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Congress.

Mr. CULPEPPER'S SPEECH ON THE TAX BILLS,

Delivered in the House of Representatives of the
U. S. July, 1813.

Sir—As the vote is to be recorded which I give upon this and sundry other bills connected with it, as component parts of one great system of internal tax, a system deeply affecting the best interests of my country, I rise to explain to this house, some of the reasons which govern me in the course I expect to pursue. I am anxious to see this session closed, and should not trouble the house with any remarks at present, were it not for certain attempts which have been made to forestall my proceeding upon this subject. I allude to several publications in the newspapers, stating that I had pledged myself to my constituents to support the war, to vote for taxes. Sir, my constituents required no such pledge; four-fifths of them believe with me, that notwithstanding the incroachments of England and France, we were the most happy, free and prosperous nation on the globe; that we owed to the pacific policy of our government, that happiness which astonished the world; that a perseverance in this pacific course would have preserved to us a great portion of that happiness and prosperity, which war and its dire effects have deprived us of; and therefore, war is at all times, and especially in this agitated state of the world, to be deprecated as the greatest of evils.

Sir, I am not pledged by my promise to support or oppose any party in this house or country; or to vote for or against any measure now before the house, or which may come before it. But I am pledged to meet every subject fairly, to weigh them impartially, and vote on every question which comes before me, in the way that I deem most likely to promote the welfare of my country, and preserve to me an approving conscience. And this promise I am determined to perform while I am honored with a seat in this house, and blessed with the exercise of my feeble powers.—With this determination, I do, as every man, solicitous to preserve happiness to himself, his country, and his posterity should do. I ask, what are we called on to make this great sacrifice for, for what reasons are we now required to part from the good old republican doctrine of '97, 8 and 9, and by our vote sanction this practice, this system which at that time was declared to be subversive of our liberties and our republican constitution, by the very men who now call on us to support this system? To this we are told, that war makes taxes necessary; that we must have money to support the war, and maintain public credit.—And an honorable gentleman from Kentucky, told us the other day, that every man, who, either directly or indirectly, voted for war, and does not now vote for taxes to support the war, must be damned by his own conscience, that his constituents will certainly damn him, and if mercy does not prevent it, his Maker will more than damn him.

Be it so, sir, since gentlemen will have it—none of these things move me—I have neither directly nor indirectly voted for war. I am therefore at liberty to ask, and I avail myself of the privilege of asking, what good has the war in which we are engaged, done us? what advantage have we obtained by it? what are the objects of the war? and are we likely to obtain our objects by voting for taxes? For although I admit that we must pay a price for the benefit of living in society, that we must relinquish a share of our natural liberty, and part with some of our property to secure the remainder; yet I contend that when individuals enter into society, it is for the mutual benefit of each other, and of the community. That when a nation intrusts to a number of persons the right of levying war and imposing taxes, it is to enable them the better to repel foreign invasion, and maintain domestic tranquillity. And therefore legislators should exercise that important trust with prudence, and not hastily involve the nation in war; and by aiming at a temporary good, or the accomplishment of some favorite object, strike at the fundamental principles on which the happiness and liberty of the nation rest; and make a breach at which tyranny, oppression, poverty and ruin, may one day enter. The question recurs; what good has the war done? To this question, I presume every gentleman in the house will answer we have derived no benefit from the war. Neither our happiness, our liberty, our property, nor our honor is increased or better secured.—What then, are the objects of this war? To obtain information upon this subject I have examined the report of the committee of foreign relations to the 2d session of the 12th Congress, in which report I find these words: "That the orders in council should be repealed, and that our flag should protect our seamen, were the only indispensable conditions insisted on; that it happened, that almost on the same day on which the United States, after having been worn out with accumulated wrongs, had resorted to the last and only remaining honorable alternative, in support of their rights, the British government had repealed conditionally its orders in council. That measure was unexpected; but conditional as it was, it was admitted as having removed a great obstacle to accommodation. The other remained—the practice of impressment. Your committee consider it the duty of this house, to explain to its constituents the remaining cause of controversy, the precise nature of that cause, and the high obligation which it

