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RALEIGH, (N. C.) THURSDAY, MAY 25, 1899.

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ing the reign of JEFFERSON TERROR, never knew a reign more terrible than the latter part of his administration) a vindictive and remorseless war was commenced against every man of virtue and talent in the American party, that did not yield implicit obedience to executive opinions and measures. The error was the design, whatever was the motive view, the practise was to break down constitutional independence, and to coerce the people by pains and penalties, by persecution and proscription, into a slavish submission to royal doctrine, that "the King can do no wrong." Jefferson has himself said (and truly confesses that I am no admirer either of man or of his doctrines) but Jefferson himself justly remarked, that "religious persecution has no other tendency than that of making men either hypocrites or victims.—No political persecution the same tendency, undoubtedly has. Now whether he was the origin of that execrable system of persecution against republican independence and talent which was set in brisk motion, or only silyly connived at and encouraged, I know not; but it was certainly instituted under his auspices. Did a republican suffer from Mr. Jefferson! He was degraded. "My Lords, my Lords, the King's word is not at." was the hue and cry set up. Down went the man who said that the King's gun boats were not as large as a 74. Down dislike the proposition for a dry dock? Then you are no republican, for as Mr. Jefferson approves of dry docks, and all republicanism is in Mr. Jefferson, ergo, republicanism is a dry dock! A man landing here from Europe, who had not witnessed such things, might say, if reading this passage this is a very good joke.—He could imagine that in the "most enlightened country in the world," as congress resolved, as; the most free and only free, as the King tribe insist, and beyond all question the most liberal and republican, whether congress resolve or the slaughter-house maintain it; not; I say he could not imagine that in a country, dogmas and doctrines so vicious and anti-republican, had been created by republican zeal, and enforced by republican persecution. Still it is a fact, such things have been, and such things yet John Randolph censured some of the errors of the administration, and therefore John *could not* be republican, down must go. He had never deserted republican principles, but what then? He did despise the king, and that was precisely the offence as if he had apostatised from the principles of the constitution. Duane said that John was right, and that Jefferson was "a good innocent man enough, but who would stand with a rope about his neck, which they drew as they pleased." He was immolated in his Aurora, and he declared that one of the Philadelphia ward meetings. But he afterwards changed, for he can smile, and still play the villain—afterwards obtained a colony! Ah! Colony! Then the king was to be respected and Randolph was wrong! Wrong in asking colony! Randolph was now in his district: out he must go, for he is in congress a republican of talents and true, is a damnable sin! No man is fit for a seat in that honourable body who can sit like a Mandarin, and only nod his head when the president asks him to do so. John is not a disciple of Confucius, and Chinese were started against him in his day.—The first four had so fine a prospect of being completely distanced, that after running the course once round they gave up! Then the late president's nephew, was brought out, but as John's constituents were a bit fonder of Confucius than him, the late president's nephew was beaten in heart's content. If Fox had been deposed in Westminster, England would have been led for the respectability and independence of the house of commons. The Western electors never permitted themselves to be overawed by royal power.

From the same.

MADISON.—I have several times had honour of congratulating the community on the abandonment by Mr. Madison of that evil and ruinous course of policy which had been pursued by Mr. Jefferson in relation to our foreign affairs, and I once thought that the recent very prompt and satisfactory adjustment of our prominent difference with England, was a necessary and salutary consequence of retracing by Mr. Madison the very awkward and embarrassing path which had been unfortunately taken by his immediate predecessor. These opinions were not however advanced in a spirit of exultation over a president whose acts, being the result of prejudice and intolerance, were invidious and intolerably oppressive. To become universally and justly odious; on the contrary, they were dictated by patriotic affection, which had been inspired in the act of the new president, and which

liberating us from an unnecessary state of commercial thralldom, and diffusing joy over every heart, had given us an earnest of an administration exactly the reverse of that which had reduced the nation almost to despair and eminently exposed our republican governments to subversion. Every enlightened lover of his country will rejoice, with me, in the assurance with which Mr. Madison has furnished us, that his administration will be guided by wholesome experience, and not by pernicious theory ; by that impartiality which is the essence of the neutral state, and not by that criminal predilection for one belligerent which cannot be indulged but at the expence of the other, as well as to the injury of our own nation, in every thing essentially affecting its character, its quiet, and its resources. I persuade myself that the miserable scenes which we have witnessed will never again be exhibited.

