

# The Raleigh Minerva.

Vol. 19.

FRIDAY, JUNE 3, 1814.

No. 948.

RALEIGH (N.C.)

PRINTED, WEEKLY, BY ALEX. LUCAS.

Terms of subscription: Three dollars per year, one half to be paid in advance. No paper to be continued longer than three months after a year's subscription becomes due, and notice thereof shall have been given.

Advertisements, not exceeding 14 lines, are inserted three times for one dollar, and for twenty-five cents each subsequent insertion; and in like proportion where there is a greater number of lines than fourteen.

Congress.

MR. HANSON'S SPEECH,  
ON THE LOAN BILL.

Continued.

The question of impressment was *advantageously* and honorably arranged, in the opinion of our ministers. Not a doubt is now entertained that administration would hail with joy a treaty similar to that rejected.

The second reason assigned by Mr. Jefferson for rejecting the treaty was, that the English ministers reserved the right of retaliating the Berlin decree, if it was not resisted by this government. I say, without any such reservation, she would have been perfectly justifiable in adopting a system of retaliation, after a reasonable time allowed the government to resist that edict. But she was so anxious to leave this government without a pretext for discontent, that she would not resort to the laws of self defence without due notice to us collaterally involved by this commercial warfare. Instead of receiving this avowal of the necessity to which England might be reduced, of inflicting upon France the evils of her own injustice, in the spirit in which it was made, it was another reason with Mr. Jefferson for rejecting the treaty. And here permit me to say, that no man of an independent discriminating mind, and of sound judgment, can doubt the justice of the British retaliation of the Berlin decree, as far as any neutral was concerned, who had acquiesced in that decree. Otherwise the contest with France would have been most unequal. Allies in the disguise of neutrals could shield France, while the breast of Britain was bared to the sword of her enemy. But it was not for Mr. Jefferson to be a party by implication, as he feared it would be deemed in France, to any plan of resisting the great system of commercial annihilation commenced at Berlin. No, Bonaparte's attitude at that period was too imposing to allow of such rash counsels as implied an attachment to commerce, and a determination to oppose a barrier to French encroachments. "The great and generous Napoleon" had just broken into fragments the triple coalition, Prussia struck down, and her power broken to pieces; Russia driven to her frontier, and converted to an ally from an enemy, the "super-eminent Napoleon," seated on the throne of the Great Frederick, was dictating law to the commercial world. The Berlin decree was the commencement of the very system to which we are one of the very few parties left. It was intended to incorporate into the new commercial code the very principles which have been contended for on this floor; nothing therefore could have been more remote from Mr. Jefferson's wishes or intentions, than any stipulation which looked like resistance to the Berlin decree. Under such circumstances, and at such a time was it, that the treaty was rejected. At a time when the prophets and wise men here talked familiarly of a national bankruptcy in England, or of her speedy overthrow by Bonaparte, if a civil war was not produced by our restrictive energies, which were driving the manufacturers to madness and desperation. From this time we were gradually drawn into the great continental confederacy, the principles of which were *sacrosanct* by the decree of Berlin. Now came the vaunted treaty of Tilsit. It was the corner stone of the immense fabric built upon the Berlin decree. At Tilsit was digested and methodized the grand scheme of commercial annihilation commenced at the Prussian capital, not many months previous. By entering or forcing all the states of the continent into this league, their ports were to be shut against British commerce. How far the continental system succeeded among the States of Europe the world well knows. How far, therefore, Mr. Jefferson evinced his steady purpose of uniting in the war upon commerce, is to be collected from the acts of administration. Tedious as I may be, yet it is necessary, to arrive at the results I propose, to take a rapid view of some of the acts of co-operation with France, which stain our statute book. The EMBARGO stands first and pre-eminent in this black catalogue. It is notorious, it was familiarly talked of in the Paris Coffee-Houses. It was a topic of *tete a tete* in the coteries of the Imperial metropolis. Our minister in France gave warning of the measure. Merchants on the continent wrote to their correspondents here to prepare for an embargo upon all our ports. At length despatches arrived from Gen. Armstrong, and as quick as the thunder succeeds the flash that announces it, *our ports were sealed*. An embargo unlimited as to duration, and universal in extent, sat like *Incubus* upon the land, blasting its best fruits more than all the congealed fluids of the heavens poured down at once upon our crops. How are we to account for this foreknowledge in France of measures to be adopted here? How for the decree promulgated by Bonaparte avowedly to enforce the embargo? There is but one explanation. But it is not the least mortifying circumstance, that while the rays of the great political sun of Europe illumined the track of merchants and speculators on the continent, our poor outcast

merchants and deluded people were left to grope in the dark, without a faint glimmering of light to guide them. It is enough to add, "Napoleon the Great" applauded the embargo, as a generous renunciation of commerce, rather than submit to the shackles imposed on it.

