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FAREWELL ADDRESS

OF THE
HON. SAMUEL LYMAN,
TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens,

I THANK you for your repeated and almost unanimous suffrage, by virtue of which I have for a number of years past, held a seat in Congress—this honor, at the ensuing election, I wish to decline; and on this occasion, I think you will indulge me without apologizing, if I take the liberty to make a few remarks, relative to the political state of our country.—On this subject, I am sensible you stand in no need of arguments, to confirm your attachment to your country; and I know your character for federalism is high; it is not excelled by that of any other district; but a spirit of surmise and of jealousy has gone forth, and it may even reach you. It is against this spirit I caution you; this is the spirit that can undermine and destroy the Temple of Liberty as well as the throne of Despotism—Of what will you be jealous? Of your own power? Will you justify a man who shall be guilty of suicide, because he hath no confidence either in his right or left hand, both of which may administer to him poison or good and wholesome food?—Are not all who administer your government, people of your own choice? and at regular periods, do you not possess the darling prerogative of killing and of making alive? Is it possible for them to lay burdens upon you and exempt themselves? Or can you suppose they would be instrumental in establishing a principle, which in its operation would destroy the Constitution, and so entail misery and wretchedness upon their posterity?—Certainly you cannot. When, therefore you hear declamations about a standing army, about the liberty of the press, and about the Executive Power, be not deceived, but remember that such is the language of those whose zeal is not always the result of knowledge or of integrity—Be not afraid; our first magistrate is eminent for integrity, talents, and experience; and the gentlemen who are at the head of the great departments of state, are all men of integrity and talents—But you will ask me, what occasions such extreme party spirit, and why is our country divided into two great parties? I answer, it is the consequence of extreme liberty, and a higher degree of liberty cannot exist without endangering the whole. The reason why it cannot exist, is because the nature of man will not admit of it; his pride and ambition require very powerful restraints; therefore all those who teach the doctrine of modern liberty and equality, are false teachers; they are deceivers or are deceived themselves—A certain French Author, very shrewdly and sensibly observes upon this subject, *that nothing is so unequal as equality.* I admire the frame and constitution of our government, because it controuls in some degree, that *unequal equality*; and at the same time, gives opportunity for the fullest display of all the amiable and excellent attributes, which dignify man as a social being—You also ask, why does there exist such divisions in our National Councils? I answer it is because they are composed of men of like passions with yourselves.—If you will consider mankind as possessing some patriotism, and a little more selfishness and pride; you will be able, not only to comprehend the jarring interests of a great nation, but you will also understand all the Mysteries of Government. I know you want to be more particular, and to ask another question, you wish to know how it happens, that the federal interest is divided in the National Councils—This is a delicate question, and a short answer is better than a long one: however I will just observe that the federal interest is not divided, *in sentiment*, or *in the principles of administering the Government*; but there is a division as to *men and to measures*; there is a division as to the degree of hatred and animosity necessary to be used in order to destroy all opposition to Government. A small party, I suppose, sincerely believe, that a few bold strokes would silence all opposition: Others say, no; let it be done by civility and sound argument. So here they are at issue; but their ultimate views are the same—they all wish for peace and tranquillity.—This discord is favorable to the opposition; they act in perfect unison, and if they are so fortunate as to become the Majority, we shall be so unfortunate as to be called a Faction and Disorganizers, and it is probable, that thus alternately, two great parties will administer the Government, and it is not altogether improbable, but they will administer it upon nearly the same principles, *not altogether for conscience sake, but because their interest will compel them.* Thus there will be a perpetual struggle for power—the great objects of ambition will be authority and fame.—Such is MAZZEI's "tempestuous sea of liberty;" and nothing can hush its tumultuous waves, except that spirit, which "rested upon the face of the great deep!" But it is the duty of all men to divert themselves of party animosity, and to live together like Brethren.

Having passed through a great variety of public scenes, and shared liberally in the honors of the state, I now bid you an affectionate farewell, and shall bear in my retirement, a most grateful remembrance of your favors. And may you and our nation at large, "be blessed with the blessings of Heaven above, and of the Earth beneath."

SAMUEL LYMAN.

Springfield, July 14, 1800.

From the Connecticut Courant.

No. I.

To the people of the United States.

THE season is rapidly approaching, when, by your constitutional agents, you will be called upon to elect a President of the United States. This will be the fourth time this high privilege has been exercised, since the adoption of our Federal Constitution. Twice there was no struggle, for WASHINGTON was the Candidate! Against him who could have the hardihood to run the race of honor! At the third election there was more difficulty. The all uniting spell of that GREAT NAME which had scattered all intrigue, and effort, was dissolved and the country was instantly divided into two parties, the Federal, the one, the other Democratic, or Jacobinical. The contest was severe, but success followed the exertions of the Federalists. The disappointed party, have not desponded by reason of their defeat, but like all those whose object is mischief, they have pursued their plans since the last Presidential election, with ten-fold vigour, and ingenuity. Faithful to themselves, and faithful to their cause, those who have no other spirit, union of no cordiality of heart, in any other pursuit, in this great work of destruction, move on with the firmness, the resolution, the compactness of the celebrated Macedonian Phalanx; while the Federalists, thinking or pretending to think, that every thing will go on as it has done from the beginning, sit, and fold their hands in a most astonishing security.

To rouse the Federal party from this fatal sleep, and when roused, to stimulate them to counteract the baneful effects of this subject, it is a subject worthy of attention, few will deny. If attended to thoroughly, I am perfectly persuaded it will rouse some at least to exertion. The exertions of some, will do some good; and perhaps, when the spark of patriotic fire shall once rekindle, it may spread from breast to breast, until the friends of government are all animated by its pure and fervent flame.

