

# CIRCULAR

MR. RENCHER TO HIS CONSTITUENTS  
Of the South Congressional District of  
NORTH CAROLINA.

Washington City, March 5, 1831.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

The Twenty First Congress has terminated, and, with it, the political connexion which has heretofore existed between us. I should do injustice to my own feelings were I to permit the occasion to pass by, without returning to you my sincere thanks for the confidence reposed in me, and the courtesy and kindness uniformly shown me while in your service. I have endeavored to merit these marks of distinction, rather by an honest and independent discharge of my duty, than by mere empty and declamatory professions of extraordinary zeal.

In the duty of the representative not only to discharge his high and responsible trust with fidelity; but, also, to render to his constituents an account of the manner in which he has discharged it. Accordingly, I submitted to you, at the close of the first session, a brief statement of the action of Congress on many of the leading measures of the Government, together with a plain exposition of my views in relation to them. It is not my purpose now to repeat what was then said, but simply to state some additional facts and observations—forced, from the limits of a Circular, to leave many others still untouched.

## FINANCES.

The Finances of the country, under their present efficient management, continue in a prosperous condition. The receipts into the Treasury, for 1830, were \$24,161,012. of this sum about half a million was derived from stock held in the Bank of the United States; a million and a half from the sale of Public Lands, and the balance, almost entirely from duties laid upon imported goods, commonly denominated Customs. This sum, with the balance in the Treasury, on the 1st January 1830, form an aggregate of \$29,976,723.

The expenditures, for 1830, were

Leaving in the Treasury, on 1st January, 1831,	25,096,941
The receipts into the Treasury for 1831, are estimated at	4,819,781
The expenditures, for the same year, are estimated at	23,340,800
	23,228,065

## PUBLIC EXPENDITURES.

It is gratifying to observe, that although the amount of receipts into the Treasury is gradually diminishing, yet the expenditures of the Government have been so reduced, as to bring them within the receipts, and, at the same time, to enable the administration to pay off, during the last two years, more of the Public Debt, than has been paid during any two corresponding years preceding them. This shows that there must have been important retrenchments made in the Public Expenditures, during this administration, while fraud and defalcation have met with nothing but rebuke and punishment. Some of the Departments of the Government, I am frank to admit, have not gone so far in reducing the public expenditures as I had expected, while others have far surpassed my expectations, in their extensive and important reformations. I will select only one—the Navy has become the most important arm of our national defence, and must grow in importance with the extension of our commerce, which is now protected by it, against foreign aggressions and spoiliations. By its valor and gallantry it has won for its flag, and for its country which fosters it, the respect and admiration of other countries, and the love and gratitude of our own. But this Department has been subject to much abuse in the disbursement of the public money, from the latitude of executive discretion which has heretofore prevailed in it. The public funds have been disposed of, not according to law, but according to the will and pleasure of the Secretary of the Navy. In 1829, Mr. Branch was selected to preside over this Department, and by his energy, economy and integrity, has saved a million of dollars, annually, to the Government. The expenditures for the Naval service in 1828, was

In 1829,	\$3,988,728
In 1830,	3,312,930
In 1831, it is estimated at	2,910,776
	2,835,194

This immense saving has been effected, and yet the efficiency and honor of the Navy has been fully sustained! I mention this with no other view than to do justice to our own countryman, who, by his honest, honorable, and talented exertion, in the service of his country, has built up a reputation equally honorable to himself and gratifying to his friends, and to the State which has so repeatedly honored him with her confidence. If others have not gone so far, he, at least, has fully and most nobly sustained the great cause of economy and retrenchment, in the public expenditures.

## PUBLIC DEBT.

The Public Debt was, on the 1st of January, 1830, \$48,865,393—and there

was paid during the last year, for interest and principal, \$11,333,748, leaving the amount on 1st January, 1831, \$37,531,645. The sum paid during the last year was large; but it would have been much larger, but for the extraordinary expense of taking the Census, and the payment of the Massachusetts claim, amounting to nearly a million of dollars, which fell upon the receipts of the last year, and was paid out of them. The short period at which it is supposed the Debt will be extinguished, and the probable prosperity and happiness which will then draw upon our country, were, upon a former occasion, fully and freely presented to you. Our anxiety for the complete extinguishment of this national burthen, increases with its rapid diminution; and when it is recollected, that upwards of one hundred and fifty millions of dollars has already been paid for interest alone, and much of that to foreigners, (for much of the debt is owned by foreigners) that anxiety becomes both laudable and patriotic.

