



"Dare the plans of fair, delightful Peace,
"Unwarp'd by party rage, to live like Brothers."

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ADDRESS

TO THE

Freemen of Caswell, Guilford, Randolph, Rockingham and Person Counties.

CONCLUDED.

We ought to remember well and bear in mind Washington's Farewell Address:—"United, we stand—divided, we fall." Whilst unanimity among ourselves, would present to the enemy a strong and commanding front; disunion shews our impotency, folly and weakness. There are but two sides to the contest in question, and we can take but one. One is *British*, and the other is *American*—one is Slavery, and the other is Liberty. He that is not for us, is against us. My fellow-citizens, we are all embarked in the same vessel—we are all in for the Plate, and must either lose the *horse*, or win the *middle*. Indeed, the period has arrived, when political indifference has become criminal in the friends to our Republican Institutions, and dangerous to the common weal—when we ought to speak out, and call things by their proper names.— A *spade* ought to be called a *spade*, and a *whig* should be called a *whig*. And a man who will tell you to pray to get the waggon out of the mire, who does not put his own shoulders to the wheel, let him also have his proper name—a *hypocrite*. In fact, we ought no longer to deceive ourselves with the fond expectations, that Foreign Insolence will do us justice, without chastisement; or that domestic disaffection, or submission-men, will assist in demanding it. Experience has taught us it is a delusive hope! But what shall we say, when we hear one of the Guardians of the Nation's Rights—a man who *claims* pretensions to public confidence, denouncing his own Government, and eulogizing the conduct of the enemy's? Shall we judge him by those rules which a generous Briton would lay down for the government of such cases? A Briton, did I say? Hold! Will it not be said, that imputing to a man a virtue they want, is the worst kind of satire? But I will not retract it. Britons deserve the lash of satire—they deserve a worse lash: For the impressment and slavery of free American citizens, still stands a bloody brand of infamy on her National Councils; nor are those who wish to perpetuate and justify the hellish practice, less reprehensible. Their brother's blood! The blood of hundreds, of murdered and incarcerated American citizens, like that of Abel, cries to Heaven against them and their advocates on this side the Atlantic, and will not, I trust, cry in vain: Great God! what a horrible thought! What an indelible stigma! That an American legislator shall, in the cold blood of commerce, from the masked batteries of friendship to Peace, make a calculation upon the probable cost of the support of our essential rights and freedom—put the expences in the balance against the impressment and slavery of our own American citizens by a Foreign Monarch, and make his convenience the excuse for not resisting such a horrid crime. Why, the robber may do so; but shall Britons? And what is more, shall the Representatives of the American People, stimulated by avarice, or misled by wicked policy, look on with indifference, and retain the blot on the American character? Forbid it Mercy! Forbid it Heaven! While we remain an independent nation, we can never agree that Great-Britain shall exercise that usurped right of enslaving our people and making them fight her battles for life. The Crown of England could not exercise higher prerogatives over the subjects of its Colonies, nor can we submit to the practice, but by placing ourselves in a similar situation. Nay, this wretched practice was not tolerated even before we obtained our Independence, while we were his Majesty's Colonies. And shall we now abandon the war, and submit to this practice, and agree to pay a tax to Great-Britain on our produce, to be permitted to trade with other nations? Or otherwise agree that we will carry all our produce to her own markets, and take what she pleases to give us for it? Every American will reject such an idea with indignation. Then, when the enemy refuses to accept the only terms of Peace which is short of submission, what course ought your Government to pursue—what course ought every one to pursue, who wishes sincerely to procure Peace, with a respect for our rights? Will opposition to the Government, and to the raising of ways and means, in men and money to carry on the war vigorously, procure a speedy and honorable Peace? Every rational mind will say no. Then, fellow-citizens, who are truly the peace-men? Who are the men who wish a speedy and honorable Peace? Are they those who clamour against the war, and, as your Representatives in Congress, refuse in every instance to vote a single man, or a cent of money, to carry it on with effect? Certainly not; for these men do precisely what the enemy wish them to do. I deny that the opposition-men to our present Administration, by their conduct, that they wish to procure a speedy Peace. Ask them if they will vote for men or money to carry on the war, in a manner that will make the enemy feel the necessity of doing us justice, and they will tell you, or at least their votes will tell you, no. What would such men have been called in times past, when this Country was struggling in blood against that Nation, for our Independence, and for the enjoyment of rights, by the relinquishment of which now, we should cease to be independent? Can we expect to obtain Peace, with a respect for our rights, by relaxing the energies of the war? Can we expect to obtain an honorable Peace, by dividing among ourselves, or by opposing and paralyzing our own Government? Can we expect a termination of the war in a manner honorable to this Country, by refusing the means, the necessary forces, to carry it on success-

fully? Certainly not. Then I am at a loss to know, how Gentlemen can justify it to their own feelings, as the Guardians of the Nation's Rights, to declare that, because they did not vote for the war, they will not furnish the only natural and possible means calculated to bring it to a speedy and honorable issue. Let them answer for themselves—to their Country, to their Conscience, and to their God!

