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Mr. W. H. HILL'S FAREWELL ADDRESS, TO THE ELECTORS OF WILLMINGTON DISTRICT.

THE present session of congress approaches to a close without affording in its proceedings many subjects worthy of communication—this perhaps is rather matter of congratulation than otherwise; for it is not necessary or proper, to exercise the right to enact laws, merely because the power is possessed; and that policy generally is esteemed good which curbs rather than indulges a proneness to legislation. In addition to these reflections is the disposition of the men in power, heretofore evinced in a manner so destructive to the important establishments of the nation. This disposition has been exhibited in the course of the session, but fortunately some indications of diffraction in the views and councils of the prevailing party have been discovered. These were seen in the conduct pursued in the proposition for erecting a dry dock, and for the repeal of the law establishing in favour of our own navigation discriminating duties: both understood to be favorite projects of the president, and originating with him. These projects were considered and treated as visionary schemes, pregnant with expence and mischief, and calculated only, the one to erect a splendid useless building, the other to injure to an alarming degree the extended navigation of the country—a majority laid them aside. From this unexpected conflict of sentiment in the party, hopes are in some degree revived, that some of the national establishments may survive the power of antifederalism.

With the elevation of this power was introduced a spirit of destruction, directed against those establishments, which has prostrated the energies of the government—made inroads on the constitution itself, & after breaking down its barriers has desolated the fairest prospects of our country. If evidence is wanting of the progress of this spirit, a short review of some of the proceedings of last session will readily afford it. The system of internal revenue, which had been established at immense trouble and expence, almost commensurate with the importance of the object, was then destroyed—a military, which had been reduced to a force merely competent to sustain our posts, while succour might be obtained equal to their defence—was deranged to a size, only calculated to render the countenance of a War Department, unnecessary—a marine corps, essential to the very existence of a navy, is reduced almost to insignificance.—The Judiciary, a great and distinct branch of our government, the conservator of the constitution, and the bulwark of our constitutional rights, has been stripped of its independence and prostrated at the feet of the legislature—whose laws they were entitled to try by the touchstone of the constitution, and on which they were accordingly to decide; this was the progress of that spirit at the last session. At the present session, a like disposition to destroy was found in the chambers of legislation, when the members entered them. The Mint—the Discriminating Duties—the System of Bankruptcy, and the Territory of Columbia are national establishments, and of course attractive objects of attention to antifederal malice: accordingly they were all menaced and attacked; but contrary to the well grounded fears of their friends, these establishments though shaken have resisted the assault, and the hand of the assailant for the present seems to be arrested. Some ascribe this to the alarm excited in the

west, which occasions the necessity of drawing off the forces for the protection of that frontier. Nor did this hostility to national establishments, sleep, during the recess of congress; we had a national bank; and there a deposit of active funds increasing daily by the provisions of the institution—what has become of it? a Genevaan secretary of our treasury has sold it. But it may be said, I have presented the reverse of the medal;—that if the other side is viewed, we shall there see the expences of the government diminished—the burthens of the people lightened—the amount of the revenue increased—the national debt in a rapid progress of payment—executive patronage reduced, and economy, the prominent character of the piece. To this I answer directly, that I have taken this view, but have looked in vain for the objects to which my attention is directed. As to the expences of the government, I do not find the salaries of any of the officers reduced, but on the contrary I discover that a law which in time of war was passed to augment certain salaries, and which by its own limitation expired at the return of peace, has been revived; and the allowance which for 8 or 10 years was considered amply sufficient for their predecessors, has for the present incumbents of office been largely increased. It is true I find the appointment of ministers resident at the court of Lisbon & at the Hague vacated (a policy extremely questionable to say the least of it) but I find also that Mr. Dawson was sent over to France in a national ship, at great expence, merely to bear a treaty; which might have been transmitted by the matter of any merchant vessel to the minister by whom it was presented—And again, it is to be found that by an act of last session, the president is authorized to appoint an agent with a large salary to adjust in Holland the payment of the Dutch debt. We also lately have seen, that notwithstanding we have ministers resident at Paris and Madrid, Mr. Munroe the ex governor of the ancient dominion, is appointed envoy extraordinary to both of those courts; with large out-fits and salary. It does not therefore appear that the schedule of expences is much curtailed.—As to the burthens of the people being lightened—these burthens never had any other existence, than on the tongues of designing knaves, or in the imagination of ignorant men. We find the internal revenues destroyed—but were the internal revenues burthens on the people? certainly not: a tax on whiskey or brandy was surely no burthen.—It is true some inconveniences were experienced, in collection of the excise duty on stills; but without destroying the system of internal revenue, this inconvenience could have been remedied, the law imposing that duty could have been modified, and might have been repealed; and it would have been so acted on. Was the tax imposed on carriages of pleasure a burthen on the people?—was the duty paid on loaf sugar a burthen? the money levied on licences to retailers of spirits, and the revenue drawn to the treasury from the great commercial cities by the stamp law; could these be considered burthens on the people? In respect to the increase of revenue and the payment of the national debt, it will be recollected, that the increase is due to the operation of those plans and schemes of revenue and finance, formed, erected, and matured by the federal administrations; to their labours we are indebted for the flourishing state of our treasury: to them the merit ought to be awarded; let not therefore the men in power pride themselves in plumes borrowed from their predecessors. The same thing is to

