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THE TERMS OF THE STAR

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From the NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

No. V.

A refutation of the charge against the present administration that their views and measures are hostile to the Eastern States.

The next subject on which the New England states are peculiarly tender is a NAVY. They consider themselves as deeply interested in this institution, and ascribe to the southern states, particularly to Virginia, and to the present administration, a deadly hostility to it.

That the New England states are as much interested in a navy as any of the other states is indisputable. But that they are more interested may well be doubted. The inference of the greater interest of New England is drawn from her having more ships on the ocean than her proportion. But it will not necessarily follow from this circumstance, that a navy would be more beneficial to her than to those states which possess a smaller share of shipping. The great benefit derived from a secure trade is felt by the exporter and the consumer. Those states which export the most and consume the most are those which will derive the greatest benefits and sustain the greatest injuries from whatever protects or injures commerce. They are those which will ultimately bare the burthen. Now, it is a fact that the southern states are at once the greatest exporters and the greatest consumers.

That they are the greatest exporters will abundantly appear from the following statement of exports for the year ending the 30th of September, 1801. This period is taken, from the inability of the writer to procure the statement of exports for the last year. It is presumed that the one cannot materially differ from the other.

Exports of Eastern States.

	Dollars.
New Hampshire,	555,055
Vermont,	57,267
Massachusetts,	14,870,556
Rhode Island,	1,832,773
Connecticut,	1,446,216
Aggregate	18,761,867

Exports of Southern States.

	Dollars.
Maryland,	12,834,543
Virginia,	6,483,028
North Carolina,	874,884
South Carolina,	14,304,045
Georgia,	1,755,939
Aggregate	36,252,439

From this statement it results, that while the New England states have an annual amount of exports of the sum of eighteen millions of dollars, the value of which must intimately depend upon the security of commerce, the southern states have an annual amount of thirty-six millions, and exactly double the former.—How then can it be said that the eastern states have a deeper interest in a navy, as a protection to commerce, than the southern states?

It is certainly true that a part of the products of the southern states is carried in eastern shipping; and that so far as relates to the profits of the voyage the eastern owner of the vessel carrying this portion of southern exports is peculiarly interested. But does it follow that because the merchant is interested in the *profit* of barter, that the raiser of the articles bartered is not interested in the *disposition* of them? And is it not evident that the disposition depends altogether upon the ability to export with safety? The merchant carries them with no other view than that of gaining a fair mercantile profit. This is all he can lose or gain. Whereas the farmer or planter may lose the whole amount of the articles. It follows necessarily that the interest of the farmer or planter is vastly superior to that of the merchant.

No correct official data exist of the relative consumption of imported goods by the eastern and southern states; but it is a fact that no one will dispute that the southern states consume a much larger share than the eastern. This arises principally from the small advances made in manufactures in the southern compared with those made in the eastern states; and from the different stile of living.—What the degree of difference is cannot with precision be ascertained, but it is unquestionably very great. Just in proportion to the greater demand of the southern states for imported articles will be their interest in the security of trade.

From this view it is demonstrable that the southern states are most deeply interested in commerce, and that so far from the eastern states, from the apprehension of rival and hostile interests, being jealous of the southern states, the latter have the strongest reason for jealousy of the former. The truth, however, is, that no one part of the union has, on this subject, any reason to be jealous of the other. The interest of all the parts is the same.

If there be a difference of opinion in the different parts of the union on the support of a navy, it does not, as we have seen, arise from an interest in any part to impair the protection of trade, but from a doubt whether, in the present circumstances of the country, the small navy we are able to keep up can afford any substantial protection.

So much with regard to the *general principles* on which the question rests.—These considerations that remain to be noticed relate to the views and measures of the present administration.

