

MR. LONG'S CIRCULAR.

To the Citizens of the 10th Congressional District, in North Carolina, composed of the counties of Chatham, Randolph, Davidson, and Rowan.

Washington City, May 15, 1824.

FELLOW CITIZENS.—The protracted first session of the Eighteenth Congress being about to close, I think it due to you that I give a brief statement of some of the most important subjects, which have claimed the attention of Congress at the present session of that body. The condition and prospects of the public Treasury will, however, occupy as they deserve, the very front of my communication to you. After the establishment, and next to the constitutional purity, of our valuable institutions, I hold economy and inflexible uprightness in the management of the public Treasury, to be most important. Terrible as unbridled ambition is likely to be in its effects upon the simple and happy forms of our government, it would not be so formidable, because not so unperceived, as a gradual and subtle pollution in the administration of our finances. The openness of the first would be more likely to rouse resistance. The deception of the last might injure the vitals of the government, before the people knew the existence of the disease. The peculiar province of all, but more particularly of the Representatives of the people, therefore, is to watch and guard the ways and means, both in the creation and expenditure of the funds.

By reference to the President's Message, you will see, in his own language, "that the actual condition of the public finances more than realizes the favourable anticipations that were entertained of it at the opening of the last session of Congress; and that there remains in the Treasury, on the first day of January last, nearly nine millions of dollars." This balance in the Treasury, however, is not to be construed to mean a clear remainder, or uncharged surplus in the National Treasury. The debt of the last war is yet outstanding to a heavy extent. On the first day of January, 1825, a large amount of that debt, and a portion of the revolutionary debt, becomes redeemable; portions of the former will continue to become redeemable, annually, until the year 1835. I think no difference of opinion can possibly exist concerning the soundness of the policy which recommends the payment of debts with the utmost punctuality. Debt, whether public or private, strikes at the root of independence. If necessity has compelled us to incur it, prudence loudly commands us to pay it as fast as possible. The accumulation of interest which consequently proceeds, as certain as time itself, should hasten nations, as well as individuals, to pay what they owe, in order to maintain their independence. This is intended to vindicate that policy which institutes the severest scrutiny into the public expenditures, and notifies, with the greatest care, the simplest and least burthenome sources of revenue. It is also intended to show, that, notwithstanding the large nominal amount in the Treasury, it ought to be carefully protected against extravagant expenditures, and should not tempt us to embark in any splendid or speculative schemes, but should be sacredly held to effect the speediest extinguishment of our debts. It is believed, that, if the United States remain at peace, the whole of the debt of the late war may be redeemed by the ordinary revenue of those years, occurring between this time and the period of its final redemption, by the provisions of the act of 1817, creating a sinking fund. In that event, the only part of the debt which will remain, after the year 1835, will be the seven millions of 5 per cent. stock, subscribed to the Bank of the United States; and the 3 per cent. revolutionary debt, amounting to \$15,296,099, 06; both of which sums are redeemable at the pleasure of the government. Agreeably to the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, the amount of the public debt on the first of January, 1824, was \$90,177,962 14; and there remained in the Treasury, at the same time, \$9,364,055 77. After deducting from this last sum certain balances of appropriations, amounting to \$2,897,686 47, which are necessary to effect the objects for which they were severally made, or which have been deducted from the estimates for the service of the ensuing year, a balance of \$6,466,969 30 remains; which sum, together with the receipts into the Treasury, during the year 1824, constitutes the means of defraying the current service of that year. If we deduct this sum from the amount of the funded debt at the commencement of the present year, it will show the balance of our public debt at that time to be \$83,710,992 84. Thus, it appears that our finances are in a flourishing condition—amply sufficient to meet the ordinary expenses of government, sustain our valuable institutions, gradually increase our navy, and extend our fortifications, consistently

with a prudent respect to an early cancellation of the public debt.

