



AND

North-Carolina State Gazette.

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

THURSDAY, JULY 12, 1810.

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TO THE FREEMEN OF THE COUNTY OF WARREN.

GENTLEMEN,
I have thought proper, again to come forward as a candidate for a seat in the House of Commons. I am fully aware that you may be told, by designing men, and probably not without effect, that I am a Lawyer, and therefore an unfit character to represent you. That an objection of this sort, should have gained currency in so enlightened a country as this, appears to me somewhat strange. The only possible case, wherein the interest of a Lawyer could come in opposition to that of the great body of you, is, where a bill should be brought before the house for raising Attorney's fees. I hardly suppose there is any gentleman of that profession, however sordid he may be, who would be so blind to his own real interest, as to give a stab to that good opinion which his fellow-citizens might entertain of him, merely for the sake of pocketing a few additional pence. But the utility of this objection, will more fully appear, if you consider, that Lawyers are not dependent upon the Legislature for their fees; but, like any other class of citizens, may prize their labor according to their skill. A skilful Lawyer, like a skilful mechanic, may set a price upon his services, and if he should not meet with employment, it will be entirely optional with him, to desert his profession or lower his price. Should the Legislature think proper to pass a law, that a Blacksmith, should only have so much for laying a Plough-hoe; if a good smith should think his too little, you must pay him his price, or he will not do your work. And, here, I do not hesitate to say, that the interference of the Legislature with the fees of Lawyers, is not only absurd, but the height of injustice, and, that a law to compel a lawyer to manage an intricate and difficult cause, which may possibly require a month's hard study, for the same compensation that he would receive for merely getting a judgment on a plain bond, could only have originated, in an illiberal, and narrow-minded jealousy. As to the prevailing opinion, that the practice of the law has a tendency to destroy a man's integrity, even if this be so, have not the people as good, may, I will say, a better opportunity of judging of the integrity of a Lawyer than they have of that of any other man's? Is it not, if he has got into practice, daily put to the test? And should he be found not wanting—should he come through like pure gold, surely, a habit of reading and commenting upon the laws of his country must render him better qualified for the formation of laws, than a man whose employment leads him into a different train of reflection. Another objection to Lawyers, as Legislators, is, that it is to their interest to make laws as complicated and unintelligible as possible. If this objection has any foundation in truth, I answer, that by selecting any other class of men, the same effect is produced, though from a different cause. The confusion which is apprehended from the design of the Lawyers, I will venture to assert, has been already produced from the ignorance of those who have been hitherto selected as legislators; and I dare say, that the most arduous set of Lawyers in the State, if they were to club their wits together, could not form a more mysterious set of laws, than some which are to be found in our statute book. This extreme jealousy of the Lawyers, is not justified upon a reference to the Legislative proceedings of the State; for I believe few, if any instance can be adduced, of a bill's being introduced or supported by Lawyers, which contemplated an increase of fees. Instead of this, that class of bills has been generally opposed by them; and so far from the members of the Legislature apprehending that Lawyers are dangerous persons to frame laws, they are the very persons who are generally selected to draw bills. Not that I should recommend a Legislature composed entirely of Lawyers; all I contend for is, that there is no greater cause of jealousy against Lawyers than any other class of men; and that some are absolutely necessary, as it is to be presumed, that they are better draftsmen than others whose avocations have not bearing that way. It may probably be also said, (as I understood it was when I before offered) that you should give a preference to men of age and experience. This is right. But, then, I would fain know how did these men ac-

quire their experience? It was not by being cut off from all opportunity of obtaining it in their youth. This experience was not an intuitive donation. It was from their being trained to it in early life. These men cannot be always upon the stage of action. Prudence, therefore, seems to dictate that there should be others ready to take their places when they are gone. To close the avenues of experience to youth, is to keep a man always a boy; and I, for my part, see no difference between having young and old boys in the Legislature. You may also be told, that you ought to send good, solid, substantial Planters. Far be it from me to offer any species of disrespect to this most useful and respectable class of the community; but a man may be a very good planter, yet a very clumsy legislator. The pursuit of agriculture has no very intimate connection with the science of Legislation.

