NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER,

AND

WASHINGTON ADVERTISER.

Vol. III — WASHINGTON CITY, PRINTED BY SAMUEL HARRISON SMITH, PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE. — No. CCCLXXXVII.

Five Dolls. per ann. — FRIDAY, APRIL 15th, 1803. — Paid In Advance.

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

FEDERAL APPOINTMENTS.

THE ſubject of appointments, under the federal government, appears lately to have attracted a more than ordinary ſhare of attention in ſome parts of the union; and in Philadelphia ſome meaſures of an unuſual character, connected therewith, have been taken, expreſſive of the ſentiments of certain aſſemblies of citizens.

It had been believed that the conduct of the executive on this point had been ſo juſt, and ſo well underſtood, that little variance of opinion as to its propriety exiſted in the union among thoſe whoſe minds were not prejudiced by preconceived averſion or diſtruſt. From this laſt deſcription of citizens the moſt ſanguine hopes could not expect an immediate approbation of the exerciſe of any power not entruſted to their peculiar friends. Much of this averſion and diſtruſt aroſe from the unavoidable mixture of prejudice with diſpoſitions the moſt pure, and with underſtandings not devoid of intelligence. Friends from principle to the great ſyſtem of polity purſued by the Adams adminiſtration, they could eaſily perſuade themſelves that power would be exerciſed neither with equal virtue or talent by thoſe who came into office under the expreſs expectation of the people that that ſyſtem would be materially changed. Poſſeſſed of ſuch predilections, caution, an ordinary knowledge of mankind, dictated diſtruſt. The friends of the new adminiſtration, while they regretted the unreaſonableneſs of theſe doubts, confided in the effects of time, which by expoſing the error of preconceived opinion, and by manifeſting the honeſt views and enlightened meaſures of the new rulers, would neceſſarily convert enemies from honeſt miſtake into friends from principle. This effect has already been eminently produced. Knowledge and diſpaſſionate reflection have converted many a warm opponent into as cordial a friend—Among the trophies of the preſent adminiſtration, this is perhaps the proudeſt. The victory it manifeſts, is not that of the ſword, but the triumph of reaſon and truth, of virtue and candour.

There was, however, another deſcription of enemies from whom an honeſt converſion was never expected, becauſe it was impoſſible. This deſcription conſiſted of citizens hoſtile to the principles of liberty, bent on their overthrow and on the eſtabliſhment of oppoſite principles, and of citizens of ſiniſter intentions of various hues, and directed to various objects; as for inſtance, men who deſired to enjoy power without reſponſibility to the people, or who wiſhed to make their own fortunes out of the public treaſure without giving the nation an equivalent in their ſervices.

It is eaſy to perceive that this deſcription of men would be excluſively the friends of an adminiſtration that favoured their views by a ſyſtematic adoption of that ſpecies of bribery which flows from an extended and habitual patronage, whereby it bought and retained in its pay its devoted friends. As under a new ſyſtem, theſe men could not find their price, their friendſhip would naturally be exchanged for enmity to thoſe who had thus deprived them of what they had, from long poſſeſſion, conſidered as their peculiar property. The government has never aſked or expected the friendſhip or ſupport of theſe men; knowing that their friendſhip would be treacherous, and their ſupport hollow.

So far with regard to the opinions of that deſcription of citizens who on the commencement of the preſent adminiſtration ranked among its political opponents. In a ſubſequent part of theſe remarks it will be ſeen that this view was important to a full underſtanding of the ſubject.

With regard, in the next place, to thoſe who have uniformly evinced their attachment to the preſent adminiſtration, it had been believed, until the meaſures alluded to took place, that they confided implicitly in the wiſdom and fairneſs of thoſe arrangements reſpecting appointments to office adopted and practiſed by the Executive Magiſtrate. It is evident that the meaſures at Philadelphia do not neceſſarily imply an impeachment of the conduct of the Executive; but they certainly may, in connection with well known facts, be conſidered as evidences of an opinion entertained by a certain number of citizens that it has become the duty of the Preſident to remove all federaliſts from office.