By the annual Treasury Report, laid upon our tables at this session of Congress, there appears no necessity to lay additional burdens upon the people. Yet much of our time has been anxiously occupied in the consideration of the bill imposing additional duties upon imports. Among the numerous arguments employed by the friends of the measure, the tendency of the new tariff to enlarge the revenue, instead of diminishing it, was seriously insisted upon. As, in my view, the revenue was already sufficient, I could not consent to tax the people, directly or indirectly, to enhance it. Believing, however, as I did, that, whatever of ostensible regard to the increase of the revenue the advocates of the measure might entertain, the main object was the encouragement of manufactures, at the general charge and expense of the great interests of the nation, I could not yield it my support. Besides, with me it was extremely doubtful, whether, in a long time, even prohibitory duties would stimulate flourishing and competent manufactories into existence to supply our wants; and whether the untried experiment would not very materially injure our commerce, and through it our agriculture—and dry up the revenue, without finally resulting in any benefit to the manufactures themselves. Industry, skill, and the sagacity of individual interest will multiply, in my opinion, manufactures in our own country as speedily as the nature of things will permit, or the true interest of the country requires. But the magic of a law can never, as it never did, alter suddenly, the very genius of a people; and in a country possessing millions of acres of productive soil, easily acquired, at once beget a disposition in its citizens to forego the independence of the freehold, and the dignity of agriculture, for the unhealthy services of a manufactory. Upon this very interesting and serious subject, it is not my design to enlarge. The ablest men in the present Congress have expended their best energies in its discussion; and, amid the conflict of very respectable opinions, I have felt my conviction of the impolicy and injustice of such a system of things as is sought to be adopted by the tariff, increased: conscientiously believing, that time and experience will sustain and justify my course of opposition to it. Another great question, involving many important principles, and recommended by a train of seducing arguments, came in for a large share of our attention at the present session—I mean the scheme of Internal Improvements under the general government. This I am also opposed to, because I consider it not only as a violation of the true spirit and meaning of the Constitution of the general government, but unequal and oppressive in its operation upon the different members of this community. The object of a general system of Internal Improvement is to prosecute them in the different states, under the authority and at the expense of the general government, independent and in defiance of the views and wishes of the individual states. It is well known that some states, particularly to the West, are more susceptible of much improvement in this way, than others; and that a great proportion of the money would be expended in those states, for their particular advantage, at our proportionable part of the burden. I have no doubt that it was intended, by the framers of the Constitution of the United States, that each state should judge of the expediency of her own internal improvements, and incur just such an expense in effecting them, as her interest prompted and justified. Even under the closer and severer vigilance of the state within whose limits improvements are contemplated, what waste and misapplication of funds frequently occur, through ignorance of projectors or infidelity of agents! In the almost unbounded theatre which the general government would be called to act upon, what a fearful increase of such inconvenience, and what a certainty of lavishing millions of the public money abortively! By my views, then, of the unconstitutionality, difficulty in practice, and partiality of this scheme, I was, and still am, its unshaken opponent. Would North Carolina, on this view of the subject, after expending a large amount of her resources, in the promotion of her internal improvements, now consent to bear an equal proportion of the expense necessary to the improvement of other states, which had done nothing for themselves in that way, and finally receive little or no part of the profit? I think not. It was remarkable, that, while the advocates of the Tariff sought to force up manufactures, by imposing prohibitory duties upon foreign merchandise, the impost upon which had constituted the ample and easy source of our revenue, and the prevention of whose importation would, therefore, destroy that revenue, without creating a substitute; they, or most of them, ardently advocated the system of Internal Improvements, which opens a boundless field of expenditure, in addition to the debt and the current expenses of the government: between the two, if

adopted, I fear the time is not far distant, when we shall have to resort to some additional mode of taxation, to even meet the ordinary expenses of government; and, instead of paying what we owe, under the present arrangement, we shall be subject to a direct tax, and our public debt still accumulating.

Two other important propositions were presented to our consideration early in the session. They came to us in the most captivating shape. I allude to the proposition to send an agent to inquire into the situation of the Greeks; now struggling for independence with a gallantry worthy of their race; and a proposition to announce to the world that we would protect South America or espouse her quarrel under all circumstances of interference by Europeans to prevent the establishment of liberty in that part of our hemisphere.—I would yield to no man in my attachment to the cause of freedom. On all occasions I would warmly avow my sympathy for the asserters of their rights. But our government is sacredly bound to pursue the course that will secure the most lasting peace. As the Representative of a people who had given the world a high example of perseverance and firmness in the achievement of their independence, and had since uniformly endeavoured to preserve what they had so dearly bought, without encroaching upon any, I deem it my duty to oppose every movement or inclination which might deprive us of the high stand of just and moderate neutrality. I cannot believe that my fellow citizens would be willing to bear the sufferings and calamities of another war, for any thing short of the actual defence of their rights and liberties. It is our duty, then, to make no gratuitous pledges; to menace other nations with no threat of interference. Let us be watchful to preserve ourselves.

