

# THE NORTH-CAROLINA MINERVA, AND RALEIGH ADVERTISER.

RALEIGH.—PUBLISHED EVERY TUESDAY BY HODGE & BOYLAN, PRINTERS TO THE STATE.

VOL. V.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1860.

227.

From the Connecticut Courant.  
No. III.

To the people of the United States.

MR. JEFFERSON concludes his chapter on toleration, by the following passage:—"From the conclusion of this war, we shall be going down hill. It will not then be necessary to resort every moment to the people for support. They will be forgotten, therefore, and their rights disregarded. They will forget themselves, but in the sole faculty of making a due respect for rights. The shackles, therefore, which shall not be knocked off at the conclusion of this war, will remain on us long, will be made heavier and heavier, till our rights shall revive, or expire in a convulsion." A sentiment is here uttered, which it will appear governs Mr. Jefferson in all his political conduct. "The shackles which are not knocked off at the close of the war, will remain on us long; will grow heavier and heavier, till our rights revive or expire in a convulsion." That is, my countrymen, you are so weak, so mercenary, so depraved, that you will in the first place neglect your rights; and when once neglected, there is no other mode of reviving them, than by a convulsion—or in other words a Revolution. Are you prepared to subscribe to this sentiment? Are the people who voluntarily adopted the present Federal Constitution, twelve years ago, extinct? And with them all the virtue and wisdom of the nation? They are not extinct—many of them, at least, and their virtues are still alive. And should they become persuaded, that their present form of government is inadequate to the great purpose for which it was designed, they will devise means to amend, or alter it, unless prevented by the arts, and practices of those, who openly profess to believe, that such amendments, and alterations, must be made by a Convulsion. It will be observed, that Mr. Jefferson speaks without any hesitation, without any doubt—"they will remain—till our rights shall revive," &c. It is an established doctrine with him; one that has been tried and proved. A few years afterwards, we shall find the sentiment is more openly and boldly avowed. Here it was only a stream, by tracing which, we shall explore our way into an ocean, boundless, and tempestuous, agitated by unceasing storms, and tinged with the blood of all nations on whose shores its waves are permitted to dash.

How dangerous is it to say to a large nation, that there is no mode of reviving the spirit, or altering the form, of a government, but by a convulsion! This is precisely the doctrine, which has been taught in all countries whose governments have been termed despotic and tyrannical, especially in Great Britain. Whether it be just as it respects them, is not my province to determine. I should hardly expect that the man, who is proud of the title—"the Man of the people," in the United States, would at a stroke of his pen, dash out all the integrity, public spirit, and virtue of those very people, even if he supposed that they were in fact so debased, so depraved, as he seems to hold them. However, it is fortunate, that hypocrisy cannot easily be supported for a great length of time. Human nature is incapable of perpetual restraint. It is difficult to chain the body—but it is incomparably more so to chain the mind. Mr. Jefferson did not utter this sentiment, because he dreaded that "Convulsion," which is necessarily to follow the neglect of our rights.

To establish this assertion, let us now resort to a source, which has been often examined, but which cannot be examined too often. I allude to the letter to Mazzei. Here we shall find, why Mr. Jefferson says in his "Notes on Virginia," that "our rights will revive or expire, in a convulsion." What men ardently wish for, they are very apt to believe, will take place; especially when they have such good grounds for their faith, as Mr. Jefferson had in this instance. He very well knew, that the arts of a demagogue always were, to apply to the strongest passions of men, for support—that the way to establish himself in the chair of state, would be, to persuade the people, that he was their exclusive friend—and that all their other rulers were their enemies, dishonest in their practices and tyrannical in their hearts. He well knew, that when it should become necessary to change, modify or renew a government, men like himself, would easily inflame the poorer classes of people, with ideas of oppression, and when once inflamed, it would be no difficult task to cause their rights, at least to expire in a convulsion. Now, let it be renewed, that the "Notes on Virginia," were published before the formation of our Federal Constitution. When that event took place, Mr. Jefferson saw his favorite sentiment completely satisfied. Our rights revived without a Convulsion, and a form of government was established, which bid fair to secure them against the fu-

