



AND

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Ons are the plans of fair delighful Peace, Unwar'd by party rage, to live like Brothers.

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AMERICAN NAVY.

Mr. CRAWFORD'S SPEECH In reply to Mr. Giles.

Mr. CRAWFORD said, before he entered on the discussion of the bill, he had his duty to declare, that in the objections he had made upon the motion for postponement, he had not the most distant intention to intimate that the gentleman from Virginia wished to involve the nation in a war, that he did not conscientiously believe to be necessary for the preservation of the honor or interest of the country. Mr. C. said, that he had by his own reflections, been led to conjecture, that this additional naval force was intended to protect our commerce in time of peace, or to prepare the nation for a declaration of war, which we intend to issue, or expect to be issued against us, by one or both of the great belligerent nations. The observations of the gentleman from Virginia had satisfied him that his conjectures were well founded. These are the objects of this bill. But when a measure involving a considerable expence is under consideration, it is necessary and proper to enquire whether the means to be employed are adequate to the attainment of the object. The inadequacy of the naval force of the U. States to the protection of its commerce, is so glaring as to strike the most superficial observer at the first blush. If every frigate, sloop and bomb ketch in our navy was a first rate ship of the line, it would then be wholly incompetent to that purpose. If the U. States were to invest \$20,000,000 dollars in vessels of war, & employ one fourth of that sum annually by employing it for the protection of our commerce it would still be unprofitable for the nation involved in war. As this additional naval force is inadequate to the protection of our commerce, and has never been employed for that purpose, it is but reasonable to suppose that it is intended to prepare the nation for a declaration of war, which we intend to issue against France & Great-Britain. In the examination of this question we can only reason from analogy. From our past conduct, we may judge with some degree of correctness, what we shall do under similar circumstances. What was the situation of the U. States in March last? The British orders in council of the 11th November, 1807, were then unmodified, and in full operation; every port in Europe which was shut against British vessels, was declared to be in a state of blockade: all neutral vessels attempting to enter them were subject to capture and condemnation; the right to trade to those ports could not be exercised, until the neutral vessel had touched at a British port, and paid a transit duty, which in some cases, exceeded the original value of the cargo. Our commercial intercourse with France was not more auspicious. The vessels of the rigoes had been placed in a state of sequestration, with an intention, that their final disposition would depend upon the course which this nation should take towards Great-Britain. To involve the nation from the pressure of these accumulated wrongs, the embargo was imposed—it was voluntarily abandoned for fourteen months, and was then abandoned in a panic. When the measure was repealed, did we declare war? Did we issue letters of marque and reprisal; or did the other House strike from the non-intercourse law a provision which authorized the President to issue them upon a specific contingency? Sir, if this nation ever intended to declare war for any cause, it was at the invasion of its territory, of the bombardment of its cities, last March, at the time which ought to have been a day of national commotion. We had arms, and more than enough for war, if we would have procured redress.—Our ships were then in our own ports—our men were at home—he property of the nation had been gathered in from the four winds of Heaven, and we were prepared to strike, where the enemy was vulnerable. We did not however declare war. Mr. C. said he was not convinced that it is fortunate for the nation that we do not, although he thought differently upon the repeal of the embargo. He was opposed to its repeal, but for war, when it was repealed. What, Sir, is our situation now? The embargo, although violated and abandoned here, proved efficacious. The President of the 19th of April last was the dissolving of the embargo. The

