



AND

North-Carolina State Gazette.

Ours are the plans of fair-weather Peace,
Unwar'd by party rage, to live like Brothers.

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No. 527.

TO
THOMAS JEFFERSON,
LATE PRESIDENT OF THE U. STATES.

RESPECTED & ESTEEMED SIR,
The Republican Citizens of the City and County of New-York, by their resolution, unanimously passed, at a general meeting, determined to signify to you the high sense which they entertain of your virtues, talents and valuable services to our beloved country, together with their full approbation of the measures pursued during your administration. By the same resolution, they have rendered us the organ to communicate their sentiments to you.

Complacently with this pleasing request, we also think it our duty to state, that we speak our own opinions and feelings, as well as those of our fellow-Republicans at large. You, Sir, live in our affection, and in retirement attract the same, and, if possible, even superior emotions of gratitude, to those which were cherished while you presided over the affairs of the Union.

Your early and eminent exertions in support of American Independence and your unvarying attachment to the civil liberties of your fellow-citizens, entitle you to their affections and esteem. And though we cannot but deplore that the errors and the prejudices of party have too frequently excited unmerited attacks, we are sensible that a consciousness of rectitude, together with the approbation and support of Republicans, must have afforded an inestimable consolation.

We reluctantly parted with you as President. In the difficult situation of our country, it was honestly wished to continue the aid of your wisdom, experience and tried integrity. We felt towards you the affection of a child to a parent, and the moment of political separation was painful in the extreme. Your reasons nevertheless convinced us of the propriety of your retirement, and the election of your friend as a successor produces at this moment our greatest consolation. In the infancy of our government, we perceive it to have been proper that worthy and disinterested examples be presented, and that to prevent hereditary establishments, our best men should avoid a perpetuity of power.

The more we reflect on the measure of your administration, especially those which have been adopted towards the principal belligerent powers, the more fully we discover and understand the purity of motive and sound policy which produced them, and we principally regret that any domestic opposition should have been made to the just regulations of a lawful government, not only intended, but judiciously adapted to preserve a state of peace, and to maintain the most inestimable rights of our nation.

Divine Providence has destined our existence to an extraordinary and interesting state of human affairs. The most superficial observer must perceive himself surrounded by vast and astonishing spectacles. Ambition is no longer satisfied with the conquest of a Kingdom or a Province, but, regardless of the means, it aspires to the dominion of universal Empire. In such a situation, it was not to be expected that we should entirely escape those agitations which convulsed the nations with whom we had established continual habits of intercourse. Our relations towards the great belligerents were too important to each to be jealous by the others without an eye of jealousy. To this consideration we must in a great measure attribute those repeated acts of aggression, which have been perpetrated with different degrees of violence, but without intermission. To keep aloof from these prodigious contests, to cultivate our own resources, and to enable our country to profit by its favored situation, until its natural and progressive growth should render it invulnerable to foreign attack, appears to have been the great design of your wise and salutary administration.

Many of our countrymen, who have opposed the measures of government, or withheld from them a firm support, may live to regret that infatuation, which prompted them to violate our laws, and by presenting an appearance of our domestic weakness, encourage a continuance of those injuries, which might otherwise have been restrained.

We believe, Sir, that the embargo & non-intercourse acts were impartial in their character, devised from the purest of intentions, and wise in their operation. They furnished an opportunity to collect our floating property from abroad.

They prevented inconsiderate men from placing their merchandize within the reach of inevitable capture. They recalled our mariners from scenes of insult and imprisonment to the bosom of their native country. They evinced to the warring world, that the U. States, however pacific in disposition, were incapable of submitting to every extremity of injustice. They afforded our own government time to consult the opinions and wishes of the nation, before it consented to engage in more rigorous and decisive measures. Had they been calculated to withhold and had they not been evaded, would have effectually withheld, from foreign aggressors, those supplies, which were necessary to the perpetuance of their own power, appealing to their own interest to restore the free exercise of those rights which their pride and passions and injustice had violated.

