

TO THE "REPUBLICAN."

In the true spirit of a Castigator, I shall begin by applying the lash of a just and too lenient correction to the end of the "Republican." It is from that part of him such a corrupted stream of vile and filthy matter must have come. There must reside, as light in the dark Cimmerian caves, a plentiful scarcity of miserably poor brains; not enough to allow him to grope with any success through the barren regions of his intellectual darkness. I shall not mount to the head, for there, alas, what a vacuum should I find! a thick scull to batter against, giving only a sullen sound, to tell that all was hollow within;—nor would I stop at his heart, for that is indurated by cruelty, and green cankered by malignity. On the threshold of this castigation, I pause at the greatness of my labour; for if great crimes require great severity, I fear the feebleness of my arm is not adequate to the punishment of this enormous transgressor.

When I saw a person with an arm-full of literary matter, in the form of pamphlets, depositing them in a store, now, said I, if a soul hungers after knowledge, here is a cornucopia of it—most abundantly has the divinity of wisdom poured it out with prodigal profusion. Eager to avail myself of this happy incident, I called for one—found it an electioneering essay; and from its price, 25 cents, conducive not so much to enlighten our understandings, as to lighten our purses. A quarter of a dollar I did not regard, so anxious was I to hear what answer a nominal republican could make to the resistless arguments, conveyed with all the ingenuousness of candor, sweetness of temper, and beauty of style, of a real republican. The signature which the abuser of Mr. Gaston (for I cannot suppose him to enter the lists of a political tournament with Mr. G.) has dared to assume, is the imposing one of a "Republican." This attracted the attention of the democratic party in this town, who doubly exulted at the hopes, (fallacious hopes) that he whose eloquence, borne along with the strong arm of truth, had made them tremble at the Pantheon of democracy was tottering, and in its fall would tumble down ruin upon its infatuated worshippers, clinging to its baseless columns, by them denominated the champion of federalism, was now to meet his overthrow from their Brogdinagian Republican. They read it with avidity, and having nothing better as a text book, seem to forget their ponderous Circular, and to espouse this light Manual.

The bell rings, the curtain draws, and lo! this Thinker Republican comes on the stage, hammering away and like his original Gutierkin, makes two holes while he is blundering to mend one. Listen to him, while as Actus says, with no more eloquence than a bag of sand, nor more truth than lies in a cockleshell, he declares,

"France wants money and we must give it to her, or take both a French and Spanish war," is a gross perversion.—These were not the words of Mr. Madison. Mr. Gaston says, "this was never contradicted either by Mr. Madison, or by any one under his authority." This assertion must be met by a flat contradiction. It was contradicted on the floor of Congress, and under the express authority of Mr. Madison. Immediately after the charge was made by Mr. Randolph, Mr. Jackson, the son-in-law of Mr. Madison, applied to him for an explanation of the affair. The next day, or a very short time after, Mr. Jackson stated to Congress, that in a late conversation between Mr. Randolph and Mr. Madison, on the subject of our relations with France, the latter observed, that Buonaparte must be under great pecuniary embarrassments, [this was just before the battle of Austerlitz] from the prosecution of the war with Russia; that "France must have money, therefore, that now would be a good time to purchase the Floridas."—For this statement, the public are indebted to Mr. Wm. Blackledge. How do the mists of error vanish into air, into thin air, before the sun of truth!

Oh miserable juggler who attempt to play such fantastic tricks, without knowing how to make your puppets dance. An Automaton without wire would perform better. In the name of all that's unhappy, how could you introduce Mr. Madison's son-in-law to convict the father of his own wife. Shocking depravity, that thirsts so after the blood of reputation, that when an enemy fails will pounce as a substitute, on the character of a friend. If Mr. Madison must be condemned, you should spare the son from passing sentence on the father. Read again this luminous extract from the Republican; shall I not insult your understanding by pointing out the ridiculous light in which the Republican has placed himself, Mr. Madison and his son-in-law? For those who are not gifted with a facility of penetration, I will endeavor to make it plainer, not by begging assistance from my A. B. C. &c. but from common sense. Mr. Jackson from his near connection with Mr. Madison, and probably from an exalted opinion of his worth, could not hear the charge of Mr. Randolph, without sensations of resentment and a determination of enquiring into it, and explaining to the public, before whom the charge was made, the unperverted truth; not doubting that Mr. M. by it would be exonerated from any possible censure. With this in view, he called on Mr. Randolph. The fruits of this conversation he lays before the public in the words quoted. What an explanation to so heinous a charge! Does Mr. Jackson openly assert, or even covertly insinuate that Mr. Randolph recanted one