imposes." From what has been stated, it appears, that however great the sensibility to other wrongs, the impressment of our seamen was that alone which prevented an armistice, and in all probability an accommodation. From this report it appears that one of the two causes of war, the orders in council, was removed almost on the same day in which the United States resorted to war, and before the British government could possibly hear of our declaration of war. If then, sir, this remaining complaint is that alone which prevented an accommodation, it is of the utmost importance to understand its precise nature and extent, and how far it is to be considered an obstacle in future to accommodations. And examine our prospects of success; for although the object may be desirable, it is bad policy to contend for it, and spill our blood, and spend our money without a prospect of success. What then, is the precise extent of this remaining cause of war? I have examined the President's message to Congress at the commencement of this session, and I find it contains what follows: "With respect to the important question of impressment, on which the war so essentially turns, a search for, or seizure of British persons or property on board neutral vessels on the high seas, is not a belligerent right derived from the laws of nations; and it is obvious that no visit, or search, or use of force for any purpose on board the vessels of one independent power on the high seas, can in war or peace be sanctioned by the laws or authority of another." Now sir, if I understand this passage in the message, free ships shall make free goods, or in other words, the flag shall cover and protect the property. It is our demand, we may fight eternally—for I have no idea that the maritime powers of Europe, especially the British, will ever concede this point. But if it is only proposed to protect none but American seamen, I am not prepared to say the war is unjust, for I have believed for several years, we have had great cause to complain of the conduct of both the British and French governments, and if war was desirable, we could have found a pretext for war with both England and France; and when such regulations are made as shall confine the navigation of our ships of war, and merchant vessels to American seamen, and foreigners are excluded, if the British or any other nation, will continue to enter by force and take our seamen from on board of our vessels, I shall consider it the duty of every man in the country to resist this practice; and if necessary, to fight as long as we have men and money and a reasonable prospect of success; but I do not consider it a crime for a nation, or an individual to reclaim its own; and I am unwilling to jeopardize our republican institutions and spill our blood and strain our credit to protect foreigners.—The important question is, are we likely to attain our object? To solve this question, let us examine the progress and effects of the war. It has been declared more than one year and has increased our annual expenses from 10,000,000 to nearly \$40,000,000.—In 1806 our expenses were 10,000,000.—In 1813, the secretary of the treasury reports, that \$29,230,000 are necessary to carry on the war and support the government the last 9 months of the present year. It has also diminished our revenue from near eighteen millions a little more than five millions.—In 1803 the receipts into the treasury amounted to eleven millions of dollars.—In 1804 to eleven and a half millions.—In 1805 to thirteen millions.—In 1806 to fifteen millions.—In 1807 to near sixteen millions; and in 1808 to near eighteen millions, and rapidly increasing. From that period, our restrictive system, which eventuated in war, has affected our revenue, which has been gradually decreasing, and the secretary estimates the probable amount of revenue from the ordinary sources, including double duties, which have been recently laid on goods imported at 5,800,000 dollars for the present year, and this small sum is uncertain. If then, sir, the war has been carried on for more than 12 months, and has increased our expenses near thirty millions of dollars, and decreased our revenue twelve millions, and we have not advanced one step towards the attainment of our object, and I trust gentlemen will admit we have not, I ask, have we any reason to expect, that by voting for taxes we shall attain it? I have no expectation, nor do I desire to drive the majority from the stand they have made; from the strong ground they have taken; but really, sir, this premature, this ill advised, this miserably conducted war, so much resembles the seven ill favored and lean fleshed kine in Pharaoh's Dream, which did eat up the seven well favored and fat kine, that I cannot vote to tax my constituents, my country, to support a war for the protection of seamen, until I have better reason to believe such will be the result of the present contest.

Foreign.

Boston, July 30.

THE FOREIGN NEWS.

Since our last paper London dates to June 17, have been received. They furnish the official accounts of the allies of the great battles which preceded the armistice. A messenger had been sent from the Continent to England to invite her to send commissioners to the Congress for Peace. Dr. May, who arrived in England from Paris, states that private accounts from the French Army represented their loss in the battle at Lutzen at 22,000 men. Dr. M. says the people of

Paris openly express their dislike of Bonaparte. The treaty between Sweden and Russia is published. The latter engages to assist in acquiring for the former, the territory of Norway; and this proceeding was to take place before the Swedes were to act on the continent; but as Bernadotte has crossed the Baltic there must have been some modification of the original terms.

