



AND

North-Carolina State Gazette.

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

Vol. XI.

THURSDAY SEPTEMBER 6, 1810.

No. 572

MR. GALLATIN.

FROM THE BALTIMORE WHIG.

MR. IRVINE.—The reputation of a minister of state is nothing when compared to the interests of a nation; nor his character when in competition with truth and justice. But as it is the great value of the latter, decides the proposition; so for their sakes, when a minister of the nation is justified by circumstances, truth must be allowed its full weight in the trial, and our prejudices become of as little importance, as his honor in the other case. I am led to these remarks by what has appeared in our public prints since the disclosure of Erskine's correspondence. If the charges against Mr. Gallatin had not been repeated so continually, they would probably have slept with myself, having little inclination to vent them in a newspaper. But wearied with the perpetual repetition of mistaken principles, I beg leave to offer some considerations on the subject which may perhaps change a little the view of the object, and with it the impressions it has excited.

The intelligent editor of the Aurora, in the eagerness of his attack, has overlooked a circumstance which should have sustained one charge, and cast weakness upon all his efforts.—But perhaps as passion blinds a man; former resentment and an elder offence, had hurried him into this mistake, and made him flame forth too suddenly against the secretary, to consider the ground of his charge.

He accuses Mr. Gallatin with having held conversations he had no right or business with—plainly declares that he had nothing to do but with Treasury matters.—In which he is followed by many editors. The absurdity of this will be evident to every reader who feels that he himself has a right to speak on matters of state with any one; and that Mr. G. could not have less right than any other individual. If his official situation makes the distinction, that can only be allowed to bind him to double caution, but never to interdict the privilege of conversing on public affairs with any. This however is too narrow a view of the subject. It is not only the right, but it will often become the duty of any Head of Department to discuss public relations with the ministers of foreign states. Though for dispatch of business, a division of the objects of government becomes necessary; yet no one is ignorant that the several secretaries form one body of ministry. The whole compose a council for the President, & deliver their opinions, when required, alike on war, revenue, navies, and foreign relations.† The result will be committed to the head of that department within whose province it more especially lies, but in every case of moment it will have received the determination of others.—As our republican manners reject a haughty suspicious reserve; and the small circle within which all move at Washington, naturally brings each public man in frequent contact with another, familiarity will unavoidably obtain among them. And I believe

* None, surely, has denied the Secretary's right to social intercourse and the freedom of conversation on any subject; it is the meddling with public matters in an unauthorized & impertinent way, that has been found fault with.—If the Secretary of the Treasury or Navy be the proper organ for negotiating with Foreign Ministers, the Secretary of State must be out of his province when he corresponds with our Ministers abroad or Foreign Ambassadors at Washington. "The steersman to his helm and the gunner to his instock."

† This may be the practice, but the Constitution does not sanction it; because its framers might have had the evils of an English Privy Council in full view at its formation. We, it seems, are fast declining into the path of England. Does the following extract from the Constitution allow the existence of our new fangled fungus Cabinet Council?

"He [the President] may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal Officers of each of the Executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices."

Thus the Constitution, in the clearest language, provides separate duties for separate officers.—It says, Let each mind his own business. I am grieved that this wise regulation is departed from by men who have sworn to support it.—Editor of the Whig.

it may be safely trusted to those who know our ministers, to pronounce whether their prudence and sagacity are not as likely to find advantages in this, as any foreign minister we have ever seen. On the occasion to which we refer, there plainly appears a general assent of the Executive Officers to meet Mr. Erskine in conversation on the topics so interesting to both nations. A general consent upon the demands and abatements, seems from all we yet know, to have prevailed.—A variety in the manner & difference of range, would inevitably take place. But I ask whether candor and impartial investigation, will not allow credit to Mr. Gallatin's statement on this point? It is evident Mr. Erskine was very desirous to represent the American government, as favorable to the English at that period. Whether he had ever communicated an opinion of Mr. Jefferson being partial to their enemies, or not; it is certain the charge had been incessantly made by the faction in their interest, & indeed with the charge against his religion, constituted their whole accusation.—This being no secret with any one, might, without apprehension, have been touched on at that time; and an observation that there was no such charge against the present President, been combined by Mr. E. with his own belief of the fact so often charged by the federalists and English partisans as to be thought true at last by themselves. I cannot but think this a natural and probable account of the manner in which Mr. Erskine was led to report the substance of his conversation with the Secretary of the Treasury. Though Mr. Jefferson was not regarded among the republicans with that unmanly & guilty idolatry which the federalists avow to Washington and even to Hamilton; yet, that excellent man possessed the good opinion of all the members of the administration in a degree that perhaps few will do again. Mr. Gallatin might have thought him erroneous in some inferior matters; but I question whether any one will say, he ever thought him failing in justice and impartiality.

