

THE WILMINGTON GAZETTE.

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WILMINGTON, N. C. TUESDAY, October 11, 1808.

[13TH YEAR.]

In this week's paper is commenced the publication of Mr. Gaston's address to the voters of the counties of Wayne, Green, Lenoir, Jones, Craven and Carteret; for election of President and Vice-President of the United States; we also lay before the public the address of his competitor General Bryan Whitfield. Both candidates stand high in the estimation of all parties. Measures and not men should be the criterion of our decision, accordingly as we approve or condemn the measures of the late administration; should our votes be given for Gov. Adams, or Gen. Brown. If a change of measures is desirable a change of men can alone produce it, if an adherence to the present system is wished for, then let your suffrages claim Gov. Ashe to the electoral seat.

The object of the present crisis is momentous beyond expression. The happiness, and perhaps the very existence of our union hangs suspended on the issue. It is our sincere wish and honest determination, from which nothing shall make us swerve—that the public mind should, on the present occasion receive every information, that so important an exertion of man's intellect and exertions can procure and present. Fellow-Citizens, be deceived by no one, this is a time when you should pin your faith on no man's sleeve; arouse the energies of your nature, and call into action the reason which benign heaven has endowed you, not that it should sleep in slumbering insensibility; but that you should honestly use it for the great purposes of self-government and domestic happiness. cattle were created to be driven this way or that, according to the caprice of the herdsman; but it is the high prerogative of man, his noble elevation above brute matter, to think for himself—that reason should be *acta stampa* to his feet, and as a light to his path." Read, compare, & inwardly digest all the facts and fair arguments with which opposing politicians may wish to impress your minds, and set like our venerated Washington, who on all important questions alternately heard all that could be said by each of his council, reserving his own judgment to the last, and forming it from an impartial and comprehensive view of the whole ground, and then your verdict will be, like his, correct and sanitary, and under God, we trust will eventuate as he did, in the salvation of our country.

(CIRCULAR)

TO
THE FREEMEN
OF THE COUNTIES OF
Carteret, Craven, Jones, Green, Wayne
and Lenoir.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,
On the second Friday in November next, and such days preceding that period as are prescribed by law for holding separate Elections, you are to elect a person to vote for a President and Vice-President of the United States, for four years commencing the fourth of March next.

Having at the two last elections been honoured by you with that appointment, I think it a duty to offer you my services again.

I have heretofore voted for Thomas Jefferson as President. Under his administration we have been relieved from many burthenome and oppressive Taxes; the pay of a numerous host of Officers to collect them; the expence of a number of unnecessary Courts and their Officers, and from Laws calculated to silence our murmuring against the oppression under which we labored. These measures, I flatter myself, have been generally approved of by you; But as it has not been in the power of his Administration (without recommending a temporary suspension of our foreign commerce) to prevent European tyrants from oppressing us by impelling our citizens into their service—taking our vessels and property on the seas, at their pleasure, and without any regard to our rights as an independent and neutral nation, he is now calumniated by many. But as he has long since signified and declared his determination to retire from office, it is with you and the public to select and vote for another person to fill it.

I am informed there are several Candidates for the Office, (to-wit) James Madison, James Monroe, George Clinton and Charles Coeworth Pinckney.—Knowing that I am not infallible, I cannot save the vanity to censure the talents or integrity of either of these gentlemen.

James Madison is a native of Virginia, known in the prime of life; his talents and integrity I have never heard disputed, until since he has become a Candidate for the Presidency in his character I have closely attended to for twenty years past, and am so well convinced of his abilities

as a Statesman—the attachment for, and earnest desire for the welfare and independence of his country, that the bitter calumny of his enemies, makes no impression on my mind:—I shall, therefore, if elected, undoubtedly without any reservation, vote for him as President; and George Clinton, Vice-President.

I have underrated that an opposition is raised in this District to the election of these gentlemen, by some individuals who wish to elevate Charles Coeworth Pinckney to the Presidency. That this gentleman may have abilities, I grant; it has been thirty years since my first acquaintance with him, but before I can believe his talents equal to Mr. Madison's, I must be furnished with other proofs than what I have yet seen or heard. But admit I may be mistaken in his talents, yet I cannot bring myself to vote for him when I find among his warmest friends, all the advocates for the obnoxious measures of Adams' Administration, (to-wit) The Slave and Sedition Law, the Direct, Stamp, Still and other internal taxes, &c. &c.—at the Supreme Court, with a host of Judges, made at midnight to enjoy the salaries allotted them. All these things remain fresh in my memory, and I make no doubt, Fellow-Citizens, many of you also recollect them:

That you may maturely weigh the great importance of your suffrages, on this occasion, and finally bestow them so as to ensure the election of a President, who will discharge the duties of that office in the manner most conducive to the welfare of our common country, is the sincere wish of your old Friend, and Fellow-Citizen.

BRYAN WHITFIELD.