I cannot conclude, without saying a word or two in relation to my attending the caucus held at the Capitol on the 14th of February last, for the nomination of a candidate for the Presidency. In every point of view, the approaching Presidential election is calculated to engage the attention and concern of every American. The number of candidates, the respectability of their claims, and the zeal of their partisans, clearly indicated to me the necessity of co-operation among Republicans, to secure the elevation of some one of the most capable and unexceptionable of our distinguished fellow citizens to that important office. I did not hesitate upon the propriety, at this time, of following the example of those who have gone before us, in meeting freely and openly with our brethren from the different sections of the United States, candidly to examine and temperately to express, to our constituents, the man who in our opinion deserved their suffrages for the highest station in this Republic. In doing this, I believed that I was fulfilling your expectations. It is your interest, in common with my own, to have the ablest and most inflexible republican seated in the Presidential chair, by the free and enlightened suffrages of the true majority of the republicans of the country. The usual & customary means by which that object has been heretofore accomplished, cannot have suddenly become illegitimate and hateful; nor can your interest in them have been at all diminished. A nomination, until lately, was not deemed an actual usurpation of the right of the people to elect the President, but an impartial effort on the part of their known and immediate representatives, acting individually as friendly advisers to a concentration of their strength, that it might be effectually realized. If the people make no choice, the election comes to the House of Representatives; here the smallest state is as potent as the largest, and the majority are defrauded of their weight. Upon this subject I need not enlarge to you, who so forcibly experience such an unjust inequality under the provisions of our own state constitution, and of which we of the western part of the state so loudly and so justly complain. When I went into caucus, it was to conspire no mischief against the people, one of whom I am, and to all of whom I am bound by the highest obligations to contribute my mite to the preservation of our happy institutions. The question with me was, shall we honestly endeavour to rescue this great nation from the distractions and divisions which threaten to enfeeble it in the high act of electing a President, or shall we sit still until the Republican strength is rendered unavailing by such divisions, the election be brought into the House of Representatives, and a fearful scene of cabal presented in the Legislative Hall? We met agreeably to public notice; in the face of the world, prepared to yield to any nomination that a majority of the republicans might make. Many of our brethren refused to join us. A large majority of those who attended selected our fellow citizen, Wm. H. Crawford, as an able and safe object for support. I sincerely believe him to be not only capable, but that his views and policy are consistent with the true interest of this government. Never, perhaps, did more important consequences depend upon the

choice of the chief magistrate of this country, than at the present crisis. May a kind Providence bestow our disquisitions and enlighten our judgments in the performance of this solemn duty. I have thus briefly informed you of my sentiments on a few subjects vitally interesting to us all. My design in doing so was that you might advisedly judge of the fidelity of my conduct, and the nature of my policy. With due deference I submit the whole to your impartial scrutiny.

While I remain, very respectfully,
Your Representative,
JOHN LONG, Jr.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF INVESTIGATION.

The Select Committee (of the House of Representatives) to whom was referred the Memorial, or Address, of Ninian Edwards, having, in obedience to the resolution of the House of Representatives, of the 26th of May, continued to hold its sittings, after the adjournment of the House, until the 21st day of June, have agreed on the following

REPORT:

In recommending in their former Report, a continuance of the existence and powers of the Committee, it will be remembered, that the reason given for that recommendation was, the obvious propriety, before a final close of the investigation, of having the personal presence and examination of the author of the address which had occasioned the appointment of the Committee. Such examination has now been had. Mr. Edwards attended the Committee, in obedience to its summons, on the 7th of June; has been examined as a witness, by its direction, cross-examined by a gentleman attending in behalf of the Secretary of the Treasury; and his testimony, together with that of the other witnesses, is communicated with this Report; as are, also, various documents and papers, which have been referred to, and produced, in the course of the examination.

A paper, in reply to the communication heretofore received by the Committee, from the Secretary, and another, in the nature of an argument on the whole case, have also been presented by Mr. Edwards, and considered by the Committee.

The evidence has run into much detail, and some parts of it, probably, have not a very material application to the main subject of inquiry. It seemed proper, however, to the Committee, to allow to those concerned a liberal indulgence in this respect.

After a patient attention to all the evidence, and to whatever has been urged, in the way of reasoning on the case, the Committee see no cause to change or modify, in any material respect, the result to which they came on the former investigation, and which they have already submitted to the House. On the contrary, they find, in this further and fuller examination, a corroboration, generally speaking, of the opinions which they have heretofore expressed.

On some parts of the enquiry, indeed, evidence has now been produced to points which were not individually and particularly taken into the consideration of the Committee on the former occasion. To these, perhaps, some reference ought now to be made. They may be considered as new articles, or new specifications of charge; & although not very definitely or formally made, yet, as evidence has been taken, intended to support them, they become subjects of consideration.

One of these respects the deposits of public money, made or allowed by the Secretary, in the Banks of this District, at the instance and on the solicitation of the Banks themselves, and as an accommodation to them, at a time of considerable pecuniary pressure, in 1819.

In their former Report, the Committee expressed their opinion in relation to deposits of this nature; and referred to a public communication of the Secretary, in which the facts were avowed, and in which a practice of a like character, was stated to have been of early existence and long continuance. The Committee did not deem it necessary to call for proof of that which was admitted; and as it was of opinion that the practice itself was irregular and dangerous, it did not think it material to inquire particularly, whether, in the only case in which loss was apprehended from this cause, the probability of such loss was either greater or less than the Secretary had supposed. This apprehended loss is in the case of the Franklin Bank of Alexandria. In the letter of the Secretary to the President of the Senate of the 25th of Feb. 1823, he says in regard to this Bank, that a letter of the District Attorney, therewith communicated, shewed that there was no danger of loss to the U. States.