be observed as to the payment of the public debt; for the means, we are indebted to the federal administrations. Let us not be deceived by the law of last session, pompously entitled “An act making provision for the redemption of the whole of the Public Debt of the United States,” this is “but as sounding brass, and a tinkling cymbal:” a mere tub to the whale; a decoy to the feelings of the community. If the provisions of this act meant any thing it was to authorize the president to reloan the debt; for the whole surplus of the revenues of the United States were appropriated before, by the laws then existing, for the discharge of the debt; and the payment was in as rapid progress as the state of the nation and the revenue would allow.—As to the reduction of executive patronage—it is true, that the officers of the internal revenue no longer exist: they necessarily went out with the abolition of the system; but it is also true, that the appointment of Commissioners of Bankruptcy, is given to the president. Formerly it was vested in the district judges, with whom a correct exercise of that power was infinitely more probable on every consideration: by this change, a patronage far exceeding that attached to the appointment of the officers of the abolished revenue, in many places is created. In truth no disposition to diminish the influence of executive patronage is discoverable in the conduct of the administration.—“As there are but few deaths, and no resignations,” we find vacancies created by presidential authority;—that they may be filled by the friends of the president; for it is acknowledged by high authority, that the time is not yet arrived, when the important questions, concerning a candidate for office, are, “is he honest, is he capable, is he faithful to the constitution?”

Some of the foregoing reflections might be deemed sufficiently evincive that economy is not so prominent a figure on the medal as was supposed—but a few others will fix this fact beyond dispute: When the French vessel, the Berceau, was repaired by the orders of the President, at the expence of upwards of 30,000 dollars—an expence incurred without necessity, and warranted by no authority—Was economy then discernible? Did economy preside in the councils, when they discharged several hundred disciplined marines, with their new uniforms on their backs, and their bounties in their pockets? Ask the public service, and you will be answered no; we required this force, and shortly after we were obliged to re-inlist them. Was it economy dictated the sale of bank stock, which to say the best of it was little better than a wanton waste of the public treasure? A sale made without necessity to require it, and at a loss which no existing difficulty justified; this is proved by a recurrence to the state of the treasury, when surrendered to the present administration, it then having near 3,000,000 dollars appropriated and ready for the discharge of the Dutch debt; and to the state of the treasury at the end of the last year, there being upwards of 4,000,000 dollars lying there inactive; which might have been applied to the same purpose. Here it is proper I should state to you that this bank stock so sold, amounted to near one million of dollars; that it was bringing to the treasury an interest of 9 per cent. and was worth in the market 50 per cent. It was sold to pay a debt which called but for 5 per cent. interest, and this too, as has been shown, when the treasury abounded with the means of discharging this debt, without this sacrifice. Let it not be forgotten

that the money then in the treasury and still there, is bearing no interest and as if to make the sacrifice still more flagrant, a large sum due as interest on the bank stock, was thrown into the bargain, and given as a premium to the purchaser. I leave you to make your own comments on this transaction. The state of the union as it respects foreign relations you have had presented to you by the public prints; a portentous cloud hovers over our western horizon. The Spaniards have injured and insulted us, they have infringed our treaty with them, and deprived us of an important right on which the free navigation of the Mississippi depends; a right on which the prosperity, the very existence of our western brethren, as a part of our union, is involved. One of two things must take place; the government of the United States must afford protection to this part of the empire, or dismemberment must ensue. No doubt is entertained that Louisiana is ceded to the French; this event the President announced in his message at the commencement of the session, but at what time, or on what terms this session was made, or is to take effect, we are yet to learn; information required on this head was refused by the majority; whose confidence in the executive appears to exceed all other considerations. It is not understood that the French has as yet possessed themselves of this important acquisition. The present moment, is apprehended to be of all others the most favourable, for this country to attain the great object, of enforcing and securing the important right, just stated. When our neighbors are changed, we will have to combat force, enterprize, and intrigue; infinitely exceeding any thing now opposed to us. Let France once establish herself in this valuable territory—the embraces all our western country; or we are involved in the most destructive war. The honor, the dignity, the safety, the integrity of the nation, demands measures prompt and energetic. But alas!—their calls will not be heard. When difficulties accumulate on us—when the dark clouds of distress are about to overwhelm us—then and not until then will our national establishments be duly appreciated. A little army, which, while it served to protect our frontier and garrison our posts, afforded a school to our young men of military cast and character, and a rallying point and example of discipline to our militia—anti-federal economy has demolished. A marine corps equally important—reduced. A little navy—rotting—and a revenue to be drawn from our own resources—abolished. All these establishments are now wanted, they are not to be created or erected in a day. A system of internal revenue, every principle of sound policy directs, should be maintained. It is a certain source of supply, on which government may rely; subject to none of the incidents to which an impost is liable, and depending only on the production of our country, the exertion of ourselves. When we are wanting, and probably we soon shall want the aid of such a system, instead of receiving its supply, we shall be engaged in creating the system or organizing its operations. Such is our situation. With this prospect before us, we look around for a Washington but we look in vain. Your councils are no longer composed of federalists. The friends, the framers of the federal constitution have been driven from the confidence of the people;—and the opposers, the enemies of that constitution have assumed their places. It is extraordinary, but nevertheless true, that with a people, admiring, loving their constitution,