

The Star, and North-Carolina Gazette.

No. 36

RALEIGH, (N. C.) FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1824

Vol. XV

THE STAR,
And North-Carolina Gazette,
Published, weekly, by
BELL & LAWRENCE.

Subscription, three dollars per annum—No paper will be sent without at least \$1 50 in advance, and no paper discontinued, but at the option of the Editors, unless all arrears are paid. Advertisements, not exceeding five lines, inserted three times for one dollar, and twenty-five cents for each continuance—All letters to the editors must be post paid.

To the Editors of the Star.

GENTLEMEN,—A correspondent of the Register, under the signature of "A North-Carolinian," has for some time been employed in the negative support of the caucus candidate, by endeavoring to destroy the character of General Jackson. His plan is laid with all the address usual amongst those who are backed at the bar, as to the selection of their points of attack, the position they shall occupy in discussion, the coloring necessary to give effect, and all the contrasting circumstances which are requisite to make the worse appear the better reason.

He has begun his last communication with a just statement of principles, and has even entered upon his detail of circumstances with some regard to facts. Standing armies in time of peace where they bear in strength any considerable proportion to the force of the armed citizens of a country, are not only "dangerous to liberty," but cannot be intended by the power that supports them, for any other purpose than its destruction. The United States did employ the armies of the late war under no obligation of continuing them in arms. The reduction of the army took place as stated, except as to the gross and neglect which are discoverable in the statement of causes, and the ignorance affected relative to the number of officers kept on the establishment, with the manner and motive of the Executive and Congress relative to the necessity and propriety of the reduction.

It is well known to those who attended to the proceedings of the Government, that, at no time have the United States had a standing army at all offering cause of alarm to the friends of liberty; and the only time when there appeared a direct intention of giving the military the effect of overawing the independent voice of the country was during the administration of Mr. Adams, when the civil power swerved from its centre of Republicanism, and, by laying restraints on the freedom of the press, commenced a system of executive domination. In the organization of the public standing force, previous to and after that time, the objects contemplated were the protection of the frontiers and garrisons, and a kind of centre point for the rallying and organizing of the national army of citizens when foreign danger should approach. At no time was it necessary that this force should be very great, except during the late war; but, it is believed, that sound wisdom and economy would have been consulted had it been more effectually organized and enlarged before the late war, according to Mr. Jefferson's plan, when, on his suggestion, the new six regiments were raised, but which were suffered to dwindle away before they were absolutely essential. A very small additional regular force, at the commencement of the war, would have caused all the difference between immediate success, and the disasters, ruinous expenditures, and appalling embarrassments and weakness which we suffered.

Let any unbiassed man turn his eyes to the period when war was declared, and say what incalculable advantages would have resulted from the possession of an additional force of three thousand men, in good discipline, with an equivalent staff. To the regular force, in that case, might the volunteers and militia have rallied. They would have found officers to give them instruction and soldiers to imitate. When Gen. Hull first marched to Canada, he was accompanied by a small battalion of the 4th regiment, disciplined troops; and his volunteers marched, immediately from the spot on which they were organized, through the wilderness of the Indians and into the enemy's country, without ever shewing the want of any military accomplishment. When Gen. Harrison took the field, it was a bustle of militia manoeuvring; the display of a large force without an army; and the whole did less than one-third under regular officers, and having the example of discipline, might have effected in one-sixth of the time. Thirty millions of dollars were wasted in the sham parade of the north-western army. So many instances of this kind were exhibited in the course of the war, that, at its close, thinking men looked with astonishment at the evils we had suffered

for want of organization. The general impression seemed to be, that the army should be kept upon a respectable footing; more especially as the old world presented to the United States an object of dread and apprehension such as modern times had never before exhibited. We were no longer in the position of a middle power, holding something like a balance amongst contending nations. The giant power of France, conflicting with the allied despots, had merged in the general mass of European Monarchy, hostile to liberty, and united in design. Never, for centuries past, was the like necessity for energy, precaution and military strength on the part of this country. Yet the depressed finances, their economical temper, and their reliance upon the patriotism of the people, led Congress to the conclusion that the army should be reduced to ten thousand men, with a proportion of inferior, practical officers necessary for two thousand more.