The Baltimore Whig, a paper too disorganizing to attract respect, and too obscure to merit particular notice, denies that our government has retraced its steps, and after impertinently remarking that "I know that I was uttering an untruth" when I made the assertion, adds, very pleasantly and with much wisdom "ingenious Mr. Creecham, do tell us how a nation can retrace its steps which stands still?" Philosophy indeed teaches us that a body which is at rest will always remain so until put in motion by a superior power. But much as our late executive dabbled in a *half* philosophy, the administration has not, as the Whig party intimates, always been at rest. I think I shall evince to the satisfaction of the humblest understanding, before I have done with this subject, that it has *advanced backwards*; that it has completely retraced its steps; that the lack of wisdom in the late president, or *too much of something worse*, brought upon us those calamities which for the last two years we have suffered, and that so long ago, the happy adjustment of our differences with England, which has just been accomplished, might have been effected upon precisely the same terms.

Perhaps it will be conceded, for I think it true, that if the reparation which has been offered by the one nation and accepted by the other, had been tendered and received two years ago, a commercial treaty between us and England would have been, as it is now likely to be, a necessary consequence, and that such a treaty would have been an effectual bar to and an absolute preclusion of the orders in council, and therefore of our memorable embargo; supposing, as has been sometimes alleged, that the orders were the cause of that foolish and fatal measure. If this be so, and I am of opinion it is, it is to the non-adjustment of the affair of the Chesapeake that we owe all our agitations, our broils, and our sufferings. We shall now see that it was in the power of Mr. Jefferson finally and satisfactorily to have settled this unpleasant affair immediately after it happened, and that the adjustment of it by Mr. Madison is solely attributable to Mr. Madison's utterly abandoning the position which Mr. Jefferson had assumed, and to which, to the great danger of the impoverishment of his country and the severance of the union he pertinaciously adhered.

It will be recollected that Mr. Monroe, before he had received any instructions from Mr. Jefferson in reference to the Chesapeake, wrote an unofficial note to Mr. Canning upon the attack which had been made on that frigate, in which note, deprecating the outrage in pointed terms, he explicitly stated, that it was an act of so atrocious a character, as to forbid associating with it any other subjects. Until therefore, reparation was made, the other causes of misunderstanding between the two nations, Mr. Monroe was of opinion, should remain as they were. This is exactly the principle of the adjustment lately effected by Mr. Madison, but the reverse of that which Mr. Jefferson had thought fit to assume. Mr. Monroe thought as every enlightened and honourable man would have thought, but the thoughts of Mr. Jefferson were precisely the opposite.

Mr. Monroe received his instructions with surprise. He was instructed *not* to accept reparation for the attack on the Chesapeake, unless accompanied by a concession on another and distinct point, which was of course not connected with it, and which I venture to assert England will never make until she is beaten into it. The following were his instructions. After recapitulating the facts about the Chesapeake, Mr. Jefferson instructed Mr. Madison to say—

"The nature and extent of the satisfaction ought to be suggested to the British government, not less by a sense of its own honour than by justice to that of the United States. A formal disavowal of the deed, and restoration of the four seamen to the ship from which they were taken, are things of course and indispensable. As a security for the future, an entire abolition of impressments from vessels under the flag of the United States, if not already arranged, is also to make an *indispensable part of the satisfaction.*" [Message, p. 7-8]

Here we see that reparation for the attack was not sufficient; that the outrage and atonement were not to stand alone; that for some reason with which we are not perhaps acquainted, a very delicate subject was coupled with both, and that an "entire abolition of impressments from merchant vessels, was also to make an indispensable part of the satisfaction."—This, instead of being a spirited national demand of atonement for a national offence, was a direct insult offered to the British government, and an avowal which no sensible man can mistake, that the object of Mr. Jefferson was not satisfaction but a state of continued and increased enmity.

Well; Mr. Monroe had of course to follow the Protean changes and shapes of the "king his master." Contrary to his opinion—to that which had formally though originally been expressed to Mr. Canning, he found himself instructed to connect with a clause for reparation, a demand to which he knew, and which Mr. Jefferson knew, as well as all the world besides, England would not yield. I am instructed to demand, said Mr. Monroe, that the "whole subject of impressments shall be taken up at this time," (p. 32 of the Message) and that atonement for the attack on the Chesapeake will not be refused associated with "an entire abolition of impressments" from merchant vessel. Alas! what could have been the motive of Mr. Jefferson for such an unnatural use of things?