abandonment of the embargo produced the disavowal of that arrangement. The order of the 26th of April, 1809, is still in force, and although it falls very short of the arrangement made at this place, yet it abandons the two most important and abnoxious principles of the orders of the 11th November, 1807. The transit duty is given up, and the blockade of commercial Europe is restrained to Holland, France and the Kingdom of Italy. By this modification our trade to all the rest of the world is unimpeded by British orders in council. If the comparison between our present situation & that of March last, be fairly drawn, there can be no difficulty in deciding, that as we did not then declare war, we shall not do it now. But it will be said that, to all the injuries which Great-Britain has committed against us, she has added the gravest insult. Mr. C. said that no man was more sensibly affected by the conduct of the British minister towards this government than he was. He felt compassion for those who could not, and contempt for those who would not, do away the insult. But, Sir, are we to merge the aggravated and accumulated wrongs of the nation, in the quarrel between the negotiators of the two countries? If we are to have war, will any rational man be willing to rest it upon the insult offered by lack on to the government, instead of the long list of atrocious injuries, which we have suffered from the injustice and rapacity of G. Britain? Certainly not. But, waving all the arguments against our declaring war, which may be drawn from our past conduct, Mr. C. said, he would ask this honorable body, whether the present situation of the world does not solemnly admonish this nation to stand aloof from the deplorable convulsions with which Europe for years past has been agitated to its centre? Yes, Sir, the character of the war, and the principles upon which it is conducted, admonish us in the most solemn manner to remain quiet until its stormy billows shall subside into a calm. In the wars which we have begun and carried on anterior to the French revolution, the conquest of a town or province was generally the object and end of hostilities. Now a battle decides the fate of a kingdom; and the mightiest empires are overthrown in a single campaign. The change in nautical warfare has not been less than that upon land. Formerly the capture or destruction of a small part of the adverse squadrons, was esteemed a glorious victory. The Drum was sung in their churches, or the tower guns were fired. Now, if any part of the hostile fleet escapes, the victorious officer is punished. This contest, so sanguinary in its progress, and destructive in its consequences, must ere long be brought to an end. Let it then be the wisdom of this nation to remain at peace, as long as peace is within its option. Having shewn from our past conduct, that we do not mean to declare war, & also that sound policy forbids us to do it, it is necessary to enquire into the probability of its being declared against us. Will France declare war against the U. States? In what relation do we stand to France? She captures and condemns all our vessels which have been visited by a British vessel, or are bound to a British port. Is this all? Does not France, under some pretext or other, sequester the most of our vessels which have the liberty to enter French ports? How would war affect this relation? It would put an end to sequestration, and would greatly diminish the number of captures, because our vessels in that case would arm in their defence. It is not the interest of France to declare war against us—she will therefore avoid it. But admitting that France should declare war—this additional naval force would be unnecessary, as long as England could sustain the war and preserve her naval superiority. If this should be lost, it is not upon a fleet of ten fold the efficient force of our whole naval establishment, that we must rely for defence against the Gallic legions of Napoleon.—No, Sir, we must rely upon our own internal strength, upon our union and patriotism, which will answer every demand that can be made upon it by the most trying emergency—the dreams of the timid and the predictions of mad men, to the contrary notwithstanding. But it is possible that Great-Britain will declare war against us. Let us examine this subject. Has Great-Britain any interest which can be subserved by

war with the United States? Is the commerce of this country beneficial to her? She enjoys all of it which she wishes. She gets by purchase or capture all which she wants from us. For the first she pays a moderate price, and for the last she pays nothing. But what is of equal importance to her, we purchase her mineral riches. In the full enjoyment of all the benefits of our commerce, she rests a sinister adversary from all participation with her in those benefits. But admitting there is danger of war with England, of what service will these few additional frigates be against the 1000 ships of war which that nation employ in commission? The honorable chairman of the committee says, they will answer the twofold purpose of defending our ports and harbors, and of annoying the commerce of the enemy. To this may be added that if they are kept in our ports for their defence, they cannot annoy the trade of the enemy. If they are sent out to prey upon the commerce of the enemy, but a few fleets of their ports, will ever retain to defend our ports. The President's Message of the 3d inst. has been introduced by the Chairman of the Committee in support of this bill. People must be the aid which this measure can derive from that source. This message in point of obscurity, comes nearer my ideas of a Delphic oracle than any state paper which has come under my inspection. It is so cautiously expressed that every man puts what construction upon it he pleases. Is he for war? The message bears nothing but destruction and bloodshed.—Is he for peace? The message is mere milk and water, and wholly pacific. Is he for the bill before you? The message calls for a passage. Is he for a large standing army? Why then the message means 20,000 regular troops. Is he friendly to the Militia? The message does not call for regular troops—it means Militia. Thus, Sir, this message means any thing or nothing, at the will of the commentator.—If this message is oracular in its meaning, it was no less marvellous in its promulgation. The newspapers to the east of this, stated that such a message would be delivered, and stated its contents nearly one week before it reached the two houses of Congress. To account for this phenomenon, is neither within my power or province. The gentleman from Virginia has reiterated the old maxim 'that to be prepared for war is the best method of preserving peace,' and has declared that he should vote for the bill upon that principle. This maxim has the authority of great names. It may be true to a particular extent. If these preparations are of such a nature as to make the nation invulnerable, it is true. But, Sir, when the preparations amount to the equipment of five frigates, and the nation against whom these preparations are made can launch a thousand vessels of war against us, who can seriously urge this maxim as a justification of the measure? It is in vain for us to contend upon the ocean with a nation who exceeds annually more than \$200,000,000; a sum six times greater than the whole amount of our exports. The charge of inconsistency against those who oppose the passage of this bill has been but feebly supported. By way of enforcing this charge, we are told, that when this government was in the hands of federal gentlemen, they fancied it was too weak and attempted to legislate energy into it, by creating a navy and increasing the standing army. The people could not be made to feel or perceive this want of energy, and turned them out of power. The republicans, says the gentleman, who succeeded them, like a pendulum of a clock, very naturally vibrated to the other extreme, and have nearly succeeded in legislating energy out of the government—that he was opposed to both extremes. Sir, it is not for me to decide whether the gentleman from Virginia has alone been consistent, while the rest of his friends have vibrated from one extreme to the other. The gentleman is certainly incorrect, when he says, the naval establishment was reduced and fixed upon its present footing by a republican administration. The navy which was created by a federal administration, was by that administration reduced to what they called a peace establishment. In this situation it was found by the late administration; who, so far from running into the extreme, stopped short in the salutary work of reform. It will be recollected, that at