## THE INDIANS.

The benevolent policy of removing the Indian tribes, west of the Mississippi, which has been so earnestly recommended by every administration, for the last thirty years, is fast approaching consummation. Under the Indian Bill, passed at the last session, treaties have been formed with the Choctaws and Chickasaws, providing for their removal and collocation, beyond the Mississippi river. These treaties are marked as they should be, by a spirit of much liberality towards these Indian tribes, while they are calculated to remove the source of that endless discord, which was springing up between the states and the General Government, and which seemed to threaten our happiness and our Union. The opposition heretofore made to this humane and benevolent policy is fast giving way, and the future historian, after the political excitement of the day shall have passed away, while he dwells upon the remnant of those mighty nations of the forest, thus saved from entire extinction, will pronounce but one verdict, which true philanthropy will record, and christianity approve.

## THE TARIFF.

The Tariff has at all times been a subject of interest to the southern states. It has now become one of alarm. But having heretofore said much of the injustice and oppression imposed by the present high Tariff upon the Southern states, I should now forbear to say any thing more, but for the very imperfect manner in which it is understood. The present Tariff is a system of heavy taxation. Disguise it as you may, by calling it "Customs," "Imposts," or "Tariff," it is still the same; for names do not alter things. These taxes fall most oppressively upon the farmers and upon the agricultural states. Under the present system we raise annually a revenue of more than twenty millions of dollars. This immense sum is paid indirectly by the consumers of imported goods. But who consume most of these imported goods, and consequently pay most of this revenue? Certainly the agricultural states, who buy all the goods they consume, and pay for them with their agricultural products. If instead of the foreign fabric, we consume the northern manufactures, it is the same to us; there being no difference in the price. In either case, the farmer is compelled to give more of his labor, to purchase the same article, whether manufactured in England, or the north, than would be necessary if the duty were less, and much more than if there was no duty.

But who derives the benefit from these taxes laid upon imported goods? The manufacturers. Because the duty enhances the price of goods, and enables them to get just that much more for their manufactures. Thus it will be seen that while the Tariff depreciates, and renders less valuable and productive the industry of the farmer, it appreciates and renders more valuable and productive the labor and industry of the manufacturer. It transfers most unjustly the profits of our industry, to enhance the wealth and profits of the manufacturing states. But this is not our only grievance. Heavy taxes laid upon imported goods, tends to exclude them and thereby destroy our foreign commerce, for it is folly to expect to sell to other nations if we refuse to buy of them! The agricultural states are dependent almost entirely on a foreign market, for the sale of their agricultural products. Whatever, therefore, tends to destroy that commerce, must in the same proportion, injure the agricultural states. Our grievance is therefore two-fold. A crippled commerce bears down the price of all our agricultural products, while upon every article which we consume a most enormous tax is paid, to protect and enrich the northern manufacturers. To illustrate the operations of these high protecting duties, I will select but one article, that of sugar. It is manufactured in Louisiana, which is the only Southern State that derives any benefit from the Tariff, and the only one therefore, that supports it. Brown sugar costs in the foreign market about 3 cents a pound, when imported we impose a duty of 3 cents. We import annually

about 50 millions of pounds, on which the people pay a tax of one million and a half of dollars; but it goes into the Treasury for a common benefit, and is therefore not complained of. There is manufactured in Louisiana annually, one hundred millions of pounds of sugar, which is consumed in the United States. The people of Louisiana get three cents a pound more for this sugar, than they could do, if we were allowed to import it free of duty, which amounts annually to 3 millions of dollars—and this sum is paid by the people of the United States, not into the treasury for a common benefit, but as a clear bounty to the wealthy sugar manufacturers of Louisiana, to enhance their profits and to pamper their wealth.

The only difference between foreign and domestic sugar, is this: when we consume foreign sugar, half the price which we pay (for the duty is 100 per cent) is for the benefit of the revenue, whereas when we consume the domestic sugar, half the price is a clear bounty to the sugar manufacturers of Louisiana; because the high duty upon imported sugar enables them to get, and compels us to pay, nearly as much more for their sugar. The price of each to the consumer being the same. I have selected the article of sugar only as an example. The same is equally true of every other manufacturing interest. These States uniting together, for their own aggrandizement, and regardless of the eternal principles of justice, have imposed upon us the present odious and oppressive Tariff, which is truly enriching them, but which makes us poor indeed.

Every species of sophistry has been resorted to, to justify this system of plunder, upon the unfortunate agricultural states. We have even been told that high duties made low goods! And that taxation was, in fact, and in truth, a great blessing! A wonderful discovery indeed, but certainly unknown to our forefathers, who considered unjust taxation as tyrannical. The great declension in the price of manufactured goods, has not been in consequence of high duties, but in spite of them; and certainly has not been produced by the competition of our own manufacture of which, we do not engage, and in which we offer no competition! What has reduced more than one half the price of Coffee, Tea, Cocoa, and numerous other articles? Every one will perceive that this, as in every other case, must have arisen from other great and well known causes. From the unexampled improvements in machinery for the last twenty years, the millions of persons who have been turned from the pursuits of war, to manufactures, and who have become producers, instead of consumers; and have thereby driven down the price of manufactured goods in the old world, to almost a nominal sum. Goods are low but for the high duties they would be lower. The manufacturers know it, and the high duties are imposed to prevent it. If high duties made low goods, and low duties high goods, these greedy manufacturers, would be the first and most clamorous for their reduction.