To this injudicious coupling of two distinct subjects, which Mr. Maglioni solved and relinquished, Mr. Canning makes the following reply. President's

"At the same time that I offer to you this explanation of the principles upon which his majesty has authorized me to discuss with you the subject of your representations, and that I render to you the assurance of the disposition to conduct that discussion in the most amicable form, and to bring it to a conclusion satisfactory to the honor, and feelings of both countries; it is matter of regret that you should have been instructed to annex to the demand of reparation for the attack of the Leopard upon the Chesapeake, the proposition whatever respecting the search for British seamen in merchant vessels, a subject which is wholly unconnected with the cause of the Leopard and the Chesapeake, and which can only tend to complicate and embarrass a discussion, in itself of sufficient delicacy and importance."

"The difficulties in the way of such adjustment already smoothed, by the disavowal voluntarily offered, at the very outset of the discussion, of the general and unqualified pretension to search ships of war for deserters. There remained only to ascertain the facts of the particular case, and to proportion the reparation to the wrong.

Is the British government now to understand, that you, Sir, are not authorized to enter into this question separately and distinctly; without having obtained, as a preliminary concession, the consent of this country to enter into discussion with respect to the practice of searching merchant vessels for deserters?

“Whether any arrangement can be devised by which this practice may admit of modification, without prejudice to the essential rights and interests of Great Britain, is a question which, as I have already said, the British government, may at a proper season, be ready to entertain; but whether the consent of Great Britain to the entering into such discussion shall be extorted at the price of an amicable adjustment, as to the condition of being admitted to make honourable reparation for an injury, is a question of quite a different sort, and one which can be answered no otherwise than by an unqualified refusal.”

What says Mr. Monroe? An honest and an honourable man, he answers without ambiguity. "You ask, he observes to Mr. Canning, whether I am authorized to separate this latter incident (the attack on the Chesapeake, from the general practice, and to treat it as a distinct topic?) On this point I have to state, that *my instructions, which are explicit, enjoin me to consider the whole of this class of injuries as an entire subject.*" Message, p. 43.

Here the negotiation ended in London. Mr. Jefferson refused to accept reparation unless accompanied with an entire abolition of im- pressments from *merchant vessels*," which was to make a part of it. Reparation has now been made by England and accepted by Mr. Madison *without the least notice being taken of im pressments from MERCHANT VESSELS.* Was I then not right? Has not Mr. Madison completely *retraced the steps of Mr. Jefferson?* Has he not abandoned his injurious policy? —Has he not wisely turned his back on the principles, in this respect, of the "illustrious Jefferson?" The very reparation which was tendered to Mr. Monroe in London, and which was refused by Mr. Jefferson, is now accepted. "But an entire abolition of im- pressment from merchant vessel, has not ALSO made an indispensable part of the satisfaction."

Go now to breakfast, Mr. Whig, with what appetite you may. Adversity teacheth a fool wisdom.

From the (Washington) Monitor.

THE DOWNFALL OF REPUBLICS.

Inquiries have been often instituted into the real causes of the downfall of republics. No doubt they are numerous. But among them all, I know of none more powerful and rapid in its operation than that continual discussion which we see manifested by certain writers and talkers, to wrest mankind from the course dictated by their nature, and to instil

the mind strange notions of new systems
the management of society by govern-
ment.

This idea has often been excited in my mind; and it was forcibly renewed a day or two past, by a production in the National Intelligencer, proposing to withdraw the American community from the ancient channels of human wisdom, and to proceed upon projects, which, to say the best of them, render civilization ridiculous, and eventually lead to destruction.

Why should we discard the lessons of experience? Why should we do, go that knowledge which is the result of the observation of half a century of ages? What vain pride of the heart would impel us to spurn every thing European, *merely because it is European*? Wherefore came American civilization, if it came not from Europe? The "aborigines" of this country were the merest savages in nature: and even now we treat them as such. I confess that I am cosmopolite enough to desire that all the excellencies of the world be concentrated, by importation, if you please, in America. The human mind, from its infancy to civilization, is of such slow progression, that we ought to grasp and secure every thing good within our reach, whether it be English, French, German, Italian or Spanish. The *Common* says one



FOR LEASE,
THE house and 25 acres of land near Raleigh, lately the residence of Will. Jones, decd.—This place will form an agreeable summer residence, and the lease may be extended to the term of nine years if desired.—Applications to be made to Mr. John Haywood, at Raleigh or the subscriber in Halifax.

March 31, 1899