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Ours are the plans of fair, delightful Peace, Usurp'd Liberty rage, to live like Brothers.

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AN ENQUIRY

Into the National Character of the People of the United States.

To these influential foreign settlements and migrations to the present dominions of the United States, mentioned in the last chapter, there remains to be added the great number and variety of persons from the European Continent and the West Indies, who have come hither during the two centuries of our existence; from the year 1609 to the present time, including the Louisianians.

We proceed now to a distinct point, in the formation of the mass of the North American population and it will require the discriminating faculties and all the frankness of our readers to surmount established and ancient prejudices.

We mean to say that it is very important to a correct estimate of the American population and character, and of the degree, in which we were actually English colonists, a mere emanation of English qualities, that we should consider the other British European States as really distinct and materially different from the English Kingdom.

The American provinces were taking a consistency in 1706, when the English and Scotch nations agreed to unite, or rather to confederate. From 1605, they had been governed by the same King, but in Scotland the predominance of the Civil Law, of an Anti-Episcopal Religion, of Military tenures, of a foreign tongue and a different dialect, freedom from Saxon, Danish and Norman Laws and institutions, the shepherd state, the unimproved state of Agriculture, and that actual spirit of hostility, which never was broken down until the time of George II—all combine to render the Scotch people of a temper, disposition and character materially different from the English. It is correct, therefore, to affirm, that the derivation of men, manners, habits, principles, religion, morals and institutions from Scotland to the North-American provinces have contributed to infuse qualities really not English into the American people, economy and character.

Similar remarks arise upon the subject of the Irish nation and establishments. The Presbyterians in the north of that Kingdom are a mixed people, with very perceptible Scottish characteristics. The Irish, on the other hand, have strongly reacted upon the Scotch. It is well known that an immense and incessant stream of Hibernian people, Presbyterians and Roman Catholics, has flowed into the Middle States. The degree of similarity of the Irish Catholic and English Episcopalian is no more than that which a conquered people exhibits when compared with its conquerors. They remain in Europe the most discordant and contrasted classes of the population of the U. Kingdoms. These numerous emigrants have not infused into this nation any thing material of the proper English character. The progenitors of the Scotch and Irish Presbyterians made and successfully pressed upon England the Political, Religious and Ecclesiastical "Solemn League and Covenant" of the 16th century. Its influence was most sensibly felt in the English nation, in the middle of the 17th century, and little indeed was irredeemably congenial with the character of the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of the Kingdom of England at the time of planting America.

During the most vigorous periods of the North-American provinces, the Irish and Scotch-Hibernian families were of great power and weight, and in every stage of the contest with Great-Britain, civil and independent, they formed a strong body of influential opponents, or decided Revolutionists. The institutions they aimed to establish were those of their native American Compatriots. They did not desire the Monarchy, the Aristocracy, the Hierarchy, the Standing Army by sea and land, nor the established Church of England.

It will not be considered as a mere refinement to estimate the Welch emigrants to the U. States, as a section of people not entirely of the English stock or character, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in which the American provinces were commenced & matured to a separate independence.

Without the limits of Scotland and Wales the Saxons, in England proper, had vanquished the Britons, so far as to become the dominant and characterizing political community. From the time of the Roman conquest of England, there has never been a subjection of the Welch, to the Italian Empire, or to any of the successive conquerors of England. The mountains of Wales strengthened the native defence, and from their poverty, perhaps, failed to attract any of the invaders. The Welch, on the contrary, gave England a race of energetic sovereigns in the House of Tudor, which commenced with Henry VII. and ended with the memorable Queen Elizabeth. The distinction between the English and Welch character and institutions was so great that the Legislature of England found it necessary to abrogate and suppress their institutions and customs by a special law, stronger than the measure of Geo. II. to change the institutions and habits of the Scots. The ancient Britons have to this day a separate language and even in their English, a Welch dialect. The line of Welch Sovereigns of England, ending with Elizabeth in 1603, and the troubles of the Scottish Kings of England never ceasing till the non-existence of the Stuart line; it cannot be doubted that the numerous and early Welch emigrants to the middle provinces of America, brought with them a portion of their inextinguishable national character, with its actual variations from that of the Anglo-Saxons or their modern English descendants.