The next important event, which forms one of the links in the chain which connects us with France, is the grand congress at Erfurth in Nov. 1808. There the system of commercial annihilation, stipulated at Tilsit was to be more completely organized and rendered universal. I do not say, sir, we were avowedly, and in due form represented at that congress. But one fact is established beyond contradiction. A Mr. Short, whose name had not been heard before by one man in ten thousand, was secretly despatched, via France, in good season to arrive at that congress. Although I have always understood he travelled quite as rapidly as Mr. Barlow, who lost his life by dancing attendance on Bonaparte, I cannot say that he arrived in time to take his seat in the general congress. One thing is certain, if he went upon any other errand it never has been stated, while the appointment of the man, and his mission, was then, as unknown to the people as the "secret of the prison house." It is equally certain, when he was afterwards nominated to the senate, he was *unanimously* rejected. His appointment was contrary to law, because there was no vacancy to fill during the recess of the senate. But Mr. Jefferson had done what he wanted, and was not to be put off from his purpose. Disappointed in his man, he was not to be frustrated in his ultimate design. Mr. Adams was therefore nominated minister to St. Petersburg.—This son of the father had said, when the embargo was recommended upon the responsibility of the president, "the Senate should not doubt or hesitate." For so noble a sentiment he must be rewarded, upon the principle of buying off impatient and hungry office seekers. And I do fear, we have as yet had only a fore-taste of the efficacy of this mode of purchasing supporters for the administration. On Mr. Adams' subject, I have only to add, there is a region in Russia that would be a fit climate for a man of such pliable patriotism and convenient principles to spend the remainder of his days.

The embargo, Mr. Chairman, came *exactly* in aid of the invasion of Spain. As the legions of the conqueror were descending into her fertile plains, like a mountain torrent, we did our utmost to make them the prey of their invader. We could do no more than was done, to say nothing of the attempt to steal from her, provinces, while she was struggling for self-preservation. Yet gentlemen are restless, and become angry whenever the fact of the co-operation of administration with France is alluded to. Sir, I will consent to abandon my whole course of political thinking, and to be ranged under the court colors, on the treasury bench, if it can be shown in what respect the policy of administration has been at variance with the policy of France, for six successive years. It is a melancholy, degrading truth, that we have followed her track as faithfully, as fleetly, and as *clamorously* too, as the keen-scented, well-trained hound pursues the fox. If occasional deviation, have occurred, it was only because the trail was lost through the intricacy of the path—but the leader of the pack soon got upon the right scent again. His imperial majesty has no other ground of complaint against us, except that we have sometimes been thrown out in the chase.

I mean not to be understood, sir, as disputing the right of the majority to pass what laws they please, keeping within the pale of the constitution—to form what leagues or alliances they see fit. But while I admit that it is the prerogative of the majority to act, I maintain the privilege of the minority to *protest*. I shall ever claim and exercise the right of showing by fair and manly argument, the fact of the co-operation of ministers with France, and the baleful effect of such co-operation. When, sir, your journals show it; when your annals teem with evidence of a systematic co-operation with France, in all her views, why are gentlemen started by a reference to the fact? Why do their cheeks mantle at the charge of luring England, when they do burn with rage against her, and admiring France, when they once expressed that admiration as ardently as ever lover wooed his paramour or Cleopatra sighed for the embraces of her Roman Antony.

You relieved yourselves from the embargo, sir, by the artful arrangement of April 1809, made in *bad faith* and never intended here to be carried into effect, even if ratified by England. Its ratification in London was securely guarded against by the language in which it was made. But to make the matter sure, as if a double bond of fate were taken, the spirit and letter of the convention were formally contravened by a legislative act, admitting equally the vessels of war of France and England into our waters. Under that act, too, the secretary of the treasury issued a circular opening a trade with France through Holland, her dependency, so pronounced subsequently by Bonaparte himself, when he chose to chastise us for that arrangement. This was done in the same spirit and with the same view, that Mr. Madison interwove his invectives against the British monarch into Mr. Smith's letter, before it was known whether the arrangement would be avowed or disavowed in England.

