

what we desire. A polished nation, without farther preliminaries, entered into a novel and untried compact, such as they had not lived under before; as no nation had at any time witnessed, but from the best lights furnished, answered to fill up the ultimatum of their wishes. It was held, and all was pronounced to be very good. But the proublings of ambition, and misconceived self-love did not go long unnoticed in this country. There were restless spirits in the nation who longed to exhibit their imaginary talents; who formed parties and fulminated political tenets from their own founderies; and a hubbub was raised in several of the states against the ratification of this constitution. From that period party spirit commenced in the U. S. Fed. and anti fed. was mutually retorted. The federal constitution, in its representative light, expressly leaves the door open to every freeman in the United States who may choose to participate in its functions. With energy sufficient to render it respectable, it still holds out liberally, as it should be understood and enjoyed, to those who will condescend to acknowledge themselves partakers. The supporters of the constitution, after the war, engaged in agriculture and commerce, and rendered themselves respectable in the eyes of other nations. They were in debt; the national coffers were empty; taxes were laid in proportion to the ability of the citizen to pay; literature was encouraged, to prepare the rising generation for rendering the best services to their country; the best informed citizens were thought most competent to preside in the councils of the nation. The anti fed's however, sowed the seeds of alarm; preached to the people that the constitution savoured too much of energy; made them believe that the general government had nothing more in view than to weaken the power of the state governments, by increasing that of the national; swore vengeance against foreigners, all except the frog eaters; and re-echoed the clamor of opposition far and near. But the constitution was ratified notwithstanding; and as a majority decided to support it, it was regarded as binding upon the whole. But the outcry continued; and the action and reaction of its violence produced those great divisions which now distract our country. The constitution had champions, generally called federalists. It also had enemies from the ratification of Jay's treaty, in 1796, known by no vulgar or separate appellation. About the time of the last mentioned date the still of the locusts began to crack. At intervals the spring singing began to be heard in our land. As the strength of the swarm was gradually increased, broken sounds were at intervals emitted. These were not Pharaoh's! but "Republican! Aristocracy! Tories!" In the language of Mr. Randolph the "reign of terror came." The patriot and defender of the constitution hewed out a cistern that would hold no water. The populace went to drink, but their thirst was not quenched. He had assisted to build the ship, but was no dextrous navigator. True it is that no man is a Jack of all trades. It is also correct that the democrats had said he would not do. He was, however, at that time a friend to commerce, a patronizer of learning and a man capable of doing business. The people, under his administration, paid a few more cents directly for the support of government, than they had for a few years before; yet they consented to pay precisely the same, indirectly, excepting the stamp duty and excise, which expired by act of congress before Mr. Adams went out of office. But this indirect mode of taxation the democrats have eternal kept out of the view of the people. When questioned by one of their constituents as to the truth of this federal allegation, your thorough going democrat, with much gesticulation, will answer, no. "I tell you what, my good friend, you go to a store. Well, you buy your things, and you pay your money for them with your own consent and free will; yes you do, as free as my old horse Jolly eats his fodder." The poor man forfeits a but to or two and goes away satisfied. If he would ask those who would really tell him the truth, he might learn that our embarrassments have not all been owing to European politics, but to a misconception of them, and a want of capacity in our administration to put in practice even their own theories. He would also learn that he paid the regular taxes, stamps and all, with more ease fourteen years ago than he does now. Money was more plentiful; one dollar then, was worth five at present; because it is always better to have one dollar at interest, clear gain, than to have the use of five by paying interest for it. Further, Mr. Adams made atonement for some of the indiscretions of his administration, by relinquishing those taxes when he found they displeased the people. Have the present government done any thing like this? No. They are so wise and consistent, that it seems heaven and earth can't turn them from their purposes.

Mr. Adams, however, walked out of office, and Mr. Jefferson stepped in elated. Mr. Adams brooded over his fallen greatness for the space of seven long years, when lo! in 1808-9, that singular emanation of democracy sprang forth, called "embargo." Federalists are the friends of the constitution, of freedom and commerce. They have uniformly advocated a consistent train of measures, which if pursued, would have left this country, in 1812, in a tenfold better situation than her present one. They love a government of energy; because it is calculated to protect the people in times of difficulty and danger; but they do not relish the energy which consists only in denouncing and oppressing our own citizens. They do not feel themselves obliged to recant their opinions without evidence, to be led by the whims of dotage, or to father the violence of every one who may call himself by their name. This moment the arrival of the northern mail has brought us the Declaration of War! Well, I shall support it now; but what I have written I shall not blot out. It has saved me two or three sheets of paper. But a little more of the state legislature, if you please. Certain principles have crept into our state of late years, I care not by what name you call them, very disagreeable to me, and I think to all who take the trouble to investigate them. The truth is, there ought to be no party feelings brought in to view in voting for representatives. But the re-