As the subject of Impressment forms one great point in dispute between this Country and Great-Britain, an act has been passed in conformity with the propositions made to the British Government by the President soon after the declaration of war, to take effect after its termination, and has for its object to exclude British seamen from employment in our public or commercial vessels. But let it not be said, that our Government ought to be blamed for not having passed this law sooner; for it may be seen, by recurrence to public documents, that so long ago as the year 1806, the following propositions were made by Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney to that Government, to-wit: 1st. To afford no refuge or protection to British seamen. 2d. To deliver them up if they took refuge among us. 3d. To make laws for restoring them. 4th. To aid in searching for, seizing and restoring them. 5th. To keep them in our prisons when requested. 6th. To prohibit our citizens from carrying them off. 7th. To prohibit their employment. 8th. To make penal laws for punishing their employers. 9th. To make it our duty to restore them.—10th. To extend the foregoing provisions not only to deserters, but to all seafaring people.

An act has been passed to authorise the President to raise any number of Regiments, not exceeding twenty, for the term of twelve months. Bounty \$16, and to repeal the law of last session, which authorised him to accept the services of 50,000 Volunteers for the same term. These troops are proposed for emergency, and are principally to be raised contiguous to the theatre of war. Authority is given to add to our Naval Establishment, four ships of the line and six large frigates; and as many sloops and ships of war on the Lakes, as the President may deem necessary for their command and protection.

I am sorry to say, the success of our arms, during the last campaign, has not been such as we had a right to expect. The disgraceful surrender of our brave army at Detroit by Gen. Hull, without the firing of a gun, has been the father of a series of disasters, which such an event could scarcely fail to produce. The loss of this army could not be immediately repaired; and instead of cutting off the supplies of arms and ammunition from Canada to the Indians, it has furnished the very means intended to have been prevented. It has emboldened and put arms in the hands of the enemy's savage ally, and made him a formidable enemy. But we have reason to hope that the next campaign will be more successful. Upon the Ocean, our little Navy, and private armed vessels, have exceeded the most sanguine expectations; in every instance, where they have come in contact with the enemy on equal terms, he has been vanquished. Three first rate frigates of the British Navy, and one sloop of war, have been captured and brought into port or sunk. Nor has there been a want of spirit on the part of the men on land. In order to encourage and facilitate the recruiting service in the Army, the pay of the privates has been raised to eight dollars per month, and an advance of pay of \$24, in addition to the bounty of \$16, to be given to each recruit. Authority has been given to appoint one additional Major to each Regiment, and one third Lieutenant to each Company. The number of regular Troops authorised to be raised previous to this session, were 35,000; besides several Companies of Rangers, for the defence of our Western Frontiers.

An act has been passed directing the Secretary of the Treasury to remit the penalties incurred on the importation of British goods, in open violation of our law since the declaration of war. The amount was estimated at about twenty millions of dollars, for which the importing merchants had given their bonds to pay the amount to the Government. It is believed, that in very many cases, on the sale of these goods to retailers, the wholesale merchants laid on the amount of their bonds, and thereby secured themselves, which operated as an indirect tax upon the consumers of the articles—the farmer, mechanics, &c. though the Government was not benefited a cent. The Secretary of the Treasury had long been vested with the power, in such cases, to remit or mitigate, according to the equity of the case. This law was passed, after a long debate on the subject, by a majority of two votes only. Every member in opposition to the Administration, and those who immediately represented the large seaport towns (of course the merchants interested) voted for the act. You will be able to judge, whether giving up this large sum, as a bonus to the merchants concerned, was calculated to prevent the necessity of a resort to taxes; or whether it was representing the true interest of the honest labourer. Was it not rather calculated to make a tax necessary? Let those Gentlemen who voted for it, and who clamour so much about taxes, answer the question. Let those same men, who endeavour to alarm your fears by old Resolutions, which have no more effect than a chapter from *Aesop's Fables*, answer another question, that is, What were their reasons for voting against a suspension of the non-importation act, as recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury, in order to raise a Revenue in that way, after he found that, by the passage of the act above mentioned, it had been laid prostrate and of no effect? This proposition was for the express purpose of avoiding the necessity of a tax. Perhaps this was the only reason why they voted against it; for most certainly they voted, to a man, against the passage of the law, at the last

* What aggravated this course of conduct was, a great portion of the merchants thus favoured, were not citizens of the United States.

session of the 11th Congress, when we had no other measure in force against the enemy. While these men are at Congress, they call upon the majority to lay a tax, and they vote for every thing which will make a tax necessary. When they return home, they hold a very different tone. But I do not think the People can fail to see their design.