But we have been told, that this system is an "American System," and intended to place us above paying tribute to other nations, by buying their goods! This argument is most absurd. If, by buying the manufactures of other countries, we pay tribute to them, they in turn, pay tribute to us, by purchasing our agricultural products. But if I buy of my neighbor an article which he can raise to greater advantage than I can, and pay for it with others that I can raise better than he can, do either I pay tribute to him, or he to me? It is nothing but a reciprocal exchange, favorable to both, and with nations is reciprocal commerce, favorable to each. Those who use this argument, wish the duties laid so high, as to exclude imports altogether, and thereby destroy our commerce with other nations. Should this ever be the case, what will be the condition of the agricultural states? Tied hand and foot, we must then look up in a state of pitiful dependence upon the manufacturers, to send us their goods, and take our produce upon their own terms; and out of the scanty earnings which may still be left to our industry, a direct tax must be paid to raise a revenue for the support of Government. But I will dwell no longer on this subject. Nothing but a deep conviction, that your interests and your prosperity were vitally involved in it, could have tempted me to say so much. Of a moderate Tariff, designed mainly for revenue and an adequate protection to domestic manufactures, I do not complain. But it becomes the duty of every faithful public sentinel, to give the alarm, when upon the common necessities of life, a tax of fifty and a hundred per cent, is imposed with the avowed object of protecting and enriching a few capitalists and manufacturers, thereby oppressing the many, for the benefit of the few; and the inevitable effects of which must be, if persisted in, to destroy the commerce and the revenue of the country, and to throw the agricultural states completely in the power of, and at the mercy of the manufacturing sections.

## NULIFICATION.

Having attempted to unmask some of

the unjust and oppressive features of the Tariff, I feel it due to the occasion to state that I am equally opposed to the means attempted in a neighboring State, to resist its operation. South Carolina, feeling herself greatly aggrieved by the Tariff, contends for the right of pronouncing the law unconstitutional, and thereby nullifying it, so far as she is concerned. She claims the privilege of remaining in the Union and enjoying all its benefits, and at the same time, the right to nullify every law which imposes on her unwelcome burthens. To me, such a pretension appears most unreasonable. Our Federal Constitution was the result of a spirit of compromise and conciliation. Some rights were to be given up for the more effectual protection of others. It must then have been foreseen by the framers of that sacred instrument, that from the extent of our country, and her diversified interests; almost every law passed by Congress, would be unequal in its operation upon the interests of various sections. But if one single State has the power of nullifying at its will and pleasure, the acts of twenty-four, the legislation of Congress would be vain and useless; for there is scarce a single law, which would not be nullified in some one of the States. But such a doctrine, if adopted, would lead directly to a disunion of the States; which to my mind, involves the very worst of political evils. The pure and exalted patriotism of South Carolina, and her noble sacrifices, and sufferings in favor of the Union, forbid the idea that such can be the wish or intention of that magnanimous State. But such would inevitably be its effect. To me, the Union of the States is sacred; and I am proud to believe, the same devotion, is deeply laid in the hearts of those I have had the honor to represent; and no act calculated to undermine or destroy that beautiful fabric, should receive from us, any thing but our displeasure. Every patriotic heart must respond to the sentiment of our venerable Chief Magistrate: "The Union must be preserved." That the Tariff will be modified, and made more acceptable to us, in a few years, and perhaps at the very next Congress, I have no doubt. Every day's experience, and every moment's reflection, convinces my mind of that fact. Let us then appal temperately, but with firmness, to the patriotism and justice of the nation, rather than rashly "fly to ills we know not of."

## INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT.

The construction of Roads and Canals, by appropriating the money of the General Government, has since the veto of the President, gone to the tomb of the Capulets; where I hope it will sleep in silence. There was, however, about forty thousand dollars appropriated to complete the works on the Cape Fear River, Ocracoke, and other points on the coast of North Carolina, to improve the commercial facilities of the state.

## REVOLUTIONARY MILITIA.

A bill passed our House, during the session; to pension the Militia of the Revolutionary war; but was lost in the Senate. I thought the bill bottomed on justice as well as gratitude, and therefore supported it. There should be no distinction between the regulars and Militia; they fought in the same glorious cause; they endured the same toils; and braved equal danger. Most of the Southern states were defended by their militia, and I could see no just reason why the Northern regulars should receive the bounty of the government, and the Southern militia be suffered to go down to the grave penniless and unpaid. The additional expences upon the revenue could not have been required long—most of that little band of heroes are now beyond the reach of our justice, or of our gratitude; and the few venerable relics that yet linger among us, must, in a few years, go the way of all flesh; and sleep with their compatriots beneath the clouds of the valley.

