NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER,

AND

WASHINGTON ADVERTISER.

VOL. IV. WASHINGTON CITY, PRINTED BY SAMUEL HARRISON SMITH, PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE. DCXXVII.

FIVE DOLLS. PER ANN. FRIDAY, OCTOBER 12th, 1804. PAID IN ADVANCE.

For THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

TO THE PEOPLE.

THE DEFENCE.

No. VII.

Coeval with this meaſure (the abolition of the internal taxes) commenced a vigorous ſpirit of economy, in which the legiſlature and executive heartily united. This is the common promiſe of reformers; a promiſe, which unfortunately for the people, is rarely kept. In the preſent caſe, however, it was ſacredly obſerved. A ſum much larger than that derived from the internal revenues was ſaved.

Without any reduction of the navy, the annual expenditures of that department were reduced 200,000 dollars.

The military arrangements were brought down to the ſituation of the country, and the annual ſum of 522,000 retrenched.

Other ſources of expence were annihilated or reduced, by which the public ſervice was, in ſome inſtances, promoted, and in no inſtance impaired.

Among theſe, were the ſuſpenſion of two foreign embaſſies.

The abolition of the offices of ſixteen circuit judges.

A diminution in the compenſations of collectors of the cuſtoms.

With a variety of other retrenchments, the greater part of which from their minuteneſs forbid ſpecification, but which in the aggregate amounted to no inconſiderable ſum.

The whole of theſe ſavings, taking four ſucceſſive years, may be computed at the annual ſum of one million of dollars, amounting to more than a fourth of the whole diſburſements of the treaſury, with an exception of the ſum applied to the payment of the public debt.

There is little occaſion to dilate on this branch of our view. It does not require any logic to impreſs on the people, the inferences deducible from ſuch a reform. It may ſuffice to ſay that while it juſtified the repeal of the internal taxes, it tried the ſincerity of the profeſſions of the adminiſtration in thoſe points, it is the moſt rarely obſerved. The love of office in the United States is unfortunately too predominant. He, who is the leaſt acquainted with the ſecret ſprings of government, perceives it with regret mingling itſelf with the moſt important meaſures, and aſſerting its claims with alternate arrogance and ſervility. For an adminiſtration to purſue the ſtraight line of juſtice, without giving way to the wiles or menaces of men actuated by intereſted motives, is an arduous duty. To go farther, and to cut off the very provender on which they hope to fatten, is to riſque incurring the diſpleaſure of a claſs of men, whoſe want of regular avocations, connected with an ardent and deſperate ſpirit, give them great power over the prejudices of the people. An adminiſtration, purſuing ſuch reforms, can only be upheld by the affections of the people. For their ſupport alone can be ſufficiently powerful to keep under thoſe ſecret cabals which the diſappointed and diſcontented will always excite.

The meaſures of the adminiſtration tried their ſincerity on another important point. The funding intereſt, with what policy we ſhall not pretend to ſay, had uniformly reproached them with hoſtility to the regular payment of the intereſt and the final diſcharge of the public debt. This opinion was induſtriouſly and widely diſſeminated; and operating, with other circumſtances, produced the almoſt total transfer of the public ſtock, either to foreigners, or to a claſs of men the moſt infuriatedly hoſtile to the new order of things. Duped, by deſigning individuals, they had, by every mean of ſecret as well as open enmity, borne a conſpicuous ſhare in traducing the character of every diſtinguiſhed republican, and in reſiſting the growing ſpirit of the times. They had, on the other hand, lent themſelves as willing inſtruments to thoſe who diſturbed the peace, and menaced the liberties of the country, by intemperate or unconſtitutional meaſures. This deſcription of men monopoliſed the evidences of the public debt, amounting to above eighty millions.

Under theſe circumſtances the new adminiſtration came into office. Had they liſtened to any voice but that of duty, they might have reaſoned thus: "Our promotion has been oppoſed by a body of men who derive their power from the bounty of the government. However efficient, from their wealth their numbers are trifling. The greateſt part of the debt is due to foreigners, and the reſidue is in the hands of men, ever ready to deſtroy us by enliſting in any ſcheme deſtructive of the general good. The mournful experience of England ought to teach us that this formidable intereſt neceſſarily leads to a prodigal expenditure of money, to war, and to oppreſſion. Let us then, while we have the power, cruſh the monſter, which has ariſen in a ſpirit of favoritiſm, and in views hoſtile to liberty. By this means we ſhall deſtroy our greateſt enemies. It is true we ſhall diſoblige them; but this cannot make them more our enemies, while we ſhall make the nation our friends. We ſhall injure, perhaps, ten thouſand men; but we ſhall benefit five millions. By the annihilation of a debt of eighty millions, we ſhall in fact do that which will be equivalent to giving every family in the United States the ſum of one hundred and thirty dollars. And by deſtroying this infant funding ſyſtem, we ſhall forever cruſh the proud hopes of an aſpiring ariſtocracy."