A man, gentlemen, when he is giving his vote, is not acting solely for himself, but for the rest of the community, and what is still more, for posterity. He should lay aside his partialities and prejudices, and bestow his suffrage upon that man, whose talents and integrity best qualify him to fill the office. The correctness of this, as a theoretical maxim, every body is ready to admit, but very few reduce it to practice. (Most people, because they apprehend no immediate danger, are too apt to let their partialities or prejudices get the better of their sober judgment; and, indeed, I have heard some, express themselves so totally indifferent, as to declare themselves ready to bestow their suffrage on that man who would give them the most grog. An apathy unworthy a freeman or the enjoyment of freedom—but which receives too much countenance from the present mode of canvassing. For it seems that all a man has to do, in the present day to become popular, and qualify himself for a seat in the Legislature, is to neglect his private concerns, devote himself entirely to going about the county, besotting the people with grog and barbacue; and if in addition to this he has acquired a hypocritical grin, an endearing squeeze of the hand, has got by rote a few cant phrases of "how do you do my old friend, how does your wife and family do?" is blessed with a good stock of impudence, and backed with a long string of kin, he acquires the reputation of a great elector, and is of course qualified for all the duties of a legislator. Not that I am opposed to, or think there is any criminality in a man's (when he offers himself as a candidate) going about for the purpose of forming a personal acquaintance with the people; for it is my opinion the people have a right to expect it of those who solicit their suffrages; nor do I think there is any criminality in a candidate's joining in social festivity occasionally, with his fellow citizens when they meet at public places, or of his complying with the old adage of "touch pot, touch penny;" nor of his endeavoring to render himself popular by a fair and liberal display of his own talents, if he has any. What I am opposed to, is, the making these meetings nothing but a perfect scene of drunkenness and debauchery; the mere vehicles of lying, detraction and intrigue of the lowest species. It is a lamentable truth, that this mode of canvassing is getting to a most alarming height in our country; a height, which, I am afraid, threatens the very existence of our sacred and fair-famed political institutions. I am almost ready sometimes, with an old Grecian author to exclaim, "the law punishes with death the man guilty of giving bribes, but we advance him to the command of our armies," and the more criminal he becomes in this respect, with the higher and more lucrative honors is he invested. Those who court popular favor, by lavishing their own wealth to flatter the passions of their adherents, are very improper guardians of the public wealth. The sad experience of history teaches us, that all free governments have remained free only so long as the great body of the people were virtuous and incorrupt; whenever they became otherwise, they were enslaved. History also teaches that the corruption of the people by bribes and expensive amusements, has been the first step in the ladder to preferment for designing and ambitious men. In this country the people are the source of all power, from them all legislation is immediately derived; should they become corrupt, then, "farewell, a long fare-

well to all our greatness." Men wearied and fastidious with excess of criminal indulgence, lose all capacity or relish for solid and manly occupations.—To fill up the vacuities of their listless lives, they loiter and saunter about public places, in constant search of their accustomed pleasures, neglect their families and concerns, dissipate their fortunes, and when thus reduced, they become so mean and debased as to be fit instruments for any bad purpose. To expect from wretches thus degraded, any thing like that manly independence of soul which should characterize freemen, would be as absurd as to look for pure water from a muddy fountain. In such a state of society, justice is exposed to sale, virtue or abilities always in danger, often in disgrace. When such principles and manners become prevalent, nothing is wanting to carry the most extravagant and pernicious designs into execution, but a daring and profligate leader, such a one as Rome saw in Cataline, and such as we have lately seen even in these United States, who from gambling houses, bawdy houses, and probably from electioneering grounds, had like to have collected a band of "choice spirits, men above the dull pursuits of civil life," sufficient to alarm our peaceable citizens.