With deference to the better judgment of those whose experience and superior means of information have enabled them to form a more correct opinion, we believe that the truly independent situation of the United States and the power which we possess to withhold from hostile foreigners supplies of many articles of the first necessity is a valuable weapon in our hands. And although a suspension of intercourse must produce its inconveniences, they are incomparably less than those which result from incessant insult and capture. Patriotism should endure these temporary privations with fortitude, and we have abundant reason to be thankful to a beneficent Providence for having placed our lot in an extensive and fertile territory, so abundant in the production of every essential comfort as to preclude the possibility of real distress. We exceedingly regret that untoward circumstances, and an improvident opposition have prevented the effects of this rational and obvious system from being fully ascertained.

The desolating calamities inseparable from war, its innumerable distresses, its pernicious effects upon the manners and morals of society, and the dangers with which it assails the duration of free governments, are powerful dissuatives from entering into such a state, without the utmost provocation and direful necessity. With regard to ourselves, a warlike disposition would entail upon us the most permanently injurious consequences; we should be enlisted in all the intricacies of European connections and alliances; we should be alternately menaced and intreated, coerced and courted, driven or seduced, to destroy our general safety and forfeit our national character of justice, and become habitually enlisted as a standing party in the distant contests of the old world. And we farther, Sir, believe that when the injurious system of warfare is once adopted, that it is beyond the limits of human sagacity to forestall its ultimate consequences.

But attached as we are to the continuance of peace, and adverse to any European connection, a pacific disposition, or any apprehension of danger, would neither occasion timidity, or produce the most distant consent to abandon, the natural and national rights of our beloved country. The spirit of the revolution is unextinguished, we shall emulate the virtue and vigour of our forefathers & maintain at every hazard, the Liberties, Union, and Constitution of the United States, together with the government, of their general choice.

That you, Sir, in your chosen retirement, in the bosom of your family connections, and in the midst of affectionate friends, may enjoy many years of happiness, and that the sweets of domestic tranquility, may be united to the pleasure of beholding the prosperity of your country, and the triumph of those principles of civil liberty, in the defence of which your active days have been so beneficially employed, are the sincere and fervent wishes, of your friends and fellow citizens.

By the general committee of the City and County of New-York.
ABRAHAM BLOODGOOD, Chairm.
JUDAH HAMMOND, Secy.

*MONTICELLO, SEPT. 30, 1809.

Gentlemen,

The very friendly sentiments which my Republican fellow-citizens of the city and county of New-York have been pleased to express, through yourselves as their organ, are highly grateful to me, and command my sincere thanks; and their approbation of the measures pursued, while I was entrusted with the

administration of their affairs, strengthens my hope that they were favorable to the public prosperity. For any errors which may have been committed the indulgent will find some apology in the difficulties resulting from the extraordinary state of human affairs, and the astonishing spectacles these have presented. A world in arms, and trampling on all those moral principles which have heretofore been deemed sacred in the intercourse between nations, could not suffer us to remain insensible of all agitation. During such a course of lawless violence, it was certainly wise to withdraw ourselves from all intercourse with the belligerent nations, to avoid the desolating calamities inseparable from war, its pernicious effects on manners and morals, and the dangers it threatens to free governments; and to cultivate our own resources until our natural and progressive growth should leave us nothing to fear from foreign enterprise. That the benefits derived from these measures were lessened by an opposition of the most ominous character, and that the continuance of injury was encouraged by the appearance of domestic weakness which that presented, will doubtless be a subject of deep and durable regret to such of our well-intentioned citizens as participated in it, under mistaken confidence in men who had other views than the good of their own country. Should foreign nations however, deceived by this appearance of division and weakness render it necessary to vindicate by arms the injuries to our country, I believe with you that the spirit of the revolution is unextinguished, and that the cultivators of peace will again, as on that occasion, be transformed at once into a nation of warriors, who will leave us nothing to fear for the natural and national rights of our country.

Your approbation of the reasons which induced me to retire from the honorable station in which my fellow-citizens had placed me, is a proof of your devotion to the true principles of our constitution. These are wisely opposed to all perpetuations of power, and to every practice which may lead to hereditary establishments; and certain I am that any services which I could have rendered will be more than supplied by the wisdom and virtues of my successor.

