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OTHER two sets of actions, in which may engage. One consists of such as are not indispensable, but in a great degree procure utility and respect to the nation. Of the former class, a distribution of justice, the strictness of law, and order in connections with the states. For want of measures of utter desolation, which might be called *virtuous*, because without them the state preserve its existence, it involves non-improvement, and makes no pretension more than stationary. Of this kind are clearing out of rivers, cutting canals, encouraging agriculture, manufactures, commerce, by patents and bounties, making advantageous provisions in respect to trade with other states. In all these objects are well attended, wisely provided for, it is impossible the nation shall not grow in industry, power, and solid strength. We cannot fixatory a single variation from this truth, at the same time that the great mass of people feel and enjoy these advantages as inseparable of the causes that put them, because they seldom examine causes, or their manner of operation, read in the philosophy of human nature, or of civil government, they regard the benefits of their own procuring, with a view to the reasons why other states so well governed as they, do not enjoy the same. In times strongly marked with superstition, men have ascribed sufferings of the state, the loss of battle, the universal poverty and degeneracy of people to the curse of heaven, which come down upon the land in a miracle manner, causing the courage of their soldiers to perish, and striking their fields with light and darkness. The remedies for evils they suppose, I do not consist, in changing the government, or correcting its administration. Yet it was this which encouraged to industry, security of property, and freedom to the actions of men, and this dispirited and destroyed every virtue which heaven can delight to reward. They placed their hopes of relief in frequent prayers, which are idle notions, consuming the time of human life, if they be not accompanied with a virtuous. They put their trust in the good and pernicious practices of voluntary offerings and of lazy abstinence. At present the more rational doctrine happily prevails, that if for the sake of national and individual prosperity, acts of religion are necessary to conciliate the favor of heaven; that it is not to be expected without a virtuous and universal compliance with every law of nature. The industry and energy of the people, with the utility and solidity of their inventions, must be used to infuse and confirm our national spirit and vigor, they are necessary steps by which alone we must ascend to national greatness. There are either moral virtues, which result from them. When these are not directly supported and improved by religion, it deserves no better name than superstition, which under the pretence of religion, secretly lays the basis of human happiness, and by its vitiating influence, evinces the awful displeasure of a vengeful Providence.

But how are we to be among our citizens industry, temperance and honesty, since without them we so languish in misery and disgrace? I say, by the structure of our government, and particularly by the wisdom of its constitution. Of this we have the formation in our hands. This powerful agent may either make us virtuous, humane and just; or lay sink us down into baseness, indolence, and despicable imbecility. By this, vice punished, and compelled to hide itself in shame. By this, active industry is excited by honoring its toils, and securing every man the fruits of his honest skill. By this, energy and manly courage are called into the breast of every citizen to his country rights; or else by this, he reconciled to bow down with shame under the ignominious terms of an imposing power. By this, commerce is made to flourish whatever the laborious and frugal hand shall produce, for the subsistence of his

fellows creatures. By this, are returned to his own lap, whatever comforts he chooses to select for himself, from the treasures of the world. In short, by the resources and the energy of this, the rights of the nation are defended with effect from the hostile invasions of foreign states, so that while they honor our virtues, they are taught to deprecate our anger.

But what must be the qualifications of those men who can so wisely and effectually bring these instruments into action? Are ignorance or intellectual weakness able to do it? Are the aptest means for the animation of an active spirit, likely to occur to one, who is unskilled in the history of the human mind, and with the complication of its motives and passions? Does he know that vice must be restrained, by placing a balancing passion in one scale, to set in opposition that which already preponderates in another? Or is it probable that he will do this, so as to adapt his laws to the genius and temper of the people, who are the subjects of his regulations? If he form his plans ever so judiciously, will he be able by his eloquence, his arguments, or the evidence of his wisdom, to inspire the people with a disposition, to give his legislation such a trial as shall be necessary to its success? Will not all that he does, to which their own knowledge is not competent, be at once condemned, because they will ascribe to him the same want of understanding with themselves? When he is called on to compare the differences between contending states, to adjust their interests, to vindicate the rights that belong to his own, and to oppose barriers against unprincipled usurpation, will he know the customs, the laws, and the expedients by which peace can be secured consistently with honor? Can he pronounce with firmness, those terms, the violation of which will justify a resort to the dreadful alternative of refusing justice with force? Each of these is a question of moment. They involve the interest and happiness of a whole people; nor ought they to be put aside by a waving of the head, or by a specious repit.