For my part, my fellow-citizens, I must confess that my claims to your suffrages are not founded upon any great pretensions to electioneering skill, for I have never been very ambitious of possessing the art, believing as I do that it's acquisition requires neither talents or integrity. Nor have I any claim founded on family influence, ready upon all occasions, to puff the most trifling transaction of my life, and throw a gloss over my foibles; but on the contrary, I know I have some enemies, ready to seize upon the slightest fault and magnify it in a crime. It is our just pride and fairest boast, that we live under a government of laws and not of men; between liberty and despotism this is a distinguishing criterion. It is amongst the most precious results of such a government that it affords every man a fair opportunity of aiming at preferment, and every honest man may aspire to the first office in the country, if he merits it. I shall make no professions of an extreme desire to serve you, because such professions coming from me would be useless; but will candidly confess that my object in wishing to get into the Legislature, is as much for my own improvement as any thing else; and (which I think I may say without incurring the imputation of vanity or detraction) believing myself as well qualified, both in point of talents and integrity, for the discharge of the duties of a representative, as any of the gentlemen who have yet thought proper to solicit your suffrages. I think in doing this, I have only exercised that right, which belongs to every man, of endeavoring to promote himself by all laudable means.

The style of this address may be said to be arrogant, and the mere affectation of independence; that I have too much pride and too little address to solicit your suffrages in the usual way. Should this be said, I would refer you to the uniform tenor of my life, since I have been of an age to act and think for myself. I defy any man to charge me with sycophancy to the rich, or haughtiness to the poor. I court none, but endeavor to be as civil as I can to every man I think an honest one, and treat none with contempt but those I think differently of. A different mode of conduct, in all probability, might be conducive to my interest. If I could flatter and fawn upon the affluent and successful swindlers, could suppress the honest indignation of my soul at meanness, and not (like a certain facetious author,) when I hear of "a dirty action," involuntarily, and without regard to the person who did it, be ready to exclaim "he is a dirty fellow." I might at this day have stood higher in popular estimation. But the liberty of expressing my sentiments freely and without reserve, I would not exchange for any advantage; and that popularity which is obtained by a suppression of honest feelings, I scorn to seek. All I am ambitious of acquiring is the esteem of honest men—the countenance of a different class I condemn.

WILLIAM MILLER.

July 11, 1810.
May be had at J. Gales's Store—Price 7 1/2
PRICE & STROTHER'S
MAP of NORTH CAROLINA,
On Canvas and Rollers.

PETITION TO PARLIAMENT OF THE CITIZENS OF LONDON.

To the Honorable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble Address, Remonstrance, and Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the City of London, in Common Hall assembled, this 4th day of May, 1810.

We, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the City of London, in Common Hall assembled, beg leave, with feelings of the most anxious concern, to present this, our humble address, petition, and remonstrance, and we earnestly entreat your Honorable House to give it a favorable reception; for how can we hope for redress and relief, if the bare statement of the wrongs and grievances of which we complain, be rejected? We also beg your Hon. House to believe, that in the language we may have occasion, and are, indeed, compelled to employ, no offence is intended to your honorable house.

The circumstance which most deeply afflicts us, and which most strongly impels us at this time to approach your honorable house, is, what appears to us to have been on your part, a violation of the personal security of the people of the land. We humbly conceive, that without a hearing, you have condemned them. Law requires legal process and trial by jury of our equals; justice demands that no person shall be prosecutor, juror, judge, and executioner in his own cause. We beg leave to express our conviction that this eternal principle of immutable justice, cannot be annulled by any house of commons—by any King—by any Parliament—by any Legislature upon earth. But it appears to us that your Hon. House has, in the instance of Mr. John Gale Jones and Sir Francis Burdett, assumed, accumulated, & exercised all these offices.

We feel it a duty which we owe to you, to ourselves, to our posterity, to state, that in our conception, this jurisdiction is unfounded, and we humbly but firmly declare our opinion against the existence of this power in any hands;—a jurisdiction unknown—a power above the law, and which could be enforced only by military violence—a violence made manifest by the breaking open an Englishman's castle, and by the preceding and subsequent murder of peaceful and unoffending citizens.