I am very thankful for the kind wishes you express for my personal happiness. It will always be intimately connected with the prosperity of our country, of which I sincerely pray that my fellow-citizens of the city and county of New-York may have their full participation.

TH: JEFFERSON.

Messrs. Bloodgood & Hammond.

SITUATION of ENGLAND.

The following remarks, copied from a London paper called the *Statesman*, are worthy of notice. The various Quixotic Expeditions of the British Government are spoken of in a manner which, no doubt, every unprejudiced person in this country will think they deserve.

We have at length arrived precisely at that point of failure and disaster which has long been foreseen by such as chose to exercise their understandings. Our Expedition to the Scheldt returns to England—unsuccessful. Our gallant army in the Peninsula indignantly retreats before superior numbers; and Ischia and Procida, in the Bay of Naples, are evacuated by Sir John Stuart.

Thus have failed all our Expeditions; and the efforts (we blush to use the term) of England have had no more influence on the contest in Germany, than the Protest and excommunications of the *ci devant* Pope, now reduced to his pastoral and pristine simplicity of character, a mere Bishop! Of those who weakly avert their eyes from that on which they dread to look, who prefer the fabrications, the falacies, the delusions, the contradictions, the absurdities of the *Nabob's Morning Post*, the *Times*, the *Courier*, and the whole tribe of hirelings, we implore their attention to the real state to which England is at last reduced. Observations, applicable to the affairs of common life, are not less so to those of nations, and we all know, that when an individual refuses to examine his real situation, destruction invariably follows. England, in extent of surface and in population inferior, but in point of actual power, possessing as she does, the ocean, certainly

superior to even the colossal power of France—after having goaded that kingdom to war, has absolutely failed in every effort to restrain her power, and it is no longer possible to doubt that Napoleon now reigns paramount over the entire continent of Europe. Peace with Austria can no longer be doubtful. In the prospect of this event we certainly feel satisfaction, from our firm conviction that the renewal of hostilities would have led, and that most speedily, to the extinction of the Austrian Monarchy. Whatever may be the delusive expectations of the impossibility of restraining commerce—the crisis is approaching with accelerated velocity in which the continent of Europe, as to our commerce, will be hermetically sealed.—Then, and not till then, will the people of England be taught, that a too widely extended commerce cannot confer permanent power on any nation. The contest in which England is now struggling, is specifically a war for commerce. Do we approach the subject for which we drew the Sword? Is that object in the belief of any man of ordinary understanding, now attainable by the farther efforts of England? We have persevered until Napoleon has surrounded himself, as Mr. Sheridan most truly observed, with thrones. He has Monarchs for his centinels. They are fixed, immovably fixed; and Louis on the Scheldt, Joachim in Naples, and Joseph in Spain, will, in spite of all our efforts reign where Napoleon has placed them. England must at last return to that peace which she wantonly broke, and there can be no possible consequences resulting from peace, which may not be anticipated by a continuance of war.

Napoleon will acquire ships, commerce, and colonies; and suppose he does, is not the world wide enough for us all? Is it possible that an Island in the western part of Europe shall be able to permanently maintain the monopoly, against which not only France but also all Europe is contending? Vain hope! Because we have spent some hundred millions in war, nothing will do but that those whom we cannot subdue, shall contribute to pay their shares of our expenditure. That in fact is the state of the case. "We owe 700 millions, how can we pay the interest without trade, and how can we have trade if we make Peace?" To this we would simply ask, What trade will you have in twelve months if the war is not terminated?—Where are we to fight next? Suppose the Isles of France and Bourbon in the East—and Guadalupe in the West Indies, to be in our possession—that even all intercourse between Asia, America, and Africa shall be interdicted to the Continent of Europe. Will that interdiction diminish the power of Napoleon and his tributary Emperors and Kings? The hope is vain. England has always been formidable—and is now more capable of defending herself against any effort that may be made by Napoleon than she was in the reign of Elizabeth. The power and military reputation of Spain at that period bore a strong resemblance to that of France at this moment. Nothing so certainly tends to consolidate, invigorate and extend the power of France as war, and nothing would so certainly dispose her people, to a permanent peace, as ships, colonies and commerce.