Such might have been the language of the adminiſtration. It would, it is true, have been the language of unprincipled ambition, of demoniacal revenge. But alas! how general has been the dominion of theſe dark and atrocious paſſions over rulers! *State policy*, that damnable pretext of tyrants, has extinguiſhed every where the lights of juſtice and humanity. No—the republican adminiſtration held no ſuch language. They roſe not, like lawleſs comets, here to deluge and there to conflagrate a world; but, revolving, in their appropriate ſpheres, and ſhining upon the bad as well as the good, they ſhed joy and gladneſs in their courſe. As true to the principles of juſtice, as the planetary ſyſtem to the laws of nature, they ſacredly reſpected her eternal mandates. A regard to national good faith obliterated every minor feeling. They loved their country too well to ſacrifice its fame on the altar of revenge. The regular payment of the intereſt has not, for a moment, been impeded; while the ultimate diſcharge of the principal has been haſtened beyond all precedent, towards which the annual ſum of ſeven millions three hundred thouſand dollars has been appropriated. Under the auſpices of theſe meaſures, our ſtock has riſen, and thoſe, to whom we are indebted, are only diſſatisfied with the unexpectedly ſpeedy diſcharge of their claims.

This view of the fiſcal operations of the government might be extenſively ramified. This would, however, probably be too great a trial of the patience of the reader. We ſhall therefore here reſt our details.

The concurring opinions of enlightened writers have impoſed three great duties on the intendants of the revenues of a ſtate; viz. to raiſe a revenue equal to the expenditure; to collect it in ſuch a manner as to be the leaſt oppreſſive; and to diſburſe it frugally. Theſe great duties have been faithfully diſcharged. That the revenue raiſed has been ſteadily equal to the expenditure clearly appears from the ſpecie balance in the treaſury for 3 ſucceſſive years. On the 1ſt of October 1801, it was 2,946,033 dols. on the 1ſt of October 1802, 4,539,675 dollars; and on the 1ſt of October 1803, 5,860,000 dollars; ſums, all of which are larger than the ſpecie balance at the time the new adminiſtration commenced, which only amounted to 1,794,044 dollars.

That they have collected the revenue in ſuch a manner as to be the leaſt oppreſſive is evinced by two conſiderations, the diminution of the expence of collection, and the perfect ſatisfaction, on this point, which is not diſturbed by a ſingle murmur of diſapprobation.

That the revenue thus raiſed has been frugally diſburſed has already appeared.

We cannot cloſe theſe remarks on the proſperous ſtate of our finances without obſerving that neither the Preſident or the Secretary of the Treaſury have, in a ſingle inſtance, over-rated, in their eſtimates, the national reſources. On the contrary, the reſources have invariably exceeded the eſtimates. Without intending an invidious compariſon, it may be aſked whether the ſame can be ſaid of the preceding adminiſtrations? Nor is it altogether unworthy of notice, that while the eſtimates of Mr. Gallatin have proved uncommonly accurate, the predictions of the oppoſition have, in every inſtance, been falſified by experience. Thus, in the firſt ſeſſion of the ſeventh Congreſs, when the Internal revenues were aboliſhed, and the foundation laid for the extinguiſhment of the public debt, Mr. Griſwold, the ableſt leader and moſt accurate man of his party, affirmed that it was unwiſe and dangerous to truſt to receiving for ſeveral years more than 8,350,000 dollars from duties, and 721,000 from other ſources, making together 9,071,000, which, he declared, after every practicable retrenchment, would leave an annual defalcation of 929,000 dollars. Inſtead of this reſult the duties have yielded in 1801, 10,126,213 dollars; in 1802, 10,100,000, and in 1803, 10,600,000; exceeding the eſtimate of Mr. Griſwold in the average annual ſum of 1,925,000 dollars. However ſurpriſing this error may be to thoſe who have paid but little attention to the principles of political economy, it is eaſily accounted for. We are not to look to the counting houſe or the forum, for thoſe enlarged views that can only be taken by minds well acquainted with hiſtory, and the principles that regulate the intercourſes of nations. To fathom the future requires a knowledge of the paſt, united with a capacity of extracting from the heterogeneous maſs that which is applicable to exiſting circumſtances.

But no circumſtance ſo completely demonſtrates the full competency of the public reſources during the whole period of the adminiſtration as the operations for the redemption of the public debt. In the month of April, 1801 Congreſs paſſed an act appropriating the annual ſum of 7,300,000 dollars to the payment of the principal and intereſt of the debt, a larger ſum than had in any antecedent year been applied. Inſtead, however, of barely complying with the requiſitions of this act, there has been applied annually a much larger ſum.

