NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER,

AND

WASHINGTON ADVERTISER.

VOL. V. | WASHINGTON CITY, PRINTED BY SAMUEL HARRISON SMITH, PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE. | No. DCCLXVIII.

FIVE DOLLARS PER ANNUM. | WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1805. | *PAID IN ADVANCE.*

HISTORY
Of the Weſt Indies :

A WORK in the contents of which every citizen of America muſt be intereſted, whether devoted to buſineſs, or deſirous of information through the medium of amuſement.

A new & reviſed edition of Mr. EDWARDS's Hiſtory of the Weſt Indies, with a third volume, (completed by its amiable author a ſhort time previous to his death) has lately been publiſhed in London. This third volume contains the intereſting and important hiſtory, with a large Map of the Iſland of St. Domingo, or Hiſpaniola, as alſo that of Tobago; likewiſe a hiſtory of the war in the Weſt Indies from its commencement in 1793, and a tour of Sir William Young through ſeveral of the iſlands. It is accompanied by a highly finiſhed portrait of Mr. Edwards, a hiſtory of his life written by himſelf, and a prefatory advertiſement by Sir WILLIAM YOUNG, Baronet, M P F R. S. &c. under whoſe editorſhip it has been given to the public.

The ſubſcriber, impreſſed with a ſenſe of the great importance a general knowledge of the Hiſtory, civil and commercial, of the Weſt Indies, muſt be to every citizen of America, and of the great celebrity of the above work, propoſes to print it by ſubſcription, and reſpectfully offers the following for public patronage and encouragement.

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CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,
Of the British Colonies in the West Indies.

BY BRYAN EDWARDS, ESQ. F. R. S. A. S.

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A political and topographical ſurvey of the ſugar iſlands.

A comprehenſive account of the ancient and preſent inhabitants, agriculture, productions, laws, government, conſtitution and commerce.

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Alſo, a tour through the iſlands of Barbadoes, St. Vincent, Antigua, Tobago and Grenada, by Sir William Young, Baronet, &c And

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☞ Subſcriptions are received by ſaid Humphreys at his book-ſtore the corner of Second and Walnut ſtreets, and by the principal Bookſellers through the Union.

Philadelphia, July 15—

STELLE's HOTEL & *CITY TAVERN.*

THE Subſcriber takes this method of thanking his friends and the public for their favors whilſt on the Capitol Square and begs leave to acquaint them that having purchaſed and now occupying the tavern, late Tunnicliff's hotel ; which he has commenced enlarging and improving—he reſpectfully ſolicits a continuance of the patronage of his friends and the public, aſſuring them that 'tis his full determination to fit up his preſent hotel, and ſo to conduct it, as to merit, he hopes, the preference of the public travelling, as well as thoſe coming to the permanent ſeat of the Government of our Land of Liberty.

PONTIUS D. STELLE.

Waſhington City, March 25—tf

FROM THE BOSTON CHRONICLE.

A summary Historical and Political REVIEW *of the Revolution, Constitution and Government of the United States ; an* ORATION, *delivered at Sheffield, July 4th,* 1805.

BY BARNABAS BIDWELL.

(CONCLUDED.)

THE original sentiments of the American people were strongly opposed to the hereditary, and attached to the democratic system. The first step towards a change in the principle of our government was to turn the current of popular opinion. The power of fashion was thought supreme on political, as well as other subjects. In England, by annexing ridicule to the name, it had rendered the character and politics of a republican odious. A similar process was attempted here. Hereditary authority was palliated by fashionable epithets. Instead of monarchical or aristocratic, it was plausibly termed energetic, independent and permanent. Its friends assumed the popular denomination of federalists, and continued to appropriate it, until, from an apparent consciousness of the declining popularity of that perverted name, they have latterly affected to style themselves republicans. In the mean time natural liberty and equality, and rights of men, the very first doctrines asserted in the declaration of independence, and in our constitutional declaration of rights, were systematically ridiculed. The sovereign people were contemned. Those departments of our government, farthest removed from their immediate control, were distinguished with comparative praises. From the perversion of the French revolution an inference was drawn unfavorable to the eventual issue of ours. The practicability of the elective system was first doubted, and then denied ; and the necessity of a more energetic and stable form was lamented, but inculcated. Popular elections were decried. Democrats were reproachfully stigmatised; and democracy, the essential principle of our national and state constitutions, was charged with all the crimes of anarchy and atheism. Hundreds and thousands of real republicans unsuspectingly followed this political fashion, as they conform to the prevailing mode of dress, till observation taught them its tendency and warned them of the consequences.

