

THE STAR.

VOL. I.]

RALEIGH, MARCH 9, 1809.

[No. 19.]

PUBLISHED EVERY THURSDAY, BY JONES & HENDERSON, AT THE UPPER END OF FAYETTEVILLE STREET, NEAR CASSO'S CORNER.—PRICE THREE DOLLARS PER ANNUM, PAYABLE HALF YEARLY IN ADVANCE.—SINGLE PAPER 10 CENTS.

POLITICAL.

MASSACHUSETTS.

The politics of this State has gained so much of the public attention that we presume no apology is necessary for having devoted so great a portion of this paper to an exposition of the sentiments and views of its Legislature.

A part of the Governor's lengthy address was given in a former paper.

EXTRACT FROM THE ANSWER

Of the House of Representatives to the Speech of the Lieutenant Governor.

WE are now unwilling to believe that any division of sentiment can exist among the New England states or their inhabitants as to the obvious infringement of rights, secured to them by the constitution of the United States; and still more so, that any man can be weak or wicked enough to construe a disposition to support that constitution and preserve the union, by a temperate and firm opposition to acts which are repugnant to the first principles and purposes of both, into a wish to secede from the other states. If a secession has been conceived by the states or people referred to in your honour's communication, it is unknown to the house of Representatives, who absolutely disclaim any participation therein, or having afforded the least colour for such a charge. If ever such suspicions existed, they can have arisen only in the minds of those who must be sensible that they had adopted and were persisting in, measures which had driven the people to desperation, by infringing rights which the citizens of Massachusetts conceive to be undeniable and which they fondly hoped had been inviolably secured to them by the federal compact.

The legislature and people of Massachusetts ever have been and now are firmly and sincerely attached to the union of the states, and there is no state they have not been, and are not now, willing to submit to in order to preserve the same, according to its original purpose. Of this truth your honour must be convinced. We do not appeal to the unvarying conduct of our citizens during the glorious administration of Washington and Adams, when the patriotic labours of our statesmen under the most perplexing embarrassments, pursued and served the interests and the honour of the nation:—But we can appeal to the patience with which our fellow citizens have borne the administration of those, whose boast it has been, to prescribe all the measures of their predecessors and most of the men whose talents and virtues had assisted in securing to the U. States the blessings of a free government. The people in this section of the country had undoubtedly flattered themselves, that the liberal confidence which they had afforded to the professions of their rulers would induce a regard to their interests, and when experience had shewn the competency of their measures to the honour or safety of their country, they would have had the magnanimity to correct their errors. It ought not to be a matter of surprise that men who either on the floor of congress or elsewhere, have adopted measures hostile to the union, subversive to its principles, should endeavour to brand with the calumny you mention the efforts of those who sincerely aim at preserving the constitution, by demonstrating the tendency of their acts & who studiously exert themselves to prevent a dissolution of the federal compact by stating the dangers of such an event. An event which this house cannot fail to deprecate as the greatest of evils, and to prevent which they will leave no constitutional means untried. But it would be greatly to be deplored, if any thing in your honour's address could be construed into a sanction, by the chief magistrate of this commonwealth, of a charge so unfounded & a slander so unmerited.

That the regulation of our commercial intercourse and national defence, are most wisely confided to the general government, is a truth so plain and palpable, that we should hold it unnecessary to be repeated here, were it not for the purpose of concurring with your honour in the justice of the sentiment; but the liberty of discussing the measures of our general government with freedom and firmness, though with fairness and moderation, is a right the house of representatives never will relinquish.

We cannot agree with your honour, that in a free country there is any stage at which the constitutionality of an act may no longer be

At such a point the government undertaking to extend its powers beyond the limits of the constitution, degenerates into tyranny. The people, if temperate and firm will, we confidently rely, eventually triumph over such usurpations.

Were it true, that the measures of government once passed into an act, the constitutionality of that act is stamped with the seal of infallibility and is no longer a subject for the deliberation or remonstrance of the citizens, to what monstrous lengths might not an arbitrary and tyrannical administration carry its power. It has only to pass through rapid readings and midnight session, without allowing time for reflection and debate to the final enacting of a bill, and before the people are even informed of the intentions of their rulers, their chains are rivetted, and the right of complaint denied them.—Were such a doctrine sound, what species of oppression might not be inflicted on the prostrate liberties of our country. If such a doctrine were true, our constitution would be nothing but a name—nay worse, a fatal instrument to sanctify oppression, and legalise the tyranny which inflicts it.

