

Edenton Gazette.

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NORFOLK, November 27.

The National Intelligencer contains no other remarks on Mr. Jackson's Circular to the Consuls of his nation than what follows:

"The following letter, said to be addressed to the British Consuls is taken from the Independent American. We are authorized to say that its contents, so far as they contradict the article published in this paper of the 13th instant relative to the course of the negotiation between our government & Mr. Jackson are unfounded."

We confess we are disappointed in not seeing something less equivocal from the National Intelligencer, which for this purpose may be considered as the organ of government. We expected to have seen a positive denial to the assertion made in Mr. Jackson's letter in the following words:

"One of the facts alluded to has been admitted by the Secretary of State himself in his letter to me of the 19th Oct. viz. that the three conditions forming the substance of Mr. Erskine's original instructions were submitted to him by that gentleman."

It is neither denied nor admitted directly, that the substance of Mr. Erskine's instructions were submitted to our government, but we must confess that such an important fact not being denied, leaves ground to suspect that that part of Mr. Jackson's statement is not unfounded. Where facts are asserted with confidence on one side, and not denied by the other, we might conclude that they could not be denied; we will, however, suspend our opinion, (being unwilling to believe that Mr. Erskine did communicate his instructions, or even the substance of them to our government,) until the whole subject comes before the public, which it no doubt will at the meeting of Congress.

We have learned that the official and written avowal alluded to in the letter of Mr. Jackson, related to the affair of the Chesapeake, and we further learn that the rupture between our government, and that Minister, did not take place until after the African had sailed; though the correspondence which produced it, we believe, did; Mr. Oakley goes out in the British packet with the official dispatches on this subject.

Few circumstances have occurred furnishing more materials for discussion than the present. We hope to see the subject fairly and independently discussed, for surely no subject ought to be discussed with more freedom and candour, than one, in which the all important events of peace and war, are involved. When we say we hope to see the subject independently discussed, we allude to a sentiment or maxim, which the ruling party wish to establish. It is laid down, that in all discussions between our own government and another, that ours is always in the right, and those of our citizens, who should dissent from this arbitrary rule, are denounced as enemies to their own, and the partisans of a foreign government. As no man wishes to be even suspected of being an enemy to his country, the timid are awed into silence, and the selfish converted into partisans by the hope of preference. But the independent politician, unawed by popular censure, and regarding the patronage of power, will enter into the enquiry with a determination to ascertain truth.

For our own part we can conceive nothing more slavish and degrading in principle, and destructive in practice than the sentiment or maxim we have noticed. It may be a very convenient doctrine for those in office, but we both hope and believe it will be rejected with indignation. War, which is the trade of ambitious rulers, has ever been, and ever will be ruinous to the people. It is not given to the people of every nation, the right of discussing the measures of their government, but it is a glorious right which Americans possess and will exercise, and in our judgment, it cannot be exercised upon a subject of more importance, than one on which war depends. If it is our right and our duty to examine and determine whether the nation should go to war or not, how we ask is that determination to be made without a free and candid discussion?—for what purpose do we exercise the right and perform the duty, if we are not at liberty to express our convictions? If we are stopped in the commencement of the enquiry by the terrors of denunciation, what better are we than the slaves of Napoleon, who are carried into wars to gra-

tify his ambition and the aggrandisement of his family and favourites? Does any one suppose, that if the people of France could have been permitted to have decided on the war which Napoleon is waging against Austria and Spain, that they would have given their assent?

It is absurd to suppose that we are always in the right in our discussions with foreign nations, and it is both insolent and wicked to brand as enemies of their country, those who have the independence to say that we are not so. The inconsistency of those who wish to stifle fair enquiry, and silence independent discussion, will be exposed by what we are going to state. Great-Britain is engaged at this time in a war, upon the unsuccessful issue of which she has not to apprehend the loss of some remote colony; she is contending with an enemy whose power and means, are greater than any human being ever possessed—an enemy who avows that nothing short of her destruction shall satiate his revenge. In such a contest one would think that every heart and hand in the nation would be united. But it is not so, if we judge from the writings in what are called the opposition papers, in which the measures of the government are exposed with bitter severity, as well as regards the causes of the war, and as to the mode of conducting it, and this opposition is carried to such a height that it sometimes would seem as if it rejoiced in the disasters of the country. These writings of the opposition papers in England, are copied with avidity into the democratic papers of this country, and in proportion as they revile their government, and expose its measures, the more they are admired and commended for their independence, and even Colver comes in for his share of applause, when he exposes the measure of his own government. We would now ask how the same men can admire this independence and freedom of enquiry in another country, and under circumstances such as we have stated, and such as are notorious to all the world, and yet denounce it in our own?