atom of his charge against his father-in-law, the secretary of state. Does he say that Mr. Randolph qualified his public declarations by any private emollients? Does he on the part of the secretary deny the political sin charged on him by Mr. Randolph? What then are we to conclude, but that Mr. R. at the interview, according to the natural heroism of his mind, persisted in the declaration he had made on the floor of congress, to which, being true, Mr. Jackson could not object; but Mr. R. allowed the expression detailed by Mr. J. in congress, to be given, as it no way affected the truth of what he had said, but was only a previous part of the conversation between himself and Mr. M. This conversation was abruptly ended, on the assertion of Mr. M. "that France wanted money and we must give it, or have both a French and Spanish war," by Mr. R. His patriot ear could no longer listen to such ignominious, tributary strains. He scorned the proffered meanness, and from that moment opposed with spirit, decision and effect, an administration that had neither spirit nor decision, and felt disposed to sacrifice our noble victim American honor, at the shrine and on the altar of an insatiable and unrelenting Monster. At this period Mr. R. was high in the confidence of the executive; his Burke-like eloquence was required to support and carry through the measures of the cabinet—but it was a glorious error to suppose his towering independence would stoop under the paws of the Corsican Tyger; it was a shameful effort to attempt to divert a fountain of pure and wholesome water, into the polluted channels of French bribery. Mr. Jackson's explanation doubtless occupied the first part of the conversation which Mr. M. had with Mr. R. the then champion of administration, and when he perceived that he was listened to with attention, the wily Secretary gradually unfolded the denouement of his political drama, till the conclusion terminated in this most tragic catastrophe, the bending of American independence under Buonaparte's arrogance.

The next subject which this "Despot-Republican" treats of, the two millions of dollars: hear his words, for whatever an authority he assumes as authority, the responsibility of it he assumes upon himself.

FROM THE ALBANY REGISTER.

"The story of the two millions of bribe to Buonaparte, completely refuted: on an abominable lie, detected and exposed by official documents; but the liars will neither feel remorse nor acknowledge conviction. On the contrary we expect their hardness in villainy will set even his damning evidence at defiance, and that in spite of the injunctions of religion, the dictates of honor, and the voice of conscience, they will still continue to wallow in the filth of falsehood, and the mire of infamy."

I was about venting the torrent of a worthy indignation against the reptile-writer that could evacuate for himself or another, such reptile stuff as the above. Who could have so great baseness as to call Mr. Gaston a liar, a villain, regardless of the dictates of religion and honor, of the voice of conscience, and as still wallowing in the filth of falsehood and the mire of infamy." In writing these lines as if knowing his occupation, my pen, generally unencumbered, choked with the black dregs of the bottom of the ink bottle, and the conscious ink assumes a blacker hue. Nature in remunerating kindness usually where she leaves the head empty, makes the heart full—what is deficient of the understanding, is compensated by the goodness of the temper, but the Republican does not seem to deserve even the pitiful title of a "good natured fool," for he unites the venom of a rattlesnake with the silliness of a goose—hissing like them both. I should say that you must know, did I not perceive an utter detestation of knowledge or principle in your pamphlet, that allowing the letters of Gallatin & Bourne to be correct, and leaving it to "Actus" to animadvert on the impropriety and singularity of the mode in which they are communicated, yet they prove nothing more than that as far as these gentlemen have official knowledge, they declare that the two millions have not been drawn from the treasury, but can they say that no monies have not been drawn from Holland to pay to France, or that no loan has been made in Holland, authorized by the president, on the credit of the United States, to make up the sum of two millions? Do they prove that if nothing has been drawn from the treasury, that congress did not appropriate it for the unworthy motives disclosed by Mr. Madison, when he mistook his man? Do they prove that that sum was not offered to Napoleon, who refused it, because it was not enough? Do they contradict the statement of "Decius" a signature under which Mr. Randolph has usually written, that money was actually sent by Mr. Skipwith in the Hornet to l'orient in France, and thence carried to Paris? What then do they prove? that executive measures may be so secretly conducted, that even the secretary and register of the treasury may not know it!