How correct this opinion is, it is our purpoſe to examine. In making this enquiry it is not our intention to queſtion the right of any part of the community to expreſs their ſentiments of the duty of any public agent, however elevated in power, or dignified by his perſonal virtues and talents. We, on the contrary, acknowledge the exiſtence of the right in its moſt unlimited extent; but at the ſame time that this free acknowledgment is made, the reſponſibility of thoſe who exerciſe it for its diſcreet uſe, cannot be queſtioned. The government of the United States, in all its departments, is reſponſible, in a certain ſenſe, to every deſcription of citizens, while they are reſponſible to the whole American people, whoſe unbiaſſed voice can alone ultimately decide whether the expreſſion of their opinions is correct, whether it is properly applied, whether it is well timed, and whether it is calculated more to advance republican men and meaſures, than to excite a ſuſpicion that there is a diviſion among them, that the cunning of their enemies may make the inſtrument of ſtill greater diſcord—I pronounce on this point neither affirmatively nor negatively—I know its delicacy and difficulty.

Is it the duty of the executive to remove all federaliſts from office?

This enquiry may be made under two views; firſt that which reſpects the juſtice of ſuch a ſtep; and ſecondly that which reſpects its policy.

If it ſhall be proved to be unjuſt, every conſideration in its favour derived from policy ought to have no weight. It is the duty of the government, as well as of every individual member of ſociety, to avoid injuſtice at any ſacrifice.

There is one fundamental principle which, it is believed, on this occaſion has not been ſufficiently dwelt on. It is this; that every appointment to office made ought to be dictated by the ſole conſideration of its connection with the public welfare. If it promote this as highly or more highly than any other which could be made, then it is right; and exactly in proportion to its violation of this principle it is wrong. It will be at once perceived that this principle excludes all favoritiſm, all perſonal attachment or perſonal enmity. And it ought to be excluded. Indeed while it is ſuffered to remain and to mingle its feelings with the higher conſiderations of public duty, the reſult muſt be in a great, and may be in a dangerous degree, the neglect of the public good, and the ſubſtitution of private and contracted, in the room in of general and liberal views. In ſuch an event the officer appointed does not become the officer ſo much of the United States, as of the man who appoints him, and will, under a conſciouſneſs of the tenure of his office, be proportionally prepared to promote the intereſts of his patron, inſtead of furthering the great intereſts of the nation. It is manifeſt, from theſe conſiderations, that all perſonal favor or bias ought to be excluded from the mind of the chief magiſtrate. On this point there can be no doubt among the republicans of the country. It is what they have always profeſſed, and it is what, it is truſted, they will always practiſe.

The juſtice then of a total removal of federaliſts can only be ſupported on the idea that the republicans are in all caſes the beſt qualified to fill public ſtations. That this is generally the fact, we entertain but little doubt. We know full well that the great maſs of the talent of the nation is with them. This neceſſarily ariſes from the principles which decide their politics. But there are many exceptions. There are federaliſts as well qualified for diſcharging the duties of office, as republicans; and why theſe men ſhould be excluded from all public agency, barely becauſe they are federal, is not ſeen, nor can it be ſhewn.

It may, perhaps, be ſaid that a federaliſt is neceſſarily inimical to the ſyſtem of government, under which we live, and that he will unavoidably uſe the influence, conferred by office, to deſtroy this ſyſtem; and that it is irrational, under the dominion of ſuch ſentiments, to expect from him a cordial execution of laws which he does not approve. But the whole courſe of experience invalidates the truth of this remark. There are now in office federaliſts who faithfully diſcharge the duties of their offices.

