



AND

"Dance the Plans of false delighful Peace,
"Dance by Party Rage to live like Brothers."

VOL. I.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1808.

No. 53.

inquiry

TO THE
Editor of the Raleigh Register.

SIR,
 HAVING waited with silent patience the continuation of addresses, which appeared in the paper a few papers back, originating, as it is believed, in my own county, to the citizens of the counties of Nash, Warren, Franklin and Halifax; but happily for its own credit it has made its appearance in an extra number, in which, Sir, no little pains is taken to depict and paint off, in the most decorated colours, the beauties and sweets of the government, in the mean time neglecting and even artfully avoiding to discover its defects.

Being always disposed to listen to the opinions of men superior in talents and information; but still, if, after a fair examination, I believe them erroneous, my opinion and my authority cannot be abandoned, especially when I find matters of mere supposition are asserted for facts, and accusations applied in the most oppressive strains against a majority of the respectable citizens in the district, when not a single instance of the kind mentioned has ever occurred perhaps within the State. Are we to be told, Sir, that those who were opposed to the introduction of titles, to the funding system, the assumption, the bank, the standing army, the establishment of a permanent navy, the alien and sedition laws, and who were in favour of an enquiry into the conduct of the Secretary of the Treasury respecting the foreign loans, are factious? What! because men are friends to their country, and are not disposed to violate the Constitution, and therefore recommend a change in public measures, by displacing our present Chief Magistrate, and electing a Republican to the Presidential Chair, are these reasons why we are to be told such men are enemies of the Constitution, and were so at the adoption of that instrument? I forbear to enumerate the many evils proposed, and in some degree created, by the opposite party; but recommend to your serious consideration a second review of its conduct, in conjunction with its administration. See the motion of Congress for the introduction of titles, a measure equally unconstitutional and pernicious, calculated to give those who possessed them a legal claim to pride and indolence, to clam superiority over those who had not, and to furnish such of the latter as are disposed to be mean and sycophantic with a legal apology for their meanness; producing a double evil, of the most mischievous nature in a Republic. View the funding system; see the injustice committed in this unnecessary, complicated scheme, which is a source of endless fraud and imposition, advantageous to the skillful calculators and speculators well versed in English stock-jobbing, and inexplicable mystery at the same time to a great majority of our fellow-citizens. Instead of being dressed in a garb of neat simplicity (as it ought to have been) suited to the character of an honest, infant Republic, it has become like that of England, created many disadvantages, and produced an enormous accumulation of debt, an astonishing degree of corruption, and an alarming increase of executive patronage. Yet, Sir, this address invites us to continue the friends of such measures in the most important offices of the Government. Are we to be told that black is white, or white black; or that our Government is conducted on the scale of economy, when our income is estimated at ten millions of dollars, and our expenditures for this year is fourteen millions; thus it is conducted, and we know not for what? Again, the estimated expenditures for the year 1809, amount to upwards of fifteen millions of dollars, so that we fall indebted five millions in the year to come, which, together with the four millions this year, makes a sum of nine millions of dollars; and upon an accurate calculation, the accumulation of debt in four years, beginning in the year 1799, makes the sum of 17,500,000 dollars. Hence it is that men of such politics are fond of the administration.

When money that belongs to the people, is to be lavished away, and the people complain, then the party which the author of the address supports, stigmatise their characters, and indict them under the sedition law, for telling the truth, that they do wrong, that they violate the Constitution, or borrow money at an enormous interest.