Though no commixture of our Indian tribes with the European settlers in this country, or with their descendants, has ever taken place; yet there cannot be a doubt, that many lessons have been drawn from the untutored operations of the human mind, and from the workings of the head and feelings of the rude savages. They exhibit man under the exclusive influence of natural causes. The actual presence of the red tribes and that of the African people, to the number of one million in the whole, is no inconsiderable fact in a nation of less than seven millions of white persons. The Celts and Villains of Europe are of the same origin, complexion and religion as their masters. The Celts or Villains or Black laborers of America are of another race & country, of a different complexion, and the unfrequent and uncertain worshippers of an obscure and unknown Deity, whom they endeavor to propitiate by rude and humble sacrifices at the graves of their departed relations, and through entreaties, by means of those deceased friends. The determined, but tractable spirit and other characteristics of the Indian tribes are displayed in their constant wars with the aggressing and insulting Whites, and their constant peace with the Whites who have been just and conciliating. The Blacks, in other countries, have been admitted by various Churches, says Lanjuinais, "to the Sacraments; to the Ecclesiastical orders; and even to the Episcopal character; to the duties of Pastors and Missionaries; to the Doctor's Degree; to the office of Pleader and to the rank of General. The enlightened Court of Berlin appointed a Negro Counsellor of State, and he proved to be one of the most able of those who have been honored with that title. In short, the Negroes have distinguished themselves as Artists; as Professors of the ancient & modern Languages, of Mathematics and Philosophy, and as Physicians."

The people of America well know, that the case of the Blacks in America has occasioned every where profound disquisitions on the natural history of Man, on the rights of Human Nature, and upon the pure morality and exquisite benevolence of the Christian Religion.

It will be remembered, that the people of the North-American provinces, before their Revolution, had never seen a foreign born army of more than a few hundred men, nor any considerable foreign navy. The French army of Rochambeau co-operated with that of Washington for several years, in many of the most ancient counties of the U. States. The manners, rank, military

talents and general knowledge of the officers and the disciplined correctness of the soldiers, impressed the public mind, as well as the government, the army, the navy and the militia of U. S. with high ideas of their merit and character. When the presence of the French navy is also remembered, and that many foreigners of rank, talents & enterprize served in the American Army and Navy, and mixed intimately with the circles of Society, it will be presumed that those foreigners, in one of the most influential situations of human life, must have excited very considerable attention. The case of the U. States, in the war of their Revolution, electrized this allied Gallic army and Gallic Navy in our fields and waters. It is well known how eminent the officers of the army of Rochambeau and of their fleet in America rendered themselves, as the soldiers of Liberty, during the first years of the French revolution. Among the number of causes, proximate and remote, which contributed to excite political reformation in France, the sentiments imbibed by their military characters here, are not to be forgotten. They gave us, probably, in return, many impressions, and taught America, by their early imitation of her great act, the wisdom, the virtue and the vast importance of her memorable achievement.

If the plan and extent of this enquiry were to comprise a volume, some additional considerations might be adduced to prove that even the American provinces, were rather the colonies of all Europe, than of the English Kingdom alone. We might establish the argument with increased force, in reference to the present time, when the twenty-fourth year of actual separation is rolling over our heads. But the adduction of evidence, respecting objects in our country, derived from Continental Scottish and Hibernian Europe, will not here be further pursued. In the following paper, it is intended to display a number of revolutions in the ancient English institutions occasioned or adopted in North-America, in the time of our confederation with the British Kingdom.

COLUMBIANUS.

COBBETT'S SECOND LETTER to the KING OF ENGLAND.

We regret that we are not able to give, at least, the substance of the whole of Cobbett's second letter to King George, especially that part of it in which he was to point out the mode of destroying the Coast-Trade of France. But what is now published is said to be all which has yet been received in this country.

