



"Ours are the plans of fair, delightful Peace,
"Unwarped by party rage to live like Brothers."

From the Richmond Enquirer.
FOUR LETTERS
Addressed to the People of the United States.
BY A FELLOW-CITIZEN.
Letter IV.

We come now to the last and most delicate part of this discussion, Mr. Crawford's want of capacity, and connected with this, his want of claims, for so high a station. It is delicate, first because it involves the examination of a question that must be peculiarly unpleasant to a sensitive mind and secondly we shall have to adopt a course of reasoning by comparison, which may not altogether be warranted by the strict rules of decorum.

It is far from my intention to become the eulogist of Mr. Crawford, but in giving a short biography of him, which is necessary to my purpose, I shall have to employ terms, that, I own, will savour very much of that appearance, but I rely upon a knowledge of his character to support the truth of my statements, and upon my own, whether it remains anonymous or not, to sustain the rectitude of my motives. The incidents of his private life are few and humble, and although they have occasioned, from the aristocracy of the country, many a sneer, it is a very great consolation to his friends, that they furnish nothing of which to be ashamed, and they are animated with this additional gratifying reflection, that if his youth afforded nothing to envy, his manhood presents nothing to abuse; of his private virtues were unworthy of imitation, his public services are undeserving of reproach.

He was born in the state of Virginia, on the 24th of February, 1772, of poor but honest, of obscure but respectable parents. His father emigrated to Georgia when Mr. Crawford was but twelve years old, and after giving him a complete English education, he sent him into the world, as it is usually termed, upon his own footing. Not contented with the sphere, in which his humble attainments would inevitably confine him to move, he determined to acquire if not a liberal education, at least such an one as would essentially include every thing contained in that honorable distinction. Accordingly, after having taught an English school for some time, in the month of April '94 he commenced the study of the languages under that celebrated scholar of high Tory principles, Doct. Waddle—at the end of one year, which had been most assiduously employed in his laudable pursuit, finding his resources too limited, to suffer him to devote all his time exclusively to his studies, he was obliged to connect himself, as an assistant teacher with the Doct. who was nevertheless to continue his valuable instruction. In this situation he remained until April '96, when he had acquired a thorough and well grounded knowledge of the classics and a pretty extensive acquaintance with many of the sciences. In that month, this obscure usher, nothing dreaming of politics, but still anxious to increase his stock of useful learning, with a hope finally to obtain a profession if possible, for that purpose, bent his "lonely way to the federal town of Augusta," there, if I may be allowed a poet's strain, to fling himself in the way of fortune's gambols, and to receive whatever the sportings of her fancy, might turn up to an unknown but bold adventurer. His means were however perfectly inadequate to the object he had in view, and he was once more compelled to resort to the low but honest calling of subordinate teaching. He obtained a situation in the Richmond Academy, where he remained in the double character of student and instructor until the latter part of the year '98 or the beginning of the succeeding year, in which time having become a finished classical and scientific scholar, and also having acquired the profession of Law, he bid adieu to the dull labor of instruction to engage in more active employments upon a much more bustling field. It is worthy of remark, that while he was engaged in his scholastic and professional studies, he supported a character for the most exemplary morality and prudence, he was a most indefatigable, close and laborious student; he possessed a mind of the most masculine vigour and profound penetration, and his first reverend and venerable instructor has often been heard to say, that such was the strength of his memory and the force of his genius, he acquired more learning in two years, than was the usual hard requirement of four.

His profession, the great object of his desires, being obtained, this almost self-taught student, commenced his public life, and such was his uncommon perseverance and industry, that in a very short time he was at the head of the profession, although he began without money or patron. When I assert that his talents were unrivalled, I will be supported by every lawyer in Georgia, acquainted with him, whether his friend or enemy. In this I fear no contradiction. His great professional zeal, that always made his client's cause his own, his unremitting attention to business, his punctuality and promptness in its dispatch, his undisguised frankness and official sincerity, disdaining the little artifice and overreaching craft of the profession, combined with a dignity, which springing from self-respect alone, was entirely unimpaired with affection, his honesty and irreproachable moral character accompanied with manners the most plain, simple and accessible, secured for him a public and private reputation seldom equalled, and never excelled in this or any other country. Mr. Crawford's most prominent virtue is a bold and lofty ingenuousness of mind; in any intercourse whatever with him it is his most observable trait, and yet it is far from being studied; in its exercise, he is firm and positive, yet neither rude nor blunt. He does not engage by a smooth and flexible manner, either in the utterance of his sentiments, or the tendency of his address; in the first

he is polite and unassuming, though confident and decided, in the latter he is easy without ostentation, and commanding without arrogance. The blind veneration and respectful awe, by no means inconsiderable, which is usually paid to the graces and proud carriage of person, the fascinating richness and gaiety of apparel, and the splendour of equipage, he neither claims or desires—brought up and educated altogether free from such vain allurements, he has never suffered his native strength of mind and unaffected manly simplicity to give place to these unessential points of greatness.