We have submitted these remarks, as expressive of the determination which we have formed, and of the conduct we mean to pursue. Conscious that we are directed by a regard for the interest and honor of our country, we shall examine the subject with freedom, and express our conviction, without regarding consequences as they may affect us personally, for while we are desirous of the public approbation, we will not endeavor to obtain it at the price of our own.

Ledger.

JUNIUS.

From the London Independent Whig.

To his Royal Highness the DUKE of YORK.

SIR, If, on your retreat from office, you had gone into actual retirement, I should not have the cruelty to disturb you; I would respect the shelter which misfortune reserves for the lowest of her victims, and leave you in that privacy which is equally suited to the moderation of your talents and your virtues.

Your Royal Highness will be convinced that I am not to be easily impressed by common opinion, when I will admit that your existence has not been altogether useless to the country. To establish any valuable truth, one example is better than a thousand lectures; we have a natural suspicion of theory, and we might have lingered through ages of scepticism before we could have found so strong an example as that supplied by your Royal Highness—that no degradation can disqualify a man for the service of his country—that the most vulgar vice can give a lesson of morality, and the meanest thirst of power a triumph to the constitution.

I know that, to your delicacy of feeling, nothing is likely to be more unexpected, or perhaps, more painful, than a public charge of the cardinal virtues.

The double accusation of piety and patriotism is, it must be owned, rather oppressive for the blushing humility of a man who has hitherto succeeded in concealing his virtues from the suspicion of even his most intimate friends. But, Sir, if I am not mistaken, you were born for a public example!—Other men may rest their claims on the gratitude, you deserve your reward from the justice of the country—"Sepultum virtutem quarimus,"—and it is a duty which I care not decline, to draw your buried merits up to light, and demand for them the honor which is their due.

I must be permitted to pause in your panegyric—an old man's imagination sinks before the task of following you through your course of glory; and, in an age when every thing seems full of alteration, it is no slight gratification to have discovered so striking an example of a total defiance of change, a

mind steadily pursuing its original impulse; turning neither to the right or to the left; neither to be awed by the chilling formality of reason, nor ashamed by the sneering impertinence of ridicule.

But to have enemies is the natural fate of merit. Your enemies may endeavor to represent your course as easy and scarcely requiring any thing more than a due contempt of those restrictions which vulgar minds may hold sacred—"Facilis descensus Averni."—Ye! I defy their bitterest malice to give another instance of a man who has devoted such opportunities and such industry to his purpose, or whose progress has been at once so regular and so precipitate—so rapid and so undeviating.

Other candidates for fashionable fame have exercised their faculties upon parts of the system; your Royal Highness may have a few superiors at the gaming table, or the Four in hand Club, the race course, or the stew—but, for the range of the universal science, you are without a competitor.—You surpass them as far as the rapidity of instinct outstrips the tardiness of instruction—and for each and all, from the penning of a love letter to the capitulation of an army, you are unequalled, unimitated, inimitable.

I can easily conceive that patriotism like your's would feel somewhat restless in retirement; a consciousness of superior abilities naturally urges to their exertion. It is reported that you condescend still to direct the arrangements of the commander in chief's office; and, as if it were your determination to dazzle us with a blaze of mingled virtues, and a splendid self-denial to a princely patriotism, contenting yourself with the pay and patronage of the command, and leaving to another the undivided honor of the responsibility.

But it is absurd to estimate you by the conceptions of common men. You have, probably, some secret instinct, some dark and prophetic consciousness that you have not yet fulfilled the end of your being, and paid your debt to your country. Some meditations on your past services to the empire may have convinced you that you have been marked out for a memorable duty; that like the favorite slave of the ancient tyrants your assistance is necessary to the last hour of her renown; and that no other hand can so effectually shorten the pain of her final struggle.

Report has even gone so far as to say that the appointment of Lord Chatham to the command of the expedition is nothing more than an ingenious contrivance for your Royal Highness's immediate and public resumption of authority. As a friend to the feelings of an injured patriot, I would not advise you to trust too much to this intriguing expedient. You still have to feel the prejudice to which merit like your's must always be exposed! You have already escaped its violence; a second plunge might not be equally fortunate.—The tide of public opinion still runs strong against you. Your robes of office may have hitherto kept you on the surface—but they have been too much drenched not to have lost their buoyancy. They would be too heavy for your feebleness. You would be swept away at once by an irresistible torrent, and your country would have to lament the obscure waste of a life whose last moments should have been given to her interests, consecrated by the solemnities of national justice, and devoted to the ends of national example.

Beware; I warn you, beware of taking on you the command of the army; it will be your ruin. But you must earn your fate by some humble crime! If you are to suffer, let justice take its course; but the soiled and trampled laurels of our army must not be the wreath that binds the victim.