## POPULATION.

The Census of 1820, is not fully completed. The population is between twelve and thirteen millions, exhibiting an increase since the Census of 1820 of about 40 per cent. The population of North Carolina is 758,470, of which 472,468 are free white persons; 19,375 are free colored persons, and 246,462 are slaves. The ratio of representation will be fixed at the next session. In fixing the ratio, it is not desirable to have an increase of number in the House of Representatives. It is already too great for wisdom or despatch; and an increase or a decrease of the number, cannot add to, or diminish, the relative political weight of any one state.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Our Foreign Relations are of the most pacific and friendly character; and I think I can say, without the fear of contradiction, that the success of our foreign negotiations stands unequalled, under any administration. During the last year, a treaty was consummated with England, by which the West India Trade, so long a subject of anxious negotiation, has been secured to us. A treaty has been formed with Denmark, by which a large sum has been secured to us, as an in-

demnity for spoiliations, committed many years since, upon the property of our citizens. A treaty has been formed with the Sublime Porte, by which the navigation of the Black Sea has been opened to our enterprising merchants. The North Eastern boundary, long under the arbitration of the King of Netherlands has been settled; and a recent commercial treaty, of perfect reciprocity, has been formed with the Emperor of Austria. We have negotiations with France, for spoiliations committed upon our commerce previous to the last war, would have been satisfactorily adjusted, but for the revolution which has, for some time past, unsettled the political condition of that country. They are all subjects of congratulation, and exhibit the practical result of the measures adopted by the sincerity of the administration upon his inauguration into the office, of "demanding what is right, and submitting to nothing wrong."

In contemplating the condition of Europe, there is much to gratify the heart of an American. The spirit of freedom is there shaking and prostrating the thrones of tyrants and despots. In England a Tory ministry have been driven from power, by the voice of the people. In France popular liberty has deposed her oppressors, and she is partially regenerated. Belgium has again taken her stand among the nations of the earth; and Poland—unfortunate, dismembered, but brave and gallant Poland, is now struggling for her liberty and independence. While these events are passing in the old world, it has pleased Providence to cast our lot in pleasant places. Abroad, we enjoy the friendship and respect of all nations, with the bright prospect before us, of a long and uninterrupted peace; and at home, we possess all those personal and political blessings, for which the people of other countries sigh in vain. God grant that these blessings may be eternal!

I have thus, Fellow-Citizens, submitted, very frankly, my views on many interesting subjects. A sincere desire to be fully understood, has made me more tedious than I could have wished. From I should have differed in opinion from some of you, in whose patriotism I have the most entire confidence, was from the very constitution of our nature, to have been expected; and I am too diffident of my own judgment, to believe that I have not committed errors. It is human nature, in its most perfect state, to err; and I am far from claiming for myself any peculiar exemption. But, I feel conscious, that those errors, whatever they may have been, were the errors of the head, and not of the heart; and all I ask for them, is a participation in that golden rule, which extends to the imperfections of others, that charity and forbearance which we ask for ourselves.

In conclusion, allow me to say, that should you again deem me worthy of your confidence, I will endeavor, by industry and fidelity, to deserve it.

With high regard, I am your friend and Fellow-Citizen.

A. RENCHER.



Salisbury:  
APRIL 4, 1831.

We have had an opportunity afforded us for the first time of reading Mr. Tyler's speech, as Senator from Virginia, upon a motion made in the Senate of the United States "to amend the general appropriation bill by striking out so much thereof as went to provide for the payment of certain commissioners appointed by the President to negotiate a treaty with the Sublime Porte." At first blush we were disposed to believe from our full and undiminished confidence in the wisdom, and general accuracy of the course of the present administration that the Virginia Senators were censurable for their opposition to this measure of the Executive and that it was by no means a parallel case with the question of the Panama Mission which was strenuously opposed by Mr. Taney and several members of the present Cabinet. A more thorough investigation of the subject has led us to form different conclusions and we are of opinion that the same principles must govern the one case as in the other. It was only an erroneous distinction which we drew between original missions to regularly established governments and a Delegation to a Congress of the Representatives of different and distinct governments for purposes other than the superintendence and guardianship of our commercial concerns for which ministers are sent to the courts of the several Nations with whom we are upon terms of amity and commerce. The constitution does not make any distinction between the cases, or in other words it does not recognize the right of the Executive without the previous assent of the Senate to dispatch commissioners or other agents to negotiate a treaty with a foreign Nation, neither does it empower the President without the like assent to institute a Mission to a Congress of the Representatives of other and various nations for any purpose whatever. But