Further, what is meant by a federaliſt? In ſome caſes the term deſignates a deſcription of men hoſtile, beyond cure, to every inſtitution deviſed to protect liberty. Let ſuch men be excluded; they never were worthy of the confidence of our government, and it can never be too late to withdraw a confidence that has been miſplaced. But there are other deſcriptions of federaliſts, and it is believed by far the larger portion, whom circumſtances and not principles have made ſo. Many of them are federaliſts becauſe it was once faſhionable to be ſo; others from convictions, however miſtaken, of the ſuperiority of the meaſures of the laſt adminiſtration, and others from a dread, however weak, of all change either of men or meaſures. Are theſe men ſo ſunk in political ſin as to be irretrievably loſt? or are their underſtandings ſo impervious as not to admit a ray of truth? Are they doomed to the interminable ſlavery of ignorance and prejudice? Is he who is once a federaliſt, always a federaliſt? Then, indeed, we might be prompted to keep inceſſantly on ſuch a man the eye of alarm, to ſeparate ourſelves from him by the ſtrongeſt barrier, and to remove from him the power of injuring us. But this, ſo far from being the fact, is diſproved by the commoneſt experience of every day. He who was a federaliſt laſt year is often a republican this. Thouſands, I might perhaps add, millions have changed within two years.

Further, our government is a ſyſtem of repreſentation, and the people are the only ſovereign authority. In the moſt important branch of the government, the people chuſe their own agents, according to the varying prevalence of political ſentiments in different parts of the union. Of the members of this body a large proportion are republicans, inaſmuch as a large proportion of the people are ſo. But there is ſtill a minority who repreſent different ſentiments in correſpondence with their ſtrength. Is not this juſt? Do we not all like the ſyſtem the better for it? Is not the vigilance of a minority, actively exerciſed, an important recommendation of the plan? Has it not the two fold effect, of rendering the majority more diligent and faithful, and of increaſing the ſecurity of our rights by checking the tendency to an abuſe of power.

If there is force in theſe remarks in their application to the legiſlature, there is alſo force, in a certain degree, in their application to executive officers. For there is the ſame proneneſs to abuſe the exerciſe of power, as there is to miſplace it. For this reaſon a virtuous majority will wiſh to ſee the minority, according to its ſtrength and talents, repreſented in all the departments of the government; and this deſire will ariſe as much from the juſtice it owes itſelf, as from that which is due to its opponents.

It would appear from theſe conſiderations that the removal of all the federaliſts is indefenſible on the ground of juſtice; and if this be eſtabliſhed, there is an end of the argument. No motive of policy, or view to any particular effect to be produced by the meaſure, if it be unjuſt, can juſtify it.

(To be continued.)

NOTICE.

It is mutually agreed by the ſubſcribers, that from and after this date the partnerſhip that has heretofore ſubſiſted between us, be diſſolved.

ROBERT MILLER,
JOHN DOUGLAS.

April 13 — 3t

FOR SALE,

One half of the valuable Tracts of LAND, in Stafford county, called Bell Plains and Hickory Bottom, late the property and reſidence of George Lee Waugh, deceaſed. Upon the land are an excellent dwelling houſe, with four rooms on each floor, and paſſage; a large barn, kitchen, dairy and ſmoke houſe; bounded on one ſide by Potomac creek, where is an excellent fiſhery, and abundance of wild fowl in the ſeaſon. This land will be ſold altogether, or in lots, as may beſt ſuit the purchaſers. Any perſon deſirous of viewing it, will be ſhewn Bell Plains, by applying to Mr. Carey Seldon, who lives convenient, and the Hickory Bottom tract by Mr. John Sweetman, who can alſo ſhew all the lines.

If this land is not diſpoſed of by private ſale, it will be ſet up to the higheſt bidder, at Mr. Eſtes's tavern in Fredericksburg, on Friday the 6th day of May next, where a plat will be ſhewn to thoſe who wiſh to purchaſe.

Two thirds of the purchaſe money muſt be paid down. Twelve months credit will be given for the balance, on giving bond with approved ſecurity, to bear intereſt from the date. For other particulars apply to the ſubſcriber, who is authoriſed by the deviſees to bargain for the ſame.

GAWIN CORBIN TURBERVILLE.
King George county, Doegg,
April 8. — eptM6

All perſons having claims or demands of any nature againſt the ſubſcriber, are requeſted to exhibit their accounts, without delay, to JOHN HEWIT or RICHARD FORREST, Eſqrs. of the city of Waſhington, who are authoriſed, in my name, to adjuſt and ſettle the ſame; and all perſons indebted to me are requeſted to make payment to either of the gentlemen above named.

