majority, it will satisfy Mr. Madison that it is in vain to think of carrying on the war. For indeed in a free Government how can a war prosper, to which the people in whom all power resides are opposed? So if the Senate should continue in the war interest as it did last year, what will Mr. Madison say? He will say "the Legislature of Massachusetts is divided—The upper house is in favor of war and of my measures, I am therefore safe." But if this great state and New-York, which is as much opposed to the war as we are, should unite, and respectfully tell the general Government that they must have peace, that their people called for it, do you think they would refuse to make peace? No, not one hour, not if we were determined.

Why, New-York and Massachusetts together make nearly two millions of souls, and there are not more than six million whites in all the United States.

If Norfolk, Bristol, Barnstable, Cumberland, and Essex, choose peace Senators, we may look upon the war at an end. I cannot believe Mr. Madison mad enough, against such a force, to continue it—The road to peace then is through the coming elections, and every man ought to feel and act as if the war or peace depended on his one vote, for it may so turn out, since the