An over-ruling Providence brings good out of evil. The discussions, which grew out of such a radical division of sentiments, and which have agitated our citizens for a number of years, although accompanied with much acrimony and abuse, have upon the whole, produced salutary effects. The nature of government has been more thoroughly examined. Our political rights and duties are better understood. Popular errors have been corrected. The public mind, after partial and temporary aberrations, is brought back to first principles. The American revolution has revived in popular esteem. The French revolutionary attempt has, in some measure, lost its power to bewilder and discourage the friends of freedom. The practicability of republicanism is more generally admitted. The necessity of making our government more permanent by hereditary authorities, of increasing its energy by a military establishment, and attaching a powerful monied interest to its support by means of a funded debt, is exploded. Democracy is no longer considered criminal ; and a democrat is by no means felt to be a term of reproach. Party slander is so justly condemned, that it injures its authors more than the objects aimed at. Periodical elections are more highly valued and more punctually attended. The people are generally treated with respect. Their constitutional sovereignty is felt. Their elective decisions are acquiesced in ; and their rights and interests are regarded. Their conduct, at the same time, evinces an increasing sense of the importance of supporting the constituted authorities, elected by a majority of their own suffrages, and of obeying and executing the laws, constitutionally enacted by a majority of their own representatives ; and thus practically refuting the objections of their anti-democratic enemies, and confirming the republican maxim, that representative democracy is in reality the strongest, as well as the freest of human governments.

The progress of political reformation has extended to measures, as well as sentiments. One of the sins, which most easily beset modern governments, is an extension of executive patronage, by the multiplication of offices, the augmentation of taxes and the accumulation of debts. In each of these particulars, Great Britain exhibits an awful example. Her list of offices, civil, ecclesiastical, military, naval and fiscal, has been multiplied to an extent, which would startle an American. Taxes, direct and indirect, are there loaded upon every article of property and every convenience and necessary of life ; and year after year increases the weight of their load. The art of taxation, which seems to be a principal qualification for the ministry, is carried to such refinement, that they now raise, by annual taxes, twenty times as much as the U. States ; and yet their expenditures so far exceed their income, that they annually add to their national debt, by loans more than the whole amount of ours. Their debt already exceeds two thousand millions of dollars, and is progressing ad infinitum. No man, in his senses, now believes that any part of it will ever be redeemed. All this accumulation of burthens is the effect of the anti-democratic system of government, in the course of a little more than a century. At the era of the revolution 1688, the English national debt was less than half a million sterling, their annual revenue two millions, and their expences within the revenue.

BOLINGBROKE, in his "State of the Nation," explaining the funding ſyſtem, which was then introduced obſerves, "It was ſaid that a new government, eſtabliſhed againſt the ancient principles, and actual engagements of many, could not be ſo effectually ſecured any way, as it would be if the private fortunes of great numbers were made to depend on the preſervation of it ; & that this could not be done, unleſs they were induced to lend their money to the public, and accept ſecurities under the preſent eſtabliſhment. Thus the method of funding and the trade of ſtock-jobbing began." He might have added, that the policy was fatally ſucceſsful. It created an influential monied intereſt, and attached the holders of the funded ſtocks to the adminiſtration, who had aſſiſted them to their fortune, by advantageous loans. Thus too, the ſtockholders of the United States, with a very few exceptions, have been politically attached to the party, who were the authors of our funding ſyſtem.

On the ſubject of offices, taxes and debts, our own hiſtory, though ſhort, is full of inſtruction. A few facts only will be ſelected on the preſent occaſion.

Under the former adminiſtration we had Miniſters reſident at the Courts of England, France, Spain, Pruſſia, Portugal and Holland. At preſent we have them only at London, Paris, and Madrid.

Near the cloſe of the former adminiſtration, the federal judiciary then conſiſting of ſix judges of the ſupreme court, and one diſtrict judge in each diſtrict, was nearly doubled by the creation of an additional grade of circuit judges.

There is a clauſe in the Conſtitution that no Senator or Repreſentative ſhall be appointed to any civil office created during his term. The members of that Congreſs, therefore, could not be directly accommodated with the new official births. But a number of diſtrict judges and attorneys were advanced, and members of the Senate and Houſe appointed to ſucceed them, without the previous acceptance or even knowledge of the promoted officers. That was not, indeed, a violation of the letter of the conſtitutional prohibition ; but was it fairly reconcileable with the ſpirit of the conſtitution ? It certainly was attended with embarraſſments. In one caſe for inſtance a diſtrict judge was promoted to the circuit bench and a Senator was commiſſioned as his ſucceſſor. But the former, when conſulted declined his promotion, and the latter therefore took nothing by his appointments : Judge BEE is ſtill the diſtrict judge of South Carolina ; and Mr. READ with a commiſſion in his pocket, appointing him a judge during good behavior, has yet no office to ſerve in.