What man is there, whose education is confined to the management of his estate, or the increase of his private fortune, who knows the limits which divide the powers of the federal and the state governments? Yet it is upon the strict preservation of these limits inviolate, that the union and the liberties of our country every moment depend. If they shall be transgressed by the government of our own state, or by a combination of several of these subordinate governments, can we imagine, or is it desirable, that the residue of the union will stand by as uninterested spectators, while the social compact is trodden down with impunity? On the contrary, if those who administer the general government shall presume to exercise powers not committed to their use, this is not likely to be done in that obvious manner, which will strike the common sense of the uninformed. Those only can pronounce with confidence, and be entitled to our faith, who can with reason and certainty decide on questions of government, of liberty, and opposition.

It is much to be lamented that a great proportion of the legislators and officers of our state government are so far from being competent to meddle in the determination of such important and difficult discussions, on which the fates of our nation are suspended, that even the constitution of our own state is not safe in their hands. Not that they would wantonly and flagitiously violate its rules, did they fully know what they are, or were they sensible of the faculties which ought to be attributed to their nature. But some there are, so notoriously ignorant as to imagine that the power of our assemblies is transcendent over the constitution, so that they may admit or extrude its provisions as they please. This indeed we could hardly admit to be possible had not the public speeches of those whom we choose for our civilians, publicly announced it in our ears. It is true that such an inversion of the human intellects in their judgments of things, is scarcely to be feared, even where the darkest ignorance reigns; but if men through a defect of information, may fall into such gross and palpable mistakes as this, such as are less glaring, though not less dangerous, may surely be committed with perfect insensibility. And what must be the consequence? Our constitution to which we point, whenever we are told of danger to our freedom, will ere long disclose a heart crumpled into pow-

der, while its exterior covering serves only to conceal the worm that consumes it.

Were I to ask those who have a right to know, in what manner legislation is generally carried on in our assemblies, what would be their answer? It would be, that the terms and provisions of our laws, create perpetual difficulties in our courts of justice. Could each law stand by itself, detached from the general system, its defects might be remedied by experience, which would soon suggest what ought to be supplied or corrected. But in all laws extensive or general in their application, this is far from being the case. Consistency requires that each law have a reference to the common code. First principles laid down in one part be preserved and supported throughout the whole. That the same spirit pervade and animate the body in all its members, and all its operations.— That a harmony, design, and uniform consonance with itself, resulting from the whole structure, as well as from a comparison of its several parts, may strike the eye of citizens and jurists, inciting them to admire, venerate, and obey. But how different is this from the true picture. From the ignorance and incapacity of our legislators, but few regulations can be effected for the relief of our most palpable public grievances. Laws, most salutary in their tendency, are blindly and indiscriminately crushed in their embryon state, for no other reason than because they are novelties to men who have never had an opportunity or an inclination to determine what their effects may be.— With such men as these, the only argument is, that we have preserved our existence in times past, without these laws, and as we do not know that they will not induce injurious consequences, it is the safest for us, still inflexibly to reject them. In the mean time, the people cry in vain for public justice, suffering under the evil, but ignorant of the cause. At the return of every election renewing their attachment to the maxim, which is at the very root of all their complaints, that it is better to appoint for our representatives the ignorant, the weak, and the foolish, than that they may not take it into their heads to meditate some scheme against our liberties. It were heartily to be wished, that one trial at least might be made, to shew whether this argument is truly found or not. That one assembly might be composed of men of liberal knowledge, cultivated understandings, and refined sentiments. Should we groan for a year under the iron rod of their oppression, it could hardly be worse than to be forever looking with anxious expectation to see streams break forth from places where no water is to be found.

But alas, I forget myself. For if we resolve on the experiment, how can it be made? Are such characters as we have pitched on, every where to be had? Do we live in a generation, which abounds with learning, improvement, and virtue? When we wish to prove their fidelity and the wisdom of their counsels, can we turn in a moment and point to the men in whose breasts those qualities reside? This we cannot do. We look around us, and but here and there a few solitary figures appear to relieve the universal blank. Whence we immediately ask, have these derived their decorations and superior acquirements? In some distant land, whose inhabitants delight to plant the seeds of education in the youthful mind, cherishing and rearing them to maturity with care and diligence.