It is contended that the president is hostile to a navy. But is there any evidence of this? His notes on Virginia have been repeatedly quoted to prove that his early sentiments were favorable to such an establishment. Has he since delivered any opinions indicative of a change of mind? He has not. Look next at his measures. One of his earliest nominations for secretary of the navy, the head of that department on whom its respectability greatly depends, was John Langdou, an eastern man, and a warm friend of a navy. This gentleman not agreeing to serve, the president named Samuel Smith of Baltimore, no less distinguished for his attachment to the establishment. It being inconvenient to this gentleman to undertake the performance of the duties of the department, they were devolved on Robert Smith, the present secretary, who is known to be a friend of the navy.

Do these successive nominations look like hostility to the navy? Are they not, on the contrary, to a certain and to a considerable extent, indications of attachment to it, or at least of respect for the sentiments of those who are attached to it.

But we are told that whatever may be the *professions* of the administration, their *actions* are hostile to a navy. Dismiss then from further attention their professions, and let their actions decide.

The enemies of the administration say that the navy is reduced to a skeleton, and that the appropriations made for its support are inadequate.

To determine the truth of these charges, it is necessary to pass in review the measures of the late administration that relate to this subject, as well as the state of the public mind respecting it from the commencement of the government.

The operations of the general government commenced in the year 1789.—From that period to the year 1794 the United States had no naval armament. In this last year the depredations of Algerine corsairs extorted from congress a small marine establishment. The act providing for this armament expressly assigns this as the sole reason for it. Its words are—"Whereas the depredations committed by the Algerine corsairs on the commerce of the United States, render it necessary that a naval force should be provided for its protection:"

It proceeds to authorize the president to provide four 44 gun ships, and two of 36; or equivalent smaller vessels in lieu thereof; and concludes by providing "that if a peace shall take place between the United States and the regency of Algeirs, that no further proceeding be had under this act."—For these objects, by a subsequent law passed the same session, 688,888 were appropriated.

It is important to remark that this law passed on the 27th day of March, 1794, immediately after the re-election of General Washington by the unanimous suffrage of America, and when federal principles, unpolluted by party sensations, were in the full tide of successful experiment. Nor were the external affairs of the country by any means flattering. On the Atlantic the war had begun to rage between Great Britain and France, while on our western frontiers the savages were in arms. Still the great, the sole cause of this naval armament was the violences of Algiers; the captivity of our citizens, whose ignominious and harsh treatment roused the national sentiment to effect their liberation and restrain the further injustice of the dey. Congress expresly direct that as soon as these ends shall be attained, of which peace would be the necessary consequence, no farther proceeding shall be had in providing ships of war.

On the 8th of December, 1795, the president announced to congress the establishment of peace with Algiers and the formation of a treaty with Great Britain. On the 20th of April, 1796, congress authorized the president to continue the construction and equipment of two frigates of 44, and one of 36 guns; all authority under the preceding act having ceased with the cause that produced it; and appropriated the unexpended part of the previous appropriation of 688,888 dollars, and of 80,000 dollars appropriated for gallies. The same act directs that "such parts of the perishable materials as may not be wanted for completing the three frigates" shall be sold, and the surplus of the other materials safely kept for the future use of the United States.

No further appropriation was made until the 1st of June, 1796, when, 5,000 dollars were appropriated for the pay and the subsistence of three captains.

On the 3d of March, 1797, 5,000 dollars were appropriated to a like purpose, and 172,000 dollars to finishing the frigates United States, Constitution, and Constellation.

In these successive acts we behold strong, and what may be considered indisputable evidence of the state of public opinion from the year 1789 to 1797; and of the opinion of the general government during the whole of the Washington administration, which terminated on the very day on which the last appropriation law was passed. Other cotemporaneous evidences to the same effect are not wanting; among which that which contains the most precise and pointed application will be found in a report made to congress by Mr. Wolcott, secretary of the treasury in December 1796. The subject of the report is the imposition of a direct tax, which is preceded by a view of the demands likely to be made on the government for a number of succeeding years. Among these demands Mr. Wolcott estimates two millions as necessary for the military and naval departments, including pensions; and adds, "If it shall be found that the expenses of the military and naval department cannot be reduced below the above estimate, which, *though much to be desired, is far from certain*, the foregoing calculation (embracing other objects) will fall short of the real expense; it being morally certain, that the expenses of civil government will hereafter considerably increase."

