

POSTSCRIPT
TO THE "REPUBLICAN."

There is no case, in which I would more willingly exercise the *jacquin* right of dispensing with an engagement, than when the fulfillment of it, by laying aside the heart-rending task of commendation, requires the lash of severity to be inflicted, that it may hold out in *terrorem*, a *rod in scab*, for every unseamly violator of a liberal conduct, or those amiable courtesies, which sweeten the stream of human life. In my first castigation of the "Republican," my indignation was strong, and my arm fell heavy, like a skillful surgeon, I probed and cut deep into the wound, that the chance of a cure might be the more effectual. Since its appearance, conjecture has been various, and the spirit of an idle curiosity has gone abroad to discover the author of that ill advised, atrabillious and indecent communication, which has polluted and forever disgraced the columns of the last Wilmington Gazette, signed CASTIGATOR. The texture of some minds is so infinitely delicate, that the incipient swell of a lady's bosom, never fails to produce the reprehension of *dignified prudery*, and an accidental exhibition of her ankle, would throw into a similar lamentable situation with a miss F——, in a theatre at the northward, who fainted away on seeing a gentleman enter the box with *buckskin inexpressibles* on, and probably might be recovered from his *inanition*, with an ease and remedy equal to this lady's, to whose nose the application of a key was an instantaneous restorative. Indeed it is *ridiculous* to see a man affect the *squeamishness* of a *prude*: tho' like her also, his thoughts may run too often on what he is ashamed to acknowledge in public; yet loves to dwell on the secret recesses of his impure imagination. I am led to these remarks, which the "Republican" may rejoice at, as it delays, and perhaps will soften, the castigatory postscript intended for him, because I have heard that the exordium of my first castigation has been hooted out of the domicils of some gentlemen, for the reason that it was improper to be perused by ladies. It is not probable that any lady will attempt to read a long political disputatious essay. But grant, that their predominant curiosity should take a peep at this highly wrought and indelicate picture, What moral virtue will it deprive them of? What vicious tendency will it incline them to? At the worst, it can only be termed *vulgar*, which might shock a little their delicacy, but which very *shock* would be an *antidote* to its supposed horrible effect. Shakespeare, that divine poet of nature, in many of his dramas, has written with much greater plainness of expression, and yet he has prevailed in the present day, when a gentleman will prescribe the bible from the library of a lady, because it contains passages offensive to his nice palate; but the very next moment he will hand to his wife or daughters, or recommend to a circle of young ladies, some novel or romance, the purient offspring of a heated and licentious imagination! But I have done with these "*Bobbin jays*" of the male sex, and address myself to the "Republican," who may be compared to the apothecary of Shakespeare, for his business seems to be "*culling of simples*."

The Republican opens the grand drama of his political literary effusion, by quoting the following lines from Mr. Gaston's address, (indeed we must acknowledge that the "Republican" is so liberal in his quotations from Mr. G's admirable address, that we are inclined to suspect his motives to be the same with a mean writer, who published "Interesting Critique, upon Shakespeare," in which he made him bleed so copiously from his best veins, of abundant extracts of his most beautiful passages, that the work soon acquired the title of *Shakespeareana*, and had on that account a rapid sale.)

To evince how this republican unites the graces of composition with a profound geometrical knowledge, we will state the parallel he draws.

"Suppose a person living at a distance, who never saw Mr. Gaston, should publish to the world (with a preliminary that he had no pretensions to ascertain with precision,) that although he, Mr. Gaston, might be qualified to teach a country school, to write occasionally, paragraphs for newspapers, or that even had he soared so high, as to have been author of a pamphlet, yet, that all these qualifications, great as they are, would not fit him for the office of Elector!—I imagine he would enter his protest against such a decision."

Mr. Madison must at all events be proved to be a man of firmness. To accomplish this is inserted a long biographical sketch of him from the Monitor. The world should know who this biographical essayist is—To all whom it may concern, Be it now known, and never hereafter doubted, that J. B. Colvin, whom the editor of the North American, publishing the records of the Chancery Court as evidence, declares to be a recorded rogue, which said Colvin, speaking of the state of New-York, in an editorial article in the Washington Monitor of the 15th inst. declares, "I have the most conclusive convictions that N. York will display a republican, patriotic energy, that will shake off the Clinton faction, which like a worthless fungus, disfigures her political character." The said Colvin established at Washington city, a paper called the Monitor or more properly *Monitor*, under the eye, by the desire, and upon the powerful patronage of the se-

cretary of state, to supercede the editor of the National Intelligencer, whose mildness did not suit the violence, that was necessary to obtrude Mr. Madison into the presidential chair, wrote the story of Mr. Madison's life and character. 'Tis a pity he had not waited a little longer, he then would have completed the now unfinished work, by relating and deploring the political death of his patron, before he had charnted his living "apothecosis."

