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From JENKS' PORTLAND GAZETTE.

### ADDRESS.

To the Electors and the Electors of the Electors of President and Vice President of the United States.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

TO remove at once all doubt and established confidence between us, I think it proper to state that I was born in America, and that my forefathers have been born in this country for more than one hundred and fifty years. I add to this, that I have been no indifferent observer of public affairs for nigh twenty years, and from the result of all I have seen, I am a hearty friend to the present government of my country. Under these circumstances, I take the freedom to lay before you a few, as I think timely observations upon the most important of all elections, and if the candor and uprightness which I feel do not sensibly appear in the whole course of them, I shall be more unfortunate than I anticipate.

It is a humiliating thought, and if the rest of the world had not at present abundant cause to be ashamed of itself, it would be in the eyes of foreign nations a disgraceful fact, that on every election of any importance among us, we have a struggle which does not at all depend upon the merits of the candidates, but upon their supposed principles; and as if something were necessary to set off and finish this public spectacle to the highest advantage; the bone of contention is our existence as a nation, which one party is willing to preserve, and the other seems to think best to destroy. This, though we cannot see it, is the figure we make to disinterested foreigners; and the mischief is, that by length of time, and by taking various names and forms in obedience to all the cravings of individual vanity and the meanest qualities of our hearts, the true nature of a contest which would have shocked us, had it been abrupt and definite at first, has not only pervaded our whole system, even to the minutest ramifications, but by this diffusion it has become so incorporate and imperceptible as even to be denied. It is nothing strange for men to slide into situations of which they are unconscious, and which they themselves detest and despise; but the insidious nature of this procreancy makes it more frequent notice than it receives, as there is nothing more important to us than that we should be often apprized of what we are least likely to perceive. I say then, that a dispute in this country which at different times has taken all the current and even some amiable forms, has finally degenerated without our being constantly aware of the gradual perversion, to a quarrel about our national existence. It is to be hoped that this is honestly enough left to make us shudder at this alarming seduction, and tread back the mazy path to some right position with suitable humility.

It is a pity that there is such a cloud over what is called the public mind, at times; at least, one cannot but feel sorry for it, though it is the will of heaven—but I believe a man must be made of extraordinary materials who, at this present time, cannot be impressed with some belief of what I say. There is, however, another disgraceful truth which I must lay down before I advert to evidence, which is that human nature is a great self-deceiver in the concern which it takes about public affairs; and the conduct of both sides is more owing to a torpid indifference than to any active intelligent choice. It is by means of this indolence and superficial attention that we resign ourselves to the direction of chance or design, and having observed that things go right enough a little while trouble ourselves no more about them. If it were possible to rouse the sluggish faculties of this sort of people to the degree of retrospection and comparison, still there is more to be done; for it is to be feared, that after all, our patriotism is but a remote interest, and that, with the exception of few, mankind sacrifice to almost any of their baser passions more frequently and with a better will than to this. But while that few continue virtuous and active, it is to be hoped that the true faith will be preserved as well in politics as other things.

If four years ago it was suspected that Mr. Jefferson was in full concert with the French revolutionists, that he was at the head of the malcontents of the United States, that their principle was aversion to the constitution, that they had set out to overturn it, and that they had made some progress in the public mind for this purpose; I say, if this was then suspected, it is now certain. Four years silence under such accusations would be enough to imply the difficulty of refuting them. Surely that party have been often enough challenged to the honorable open field. They do not profess to want men of abilities, at least foreigners; and yet they have not, and I do not say it at a venture, replied at all to the charges against them, which are quite intelligible and pretty black. Perhaps it is not accurate to say so; for in the course of these four years,

their writers have so far overcome that fear which made them tremble even at the imputation, as to begin to acknowledge the truth of it, and even avow and present for contemplation the destruction of the constitution, and return of the old confederation. The same liberality which permits to say that all religion is false, certainly would make no scruple of a mere civil ordinance; and as there is no sacilege where there is nothing sacred, neither, I suppose, ought there to be any hanging for rebellion. They do not therefore reply within these four years, but they admit—in four years, more they will not only admit, but they will contend; and so by degrees we shall be cheated of what we took to be strong ground, that they were aiming at the constitution, and be reduced by their effrontery to a mere denial of the expediency of destroying it. And if they can familiarize this question to the public eye and ear, the business, like that of religion, is half done; for what we have once profited we no longer respect.

There is in what is called the new philosophy a most mean, unworthy and ignorant procedure. It admits man to be imperfect, and that all which he can do is imperfect; yet it affects to frown the best he can do, and advocate some hidden good. It admits our nature, and ridicules us for not being above it. It confesses the want of help and means, and rejects all that is offered or can be devised. These philosophers in times which they pretend to despise, would have decried, and would have been treated with contempt.

Mr. Jefferson, in his letter to Mazzei, which cannot be too much read and meditated on, fully declares in 1796 that "WE SHALL BREAK THESE LILLIPUTIAN TIES," meaning beyond all controversy, and as I said before, without denial, THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. Now this nobody pretends to deny—Is there not some other name by which Mr. Jefferson ought to be known, besides patriot and philosopher? Is there not some other destiny more proper for him than to be President of the States? May he not very well depreciate the "British form of Government"? Surely this is the time when we see the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not, whether you take it for scripture or wit. As well might a wolf have charge of a flock as Mr. Jefferson have any share in the government after such a declaration. Certainly instead of it, he ought to be bound to keep the peace.