Here then we have the uneqnivocal declaration of Mr. Wolcott, a citizen of Connecticut, a federalist, the successor and disciple of General Hamilton, and the confidential officer of General Washington, that it was much to be desired that the military and naval expenses should be reduced below two millions; the greater part of which being required by the army, leaves less than a million for naval purposes. The inference is, by no means, forced, that General Washington held the same opinions and had actually revised the report of the secretary before its submission to congress.

These were the sentiments and measures of the WASHINGTON administration.

On the 4th of March, 1797, commenced the ADAMS administration. Far different were the sentiments and views of this administration.

On the 24th of March, 1798, congress appropriated 394,000 dollars to finish and equip the above three frigates, and to provide for their crews for one year.

On the 27th of April succeeding, they appropriated 950,000 dollars for providing twelve vessels not exceeding 22 guns each.

On the 4th of May, they appropriated 80,000 dollars for providing ten gallies.

On the 16th of July, they appropriated 600,000 dollars to providing three ships of not less than 32 guns each.

On the 2d of March, 1799, congress appropriated for the support of the naval establishment 2,182,000 dollars; and for completing the vessels then building 1,004,000 dollars.

On the 10th of May 1800, they appropriated 2,482,000 dollars.

On the 3d of March, 1801, they appropriated 3,042,000 dollars.

On the 3d of March, 1801, terminated the period for which Mr. Adrms was elected.

Thus it appears that during the eight years of the Washington administration there were appropriated for a navy 950,000 dollars; while during the four years of the Adams administration there were appropriated 10,546,000 dollars.*

How this last enormous sum was expended, whether with intelligence and economy, or with ignorance and profusion, we shall not enquire. We will only ask whether the nation was not as happy and prosperous during the Washington as it was during the Adams administration? We need not dwell upon this enquiry, as the nation has already answered it.

For this great armament and enormous expense our difference with France were assigned as the pretext.——In the year 1800 those differences ceased, while Mr. Adams were still at the head of our affairs, and a *federal* congress continued.

In December, 1800, the treaty with France, that announced the restoration of peace, was received; and in the same month Mr. Jefferson was elected president of the United States.

These two events had an instantaneous influence upon the deliberations of congress. Whether it was that the cause of our great armament being removed, they were of opinion the effect should cease with it; or dreading the mighty influence of suffering to remain with their successors the extensive power they had themselves assumed, it was immediately determined that this splendid edifice should fall. Accordingly on the 12th of January following, Mr. Stoddert, the secretary of the navy, made a report to congress. We beg the attention of the reader to the quotations made from this report, as they will effectually wipe away the numerous reproaches made against the present administration, and prove that the measures for which they are censured, are those of the federalists themselves.

Mr. Stoddert says,

"The report of the secretary of the treasury, containing a statement of the appropriation necessary for the year 1801, includes the estimates of the expense of maintaining the navy of the same year. It is unnecessary, therefere, for me to repeat them here.

"But it will be observed, that these estimates were formed on the idea of employing our whole force in cruising, as heretofore, for the protection of our commerce. Should the United States be so fortunate as to terminate by an honorable treaty, the difference with France, it would be good economy to sell all the public vessels, except the following frigates:

The United States,	The Constellation,
——President,	—— Congress,
——Constitution,	——Essex,
——Chesapeake,	——Boston,
——Philadelphia,	——John Adams,
——New York,	——Adams, and
	General Greene.

"The rest were either built of materials which do not promise long duration, or are too small to form a part of the national defence. In future wars, the United States will probably be influenced by the example of all other nations, to suffer the capture of vessels merely commercial from their enemy; and, in this event, the enterprising spirit of our citizens will quietly furnish, for private emolument, nearly all the small vessels necessary to be employed; and will thus add to the national means of annoyance, without adding to the national expense. In this view, it may be sufficient for the United States to attend principally to a provision for ships of the line and frigates.