ture attempts of such disorganizers as he was well acquainted with. Is it strange then, that he should prove a foe to that Constitution, which thus cut off all his hopes? Accordingly the first thing Mr. Jefferson complains of in his letter to Mazzei, is, that—"Instead of that republican government, which carried us through the dangers of the war, a party has arisen, whose avowed object is to impose on us the substance, as they have already given us the form of the British Government." What is that Mr. Jefferson is here complaining of? That we have given up the Confederation, and established the Federal Constitution. That is, we had gone down-hill from the close of the war, till 1787, under the confederation, which afforded us no protection, no security; when conscious that we should in a short time be expiring in a convulsion, the people who Mr. Jefferson says will forget every thing but getting money, contrary to the forebodings of "the man of the people," coolly, wisely, and virtuously, agreed to revive their government, without a convulsion, and accordingly established the Federal Constitution. To this Constitution, Mr. Jefferson gives the most odious name he can find—"The British Government." All our Democrats profess to love our Constitution. Mr. Jefferson makes the same profession. But here are his sentiments drawn from a private letter of friendship, to an Italian; a letter which, undoubtedly, the writer expected would be kept secret. From such a source we may rationally expect to derive the truth; because few people play the hypocrite, when conversing familiarly with a bosom friend. It is in public, in pursuit of ambition, in the possession of places of power and profit that we are to look for disguise, and fraud. Mr. Jefferson declares our Federal Constitution a monarchy; and yet, he is very willing to accept of offices under it. He has willingly enjoyed two lucrative places under it, he is now ready graciously to accept a third, worth only 25,000 dollars a year. And rather than to lose these offices, he is capable of taking oath after oath, to support that monarchy.

It may be said, that though he did not approve of the Constitution, at first, his coolness, by a long acquaintance, has warmed him. We have not yet, finished with this letter to Mazzei. An answer will be found there. Among the party who were in favor of the Federal Constitution, and which was composed of such men as General Washington, &c. Mr. Jefferson, says were—"all timid persons, who prefer the calm of despotism, to the tempestuous sea of liberty." At this time, most clearly, Mr. Jefferson had no friendship for the Constitution; for the list of characters which he enumerates, as being its friends, does not comprise him. Indeed so far is he including himself, or any of his party, that he considers its friends as being pleased with the calm of despotism, which he of all things dislikes. But the truth is more obvious from the next sentence of the letter. "They"—that is, the friends of the Constitution—would wrest from us our Liberty, but we shall preserve it. It is sufficient that we guard ourselves, and that we break the Lilliputian ties by which they have bound us." Mr. Jefferson here explicitly declares, that the friends of the Federal Constitution are endeavouring to wrest from the people of the United States, their Liberty. How; Certainly by supporting the Constitution; because, he says "we," that is himself and his party have nothing to do, but to destroy the Lilliputian tie, viz. that very Federal Constitution.

Here, then, we have the summing up of Mr. Jefferson's meaning, when he speaks of Liberty the calm of Despotism, and loving the Federal Constitution. His liberty is licentiousness—his calm of Despotism, is the beneficent effects of our Federal Constitution—and his love of the Constitution, is a steady determination to destroy it, as soon as the means are in his power.

It appears to me, that the result of the whole will be that Mr. Jefferson has long felt a deadly hostility against the Federal Constitution. The remaining branch of the proposition will next be considered.

BURLEIGH.

No. IV.

To the people of the United States.

I am now to establish the last part of the first proposition, viz. That Mr. Jefferson, and his party, have long endeavoured to destroy our Federal Constitution. And here I shall remark once, for all, that I consider every effort which has been made, every plan which has been pursued, by the democratic party, as being directly or indirectly, chargeable to Mr. Jefferson. He is so perfectly their chief, that we might as well impute measures to feet without heads, as to ascribe conduct to any of his subordinates, without presupposing his consent and approbation.