But for the sake of a clearer conception of the thing, let us suppose him President with such principles, and with followers in abundance to provide for. Governor McKean might be brought as a case in point, who displaced all the old officers as we are informed, though appointed by Governor Mifflin who was supposed to be no better affected to the general government than himself, and put in his own followers. It is remarkable that these principles, when in power are very violent and abusive, as well they may be, intending not to support but to destroy, though they are more deceitful than a lying prophet before. We may suppose then that in pursuance of the plan to break the Lilliputian ties, those who at present guard them at the different avenues by which they may be assailable will be dismissed, and especially when this will be followed by the double advantage of supplying their places with needy disciples and fellow labourers in the same pious design. What shocking consequences would follow from having the whole government administered by men who were bent upon destroying the constitution out of which it grows! We should be in a state of anarchy in one moment. The case could not exist without a horrible civil war.—Confidence would be at an end, and the purest integrity would be ferociously insulted. All ties would be dissolved and even the late condition of France might be enviable to us. Are these dreams?—Reflect properly on cause and effect, and you will not be of that opinion.

And how would stand our foreign relations? Recur to the Mazzei letter—At present we are on very good terms with Great Britain and the confederates, and we are likely to be on the same with France. Our energy and loyalty have made us respectable enough to be on a footing with other nations. But should we forfeit these their effect would also cease. It is terrible to think of the consequences of recalling ministers in weak and turbulent times, and of foreign applications to the government of a distracted people.—Suppose insurrection or invasion when funds are ruined, credit gone, and union irremediable. Not merely the confederation would be restored, but even that would not hold together a moment; we should relapse further to the governments of single states, and possibly even this last anchor would not bring us up. If these two should give way, we should revert to jacobin societies and committees of correspondence, and from these with the example of France there is but a very short step

or rather none at all to the guillotine. These are not fictitious dangers. They are but plain easy, and natural consequences of one wrong step which, God be praised, we have not yet taken.

With all this against Mr. Jefferson, what is there in his favour?—There has been nothing said which amounts to the least necessity of having him for President. Neither his abilities, his integrity, nor his patriotism are particularly needed. If he is introduced it must be because of some very essential variance of qualifications between him Mr. Adams; and if there be any such, they must be in his favour.

Jefferson? Throwing aside all that is commonly said of the latter relative to religion, has he any pretence to excel or even to vie with Mr. Adams in the great requisites of the presidency? What exhibitions have we had? There should be suggested some need which we have of this man. Are we wretched or prosperous.—that Mr. Jefferson might be the means of putting us out of our present condition, is easily understood; but what is our present condition? This shall now be considered.

I might be enough to say that our government has been so administered in as stormy a season of worldly contention as ever existed, as to acquire and preserve our own good opinion, and that of all nations. But this though true, is so general a declaration, that perhaps it will not strike every one with full conviction. It may be needful to some that their faculties should be compelled afresh to notice the great advances which we have made towards a national government, which are at the same time the very things which the enemies of "lilliputian ties," presuming on the prejudices of the people have artfully combated as approaches to monarchy, affecting to view the constitution as no less surmountable by its present friends than by themselves, that is estimating it at all of a "lilliputian tie." In the first place I take it we shall not be willing to put ourselves on this equal ground of supposing the constitution to be no barrier, but that we intend to maintain it with its jealousy and care, and therefore I shall wait to have it shown wherein the government have departed from it, taking it for granted that if all that we enjoy is consistent with it, there is no monarchy here but what is the constitution, and that if there is any more, it is very much to our advantage at present.

This being said let us recur to the situation of this country before the constitution existed, when we were in an almost hopeless state of adversity and danger. The principal part of those whom will decide this election need only be referred to this; though God only knows how those will be convinced who are to judge in future cases, unless by wisdom hardly to be expected, or misery that is much more certain. The constitution has combined the interests and fate of all the states, delivered them from individual apprehensions, and produced out of the chaos of wretchedness, a healthy, vigorous and easy conditions. Acting under it we find ourselves capable of any undertaking which the general prosperity may require. We govern ourselves, and can in some measure govern external circumstances by means of the present firmness of our connection and our unity of action. All our public and private concerns are in a state of safety, and there is no distrust or difficulty of any kind which is not inseparable from the common lot of humanity. The single states may pursue their natural wishes and their interests without obstruction and with none to make them afraid. Every individual has the widest range of freedom, and constantly enjoys complete security of property and pleasures. The particular acts of government which have produced the several items which altogether compose this singular state of felicity, it is not for such an essay as this to enumerate; it is enough for the present purpose that nobody can deny it. We possess, we enjoy, and we can do every thing which a free republic ever did or ever will. What more can be demanded?

Further, Mr. Jefferson in his letter to Mazzei speaks of "the republican government which carried us through the dangers of the war." In the present case, we have also a republican government which has carried us thro' dangers of a much more threatening kind, and such as the former one could never have resisted. The slightest recollection must convince us that had the confederation remained, we should long before this time have been torn to pieces by the late European convulsions. It must be less to every one to imagine the miseries which we have escaped by virtue of the "lilliputian tie," and which very fairly are to be taken into the sum total of our present happy condition.

Let us now advert to the advantages of perseverance in one political system. If Mr. Jefferson is elected, we must expect he will labour at some radical of present principles and measures without delay, as an introduction of his more effectual reform. It may be such as [For remainder see last Page.]