Read again the life of this man of vaulted nerves, and tell me Mr. "Republican," what does it prove more than an excessive timidity on the part of Mr. Madison.

Mr. Madison's first appearance in public life was in the year 1776. He was elected in the spring of that year a member of the convention of Virginia for his native county. By that convention the present government of Virginia formed, and the delegates of Virginia were instructed in the month of May of that year, to vote in Congress for a Declaration of Independence. Mr. Madison, it is said, took no part in the business of that Assembly, owing to his extreme diffidence.—He was soon afterwards appointed a member of the executive council of Virginia, and continued a member of that board until he was delegated to represent that commonwealth in the Congress which sat in the year 1779. During all this time it is not known that Mr. Madison ever made a public display of his abilities, and it is presumed he owed his advancement to the strong pledge that was made by some of our most distinguished citizens for his talents. Of that number Mr. Jefferson is believed to have been the first to distinguish, and the most active to bring into his country's service, the superior mind of Mr. Madison, whose diffidence and backwardness were such, that it is possible his services might have been lost to the nation, if the utmost efforts had not been made to draw him into the active exercise of his powers. It is believed by a gentleman who knew Mr. Madison well when he first went to Congress, that he would not, in that body, small as it was, have been able to conquer his extreme embarrassment, if it had not been for the great pressure arising from the importance of the crisis, and his being sometimes associated with men who could not, without his aid, sustain the common burthen.

In proportion as it is delightful to contemplate the modest ingenuousness of youth and talents, it is the more painful to have the reverse forced upon our eyes. The mild, the modest Madison, who in early years, though teeming with the resources of a powerful mind, could not, from excessive diffidence, be brought to support by his talents, the declaration of our independence, has lately, losing that most interesting charm to talents, modesty, forced himself by the Washington caucus, (for the acts of his immediate friends under his own eye, I consider as his own acts) given a stab to the vital and consultatious spirit of our presidential elections, from which, should he succeed, God only knows, if we can ever recover.

On the subject of Mr. M.'s being a French citizen, I shall say but a word. The fact seems generally admitted. Colvin, of the Monitor, attempted to justify it; and the "Republican" speaks of it as an honorable compliment.

From these friends of America, these defenders of the Rights of Man, it was, that Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison received the compliment of citizenship, and for which they are now accused of an undue attachment to France; forgetting that that nation is now ruled by a Monarch, and that consequently neither Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, nor any other republican, are any longer remembered.

As a mere honorary member of a literary institution, no impropriety can be attached to him: & although the receiving of so peculiar a privilege as the citizenship of a foreign country confers, which is something more than a literary honor, by admitting him to many civil immunities and some civil offices, might be inconsistent with the allegiance & duties which previously bound him to his own country; yet still I would not regard the mere fact as of any great consequence.—But when we connect with the idea that Mr. Madison is a French citizen, the fact, as I conscientiously believe it to exist, of his unvarying bias and partiality towards France, I cannot conceal the suspicions which arise, that Mr. M. though he may not be a corrupt President, will certainly be a very dangerous one.

Towards the conclusion of this farrago of nonsense, vulgar abuse and inconsistencies, we find the following brilliant effusion:—