The embargo being "hissed off the stage," in the course of time, as the able gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Sheffey) told you the nation was amused with *Tacon's little bill, No. 1*, and "*little bill, No. 2*." It escaped the sagacious

of the hon. gentleman, that *this little bill No. 2*, innocent and harmless as it appeared, contained the seeds of this war. It was intended to lay, and did lay the foundation of the famous, I should say infamous juggle of the celebrated Cadore letter. To enable the President to negotiate with effect, it conferred upon him legislative powers—the power to annul and re-enact a law of congress. Even in the gripping reign of Henry the 8th of England, when a complying servile parliament clothed that monarch with legislative powers, by giving to his proclamations the binding force of law, the people resisted the encroachment. The cry was, *Magna Charta is invaded!* and the voice of the people prevailed. The King submitted—not so here. Henry the 8th was a gripping tyrant, but not quite so stubborn as our master. Mr. Madison clung to his prerogative as Legislature as well as Executive, and he succeeded in legislating the country into a war. From the date of the Cadore letter, the government travelled on step by step, until the country was completely enmeshed in the coils of the Usurper. We passed from non-intercourse to embargo, and to non-importation upon non-importation, fully persuaded that G. Britain had but a few short months to survive, and hoping for the glory of sharing the spoils with Napoleon. Dr. Franklin somewhere remarks, that "we assemble parliaments and councils to have the benefit of their collected wisdom, but at the same time have the inconvenience of their collected passions. Prejudices and self-interest, by the aid of these artful men, overpower their judgment and dupe their understandings. And, if we may judge from their edicts, arrests and acts, all the world over for regulating commerce, an assembly of great men, is the greatest fool on earth."

Mr. Chairman, as early as 1794, Mr. Madison began to impregnate the minds of those who have since supported him, with all the absurd notions which now prevail of the efficacy of our restrictive energies. Ever since he has been in power, he has continued to test his favorite theory by lacerating the nation with a self-torturing suicidal system, which even to this day, against all experience, is persisted in with an obstinacy proportioned to the greater importance of preserving Mr. Madison's reputation for consistency, to relieving the people and preserving the union. Sir, I am tired, tired, sick of this perpetual, never-ending, still-beginning recurrence, to your restrictive energies, or in more appropriate language, your anticommercial fooleries. What effect have they had upon England? no more than children's pop-guns would have upon the walls of Quebec. Gentlemen now know, that a non-importation law against England is mere *brutum Fulmen*. How has she regarded your tremendous starving non-consuming system, that was to drive her manufacturers to rebellion? You have not so much as checked or deterred her one moment in the gigantic noble effort to liberate the enslaved nations of Europe. Her means of subsidizing the nations, united in resisting usurpation and tyranny, have not been in the smallest degree diminished. The work of emancipation has progressed with a steady and a quickened pace. The glorious work of deliverance has now arrived at its proud point of consummation, in spite of all the laborious artifices here, to ensure success to tyranny and usurpation. Feeble, feeble indeed have been our measures against England and the Allies—formidable and afflicting to ourselves! But even now, sir, that our Cabinet has been dragged by the collar to Gottenburg, to sue for peace, if they have the good luck to get a treaty, which happens not to have submission written in CAPITALS on the title page, I have not a doubt, it will be ascribed to the magical efficacy of your restrictive energies. So deep in love with this system is its authors, that even now, when the deliverance of the continent has opened so many markets to the British manufacturer, that the supply is too small for the demand, yet no doubt, the system will be continued. Yes, enlarged, by another non-importation law! And for what? If for no other reason, to hold out the appearance that we have not been acting in concert with France heretofore, because we continue the system even after it is broken up on the European continent. This sort of management is very well understood at the palace. It is to be hoped, however, that gentlemen will state the reasons and objects at large for passing the non-importation law, which has come down from the Senate. That law too like the bounty bill may be carried to Gottenburg in the pockets of our ministers, by way of *coercing* England! And when the treaty comes, "I told you so!" will exclaim gentlemen; "see what our restrictive energies have done at last!" No doubt, sir, all the credit will be given to embargo and non-importation, and not to the defeat of Bonaparte: so have gentlemen succeeded in puffing this political catholicon, which, like all other nostrums from the worm destroying lozenges, and bump dispelling lotion, down to the ichthyointment, will never stand in need of a certifier to vouch for its infallibility. But, sir, this nation will not be forever the dupe of quackery and imposture. The signs of the times warrant a belief that the people in their hearts loathe these restrictive nostrums. The time is not distant when the grand inventor will not only cheerfully dispose of his patent right, but will strive hard to cast the credit and glory of his invention upon his adversaries.