That the time is now fast approaching when this kingdom will have single handed to contend for its independence, and that too, against all the rest of Europe, under the sway of the Emperor Napoleon; this, I think, a position, which no one, except one of those whose interest it may be to deceive the public, will attempt to deny, unless there be grounds for an opinion that the mild, and christian like, and unambitious nature of that conqueror should induce him to make no attempts against us, merely because we have discovered more enmity towards him than any other people have shown, and because the conquering of us would be more glorious than the conquering of any other people. Those who think thus may see nothing new, nothing alarming in the present state of the war; but, those who think directly the reverse; those who think, that from principles of self preservation, as well as from the passions of envy and revenge, as from a love of glory, Napoleon will seek the subjugation of this kingdom; those persons must perceive, that the battles on the Danube, the subsequent armistice, and the treaty by which it will necessarily be followed, have given to the contest that decided character, which warrants the assertion, that England is now contending for her existence.

This being the case: or, at least if being so in my opinion, the next thing for me to enquire into is.—How we are to maintain this contest? There are two modes of warfare, which we may suppose Napoleon to pursue; that of wasting and that of assault. Suppose him to pursue the former and us to pursue the same mode of warfare that we now pursue, what, I would like to ask your Ministers to explain, must be the consequence of his sitting down quietly,

giving rest, and in fact peace, to all his dominions while he caused us to expend seventy millions a year? How many years would it be possible for us to carry on a war of this sort, which, as far as I can see need not cost the subjects of Napoleon a sum, which, when distributed, would amount to a farthing a head? I have before explained to your Majesty, that all the most useful commercial communications are even now carried on between the several countries under Napoleon's sway; and that, in fact, as far as relates to the prosperity of those countries, our power as now used, has no effect. What then, I would be glad to know from your Majesty's Ministers, should we do, were he to resolve upon a mere menacing, a mere paragraph warfare; if he were to do nothing at all, but merely to say, "you shall not have peace?" In this case the question comes to this: how long we can continue to expend seventy millions a year?—But, it is not to be believed, that the ever active spirit of Napoleon will suffer him to pursue this mode of warfare.

On the contrary if he should, in the course of a year, have finished his work on the continent of Europe, will he not, as surely as he has life, set himself seriously about his late labour, the fulfilment of his pledge to Lord Whitworth? Upon this supposition, which is indeed, the only rational one, we have next to take a view of his means of attack.—He will have in his hands, or nearly at his command, all the roads and harbours and arsenals that he could wish for, and many more than he could possibly want.—His means of building and fitting out and manning ships would be inexhaustible. Even during the present war he has, I believe, built two new ships to our one! Having once settled the continent to his liking, how long would he be in creating a navy far superior to your Majesty's navy in numbers? Not equal in skill and I hope not in bravery, but far superior in numbers; and unless we suppose the French totally incapable of attaining naval skill we must allow that experience would soon make them formidable. Painful as it may be to contemplate such truths, it would be folly in the extreme for us to shut our eyes against them. If we look then, at the naval efforts that Napoleon has been able to make even during his great military wars, we cannot refrain from being alarmed at those which he will be enabled to make when he shall have completely gotten rid of those wars, and shall, at the same time, have added to his ports already in his possession, those of Spain and Portugal.

For my part, I can see no reason, (if we pursue our present system of warfare) why Napoleon should not, in a year after he has settled the affairs of the Continent, have afloat a hundred ships of the line, completely manned and fit for sea. Leaving the Baltic out of the question, there are quite ports and arsenals enough for this purpose—and as to the other means, hemp, pitch, iron, copper, and timber of all sorts, he will have the greater part of them for the fourth of what they will cost us.—Why, then, I would put it to your Majesty's Ministers, should he not have such a fleet in the course of one year? But suppose he should choose to stop three years? Suppose him capable of restraining for that length of time his eagerness to conquer this country; and that he has 300 ships of the line fit for sea. Suppose this to be the case, in what a situation should we then be? And if our present mode of warfare be continued, I do not for my part see any reason nor can I discover any reason, why he should not have such a force and even in a much shorter time than I have pointed out. Three years is not a long period. The present war has already endured more than six. It therefore becomes us to consider whether we shall have the means of resisting such a force. But, without the existence of any such force as this, no one, I should think, will deny, that in the course of two years, at the farthest, Bonaparte, upon the supposition of having settled the continent, will be able to send out several stout squadrons at once, or at nearly one and the same time. Supposing him to do this, and to have from ten to fifteen thousand men on board of each, and to make for Ireland.—The chances are that some of them would reach their destination. To watch 6 or 7 stout squadrons would require twice as great a force as we have. In fact, it would, against such a maritime force as we are now supposed, be utterly impossi-