verse is the practice. The veriest booby or scoundrel is often thrust in, if a partizan of the right kidney, in preference to one most distinguished citizen. Republicanism is made the hobby horse in elections for judges, treasurers, comptrollers, secretaries of state or public printers; as if any body cared about judges, treasurers, comptrollers, secretaries of state or public printers, more than other citizens, further than as they may be competent to discharge their duty as servants of the public. Militia officers, magistrates and entry makers, must have this all important qualification. But does the simple name of republicanism confer good sense and merit? I should apprehend not. Yet it has too often occurred, to our disgrace, in this state, that zeal in a particular cause comprised the desert, and that party spirit raised the applicant.

I profess to be a republican myself as understood by our constitutions; and as the nature of our representative governments indicates. But as understood and practiced in these times, I enter my protest against its application. Opposers to administration have been called federalists. Very well. But war is declared and is now inevitable. Now let us see who will be foremost in the ranks when that war grows actually defensive. Will any dare to call in question the patriotism and bravery of native Americans, who are in the minority? They will do their duty. They have struggled to evade the horrible event. They are not yet certain that it is for the best. And in endeavouring to restore their forlorn country to its former prosperity and tranquility they will not be inactive. I shall conclude with those remarkable words, "That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of those ends for which it is instituted, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light or transient causes. But when a long train of abuses, and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guides for their future security."

B. D. ROUNSAVILLE.

July 1, 1812. FOR THE MINERVA. Messrs. Editors,

Some person, who is ashamed to own or to subscribe his name, has come forward in the Raleigh Register, under the appellation of "One of the People," and directed a letter to "Col. Wm. Porter." I suppose myself to be the person had in view, but should not, perhaps, have noticed the publication were it not to let my friend see I have not altogether neglected him; to avoid which charge I have thought proper to send you the following for publication. When I say "my friend," I do not mean my well wisher, but my indirect friend; for I have often seen it happen, that where one sets out to expose another and goes beyond the bounds of truth, reason and common decency, he adds to the character which he aims to deride. Let me ask the gentleman if fact, and good sense, and argument would not have had much greater weight with society, in convincing their understandings that the conduct of the 1st assembly was improper, and my address unwise, than a tissue of degrading and unjustifiable expressions thrown out against me as an individual. Investigation and illustration may have some good effect upon sensible minds, but declamation can only gratify such as are prejudiced.

My friend supposes that my object was to prevent my colleague, Daniel Gold, esq. from being re-elected in the county of Rutherford. In this my friend must be widely mistaken; because Mr. Gold informed Major Green and myself, before we left Raleigh, that he should not be a candidate at the next election; and I have never heard that he has altered his determination.

I am blamed for not telling the people that the electoral law was considered by the assembly as only a temporary expedient. There was no more necessity for that explanation, than in the first instance there was for the act itself. The terms of the law held out that idea to the people. But the design was to continue it; for the assembly rejected General Jones' amendment, which was in these words;

"And be it further enacted, That this act shall continue in force until the first day January, 1813, and no longer."

There were 47 for this amendment, and 55 against it, in the Commons; and some of the leaders of the party said at the time, that they had the power to take away the privilege of election from the people, and that the power they had they should certainly exercise.

My friend wonders that I am not afraid of meeting the fate of Genet and Col. Pickering, who likewise appealed to the people. I will ask the gentleman, whether, because one or two brave generals have fallen in endeavoring to take Quebec, that furnishes a reason for never again assailing the place? I think not. Genet was a foreigner, and had no right to appeal to the people; and as for Col. Pickering, if he is not still in public life, yet his information is with the people. The writer in the Register says he is despised. As to that I am not so good a judge: I only know that he was held in high estimation by General Washington. However, for my own part I have never yet been so high in station as that a fall could do me much harm. Indeed, if the liberties of my fellow citizens and my own are to be taken away, I care not how soon my political existence may be brought to a close. "One of the people" commends Mr. Gold for his silence. I think if he had taken a little of that prescription himself, he might have avoided much pain and confusion in which he must now be involved. Why does he not show that the assertions offered in my first address are false? I have averred that the privileges of the people have been unwarrantably taken away. And how does the writer attempt to controvert me? By adding certain expressions of Messrs. McLean, Davie and Spaight. I confess I cannot see that

