

SPRING AND SUMMER CAROLINA GAZETTE.

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CIRCULAR.

The Friends of the Counties of Orange, Person and Wake.

Dear Citizens.—The term for which you had elected me your representative in Congress, having expired, I esteem it a duty not to be violated by my silence, to lay before you a general abstract of the commercial and internal measures adopted, as well as those agitated in the councils of the nation, within the period for which I was elected; and to accompany such, upon which it is my purpose to enter, with such remarks as are pertinent to the elucidation of the measures themselves, or economy of the views I entertain, and the course I have pursued in reference thereto.

In Foreign nations we are happily in the enjoyment of peace, and friendly commercial intercourse. Since I last had the honor of addressing you through the medium of a circular letter, our Foreign friends have undergone little change. The embarrassed condition of trade with the British West India Colonies (as then detailed to you) still without abatement, and the British restrictions then existing finally met on our part by similar countervailing measures; and the has consequently ceased, except as it may occasionally be carried on the medium of neighboring friendly ports. With the British government has arisen other embarrassing subjects of dissension in relation to boundary, on our North Western frontier; which we may, however, hope to see speedily settled, having, pursuant to treaty stipulations, submitted to the friendly emigration of the King of the Netherlands, France and the other European powers our relations have undergone no change. With our Southern neighbors of the American square, our relations are on terms of the most friendly footing, with exception of the empire of Brazil, with which we were, at the period (directly thereafter) of my last address, likely to come in collision, on account of negotiations committed on our commerce. We have reason, however, to expect with that power a speedy and satisfactory adjustment of our differences. The war, which during the last year raged on the northern borders of Europe, has not hitherto affected us—either in our commercial or political relations with any of the powers who are parties to it; and we have reason to hope, that, among other results of the war, the inhabitants of the Greek States (for whom our government and people have expressed much sympathy) will be established in liberty and independence of their late oppressors. And finally, in the relations which subsist between our government and foreign nations, we have continued to abide by the maxims of the father of his country—resting the relations of peace and commerce with all—but forming strong alliances with none.

In our domestic and internal relations, we have passed through a period of unprecedented political excitement; and if our political institutions have remained unimpaired by the shock, it is to be mainly ascribed their peculiar adaptation to the ends proposed in their establishment, and the unshaken attachment of our fellow-citizens throughout the Union, which has so pre-eminently contributed to our safety, and borne us, with triumphant security, through a period with "thrones and convulsions" unparalleled in the history of civilized man; and may we not fondly hope, that, under the auspices of an administration created by the deliberate will of the People, so emphatically expressed, that union will be consolidated and rendered more secure in the security of our liberty and independence through all succeeding times. The history of the last four years of our government afford a lesson of warning to political aspirants, never to appropriate themselves power under constitutional forms, unsupported by the sanction of an approving majority of the nation. Ours is emphatically a government of the people, and it should be neither expected or desired that any administration should be able to sustain itself, which is not based upon the will of a majority of the people; and our recent experience affords an apt illustration of the danger likely to accrue to those who are vested with power in utter disregard of the public will; and such remarks will hold true without reference to the late executive in office.