ble to guard all the approaches to Ireland, supposing that to be the only object to attend to. But, if Napoleon should have a stout squadron in every considerable port from the Texel to Cadix inclusive, there will be nothing, that I can see, to provoke him from engaging the attention of the whole of our force, such as it now is, upon the Eastern coasts of England while he sails for Ireland, from Ferrol, Lisbon, or any of the Southern ports; and especially to blockade the whole of his ports, if each contain a stout and well supplied squadron, will be impossible, even if the weather should always be fair, and to blockade a part will be of no use; and therefore, unless we adopt a new mode of warfare, it appears to me quite evident that the time is at no great distance when the safety of Ireland will depend upon the disposition of the Irish to defend their country against an invasion on the part of the French.

I trust, that no one will dare to tell your Majesty, that there is no danger now, because, hitherto, the threats of Napoleon have proved harmless; that no one will dare to tell you that, for several years, during the present war, England fought France single handed, and was very far from losing in the contest. The battle was, indeed, single handed sometimes; though, during this war, France has actually had to fight Austria, Prussia, Naples, Spain and Portugal, and, by way of interlude, she has disposed of about half a dozen principalities, and a popeedom. But whether she had actually to fight them, or not, she knew of their being in existence.—There were, at any rate, three great powers, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, who, though not at war with her, might be at war with her at any moment, if a misfortune happened to befall her; so that, in fact, we had all these powers on our side, for whatever appearances might be, they all hated France at the bottom of their hearts. Now, how different is the state of things! With the sole exception of Russia, there is no power worthy of being so called, left upon the continent, besides France; and, it is but too evident, that before Napoleon again returns to Paris, he will make himself as sure of the obedience of Russia as he is of that of Holland or Italy. He will in that case, be freed from all apprehension. There will scarcely remain the possibility of interrupting him in his plans with regard to England; and the whole of the mental as well as the other means of his vast empire, will without doubt, be directed against this Kingdom.

I beg your Majesty to reflect on this important change in the circumstances of the war. Pared as the nails of Austria were in her last war, she was still a great power; and, if she had by those shallow headed politicians who have so often urged our friends on to their own destruction; if she had remained quiet for the present, she might still have been an object of fear with Bonaparte; but she listened to those who lit upon the bright thought of making in Austria a diversion in favor of Spain, and she has sold the price of her credulity. She is no longer a power. It is not to be doubted, that Napoleon will use the rights of a conqueror, and bestow the territories of the Emperor Francis, or the greater part of them, on those whom he can confide in. As to the people, it is evident their wishes will never be consulted; nor does it appear to be necessary. They seem to have been very calm and indifferent spectators of the passing events; and so they must have been, seeing that 200,000 Frenchmen were permitted to take possession of their capital, and to overturn their country; a lesson, one would think, well calculated to be useful to other governments, if governments were capable of receiving lessons; if any one ever began to amend until amendment was too late; if any one ever relied upon any thing but its power, till that power was swept away, and till other means of preservation became useful; if any one ever appealed to any thing but the sword, till it was compelled to listen to the sentence—"he who lives by the sword shall die by the sword."

The lesson is indeed of a nature, one would think, to strike sensibly even into a stone.—Eighteen millions of people suffered two hundred thousand to take possession of their country, and that two hundred thousand being seven or eight hundred miles from home.—What a lesson! But, what are we to think when we are told that these eigh-