How long shall we remain in this humbled and dishonorable state! In our own eyes we are helpless and destitute; in the eyes of our country we are sunk in to an ignominious dependence, and a debasing inferiority! And shall we by clinging to our ignorance, still continue to merit the degradation in which we are held? Let us but erect the steps to honor and science, and shew them to our youth;—they will glory to ascend with persevering labor till they attain the summit. They will rejoice that it is committed to them to rescue their native land from infamy, as soon they are told that by their talents, their powers, and their virtues, it must be done. We have already begun to erect an abode where the muses may be invited to dwell. And shall we now so soon regret the indolence, and the darkened state in which we once felt ourselves securely content! Wearing with these nobler toils, shall we in a fit of senseless disgust, or groundless fear, resolve to raze our works again with the dust! It is now for us to declare whether we will defer the blessings or the curses of posterity. We have

now embarked, and we cannot retreat with honor. It is not now the question whether we will build up and encourage a seminary of learning among us; but whether we will pull it down with all our might to its foundations, when it is already on the point of being completed. L.

FRANCE.

ARMY OF EGYPT.

The following is an abridgment of the contents of the voluminous dispatches brought from Egypt, and inserted in the *Moniteur*, relative to the army of the east.

On the 23d of Sep. General Menou writes to the First Consul, that several members of the national institute had departed on a second journey to Upper Egypt; they went as far as 150 leagues above D'Assuan, where there are ruins more considerable than those of Thebes and Benders. Murad Bey prepared for the journey all the requisites in his power.

The chambers of the pyramids, hitherto unvisited, and which reach far below those already known, are to be inspected, while others intend to reconnoitre the west side of the Red Sea. The Arab farmers have asked and obtained permission to cultivate the canton d'Owals. The Nile, which this year rose higher by 25 feet and an half than it has for 37 years, ran even close to this canton. Menou has rectified the divisions of those provinces which intersected each other, and ordained that the works of the learned be considered as the property of the public.

The same date.—The army always considers Buonaparte as its father. It would go to the end of the earth for the public good. A national garden of plants has been raised. He requests to have sent to him seeds of potatoes, hops, ingrafted trees, and two or three good gardeners, three or four cars, and several excellent labourers.

The 12th of October.—Menou praises the good conduct of citizen Etienne, paymaster of the army, he is appointed director general of Egyptian finances.

The 23d of October.—Murad Bey, since his treaty with Kleber, had behaved very well. By that treaty he is only tributary prince of Gize and d'Assuan under France. The Anglo Turkish cruisers have disappeared for some time before Alexandria and Damietta.

The same date.—The pen of history having engraved in letters of gold, the pacification of La Vendee, the re-establishment of the finances, the confidence of the French, the passages of the mountains, the battle of Marengo, and the conquest of a great part of Germany; the first consul would not forget that the expedition to Egypt will undoubtedly cause the civilization of Africa and Asia. The grand Vizier continues at El Arisch, the Arabs pillage his convoys. "He has written to me," says Menou, "several letters, half mean, half insolent, demanding peace. I answer him that it is only at Paris he must treat." The captain Pacha cruises from Damietta to Alexandria with twenty five vessels, whereof ten or twelve are of the line. He is the sworn enemy of the grand Vizier and the English. He says that if the Porte is not supported by France, she is lost. He is desirous of a treaty that would augment his importance with his master. A great deal of politeness has been exchanged between him and Menou. "I write," says the general "to the minister at war, details of our service and our position." The Divan of Cairo is converted into a tribunal of appeal.—Friendship is established with all the neighbouring princes. The princes at a distance of 50 days journey from Egypt, demand the friendship of the French.—Caravans arrive from all parts. Suez will become an entrepot of commerce. The 21st demi-brigade is in Upper Egypt, and has enrolled more than 200 Egyptian mullas. They make beer, cloth, wine, wax, candles, gold and silver lace, hats, &c. The corps of engineers of bridges, of streets, and that of geography, perform distinguished service. The artillery is on the best footing; and the army receives daily pay. &c. General Menou had not received his nomination of commander in chief; and he terminates his letter by saying, "If you send a successor, I shall obey him with the same zeal that has always animated me for the good of my country, and the welfare of the republic."

The 4th of December.—General Vial, charged with dispatches from Egypt, writes from the Road of St. Tropes, that