"The expense of maintaining the 13 frigates, herein enumerated, in constant service, and to the present establishment of numbers, pay and rations, would amount, annually, to the sum of 1,225,048 dollars 73 cents, as will be seen in paper No. I. But on a peace establishment, the ration, which is too large, ought to be reduced; seamen's wages will undoubtedly fall; on a general peace; and in such a state of things it would not be necessary to employ in each ship, more than two thirds of the present number of able and ordinary seamen. The paper No. 2, contains an estimate of the annual expense of these ships on a peace establishment, and on the principle of keeping the whole of them in constant service, amounting to 712,724 dollars 35 cents. The paper No. 3, shews the expense of keeping only six of the frigates in constant service; the others, remaining in port, but allowing half pay to a sufficient number of commissioned officers and midshipmen for the ships so laid up, amounting to 387,257 dollars. In the paper, No. 4, there is added to the estimate No. 3, the expense of allowing half pay to all the commissioned officers and midshipmen, at present in service, making the whole amount to the annual sum of 444,677 dollars."

After making several details, he adds:

"Thus then, it appears, that for the small sums of 651,987 dollars 34 cents, the United States may keep in constant service, six frigates; seven others in port, but always ready for service; the corps of marines, consisting of more than 1100 officers and men, and remunerate the past and secure the future services of a meritorious class of men, who in general either sacrificed more profitable and less hazardous private employment, to devote themselves to their country in the season of peril; or who being qualified by education for any pursuits have entered into the navy, as a profession, at that time of life when professions are usually chosen.

"All great maritime nations retain in peace the commissioned navy officers necessary to be employed in war, by allowing them a portion of their monthly pay, on the condition of holding themselves in readiness at all times, to be called into active service. The same provision is not so generally extended to midshipmen; but the discrimination is no where just, and in the United States, in the present instance, it would be extremely impolitic; for the midshipmen are among the most promising young men of our country, possess all the materials to make officers equal to any in the world, and well merit the fostering care of their government. But it would be injurious to themselves and to their country, to pay them for remaining at home. No midshipman ought to receive half pay, without exhibiting satisfactory proof that, at least four months of the year for which he demanded it, had been employed by him in acquiring a better knowledge of his profession; if not in foreign service, at least in the merchant ships of his own country.

"It also appears that for the further sum of 643,625 6-100 dollars appropriated for the present, and for each of the three succeeding years, six 74 gun ships may be added to the navy; two frames for two other 74 gun ships may be placed in dock for seasoning; six capacious building yards with docks for receiving large quantities of timber may be prepared; and suitable houses, which are indispensibly for the security of the naval stores, may be erected at each of the building yards."

In compliance with these recommendations congress on the 3d of March, 1801, the last day on which federal power remained, passed an act providing for a naval peace establishment, of which the following are the most material sections.

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled*, That the president of the United States be, and he hereby is authorised, whenever the situation of public affairs shall in his opinion render it expedient, to cause to be sold, they being first divested of their guns and military stores, which are to be carefully preserved, all or any of the ships and vessels belonging to the navy, except the frigates United States, Constitution, President, Chesapeake, Philadelphia, Constellation, Congress, New York, Boston, Essex, Adams, John Adams, and General Greene; and also to lay up all the frigates thus to be retained, except such as are directed by this act to be kept in constant service in time of peace.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That six of the frigates to be retained shall be kept in constant service in the time of peace, and shall be officered and manned as the president of the United States may direct, not to exceed however two-thirds of the present complement, of seamen, and ordinary seamen; the residue of the frigates to be laid up in convenient ports, and there shall be permanently attached to each frigate so laid up, one sailing master, one boatswain, one gunner, one carpenter, and one cook, one serjeant or corporal of marines and eight marines; and to the large frigates twelve, and to the small frigates ten seamen: the sailing master shall have the general care and superintendance of the ship; and shall generally execute such duties of a purser as may be necessary.

Sec. 4. *Be it further enacted*, That the president of the United States retain

NOTE: *By official documents the actual expenditure for this period appears to be about ten millions of dollars.*