To the list of European Monarchs is to be added Alexander Berthier, who, from Prince of Neufchatel, it appears, is destined by Napoleon to reign over the countrymen of William Tell! and the once free Republicans of Holland and of Switzerland, may now exclaim, *Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis*. England herself now stands on a precipice, more imminently dangerous than any to the brink of which she has ever yet been driven by her minister; or by her passions—and nothing but the voice of the people—loudly, irresistibly expressed, can save her!

It was reported in the city, yesterday, that government had acceded to a proposition from France and Austria, to send an Ambassador to a Congress, to be held for the purpose of negotiating a general peace. Lord St. Helens was said to be actually nominated for this purpose. The report excited a considerable sensation in the city, and perhaps had its origin in some stock-jobbing speculation.

A most improbable rumour is current on the Continent, that the Archduke Charles was to be engaged on a mission, to the Emperor Alexander, to apprise

that potentate of the danger of his situation, from his subservience to Bonaparte, and of the necessity of his joining in the common cause of Germany, to resist the encroachments of Napoleon, who was endeavoring to extend his empire from the White Sea to the Eastern Shores of the Mediterranean.

From "The Strength of the People"
(A New Republican paper, published in Charleston, S. C.)

TO THE AMERICAN TORIES.

Nothing could have added more to that felicity, which the result of the war had a tendency to yield, to those who had achieved it, than a perpetuation of your exilement from among them. Nor could any circumstance have added more alloy, to the happiness of the war-worn soldier of America, when he returned to the walks of peace, and sat himself down under his vine and fig-tree, than to see the hostile tory enjoying the same happiness by his side. And, however wise, politic, or consistent with the benevolent principles of republicanism, this indulgence to your party might have been; yet such had been the provoking, and irritating nature of your crimes, against those who had borne the burden of the war, that it certainly was a deduction from the value of their reward, to see you enjoy an equal share of those privileges, for which they had fought and bled. But such was the case; you returned, by thousands, to participate in the blessings of a government, the establishment of which you had opposed to the extent of your power.

To prove this fact, which is necessary to my purpose, I will instance the case of South-Carolina. The Legislature of this State, held at Jacksonborough, in the beginning of the year 1782, passed laws "for confiscating the estates; and banishing the persons of the active decided friends of the British government.—Two hundred and thirty-seven persons, or estates, were in this "class;" (1) of whose names, I have a list to the number of one hundred, and sixty-three, taken from the journals of that assembly. They were banished from the State, to his Britannic Majesty's dominions, under the penalty of death, without the benefit of clergy, should they ever return. Yet these very men are here among us; and some of them, are to be seen every day in Charleston. Subsequent Legislatures repealed the banishment laws and permitted them to return; which they did, and are now to be found in almost every part of the State. These, with all others of your party, that I have had an opportunity of knowing, have changed the uncouth name of tory, for the more genteel and deceptive title, of federalist: under which garb, you impudently dare to vindicate the cause, for which, twenty-seven years ago, many of you, by the laws of this state, were, conditionally, sentenced to the gallows.

If then, so many of the number, thus rigorously dealt with, were mean enough to accept of their lives, and impudent enough to set themselves down, among the people who had condemned them, there remains not a doubt of thousands, less delicately situated, having returned into every state, in the union. In fact, I know hundreds, in Georgia, in this State, and several in the city, who voluntarily went away with the British; and, at different after periods returned, and were admitted to all the privileges of citizenship. These are facts, that are well known to every man who resided in America, in, and since, the war; and was, at that time, of a proper age to take notice of the passing events; for torism formed one of the most prominent features of that memorable epoch.

Having established this point, I will now examine your conduct, since your return, and enquire how far you have requited the courtesy that, by this country, has been so generously extended to you; not only in sparing your forfeited lives, but in placing you upon an equal footing with her most deserving, and favored citizens. Never was there a fairer opportunity for a display of gratitude, in any set of beings, than was here offered to your party. And never was one so grossly abused. America had no sooner shaken off the shackles which you, in combination with the tyrannical King of Britain, had long been striving to rivet on her, and obtained that independence, for which alone she had been contending, than, contrary to the bloody

(4) Ramsay.