SPRING-HILL, J.

Sept. 17th, 1808.

TO
THE FREEMEN
OF
THE COUNTIES OF
WAYNE, GREEN, LENOIR, JONES,
CRAVEN AND CARTERET.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

This period is fast approaching; when you will be called on to select some one of your body, as an Elector, to vote for a President and Vice-President of the United States. It has long since been announced that a very respectable gentleman, General Bryan Whitfield, was solicitous to receive this high and important trust. Deem me not presumptuous in expressing the wish that you would consider me also as a candidate for the appointment.

Anxious that my conduct should be marked with that frankness which is ever due to Freemen, but which ought more especially to be observed on occasions of great moment, I have to request your attention to an explicit declaration of the motives by which I am influenced in thus presenting myself to your notice—the sentiments which I entertain in relation to the internal prosperity of the Union—and of the course which, if noted by a majority of your suffrages, I shall deem it my duty to pursue.

If the appointment in question were, like many others, a mere testimonial of personal esteem bestowed on one whom you delighted to honour, and whose merits and services presented a claim on your gratitude, far would it be for me to enter on this occasion, the lists of competition with General Whitfield. But as its sole object is the election of a person to declare in your names, who ought to fill the two highest offices in the National Government; it is obvious that your choice should fall on him, whose suffrage will probably be given to the nobler characters—to those of whom you most approve. General Whitfield has pledged himself, if elected, to vote for James Madison of Virginia, as President of the United States. If in your judgment Mr. Madison is properly qualified for this all important office, if you believe that his administration will tend to secure the peace, the honor, the harmony, and permanent welfare of your country, a sense of duty as well as a proper regard for your own interests, ought undoubtedly to induce you to promote his elevation. If on the contrary, after deliberate reflection and the use of such means of information as are within your reach, you should be convinced, that he is destitute of some qualifications absolutely essential, and should seriously apprehend that his administration might not only jeopardise the best interests, but perhaps endanger the independent existence of the nation, it would be an act of treason against yourselves, to lend your aid in placing him in the Presidential Chair. I am one of those who conscientiously entertain the belief, and deeply feel the apprehension just expressed. I have stored them in those around me, and discovered that they

thought and felt with me. I have enquired into the general sentiment of the district, and found reason to believe it was not unlike my own. Under these circumstances, an opposition to the Candidate, who if chosen would unquestionably vote for Mr. Madison, becomes the bounden duty of every individual amongst us. I could assign no reason for declining the task, which might not have been assigned by every other. Much therefore as I wished the part allotted to one of greater weight of character and of more personal influence, I have complied with the wishes of respectable friends, and resolved on the tender of my services.

That the office of President of the United States, is of high dignity and consequence, all of us know; perhaps however, there are many who do not perceive the complete extent of its importance and active influence. A full examination of this subject is forbidden by the necessary limits of this address. One remark, however, may suffice to make even on the most thoughtless minds, a serious impression. The Federal Government has been in operation nineteen years, during which time we have had no President, and it may be pointed out, in which any im-

portant measure that the President, for the time being, was known to have at heart, has not been adopted and carried into full effect. Whether it proceed from the very nature of the power constitutionally vested in the Executive Magistrate—from his right of solely negotiating with foreign nations, and with the aid of the Senate, forming treaties which are to be the laws of the land—from his privilege of communicating to Congress information on the state of the Union, and recommending to them such measures as he shall deem expedient and necessary—from his influence in nominating to every important national appointment, civil and military—or whether it proceed from the great weight of character, which his elevation by the unbiased suffrages of millions of Republicans, to so pre-eminent a station naturally conveys, and from an excessive confidence reposed in him by the members of the Legislature, and by the people who have so recently elected him—certain it is that the President always hitherto has been, and it is probable always will continue to be the prime mover, the main spring of the government.—His opinions, his views, his designs, pervade the mass, animate, direct, and almost control the whole. Whether these things should be so, it is not now necessary to enquire. This is the reflection which I wish them to enforce. How exalted, how perfect, should be the intellectual, the moral, the personal qualifications of the man chosen for this all important office! What caution ought to be exercised by freemen, lest they improperly confide a trust that so essentially involves all which can be dear to them on earth!

To ascertain with exact precision Mr. Madison's claims to the Presidency, is an undertaking to which I advance no pretensions. Yet, I feel it a duty incumbent on me, to avow the opinions which I have deliberately formed of his character, and which are at least entitled to the credit of exemption from personal dislike or of strong party prejudice. With Mr. Madison as a writer, I have long been familiarized in the perusal of no small degree of commendation. They bespeak a mind of natural acuteness, conversant with theories of government, fraught with metaphysical learning, ably stored with historical knowledge. His style is perspicuous, neat, often elegant, and not deficient in energy.—That Mr. Madison too, is a gentleman of mild temper, pleasing deportment, and personal integrity, I have always heard and believed. Such qualifications as these, are certainly not lightly to be valued. They give him a claim to the respect and good will of his fellow-men.—They fit him for many useful and durable stations in life, for a professor in a University, a co-advisor in a political controversy, a writer of State Papers, or a framers of legislative resolutions.