This then is the character, whose capacity for discharging the highest office in the government, we are about to consider. It will be readily admitted that in all subjects short of demonstrative science, we have a right to the full benefit of rational inferences, to the ascertainment of causes by their effects, to the establishment of facts by their fruits; this position being perfectly reasonable, we proceed to enquire, how has it happened, that an individual, without family or fortune, without the early advantages which those circumstances confer, self-educated, under the pressure of poverty and all its anxieties, under the rigour of labour and all its discouragements, under difficulties which few can know, because few have ever felt, calculated to repress the ardour of genius, and damp its efforts, without that aid in the commencement of public life, which penury needs, and that countenance which diffidence requires, raised in a frontier state, at that time possessing but a mixed population, comparatively unenlightened, and consequently without influence, should now be standing before the people for an office that implies a confidence & conveys an honor that even thrones might envy. When we seek a solution of this mystery, if talents are rejected from the account, the difficulty is much increased from recollecting the fact, that this individual has undergone a most inveterate opposition in every stage of his public career: That having risen to the greatest honors of his own State, he has passed into another and a different arena of higher order and wider limits, where after the same implacable animosity and intense scrutiny, he maintains his exalted standing. Can any one believe that this moral phenomenon has resulted from any thing short of talents, and those too of the most recondite description? If it has, why is it not shown? To what combination of fortuitous and lucky incidents shall such an unprecedented elevation be ascribed? What real event alone, which sometimes confers immortality on a favored being, has wrought this wonderful effect? What military achievement, which operating upon the strong feelings of a grateful people, has produced it? But say his enemies, what has he done? It is unfortunate, for the present candidates, that they live so near the revolution, and the unfavorable comparison with that event is constantly suggesting, that they are the first to commence a competition for an office, unsupported by those high claims, resulting from that struggle, which has heretofore been the passport to success.

Although ours is emphatically a civil government, and we have always been excessively jealous of a military influence, considering it to be one of the most disastrous misfortunes that could befall our institutions, yet we seem to think that no one but a military character can preside over the nation, and when we ask what a candidate has done, it is with reference to that very subject. Strip our former Presidents of their revolutionary services, and how far do they excel in point of attainments of mind, our present candidates? How much better qualified were they, for the discharge of so responsible a trust? In the language of the interrogatory concerning Mr. Crawford, what had they done? They had made speeches and reports in Congress, and so have the present candidates, and when compared, the little sneers of envy to the contrary notwithstanding, there is no difference in point of sound sense, deep research, extensive learning, or indeed any of those characteristics that constitute an eloquent debate or able state paper. The form of our government requires a certain order of political science, and this is displayed in a particular routine, by those statesmen who are climbing to reach its highest summit. They first enter the list of parliamentary discussion, perhaps figure at the head of some great committee; being successful there, they pass to a diplomatic or departmental station, and there they are dependent upon contingencies, whether they remain stationary or rise in reputation. Our condition in life is extremely artificial, depending upon passing events and surrounding objects, to which, it can readily conform and be easily accommodated, according to our respective geniuses and capacities; hence we are singularly the creatures of circumstance. The same state of things that invested Washington with a never-dying fame, as a warrior, immortalized Jefferson as a statesman, and Paine as a writer, so that it is not so exclusively to talents, that great men sometimes owe their elevation; and these but seldom occur. It is not often we have a revolution or a war, and it is very fortunate for us, in more respects than one, that this is the case—such is the inconsiderate adulation paid to the achievements of war, often performed by a brave soldiery, but as often ungenerously transferred to their commander, who, possessing but little more skill or talents than themselves, had but very little to do in the affair, that the government is actually in danger of passing into the hands of military adventurers. We never think we can reward them sufficiently; we feed them with honors, and cram them with offices, and at the same time begrudge the forgotten soldier, who earned their fame, a miserable pension.