Amongst the most prominent subjects which have engaged the attention of Congress within the period for which I was last elected, none merit a prominent place in the catalogue of legislative acts, than those connected with the denomination of Internal Improvements and Tariff, either in view of the principles involved in the one, or the great excitement which has, in the Southern sections of the Union, been produced by the other. It is not my purpose here to enter into an argument to prove that the enumerated powers conferred by the Constitution, upon the several Government, that claimed for prosecuting a general system of Internal Improvement is not inclined, or fairly inferable as an incident thereto. It will be sufficient for its reprobation, if in its case, it be found local in its benefits, and inexpedient in its application. It is, however, in the hands of the executive, with which he may affect the incidence of the legislative will, and supplies no inconsiderable addition to that weight of executive patronage, considered by many the bane of the Executive office; it is an application of the public revenue (controlled by all) to the benefit of particular sections of country; it will be the fruitful source of combinations for a monopoly of its advantages. Its benefits are not confined to the commercial facilities which it affords to the section of country which is the theatre of its application, but enriches contractors, superintendents, laborers, victuallers, at the joint expense of those whose geographical position forbids their participation in its advantages; and when effected, (so far as our experience has taught us,) forms a continual drain upon the Treasury for its maintenance. I will not say that the subscription of stock in private companies incorporated by State authority, is liable to the same objections, or want of constitutional power to make them, or obnoxious on grounds of inexpediency; tho' I have hitherto withheld the same from my vote, even this mitigated mode of prosecuting the system, except in the instance of advancing, by the subscription of a small sum, the great internal (water) communication from South to North, to the Mississippi, and the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal; and the most prominent inducement of my support was their intimate connection with the public defence. Under existing auspices, we may yet infer some change in the system of Internal Improvement, as connected and hitherto prosecuted; if not its abandonment, at least the adoption of some more legitimate and mitigated mode for its prosecution, for two years, in addition to the large sums for the continuation of the National Road, there has been appropriated, for its repair and preservation, the sum of one hundred and eighty thousand dollars. At the session a bill passed the House of Representatives for erecting toll roads on much of that road as is now completed, for the purpose of collecting sufficient toll for its repair; though I did not vote for the measure, I doubt not the constitutional power of the government to carry it into effect; yet it was not discontinued to see this vexed question put into a form in which it might receive a judicial determination; and, in one way or other, be put to rest; but the bill failed in the Senate. It will, I hope, always here to notice some of the most important appropriations to the system of Internal Improvements, during the period in which I have your representatives. In addition to those made to the Cumberland Road, there has been appropriated 500,000 acres of land to aid the State of Illinois to make a canal from the Illinois River to Lake Michigan, in the same quantity to the State of Indiana to aid her in making a canal from the Wabash to Lake Erie—something more than one million acres to aid the State of Ohio in prosecuting her canal system—500,000 acres to enable the State of Alabama to construct a canal at the Falls of the Ohio River—100,000 dollars in aid of the Chesapeake and Delaware canal—fifty thousand dollars in aid of the Dismal Swamp—various appropriations for improving the mouth of the Mississippi and other rivers amongst which may be noted an annual appropriation of \$20,000 dollars for the construction of a break water at the mouth of the Delaware, which is expected to require \$2,000,000 for completion—\$61,000 to improve the navigation of the wash with the Cape Fear—and twenty thousand dollars to aid in removing the

obstruction to the navigation of the river, which is usually called the Chincoteague River.

Upon the all-absorbing question of the Tariff, or act for "the protection of manufacturers" or "domestic industry," as it is sometimes called, by increasing the imports or duties upon foreign productions, I would willingly be spared from making any comment. It is a subject which has excited so much discussion, and aroused the angry passions of so many of our Southern friends, that I would not willingly open fresh wounds which seemed but recently cicatrized. But the subject is in itself of too important a character, and has formed too distinctive a feature in the policy of our government for the last ten years, to be shunned by your representative, or glossed over with a mere passing notice.

It ought to be borne in mind that the theories advanced by writers on the doctrines of political economy, have, in their application, been mainly confined to the various geographical divisions of Europe, where numerous nations are confined within comparatively circumscribed limits, and where the habits, manners, dispositions, pursuits and productions of a whole people or nation are marked by a uniformity not likely to exist in a State encompassing within its limits almost all the various soils, climates and productions of the temperate and torrid zones. In the application therefore of those maxims to our condition, so diverse from those for whose instruction they were intended, it is not remarkable that they should prove unsuited to the end proposed, or, as is contended by those who feel their pressure, that they are calculated to enrich one portion of the country at the expense of the other. It is admitted on all hands, that wherever there is of any article a redundancy in the market, duties on similar articles of foreign production, are unavailing, either for revenue, or protection. Importations of the foreign article, and consequent competition is not to be expected in an already overstocked market. This proposition will admit of an apt illustration by a reference to what may emphatically be called the cotton region of the United States. For protection of our cotton from foreign competition, we have a duty on the foreign article of three cents per pound. Can or will it be pretended that this duty avails the cotton grower to the amount of a cent? Does not every one perceive that so long as the supply so greatly exceeds the demand, that the home competition in the market will keep down the price, and consequently prevent foreign competition? But our neighbors of Louisiana, who produce sugar, are differently circumstanced. They have a protecting duty of three cents on the pound of sugar, and ten cents on the gallon of molasses; they do not produce either article in sufficient quantity to supply the demand; hence whether you purchase the foreign or domestic article, it comes to you enhanced three cents in the price per pound, and enables the home producer to pocket that sum in addition to what he would otherwise receive; and those of my late constituents who produce cotton, pay this additional price, without receiving in return any enhancement in the price of their cotton from those who consume it; and so of every object of home production. Where the supply of the article falls short of the demand, But it will be asked, is there no remedy for this evil? There is no immediate remedy short of the total abandonment of the system, and it would be ungracious in me to flatter you with that hope. But there are other remedies which will ultimately mitigate the evil, some of which will require time and capital, and others that may produce an immediate alleviation. In the latter class, to be ranked domestic economy, domestic productions of all the conveniences or essentials of life—to purchase nothing which you can produce within your own domestic circle. In the former may be enumerated the encouragement of manufacturing establishments among yourselves, a change in the productions of labor, and of agricultural pursuits; for instance, the production of silk, wine, indigo, &c. I would not be thought to mock your patience, by gravely pointing out remedies so slow in their progress. They are the only alternatives between repeal and *secession* of the Union, as I believe. The former, as I before stated, I cannot flatter you with; the latter, may heaven, in the infinitude of its mercies protect us from, on the last of evils! And let those who can contemplate with stolid indifference, so sharp a remedy, turn their eyes for a moment to the historical details of the sanguinary wars which have wasted Europe for ten centuries, (purely the result of her subdivisions,) and then calculate, if he can, the value of the Union. In the course which I found myself impelled to pursue, in the progress of the bill, for the further protection of manufactures, in 1828, I regretted much to differ with many of my southern friends. Foreseeing that the bill would pass, I was disposed to give to it, by my votes, a form least oppressive to my constituents. Others believed, or affected to believe, that, to ensure its rejection, good policy required, that it should be put in a shape "agreeable to no one;" and to that policy do we owe the increased duty upon iron, molasses, steel, coarse wool, hemp and cotton goods. The event has shewn, as I believe, the policy of my course—the I would not arraign the conduct of others, who were equally with myself anxious for the defeat of the bill. Every attempt made at the last session to revise or in any way modify the existing tariff of duties, was promptly resisted; and it is left for our successors, under other, and I hope better auspices, to be reviewed and modified as their wisdom shall best dictate, and as the various demands of our diversified interests shall require.

