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history of political parties in the States, may be of some use in estimating the character of those, who pretend to be real, and almost the exclusive friends of the Constitution was formed, and met with opposition from various quarters, who were from that opposition, anti-federalists.—Among these, were Jefferson, George Clinton, Elbridge Gerry, and a considerable number of others, since figured on the stage of politics, great friends of that very constitution, whose people whose affairs were to be regulated. Opposed to them, and in fact, the constitution were George Washington, John Jay, Oliver Ellsworth, Charles C. Pinckney, Alexander Hamilton, Rufus King, and the multitude of distinguished men, by whose labours it was formed, and conducted, for 12 years, and who were the heads of the party, which, from 1798, to the present time have been known by the name of Federalists. Their conduct has been uniform, and unchangeable in their political conduct. Gen. Washington was their illustrious leader; and in which he pointed out, they have proceeded.  
Genet made his entry into the United States, as the envoy of the bloody Revolution of France, he found it expedient to divide the old anti-federalists into a different order to create a French influence in us. For this purpose, in imitation of the Jacobins at home, he organized Jacobin Societies in Philadelphia, New York, Boston &c. &c. and a scheme of intercourse, and union, which, in its progress, bid fair to change the public affairs of the nation. That object in view, by the formation of Societies, was to produce a union and concert of opinion among the party. Although indignation soon frowned these associations nominal silence, yet the important influence which I have mentioned was effected. The minds of the party throughout the United States were soon drilled into discipline, and they thought, spoke and acted as they were directed by their su-

a constant and vehement attack on the federalists for a succession of years, and the eye and direction of Mr. Jefferson, the way, and the government passed the hands of those who opposed its formation and adoption. Those who were at the head of the anti-federalists, and secondly, deposed, became the ruling party, and were supported by the people of the country with vigour and management of that constitution which they had, from the first, in a state of hostility. Thomas Jefferson was chosen President, and Aaron Burr vice-president. As soon as the fact was ascertained, public rejoicings were made wherever possible enough to make a frolic could be had, and the party gave thanks to some of their success. Their two "illustrious" leaders were flattered and idolized, in an extravagant and fulsome manner, the time the result of the election was until the votes were counted in consequence of the tide of popularity and glory, set equal strength towards the two candidates. But upon discovering that the Electors bestowed upon both an equal number of votes, it became necessary for the Representatives to determine, which should mount the Presidential Chair. The members having the greatest dread of Burr, gave their votes to Burr, and for several days it was a matter of doubt whether Burr, after all his pains, would reach the object of his ambition.  
Burr actually succeeded; but Burr, for placing himself to be placed in competition with the popular idol, was instantly marked for destruction, which has since overtaken him. Those persons, who a few days before were his warm admirers and peneys became transformed into implacable and calumniators; and he has been dogged from step to step, till he has become a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth.  
Jefferson, however, retained his popularity, and was elected president the second time, for his colleague, George Clinton, was of the anti-federal party. Although elected in life, still he was young enough to be president, and the party praised him for his revolutionary services, and for his patriotism. This lasted until near the expiration of the second four years of Mr. Jefferson's presidential life, when he having consented to be elected the third time, it became necessary to determine on a successor. At that moment, Mr. Clinton became too old for the place. For vice-president, indeed, he was chosen again; but as for president, it

required a young Virginian. Accordingly, Clinton was decried, and Madison elected.

A schism was produced by this state of things, among the friends of Clinton, not only in the country at large, but even in the state of New York. His old companions, those who had grown grey in the political career with him, turned their backs upon him and threw their influence into the Madisonian scale. And at the present moment, the paucity of party spirit is no where in a more unmixed state, than in New York, among those who, two years ago, were genuine Clintonians.

In Virginia also, although those who formerly composed the Jeffersonian party, agreed in one point, viz.—that the successor of Mr. Jefferson, should be a Virginian, yet they divided on the candidate, some being for Madison, and some for Monroe. Both of these men had been favourites with the democrats; but when they both set their faces for the presidential throne, "part of the people followed Tibni the son of Girath to make him king, and part followed Omri. But the people that followed Omri prevailed against the people that followed Tibni; so Tibni died, and Omri reigned." Monroe, in his native state, the legislature of which, on his return from Europe a short time before, complimented his virtues and talents in warm terms, was able to draw off only a moderate portion of the people, and had no other comfort from the contest, than that of being out stripped in the chase of office by his rival, aided by the efforts of his own hollow-hearted friends and admirers. That state has, it is true, a Monroe party, and a Madison party, both of them formed of the lineal descendants of the ancient anti-federal party.

