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COMMUNICATIONS.

FOR THE STAR.

Messrs. Editors.—The clamor which is raised by the caucus party on the subject of the Tariff, renders it necessary that the policy which has actuated that party should be represented before the public, and its pernicious efforts explained.

It is obvious to thinking men, that the increase of the duties on imported goods can be but little felt by the people, under any circumstances; and it is easy to show, from plain reasoning, that the policy of that measure is rendered absolutely necessary by the situation in which our trade is placed by foreign nations; and that it is calculated to produce incalculable advantages to the nation and all its citizens. But the mere calculation of farthings in the list of duties is deemed sufficient to disgust the people, under a presumption that they have no sense enough to see the difference between the mere sale of a piece of cloth, costing a cent a yard more than it formerly did, and the consequences of protecting the American industry in preference to the foreign; that, in fact, the people cannot see a great difference between freedom of trade amongst ourselves, and a freedom granted to foreign nations to speculate upon us in any way they choose. If freedom of trade existed all over the world, there might be some reason for such principles as are contended for; but there is no such thing among the present nations with which we trade, and if we do not take care of ourselves, we shall be the milch-cow of designing and despotic governments.

The party who clamor so much against General Jackson for his open and manly support of American industry, and support Mr. Crawford because his principles have been more covertly expressed, and because, as Mr. Randolph stated in his last letter, he (Mr. C.) may be compelled to follow the dictates of that party, are a party actuated by the most narrow and unimprovident notions of policy. It is evident, indeed, that Mr. Crawford has, in some respects, pursued a course consistent with their views. I will mention one instance; and it is one from which more ruinous consequences have resulted, than could have followed a general prohibition of all the foreign goods which are imported into this country.

When the difficulties first occurred relative to the currency of the country, Mr. Crawford was one of those who advocated a National Bank. The avowed object of this bank was to fix a standard of currency. But what ground of calculation did Mr. Crawford and his friends take in order to make this bank such an instrument of good? No man who has been in the Treasury Department has discovered less skill. The bank was authorized to issue bills, and it was to be the medium of Government payments and receipts. When it began its operations, its first consideration was, how shall we fulfil the obligations imposed upon us; which are, to have and pay specie whenever called for; for the Constitution has made specie the only legal tender in payment? The advocates of the bank well know how to impose obligations; but they knew, it would seem, but little of the means of fulfilling them. The very reason offered for establishing the bank, was, that the provincial banks failed to pay specie, which made their notes depreciate. The great bank could not do any better than other banks with no other means. Here the bank fell upon a most ruinous expedient. They took advantage of the deposits made by Government of other bank notes to draw upon those banks for all their specie, thus ruining the credit of those banks, depreciating their notes, and throwing all the currency of the country into greater confusion than it was before, particularly in the Western States, from whence the Government had to receive more money than they had to expend. But this was not sufficient. The same cause which had embarrassed the smaller banks, embarrassed the great bank. It sent abroad, and bought at a great sacrifice, many millions of specie. It arrived. It soon again, by the common operations of the bank, departed. The great bank was obliged to stop issuing bills. It refused to receive as Government deposits the notes of other banks,

because it had drained those banks of so much specie, that they could pay it no more. Thus the United States' Bank became the very means of destroying that currency it was intended to remedy. At the most disastrous moment of this crisis, Mr. Crawford was Secretary of the Treasury. He was called upon to exhibit to Congress a variety of statements respecting the quantity of specie in the country, the quantity imported and exported, and the measures necessary to preserve the Constitutional basis of currency. Mr. Crawford reported, that the specie had decreased in the country, and that a much greater quantity was annually exported than was imported. This was a frightful picture! Frightful, because nothing else but gold and silver was a tender in the payment of debts. Frightful, because the party who are now most clamorous for Mr. Crawford's election were the noisy denouncers of all notes of banks that did not pay specie! Credit had sunk, specie was sought for, not so much because it was wanted, but because it could be demanded; and the exportation threatened to drain the last dollar remaining! What then did this great Solomon, the Secretary of the Treasury, do? Send to Ophir, and procure gold, as did the sage of old? Did he look at America, and consider America as she stood in her forlorn and embarrassed situation; and regarding the Constitutional basis of currency with guardian care, recommend an immediate and energetic stoppage of the exportation? Did he ever recommend that those millions sent annually to China for goods not necessary for subsistence, or even convenience, should be stopped? No. He entered into an elaborate discourse upon the difficulty of preventing smuggling specie away, as though specie was more easily smuggled than French lace; and upon the natural current of trade, which would bring all things upon a level after so long, but how long neither he nor his friends could tell; and then advised that the matter should be left to regulate itself, until hard necessity should force the currency down to its proper quantity, and prevent any advantage being taken of the scarcity of its basis.