If then it is not required of Mr. Crawford

to produce the credentials of his military glory, to produce his escutcheon and shew where fields were won and banners taken: his friends are more than willing to compare notes with any of his competitors, upon any of the duties or services performed in that ex-revolutionary routine I have before mentioned. Which of them has done more than he has? Which of them from a poor, obscure and unsaid youth, through a manhood of unusual persecuting opposition, has risen to their present consequence? Which of their places is it he could not fill? And which of them could fill his place? Which of them can shew an evidence of talents that he is not instantly able and ready to match? This is an invidious subject; it is not my wish to meddle with those who have not improperly inter-meddled with Mr. Crawford; it is his character I seek to defend, and I know his cause does not require that the character of any one else should be blackened, that his may be brightened; he has suffered in feeling too much, to wish that the sensibility of a solitary individual should be wounded on his account.

Mr. Crawford has often been accosted with want of skill and abilities in the discharge of his present office! Why is he continued in it? There seems to exist the utmost confidence in the judgment and probity of Mr. Monroe: why is it that he retains such an unskillful financier? I think it is now well understood that it cannot be from partiality, and I wish I could whisper to the good old man to take care of the artful insinuations of some ambitious aspirants around him, who have already filled his mind with jealousy; a passion that always ends in disgrace or remorse.

But where is the deficiency? We have a right to call for the items. Every man's official or private life is made up of a constant series of distinct acts, these can be identified and shown. Mr. Crawford is surely not a wizard that he can do wrong and no one tell how, nor in what—Then point out the particular act of delinquency. Such has been attempted, but the national assembly have openly declared that the charge is not only wholly unfounded, but that it is a malicious prosecution. Is not this enough to satisfy the nation? will they not believe their own representatives? But if this will not do, I ask, what Secretary before him since Hamilton, has filled that office with more ability? What Secretary before him, had to act in times so doubtful, with every domestic relation so precarious and embarrassed, with such pecuniary difficulties pressing upon the people, home and foreign commerce so fluctuating, commercial capital so deranged, such a public debt to manage, and above all, such a miserably depreciated and ruined currency to deal with? If these circumstances, which enter so peculiarly into the management of the public finances, have so disturbed the private credit of the country, as to make it a matter of serious difficulty with almost every individual to save himself from ruin, and to give rise to a bye-word that "no one is safe;" what but the most profound ability and vigilance could have preserved the great national estate from bankruptcy? Instead of that, what has been lost? When was the credit of the nation ever better? When was the public debt more faithfully discharged? When were the burthens of the people lighter? Then in relation to his department, of what have we to complain? Under all these multiplied and perplexing difficulties, his estimated have approached nearer the actual receipts into the Treasury, than in any calculation of his predecessors for the last 20 years. Of this fact, I have before me, the recorded proof which may be found in Mr. Niles's able and valuable Register of May the 11th, 1822, at page 166. There they will find that his actual were within ten per cent. of his estimated receipts, while that of his distinguished predecessors was from seventeen to twenty-one. These are facts that speak louder than assertions, and although he may "have no talents," and has "done nothing," which is saying but little for the public discernment, yet this and another and perhaps many generations may pass away, before such an individual, precisely under all his peculiar circumstances, will, by chance, rise from nothing to the most resplendent eminence, upon two distinct stages of political probation.

I have now gone through the subject as proposed to be considered, but before I close, there are one or two matters I deem worthy of notice. It has been, on a former occasion, enquired, whether Georgia was heartily in favor of Mr. Crawford, and whether the presses of that State were disposed to support him? I answer, without hesitation, as to both particulars, in the affirmative. With respect to the people, they have never entirely forgotten Mr. Crawford's services, although they have promoted the views of his adversary. Many insist upon it, they can serve both, and while they support Mr. Crawford for his talents and virtues, they serve his enemy from a capricious pity, growing out of his disgraces. There is, however, a political reaction in Georgia: the pride of the State is now concerned; the people are not, as some have supposed, lost to a sense of national reputation. To say that Georgia is not anxious to afford a President of the Union, is a direct insult to her understanding and character; and to say that Mr. Crawford has lost her confidence, is a reproach to her judgment, and an attack upon her gratitude. Whatever may be her family disputes, of which, no doubt she is now ashamed, it has not resulted in her estrangement from Mr. Crawford. He has served her too long, too faithfully, and has raised her character too high to be now, in the time of her greatest need, overlooked. Depend upon it the Georgians are not such an ungenerous people—they begin to be undeceived, and in a moment of cool reflection, when they see

the gross ignorance with which their public affairs are managed, and the vicious passion in which they have been administered, they are entirely disposed to return to the good old track, and to the exercise of more moderate feelings. They have discovered, from a history of the times, that their Jackson's creek Hero, did no more than was done by all of our first settlers, and half of our frontier women; and as to their pity, he has had it long enough, seeing how poor a return he is able to make for it.