The British joined Russia in the promise and guarantee of Norway; and it is said have also given Guadaloupe, probably as the price of Sweden's co-operating on the continent previously to the conquest of Norway. Britain has likewise made pecuniary advances to Sweden.

The British subsidy to Sweden is one million sterling, payable by instalments of 200,000, per month. Guadaloupe was to be surrendered to the Swedes in August, or 3 months after the Swedish troops should have landed on the continent. The Swedes grant to the English the right of depot of merchandize at Gottenburg, Carlsham and Stralsund, on the payment of 1 per cent. on arrival and 1 on departure.

The Swedes agree to fulfil all the engagements of the British in favour of the inhabitants of Guadaloupe—not to permit the importation of slaves—not to allow cruizers inimical to the British to put in there—and not to alienate said island without the consent of England.

The Russian squadron from England has sailed on a cruise off the Texel.

It is reported that Murat, king of Naples, has attempted arrangements to render himself and kingdom independent of Bonaparte. It appears that the British General at Sicily and Murat have opened an intercourse, and some trade is established between the places they respectively control. The sudden return of the French Vice Roy to Italy, is supposed to regard Murat's declaration.

BONAPARTE has appointed MASSENA Governor of Toulon, and General of the Eighth Military Division.

The news from Spain in the English papers is not so late as has been received by the way of Lisbon and Newport, although it relates more particularly, the military occurrences.

On the 11th of June, after a very short conference with the contractors, the British ministers obtained a loan of one hundred millions of dollars which makes two hundred millions obtained in this way and by Exchequer Bills, for the service of the year.

The contractors for the new loan in England are Messrs. Barnes, Steers, and Ricardo; Messrs. Baring, Angerstein and Ward; Messrs. Barwis, Ellis & Co. and Messrs. Trower and Batty. The terms were 100l. reduced three per cent, 60l. 3 per cent. consols and 856, long annuities, for each 100l. subscribed. The whole to be paid in nine monthly payments. The interest we believe will be about 5 per cent.

Mr. Grattan has given notice in the British Parliament, that he shall make another effort in favour of the Roman Catholics at the next session.

The British Parliament have voted 25,000l. for the relief of the sufferers at St. Vincent by the volcano.

The arrival of many licensed vessels at English ports from France is mentioned.

Madame Moreau was in England.

John Wiltshire and Charles Conolly, are on trial in London, as Englishmen caught fighting against their country. They had belonged to the True blooded Yankee, out of France, and were taken in a re-captured vessel. The mother of the former it is said lives at Plymouth, England.

The Severn and Forth, 44 gun frigates, of 1256 tons, are to carry 24 pounders on their lower deck. They were launched in England June 14.

16,000 pounds have been subscribed in Eng. by individuals for the relief of the Germans.

The library of John Horne Looke, Esq. has been sold in England for 1251l.

We have been favored with a London Price Current of June 8. The market was very dull. Cotton, Tobacco, Oil, Spices, Tea, Coffee and Sugar, had fallen in prices.

The fleet which lately arrived in England from China brought 267,454 chests of tea, 232,398 of which were congou and twankay.

The China fleet, consisting of 17 vessels, arrived in England June 2, under convoy of the Theseus and Cornelia.

FROM ENGLISH PAPERS.

British Official Accounts.

SECOND DESPATCH.

Head Quarters, Wurgen, }

May 20, 1813. }

MY LORD,

The enemy detached on the evenings of the 17th and 18th, in the direction of Luckau, and Dubben, on our right; the force was stated to be Regnier's corps.

Intelligence being received that General Lauriston, with nine thousand men, would march to reinforce the troops above mentioned, on the 19th, Gen. Barclay de Tolly and General D'York, with a strong corps, were sent to intercept and fall upon General Lauriston.

General Barclay de Tolly fell in with the enemy in the neighborhood of Konigswerde, and a sharp contest ensued, which was put an end to only by night fall, and in which the allies were completely successful. They drove back the en-

emy at all points, took upwards of fifteen hundred prisoners, a general of division and eleven pieces of cannon. The enemy's loss in killed and wounded was considerable. The cavalry were in pursuit when the accounts came away. The loss on our side has not yet been ascertained, nor am I in possession of the details of this affair.