Beſides the regular payment of the intereſt there has been diſcharged of the principal, from the 1ſt of April, 1801, to the 3d of September 1803, as appears by the report of the Secretary of the Treaſury of the 24th of October 1803, the ſum of

	DOLLARS.
	9,920,000
And in correſpondence with an eſtimate made in the ſame report there will have been diſcharged by this time the additional amount of	3,500,000
Making together	15,420,000

diſcharged in three years and a half.

We ſhall finiſh theſe remarks with mentioning a ſingle fact. During the whole adminiſtration of Mr. Adams, there was not a dollar of the public debt really redeemed; for the new debt created by loans conſiderably exceeded the amount paid of the old.

CURTIUS.

We have had frequent occaſion of late to expoſe, before the view of our readers, the attempts ſo induſtriouſly made in ſome of the Eaſtern ſtates, to ſow the ſeeds of a diviſion fatal, ſhould they take root, to the union of theſe ſtates, and fatal likewiſe to their future happineſs and glory. The taſk has been painful. Nothing ſhort of the conviction of duty ſhould have prevailed upon as to hold up certain men, miſtakenly called federal, to the public indignation, for propagating ſentiments, which, if generally received, would inevitably produce the diſſolution of the union. In proportion to the pain inflicted by the diſcharge of this duties, is the pleaſure with which we have diſfuſed contrary opinions; this pleaſure riſes on finding ſome of our political opponents abandoning the prejudices of party, and with the feelings of true Americans, warning their countrymen of the danger that beſets them. Among theſe men, the *Editors* of the *Connecticut Herald* are entitled to our reſpect and the thanks of their country for the following juſt and appoſite remarks:

Every kingdom divided against itſelf is brought to deſolation.

This maxim even had it not been pronounced by our bleſſed Lord, would nevertheleſs, be an eſtabliſhed truth—It is confirmed by the hiſtory of mankind in every age. It has been verified by the overthrow of nations in every quarter of the globe. The once mighty power of Greece, which while united made the world tremble at the deeds of its arms and bend before the ſceptre of its power, did not long ſurvive a diſſolution of its confederacy. But perhaps there is not a more ſtriking and at the ſame time, a more awful manifeſtation of the truth of the above maxim, than in the hiſtory of God's choſen people, the Iſraelites. As if fixed by the FIAT of heaven, that the calamities of mankind ſhall be proportionate to the bleſſings miſuſed, the fall of that highly favored nation, was replete with calamities as unexampled and aſtoniſhing as the bleſſings it had perverted.—Though it had at various times walked aſide from the path of duty; declined being under the government of the true God, and deſired a mortal ſovereign, that it might be like other nations; violated the laws of heaven, written by the finger of Jehovah; bowed the knee to the gods of the heathens, and drank of the cup of their abominations; yet none of theſe tranſgreſſions were immediately followed with calamities ſo complicated and deplorable, as thoſe cauſed by a diviſion of the nation. All the follies of its preceding kings, though terrible in the ſight of God, and awfully chaſtiſed by his righteous judgments, were not ſo fatal as that one folly of Rehoboam, which broke aſunder the ſacred ties of union. By this great event the glory to which the nation had riſen by the wiſdom of Solomon and the valour of his illuſtrious father was eclipſed forever.

Having deſcended from the ſame venerable parents, having long been united by the ſtrongeſt ties of conſanguinity, and worſhiping the ſame God, while ſurrounding nations proſtrated themſelves before ſtocks and ſtones, it appears ſurpriſing the Children of Iſrael ſhould diſunite and thus expoſe themſelves to all the calamities which awaited them. And after they became divided, it is ſurpriſing they did not perceive the obvious neceſſity of cultivating harmony and a ſpirit of conciliation. But the ſame corrupt propenſities, the ſame erroneous policy, which produced the unhappy diviſion, continued to prevail. The two diviſions became the moſt inveterate enemies to each other, and inteſtine wars of the moſt ſanguine and implacable nature, enſued. The ſame weapons with which they had gallantly fought in their common defence, and with which they had carried terror and victory into every region of their common enemies, were now preſumptuouſly wielded againſt each other. Conſcious of each other's valour and deſperate ſpirit, they fought with the moſt relentleſs and ſavage fury. After repeated wars, in which each was alternately victorious and vanquiſhed, they were exhauſted, and the words of the prophet Iſaiah were fulfilled. Their cities were burnt with fire; their land became deſolate, as overthrown by ſtrangers: and they were carried into captivity among their idolatrous and implacable enemies, where they drank the cup of humiliation and bitterneſs to its loweſt dregs.

