

To the LEGISLATURE, and ELECTORS  
of President, for SOUTH CAROLINA.

A production from the pen of Mr. Hamilton has appeared within these few days, condemning the late political measures of Mr. Adams, and assigning reasons for his conviction of his incompetency to the office of President. The nature of the publication, the time of its appearance, and the character of its author justify us in ascribing it to no common motives.

It is *professedly* a vindication of Mr. Hamilton and his friends. It is *really* an attempt to destroy Mr. Adams's pretensions to the Presidency.

Most of the facts it relates are of a confidential nature, the truth of which depends upon the attestation of men remote from New-York or upon the opinions of men who are no more. Mr. Hamilton, therefore, well knew, that his statement would necessarily remain either uncontradicted or disproved until the event of the Presidential election. For, the pamphlet is published time enough to reach Carolina itself, but too late to admit of a refutation derived from authentic sources.

Can you doubt, under these circumstances, that it was intended in reality, as far as its contents could go, to deprive Mr. Adams of all support from your state?

But it sometimes happens that the most profound statesman is too *cunning*; and that in avoiding one evil, he becomes the victim of a much greater one.

This has been the case with Mr. Hamilton. He calculated the effect of his disclosure of facts upon your state alone; regardless of its effect upon Massachusetts. The effect it has produced upon that state is an evidence of the futility of his attempts. The friends of Mr. Adams have been roused by it into a vigilant circumstance, awake to every circumstance injurious to his re-election. While they viewed General Pinckney as the candidate for the office of Vice President, they were friendly to his election; but the moment they contemplated the measures pursued by his *personal* friends, calculated, if successful, to elevate him to the station of President, they threw aside all reserve, and determined, at every hazard, to give to Mr. Adams their exclusive support. Having good reason to believe that every federal vote in South Carolina, owing to the influence of Mr. Hamilton's pamphlet and other conspiring causes, will be given to General Pinckney at the expense of Mr. Adams, they have resolved with one voice to give their suffrages to him to the total exclusion of Mr. Pinckney.

This may appear extraordinary to you, who, not influenced by personal or local considerations, are desirous of pursuing that line of conduct which shall best promote the good of your Country. But though on first consideration it may appear extraordinary, it is not on that account the less true. Massachusetts, *heretofore*, has shewn herself to be attached to Mr. Adams, to the exclusion of any other federal candidate. For at the last election, she voted for Mr. Adams, but not for Mr. Pinckney. Can you expect that what she did then, she will omit to do now? Is it in the nature of personal prejudice to decay by indulgence? Does it not on the contrary uniformly gather strength by exercise?

You will, without doubt, hear a different language from Massachusetts. The friends of Mr. Adams will assail you with letters upon letters, declaring, in terms the most solemn, their determination to adhere inviolably to the implied agreement to support both Mr. Adams and Mr. Pinckney.

But if you are influenced by that rational distrust, which men of observation, however painful it be to them, always entertain of the professions of those who have different objects in view, you will be slow to confide in what you hear. Surmises, whispers, confidential communications will be lavished upon you in profusion. Connected with them will be names of the first respectability, names sacred in the annals of freedom. Swallow not, with dangerous credulity, tales which those who propagate them will laugh at you for believing, when their object is accomplished.

I offer not my advice to you on this momentous occasion. My great object is to guard you against inconsiderately taking the advice of others.

My ideas are different from those which are embraced and propagated by either side. While each party ascribes to the other designs hostile to liberty, I feel greater solicitude respecting a more substantial danger.

The love of wealth does not rage in any part of the world with more ungovernable fury than in our Country. It seems to ab-

orb every other feeling. The shortest road to it is crowded with our citizens. This road is trade. Commerce, when circumscribed by rational boundaries, is productive, not only of individual, but also of national benefits. But when it transcends these limits, when it deluges us with pernicious luxuries, when it makes us dependent upon other nations, when it embroils us in war, when it paralyzes the labours of the farmer and the mechanic, it degenerates into the worst of evils. And when, in addition to this, its daring spirit dictates to the government the measures which ought to be pursued, and by the force of wealth carries those measures into effect, every true friend to his country ought to feel alarmed.

It is the inevitable tendency of this extravagant spirit of trade to produce perpetual war, and war leads invariably to a loss of freedom.

It is in the Eastern states that this spirit is most cherished. A chief magistrate, therefore, from that part of the union, may be expected to encourage rather than repress its extension.

Directly the reverse of this may rationally be expected from a man taken from the southern states. Such an individual will be likely to promote the true interests of his country, by treating with the same impartial regard every species of industry.