His construction of the non-intercourse law, is capable of fuller illustration. Nothing seems so little understood as this measure on his part. It is universally known that from the commencement of the government, an explanation of the sense of the laws wherever room for doubt appears, has accompanied their transmission to the several officers entrusted with their execution; but notwithstanding all the care to explain, a continual recurrence to the Heads of Departments takes place, even on some of the oldest acts. He therefore only performed an usual and ordinary duty. Being on the spot where the laws are framed, and in frequent intercourse (which is not forbidden I believe) with the members of the Legislature, it must be presumed he is acquainted with the intentions of the framers of laws, and certainly must be allowed as capable to construe them as any collector or printer in the Union. In any case of moment, such as that of discriminating the countries to which the national commerce might go, it is I believe the judgment of the President directs the construction of the Secretary, or perhaps the concurrent opinion of the cabinet under him.—And notwithstanding the opinion you and others have delivered, I fancy most persons acquainted with the usages of nations will concede that construction to be just, which assumes a real, where there is a nominal sovereignty and independence. Nothing would be more indecent and improper than to decide in this way the independence of nations. Nor can it be allowed that the words of the law are opposed by this construction. As to construing them at all, nothing is more ridiculous than denying the authority for this; it is co-existent with their execution. Nor is there a part of our civil law, the sense of which has not been settled at different times by the Judges, if settled at all. It is

incidental then to all law, to receive a construction from those who are to execute, or decide judicially upon them. To give uniformity and steadiness to our revenue laws, the construction must come from the department specially charged with their execution. It has so come, and no blame can be justly attributed to the act proceeding through the proper organ of government. REGULUS.

From the Boston Patriot.

OF GOVERNOR GERRY'S OPINION OF BONAPARTE.

There appeared in the Centinel of the 8th inst. a piece, bearing the signature of the Spanish General Palafox, extracted from the Baltimore Federal Gazette, and captioned by a quotation from Gov. Gerry's speech, with a commentary thereon, which appeared to have for its object & end, to wound our worthy Chief Magistrate—because he thought proper to express his opinion to the Representatives of the People, in General Court assembled, of the great and dreadful talents of NAPOLEON, at the same time that he held up to them the mighty naval power of Britain.

I care very little what is said of the French, or of their renowned Chief, provided we do not injure our national character, by a lack of urbanity or decorum towards a great and powerful nation—that nation whom WASHINGTON called "A wonderful People!" But I can by no means feel indifferent at what is here sneeringly insinuated—as if our worthy Chief Magistrate felt an affection for either of the two tyrannic powers, that have been long degrading on our property and encroaching on our independence. I am confident that he has no affiliation with the TYGER of the land, nor with the SHARK of the ocean. His every pulsation is, as it ought to be, AMERICAN; and on that, as well as on several other accounts, he deserves as well of his country as any Governor that ever filled the chair of the State.

The Spaniard's production is indeed so weak and puerile, that I wonder it was thought adequate to the end proposed. It is a general law of nature, that where an animal wants strength it is made up in venom.—We see this exemplified in the viper tribe—so among men. When the partisan PALAFOX feels that he has neither strength nor size to reach the object of his fear, he instinctively ejects the venom of abusive epithets, and calls Bonaparte a Jacobin, and the spirit that has guided his greatest actions Jacobinism; when the fact really is, that there is not a great man in France, England, or America, freer from Roesperian Jacobinism than this "super-eminent statesman and warrior." On the contrary, he has beaten down Jacobinism under his feet. It is equally false that he raised a rebellious arm against his Sovereign and benefactor, if it is meant to refer to Louis XVI.

To say that Napoleon's extraordinary triumphs in war have been the effect of chance or good fortune, is to say that all the victories of Nelson, and of the British Navy, are the consequences of good luck merely.—They must be placed together, and referred to fortune or good luck, or allowed to be the result of superior skill or happier adaptation of means to the end in view. He who, wide awake, would maintain the contrary, exposes himself to the derision of men, women and children. No! Signior Palafox!—It is a truth, a dreadful truth, that there is no power under Heaven that can arrest the all-conquering arm of Napoleon, if he chuses to stretch it over the Continent of Europe or Asia. If you doubt this, consider for a moment that immense machinery of which Napoleon is the head, and a private soldier, a police and a custom house officer the foot.—Then tell me whether you do not think that it constitutes a force or momentum, which neither your coun-

trymen, nor Britain to help them, could arrest, any more than they could stop the course of a comet, by laying hold of its tail.

A bountiful Providence, by interposing the wide and rough Atlantic, has placed, I trust, an insurmountable wall of defence between this mighty power and the United States. Were we Heathens, Greeks or Romans, we would straightway to erect temples to our Guardian God the Ocean—but, being Christians, we ought to repose in confidence, that the "GOD of Armies," that Power by whose nod the scale of Empires rise or alternate fall, has pointed to the verge of the old continent, and said to its mighty warrior, "thus far thou shalt go, and no farther."