"Fellow-citizens, of the country! You have been deceived.—Important discovery!—And you are still deceived." Consolatory communication! Now let us hear who are the deceivers. What, not a word of information on this head? You tell us, we are in danger, yet will not point out who brought us into this danger. That was not kind to your fellow-citizens. But your honor is so nice, that you will not turn informer, and your heart so overflows with the milk of human kindness, that you could not expose even your enemies. Perhaps another cause operated—that you did not like to turn state's evidence, before you were sure of a pardon and a sufficient reward for your treachery.—Here follows a truism, which bespeaks a profound knowledge of the philosophy of human nature. "Men are more easily led by their senses than their understanding." Yes, thou vile disturber of human happiness, well dost thou know that in man, passion prevails over reason; else why are your pages diled with the blood of reputation, to make sanguinary the hearts of your proselytes? "Designing,

or prejudiced men, or perhaps both, have told you, that the embargo was unnecessary; that it is oppressive, and have asked at the same time with emphasis—Do you not see it? Do you not feel it? Has it not reduced the price, and stopped the sale of your produce, and has not your property been taken in some instances, and sold by execution, for much less than its value, to pay debts, which you would never have felt but for the embargo?" Yes, we do hear, see and feel it. Not a reflective mind but seems with its horrible evils: Not a man gifted with sensation, but shrinks from its deleterious touch, and many tremble under its horror-breathing pestilence.—Yet this abominable act will not let the poor man enjoy the fruits of hard industry.—His bread is not moistened by the sweat of a cheerful and health-giving labor, but it is steeped in the bitter tears wrung from an aching heart, whose every throb weeps blood.—And yet this "Republican" dares to bring in John Quincy Adams, that profound statesman and friend to his country, as he calls him, to whom with some appropriateness might be applied, what was moral blasphemy, coming from the pen of Tom Paine, in reference to our immortal Washington: "The world will be puzzled to decide whether you are an apostate or an imposter; whether you have abandoned good principles, or whether you ever had any," as a justification of the embargo.

In a subsequent attack on Mr. Gaston, you complain that to your charges he has given no other answer than a flat contradiction. But when you tell me how an anonymous and political calumniator, who skulks behind the infamous covert of concealment, against a man, who, in broad daylight, on the eminence of conspicuous talents, steps forward in avowed and open character; solicits with candor and unassuming modesty, the suffrages of his fellow citizens, for an office at this moment the most important to his country, and in a strain of gentlemanly and irresistible eloquence, shows that his sentiments are founded on the rock of our political salvation.—When such a vile scribbler as the "Republican" assails with filth and falsehood such a character as *Gaston*, what wilder answer can he expect than a flat contradiction? Contemptuous silence would have been, perhaps, a more appropriate one.

I understand that in this town, Mr. Gaston has been censured for speaking disrespectfully of mechanics generally.—This charge, I am confident, is a calumny, against one of the gentlest dispositions, and one of the clearest minds, with which the benevolence and light of heaven has ever animated a human frame. He believes that as much good sense and general information is to be found in that class as any other; that they have political and civil rights; the same understanding to comprehend, and propriety in their conduct, as any other individuals. Mr. Madison's portrait, drawn by his own masterly hand, he must have involuntarily set to it himself for the model.

With Mr. Madison as a writer, I have long been familiar, and to the productions of his pen have been accustomed to assign no small degree of commendation. They bespeak a mind of natural acuteness, conversant with theories of government, fraught with metaphysic learning, and 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.

I had almost taken my leave without the ceremony of bidding you Mr. Tinker Republican, farewell. Your name & person I know not. I have lately heard that you are a mechanic. I am sorry for it. I feel for that very useful and respectable class of citizens, the mechanics, for the disgrace which an unworthy brother has, by indecently meddling with what he does not understand, without their consent, knowledge or fault, cast upon them. Retire to your anvil, and try to hammer out a bad spoon, and get something to fill it for the sake of your family. For your own sake, I shall expect your country will be grateful, and for your desert will be at the charge of providing for you the appropriate article of remuneration.

CASTIGATOR.

TO THE PEOPLE

Of the District of Wilmington, and County of Sampson.

In the last Gazette, I submitted to your consideration, some remarks on the condition of the country; and some observations on the propriety of testing Mr. Madison's claims to the Presidency, by a review of the course pursued by Mr. Jefferson and himself, in their administration of the general government.