It cannot be doubted that the opinions, the habits and the manners of the Southern states, are more hostile to war with any nation, than those of the Eastern states. This circumstance is not mentioned through disrespect for our eastern brethren, or with any view to impeach the integrity of their motives. It arises altogether from the spirit of trade, and its concomitant, the immoderate love of gain, that always prevails in commercial states; while those which are agricultural, are generally undisturbed by this active passion, and are averse to any change.

The example of England is alone sufficient to establish the point; particularly if contrasted with that of China. In the former country, the most commercial in the world, wars have succeeded each other with the smallest intervals; while in the latter, the least commercial nation, an uninterrupted peace has existed for centuries.

These considerations have weight in the mind of the writer. They are submitted to you, with a full conviction of the purity of your motives, and the wisdom of your measures.

## A FRIEND TO PEACE.

## BURKE ON DESPOTISM.

The simplest form of government is despotism, where all the inferior orbs of power are moved merely by the will of the supreme, and all that are subjected to them, directed in the same manner, merely by the occasional will of the magistrate. This form, as it is the most simple, so it is infinitely the most general. Scarce any part of the world is exempted from its power. And in those few places where men enjoy what they call liberty it is continually in a tottering situation, and makes greater and greater strides to that gulph of despotism which at last swallows up every species of government. This manner of ruling being directed merely by the will of the weakest and generally the worst man in society, becomes the most foolish and capricious thing at the same time that it is the most terrible and destructive that can well be conceived. In a despotism the principal persons find, that let the want, misery, and indigence of his subjects be what they will, he can yet possess abundantly of every thing to gratify his insatiable wishes. He does more. He finds that these gratifications increase in proportion to the wretchedness and slavery of his subjects. Thus encouraged, both by passion and interest, to trample on the public welfare, and by his station placed above both shame and fear, he proceeds to the most shocking outrages upon mankind. Their persons become victims of his suspicions. The slightest displeasure is death; and a disagreeable aspect is often as great a crime as high-treason. In the court of Nero, a person of learning, of unquestionable merit, and of unsuspected loyalty, was put to death for no other reason than that he had a pedantic countenance which displeased the emperor. This very monster of mankind appeared in the beginning of his reign to be a person of virtue. Many of the greatest tyrants on the records of history have begun their reigns in the fairest manner. But the truth is, this unnatural power corrupts both the heart and the understanding. And to prevent the least hope of amendment, a king is surrounded by a crowd of infamous flatterers who find their account in keeping him from the least light of reason, till all ideas of

rectitude and justice are utterly erased from his mind. When Alexander had in his fury inhumanly butchered one of his best friends, and bravest captains; on the return of reason he began to conceive an horror suitable to the guilt of such a murder. In this juncture his council came to his assistance. But what did his council? They found him out a philosopher who gave him comfort, & in what manner did this philosopher comfort him for the loss of such a man, and heal his conscience, flagrant with the smart of such a crime? You have the matter at length in Plutarch. He told him; "that let a sovereign do what he will, all his actions are just and lawful, because they are his." The places of all princes abound with such courtly philosophers. The consequence was such as might be expected. He grew every day a monster more abandoned to unnatural lust, to debauchery, to drunkenness, and to murder. And yet this was originally a great man, of uncommon capacity, and a strong propensity to virtue. But unbounded power proceeded step by step, until it had eradicated every laudable principle. It has been remarked, that there is no prince so bad, whose favourites and ministers are not worse. There is hardly any prince without a favourite, by whom he is governed in as arbitrary a manner as he governs the wretches subjected to him. Here the tyranny is doubled. There are two courts, and two interests; both very different from the interests of the people.

The favourite knows, that the regard of a tyrant is as unconstant and capricious as that of a woman; and concluding his time to be short, he makes haste to fill up the measure of his iniquity, in rapine, in luxury, and in revenge. To deserve well of the state is a crime against the prince. To be popular and to be a traitor, are considered as synonymous terms. Even virtue is dangerous, as an aspiring quality, that claims an esteem by itself, and independent of the countenance of the court. What has been said of the chief is true of the inferior officers of this species of government; each in his province exercising the same tyranny, and grinding the people by an oppression, the more severely felt, as it is near them and exercised by base and subordinate persons. For the gross of the people, they are considered as a mere herd of cattle; and really in a little time become no better; all principle of honest pride, all sense of the dignity of their nature, is lost in their slavery. The day, says Homer, which makes a man a slave, takes away half his worth; and in fact he loses every impulse to action, but that low and base one of fear.—In this kind of government human nature is not only abused and insulted, but is actually degraded and sunk into a species of brutality. The consideration of this made Mr. Locke say, with great justice, that a government of this kind was worse than anarchy; indeed it is so abhorred and detested by all who live under forms that have a milder appearance, that there is scarce a rational man in Europe, that would not prefer death to Asiatic despotism. Here then we have the acknowledgment of a great philosopher, that an irregular state of nature is preferable to such a government; we have the consent of all sensible and generous men, who carry it yet farther and avow that death itself is preferable; and yet this species of government so justly condemned, and so generally detested, is what infinitely the greater part of mankind groan under, and have groaned under from the beginning. So that by sure and uncontested principles the greatest part of the governments on earth must be concluded tyrannies, impositions, violations of the natural rights of mankind, and worse than the most disorderly anarchies.