I come now to the solemn treaty of Jay's. I would observe to my neighbour, the author of the address, It is a pity, Sir, that you flew the way when you attempted to prove the good effects of its existence, and the necessity for that multiplicity of taxes which must in future be levied, if all the demands for British debts are to be satisfied. For my part I know of none, except it be necessary to suffer British merchants to cheat the public out of some millions of dollars, by laying before the commissioners accounts of debts which have been paid, pretending that the debtors had become insolvent, and never paid. This trick has already been detected in some instances. But you have said that this treaty has put a stop to British depredations. Had you taken up proof with your assertions, you must have modified this last; for it is to be recollected, that in April last, the North-America Insurance Company at Philadelphia reported, that for the last six months, ending in December, 1799, the depredations committed by Britain far exceeded that of France. Yet you would willingly teach us to believe this treaty snatched us from the disasters of a British war, although she was then engaged in a war with a nation whom she was not able to withstand without aid from other nations, and knowing, as she did, her own interest in having peace with America, the mart for her manufactures, and a chief source of her supplies for the support of the war. In a contrast of cases, the spirit of aristocracy became visible. When the bill for the suspension of the intercourse between the United States and the French Republic, was before Congress, the Republican party moved to admit neutrals or individuals to clear out from any port in the United States, for France or her allies, so as to prevent the rapid fall of our produce, to the great injury of the agricultural as well as mercantile part of the Union; when it was argued by the Federalists that it would be oppressive to the American seamen, giving a preference to foreign tonnage. This could not have been extensively the case, since it would only have been employed in a commerce prohibited to our own seamen. But what could this avail against the interest of the farmers, who are the pillars of our Government; for we are an agricultural nation.

You have very candidly asked, what would have been the consequences had there been no fleet to protect our trade. More properly, Sir, would you have asked, whether the fleet protected it to such an extent as rendered it an object worthy of the expenditure of those millions, which our citizens have to pay, although not one-fourth of them receive not a farthing of the benefit. You speak of a rapid increase of the taxes on goods imported, and an augmentation of taxes on other subjects, &c. It is immaterial whether taxes are on this or that thing; the labouring man pays the whole. The importer no more pays the duties on his goods than the Man in China. He puts the advance upon the value of his articles and the duty; the retailer follows the example, and the farmer pays the whole; and there is always this disadvantage in paying indirect taxes, that the duty is increased in proportion as the value of the article is enhanced in passing through various hands, and the impost is often increased more than fifty per cent. to the purchaser. So that the farmer pays the imposts, with the addition of the profits of those who derive part of their fortunes by uniting it in trade, he builds the navy, and pays the seamen. Besides, in protecting British imports, they protect British property, and not their own. You say, that without a navy our

produce would be lying on our hands for want of a market. If experience did not show the absurdity of this assertion, it might perhaps have passed for something like an argument. Let me ask, whether our produce is not now partly on our hands; and whether what has been exported has been sold in the best markets, notwithstanding the additional taxes on salt and sugar.

You have depicted with great eloquence the consequences of not ratifying the British treaty. Now what would have been the consequences of a war with France, which would have inevitably happened if she had been so disposed? Already we have acquired a great increase of debt, a continuation of expence and heavy taxes, a stagnation of trade, the most lucrative part of our foreign trade being cut off; besides making the British our carriers and warehousemen for the important staple of Tobacco, by which that article has fallen in our country from ten to three and a half dollars the hundred, Britain thus gaining seven-tenths of the value of the produce. It would be endless to enumerate all the effects of our blind obsequiousness to Britain, and her perfidy to us.

The army has proved of equal injury, and less use. As for an invasion from France, it reminds us of Dr. Morse's political sermon, and Mahomet's journey to the moon.

Take up the Constitution in one hand, and the laws I have just mentioned in the other. Compare them impartially. I am ready to answer that you will no longer employ your pen in defence of such measures.

You have said that almost every day the public prints hold out delusive appearances, and by various other methods facts are handed to us in a mutilated state. Do you not recollect Porcupine? Who were the patrons of his paper, in addition to his British pay—were they not those of our politics? Observe the conduct of Fenno, printer to the Senate. See his valedictory address. In it he compares the Federal and State Governments to an old sow and a litter of pigs; and says the Constitution is incompetent to the ends of good government. On which side then applies the charge? Do you mean to complain that the Government countenances deceivers?

Ask yourself whether all this looks like good government; with the introduction into Congress of a new Judiciary Bill, for creating twenty-four Judges, and one hundred other officers; in addition to two hundred and fifty new places erected by the Bankrupt Law. But above all, view the bill proposed by Mr. Ross, for erecting a new branch of Government, for controuling elections, in contravention of the plain sense of the Constitution, and to the confusion of the distinct powers of government.