But, when these are advanced as just pretensions to the Chief Magistracy of the United States, I cannot but feel the vast insufficiency of the claim, nor easily repress my astonishment at the extravagance of party zeal and indiscriminate admiration. The momentous duties of that exalted station require talents of a nature far different from those which would become a preceptor in his chair, an author in his closet, a chairman of a legislative committee, or even a Secretary of State. George Washington could not perhaps model a sentence to the same critical exactness, or write a controversial treatise with the same subtlety as James Madison. But he possessed that strong natural good sense, that commanding and comprehensive mind, that practical knowledge of men both in their individual and collective capacities, and that invincible firmness of nerves, which marked him as one destined by his Creator to watch over the interests and to wield the strength of the nation. For all these qualities we may look in vain in James Madison. Timid and irresolute, his administration would degenerate of that energy and decided-

which should characterize the executive branch of government. Acquainted with mankind more from books than from observation, more conversant with the theories of political projectors than habituated to think and judge for himself, better fitted to engage in the contentions of party controversies, than to form liberal and practical plans of policy, he would often I fear, by the lapse of diplomatic finesse, often sacrifice the plenary interests of the nation, to visionary schemes of fancied good, and often be perplexed with refined speculations, till the moment of prompt and vigorous action, was gone never to return.

Deficient however as I believe Mr. Madison is in the great qualities that ought to be found in a President of the United States, it is not the deficiency which forms my strongest objection to his appointment. It is avowed by his supporters that he will steadily pursue that path which has been marked out by Mr. Jefferson, and that from him may confidently be expected a perseverance in that system of measures by which the profligate and revolting to our feelings—information, as the *encyclopedia* observed by our rulers will permit me to obtain, I have formed the deliberate judgment, that the evils of our present condition have in no small degree resulted from the timid, feeble, serving, and partial views of those intrusted with the management of our affairs, and that unless a radical change take place, these evils will be aggravated into calamities, and our distresses terminate in ruin. Whether they have been influenced by a blind sympathy to Britain; unworthy statesmen who should regard all foreign powers with an equal and impartial eye; or by an infatuated attachment to France; of which Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison are both naturalized citizens, and from the literary societies of which they have both received the *laissez faire* of attention, not a little gratifying to their vanity; whether it be that they really entertained no jealousy but of British maritime superiority, or that they sought by every constitutive act to propitiate the gigantic conqueror whom they abhorred to submit to, and who already boasts that he "directs the interests of America"; their system appears to me distinctly marked by an unmanly spirit of irritation to the one nation, and a still more unmanly spirit of concession to the other. From the multitude of facts on which I found this opinion, let me bring to your recollection a few of the most prominent. Every wrong committed by British cruisers on our commerce, and in truth too many, have been committed with impunity, with all the arts of disingenuous rhetoric. Every claim advanced by us, or not acceded to by the British government, on the subject of neutral privileges, has been magnified into fictitious importance; while the just complaints on their sides, with respect to the stores held forth by us to tempt the desertion of their seamen, and the frauds of our covering carrying trade, have been passed with an silent ear. The treaty formed at London by Munroe and Pinckney has been rejected by the President, upon bare inspection, without an opportunity afforded to the Senate, his constitutional concurrence.

France! In the session of 1803—1804, we were informed by the President that Spain, then notoriously the vassal of France, had sanctioned the most infamous depredations on our commerce, had refused to adjust the limits of Louisiana, and had entered with an armed force, the known territory of the United States, seized and carried off several of our citizens. Congress sat for weeks with closed doors and the public expectation was raised to the highest pitch. The secret session terminated, and what was its result—an appropriation of two millions of dollars for the mysterious purposes of foreign intercourse! It was whispered that the object of this appropriation was the purchase of the Floridas. Such was the ostensible object, but if you wish to learn the main design of our rulers, listen to the language of Mr. Madison himself, as twice declared on the floor of Congress and in the face of the world, by a gentleman of unquestionable veracity, Mr. John Randolph, and never contradicted either by Mr. Madison or by any one under his authority: "Mr. Madison said to me," said Mr. Randolph, that France "would not permit Spain to settle her differences with us. France wanted money and "we must give it her or take both at once & Spanish war." It was then in his power to bully Spain not to invade us, that the appropriation of two millions was asked for and voted, and this was the mode in which the national resentment was manifested—in November 1806, at Berlin the capital of his late ally, but then subjugated by the King of Prussia, finished with conquest and disdaining the semblance of moderation. Napoleon issued his joint-edict, proclaiming the British Dominion in a state of blockade, and of consequence banishing against every neutral ship going to or returning from them, those penalties of confiscation