The true logic of all this, is, that if specie continues to decrease, although the country is rich in property, the value of every thing must continue to be reduced by the difficulty we find in exchanging our property in order to pay our debts, until, by the ruinous sacrifices of individual fortunes, a complete stagnation has taken place among the people, and no trade is carried on but such as every man knows he can procure specie to pay for.

The consequences of this scheme were, that the people were left to get out of debts as they could. The provincial banks called in their money. It could not be paid without great loss. Distresses were made. Sales of property became frequent: its value sunk without any real necessity. Peculiar circumstances, from this change of things, enabled one man to take advantage of another. A man, who had twenty thousand dollars' worth of property, and owed one third of that sum, was beggared by having his property sold; while the man who happened to be the creditor, and, therefore, had no specie to produce in order to purchase, became the possessor of what perhaps he had sold his debtor a few years before for three times the sum; and that without any prudence or forethought on his part; but merely by this, to him, fortuitous change. The State Governments resorted to stop-laws and unconstitutional acts, under the full conviction of the necessity of some relief to their oppressed citizens. The United States' Courts, and even the State Judges, often pronounced these acts illegal, (as they really were), and again opened the flood-gates of ruin—till, at length, we arrived at something like the Secretary's magic level! It is now presented to the view of the astonished citizens. A host of ruined citizens! A huge mass of depreciated paper money! A stagnation of internal trade! Property jeopardized, whenever exposed to public sale, for want of competition! A general reduction of the price of land, because it can rarely be sold when need calls!

All this originates, not from the want of resources among the people—not from the inability of meeting payments by a regular course of trade and exchange; but the simple consideration that the only thing which the Constitution allows to be paid is not within our reach, and has a tendency to depart from our shores by the current of our trade. If a small increase of specie revives, for a moment, the credit and course of traffic among ourselves, it is then checked again by the sudden departure of that specie. In ten years, about fifty millions of specie have de-

parted more than have been brought into the country; and we have no prospect before us of a change for the better. Our Constitution has made gold and silver the only tender in payment. This is the reason why its preservation is absolutely necessary. This is the sole cause of the injury we suffer without it. Other nations have other means. In England, Bank of England bills are a tender, and the Government can, and often does, sanction their circulation without being liable to be called on for specie. It is then the first duty, the imperative duty, of the Federal Government to control the exportation of specie.

If Mr. Crawford had, instead of his futile and utterly unfounded speculations, recommended to Congress, when the subject was first agitated, the effectual prevention of the greatest portion of the exportation of specie, so as to prohibit the issues to China, and other unnecessary drains, the importation would at least have kept pace with the exportation. The fifty millions now wanting to sustain our currency would have been preserved; and, what is of more consequence, the steady continuance of specie in the country would have checked the alarm and confusion which resulted from its incessant departure. The Bank of North-Carolina was not so much embarrassed by the want of specie, for it had not less than 500,000 dollars, as by the certainty that if it paid, the whole would flit away to the North, and be borne off to China. Once stop the open dam, and the current revolves, becomes and remains stationary. That which passes away to-day, comes back to-morrow; for the paper based upon it, is more convenient than that which it represents.

It may be enquired, why Congress have not overthrown this project of folly, and preserved the interests of their constituents? It would require more than one essay to expose all the causes which have produced this apathy; but I will mention several. First, the great interest of the India Trade, with all its ramifications amongst the shipping class. This had great influence with those men who have been looked up to by other Members of Congress for light to enlighten their darkness. Secondly, the radically-wrong notions which certain Politicians possess with regard to the real interests of the country in all transactions with foreign nations; and, thirdly, the unconstitutional habit of looking up to the Executive or opposition leaders for every intimation by which they are to act. This last cause may be supposed to apply exclusively to monarchy-men and high-toned Federalists; but to no class of men does it more aptly apply than to that party now called Radical. They are radical opposers of wise and salutary measures, and radical defenders of whimsical notions preached up by certain leaders, to whom they look, and whom they reverently follow.