the language of those excellent characters has any bearing on the question—at least that it has any in favor of the electoral law. Their opinions, if it is true, should have great weight. The two latter were both members of the convention which framed the federal constitution; of the North Carolina convention that sat at Hillsborough; and of the assembly, when this state was admitted into the union. Much stress has been laid upon the circumstance of our electors having been chosen by the legislature, and of the eminent gentlemen, last mentioned, having acquiesced in the measure. Now what were the facts in that case? The ratio came forward to North Carolina while the assembly was in session, but too late to admit a possibility of an immediate choice, by the people, of the number of electors they were entitled to. The state was then divided into districts, and the representatives from each of these chose one member of the electoral college. This was done as being the only feasible mode in which this state could participate in the choice of the first president and vice president of the union. I know this statement to be correct; because I was then a member, and voted for the elector for Morgan district. Besides, without one dissenting voice, at the very same session the assembly passed a law to divide the state into districts in order that the people might in future vote for electors; and the reason the assembly passed the law at that time, there being then no absolute necessity, as another election for president and vice president would not occur for four years, was for the purpose of indicating the belief of the legislature that the constitution meant to establish the right of voting for electors, in the people alone. This, therefore, instead of controverting, confirms the principles maintained by the minority of last session and supported by the presentments of the several grand juries.

My correspondent asserts that no question excited less interest in the convention than that respecting the choice of electors of president and vice president of the United States. This I admit. But whence did this indifference arise? Why because no member ever dreamt that any legislature would so abuse the power entrusted to it, as to convert the privilege of fixing the mode of choice into a right of making the appointment. Much less was it imagined that one legislature would attempt to control or direct another, over which it could have no control, and declare it to be their duty to appoint electors by joint ballot. Such a departure from principle should grieve the heart and keenly wound the feelings of every true republican in the United States.

The chief argument brought forward by the defenders of the electoral law, is deduced from the practice of other states. This appears to me to resemble the pretext resorted to by France and England in defending their blockading systems—each seeking her excuse in the conduct of the other, while neither could find a justification in the principles of law or the dictates of reason. It was never suggested, at the adoption of the constitution, that we were to contend, by states, for a president. There are some questions intended to be settled in the Senate of the United States, wherein each state is to have an equal vote. Hence it is believed to be peculiarly proper that the senators should be chosen by the state legislatures; and that the other two branches of the general government should spring more immediately from the people. Any thing which would overthrow this maxim, is contrary to the true principles of republican government and founded in the heat of party and the spirit of faction.

The writer who has addressed me says that no party will own me. I assure him that I never desired to be ranked as one of a French faction or a British faction. I have still thought that every true American ought to hold himself aloof from both; that we ought to stand firmly fixed in the righteousness of our cause, and defend ourselves against the attack of any nation that may seek our injury; but cultivate friendship with all disposed to be friendly. It was always of Jefferson's opinion, that "we are all federalists, all republicans;" and of General Washington's, "that party spirit is truly our greatest and worst enemy." I do believe that every hot-headed partizan is an indirect enemy to our happy confederation, and that, though perhaps unconsciously, he is laboring with all his might to overthrow the very government he desires to support.

It is remarkable, that while General Davie and similar characters were in the assembly, such a proposition as the electoral law was never dreamt of. The constitution was never attempted to be violated until those were out of the way who assisted at its formation. But now Spaight is dead and Davie has removed, a new set of law-makers have sprung up who know nothing about the principles of our admirable government. The privileges of the people must be taken away and the provisions of our sacred constitution trampled under foot, and for what? To gratify men "whose breath is in their nostrils" and who will soon be no more.

The friend who has addressed me seems highly pleased with the conduct of one of the Judges, in refusing to blend legislative with judicial functions. Why then is he so much in love with the admixture of three distinct powers in the legislature, whose members are certainly not more enlightened than the Judiciary, or more competent to a faithful discharge of complicated duties? But if I were in his honor's place, I should not be very grateful for that oblique compliment which could not be introduced without alluding to an atonement for former errors.

I am termed by the writer a "counterfeit" politician. I have often heard it remarked of money bills, that their being old and nearly worn out by use was pretty good evidence of genuineness. It may not, however, be so with regard to men. If my enemies alone were the judges, I should make no doubt of being condemned, whether of real or counterfeit coin.

The gentleman, in fine, my rest assured that as I have often stood the heavy fire of the Halifax cannon, I am not to be disconcerted by the popguns of children, particularly when ambuscaded by the people. But the battle must hereafter be all on his side. I can pay no further respect to him or his performances.