Having, as I think, shewn Mr. Jefferson's hostile spirit towards the constitution, it will not be surpris-

ing, that he should be found on the side of its enemies. Accordingly the moment the government begins to operate, we find him at the head of a party organized to frustrate its measures, and to check its progress.—From the establishment of the funding system, to the end of the last session of congress, the party has pursued one course, viz. oppose the government. The funding system, the bank, the proclamation of neutrality, the treaty with Great Britain, the raising of troops, the establishment of a navy, the direct tax, the Alien and Sedition Laws, the annulling the French Treaty, stopping the intercourse with the French, &c. &c. have each in their turn, been opposed by the democratic party, with the utmost vehemence. Now, if it could be reasonably supposed that this party were friends to the Constitution, and only disliked certain measures of the government, there would be some apology for them. But, let me ask, if this was their disposition, would they not have proposed other measures, as substitutes for those which have been adopted, and in this way have offered a choice. Instead of that, I think I may say, without danger of contradiction, that the democratic party, has never proposed, or brought forward in congress, one important original measure for the consideration of the legislature, since the establishment of the government, Mr. Madison's, (or rather Mr. Jefferson's) celebrated Commercial Resolutions excepted. But, is a government to be administered without measures, or is a constitution a blessing which stands a useless monument, only to be gazed at? This has not proceeded from incapacity in the party. Such men as Burr, Madison, Gallatin, &c. are capable of proposing measures, of forming plans of some sort or other. Yet nothing of this kind takes place.

The only scheme has been to oppose whatever measure has been proposed by the federalists, and to use every possible exertion to frustrate; in short to adopt the language of one of the leaders of the party, "to stop the wheels of government." I am sensible it is said by them, that it is all done from pure affection to the constitution, that their motives are—the people, the extensive guardians of their rights. These gentlemen seem to forget, that honesty and sincerity, rarely make many professions. They shew their goodness by their works. Is it a mark of strong affection to the constitution, in the democratic party, that they can oppose the government? If our funding system is bad, what is to be substituted in its place? The federalists did what they thought best; the democrats say it is vile; but none of them is good enough to propose something better. Such conduct argues neither genius, integrity, nor virtue. Indeed, it proves strongly the want of them all.

Another very forcible body of evidence, that the democratic party are endeavoring to destroy our government, arises from the unceasing strain of calumny, which has been poured out upon every friend to its administration. As soon as the federal government began its operations, and its course was in some degree marked out, the most prominent, and influential character were designated for destruction. Mr. Hamilton was the author of the financial system. Accordingly, he was subjected to the vilest abuse, the foulest opprobrium, which could be cast upon him, by the vilest, and foulest wretches, which the dens of mischief could furnish. This practice was pursued without any cessation, until he retired from office. Mr. Jay was appointed Chief Justice. A life of unfulfilled integrity, a long devotion of his great talents to his country's cause and the most eminent and distinguished services, were overlooked, and a torrent of calumny for years, was poured upon him from every Jacobin society, until he sought for peace in a situation, which was less obnoxious to the foes of our government. Mr. Ellsworth, one of the ablest, and most virtuous men, which this or any other country can boast of, has had the hardihood to render great services to his country, to do his duty. His reward has been detraction. Mr. Pickens, honest, plain, virtuous, dignified, and able, in an eminent degree, in office, is vilified, and defamed; out of office, is pursued to the solitude of the wilderness, to the log-hut in the desert, with a hue and cry of slander, falsehood and villainy. It is not necessary to add further names, except the present, and former President of the United States. Mr. Adams, in pursuing those measures which have been esteemed Federal, has suffered more foul reproaches, than the depraved inhabitants of Billingsgate bestow upon each other. Common decency—that plain vulgar civility which is paid to the world in general, by the most unpolished members of society, has been denied to the Chief Magistrate of the United States; and conduct more vile, than is practised by thieves and robbers, has been often ascribed to him by the Democratic party.