For the National Intelligencer.

To the Legislatures, 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.

We le it *professedly* a vindication of Mr. Hamilton and his friends, if *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 scarcely time enough to reach Carolina itself, but too late to admit of a refutation derived from authentic sources.

You can doubts, gentlemen, the 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 flatterman 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. Like a dotard, he considered the *fact* as an evidence of the futility of his attempts. The friends of Mr. Adams have been notified by it into a vigilant circumspection, awake to every attempt, malicious or to the reelection. While they viewed General Pinckney as the candidate for the office of Vice President, they seemed friendly to his election; but, when they contemplated the measures pursued by his *personal* friends, calculated, if successful, to elevate him to the highest station, 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 confusing causes, will be given to General Pinckney at the expiration 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 purfuing that line of conduct which shall best promote the good of your Country. But, when you fall consideration it may appear extraordinary, it is not on that account the less true. Massachusetts, *heretofore*, has thrown herself to be attached to Mr. Adams, to the exclusion of any other federal candidate. For at the last election, the votes for Mr. Adams, but not for Mr. Pinckney. Can you expect that we, the old states, will omit to do now? Is it in the nature of perfonal 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 afful you with more zeal than ever, that, if ever the most folemn, their determination to adhere inviolably to the implied agreement to fupport both Mr. Adams and Mr. Pinckney.

But if you are influenced by that rational diftrufl, which men of observation, however painful it be to them, always entertain of the profections of thofe who have different objects in view, you will be flow to confide in what you hear. Surmises, whispers confidential communications will be breathed upon your imagination. Their author, them will be names of the firft refpectability, names facred in the annals of freedom. Swallow not, with dangerous credulity, tales which thofe 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 fide. While each party afcribes to the other defigns hoftile to liberty, I feel greater folicitude refpecting a more fubftantial danger.

The love of wealth does not rage in any part of the world with more ungovernable fury than in our Country. It feems to abforb every other feeling. The fhortefl road to it is crowded with our citizens. The road is trade. Commerce, when circumfcribed by rational boundaries, is productive, not only of individual, but alfo of national benefits. But, when it transgreffes thefe limits, when it defigns us with pernicious luxuries, when it makes us dependent upon other nations, when it embroils us in war, when it paralyzes the fafeguards of the *farmer* and the *mechanic*, it degenerates into the worst of evils. And when, in addition to this, the daring fpirit dictates to the government the meafures which ought to be purfued, and by the force of wealth carries thofe meafures into effect, every true friend to his country ought to feel alarmed.

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

It is in the Eafternftates that this fpirit is moft cherifhed. A chief magiftrate, therefore, from that part of the union, may be expected to encourage rather than refpect for extinguifh.

Directly the reverfe of this may rationally be expected from a man taken from the fouthern ftates. Such an individual will be likely to prefer the intereftof his country, by treating with the fame impartial regard every fpecies of induftry.

You cannot be doubted that the opinions, the habits and the manners of the Southern ftates, are more hoftile to war with any nation, than those of the Eafternftates. This opinion is not merely the effect of a fpecious refpect for our eaftern brethren, or with my view to impeach the integrity of their motives. It arifes fhogether from the fpirit of trade, and its concomitants. In a moderate love of gain, that always prevails in *commercial* ftates; while thofe which are agricultural, are generally undifturbed by thofe active paffions, and are averfe to any change.

The example of England is alone fufficient to eftablifh this point; particularly if contrafted with that of France. In the former country, the moft commercial in the world, ways have fucceeded each other with fo little intervals; while in the latter, the leaft commercial nation, an uninterrupted peace has exifted for centuries.

Thefe confiderations have weight in the minds of your writer. They fhould be to you, with a full conviction of the purity of our motives, and the wifdom of your measures.

A FRIEND TO PEACE.

BURKE ON DESPOTISM.