The firſt Congreſs, after the change of adminiſtration, repealed the circuit law, and reſtored the old judiciary eſtabliſhment, with ſome improvements ſuggeſted by experience.

No meaſure of the Republicans encountered ſeverer oppoſition than this. Both its conſtitutionality and expediency were controverted. It was once a queſtion for political diſcuſſion ; but we are now viewing it in the light of hiſtory.

The tenure of judicial office, during good behavior, was firſt introduced in England, then tranſplanted to ſome of our ſtate conſtitutions, and from thence engrafted into that of the United States. Its object was to ſecure judges againſt arbitrary removals from exiſting offices ; but it had no relation to the continuance or diſcontinuance of the offices themſelves. Thus the office of an Engliſh judge is, and always has been repealable by an act of the legiſlature, although, in the technical language of their laws, he holds it during good behavior.

The very act, creating the circuit courts, expreſsly aboliſhed pre-exiſting courts. Yet it was afterwards contended that the courts created by that act could not conſtitutionally be aboliſhed.

Gentlemen in Maſſachuſetts, who had long advocated the abolition of a different ſyſtem, without the leaſt doubt of the conſtitutionality of the meaſure, notwithſtanding the judges of thoſe courts hold their offices during good behavior, became converts to the new doctrine, that the abolition of an inferior court of the United States, without the conſent of the judges, would infringe their conſtitutional tenure of office during good behaviour.

In Connecticut, alſo, gentlemen who ſtill defend their own ſtate ſyſtem, by which the judges are not only appointed annually by the legiſlature, but dependent on them for the amount of their ſalaries, and the continuance of their offices, and removeable by them at pleaſure, any day of any ſeſſion, were neverthele ſs alarmed, leſt the repeal of the federal circuit courts ſhould ruin the judiciary, that main pillar of the conſtitution, by leaving all the judges at the mercy of the legiſlature, and thus rendering them victims of political intolerance, or tools of the prevailing party.

Some of the late judges themſelves proteſted againſt the repealing act ; and, in a petition to Congreſs, they have ſince given notice that they ſtill claim their ſalaries during life, provided they behave in ſuch a manner as to avoid a removal by the proceſs of impeachment.

Upon the point of expediency, it was aſſerted, that the remaining judges could not poſſibly accompliſh the judicial buſineſs of the United States. But experience has now refuted that aſſertion, and ſanctioned the diſcharge of thoſe ſupernumerary judges.

The federal Bankrupt act ſupplied a multitude of offices, which were all ſwept away when that law was repealed ; and to ſay the leaſt, the morals of the community have received no injury from the repeal.

The proviſional army, which under an idea of repelling an expected invaſion, had, for ſome time, furniſhed many offices and employments, was diſbanded, after a change of adminiſtration had become morally certain; and a ſubſequent reduction in the military eſtabliſhment ſtill left officers, as well as privates enough to garriſon the forts and guard the frontiers.

The act for levying a federal direct tax and for eſtimating lands and houſes for that purpoſe, in addition to a hoſt of temporary officers, created about a thouſand permanent offices § one in each aſſeſſment diſtrict, for the aſcertainment of accruing variations in the ſtate of buildings and regiſtry of tranſfers of real eſtate, with a view to ſucceeding taxes. By the diſcontinuance of direct taxation, thoſe offices are all aboliſhed.

The ſtamp tax, and other exciſes employed 457 officers, at an expence of more than two hundred thouſand dollars annually, as appears by the official returns for the years 1800. With the repeal of the exciſes, thoſe offices alſo have ceaſed.

By a train of Republican meaſures, executive patronage has thus been eſſentially reſtrained, and our annual expenditure diminiſhed more in amount than the whole preſent expences of the legiſlative, executive and judiciary departments added together.

National as well as perſonal economy, not only relieves us from burdens, but enables us to pay our debts. The ſame Congreſs which repealed the internal taxes, made effectual proviſion for the extinguiſhment of the national debt by a permanent appropriation of ſeven millions three hundred thouſand dollars to which have ſince been added ſeven hundred thouſand more, making in the whole eight millions of dollars a year.

The names of thoſe who voted for and againſt this republican meaſure, are entered on the journal of Congreſs, and will be recorded in the faithful pages of hiſtory.