To this standard, then, we see the army reduced, as a peace establishment. In order to make this force, so evidently necessary, as little burdensome as possible, the Secretary at War, Mr. Calhoun, proposed a variety of measures for their supply and employment, which might save a part of the usual allowance for subsistence, and render the employment of other laborers unnecessary. At distant posts they built their own permanent barracks, raised their own corn, &c. traced out roads, built bridges, and carried on a system of preparation for future emergency. No deficiencies in the scheme of finance for liquidating and discharging the arrears of the government were experienced by it. Yet a party in Congress, consisting of the ultra Federalists and the professed Republicans who wanted food for popularity, clamored for a farther reduction. That this step was long in agitation, as intimated by the "North-Carolinian," is no otherwise true than as here described. The President's messages, the reports of the War Department, and every other executive document, show that it never was contemplated, except by the opposition alluded to. Their ultimate success is, indeed, attributable to Mr. Crawford. His union with the party clamorous for disorganization has been long known; and his management in representing the state of the finances as requiring retrenchment, enabled the party to carry their views, in respect to the army, into effect. The "North-Carolinian" seizes, with avidity, the delusive phantom of saving; but, in his exultation, betrays the falsehood of the reasons he assigns for the measure; for notwithstanding he only rates the saving at a million, and he is not a man to rate it too low, (it being really less,) he tells us this saving has produced an overflowing treasury! In three years, the saving of a million a year has produced an overflowing treasury; while, without this saving, the finances, according to the "North-Carolinian," were full of embarrassment! The circulars of the members of Congress boast of from six to nine millions of surplus in the Treasury; and, according to the "North-Carolinian," the Treasury would have been many millions (as we have fair reason to conclude from his language) behind, without this saving! This is chop-logic, Mr. Buckskin. You have a bad cause; or you suppose the jury of the people are asleep while you are thus managing your cause. This must have been a wonderful million! But what are the actual effects of this measure of reducing the army? Not the prevention of an increase of officers at Washington, but the very means of that increase. The officers who resort to Washington are chiefly engineer officers, and such as, if the army were larger, and the outposts more extensive, would have their attention called away from Washington on distant service. The effects are these: 1st. In point of actual saving, the place of the privates who might be employed in creating defences and military accommodations upon the frontiers, of the utmost necessity in case of war, must be supplied by laborers of another description, or by expensive contracts; or those all-important works must be neglected, and all the benefits of such works lost to the country. How many retreats, in some future Indian war, may be occasioned by the want of them? How much baggage and military stores, and how many hundreds of lives, may be lost for want of points of defence?—

2d. In the peaceable policy of our government, the wide range of Indian wilderness, and the 100,000 Indian warriors, are left to the disposal of foreign governments; whereby our country is left exposed to the incursions of those Indians, at the interested instigation of foreigners; instead of their being brought under our control, according to the plans of Mr. Jefferson, and their force forming a bulwark of defence, bidding

defiance to every invasion from that quarter.—3d. The Fur trade, so rich in itself, and so well calculated to supply the place of our wasted specie in Pacific trade, is sacrificed by this policy of reducing the army.—4th. The increased value of our lands, and the receipt from their sale, are sacrificed in so much as an extended security would be produced by the distribution of posts through all the territory beyond our settlements.

I might add, that the manner in which the reduction was ordered, shows the spirit of its projectors. It was intended to effect a reduction, regardless of consequences. If the law had provided, that the ordinary resignations and expiration of the term of service should produce the reduction, then some confidence might have remained with the officers, that the service was not so precarious as to forbid men of talents from being disgusted with it. But there was a parade even of offence and insult in the expressions of the partisans of reduction, which weighed upon the feelings of the best officers, and threw an odium over the service. There was nothing of stability in the conduct of Congress in regard to the army which should render the service desirable for those most worthy to be retained in it, and an apparent disregard of the situation of those who had endeavored to make their talents and services advantageous to their country; for in any profession nothing is so discouraging as uncertainty. If the peace establishment had even been too large, it was of the utmost importance to the service, that a proper attention should be paid to the spirit which should possess those who remained in it. Never should a wanton disorganization of any establishment be made, if you wish it to answer the purpose of its creation. But these are not the doctrines of Radicalism. Its votaries are either short-sighted politicians, or those slaves of political prejudice, who have been bred to consider the soldier the mere puppet of a king, the mere butcher of the human race; and while they worship the power which directs the destroyer, look at the instrument with no more complacency than if he were a dog; except, indeed, when he holds the great rank, and seems to represent the power they reverence. Then they behold the whole as so much machinery, actuated by no motives but those of arrogant pride and servile obedience. Republicans have a different view of the soldier. They look at him as a fellow citizen, who loses nothing in the respect due from his brethren, and who, although he must necessarily conform to strict order in the performance of his duties, possesses all the attributes of a citizen in every other respect. Freedom of political opinion, of discourse, of examination, are the attributes of a soldier of Freedom. It is from these attributes he is to acquire his enthusiasm, his emulation, his love of country, and his stimulus to good conduct and noble daring. From the general to the private, the man who would deprive them of their rights, is himself only fit for a slave.