The provisions already made, are deemed sufficient to meet the expences of this year. The ways and means remain to be provided to pay the interest of the debt, and keep up the public credit for future years. In what way this will be done is uncertain. If Gentlemen are opposed to the raising of a Revenue by letting in foreign goods, and collecting the duties and tonnage, let them say in what way they will raise a Revenue to support the only free Government in the world. If a man be opposed to every possible way of raising the necessary supplies, and thus wishes to sink the Government, what business has he in Congress? The time is arrived, when the People should look to these things, and not be misled to take part against their own Government, by disorganizers, who strike at the very foundation of all free Government, by endeavouring to make them believe that it is wrong to pay any thing to support it. Suppose a wicked emissary were to come among you from the enemy's camp, would he not make use of this same argument to effect your overthrow? Certainly he would. Then wait not till your horse is stolen, before you shut the stable door. I look not at the fate of any individual. It is to the future prosperity and freedom of our common country, that I feel any concern; which must be fixed by the issue of the important struggle in which this Nation is now engaged with our implacable foe.

It has always been understood, that the war must be carried on by loans, and that the interest on the debt is all that the Government will have to pay during its continuance. And if we take the opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury, to which I think very few reasonable men will object, there can be no doubt but that the expences of a five years war, could be amply reimbursed by a ten years peace, with a flourishing trade, without resorting to a cent of internal taxes after the peace.

The Secretary of the Treasury, in his official Report of the 5th of December, 1812, estimates the expences of the Government for the year 1813, at \$31,925,000
And the whole amount of Revenue for the same year, at 12,000,000

Leaving a balance of 19,925,000
Which has been provided for, by authorising a loan of sixteen millions, and the issuing of Treasury Notes to the amount of five millions.

By the new arrangements of our Congressional Districts, it has not been left in my power to make you a farther tender of my services; yet I am flattered in the hope, that you will be able to select some character, in whom your dearest interests will find a more able advocate, whilst I feel conscious that it has been my studied endeavour to promote what I believed most conducive to the true and lasting interest of our beloved Country. Next to this consoling reflection, my highest reward would be, the approbation of my fellow-citizens. One agreeable duty remains for me to perform, which is to express the grateful remembrance which I entertain of the repeated marks of respect and esteem which I have received at your hands. Accept, Gentlemen, my best wishes for your health and prosperity, while I remain,

With sentiments of esteem, yours respectfully,

JAMES COCHRAN.

POLITICAL.

FROM THE NATIONAL ADVOCATE.

THE LOAN.

We congratulate the country upon the filling up the Loan on terms highly favorable to the public. The exertions and artifices which were used to defeat this measure are unexampled. But its success affords, at once, evidence of the resources and faculties of the Nation, and of the confidence which is reposed in the good faith of the government. Indeed, the scrupulous fidelity with which it has hitherto fulfilled all its pecuniary engagements, afforded the best security which the monied interest could require in the present instance; and we consider the success of the Loan as decisive of the question whether the war shall stop for want of means of carrying it on. The project of the opposition to force the Administration to patch up a disgraceful and precipitate peace with the Enemy, is completely defeated. An honorable and permanent adjustment of our differences with Great-Britain, they have ever been ready to make; and they have evinced that disposition by promptly accepting the Emperor of Russia's offer of his mediation. What if Massachusetts is delivered over to be buffeted of Satan? The councils of that State cannot be more hostile to the union, the independence and permanent interest of the country, than they have been. All the negative mischief they could do, has been done; and, unless the state of New-York should confederate with the Eastern States, which we have the best reason to believe she will not, the prospect before us is brilliant indeed. The present means of carrying on the war are not only supplied, but we are authorised to state that forty millions of dollars could have been obtained upon the same terms—and this, notwithstanding that maniac, Mjster Timothy Pickering, has publicly proposed to violate the public faith towards the subscribers to the present Loan!