From this cursory view of the United States, let us for a moment view the situation of some of the individual states. About the time of Mr. Jefferson's first election to the presidency, the Pennsylvania democrats, after a great struggle, seated M'Kean in the office of governor. During the preparation for the election, this gentleman was extolled for his virtues, and his patriotism, to the democratic heavens, by all the presses, and leaders of the party. He was scarcely elected before he lost the favour of the principal characters among them; and though he was re-elected as long as the constitution admitted, it was by the greatest exertions. His former friends, in great numbers, became his bitterest enemies—Simon Snyder was hunted up among the multitude to be his rival, and with the utmost difficulty was M'Kean able to hold his ground. As soon as he left the office, Snyder stepped forward, and carried the election with a high hand, his majority exceeded all example.

It is not a year since Simon has had a legitimate claim to the title of excellency, and he has been long more than six months of the time the subject of the most incessant and scurrilous abuse from the very men that held the stirrup for him to mount. Duane reviles this *clod-hopping* governor, for the want of talents; Michael Leib, and others join the hue and cry; while Bines, and another section, insist upon it, that Leib and Duane are little better than villains, and that governor Snyder is the most excellent of men—or at least of governors. And this patriotic party, thus divided in the middle, are preparing with all imaginable alacrity, for a tremendous conflict in an election, which is to take place *1800 years hence*. As a sample of what may be expected when the campaign fairly opens, it may be mentioned, that at an electioneering meeting a few days ago, or nights ago, preparatory to the choice of the members of the Legislature, in or near the city of Philadelphia, the Snyderites, and the Leibites, got together by the ears, and in the opinion of Duane, by their boxing and brushing, Republicanism was disgraced.

Nor has it in any respect fared better with the party in the state of New York. The old anti-federalists, headed by George Clinton, formed a strong body there for a number of years. During the time that Mr. Jay was governor, and federalism was in vogue, they clung close together with much apparent cordiality. But when the Clintonians resumed the reins of state, and a younger race commenced their political career, the seeds of discord began to sprout among the brotherhood. Governor Clinton was called away to fill the office of vice-president, and Morgan Lewis was nominated as his successor. The Clintonians joined in extolling his virtues and his talents in the most extravagant manner. He was elected; and calumniated by the very persons who procured him his place—and after enduring reproach, and obloquy for a considerable portion of his three years, was denounced as altogether unfit for the place. The party split; a young man of the name of Tompkins was run against him

in the gubernatorial race; every nerve was strained by the Clintonians on the one hand, and by the Lewisites on the other—each candidate was in turn loaded with contumely, and billingsgate—but victory declared in favour of the new comer, and Lewis was thrown aside as "but little better than a broken pot-herd." If any man would wish to make himself acquainted with the unadulterated elements of party malice and vengeance, he may introduce himself to Dewitt Clinton, Ambrose Spencer, Tunis Wortman, &c. in New York.

This detail might be much more extensively pursued, if it were thought expedient. Wherever the party has become strong, it has almost immediately divided and broken. And when the sections have been brought into conflict, nothing can exceed the bitterness of their contention. It is much to be doubted, greatly as they all profess to dislike federalism, whether they would not prefer mixing with it, rather than to unite with their subdivisions. Perhaps there are not two presses in the United States which attack each other with more undissembled hatred, than the *Aurora*, and the *Democratic Press*, in Philadelphia. The former is the champion of Leibism, the latter of Snyderism. In short, look where you will, where democracy prevails, and you will find dissension and reproach, scurrility and oppugnation, and occasionally broken heads and bloody noses.

Is it not a little strange, that the people in New York and Philadelphia who have been witnesses to these things, can possibly believe that the views of men who are thus embroiling and disgracing their country, are directed in any measure to their good? After having tried M'Kean, and Snyder, Clinton, Lewis, and Tompkins, and been disappointed in them all, what reason have they to expect better things from Leib and Duane, Dewitt Clinton, Ambrose Spencer, or Tunis Wortman?—If they would use the smallest particle of common sense, they could not but know, that these men are struggling for power and profit; that instead of consulting the general good, they are in pursuit of their own; that when once they attain their object, it is manifest that they despise those who promoted them; and that all the profit, as well as the honor flows directly away from the people and into the clutches of the demagogue who flatters them.

It would not only be wasting time, but degrading federalism, to compare it with this shuffling, splitting, backsliding, slandering party. The steadiness of its conduct, the patriotism of its councils, the dignity of its character, will form its eulogy, and first of last, will be acknowledged by the country. At present the people are learning by experience, the difference between men who flatter and betray them, and men, who, from honest and enlightened minds, are the real friends to the freedom, and the best interest of the nation.

From the *Federal Republican*.