Nothing but madness or imbecility could put at hazard the existence of a balanced government, capable of operating and providing for the public good, unless the administration of that government, by its arbitrary impositions had endangered or destroyed the very objects for the protection of which it had been instituted.

Although the history of the first twelve years of our federal government abundantly proves that no administration, however wise and happy, can be satisfactory to all our citizens, yet have the people, at all times, and under all administrations, an undoubted right to insist that neither the letter nor spirit of the constitution shall be violated, and most certainly the policy and capacity of that administration may be questioned, which in a few years has reduced this great, active and enterprising nation, from an unexampled height of commercial prosperity, to comparative poverty and idleness.—Assuredly that administration which meets aggression only with retirement and non-intercourse laws, never can acquire the confidence of a commercial people, and never will afford any security against violence, injustice and depredation. To the present administration is the country indebted for a system of measures as novel as it is imbecile, as weak against foreign nations as it is oppressive and ruinous, to our own.

The house of representatives certainly have no disposition to assume the direction of those affairs, the management of which has been so properly confided to the general government; yet upon this occasion it may not be deemed improper to observe, that, from the scanty information which has been suffered to escape, they cannot discern in the situation of our foreign relations, any difficulties or embarrassments which have not heretofore been successfully encountered by former administrations of our government. During the administrations of Washington and Adams, circumstances of much greater political embarrassment were met with a steady eye, and firm and vigorous purpose. Negotiations with both the great contending powers of Europe were commenced, and by a steady adherence to the just rights of our nation, with an active preparation to use force, when negotiation failed, the patriots of that day successfully repelled every unjust pretension, while they preserved the honour, as well as the resources and property of their fellow-citizens. The House of Representatives, therefore, cannot doubt, that the same measures resorted to with the same spirit and good faith, would effect now what they did then, the protection instead of the annihilation of our commerce—the preservation instead of the abandonment of the nation's honour.

It cannot be denied, that jealousy and distrust have arisen among the people of Massachusetts, and much is to be regretted, that they have been so well founded. A system of policy ruinous to their interests, and uncongenial to their enterprising spirit—a system, for which the administration has yet, in our opinion, assigned no adequate reason, has borne most heavily and unequally on the northern and commercial states. For relief from this oppression the people fondly looked to the meeting of congress;—but alas! how fatally have their hopes been blasted! Their humble prayers have been answered by an act so arbitrary and oppressive, that it violates the first principles of civil liberty, and the fundamental provisions of the constitution.—At such a moment, and under such a pressure, when every thing which freemen hold dear, is at stake, it cannot be expected, and it ought not to be wished, that they should suffer in silence. The

right to sacrifice the interests of one section of the union to the prejudices, partialities, or convenience of another.

The house of representatives derive peculiar satisfaction from contemplating the patriotism, order and discipline of our militia, and look with confidence to this establishment for a sure defence of their country and its rights—such a bulwark will always render “standing armies in times of peace” unnecessary for protection; and inadequate for usurpation or subjection at any time. So long as the militia system shall be deemed susceptible of improvement, so long will it be the favourite object of legislative aid and shall meet the early and persevering attention of the house of representatives. So far as it lies in our power we will take care that it shall be capable of “moving and being moved without mortifying delays and dangerous collisions.” Nothing will more subserve this desirable end than the preservation of that discipline upon which depends the regularity and precision of all military movements. A vigilant regard also to those military judgments, (upon which depend the pride and honour of a soldier) will tend greatly to inspire confidence in our officers, to procure obedience in their men, and restore to the system that harmony which constitutes its perfection.

To cherish the interests of literature, at all times, and all circumstances, the house of representatives will consider among the first and most pleasing of their duties. Upon this subject we shall always be ready most cheerfully to co-operate with your honour.

Extract from the Answer of the Senate to the Lieutenant Governor's Speech.

May it please your Honour,

We are constrained with great respect to express our mingled regret and astonishment, that your honour should seem to doubt the capacity of the people to decide on questions involving their unalienable rights. Your honour is pleased to ask “if citizens in the streets—in town meetings—in multitudinous assemblies, pressed with deep personal interests, are capable of deciding on great complicated and constitutional questions?” and to observe that from “hence our peril.”

Can we be permitted to ask, who shall decide when the public functionaries abuse their trust?—We need not inform your honour, that the meetings to which you allude, have been attended by men second to none in the U. States for their legal and political knowledge—for their love of order—and for their patriotism: many of whom are grown grey in the public service and confidence—many of them now holding high and important offices in the state: and that these meetings have been conducted with great order and decorum.