The next defence which the "republican" sets up for his darling administration is that they have not been guilty of partiality to France, of tameness to her insults, and a kind of acquiescence, as far as bearing with them constitutes it, in her insolent decrees.

"At the time of passing the Berlin Decree, the minister of exterior relations, Talleyrand, was with Buonaparte in Prussia: on this account the American minister at Paris, on his appearing, applied to the minister of Marine, M. Decres, to know whether it was intended to affect American commerce. M. Decres, in reply, concludes,—but that it will be proper that your Excellency should communicate with the minister of exterior relations as to what concerns the correspon-

dence of the citizens of the United States of America with England."

Here, by the Republican's counter statement, as he calls it, it appears that eleven months had elapsed from the passing of the Berlin decree, to the time when Mr. Armstrong wrote to the Prince of Benevento.—Was Prussia at such a distance, that it took eleven months for Mr. Armstrong only to write to him? And indeed our profound and sagacious minister never dreamed that positive words without an exception, could have any positive meaning without an exception, until "Spain, at the intimation of Bonaparte, had passed a decree similar to that of Berlin. Under this decree, several American vessels had been carried into the ports of Spain. But the Spanish courts had not proceeded to trial, not being willing, perhaps afraid to do so, until they should be informed of Bonaparte's exposition of the Berlin decree."

The grand Judge, Regnier, in reply to the Minister of Marine, writes under date of September, 1807: "His majesty notifies me, that since he had not thought proper to make any exception in his decree, there is no ground to make any in the execution, with regard to any thing whatsoever." Ludicrous to call that an exposition which their grand Judge, or their grander Emperor, declares needed none: Nor will the excuse be admitted, that because its condemnation had taken place, that of course the decree was to be acquiesced in. Pray, Mr. "Republican," if a person whom you knew was apt to do what he threatened, was to issue an edict that he would pull your nose, would you rest under an explanation from his necessary man, that his master did not intend any injury to your face, until you had nasal proof of his enforcing his unrevoked edict? But I wish to close this castigation, as I am tired and disgusted with the subject I am operating upon. While you justify the President for taking no notice of the information that came through the newspapers or private letters, of the villainous conduct of Napoleon, and the black ministers of his wrath, yet not a word of condemnation escapes your pen for his paying so much attention to the private unofficial letters which informed him not that England had actually promulgated her odious "orders of council," but was going to do so.—How stands the President? When France had in violation of an express treaty solemnly ratified, as well as of the general bond of equity which should regulate nations, for months outraged every principle of friendship and right, Mr. Jefferson was quiescent: But when unofficial communications informed that England, who was bound by no treaty to us, intended to pass her "orders," immediately before Congress the business is laid, and an embargo is forced through—for in the words of their brazen idol, John Quincy Adams, "it was the time not to deliberate, but to act; and in more homely words, it was the time for the exercise of such folly as it is less first and look afterwards."—We have leapt with a vengeance—and for such men to begin with a meteor wandering lawless through the skies, and end with a putrid exhalation, as John Quincy Adams and the "Republican," are we indebted for that "tremendous expedient, the Embargo."

Mr. Jefferson could not do less than lug in the French actual atrocities, when he presented the English intended ones. In how pleasant a dilemma would our government have been in, should the English privy council have changed their minds about the issuing the "orders" and instead of promulgating them, as Mr. Jefferson's correspondent assured him they would, had, from some good reason never let them see the light—an embargo against orders which had never been issued!

I will now take my leave with a very few words, Mr. Republican; I know you only in the capacity of a political anonymous writer, and excuse me if I say that as such your capacity is small—in your individual character, you may be a stay and comfort to an aged parent, a protector and husband to an amiable woman, or a kind and provident father to helpless and interesting infants. If you do exercise any of these tender charities of human life, it is indeed to be lamented that you interrupted, so laudable and delightful an occupation for the ungracious and unfit one of a political controversialist. If you are one of that very useful, respectable and usually well informed body, called mechanics; it is a pity you should leave a trade in which you may be of some use, for a profession, in which nature by giving you too violent a temper and too little intellect, never intended you should shine. Take wit in your anger and believe a real friend, for he gives you good advice in a wholesome correction to which he will add nothing more than a postscript in the next paper) and retire to the labor of your business—but if in spite of counsel, you obstinately persist to be a politician, I conclude by giving you the wish of Holofernes "Gbd comfort thy capacity."