## OUR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

### ENGLAND.

Difficulties are likely to thicken in our foreign relations. What are Mr. Jackson's propositions, cannot be conjectured. Several indications however, which have taken place, excite our fears, that the most just and conciliatory proposals will meet with extraneous difficulties, engendered by a perverse devotion to French attachments. We allude to the bitter reproaches and haughty fulminations of the *National Intelligencer*, as well as to the untrue estimation, that Mr. Jackson had on his arrival signified, that his mission did not require immediate attention. This misrepresentation was made a prop of the charge of insincerity against G. Britain, & to countenance the suggestion that he was come here without any instructions to compose the controversies which exist.

### FRANCE.

All the recent accounts from Europe concur in depicting our affairs with France as highly menacing, if not actually pushed beyond the state of peace. The cause of this rupture is distinctly to be seen in the policy of France, which preceded and caused our embargo. Nothing will content her, which does not accord with her system of destroying all commerce in order to affect England. The demand has therefore never ceased to be made, that we should take our choice of abstaining from trading with her, and that this object may be securely attained, we are called upon to renounce all foreign trade, except with France; or if we would not consent thus far to meet the wishes of Bonaparte, we were to encounter his enmity in a more declared and palpable form, than he has yet exercised it against us. If therefore some collision of a momentous nature does not soon

take place with Great Britain or her allies, it must necessary follow with France. Even now the arrest of our citizens in that country may have been added to the confiscation of our property, held thus long as a security for good behaviour. In this critical conjuncture, all we hear from Washington is calculated to increase the expectation of accommodation with France; whilst the doubtful admonition of danger is left to steal upon us through unofficial and casual channels.

### SPAIN.

To darken the gloom which overcasts our horizon, it is said that the executive has fatally determined to reject the minister through whom the rightful government of Spain, now emancipated from the thralldom of her oppressor, has sent us pledges of her friendship and good correspondence. What will an impartial world think of our degeneracy? Those who caressed the murderers of their "magnanimous friend and ally," sought to excuse their ingratitude by their devotedness to the republican principles professed by the revolutionists and their hatred of royalty.

But what will they plead in favour of the usurpation of the crown of our other friend, when the robber openly avows his purpose of wearing it himself? Should this minister be turned away, the ruling motives will admit of no concealment. It will be the identical principle, which procured the contemptuous rejection of Mr. Monroe's treaty; the same that imposed the embargo; the same that furiously called for letters of marque; the same that encouraged Fiskine to break his instructions; that concealed the insulting demands of the French government; that sent Short to the conspiracy of Lanthurth. In a few words, Don Oriis, if refused an acknowledgment, will be the victim of Gallic influence, though the act will involve the sum of evil for good to a nation, that generously befriended us when we were making a similar struggle, and a disregard of the law of nations, having a tendency to force into an hostile attitude a near neighbour and large customer.

Will the virtue of the American nation suffer their rulers to hold the yoke of Bonaparte upon the unwilling neck of Spain? On the contrary, do not our sympathies as well as our interest oblige us to act with justice and even generosity towards her, under her severe and unmerited trials. Let us not therefore attempt to degrade and injure her by denying her the right which essentially belongs to every people. For the sentence of the law of nations is plain, if we even forget to consult our hearts on the occasion. The instances are familiar of ambassadors being sent and received after the extinction or during the suspension of the authority, which usually exercised that right of sovereignty. In the last resort, the exercise of it falls upon the people or those whom they depute to act for them.

"A Prince," says Martens, "by being held in captivity, or by being driven from his throne, or even from his dominions, does not on that account at once lose the right of sending ministers; neither does he who has usurped his throne or power, acquire this right by his mere momentary possession. It is the justice or injustice of the cause that ought principally to decide, which of the two is entitled to exercise this right." Let us therefore, state the present case, and see how it accords with this attestation of the law. Ferdinand is in captivity. By the concurrence of the provinces of Spain a central congress is chosen to manage the government in his name. Joseph, the usurper, is not only destitute of the shadow or pretext of a title, but has been once driven out of the capital, the possession of which he first acquired by unmatchable treachery and fraud; and there is every probability of his becoming a fugitive a second time.—In this state of affairs, is not the duty as plain as any which is obligatory upon a government, not to acknowledge the unstable usurpation? For by refusing to receive the Junta's minister, we should deny its authority to exercise sovereign rights, and acknowledge them to reside in Joseph Bonaparte.—There can be no middle point. The refusal to receive a minister from either will not obviate the difficulty. Spain has always been represented here by ministers and consuls, who are auxiliary to the convenience of her subjects and useful to her political relations. If we prohibit the renovation of these functionaries on occasion may require, we virtually change the ordinary state of things; we so far acknowledge flagitious usurpation, unaccompanied by obedience on possession, as to permit it to suspend, if not to supercede the rights of Ferdinand and the Junta acting in his name with a complete acquiescence of the nation.

Price and Strother's

MAP OF NORTH CAROLINA  
WITH ROLLERS,  
For sale at this office