The fimpleft formof government is defpotifm, where all the inferior orbs of power are moved, merely by the will of the fupreme, and all that are fubjected to them, directly in the fame manner, merely by the irrational will of the magiftrate. This form is as it is the moft fimple, fo it is infinitely the moft general. Scarce any part of the world is exempted from this power. And in thofe few places where men enjoy what they call liberty it is continually in a tottering fituation, and makes greater and greater ftrides to the extremes of defpotifm, which at laft fwallows up every fpecies of government. This manner of ruling being directed merely by the will of the weakeft and generally the weft man in fociety, becomes the moft foolifh and capricious thing at the fame time that it is the moft terrible and deftructive that can well be conceived. In a defpotic form, the government confuns fhort, that let the want, mifery, and indigence of his fubjects be what they will, he can yet poffefs abundantly of every thing neceffary for his infatiable wants. He does more. He finds that thefe gratifications increafe in proportion to the wretchednefs and flavery of his fubjects. Thus encouraged, both by paffion and intereft, he trifles on the public welfare, and by his ftation placed above both fhame and fear, he proceeds to the moft fhocking outrages upon humanity, which may become victims of his fufpicions. The higheft difhfeature a death; and a difagreeable afpect is often as great a crime as high-treafon. In the court of Nero, a fmile of fatisfaction in a confeffionable merits, and of unfufpected loyalty, was put to death for no other reason than that he had a pedantic countenance which difficated the tyrant. This unhappy member of mankind appeared in the beginning of his reign to be a perfon of virtue. Many of the greateft tyrants on the record of hiftory have begun their reigns in the fweeteft manner. But the truth is, this unnatural power corrupts both the heart and the underftanding. And to prevent the effects of fuch a difeafe, a king is fo fur rounded by a crowd of infamous flatterers who find the fe account in keeping him from the leaft light of reafon, till all ideas of rectitude and juftice are utterly erafed from his mind. When Alexander had in his fury inhumanly cut to pieces one of his beft friends and bravefl captains; on the return of reafon he began to conceive an horror fuitable to the guilt of fuch a murder. In this juncture his council came to his affiftance. But what did his council? They found him out a philofopher who gave him comfort, in what manner did this philofopher comfort him for the lofs of fuch a man and fuch an act? his conftancy, fhocked with the enormity of fuch a crime? You have the matter at length in Plutarch. He told him, that let a foverein do what he will, all his actions are juft and lawful, becaufe they are his." The places of all princes abound with fuch courtly philofophers. The conceptions was fuch as might be expected. He grew every day a monfter more abandoned to unnatural luft, to debauchery, to drunkennefs, and to murder. And yet this was originally a great man, of uncommon capacity, and a ftrong propenfity to virtue. But immoderate power proceeded fteb by fteb, until it had eradicated every laudable principle. It has been remarked, that there is no prince fo bad, whofe favourites and miniffers are not worfe. There is hardly any prince without a favourite, by whom he is not governed in a tyrannic manner, and governs the wretches fubjected to him. Here the tyranny is doubled. There are two courts, and two intereftS, both very different from the intereftS of the people. The favourite knows, that the regard of a tyrant is as uncoufftant and capricious as that of a woman; and concluding his time fhort, he makes haft to fill up the full measure of his iniquity, in rapine, in luxury, and in revenge. To deferve well of the ftate is a crime againft the prince, and to be a good man, and to be a patriot, are confidered as fynonimous terms. Even virtue is dangerous, as an afpiring quality, that claims an eftem by itfelf, independent of the countenance of the court. What has been faid of the chief is true of the inferior officers of this fpecies of government; each in his province exercifing the fame tyranny and oppreffion on people by an oppreffion, the more feverely felt, as it is near them and exercifed by bafe fubaltern miniffers. For the profit of the people, they are confidered as their nature, is laft in the fcale. The day, fays Homer, which makes a man a fave, takes away half his worth; and in fact he feels every inftance of tyranny, but fhun fear and bafe one of fear.—In this kind of government human nature is not only abufed and infulted, but is actually degraded and deftroyed in its moft material parts. The confideration of this made Mr. Locke fay, with great juftice, that a government of this kind was worfe than anarchy; indeed it is the moft abject and detefted by all who live under forms that have a milder appearance, that there is fcarce a rational man in Europe, that would not prefer death to Afiatic defpotifm. Even there we have the acknowledgement of a great philofopher, that an irregular ftate of nature is preferable to fuch a government; we have the confent of the moft generous men, who rather carry it yet farther and avow that death itfelf is preferable; and yet this fpecies of government fo juftly condemned, and fo univerfally detefted, it was infaftly the greater part of mankind grown under, and have grouned under from the beginning. So that by fure and uncontefted principles the greateft part of the government on earth muft be concluded tyrannies, impoftures, violations of the natural rights of mankind, and worfe than the moft diforderly anarchies.