CASTIGATOR.

To the Freemen of the districts of Wilmington, and county of Sampson.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

We have witnessed without apprehension the attempts made by the federal party to influence your conduct at the ensuing election. We perceive in their abuse of the administration, nothing but a stale repetition of what has already been so often charged and refuted. The two millions of dollars—Mr. Madison's expression that "France wanted money and must have it"—hatred of England—these fellow-citizens are the unfounded and mi-

seable arguments made use of to induce you to change your principles. At a time when the independence of your country is most powerfully assailed, and when common sense and common patriotism alike call on you to aid and support the measures adopted to maintain it, the virtue of these politicians consists in attempting to weaken the effect of those measures by holding up the government to the view of our enemies as an object of contempt and abhorrence!

We will not insult your understandings by going a second time into a minute inspection of the calumnies that have been invented to mislead you. The two millions of dollars are still in the treasury—Mr. Madison's expression was explained to the satisfaction of Congress by Mr. Jackson two days after it was repeated by Randolph—and as to the hatred of England, you all know with what perfect confidence of public approbation and support, the executive might have involved us in a war with that nation, immediately after the affair of the Chesapeake.

But why do we go even into this short detail? Is not the whole system of what is now called federalism a tissue of weakness and inconsistency, a mere contest for office and power independent of every other consideration? At one time we see its advocates flaming with all the zeal of patriotism while the blood of their countrymen was yet fresh in their memories, and the feelings of humanity could not be resisted—there was no sacrifice too great to rectify their repentment—no deprivation which they would not cheerfully sustain to obtain satisfaction for the murder, and security from future assault for those who yet remained alive and unrepelled. How admirably have their professions been verified! In a few short months what a wonderful reform of sentiment! In proportion as the bones of the poor sailors crumbled into dust, how gradually did other opinions and other views steal upon their humane and enlightened imaginations? Let us never forget fellow-citizens, that at this moment of national embarrassment and distress so far from acting up to these professions, they assailed the government of their country with every epithet of invective and abuse, and did all in their power to render it unpopular at home and degraded and contemptible abroad—such appears to be the federalism of the present day, destroying what it avows to defend and battering on the very misfortunes it professes to deplore!

Let us not be underfoot to mean that General Brown or his immediate advocate are actuated by such principles as these. Possessing such interest as they generally do in the welfare of the country, it would be idle to suppose that they did not feel the same desire as we do for its happiness and prosperity. To them we would merely suggest, that it is possible they may be a little mistaken in the views they have taken of public measures. At least they will not deny that the opinions of such men as Mr. Adams our last federal President, and of his son, of William L. Smith of South-Carolina, and of General Pinckney, the very individual they have selected for their next President, are entitled to some little consideration when placed in opposition to their own. We believe we do not go too far in asserting that each of the gentlemen we have named, is the strenuous advocate of the measures pursued by the present administration since the attack on the Chesapeake.

Fellow-citizens, we fear not the event. We feel the most perfect hope and confidence in your exertions. We trust in God there is yet good sense and political virtue enough in the country to save it from disunion; and that you will at the ensuing election give force and energy to the measures that have been adopted to preserve your rights and liberties, by giving your suffrages to our old and tried friend governor Ashe. Be assured that your vote on this occasion, will be to you hereafter a source of considerable enjoyment or regret.

When the present storm is blown over (and already the clouds begin to disperse) rely upon it, the question will be frequently asked—is he a republican, or did he desert the cause of his country and of freedom, when they stood most in need of his support?

A. F. MACNEILL,
THOMAS F. DAVIS,
WILLIAM GILES,
HINTON JAMES,
C. DUDLEY, Jun'r.

Republican
Committee.

Wilmington, 5th November 1808.

To the Editor of the Wilmington Gazette.

SIR,

IT sometimes happens that a cause receives deeper wounds from the ill directed efforts of its officious friends, than it is susceptible of receiving from the direct attacks of its open & avowed enemies. This observation naturally occurred to my mind on reading a tautological declamatory paper signed "Amicus;" being well assured that this composition was perused by the republicans with infinitely more satisfaction, than by the discerning portion of the