The Jacobins assert with the utmost confidence, that Mr. Jefferson's Election is sure. If I thought so I should not hesitate to assert with equal confidence, that the destruction of the Federal Constitution is equally sure. I do not, however, believe that his election is sure. I am well convinced, it may be prevented, if the friends of the government will act with as much union, as much zeal, and as much perseverance, as its enemies act. To induce this union, zeal and perseverance, I shall proceed to support several propositions, which are of great weight and importance in the question to be decided—viz.

- I. Mr. Jefferson has long felt a spirit of deadly hostility against the Federal Constitution, and in conjunction with his party, has been steadily plotting its destruction.
- II. If he should be elected President the Constitution will inevitably fall a sacrifice to Jacobinism.
- III. The result will be dreadful to the people of the United States.

The consideration of these propositions will necessarily take up some time, as many facts and documents must be examined, and a review of the practices and conduct of the Jeffersonian, (by which I mean the Jacobin party,) must be had, in order to make the proper deductions. Should the subject not grow interesting, before it is closed, the fault will be in the writer. It certainly furnishes materials for a discussion, not only interesting, but if the hearts of my countrymen are not harder than the nether mill-stone, full of apprehension full of terror.

And let it be deeply impressed on every mind, that there is a period of only a little more than three months remaining in which they can act with any success. In that short period they must overthrow the labour of years, planned by wisdom, and executed by skill and fidelity—skill and fidelity, exceeded by nothing, but by the wickedness, the dreadful depravity of the actors, or submit to all the evils which follow a nation, without government, without law, without security, without peace or happiness.

BURLEIGH.

No. II.

To the people of the United States.

THE first proposition which I have to prove, is—

Mr. Jefferson has long felt a spirit of deadly hostility against the Federal Constitution, and in conjunction with his party, has been steadily plotting its destruction.

To support this proposition, I shall resort to various sources for evidence and argument.

1. Mr. Jefferson's writings furnish strong proof, that he dislikes all government, which is capable of affording protection and security to those who live under it. About 12 or 15 years ago, Mr. Jefferson published his "Notes on Virginia." The edition which I have was published in London, in 1787. At that period it was fashionable, especially in this country, to theorize about government. Elevated with the success of our struggle for independence, we were in our own opinions, very wise. All the ideas which were derived from experience, were hooted at, and every chamber politician was able to plan, and erect systems of government, competent for all the exigencies of a large and encreasing nation. That Mr. Jefferson ranks high in this class of government-makers, is now generally acknowledged. In addition to his native stock of visionary nonsense, he had imbibed in his European visit, large supplies from the French school, which was then plotting the overthrow of their own government and lightning the torches of that dreadful fire, which has laid waste nearly half the civilized globe. A few expressions from this book of Mr. Jefferson, will shew what his ideas on this subject were. Writing on the subject of universal toleration, and attempting to prove that one kind of religion is as good as another, Mr. Jefferson says—"The legitimate powers of government extend to such acts only as are injurious to others. But, it does me no injury for my neighbour to say there are twenty Gods, or no God. It neither picks my pocket, nor breaks my leg."* By this passage, we are plainly taught this lesson—That morals are no object for the attention, or care of government; that all we have to trouble ourselves about, is, the conduct of the individuals of the community—a lesson which is fraught with all the mischiefs which are now exhibiting, and which for years have been the subject of the most bitter and unrelenting animosity in the recitade of murder, atheism, rape, adultery, &c. it is of no importance, because it neither breaks our legs, nor picks our pockets; and as long as our pockets and legs are safe, government is satisfied. Let us picture to ourselves a community, composed of such individuals; for, if it is improper to controul, or restrain one man, in the free exercise of his opinions, it is equally improper to controul or restrain any number of men. We will then view a nation, whose laws suffer the free propagation of sentiments like these—viz.—That it is just to commit murder, violate female chastity, deny the existence of God, &c. According to Mr. Jefferson's ideas of legitimate government, this is just and ought to be tolerated, and no notice can be taken of it, until men actually do commit murder, rape, &c. But if it is proper to preach these doctrines, why is it not to practise them? It certainly is; unless it is proper to introduce a system of lying into a community.

However, it is fair to acknowledge, that Mr. Jefferson implies in his reasoning, that, though the sentiments do no real mischief, yet the practice will not necessarily follow the precept. According to the doctrine, men have an uncontrollable right to believe, and to inculcate what moral or religious sentiments they please, provided they do not practise them. Will not men generally practise what they believe, provided they are secure from legal punishment? Mr. Jefferson's murderers, atheists, &c. have nothing further to do, then, than to spread their doctrines, until a majority of the community shall become proficients in the faith, and then the laws against the practice of murder, rape, robbery, &c. will be repealed, and the wholesome practice introduced in its fullest latitude.

I trust I am addressing those, who, generally, still believe in the existence of a God of truth and justice; the momentous truths of religion, and the hopes and fears of a future life; who are not yet prepared to part with their bible, their morals or their God. If so, let them seriously consider the extent of the sentiment of Mr. Jefferson which I am considering. I have but just touched upon it; the rest must be left for the more sober reflection of those who are interested in the fate of their country. Mr. Jefferson sets up a claim to be our leader; our head, to fill the seat which once contained a Washington, I have brought this particular sentiment into view, as containing the seeds of those opinions, which have since sprung up in the life and writings of Mr. Jefferson, taking it for granted that he, like all other men, will endeavor as far as possible, to introduce into practice, his favorite sentiments. His sentiments are, that a man has an uncon-

* Notes on Virginia, page 205.