Stay, Sir, if you would not have every parent in the land raising curses on your head. Stay in your retirement; it is fittest for you. You may there best exhibit and indulge all those qualities which nature like your's fell as the first privileges of rank and opulence. You may be a Tiberius at Caprea, or a Domitian at his villa, and alternately enjoy the pure festivities of the one, and the philosophic solitude of the other.

Beware of intruding yourself into command; the last army of the empire must not be again trusted with you before an enemy. Alread to look upon the consequence. You have made me feel more than I thought so many years had left to me! You have roused an old man from the borders of the grave! I have not meddled with public affairs for many years. I thought, that in turning the public eye on the Grays and Mansfields of my day, I had done my measure of service to my country; but I can serve her yet. I have been the best friend of your Royal Highness's family, and am personally your's when I warn you against daring to take any share of the public authority.—You can be SAFE only where you are OBSCURE! The tiger, in his

cage, may be suffered to live an object of fearless abhorrence and cheap curiosity; but, once let loose, it becomes the duty of every man to arm himself against the violence of the royal savage.

If you are not this moment the virtual Commander in Chief, why is the influence of your resentments so fatally predominant?—Why is your enmity a simple ground of exclusion?—Must we trace the serpent in every dark and sinuous winding of his retreat, by the infection of his trail?

Why, when such a man as Chatham is employed, is such a man as Ferguson thrown out of service?—Is it because he took the single resolution of doing his duty with equal heroism in the Senate and in the field? Or is it that you think it but fair to acquaint us with the principles on which a higher rank may empower you to act, and take this opportunity of declaring that no man can be permitted to serve his country till he has turned traitor to his conscience, and that the duties of the army are contrary and hostile to the rights of the people?

It may be for your interest to meditate on these charges. I have still some hopes of your amendment. I will confess that, on this point, the general opinion is opposite to mine. Your friends attribute your past conduct to a persevering folly—your enemies to an obstinate vice.—Both agree that, as your errors were the work of nature, it is absurd for their reformation;—that, as you rushed into crime without reflection, so you will continue in it without remorse. But, in my intercourse with you, I have observed a certain principle which has been termed the beginning of wisdom. The most degrading stain on other characters, is probably the paving of virtue in your's. If your feelings are not to be touched by the wrongs of the people, let your fears be roused by their resentment.—The wrath of British men is slow, but it is progressive;—the effect of heavy injury, embittered by continual insult;—not easily roused, but, once roused, not to be laid without substantial justice;—it will not be satisfied with cutting off the contemptible minions that cling round and prey upon you—it will be neither in your hereditary rank nor in your remembered services to protect you!—The conflagration which has hitherto unnumbered, or only thrown out its casual blaze, shall awake;—it shall not be content with feeding on the dry and worthless weeds that lie at your feet, it shall rise to the Mighty of the Forest, and, in their parched and blasted verdure, leave only the more striking monuments of its unsparring desolation.

Public forbearance has been exhausted—the people cannot submit to further insult—they will not comprehend the honest policy of redeeming your character at the expense of your country;—and, by the appointment of such men as Chatham and Dundas, proving to the nation that your's are not the only hands by which it may be ruined.

Is my Lord Chatham a man fit to be put at the head of a British Expedition?—What are his exploits of successful intrepidity, or practised skill? Is it for his political or his martial prowess? Is it that your love of justice has been enraptured by the good natured impartiality which has made him the pliant instrument of so many administrations? Or is it that you reason from his civil or military accomplishments, not unjustly inferring that the man who has spent his whole life in the barter of office, will be peculiarly dexterous at a convention, and, in spite of Houdscote and the Helder, obliterate even your own renown in the art of capitulating with the enemy?

You are not totally ruined. I dare not bid the vilest criminal despair. Your duty is plain; dismiss those miserable substitutes of your's—send old Dundas to Chelsea and his pension—send Chatham to his cheap indulgences, his reversions, and his half pay; tell him that the people will not suffer him to serve them; that they are beginning to know and to despise such men—that their service is not the private sinecure it used to be—and that, if they have punished the tripping honor of a Prince, that they will not be more lenient to the stately perfidy of a peer!

Then, sir, instantly retire,—misfortune has but yet done half her work—she has brought you to shame, let her now bring you to repentance! It would be useless to disguise from you that the period must be long, and the remorse sincere, before the empire can consider you as the son of its sovereign.

But I once more warn you to beware of retrieving your character by any sudden experiment on popular applause!—If it be true, that from Chatham's incapacity, you look to ill success—and from that, to your assuming the command with some comparative *clat*, no language can be strong enough for your reprobation. But the plan has too much of laboured treachery for your indolence. This would not be the spirit of the soldier struggling fairly in the great cause which would