Sir, when we look back upon the past, and forward to the future, I can see no claim that administration have upon a single honest man in the country to support them *one hour longer* in their visionary schemes and impracticable

projects. I call upon gentlemen to lay their hands upon their hearts & say, whether they have performed one promise, redeemed one pledge, from their accession to this day. What good have they done for the country? What mischief have they not attempted or executed? They came into power with their mouths full of promises, and are likely to go out covered with the curses of an abused and betrayed people. To acknowledge error, and retract, is of the highest order of virtue, but of an altitude above the reach of common minds. We have then nothing to hope from acknowledgment and retraction. What I say, were the leading professed principles of these men when they came into power? Love of peace, aversion to conquest, rivetted attachment to liberty, regard for economy, and respect for the rights of other nations. Yes sir, we were to have a *millenium* under democratic rule. Federal sins and abominations were to be atoned for by the pious and goodly works of democracy. This was all very fine, while the word of promise to the ear was kept, but for the performance let the condition of the country testify. To describe it would sicken the patriot heart.

Sir, as to your restrictive warfare, once more let me ask, what has it done for you? You pledged all your political character, you staked all your pretensions as statesmen, to bring the proud monarch of the defested isle to your feet if the restrictive system were fairly tried. Did you not try it to your heart's content? for one long and unbroken period of 18 months? and were you not glad to get rid of it by a diplomatic manoeuvre? From time to time, you tried a variety of other expedients, all eventuating in like failure and disgrace. Laughed at and ridiculed at home, made a bye word in Europe, you were jeered and goaded into war. Yes, you went to war, say some, because the minority laughed at you, and it was said, you could not be "kicked into war." The same men now say, they will make peace if the minority will let them, that is, if they wout laugh at them for giving up all they have been contending for. You have tried war just as long as you have tried embargo, and instead of *humbling* England, as you promised, you have not been able even so much as to conquer her pitiful little province next door to you. She barely allowed you to cross her threshold, when you were driven back, covered, not with laurels and glory, but with shame and dishonor—the common fate of boasters. But how much blood and treasure this conquest of Canada has cost, the people will never be permitted to know. It would not be *republican-like* to tell them. They might abuse the confidence so reposed in them, in a manner not precisely according to the views, and pleasing to the nice sensibilities of their rulers. One thing is certain—you commenced with your tremendous wonder-working, starving system six years ago, you tried it in all its various and multifarious forms—and with what effect? well nigh to destroy yourselves. You then declared war. This was to strike England senseless to the ground. Take it altogether, sir, most curiously, indeed, have our affairs been conducted. You have pursued the true circular policy.—Like a certain crawling animal, called the caterpillar, or like the dog trying to catch his own tail, you have gone round and round in a circle, without arriving an inch nearer your point of destination. You began in 1807 with an embargo, and here you are, in 1814, with an embargo again. Sir, it is time high time for rulers thus proved to be imbecile and incompetent—totally unfit to manage the affairs of this people, either in peace or in war, to abandon the elevated stations which they cannot fill, and to make way for abler and better men. Upon this subject I beg not to be mistaken. Let it not be supposed I would have the incumbents of power to give way in our favor. If I know any thing of the views and feelings of the honorable and virtuous men who compose the party to which I belong, they want not power now; nor would they accept it under existing circumstances, unless to save the country. No, sir, such is the wide waste & desolation visible every where, that no man or set of men, who would undertake to repair these ravages, could preserve the people's favor longer than a single term. Your government is made a perfect wreck, it is scarcely worth bringing in to port. Such deep root has corruption taken in this country, that he who attempts to restore the constitution to its original purity and force will engage in a profitless pursuit—his labor compensating his pains. I repeat, no, sir. Select from your own party, if to be found, a man of honor, talents, integrity and independent spirit. Such a man who would be the chief magistrate of this United Empire, and not the chief of a faction, would unite the confidence of all honest men. Call him by what political name you please, he would receive the support of all good citizens. Such a man, so supported, might be able to re-construct the dilapidated edifice of government; to rebuild those institutions of freedom that have been so long decaying and tumbling in ruins about us. We will take power, sir, when the people fly to us for salvation—when they seek shelter from misery and oppression in the wisdom and virtue of federal counsels, they will not find us shrinking in the hour of peril—when they fly from democracy as from pestilence, famine and nakedness, we will give them food and raiment, and healing medicines. Thus much, sir, in answer to the charge of opposing government from a desire to obtain power.

Next, in the long list of measures of co-operation with France, comes the declaration of war—couched almost in the precise terms that Bonaparte had declared war for us, not