The address of Gen Jackson marks the character of a citizen soldier. No man more than he had better preserved the discipline of the service; but the history of his course uniformly discovers that he discarded the thought of degrading himself and his companions to the level of slaves. When, therefore, he addressed his division, he spoke the sentiments of a Freeman; and he spoke the language of wisdom. The act of Congress itself was obtained in a moment of peculiar impression, and it was executed before calmer reflections could remedy its defects. The reduction was less to be complained of than its "hasty and ill-timed" character.

The "North-Carolinian" need not have made an enquiry into the meaning of the General when he recommended *forbearance* (not resistance) towards the "enemies" of the army. Every one knew at the time that he meant those noisy declaimers in and out of Congress who seemed to pride themselves in using degrading epithets respecting the army, and to triumph in having rendered the service contemptible.

The analogy, which is introduced by way of emphasis, is ingenious: But the analysis it calls for shows its fallacy. General Jackson, in the spirit of a freeman, addressed his former companions, now disbanded, as freemen, complaining of the "hasty and ill-timed" measure which had so unexpectedly deranged the course of the latter; while he exhorted the army in service to be faithful to their duties, notwithstanding the odious light in which they were represented before the people under the cloak of patriotism. *Cassius* and *Cromwell* complained of the corrupt and tyrannical Senate of Rome and the mean-spirited long Parliament of England; in which conduct both *Cassius* and *Crom-*

well reproached the oppressors justly and justifiably; the resemblance goes no farther. If the Senate and parliament had not been perfidious, *Cassius* and *Cromwell* might have conspired in vain.

The contrast he makes between the conduct of Jackson and Washington is equally defective. Jackson reproached, but recommended fidelity. Washington opposed a resistance of the measures of Congress; but he never justified their conduct towards the army.

There is something of mechanical argument in the communications of the "North-Carolinian," tending to make the most of his subject; but there is a vacuum in regard to the enlarged principles of freedom, which ought to characterize every order in a free government, whether governors or governed, citizens or soldiers; and there is something like the slavish notions of one who has heretofore been the high-toned Ultra-Federalist, the advocate of standing armies and aristocratic power; who has taken for the most perfect model of a statesman the *last Pitt*, the enemy of liberty throughout the world, the arch-master of diplomatic intrigue, who formed and fostered the league of Kings in Europe against every free government; who made England a military garrison, two-thirds of her people slaves, and the other third paupers, with no other end in view but the preservation of the tottering throne of the *"Guelphs"*. There is a tone of generosity, an elevated and even sense of the rights of all, the duties of all, and the equality of all, when we speak of the different portions of a free republic, without disguise and without affectation. But when a monarchist apes republicanism, he will be likely both to fall short and over-act his part. This "North-Carolinian" evidently shows an inaptitude in applying his censures so as to comport with the common notions of republicanism. We are accustomed to consider a soldier, even of the lowest grade, at liberty to express his opinion on the policy of the government. He has not yet learnt this lesson of freedom. WALLACE.

* The family name of the four last kings of Great Britain.—*Ed. Star.*

FOR THE STAR.

At a meeting, (by appointment,) on the 12th day of August, 1824, in the county of Richmond, of a large number of the oldest inhabitants of South-Carolina and Georgia, some of whom served in the southern campaigns during the revolutionary war—it is deemed proper to organize ourselves, for the purpose of embracing our national right, of expressing our sentiments to our fellow-citizens upon the state of the union, in regard to the pending election of President and Vice President of the United States; and, at the same time, to express our feelings upon other national subjects. The purposes of this meeting being generally understood, but more particularly stated by John Berry, Esq. Mr. Abraham Howard (an old revolutionary soldier) was then nominated and unanimously called to the Chair, and William Sullivan appointed Secretary. The following resolutions were then introduced; on which the sense of the meeting being separately taken, were unanimously adopted:

1st. Resolved, That each member of this meeting feel entirely divested, on this occasion, of all political party spirit; and under a serious and solemn obligation towards the internal peace and future welfare of our country and its republican form of government.

2d. Resolved, That we regret to see and hear of so much party spirit brewing of late in our political horizon, and concentrating with an alarming aspect about the capitol at Washington.