A ſimilar fate awaits this country, ſhould a diviſion between the northern and ſouthern ſtates be effected. The firſt ſhock which ſhall ſever the union of theſe ſtates, will be a prelude to a ſeries of calamities which will render our future hiſtory as inglorious as it has hitherto been ſplendid and glorious. "The fatal moment that ſhall witneſs the diſſolution of the union of our nation, will, in the language of the poet, bid 'a farewell, a long farewell to all our greatneſs.' Mourn Columbia when that awful event ſhall meet thee; put off thy beautiful ornaments: hang thy harp upon the willows; gird thyſelf with ſackcloth and ſit in aſhes:—for peace will have forſaken thy land and thy glory will have departed forever!" Cold muſt be the heart and dull the ſenſibility of that American who can contemplate ſuch an event with indifference. One diviſion would probably be ſucceeded by ſubdiviſions, and the United States would reſemble a den of monſters, the largeſt of which would aim to ſwallow up the reſt. Formidable rivalſhips would ſoon ariſe. Jealouſy, hatred and revenge, horrible and deſtructive, would render each a fiend, which one day we might behold,

"Meteor like, flaming lawleſs through the void,
Deſtroying others, by itſelf deſtroy'd."

And would foreign courts behold us under ſuch circumſtances, with a propitious ſmile? Would the bright conſtellation of their virtues diſpenſe to us nothing but genial and ſalutary rays? Would it arreſt our progreſs to the regions of darkneſs and deſtruction? By no means. Hiſtory indulges us with the expectation of no ſuch thing. So long as "man is man," it would be vain to expect it. Avaricious, haughty and imperious foreign courts, would hope to profit by our misfortune. Their machinations, their inſidious influence, and the deceptive arts of their abandoned emiſſaries, would all conſpire to fan the flame of diſcord, to render us more hoſtile to each other, and make our deſtruction complete.

How important is it then, that we avoid every thing which has a tendency "to alienate any portion of our country from the reſt, or enfeeble the ſacred ties which now link together the various parts." Whatever may be our political ſentiments reſpecting other affairs, yet on this great national point we ought to have but one ſentiment. We ought to deteſt every meaſure which has a tendency to produce a diviſion of the ſtates. We ought to conſider every voice tending to produce this great and deplorable event, as raiſed againſt the very exiſtence of our country as a free and independent nation—as tending to overwhelm us with all the horrors of civil war;—to reduce the great body of our independent freemen ſo indigence and vaſſalage;—to render them the miſerable ſlaves of petty tyrants at home, or of formidable deſpots abroad.

It is indeed contended by ſome that a diviſion between the northern and ſouthern ſtates, would cut up our unhappy political diſputes by the roots. But this is a fallacious ſuppoſition. It would have a contrary effect. What is now maintained by argument, would then be vindicated by the ſword. The field of action, not the forum, would be the place of deciſion. Reaſon and eloquence muſt give way to the noiſe of battle and the groans of the dying. And thus the real cauſes of all ſuch diſputes as ours, would be augmented and perpetuated. Every perſon of information and diſcernment knows that ſimilar diſputes will ever diſturb the repoſe of any nation in proportion as the great body of the people are deſtitute of ſufficient information. By every war they are ſtripped of their property, and, of courſe, of their means of acquiring knowledge—Their time and attention are engroſſed by its various effects. In ſcientific and moral improvement a chaſm of many years enſue; the ſocial virtues are ſubverted and half a century of peace cannot repair the loſs. One principal object of a republican government is to keep the great body of the people out of that mental lethargy ever predominant where deſpotiſm reigns—to make them alive to the advancement of knowledge, and all other means tending to meliorate the condition of man, and render him what he ought to be. But by frequent wars that object is defeated, and mankind are rendered unfit to taſte the cup of liberty without intoxication, and become mere automatons, fit to act only as they are acted upon. Thus they are incapable of enjoying any other government but deſpotiſm, that choſen curſe which heaven has aſſigned to chaſtiſe the nations which chooſe to lie down with the brutes in ſtupidity, ignorance and vice.

It is of infinite moment then, that the citizens of theſe ſtates conſider a diſſolution of the union the greateſt calamity which can befall them. Our preſent rival ſtateſmen and their diſputes will ſoon vaniſh; but the evils which would reſult from the other deprecated event, would be laſting. They would affect ages unborn.

Sketches of the life of PRESIDENT WILLARD, lately deceased.

[FROM THE BOSTON CENTINEL.]

Preſident WILLARD was born at Scarborough, on the 29th December, 1738. His father the Rev. Samuel Willard, the miniſter of a pariſh in that town, died while his ſon was a minor. His attachment to a literary life commenced when very young, but during his minority his ſituation rendered an application to books impracticable. After he was of age, he determined to ſupply the deficiency of his early education under the tuition of the late venerable preceptor of Dummer Academy, who delighted in aiding the genius and talents of his pupils, and in facilitating their advancement to literary eminence. So conſtant was the application of his pupil, and ſo judicious the employment of his time, that in eleven months he acquired a competent knowledge of the