It is believed that there is now no danger of the matter. The rights of the people will not be again invaded. For, like corrected urchins, most of the

members who voted for the electoral law will do so any more.

WM. PORTER.  
Rutherford, May 30, 1812.

### Domestic.

#### GOVERNOR STRONG'S PROCLAMATION

The following proclamation of this sage and patriotic, will be read with no little interest; it is the act of a man who has grown grey in his country's cause; who took an active part in public debates of our national councils in those times that tried the souls; whose private life has passed without a blot; and whose public career has been one of uninterrupted usefulness and honor.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.  
By His Excellency  
CALEB STRONG ESQUIRE,  
Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

WHEREAS it has pleased the Almighty Ruler of the world in his righteous Providence to permit us to be engaged in war against a nation from which we are descended, and which for many generations has been the bulwark of the Religion we profess: And whereas by this awful and alarming change in our circumstances the People of this Commonwealth are in a peculiar manner exposed to personal suffering, and the loss of a great portion of their substance: It becomes us, in imitation of our fathers, in their times of perplexity and danger, with deep repentance, to bow ourselves before Him for our sins, and the ungrateful returns we have made to him for his mercies: To ascribe righteousness to our Maker, when he threatens us with the most severe of all temporal calamities, and to beseech him to avert the tokens of his anger, and remember for us his former loving kindness and tender mercy.

I do, therefore, by and with the advice and consent of the Council, and at the request of the House of Representatives, appoint THURSDAY, the Twenty-Third day of July next, to be observed by the people of this State, as a day of Fasting, Humiliation and prayer, that with penitent hearts we may assemble in our places of public worship and unite in humble supplications to the God of our Fathers, who was their defence in danger, and in whom they never sought in vain; and beseech Him through the merit of His Son, that He would forgive our ingratitude, and the innumerable transgressions of which we have been guilty; That He would give wisdom, integrity and patriotism to our national and state governments, that the leaders of the people may not cause them to err; That He would inspire the President and Congress, and the Government of Great Britain with just and pacific sentiments; that He would humble the pride and smother the lusts and passions of men, from whence Wars proceed, and that peace may speedily be restored to us, upon safe and equitable terms.

That He would guard the lives of our Soldiers and Mariners and protect our commerce and navigation from the dangers with which they are compassed; that He would preserve us from pestilence, violence and foreign invasion; That He would dispose the people of these States to do justice to the Indian tribes, to enlighten and not exterminate them; And that He would protect us from their ravages; That He would preserve us from entangling and fatal alliances with those governments which are hostile to the safety and happiness of mankind; That He would regard with tender compassion the nations whose most essential rights have been wrested from them by fraud and violence, and who are groaning under the hand of oppression, and that He would break in pieces the power of the oppressor, and scatter the people that dwell in war.

That the inhabitants of this State may be the objects of His peculiar favor; That He would take them under His holy protection, and hide them in His pavilion until these calamities be over past; That the chastisements with which He may think proper to afflict us, may serve to humble us, and do us good; and that we may not be like those who are hardened by His corrections and who in the time of their trouble multiply their transgressions against Him; That He would save us from the baleful influence of party spirit, and that whatever enemy may rise up against us from abroad, we may have peace and mutual confidence among ourselves, and know by experience, how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.

That He would accomplish the promises of His mercy concerning the future repose and prosperity of the human race, when men shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and learn war no more; when fraud and violence shall cease forever, and righteousness and peace prevail through the earth; when the Kingdom of the Redeemer shall triumph over all opposition, and the heathen shall be given Him for His inheritance; and when the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.

And the people are requested to abstain from unnecessary labour and recreation on the said day. Given at the Council Chamber in Boston, this twenty-sixth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve, and in the thirty-sixth year of the Independence of the United States of America.

CALEB STRONG.  
By his Excellency's command, with the advice and consent of the Council.  
ALDEN BRADFORD, Secretary.

### PHILADELPHIA, July 5.

#### Naval Engagement.

Arrived at this port yesterday afternoon, the brig Pallas, Capt. Cole, in 30 days from Longhills, (Ireland) with passengers. On the 24th June, in lat. 40, N. lon. 66 30, W. at 4 P. M. fell in with the British frigate Belvidere, and was informed that, the evening before, she had been attacked by an American squadron of five sail, and succeeded in making her escape by throwing her boats overboard, cutting away her anchors, and staving her water casks, having received much damage, and several shot between wind and water.

The following is an extract from the log book