With regard to the presses, they are decidedly and warmly for Mr. Crawford, with the exception of two, one of these, conducted by a consistent and honorable federalist, Wm. J. Hobby, Esq. is in favor of Mr. Adams. This editor is the brother-in-law of Gov. Clark, but added to this, he is no doubt attached to Mr. Adams, for the very great political veneration he has for his father, and perhaps some hopeful expectations in the versatility of the son.

The other is a travelling federal press, very properly called the pseudo-Patriot, without means and less principle, it works any where for a living, and will say any thing but the truth, for money; it knows just enough of honesty, always to avoid it, and is ashamed of nothing but decency. Never was there an establishment of the kind, shielded by such an impenetrable impunity: its press is too infamous for notice, and its editor too contemptible for correction, neither of which can be provoked by any thing he can say, although often sought, and as a mark of attention, has no doubt been anxiously covered. His slanders are above the chastisements of justice, for none of her salutary restraints, except imprisonment, can reach him, and this would be an actual relief from his more miserable condition at home. The paper, like the *Washington Republican*, has no support, is read but by few, and believed by none, and got up for a particular purpose, has no circulation, except a few numbers that are sent by the direction of the secret gentlemen behind the curtain, to their particular friends, upon whose unwilling charity alone the poor hunger smitten editors are compelled to rely with mendicant humility. This press is immediately and exclusively under the personal influence of Gov. Clark, in Milledgeville. I have lately heard, however, that a very great meanness, which has fallen so heavily upon the finances of the editor and his patron, has unluckily stopped, or is likely to stop its wheels—I say unluckily, because any cause must flourish, against which such a press should be opposed.

The friendly presses, although they have not, as yet, said much, they have, in my opinion, a very sufficient reason for it. There is a peculiar indelicacy in perpetually obtruding upon the notice of the other states, the pretensions of a favorite state candidate. The state of Georgia has acted with a very becoming dignity and modesty, in not dictating to her sister states what they must do in the approaching election, as some others have done, by caucus, and the public prints have evinced a respect for the judgment and opinions of the rest of the Union, well worthy their good sense and propriety. What little they have said, has been entirely in defence, and that has been urged with a moderation and decorum entitling them to very high regard.

I have now arrived at the last thing I intend to add, which is "a parting word" with a Mr. "Pendleton," alias Mr. "Wythe," who has written under these signatures with a hope to create a general impression that there is great dissatisfaction to Mr. Crawford in the state of Virginia. His arguments, I trust, have been sufficiently answered. I cannot permit myself to reply to his personalities. His sarcasms upon Georgia, her citizens and Mr. Crawford, may, in his estimation, be very severe, but it is a great alleviation of their rigour to be conscious that they are not deserved, and when their source is known, will certainly not be regarded.

This is the army writer, who has laid by the sword and taken up the quill in its defence, and flatters himself to promote its interest by the destruction of Mr. Crawford, forgetting that this stroke cuts down one of the brightest laurels of Mr. Jefferson's administration, the reduction of a useless army and its expensive apparatus. It is true the republican simplicity of Mr. Crawford may stand between him and the plumes and gewgaws, that offer exclusive attraction to a mind fond of idle parade, but to a serious and frugal people, it presents the surest guarantee of solid happiness. From the extravagance then, in more than one particular of such an advocate, the War department has every thing to lose, while from motives so selfish and an inconsistency so apparent, the Treasury has nothing to dread.

THE WARRENTON FALL RACES

WILL commence over the Warrenton Course on Tuesday the 28th day of October next, and continue four days.

1st Day—A Sweepstakes, one mile heats, for three years old colts and fillies—Entrance \$100. Three or more to make a race.

2d Day—The Jockey Club Purse, \$300—three mile heats—Entrance \$20. Money hung up at the usual discount.

3d Day—The Proprietor's Purse, \$200—Money hung up—Two mile heats—Entrance \$20.

Fourth Day—A Handy Cap, mile heats—Entrance \$25.