I would ask the Clergy and the Bible Society, and every other serious person among us—Who made Napoleon Bonaparte what he is now?—He assuredly did not make himself; nor can we believe that he was generated, like the Heathen Venus, from the froth of "the tempestuous sea of liberty."—If you will allow me that Bonaparte has been raised up and sustained by a Power superior to any thing we know of upon earth, my mind rests satisfied with the solution of this amazing phenomenon, at the same time it gains strength from almost every page of Sacred History. But take this doctrine away from me, and you may take your Bible with it; for then I shall consider the history of the Heroes of Scripture nothing more than a "cunningly devised fable." Beware, ye haters of France and Bonaparte, and ye contempters of the power of your own country, how you ridicule this belief!—for it was the creed of your most admired political writer, whose keen eye saw things as they really were—but whose weak nerves and morbid sensibility, too often the troublesome concomitants of genius, hindered him from looking at the picture steadily, or examining it deliberately. It is ever to be lamented that surviving friends, with firmer nerves and steadier judgments, did not suppress all such writings as had a tendency to infuse a trembling fear of the French nation, and of a Jacobinism that no longer exists in that country, in place of that steady courage and manly confidence, which is the result of a firm belief that GOD still governs the world.

One of the greatest statesmen this country ever produced—(a greater statesman than Fisher Ames, and one who has no great affection for Napoleon)—was asked, whom we could select of the great men of the world as a parallel to Bonaparte? He answered, THERE IS NOT ONE. He was then asked if we might not place him on the side of JULIUS CESAR.—The venerable man replied, No! Julius Cesar, at the height of his power & glory, was but a boy to this wonderful Corsican; and he spoke of him, not only as a soldier, but as a politician.

The late Gen. Knox spoke of Bonaparte in terms of the highest admiration. "He appears (said he) to have the mind of a million;" and it is hardly probable that WASHINGTON would have said much less of him.

The Archduke Charles, the second military character now in the world, speaks of him in the highest style of admiration. When Charles Fox returned from Paris, while Bonaparte was First Consul, he spoke in such exalted terms of his genius, that it created uneasiness in some of the little minds at St. James's. As to the Emperor Alexander, he, like an humble plant, faded away under the wide spreading arms of this mighty oak; and the King of Prussia has sunk into nothing before him. Spain and Portugal, with all their dead weight of a superstitious religion, are passing away at his command; while the head of their religious system of Inquisitorial intolerance is placed by Napoleon just where he should be. As to Austria and Germany, Mars would have erased them from the map of the world, had not Venus stepped in to divert his fury.

When we coolly and dispassionately consider these things, and a great deal more to the same effect, need we wonder that so wise and benevolent a man as Gov'r Gerry really is, should feel disposed to give our numerous body of Representatives his opinion of the formidable power of France, as he did of the formidable power of Great Britain? The Governor has long followed the movements of this Monarch with an anxious eye; and facts and events have amply justified him in saying—His equal is not to be found in the annals of man. Other Monarchs have been styled great; but as a Statesman & a Warrior, he is super-eminent—He is a prodigy of human nature."

The Administration of England, and indeed all the most sensible men in that renowned Kingdom, have the same opinion of Napoleon as Gov'r Gerry has. They dare not meet his troops in the field; and what speaks home to the question, THEY DARE NOT MAKE PEACE WITH HIM! In no place has Governor GERRY ever uttered a word of approbation of the measures, policy or conduct of this arbitrary Monarch. He merely gives the fact, as regards his matchless talents, and of course, at the head of such an Empire, his matchless power, well knowing that the surest way to resist a danger is to know it thoroughly; and he who blames an American Governor for doing so, is neither a wise man nor a sound politician.

As you are, Signior Palafox, a Spaniard as well as myself, you possibly may not be acquainted with all the peculiarities of this singular People we are among. In France, Spain, Germany and Russia, which ever way we turn our eyes, we see the government, or the force of the Supreme Executive, either in the form of military works and camps; or else at every corner of the street, and in the theatres, in the shape of centinels.—Whereas in Massachusetts we see nothing like it; which leads strangers to conclude that there is no compulsory power or protecting force; when in fact the Governor has an invisible body guard, a Legion of Honor of more than forty thousand men. They shew themselves but once a year—They are not distinguished by eagles or crosses, but most generally by implements of husbandry, as they chiefly inhabit the interior. Taken collectively, they possess by far the greatest portion of property over the rest of the State.

This government and these people are defended by another guard, unknown to us in Spain, I mean the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS; that undismayed assertor of interdicted truth.—Where the laws halt with dread, the mighty engine advances. It develops conclaves and "caucuses"—It penetrates fortified recesses, and writes the fearful sentence on the wall of the palace, turning their Belshazzers pale, when detected in their attempts to organize Jacobin conventions to destroy the federated union of these yet happy States. One party have used this engine so incessantly, and with such imprudent violence, that they have nearly worn it out, and rendered it of no effect; while the other has recourse to it less frequently; but when they have, it operates with the irresistible force of human nature and COMMON SENSE. We doubtless see things in a different point of view, from our different stations. You are, my dear Palafox, a soldier, whose occupation is slaughter: while our country never produced a man more devoted to the peace, liberty, happiness & well being of the natives, than is LAS CASAS.

August, 1810.

THOMAS GALES

HAVING obtained a license from the Judges of the Supreme Court of this State, will attend the County Courts of Wake and the adjoining Counties, for the purpose of practising Law. His Office will be opened at the southeast corner of the Court-house square.

—66—

Raleigh, July 25.

CASH OR BOOKS Given at this Office for clean Linen or Cotton RAGS.