General D'York was engaged more on the right and encountered a strong force; the support of Lauriston's corps, opposed to be Marshal Ney's. He was engaged till eleven o'clock at night, against very superior numbers, with success. Both the allied corps returned into this position this morning.

Six o'clock.—I am enabled, being just returned from Gen. Milaradovitch's advanced guard, to report to your Lordship that a very severe attack has been made to day by the enemy, to possess themselves of the town of Bautzen.—They attempted a false attack on our left, but the real one was on Gen. Milaradovitch's right.—Gen. Kleist's corps was moved up to his support, and the attack was sustained by Gens. Milaradovitch and Kleist, with the utmost gallantry. I witnessed two very gallant charges of Russian Light Cavalry, as well as extreme good conduct throughout by the troops engaged.—Gen. Milaradovitch will be drawn to night into the position.

It would seem from what has occurred this day, that the enemy intended a great effort here. I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES STEWART,
Lieutenant General.

Viscount Castlereagh,

Head Quarters, Collberg, Silesia, }

May 21, 1813. }

MY LORD,

I Hastily detail to your Lordship in my last despatch the military movements on the 20th, and the attack on Bautzen by the enemy.

The attention of the enemy, in his attack on the right and left of Bautzen on the 20th, was to force the Spree river, and to pass to some heights on our right, thus threatening General Malaradovitch's rear, and gaining advantageous ground, from which his artillery could sweep our main position, and, under cover of whose fire, he might with greater facility make his disposition for the general attack on the following morning.

The action was bravely contested; a Russian battalion and some Prussian Lancers, under cover of a battery, boldly advanced and contested alone the heights, in spite of the enemy's powerful efforts, until they were supported by Gen. Kleist's corps.

In the mean time, on the extreme right, the enemy's corps followed Generals Barclay de Tolly and D'York in their retrograde movement from their expedition against General Lauriston.

General D'York's corps entered the position in the evening, but the whole of Barclay de Tolly's did not effect it till the following morning.

Gen. Milaradovitch repulsed the repeated efforts of the enemy that were vigorously made to force him on the left, and the columns of the enemy, that had attempted to pass into the mountains, were kept in check. Finding, however, late in the evening, that Gen. Kleist had fallen back into the main position, Gen. Milaradovitch withdrew entirely from the Spree river and the town of Bautzen, and in the night occupied the ground marked out for him in general line.

The severe affairs of this day reflect the highest honor on Generals Milaradovitch and Kleist, and the brave troops under their command.

I have the honor to be, &c.
CHARLES STEWART, Lieut. Genl.

Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c.

COLLBERG, May 24, 1813.

My Lord.—The allied army under the orders of Count Wittgenstein, in position, in advance of Wurschen and Hochkirch, was attacked by the enemy at day-break, commanded by Bonaparte in person, on the morning of the 21st inst.

It appears he had assembled all his forces for this effort, and had not detached largely, as had been supposed, to other quarters.

The ground selected by the Allies to resist the enemy's approach on the great roads to Silesia and the Oder, was bounded on the left by a range of mountains which separates Lusatia from Bohemia, through which Marshal Daun marched to the battle and victory of Hochkirch.

Some strong commanding heights, on which batteries had been constructed near the village of Jackowitz, (and separated from the chain of mountains by streams and marshy ground) formed the appui to the left flank of the position.

Beyond, and in front of it, many batteries were pushed forward defended by infantry and cavalry on a ridge that projected into the low ground near the Spree river. It then extended to the right, through villages which were strongly entrenched, across the great roads leading from Bautzen to Hochkirch and Gortz; from thence in front of the village of Bouthwitz, to three or four very commanding hills, which rise abruptly in a conical shape, and are distinguished by their features;—these, with the high ground of Kretzwitz, were strengthened by batteries, and were considered the right point of the line.

The ground in the centre was favorable for cavalry, except in some marshy and uneven parts, where it would impede its operations. Fleches were constructed, and entrenchments thrown up at advantageous distances on the plain, along