The Proprietor pledges himself to have the Tract in good order. Stables and Litter furnished Race Horses, gratis.

ROBT. R. JOHNSON, Proprietor.
Warrenton, N. C. Sept. 13, 1823.

A BALL will be furnished on the evening of the 2d and 3d days' Race, by
R. R. JOHNSON, Proprietor.

NOTICE.

BRIGADE ORDERS.
THE several Regiments forming the 8th Brigade North Carolina Militia, leaving part of the 4th Division, will be reviewed as follows—the 1st and 2d Regiments of Guilford County, at Greensborough, the 1st Tuesday in October; the 1st and 2d Regiments of Stokes county, at Germantown, the 1st Thursday in October; the Regiment of Rockingham, at Wentworth, on the 1st Saturday in October.

By order,
ALFRED M. BETHELL, Aid-de-camp to
WILLIAM BETHELL, Brig. Genl.
8th Brigade N. C. M.

FOR SALE, OR LEASE.
IN FARMS OR LOTS, ON ACCOMMODATING TERMS.

A TRACT of rich and well timbered LAND, situate on the north-east side of the north-east branch of the Cape-Fear river, and on the south-west side of Holly Shelter creek, (both navigable for boats of burden) in the county of New-Hanover, containing 29184 acres, by survey.

Part of the above mentioned tract of Land is not inferior, in quality, to any in the state, being a luxuriantly rich and fertile soil, well adapted to the production of rice, indigo, hemp, tobacco, or clover and timothy, as it is capable of being made a rich meadow with proper cultivation; and a considerable part of it is high and dry, and well fitted for the culture of corn, cotton, and small grain of every kind, as the part of it now in culture proves, as it produces, in quantity equal to any land of the same quality in the State. Indeed, the whole tract is susceptible of being made of immense value, by industry & good husbandry, for it is uncommonly well watered, and abounds with the most valuable white and red oak, cypress, cedar, pine, and other valuable timber; all of the most superior quality, and capable of furnishing an inexhaustible quantity of staves, whop poles, scantling, plank, boards, and naval stores, peculiarly well adapted to the West India markets, to which it has a ready outlet from the river bank, by Wilmington, from which it is distant but 28 miles, and to which there is a safe and bold navigation, as well by the north-east branch of the Cape-Fear as by Holly Shelter creek, which bounds it on the N. E. side. So that there is not in the State a tract of land combining more advantages for a trade with the West Indies, than this does; or indeed, with any other country or market, where lumber of every description, and naval stores, may be articles of no small use.

On the tract there are two fine mill seats and some others can be made with a trifling expense of money and labor; and adjacent to it, there are three or four valuable saw mills, some of which have made good plank and scantling, &c. from timber got on this tract. So that it enjoys every facility that can be reasonably desired for manufacturing the timber into lumber fit for market; and a market can always be had at Wilmington for all articles of this kind, if the persons concerned should decline shipping on their own account to other markets.

As it is presumed that no person will purchase or lease without viewing the land, a further description is deemed unnecessary. Persons wishing to do so, are respectfully referred to Wm. Smith, Esq. Register of New-Hanover county, to Jos. Lamb, Esq. former Surveyor of said county, and to the Hon. Charles Hooks, in Duplin county, for a knowledge of the situation of the lands, and to the Register's office in the county of New-Hanover, and to the Secretary of State's office in Raleigh for a knowledge of the title, as also to the subscriber who is ready to exhibit it; and who is authorized to treat for the sale or lease of the whole, or any part of the said tract of land.

I will remark, that as a liberal credit will be given, it is possible that there has not been a property offered for sale in many years combining so many natural advantages, and holding out such a reasonable promise of giving an immense fortune to the purchaser or owner; he using only common prudence, industry and good management; for I am specially instructed, by the present owner, to say that the shameful depredations committed on it by men whose cupidity has proved too powerful for their honesty, compels him to offer it for sale.

And I am also instructed to give notice, that all persons found trespassing or committing waste or spoliation on the said tract of land, or on the timber thereon, will be prosecuted with every rigorous law allows. And I am also instructed to inform the persons settled on it, that they will not be disturbed in their possession until all hope of friendly accommodation shall fail.

JOHN D. DE LACY,
Att'y for the heirs of J. Baker.
Note.—To save trouble, the price of the whole tract is \$180,000, payable by instalments, in 12 years; the first five years without interest.
Raleigh, Sept. 10, 1823.