I boldly pronounce, that the policy I have described is the leading cause of that embarrassment, depreciation of property, and individual ruin, which carry their baneful effects through every section of our Western and Southern country. Let your readers, Messrs. Editors, turn their eyes from the pitiful calculations on the effect of the tariff, to the huge monster of financial folly, fostered and kept alive by the caucus candidate. Let them mark the progress of that apathy which has coldly looked upon the artificial distresses of the people, and suffered a limited mercantile interest to destroy the great interior interests of the country, while we have been soothed with the dry, unmeaning remark, that currency will find its level.

In no point of view can we behold the Secretary of the Treasury as presenting the features of a statesman; and his partisans seem only desirous of giving him an eclat, by traducing other prominent and elevated statesmen—statesmen whose every trait of character is marked with great and impressive lines, who have shewn, that, where the prosperity, security and tranquility of the nation have required, they were capable of tracing and pursuing the course which events pointed to, with equal promptitude and independence.

In vain has Mr. Crawford made treaties of accommodation at the public expense with certain banks, which his own scheme of fiscal policy must render abortive; furnishing only a lure to confide, while ruin awaited the fulfillment.

SOUND POLICY.

FOR THE STAR.

CRAWFORD AND EDWARDS.

Messrs. Editors.—The Crawford papers, while claiming for themselves the merit of superior decency and moderation, have descended to the most uncandid and abusive representation of character, where it could have a tendency to weaken the force of opposition to

their Candidate, as though to blacken an opponent were to whitewash Mr. Crawford; thus placing Mr. Crawford before the people upon his negative virtues. This remark is specially verified in the case of Ninian Edwards.

Mr. Edwards had represented, by newspaper publications, an unlawful irregularity in Mr. Crawford's conduct respecting the public monies; and a variety of examinations last year before committees of Congress took place on a charge that he had suppressed some papers in his communications to Congress. Mr. Edwards being then a witness, mentioned a letter sent from his neighborhood, giving information respecting a bank, in which Mr. Crawford deposited money, calculated to caution him; but which was disregarded, and loss consequently sustained from that bank. Mr. Crawford never took any notice of this circumstance till late in the last session of Congress, when he stated, in a report to Congress, that neither this letter mentioned by Mr. Edwards, nor the alleged answer to it, were to be found. At this time Mr. Edwards was just leaving Washington to go to Mexico. This produced a memorial from Mr. Edwards to the House of Representatives, in which he charged Mr. Crawford with mismanaging the public monies, &c. A Committee was appointed to investigate this affair. After a long investigation, two facts appear: 1st That the letter spoken of by Mr. Edwards was written, although its receipt is denied by the witnesses from the Treasury; and, 2dly, that Mr. Crawford had frequently taken upon himself, without law, to grant accommodation loans, on various pretences to different banks. The Committee decide, however, that Mr. Crawford intended this for the best; and say nothing against Mr. Edwards on account of his charges; it appearing from all the circumstances, evidently, that the Committee left the parties to their different views upon the subject, without attributing bad designs to either of them.

But this moderation of the Committee was not to be imitated by the partisans of Mr. Crawford. Finding that their favorite was not to be condemned by proofs of flagrant misconduct, they endeavored to find occasion for abusing Mr. Edwards, and thus turn the public attention from Mr. Crawford's conduct. The only circumstance on which they could lay hold, was the testimony of certain persons that Mr. E. had denied being the author of the newspaper publications first alluded to. If he did deny them, it was either cowardly or mean; but some circumstances shew, that the witnesses either might have mistaken his evading a confession, or, being all high-toned Crawford men, might have been a little inclined to misconception. Many respectable characters about Washington are of opinion he never did deny them. But however this may be, (for I have no design to enter upon the vindication of Mr. Edwards, or to support him, if unworthy of credit,) yet there is something so outrageous in the conduct of the partisans of Mr. Crawford on this occasion; such a yelling and cursing with regard to Edwards; such a clamorous shout of applause with regard to Crawford; that common sense revolts at the scene.

Weak indeed must be the cause of Mr. Crawford, if this is all their boast—if this should form such a theme of rejoicing. For it is apparent to common observation, that Mr. Crawford had greatly the advantage over Edwards in regard to the materials of defence. All the voluminous correspondence in the Treasury was at his command. He could collect a little here, and a little there, giving the most favorable aspect to his conduct. Besides, the witnesses were mostly either interested, or situated, as to lean toward the policy of Mr. Crawford. Not so with Mr. Edwards. The closet door of the secrets was barred against him by faithful partisans of Mr. C.