ANTIQUITIES OF INTERIOR  
AMERICA.

[From the Manuscripts of a late Traveller.]

BESIDES those ruins on the Illinois and Wabash countries, which have been often mentioned, there are others many hundreds of miles further west, and particularly in that country about the great falls of the Mississippi. As we approach these falls, commonly called St. Anthony's, we frequently meet with pyramids of earth, from thirty to seventy, and even to eighty feet in height. These are, most probably, the tombs of the ancient kings and chieftains of this part of America, though there are others which I am inclined to believe were erected in consequence of some signal victory, and possibly to cover the bones and carcases of the slain. In digging horizontally into several of these pyramids, a little above the base, we generally found a stratum of white substance, somewhat

like a moist lime, and glutinous withal, extending in all probability, several yards within; or perhaps nearly the whole length of the diametrical line. I had every reason to believe this consolidated chalky substance to be the remains of skeletons, buried perhaps two hundred centuries ago, and converted by time, and the operation of the elements, into their present state.

Many tokens remain on both sides of the Mississippi, of the country being, in ancient ages, as well cultivated, and as thickly inhabited, as the country on the Danube or the Rhine; which fully proves, that the literati have been too hasty, in denominating America a new world, or the original present to Europeans from the hand of rude nature.

Some years since, a copper mine was opened farther down the Mississippi, and to the great surprise of the labourers, a large collection of mineral tools were found several fathoms below the surface of the earth. Another person digging for a well, discovered a furnace of brick work five fathoms below the present surface; and in this furnace was found a quantity of coals and firebrands, which for aught we know, might have been kindled in the days of Moses or Lycurgus.

Not long since, at a spot on the shore of the Ohio, where the bank had been wasted by the undermining of the water, a stone dropped out, of the hardest kind of black marble, about seven pounds in weight, having twelve equal surfaces, each surface being mathematically equilateral and equiangular five-sided figures; this does not appear to be a lusus nature, but a work of exquisite art, the offspring of human ingenuity.

Near the falls of the Mississippi, there is a salt spring in the bed of a river, which has been enclosed with stone-work of unknown antiquity to keep out fresh water. In times of freshets, however, the river overflows the stone-work and mixes with the brine, so that it does not afford salt to the savages hereabouts, until the river is considerably fallen.

In several places, circular fortifications have been discovered in the same country. These are constantly enclosed with deep ditches, and fenced with a breast-work. From these, and many other similar remains of antiquity, one would be inclined to think what is called the new world to be much older than has been commonly imagined. Several tribes on the western side of the great river above-mentioned, date their national existence for more than twenty thousand moons back; and the Indians of the eastern world go infinitely farther into the depths of time, though both relate many events of these distant periods that are evidently mixed with fable.

## VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY.

All the papers have spoken of the voyage of Discovery to be undertaken by the two French ships *Naturaliste* and *Geographe*, under the command of captain Baudin. One of the objects of the expedition is, to establish in a positive manner the navigation of New Holland. The French government have adopted all the means in their power to render the voyage useful to natural history, and to the knowledge of the manners of savage life. At the same time, Vaillant, so celebrated for his travels in the interior parts of Africa, will set off to explore new regions. He is to seek for the famous city which is said to be situated in the centre of the Torrid Zone, and he is to prepare or establish commercial relations with those countries, with which, hitherto, no trade has been carried on but the slave trade. The expenses of his journey are to be defrayed by a company of merchants at Marseilles, called the *Society of interior Africa*. This society wished to shew its respect for the persons employed in the expedition, by giving a farewell dinner to captain Baudin. Fifty persons were invited. Baudin was placed between Vaillant, who did the honors of the day, and Bourganville. All the toasts were followed by airs, played by the consular band, which was at the battle of Marengo. Vaillant gave as a toast. To the ships *Naturaliste* and *Geographe*; may they sail without danger to the farthest part of the world. Captain Baudin gave—*Buonaparte*, the first consul of the republic, and patron of the expedition. The expedition will set sail almost immediately.

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