The embargo being a measure more immediately, and most injuriously pressing on us, formed the principal subject of those remarks; and as it is one, which its advocates appear determined to defend, in all its consequences, it is deserving of some further notice. We have seen that it was a measure, neither necessary to extricate the administration from the embarrassment, into which their previous temporising policy had involved them; nor calculated to attain the objects, ostensibly, held out in the President's message, and reiterated by the Republican Committees, in their circular, as inducements to its adoption. Indeed I cannot suppose, either Mr. Jefferson or Mr. Madison, to be so deficient in penetration, as not to have perceived, that it was ill calculated to preserve either

seams, ships or property; and that it would rather diminish than increase our ability, successfully, to resist, by more energetic measures, any of the belligerent powers, that might ultimately become our enemy. Some other object or motive, must, therefore, have produced the measure. If not, why were our eastern and western states, interdicted their accustomed trade with the neighboring settlements of England and Spain? Or why were not the vessels of other nations permitted to take off our surplus produce? Neither of these indulgences would have subjected our property of any description, to the hazard of capture under the decrees of *Napoleon*, or the orders of the British King. But, more especially, why were we not ourselves permitted to export, by the employment of our own shipping, upwards of thirty millions of dollars, in value, of domestic produce, in a course of trade which our merchants had been in the habit of pursuing, and which they might have continued, notwithstanding these decrees and orders. That we might, with safety, have exported articles of domestic growth to this amount, which is upwards of three fourths of what we annually shipped, when we had an open trade, was made evident by a statement of Mr. Key, a representative in Congress, from the state of Maryland. It is true, the republican committee, have undertaken to doubt the correctness of this gentleman's opinions and inferences.—They tell us, that he is better versed in principles of law, than in principles of commerce; and by a hypothetical exhibit of their own, and a course of fallacious reasoning, they have endeavored to establish the truth of their remark, and the incorrectness of his statement. I will not pretend to decide on the information comparatively possessed by Mr. Key and these gentlemen. They have a very extensive knowledge of the principles of commerce, but they must permit us to doubt their superiority to that gentleman, in this particular, until they furnish us with some other evidence of it, than what is to be found in the pages of their circular. His statement was founded on documents then before the House of Representatives, and is entitled to more credit than the committee have a right to claim, for the one exhibited by them. The argument, which they have offered in support of their opinion, is contradicted by all experience, and is the very opposite to that, which would be used by a man of plain and common understanding. A man of this description would say, that if to any particular nation, Sweden for instance, we exported produce to the amount of five hundred thousand dollars, at a time, when the trade of all the world was open to us, we should, of course export to that nation, a greater amount, when a number of the other nations, and some of them neighbours to Sweden, had prohibited us from trading with them; for although Sweden, for her own country or our produce, yet her demand would be increased, by her becoming the channel through which other nations, would be supplied with those articles they had been accustomed to receive by a direct trade with us.—It would be of no consequence how those other nations should receive their supplies. The vent for our produce would be enlarged, either by a direct or indirect course; and there is no doubt, but either by the one or the other, it would find its way into their markets, when it is considered, that Buonaparte, notwithstanding all his fulminating decrees to the contrary, has not been able to exclude the manufactures of Great Britain, even from his own dominions. As these restrictions, therefore, could not, from the causes assigned, be any way necessary to the ostensible objects of the embargo, let us examine what other object or motive, could have induced it. It has been long believed, by many, that it originated in Mr. Jefferson's indifference to the commercial interest; and that it forms a part of that system of coercive policy, which the administration have adopted for the government of the country. This belief is strengthened by the opinion now generally avowed by the advocates of the measure, that its real object was to compel France & England to rescind their restrictive regulations against our trade. If so, it becomes a matter of serious enquiry, whether such a system, a system, which incalculates an opinion, that our trade is to be protected, and our rights enforced, wherever the one was interrupted, or the others were infringed, by retreating from the ocean, is consistent with either the honour, or interest of the nation.

In any country, such a policy, would be both pusillanimous and destructive, but to ours it is peculiarly so. It is well known that we are the great navigating competitors of the nations of Europe, that they view with a jealous eye our growing commercial importance; and that a sense of justice alone, is not sufficient to restrain them, from throwing in our way every obstacle, which can check or obstruct us, in the enjoyment of a free trade, in common with themselves. They have an interest in doing so, and the idea is too visionary at this day, that nations having conflicting interests, are to be influenced by the force of reason; and in their conduct towards each other, governed by a sense of moral justice. It is opposed by all experience. It is folly to expect, that our rivals will not commit injuries and depredations on us, whenever opportunities and inducements shall offer of doing so with impunity. If they are made to believe, we can be frightened from the competition, that instead of supporting our rights by the energies of the nation, we will creep into our