ANTIQUITIES OF INTERIOR AMERICA.

[From the Manuscripts of a late Traveller.]

Besides thefe ruins on the Illinois and Wabafh countries, which have been often mentioned, there are others many hundred miles weftward of thefe, and particularly in that country about the great falls of the Miffiffippi. As we approach thefe falls, commonly called St. Anthony's, we frequently difcover pyramids of earth from thirty to feventy, and even to eighty feet in height. Thefe are, moft 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 confequence of fome fignal victory, and poffibly to cover the bones and carcifes of the dead. In digging horizontally into fevera of thefe pyramids, a little above the bafe, we generally found a ftratum of white fubftance, fomewhat like a moft fine, and glutinous wthnil, extending in all probability, fevera yards within; or perhaps nearly the whole length of the diametrical line. I had every reafon to believe this confolidated chalky fubftance to be the remains of fkeletons, buried perhaps two hundred centuries ago, and converted by time, and the operation of the elements, into their prefent ftate.

Many tokens remain on both fides of the Miffiffippi, of the country being in ancient times, fuppofed to have been fuddenly inhabited, as the country on the Rhine or the Rhine; which fully proves, that the fpecial have been too fally, in denominating America a new world, or the original prefent to Europeans from the hand of nafe nature.

Some years fince, a copper mine was opened farther down the Miffiffippi, and to the great fuprife of the laborers, a large collection of mineral tools were found fifteen fathoms below the furface of the earth. Another perfon digging fora well, difcovered a furnace of brick work five fathoms below the prefent furface; and in this furnace was found a quantity of coals and firebrands, which for ought we know, might have been kindled in the days of Mofes or Lycurgus.

Not long fince, a fmall fpot on the fhore of the Ohio, where the bank had been washed by the undermining of the water, a bone dropped out, of the hardeft kind of black marble, and fo exactly fitted, in weight, being twelve equal furfaces, each furface being mathematically equilateral and equiangular fpeculated figure; this does not appear to be a bafalt, nor yet but work of exquifite art, the offfpring of human ingenuity.

Near the falls of the Miffiffippi, there is a flat ftrong in the bed of a river, which has been enclofed with ftone-work of unknown antiquity to keep out frefh water. Some years fince, however, the river overflows the ftone-work and mixes with the brine, fo that it does not afford fafe to the favages hereabouts, until the river is confiderably fallen.

In fevera places, circular fortifications have been difcovered in the fame country, and in one place, a fquare fort with deep ditches, and fenced with a breaft-work. From thefe, and many other fimilar remains of antiquity, one would be inclined to believe that it called the new world to be much older than has been commonly imagined. Several tribes on the weftern fide of the great river above-mentioned, date their national exiftence by more than twenty thouftand moons back; and the Indians of the eaftern world go infinitely farther into the depths of time, though both relate many events of fuch diftant periods that are evidently mixed with fable.

VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY.

All the papers have fpoken of the voyage of Difcovery to be undertaken by the two French fhips Naturalifte and Geographe, under the command of captain Baudin. The objects of the expedition are, to eftablifh in a pofitive manner the navigation of New Holland. The French government have adopted all the means in their power to render the voyage ufeful to natural hiftory, and to the knowledge of the manners of favage life. At the fame time, Vaillant, fo celebrated for his travels in the interior parts of Africa, offers to fet off to explore new regions. He is to feek for the famous city which is faid to be fituated in the centre of the Torrid Zone, and he is to propofe to eftablifh commercial relations with thofe countries, with which, hitherto, no trade has been carried on but he have trade. The expences of his journey are to be defrayed by a company of merchants at Marfeilles, called the *Society of interior Africa*. This fociety wifhed to fee its refpect for the perfons employed in the expedition, by appointing a forward mate to captain Baudin. Fifty perfons were invited. Baudin was placed between Vaillant, who did the honors of the day, and Bougainville. All the toofts were followed by aria played by the confular band, which was at the battle of Marengo. Vaillaint gave as a toaft. In the fhape *Naturalifte and Geographe* many they Eel without danger to the fathefl part of the world. Captain Baudin gave—Buonaparte, the firft conful of the republic, and patron of the fciences. The expedition will fet fail almoft immediately.

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