SAMUEL BLODGET.
March 30. — tf

FOR THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

A VINDICATION OF THE MEASURES OF THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.

BY ALGERNON SIDNEY.

"Where Liberty is—there is my Country."

No. I.

EXPERIENCE is the great teſt of human actions. With her aſſiſtance we draw that final concluſion which ſatisfies all: which, not unfrequently, overturns the reaſoning of ſchools, philoſophy and politics. She proves that the greateſt abilities, united to the firſt education, and aided by the ſtricteſt habits of induſtry and attention, are not always equal to the taſk of combining in one view, all thoſe facts and circumſtances that have a natural connection with the ſubject. When ſhe ſanctions an act, to reaſon againſt it is vain. When ſhe refuſes her aſſent to a meaſure, the motive which induced it may be pure; but the meaſure itſelf cannot be a wiſe one. Her counſels ought to be liſtened to by all claſſes, from the man who acquires his ſubſiſtence by daily labor, to that one who guides the deſtinies of a nation. When ſhe can afford no aid, doubts ariſe and diverſities of opinion exiſt. This was the caſe when the laſt Congreſs, at its firſt ſeſſion, repealed the internal taxes, and re-eſtabliſhed the old judicial ſyſtem, by aboliſhing the one paſſed in February, 1801. Theſe meaſures were approved by three-fourths of the people; a reſpectable portion of the remaining fourth refuſed their aſſent. This claſs have one common intereſt with the nation; their wiſh is to preſerve the conſtitution, the laws, and the liberty of the country—I ſpeak not of the *leaders* of oppoſition.

A government, which yields protection, and abſtains from oppreſſion, which maintains order, and ſecures liberty, which preſerves the national faith, and practices economy, whoſe baſis is the people, and whoſe object is their happineſs, is the great deſideratum.

The laws objected to, have long ſince gone into operation; the evils predicted have not been realiſed: Experience proclaims their value; and the murmurs of diſcontent are dying away. The time has arrived when it has become the duty of the people to re-conſider the objections, and decide upon their validity.

We were told that by aboliſhing the late judiciary ſyſtem we ſhould looſen the bands of civil ſociety, deſtroy the conſtitution of our country, and defeat the operations of juſtice. But the ſyſtem was aboliſhed—the bands of ſociety are not looſened—peace, order, and happineſs prevail—the conſtitution retains its youthful energy—the judges of the ſupreme court have ſanctioned the law—and juſtice is fully adminiſtered as heretofore. All the purpoſes of ſociety are anſwered—an important conſtitutional principle ſettled—and an expenſe ſaved equal to the ſupport of ſome of the ſtate governments.

We were told that by aboliſhing the internal taxes, we ſhould deſtroy the nation's credit, violate its faith, dry up its reſources, and deprive the government of the means of ſupport. But by the economical arrangement of the government, the reductions of expenditure exceed the reductions of revenue, more than 200,000 dolls; thus the people were relieved from annual taxes amounting to near a million of dollars, and from all the delay, expenſe and embarraſſments ariſing from the whole ſyſtem of internal taxation, and the government is on ſafer ground than the preceding adminiſtration.

The oppoſition has endeavored to excite popular diſcontent on account of repealing the exciſe on carriages and domeſtic refined ſugars. After having themſelves doubled the taxes on ſalt, tea and brown ſugar, while they were in power, after having ridiculed the rights of the people for years, after beſtowing on them every epithet which they had genius to invent or knowledge to borrow, when they no longer guide the helm of ſtate, they have attempted to palm themſelves upon the public, as the champions of the rights of the people, and the advocates of thoſe in humbler circumſtances. They have falſely and artfully repreſented, that the republicans, whom they uſually ſtigmatiſe as poor, have directed their attention to perſons of fortune, to the excluſion of the humble and dependent. With ſome who are uninformed they have been too ſucceſsful, while the friends of the government confiding in its integrity, and the wiſdom and utility of its meaſures, have neglected to communicate a correct ſtatement of facts. The public mind is correct; it will pronounce an impartial and juſt judgment when rightly informed; it demands a knowledge of the caſe; its claim ſhall be complied with.