The effect of ſuch a change of meaſures is already ſeen and felt : in our relief from direct taxes, ſtamps and all other internal duties and more ſenſibly, perhaps, in the rapid reduction of the debt. In twelve years it had riſen from about ſeventy to above eighty millions of dollars. A conſiderable part of the addition was made irredeemable for a ſtipulated time, and charged with eight per cent. intereſt, payable quarterly. According to the policy then prevailing, ſuch an augmentation, and on ſuch terms, was conſidered neceſſary. The ratio of increaſe was nearly equal to the progreſs of the Engliſh debt, during an equal period from its commencement after their revolution. It was ſeriouſly apprehended, that the plea of neceſſity would always continue, and produce here, as it had in England, a continued and inextinguiſhable progreſſion of debt.

The new adminiſtration ſucceeded March 4th, 1801. On the firſt treaſury quarter day afterwards, that is April 1ſt, 1801, the balance of caſh in the treaſury was 1,794,044 dollars, and 85 cents. On the 30th September laſt, to which time the laſt annual treaſury ſtatement reached the caſh in the treaſury amounted to 4,882,225 dollars and 11 cents, an increaſe of more than three millions ; and, in the intermediate period of three years and a half, 13,576,881 dollars and 15 cents, of the principal, had been redeemed, beſides the payment of the intereſt and the current expences of government.

No additional tax has been laid under the preſent adminiſtration except the late temporary addition of two and a half per cent upon certain articles of impoſt, eſtimated to produce 550,000 the preſent year, conſtituting the Mediterranean fund, ſpecially appropriated to the extraordinary expences of the naval armament, and limited to the duration of the Barbary war.

The permanent ordinary revenue is 11,200,000 ; which after deducting the appropriated eight millions, leaves three millions two hundred thouſand dollars, a ſum ſufficient for the ordinary expences of government, which are now indeed, within three millions a year, according to the laſt eſtimate. So that the appropriation need not be diſturbed.

The application of eight millions annually already reduces near 3,700,000 dollars of the principal. This annual reduction increaſes in a compound ratio ; and will if continued, diſcharge the whole of the old debt in the courſe of the year 1817, and the remaining 13 millions of the price of Louiſiana, in 1819. This is mathematically certain. Within 15 years, therefore, the United States will be freed from debt, provided the preſent ſyſtem of œconomy and peace ſhall be maintained.

Theſe, fellow-citizens, are facts and calculations, founded on the authentic documents, which any perſon who has leiſure, and will take the trouble, can examine for himſelf.

In the late re-election of Preſident Jefferson, by 162 of 176 electoral votes, is a fair criterion of public opinion, more than eleven twelfths of the nation already approve the republican meaſures now in operation. I am ſenſible they have been oppoſed with great ingenuity and zeal, by a perſevering minority in Congreſs, who are ſtill ſupported by a reſpectable portion of the people in this and ſome other ſtates. A part of the audience, whom I have the honor to addreſs, are of that number. As the ſyſtem however, which they have thus been oppoſing is now deliberately ſanctioned by ſo deciſive and increaſing a majority of the nation ; as it has, in practice, already been productive of ſuch beneficial effects, and, on reaſonable grounds, promiſes ſuch further benefits ; will they not feel it a duty to heſitate, to re-examine the foundation of their opinion, to review the ſeries of conteſted meaſures, by the lights of hiſtory and experience, and think ſeriouſly of the reſponſibility of purſuing their oppoſition any further ? What rational motive can they now have for ſtriving to reverſe the preſent order of things ? Can they hope, or even wiſh, to reſtore the federal meaſures which have been diſcarded ? Would they, for inſtance, revive the aboliſhed circuit court, after experience has proved them to be unneceſſary ? Or would they grant the ex-judges the ſalaries they claim during life, when all the world is convinced there is no occaſion for their ſervices ? Would peaceable citizens be gratified to hear again of invaſions and alarms and the drums of a proviſional army, beating through our ſtreets, to re-enliſt their ſons and apprentices, with mercenary vagabonds and convicts, for their companions ? Would our huſbandmen, who eat their bread in the ſweat of their brow, welcome the reviſits of federal collectors of taxes on their houſes and lands ? Are men of buſineſs deſirous to have their negociations embarraſſed again with ſtamps ? Would it be matter of joy to our traders and manufacturers, to ſee five hundred exciſe-men, dependent upon the pleaſure of the executive, replanted all over the interior of the country, with inquiſitorial powers to enter their houſes and work ſhops, any day, and any hour, to inſpect their buſineſs ; examine their books, and adminiſter oaths of diſcovery, for the purpoſe of collecting exciſe duties, in a time of general peace, in all our towns and villages, at an expenſe of twenty per cent

§ *The round number of the surveyors of Revenue is stated upon estimate only without the returns necessary for an exact calculation.*