The evidence now offered and received, tends to shew that there is a probability of final loss from this Bank; but in other respects there is no new view of the case presented.

The debt due to the government from the Bank of Vincennes, has also been brought forward, and made the subject

of inquiry and proof. Nothing was required in this case from those of the western Banks in which the public money had been deposited, and in regard to which loss had happened, or was expected, had attracted the attention of the Committee, as important to be considered at the time of their former Report.

The case of this bank had been previously made the subject of a Report of the House by the Secretary, on the 21st of February, 1823, in answer to a resolution passed on, the thirty-first of January preceding, in which a statement of the debt, and the means which had been taken and used to secure it, were laid before Congress. The evidence now taken, relates principally as in the preceding case, to the amount of the loss which may be expected to be incurred.

The only remaining charge which may be regarded as not before examined, is an allegation, or intimation, following to the fault of the Secretary, that pensioners and public creditors of the government in East Tennessee, were, in some instances, paid in bank paper not equivalent to specie.

The circumstances attending this transaction seem to be fully stated in the testimony of Hugh L. White. It does not appear that any knowledge of these payments having been made in depreciated paper was communicated to the Secretary. The measures adopted by him for the reasonable provision of a proper fund at the place of disbursement, were, as far as the Committee can judge, suitable and judicious. He had a right to expect the payments to be made in specie, or its equivalent; or, at least, to be informed if anything should happen to prevent such payment. No information was given to him of any disappointment of his expectation in this respect, by those whose duty it was to pay; and no complaint appears to have been preferred by those whose right it was to receive.

In regard to the contested letter of Benjamin Stephenson, of the 12th of October, 1819, the Committee see no cause to change the opinion which was entertained, and which they intended to express in their former report—although the letter was written, as stated by Mr. Edwards in his testimony, there was no evidence that Mr. Stephenson communicated or transmitted it to the Secretary of the Treasury.

The Committee do not deem it necessary to extend their Report, by protracted observations on the various parts of the evidence, as the whole is submitted to the House. They content themselves with saying, that, in their opinion, nothing has been proved to impeach the integrity of the Secretary or to bring into doubt the general correctness and ability of his administration of the public finances. To this point, as the main object of inquiry, the chief attention of the Committee has been directed; and they have come to the result, which has now been stated, with the unanimous concurrence of the members present. Other points there are, of less importance, but which may, nevertheless, be supposed not to have escaped consideration by the Committee. These, however, under all the circumstances, they have thought it proper to leave without observation, in the light in which they are placed by the evidence.

Old Brandy.

WE have received 20 barrels of Nash Brandy, uncommonly good, which will be sold cheap by the barrel or gallon.
HAZZETT & ROBERT KYLE,
Raleigh, Feb. 5, 1824.

Notice

TAKEN up by Capt. John Graves, at Caswell Courthouse, on the 26th April last, a white Stray Gelding, shod all round, about 4 feet 10 inches high, about 12 years old—valued to thirty dollars.

WM. LEA, Ranger.
Caswell county, June 10, 1823.

NORTH CAROLINA,

ENTERED on the Stray Books, May 29, 1824, by Eli Nerve, a Sorrel Horse, near 15 hands high, supposed to be 10 or 11 years old, no brand to be seen, with a light white on one hind foot.—Valued to \$37 50. Said Nerve lives about 9 miles south-east of Concord on the waters of Rocky River.
ALEX. SCOTT, Ranger.

FOR SALE.

THE subscriber intending to remove from Hillsborough, offers for sale, the highly improved lot in that town upon which Mrs. Mary R. Anderson at present resides. The buildings are all nearly new and finished in the best style. The dwelling-house contains six large rooms, with fire places, an excellent cellar, a garret room and six closets. There is, besides, every necessary out-house.

Persons wishing to purchase are invited to call on the subscriber, who is disposed to make the terms of purchase liberal.

WALKER ANDERSON.
Hillsborough, June 2, 1824.

A Runaway.

TAKEN UP and committed to the Jail of Moore county, N. C. on the 5th instant, a negro girl, yellow complected, about 20 years of age, 5 feet 4 inches high, with a scar on her forehead over her left eye. She says her name is EADY, and that she belongs to John Askey of Northampton county in this state, and that she absconded from a Mr. Wells who was carrying her southwardly to sell. The owner of said Girl will apply, pay charges and take her away, or she will be disposed of as the law directs.

DAN'L McNEILL, Shf.
Carthage, May 15.