If you had, in addition to an illustration of Mr. Adams's writings on the Constitutions, reminded the people of these proceedings, you would have acted like a Republican. But you may ward off the attempt to charge him with the acts of the Legislature. Where then is his negative veto? Is it not given to enable him to check improper proceedings, as the guardian of the people's rights? Did not General Washington thus exercise it, in telling Congress, when they were about to apportion the Representatives in Congress, that the Constitution made no provision for such a measure, and that it was unconstitutional. But still you say, the majority must be right. This is an excellent general rule; but it may be overstretched. The great use of a Constitution, is to prevent the temporary violence of a factious majority. In the midst of profound peace, three-fourths of the citizens of Athens once formed a sudden conspiracy against the remainder, seized them, and actually sold them as slaves! So much for a majority.

As for your calculation on the public offices not being chiefly filled by men from the New-England States, I shall place it with your assertion that none but foreigners were punished under the Sedition

Law, which is found to be far from the fact. So much again for misrepresentation of facts.

And, Sir, left a Caesar or a Cromwell should start up from among your party, and crush the superb system of Republicanism in our country, so as to enslave us for ages, we shall keep a watchful eye over our rights and liberties, and defend them against any nation.

A CORRECTOR.
 Franklin County,
 Sept. 9, 1808.

FOR THE REGISTER.
 THE CONTRAST.

WE now approach the season when we shall be called to the important duty of deciding upon the person most proper for President of the United States, by voting for such Electors as are advocates of our favourite. The Candidates who are this time presented to us, are

Thos. Jefferson, John Adams,
 FOR AGAINST
 whom I shall vote, whom I shall vote,
 Because, Because,
 IN POLITICS, IN POLITICS,
 He is that wise His whole history displays no fixture of political principles; and his writings are such a medley of uncertainty and contradiction, and contain so many "ifs," that they may be made to "mean any thing" but Republicanism, and nothing clear like the clear disquisitions of his compeer. His first outset in political life was from obscurity, being an adventurer in the scene at the time when his native State had to lament that most of her men of talents were Tories; when, as her Legislature was a numerous body, it required no great eminence or notoriety to obtain a seat in it; at a season too, when following the footsteps of the proscribed patriots John Hancock and Samuel Adams (a man of opposite politics now to the President) was the road to popularity; an event very favourable to Mr. John Adams, who needed a lift in life to make him any thing like a statesman. He followed his followers until he was sent abroad, where he published his "Defence, &c." which appears to have designated the era when he forsook the principles which had elevated him, and set up for himself in political eminence (He was then at the court of G. Britain). He appears to be a man of no extraordinary talents, though of an aspiring temper, which, for want of clear perception, and a due improvement upon observation, leaves him always in

the clouds with respect to political principle, and a fit subject to be wrought upon by intriguers, to mistake the feelings arising from his own disappointments, for a regret that the mass of mankind are incapable of self-government, and that we must give in to the supposition that a few are wiser and better than the whole, while in the selection of them there is no other rule than chance; or even to embrace systems of reform, when presented by factious demagogues, when there is no need of reform but amongst his own adherents. He is so unsettled as to what may be the best systems of government, what is meant by Republicanism, and how far our own Constitution is good, that confidence nowhere fixes upon the principles by which he may be supposed to be guided, and loses itself in the contemplation of what may hereafter be his practice. He is supported by those who wish for Monarchy, in the hope that his vibrations may tend to erect the contemplated throne.

IN MORALS. IN MORALS.
 He considers morality as necessary to good government. It must be that morality, however, which is consistent with reason and the fitness of things, and constitutes the essence of good order, good laws, good government, wise and liberal institutions, and renders Man the Friend of Man.

He considers morality as equally uncertain with politics, and unable to stand upon its own basis. He therefore considers some system of religious tenets necessary to give a tone to morality! But of what kind—true or false? Religious tenets admitting of such a profuse selection, and men being only partial judges of theological truth, Mr. A. admits of great laxity in point of principle, provided a system of some kind be made the basis of our morality. Hence, perhaps, the reason why he is a member of a Congregational Church, founded on Calvinistic tenets, whilst in principle he is an Unitarian, opposed to the doctrines of Christ's original Divinity and atonement. Besides, however, he lives in New-England, where the road to preferment is thro' the Church doors, which are wide enough to admit any thing but tender consciences, there are sent to goal!