the downfall of the federal administration, the most gloomy predictions were uttered by the advocates of a sinking cause—every thing sacred;—every thing venerable;—every thing in fact which links and binds society together, was, according to federal declamation, to be trodden under foot, and torn asunder by their successors, whom they branded with the odious epithet of Jacobins. Unfortunately for the cause of reformation, at this precise time, the hopes of the philanthropist and patriot were blasted in France. The blind fury of their unprincipled demagogues, their Jacobinical leaders, under the specious pretext of reform, had trampled upon every institution in that country, which was held dear by the people, and the last ray of hope that rational liberty would be established in that nation, had perished forever. Under these circumstances the new administration, cautiously guarding against the charge of innovation, stopped short of their duty. They ought to have amputated the fingers of the body politic, and restored it to a sound and healthy state. This was not done, and the nation has consequently spent about \$12,000,000 upon it.—But we are informed that the navy in 1800-1, was larger than it is now. If we refuse now to put in commission and service all the vessels which were not sold in 1800-1, we stand convicted of inconsistency. But, Sir, is the revenue greater now than at that period, or has the whole of the public vessels then retained, ever been put in service, from that year until the present time? Let the records of the nation decide. At that time, the Secretary of the Navy, according to my information, consented to manage the naval establishment with \$200,000, and upon that consent the incidental taxes were repealed. If we are at liberty to contrast the expences of any two years, by way of establishing the charge of inconsistency, let us take the present and last year. Did we call into service the whole of the navy last year? Is the necessity for this measure stronger now than at that time?—No one will venture the assertion. The expences were last year, \$2,379,260, and if this bill passes, it will rise this year to 3 1/2 millions. The gentleman from Maryland (M. Smith) has no apprehension of war, and yet votes for the bill upon principles of economy—but he is only for repairing the vessel, and not for employing them, while the gentleman from Virginia intends to repair & employ them. One gentleman says, the sum appropriated includes not only repairs, but rigging &c. and the other, says that the sum is more than sufficient. The report of the Secretary of the Navy proves that this sum is for repairs only—and another report shews, that one hundred and fifty thousand dollars were last year transferred from the article of provisions, to the article of repairs. If the same thing does not happen in the present case, it ought to excite surprise. We were told the other day by the gentleman from Connecticut, (Mr. Hillhouse) that he hoped this bill would receive an unanimous vote. The same gentleman objects to the expence of the bill for the organizing 20,000 volunteer militia. This expence will not exceed \$300,000 while the frigates, the object of his affection, will cost more than double that sum. To use his own expression in relation to the volunteers, a high sounding measure might receive my vote if it was not an expensive one; but, \$1,200,000 or 1,500,000 is too large a sum to throw away in vaporing in the present exhausted state of the Treasury. The gentlemen from Connecticut and his friends are acting consistently in supporting this bill. They are supporting a system which owes its birth to them. They believe, and no doubt honestly, that a government which relied for support only on the utility of its measures, would be weak and inefficient.—They endeavored to strengthen it by creating a system of patronage, and for that purpose, and that alone, it is calculated. But the time when this navy was built, and the purposes for which it was ostensibly destined, enabled them to reason more plausibly in its favor than we can for the additional expence called for by this bill. They intended to employ it against France, where it would be efficient to a particular extent. We intend to employ ours, if it is to be employed at all, against Great-Britain, where it will be wholly inefficient, and worse than inefficient. But, Sir, our naval force is not to be