3d. Resolved, That when the fountain head of a government becomes impure, by intrigue after office, political ambition and lust for power, it behoves the people to assume their original dignity, agreeably to the true spirit of the Declaration of our Independence, and the Constitution of the United States.

4th. Resolved, That we view it dangerous to the welfare of our government, and to future generations, to support men as our rulers and law-givers, who will suffer their ambition to lead themselves and the people into the flames of political fire, party spirit and unrelenting persecution, to the inevitable annihilation of wisdom, justice, and moderation.

5th. Resolved, That this meeting view the President of the U. States, James Monroe, as a true and exemplary proselyte of the Father of our country, Gen. George Washington. We are satisfied with regard to the intentions of his heart, and have full confidence in his political integrity, moderation and skill, which entitle him to the highest thanks of this meeting the heart can give.

6th. Resolved, That this meeting, feel-

ing unbiassed by party motives, feel bound to lean towards mercy and the reward of merit. And as such, with a due recollection of the general depreciation and inundation of our country with an overwhelming paper currency, particularly west of the Alleghany mountains, since the year 1816, we are willing to award our approbation to Wm. H. Crawford in the discharge of his official duties, as Secretary of our public treasury.

7th. Resolved, That, influenced by the same principles of justice, this meeting also award its approbation to the Hon. Ninian Edwards, for his late able memorial to Congress, dictated in the strongest and most eloquent language of a faithful watchman at the portals of his country's wealth, carrying with it a conscious conviction that ruinous schemes and ambitious policies were brewing in our political horizon, which became his duty to announce to the people, in order to preserve the future peace, union and tranquillity of these United States. Such watchmen, we know, are an eye-sore to a faction of intrigue after power, and when that faction would hang him on a gibbet, if they had but the power of monarchy at command, we feel convinced he must have gored them with the horns of truth, which is the cause of such political roaring, and spouting like so many wounded lions. We hope there will always be a plenty of Ninian Edwards about the city of Washington; for it is good to keep a martingal as a check upon all our ambitious Presidential colts and political race horses.

8th. Resolved, That, in awarding to Wm. H. Crawford the approbation of this meeting, as Secretary of the U. S. Treasury, we award him the highest approbation we can conscientiously feel he is capable, from his natural ambitious mould and subtlety of talents, of meriting in the management of our public affairs, at the head of a free and independent government, based like ours, upon moderation, the equitable rights of man, and political virtue and wisdom.

9th. Resolved, That as it is of the first importance to our government, that the people should select the best qualified citizen to the Presidential Chair, combining political honesty, moderation and wisdom, void of ambition and an overbearing disposition to party spirit; one calculated, in the symmetry of a great and noble mind, to give general harmony at home and abroad—dispensing just rewards to merit and integrity in all capacities, so that the whole machinery of our government may work a stronger cement to our union, we feel it our duty to give our fellow-citizens, throughout the U. States, such information as may be within the knowledge of this meeting, respecting the private or public qualifications of any of the candidates for this high and responsible office.

10th. Therefore, Resolved, As we conceive it the first point of consideration, that a President should possess, by nature, a cool, reflecting, dispassionate disposition, with a keen perception to the reward of merit, the dispensation of wise & deeply matured national policies, & the administration of justice at home and abroad, (of which qualifications we are not particularly acquainted with those of Messrs. Adams, Jackson, and Clay,) that we do state, as the sense of this meeting, some of the leading traits of Mr. Crawford's component qualities and disposition from past circumstances, whilst a citizen among us, and then leave our fellow-citizens of the U. S. to judge for themselves. At the same time recommending to those residing in the parts of the country where the other candidates originated, to do the same, that the North may reciprocate with the West and the South, what each may know in favor or against the qualifications of those who would aspire to become the head of this great nation. For it is better for the people to continue firm and united among themselves, as one great family of brothers, and support their original dignity agreeably to the Constitution, with a free and unbiassed suffrage at our elections for rulers, than hereafter with the bayonet.

11th. Resolved, That too much party spirit in our political affairs, is prone, from the ambitious depravity of human nature, to excite the enmity of fellow-citizens against their fellow-citizens.—Whereby, in the course of enraged parties, civil commotions find an origin; and from mobs, internal wars ensue—from which defend us; our future generations, the rights of man throughout the world, and this government of liberty, we (the old revolutionary soldiers of this meeting) have fought and bled to establish.

12th. Resolved, That we consider political, modest manoeuvring, when confined to facts, reason and ingenuity, laudable in certain cases, when the object is solely to counteract a long train
[See 4th Page.]