It has been repreſented that the taxes upon pleaſurable carriages, and refined ſugars have been repealed. This is true ſo far as reſpects the exciſe; but falſe as it relates to the impoſt.

Whenever a coach, chaiſe, phaeton or other carriage is imported, a tax is levied upon it equal to one fifth of its value, that is to ſay, upon a coach worth 600 dollars, a tax of one hundred and twenty, upon a phaeton worth 300 dolls. a tax of ſixty, and upon a chaiſe worth 200 dollars, a tax of forty is levied. Parts of carriages are taxed in the ſame proportion. When a coach or other carriage is built in the United States, every material uſed in its completion, which comes from a foreign country, is taxed. Nothing is exempted but the labor of our own mechanics. The timber from our farms, the iron from our manufactories, and ſuch other articles as are produced by the ingenuity and labor of our citizens. Thus for the broad cloth a tax is paid equal to one eighth of its value, and for the carpetting, leather, paints, taſſels, laces, fringes and other trimmings, fifteen cents for the value of one dollar. So when a citizen purchaſes a hundred pounds of foreign loaf ſugar, he pays a tax of nine dollars; when he purchaſes a hundred pounds of brown ſugar, the tax he pays is only two and a half dollars. To produce a hundred pounds of loaf ſugar, requires two hundred and ſixteen pounds of brown ſugar; the difference in weight is loſt by the proceſs of clarifying. This two hundred and ſixteen pounds of brown ſugar is purchaſed by the manufacturer, and he pays for it a tax of five dollars and forty cents; of him the conſumer purchaſes it, and pays the firſt coſt, the tax, and the expenſe of refining. This conſumer, therefore, ſupports an uſeful manufacture of our own, and pays as much for each pound of ſugar he uſes, as he who conſumes brown ſugar pays for two pounds and one eighth.

Now it is a fact, which will not be controverted, that adding the exciſe upon the carriage, to the duties levied upon the moſt expenſive articles of which it is made, increaſes the expenſe to ſuch a degree, as to leſſen eſſentially the number of purchaſers. So adding to the tax upon brown ſugar, the exciſe upon that which is clarified by our own citizens, reduces materially the number of conſumers. The exciſe, therefore, operated directly to the injury of the ſugar boilers, the carriage builders and all perſons by them employed, either in furniſhing or manufacturing the materials of our own country, or in preparing thoſe of other countries for the uſe deſigned.

Nor ought we to compute that the revenue of government is leſſened to the amount derived from the exciſe on thoſe articles. Becauſe the importation of the articles neceſſary for the mechanics, and manufacturers, always will be in proportion to the demand for them, or, in other words, to the quantum uſed; and the revenue by impoſt is in proportion to the importation. Therefore to aſcertain what reduction of the revenue will in reality take place from the repeal of theſe exciſes, it is neceſſary to deduct from the groſs amount of revenue derived from them, the encreaſed amount of impoſt upon the articles of which they are made. The balance, if any thing, conſtitutes the true reduction of revenue. The exciſe has not been removed ſufficient time to enable any perſon to make this eſtimation. But I do not heſitate to ſay that, in a little time, the increaſed demand for, and conſumption of theſe articles, will produce an increaſe of impoſt equal to the reduction of revenue, which actually took place by aboliſhing the exciſe. Here let me aſk, why ſhould laws be ſo conſtructed as to injure the intereſts of theſe mechanics and manufacturers, and to check their laudable enterpriſe and induſtry, any more than they ſhould be, to check the induſtry of the cabinet-maker, the gold-ſmith, the ſilver-ſmith, the watch-maker, the engraver and all the artiſts in the uſeful and elegant arts of life? Why ſhould the labors of one man be taxed, and the labors of all others remain free? Is not the farmer willing that his ſon, who devotes his life to manufactures, or the mechanic arts, ſhould have an equal chance for happineſs with that ſon, who