employed at all, if the two positions, attempted to be established in my previous observations, be correct. If we do not intend to declare war, nor expect it to be declared against us, what apology have we for incurring this enormous expence? What apology have we to embark in war expences, when we intend, and expect to make peace? Gentlemen who think with me, who believe that we shall not have war, and that so far as depends upon our own actions, we ought not to have it, will do well to reflect that when our fleets are equipped, and armies raised we must employ them—we must go to war to justify ourselves to the nation for the exorbitant expences which have been incurred by these means. Mr. C. said that the observations he had made as to the expence of this equipment, rested upon the supposition that we are not to have war. In this supposition the gentleman from Virginia acquiesces at least to a particular extent. If the nation should unfortunately be involved in war—it ought to be prosecuted with vigor, as well offensively as defensively. The energies & resources of the nation ought to be put to a state of requisition; but until this event should happen, he was opposed to measures which exhausted the Treasury without adding to the real and substantial defence of the nation.

RALEIGH ACADEMY.
CIRCUMSTANCES of a domestic nature having recalled Mrs. BOWEN to Fayetteville, the Trustees of the Raleigh Academy have prevailed with Mrs. SAMBOURNE to undertake the general superintendance of the Female Department thereof; and, in addition to Music, to instruct the Young Ladies in plain and ornamental Needle Work, Embroidery, Drawing, &c. her pre-eminence knowledge of which will not be doubted. The other parts of their Education, such as Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography, History, the French Language, &c. will, in future, be taught by the MALE TEACHERS of the Academy, all of whom are well qualified to discharge the duties of their appointments.
WM. WHITE, Sec'y.
Raleigh, Feb. 15. 43

HYCO ACADEMY LOTTERY.
THE Trustees of the Hyco Academy, solicit more liberally to encourage and perpetuate the advantages arising from this Seminary, and conscious of the ill success in a direct application to the generosity of the Public, have obtained an act of the Legislature of this State, to raise a sum by way of Lottery, to be applied by said Trustees to the use and benefit of said Academy; and now respectfully offer the Scheme to their Fellow-Citizens and solicit their patronage.
The particular friends to the Institution will require no further injunction on their liberality to embark in the Scheme, than a knowledge of its utility. The friends of Science in every quarter, where the Scheme may be presented, there is no doubt, will have sufficient motives to extend their generosity.
The moderate price of the Tickets, and the fairness of the Plan, it is hoped, will be a sufficient inducement to individual, who wish to become adventurers in Lotteries—which they may do for the small sum of THREE DOLLARS, and for which sum, ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS may be gained!—Who would not enhance his fortune at so moderate an expence?
The advantages of Literature are so generally felt and acknowledged, in this our enlightened and Republican Government, that the Trustees think it unnecessary to enlarge on the utility of the Plan.

SCHEDULE.

1 Prize of 1000 dollars is \$1000
2 do. 400 do. 800
4 do. 100 do. 400
6 do. 50 do. 300
11 do. 30 do. 330
50 do. 10 do. 500
650 do. 5 do. 3250
740 Prizes. 6660
1480 Blanks.
2220 Tickets at 3 Dollars subject to a deduction of fifteen per cent. 6660

Part of the above Prizes to be determined in the following manner:
1st drawn Ticket after 500 are drawn \$100
do. do. after 1000 do. 100
do. do. after 1500 do. 100
do. do. after 2000 do. 1000
Tickets will be sold by the Trustees of said Academy—also at some of the most convenient Post Offices.
The drawing will commence at the Red House as soon as three-fourths of the tickets are sold, and continue to draw 500 Tickets per day at least, until the drawing is completed.—All Prizes payable within thirty days after the drawing is finished.—Those not applied for within six months from that time will be considered as relinquished for the benefit of the institution.
JOHN M'ADEN, President.
Red House, Feb. 1, 1810. 81-43