There is another, & a very important circumstance in this case, which, amidst the clamor produced by this affair, ought to be brought before the public. It is this: that Mr. Crawford, in all his communications, has had no cause to commit himself by any garbled statements which may have been made in his favor. He has the excuse of being an invalid; and the collection of evidence and documents is left to a kind of official attorneys, who are never looked upon as responsible for making the best of their client's cause. It has been admitted that Mr. Asbury Dickins, a clerk in the Treasury, made up the report of the Secretary last March. It is generally known, that Mr. Crawford has had but little personal superintendence of his office for twelve months past; and, therefore, the whole rests on a subaltern agency. Let any man, acquainted with personal controversy and composition,

examine the long vindication sent to the Committee of Investigation before Mr. Edwards's return to Washington, and decide if they do not believe that vindication was written by some other person than Mr. Crawford. It has not the style and expression of a man feeling the force of charges made against him, or interested in his own vindication. It is studied, cautiously worded, coolly framed to make the most of the case, mechanical.

In the management of Mr. Crawford's office, it is consistent with all usage, that, in the absence of the Secretary, the Chief Clerk should answer all enquiries in his name, and be his official aid. But here we see a different arrangement. Whenever Mr. Crawford is personally involved, the plain, official routine of business is not to be followed. A particular partisan, although a secondary Clerk in the office, is to manage the matter; and this manager is Mr. Asbury Dickins. That the public may know something of his qualifications, I will give you a brief history of him.

It is believed Mr. Dickins was either born in Halifax County, in this State, or soon after his parents removed therefrom. He was raised in Philadelphia, had the advantages of a good education, and was a sprightly and engaging youth. In the memorable days of Mr. Adams' crusade against France, when the President talked of humbling the factious Democrats in dust and ashes; when Macpherson's Blues insultingly paraded the streets, with a menace of hostility to Republican principles and institutions, young Dickins hoisted the black cockade; abused manfully Democrats, Democracy, &c. and appeared a good subject for any Despot. About this time some young men of his acquaintance discovered a strong attachment to every thing British. One of them obtained a warrant as a Midshipman on board a British frigate off the coast, and soon after Dickins forsook his native country, declaring his preference for the British Government, and arrived in England. It is understood that he obtained some subaltern employment in a government office. He married there, and continued, with but indifferent prospects of rising to greatness under his favorite system, for many years; (including, I believe, the whole period of the late war) when, finding himself disappointed, he found means to attach himself to the American Consul, and to obtain some employment from him for a short time. After this he returned to America, and hung about the Executive Departments until he obtained a Clerkship.

Is not this, Messrs. Editors, a fit man to employ for dextrous management? He has doubtless seen a trick or two in England, and is not deficient in expedient.

FAIR PLAY.

FOR THE STAR.

The citizens of Rockingham, Richmond county, agreeably to a previous regulation, assembled on the 3d inst. at half past 11 A. M. at the Court House square, when the procession was formed, under the command of Col. Jas. A. Hart, Marshal of the day, as follows:

1. Our revolutionary citizens, on white horses.
2. Capt. Charles Roberson & militia.
3. The gentlemen of our village.
4. The Tutor and Ladies of the Richmond Euphrasian Academy.
5. The male department of do.
6. The Reverend Martin D. Crawford, and Orator of the day.

They marched on to the Methodist Church, where the Celebration of the day was opened by an appropriate and Patriotic Prayer from the Rev. Martin D. Crawford.

The declaration of Independence was read by Jas. P. Leak, and an elegant Oration was delivered by Archibald McNair. After the close, the procession was again formed, and returned in Military order to a dinner prepared by Mr. E. Love, when Walter Scott Esq. was appointed President, and Isaac Watkins Vice President. The following Toasts, prepared by the committee, were drunk:

1. The day we celebrate: Consecrated by the blood of the Heroes of 76: may each successive return find the sons worthy of their sires.
2. Agriculture, Commerce and manufactures: When one is neglected, the others require; a suitable encouragement, but not an onerous distinction.
3. The University of North Carolina and all other seminaries of learning: may they meet with liberal patronage.
4. The republics of South America: We have evinced a warm interest in their cause; and they, like ourselves, have shown to the world that a nation has but to will it to be free.
5. The Creeks: Success crown their arms, and may heaven give fruition to their warmest hopes.
6. The Navy, army, and militia of the U. States: A republic's blessing; a Tyrant's dread.
7. The Richmond Agricultural Society: May it give a new impulse to the Farmers of our