At the Session of Congress ending on the 26th May, 1828, a law was passed, granting pensions to all the soldiers of the revolutionary army, who had enlisted for and during the war, and had served according to the terms of their enlistment, without reference to their pecuniary situations. Although no one is more sensibly impressed with the debt of gratitude we owe to those who achieved for us our independence, and the consequent political immunities which we so pre-eminently enjoy, I could not look upon an act, so partial in its operations, with a favorable eye; and made an effort to extend its benefits to all who had served two years, and had been honorably discharged. The amendment did not, however, prevail; and the act was permitted to take effect, with all the features of a partial discrimination so visibly impressed upon it. At the last session, a bill passed the House of which I was a member, extending the pension system to all soldiers of the revolutionary army, (militia as well as regulars,) who had at any three different periods served for the space of nine months. The extent of the grant was considered too unlimited, and would have formed too severe a drain upon the Treasury to have enabled it to meet the other indispensable demands of the government; and above all, would have retarded, if not entirely postponed the payment of the public debt to a distant period; a result greatly deprecated by a numerous class of politicians, (in whose views I heartily concur,) and was on that account (as I understand) laid upon the table of the Senate.

Amongst the most fruitful sources of legislation, and that which has hitherto, and is in future, likely to urge its demands upon the time and attention of Congress with no little weight, none may be considered of greater importance than our public land system. Notwithstanding the public lands have been acquired by the joint contribution of the blood and treasure of the people of these United States, and was therefore declared to constitute the joint stock of the American people, either for purposes of revenue or the advancement of such other national objects as the wisdom of our national councils might designate, some of the States in which those lands are situate have, by their executive, and others by their legislative authorities, recently set up the high claims of sovereignty, as well to the soil as to the territorial jurisdiction; and have, in no measured terms, claimed the right to tax as well as to appropriate them to their own exclusive use and benefit. Should those claims be persisted in, or advanced beyond a mere declarative right, it will remain for the united councils of the nation to meet, promptly, such unjust pretensions, and with measures suited to the emergency, resist the grasping usurpations of some of its members; and this subject most attach to itself no small share of importance, when it is remembered, that, of the public lands to which the Indian title is extinguished, there remains unsold about 240,000,000 of acres; and of those within the territorial limits of the union, to which the Indian title is not yet extinguished, about 730 millions of acres. Our relations with the Indian tribes within our borders have continued to be of a friendly character, and the policy of the nation which seeks to remove these sons of the forest to a position west of our most extreme western settlement is in steady progress. That policy, so far as it can be executed without resort to measures of constraint upon the will of these unfortunate children of nature, has met in decided concurrence. Beyond that, justice should ever withhold her censure.