Permit us humbly to observe, that the construction of your honorable house prevents our surprise at this conduct of your honorable house.—We will not enter into details, so often and so ably stated to your honorable house by which it appears, that upwards of three hundred members of your honorable house, in England and Wales only, are not elected by the people, in any honest sense of the word PEOPLE, but are sent to your honorable house by the absolute nomination or powerful influence of about one hundred & fifty Peers and others, as averred in a petition to your honorable house in the year 1793, and which remains on your journals uncontroverted. This is the great constitutional disease of our country. This is the true root of the evils, corruptions, and oppressions under which we labor. If it be not eradicated, the nation must perish.

In support of this our sincere conviction, we need only to refer to the never-to-be-forgotten vote of your honorable house, refusing to examine evidence on a charge against Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Perceval, then two of the King's ministers, for trafficking in seats in your honorable house.

We remember well, that when it was gravely averred, and proof offered, in a petition which stands on your journals, and the complaints whereof are now unredressed for more than 20 years, "That seats for legislation in the House of Commons were as notoriously rented and bought as the standings for cattle at a fair," the then honorable house treated the assertion with affected indignation, and the mi-

nisters threatened to punish the petitioner for presenting a "scandalous and libellous petition." But we have lived to see a house of commons avow the traffick, and screen those accused of this breach of law and right, because it has been equally committed by all parties, and was a practice "as notorious as the sun at noon-day." At this vote, and at these practices, we feel as "our ancestors would have felt," and cannot repress the expression of "our indignation" & disgust.

Under these circumstances, may we not be permitted to ask, where is your justice, where your dignity?—Mr. John Gale Jones is confined within the walls of Newgate for an alleged offence against yourselves, which, if committed against any other subject of these realms, or even against the King himself, must have been judged by the established rules and laws of the land! Lord Castlereagh continued to be a principal minister of the crown, and is now a free member of your honorable house! Sir Francis Burdett, dragged by a military force from the bosom of his family, is committed to the tower for exercising the right of constitutional discussion, common and indeed undeniable to you, to us, to all. Mr. Spencer Perceval continues a member of your honorable house, taking a lead in your deliberations, the first minister of the crown and the chief adviser of the royal council.

Under the agonizing feeling excited by the late imprisonment of our fellow-subjects, can it be necessary for us to recapitulate the many instances, as thus appear to us, of refusals to institute just and necessary inquiry, to pursue to condign punishment public delinquents and speculators, to economise the means and resources of the state to administer to the people relief and redress for the various disgraces which the national honor has sustained, for the lavish profusion of British blood and treasure, extravagantly wasted in ill-contrived and fruitless campaigns, and more particularly in the humiliating and ignominious expedition to the coast of Holland, in which the greatest armament that ever left our shores was exposed to the scorn, contempt and ridicule of the enemy; the flower of our youth wastefully and wantonly left ingloriously to perish in the pestilential marches of Walcheren, without succor, without necessity, without object, without hope?

These and similar proceedings of your honorable house require no comment; but we cannot by our silence become accomplices in the ruin of our country, and dare not conceal from you the wholesome tho' unpleasant truth, that they appear to us to have materially shaken what remained of the confidence of the subjects of these realms in the wisdom of your honorable house.

We therefore humbly, but firmly entreat you to reconsider your conduct, to retrace your steps, and to expunge from your journals all your orders, declarations and resolutions, respecting Mr. Gale Jones and Sir F. Burdett—and that as Sir F. Burdett has not been expelled from your honorable house, he be no longer prevented from exercising therein all the duties of a member of the same.

Above all, we earnestly pray your honorable house, in conjunction with Sir Francis Burdett, and in conformity to the notice he had given, to devise and adopt such measures as will effect an immediate and radical reform in the commons house of parliament, and ensure to the people, a full, fair and substantial representation, without which, they must inevitably cease to exist as a great, a free, a glorious, and independent nation.

The petition was adopted unanimously, with the exception of the votes of Mr. Deputy Kemble, Mr. S. Dixon, and another.

NEW LAW.
J. GALES has just received from Philadelphia the following:
10th Volume of East's Term Reports, and Chitty on Pleadings, 2 volumes.