Can it be necessary to remind your honour that the aggressor is responsible for all the consequences which you have been pleased so pathetically to describe? That the people have not sent us here to surrender their rights, but to maintain and defend them? And that we have no authority to dispense with the duties thus solemnly imposed? Your honour has described “the calamities which introduced our federal constitution,” with great truth. “Our government was humbled and inefficient—our union a thread—our commerce unregulated and unprotected—our revenue nothing—our faith perfidy—our credit bankrupt—our privation the want of every thing—individuals were embarrassed,” &c. “and our courts of justice stopped, &c.”

Can it be necessary to remind your honour that the administration of Washington, produced precisely the reverse of the picture which you have been pleased to draw so much to the life.

And will you permit us to ask in our turn, but in your Honour's words, “whence then the causes of jealousy, distrust, altercation and bitter aspersion” of that great and good man, and upon all who were attached to his measures. “Whence the ever to be regretted indiscretions, suddenness and individual rashness which denounced” an administration, that safely guided the people to prosperity and glory, amidst great and impending dangers? Were these calumniators “more worthy of confidence,” “better instructed,” or did they “possess higher means of information”—were they less “blinded by their interest,”—less “actuated by prejudice or stimulated by resentments” than the political saviour of his country and his compatriots? Whence then “the misrepresentations, groundless suspicions, violent and indiscriminate abuse” thrown upon men who had a right to call for “union” in support of their measures—upon men who had given to the public “the proof of their talents, zeal and labors to serve and render their country great and happy.”

adopt them. They have ventured upon new expedients—a are responsible to their country for the disastrous result.”

Your honour is pleased to inquire “if we could not wait with magnanimous patience, and endure privations a few months longer, and give to government a fair unimpeded experiment upon foreign nations.”

The administration has indeed been “pressed to the very wall,” and we know not how much “further” they would “retreat” if they could.

But may it please your honour, we have seen as little of “spirit” as of policy in the Embargo System.—We know that the Emperor approves, if he did not dictate the measure.—We know that Great Britain receives immense advantage from the surrender to her of the whole trade of the world—and we cannot imagine why the people should be called upon to “endure privations” any longer, unless the administration, having failed to operate on the fears or interests of the “warring powers,” expect, ere long, to obtain some relief from their compassion.

We most heartily concur with your honour, “that there is a point in national sensibility, as in the feelings of men, where patience and submission end.” And when that crisis shall arrive your honour may rest assured that the people of New England will (as you have been pleased to say) rally round the national Constitution. But, sir, they will not “cling” to an administration which has brought them to the brink of destruction—they will not “keep their hold in the extremity of its exit,” nor “sink with it into the frightful abyss.”—No, sir! The people of Massachusetts will not willingly become the victims to fruitless experiment.

Touching the Militia—we cannot conceal our regret that the administration of the general government has not discovered that dependence upon “an establishment” which your Honour is pleased justly to observe, is “so preferable to a standing army in time of peace, and to which the Constitution looks with confidence for the defence of our country.”

UNITED STATES.



Congress.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

NON-INTERCOURSE

DEBATE

On Mr. Bibb's motion to strike out the 12th section. (CONTINUED.)

Mr. Culpepper opposed it. He conceived that the embargo laws must if possible be repealed; and though he was not partial to the bill under consideration, yet he preferred it to a continuance of the embargo, which if not repealed he conceived must involve the country in ruin. He entered at some length into a view of the advantages and disadvantages of external commerce, heretofore under the treaty of '94, with Great Britain; and censured the rejection by this government of the offer to renew that treaty. He disclaimed submission to the decrees and orders, and was against war; but in favour of some measure to unite the American people, and afford a further opportunity for negotiation. Should this fail, he should be prepared in earnest for war.

Mr. Cook was against the motion. He considered the embargo as a measure which in its friendship for commerce, was destroying it by grasping it too tight. He wished its grasp to be loosened.

Mr. G. W. Campbell next took the floor. He was in favour of the motion under consideration. He said he was surprized at the change which a few weeks, during which he had been absent from indisposition, had produced on the minds of the members of the house. It seemed as if some enchantment had spread itself over them, which they perceived and yet did not wish to remove. He urged many reasons against a repeal of the embargo, and against the bill proposed. But a few weeks ago the House had decided in favour of a continuance of the present system as the only means of honourably availing war; and some of the very