In connexion with the subject of one Indian relations, it affords me great satisfaction to be able to communicate to you the accurate intelligence, that, at the first session of the 20th Congress, there was refunded to North Carolina \$2,000 dollars, by her previously expended in the extinguishment of the title of certain Cherokee Indians to lands reserved to them by the treaty of 1819; and at the past session, there was appropriated the further sum of \$0,000 dollars for the extinguishment of the re-

maining reservations within which is usually called the Cherokee Par-

ishion. The domestic economy, there is much to gratify and cheer the happy period. Our army is, in its numbers, organization and discipline, equal to the present requirements of the nation. Our naval force, consisting of (twelve ships of the line, 17 frigates, and twenty six vessels and boats, and some other smaller craft) is more than equal to the present demands of our widely extended commerce and the general accumulation of the most essential materials of war building, which is ample guarantee that in any future war in which we may be unfortunately engaged, the naval forces of our country will be upon a footing of respectability which will be able to sustain much to the defense of our maritime frontiers and, when necessary, the invasions which have been completed and are in progress, we may long live in perfect security from the sudden invasions of a foreign foe. Our public debt (over a saddle of deep interest) is rapidly diminishing under the operations of the sinking fund. It now consists of the following sum, and at the rates of interest over designated, to wit: \$15,276,249 48, balance of old revolutionary debt, at an interest of three per cent, \$7,000,000 at the pleasure of the government; \$10,279,922 02, at an interest of six per cent, \$7,000,000 of which consists of debt due for stock in the Bank of the United States, and is redeemable at the pleasure of the government, and affords a very considerable revenue; over and above the charge which it imposes upon the treasury for interest, the balance is redeemable in 1834 and 1835; and of \$15,994,054 11, at an interest of four and a half per cent, per annum, and is redeemable in different proportions, in the various years from 1829 to 1838 inclusive, constituting a sum total of \$38,362,153 78 cents, all of which we may reasonably hope to be redeemed by the period fixed for the redemption of that which shall last fall, for, to wit, in the year 1833; and to the attainment of this desirable end, I may be permitted to express the hope and belief, that the executive department of the government will direct its energies, and if successful (as I hope it will be) by the legislature, can not but be accomplished. Such a result would present a spectacle unparalleled in the historical annals of the domestic economy of nations; and would add one other to the abundant proofs of the boundless resources of our happy country. The aggregate of receipts in the Treasury for 1828, were estimated to amount to the sum of \$24,094,863 67, and, with the balance remaining in the Treasury on the 31st day of December, 1827, constituted a grand total of \$30,763,149 77 cents. The expenditures within the same period, were estimated to amount to \$21,657,511 63 cents, leaving a balance in the Treasury on the 1st January, 1829, of \$5,123,038 14 cents. I will here, as matter of curiosity, as well as for information, present you a statistical view of the receipts in the Treasury, from all the sources of revenue from the year 1815 to 1827 inclusive, to wit: for customs, \$235,032,662 23 cents; internal revenue, \$14,044,847 35 cents; for direct taxes, \$8,708,515 23 cents; Postage, \$842,867 20; for public lands, \$1,537,239 69; for loans and treasury notes, \$63,545,504 29; dividends on Bank Stock and bonds, \$4,694,926 50; miscellaneous, \$9,917,047 84; total, \$68,843,014 26. And the following statements constitute the various items of expenditure within the same period, to wit: Civil List, \$15,036,213 22; miscellaneous, 16,628 897 dollars, 74 cents; Foreign intercourse, 8,963,283 dollars, 14 cents; Military Department, 79,139,924 dollars, 59 cents; Naval Department, 49,356,113 dollars, 65 cents; public debt for interest as well as principal, 172,006,191 dollars, 85 cents; Revolutionary pensions, 17,685,647 dollars, 15 cents; other pensions, 3,699,698 dollars, 87 cents; Indian Department, 6,485,287 dollars, 17 cents; total, \$63,000,576 dollars, 89 cents; to which add the receipts and disbursements of the past year, and the balance in the Treasury will be as before stated.

There might be added many subjects of deep interest, which the ordinary limits of a circular letter will not permit, and which I shall ever be ready to discuss with you in a personal interview.

Fellow Citizens, the entire period within which I have had the honor of serving you, has been one of no ordinary interest, and involving responsibilities of an ordinary character. I cannot suffer myself, that amidst the heat of a party conflict, which has been maintained with intense feelings on all hands, that I have always been able to escape severe imputations upon my actions and my motives. Whilst by the overzealous of my own party, my course may seem to have been marked with too much of moderation and forbearance; with the equally violent among my adversaries, it may have seemed too active, and too much characterized by party objects. To the mind of all parties, I submit with satisfaction my estimate, and if, upon the severest scrutiny, it shall be found to have been dictated by other considerations than a strict regard to the general interests of the nation, and the particular interests of those, whose immediate servant I was, I shall not murmur if it shall be stamped with the seal of reprobation. If, on the other hand, I shall have been fortunate in securing your approbation of my course, (as my conscience tells me, it was my desire,) my reward will be ample in your approving smile. This, I may be permitted to say, that if the entire devotion of my time and attention to the public affairs with which I have been charged by your suffrages, can constitute any claim to your confidence, I may not despair of possessing some interest in your favor. Permit me here to request, that you will consider me a candidate for re-election at the annual election in August next. 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