

nature to obtain some pitiful private ends. So, if the people will countenance the cheat, the state policies may be rendered intricate, unintelligible and expensive.—And the consequence of this sophistication will be the destruction of that responsibility which ought to be forever attached to deputations of all kinds where the nature of the thing to be done will admit of it. Now I presume there is no transaction within the jurisdiction of a state but such as the immediate agent may safely, and can easily explain; and if so, it is clear that we have the advantage above any nation under heaven of a perpetual recurrence to first principles for the preservation of moral rectitude in the body of the people. This is another ineffable fruit of the federal government—For it forms a system of political education superior to any that ever was conceived before. Evil beset the paricide that would pervert it!—But how would suability benefit the system?—I answer, by the dissolution of mystery, by a constrained economy, and by a correct responsibility. I might say more—It would of itself afford a glorious exemplar of reciprocity and justice that would not only stamp the character of all Americans, but I almost weep for joy to think that it would convert the whole corrupted world.

Shame upon the ill-begotten policy that begins with fraud! Shall we never escape from the bondage of abuses into the liberty of moral rectitude? At least let us turn calculators, and see in which way most money may be made.—For I have a strong suspicion that it is better to be a wealthy Dutch merchant than a poor Spanish grandee or German prince. Now if we will be sovereign, after yielding almost all our resources, exclusively to the United States, why the plain effect of it is that no man of a sane mind would ever lend us a farthing. This may be refuted by some of your dignity-dealers; but I care for no dignity that shuffles. I say that if we will be sovereign, we must be poor. But if we have the good sense to pledge our estates, as reason and justice require, we may, on occasion, raise a sum that would save a nation! And it is not impossible that that nation should become our own!—Here is dignity—this is a glory that I know Massachusetts would claim. It is of such powers that her very good friends would deprive her.—And for what?—For a sceptre of straw!

SENECA.

CONGRESS.

House of Representatives.

January 14.

In committee of the whole, on the report of the Secretary of State, relative to the commercial intercourse of this country, with foreign nations.

Sketch of Mr. Madison's observations in reply to Mr. Smith.

(Continued.)

MR. MADISON next took a view of the subject, as it interests our manufactures. On this score the regulations existing between Great Britain and this country, are as unequal as on the score of navigation. We admit of her manufactures to twice the amount of produce she takes in return, and to quadruple the amount of what she consumes. Besides what we receive from her, is, after every kind of profitable labour has been heaped upon it, and we return raw materials only the food of her industry. What we send are articles of first necessity for the support of life, or to give bread to her manufacturers. We receive articles by no means of first necessity, and she besides, brings us whatever she pleases of the productions of other countries, and refuses to admit our principal staple commodities, in our own bottoms.

Upon this view of the business, our intercourse certainly does not stand on the footing we are entitled to. In looking into documents before the committee, it will be found, that out of the whole amount of manufactured articles, imported into this country, which is in round numbers, 15,290,000 dollars, Great Britain furnishes 13,950,000. From France which country actually consumes more of our produce, we received only to the amount of 155,000 dollars, in the same period, that is in the year '89-90. Our intercourse with the nations of Europe,

makes the balance of our trade, as expressed in the following table.

With Spain,	2,670,797	dolls. in our
		favour
Portugal,	267,699	do.
Netherlands,	791,111	do.
France,	2,630,387	do.
Great Britain,	5,922,012	against us.

And if we compare her imports, with the portion of our produce which she consumes, the balance will then be between 9 and 10,000,000 against us. It might by some be said, that though the balance is thus against us, in our intercourse with that country, yet we may derive as much advantage from the intercourse, as if the fact was otherwise. This might happen in some cases, but he could not admit the possibility of its existing in the intercourse between this country and Great Britain.

Other nations, however, view a balance of trade against them as a real evil; Great Britain, in particular, is careful to prevent it; what then must be the feelings of a nation with whom we have friendly relations, when they see not only the balance of trade, between them and us, so much against them, but that what we get from them in this way, flows in the same manner, into the coffers of one of her most jealous rivals, and inveterate enemies.

As to the propriety of a discrimination between nations having treaties with us, and those having none, the propriety of the principle was admitted in some states, before the establishment of the present general government. It was sanctioned by the house, during their sittings in New-York, though it failed in the Senate, as he had before observed. But it is the practice of nations to make such a discrimination. It is necessary to give a value to treaties.

The gentleman up yesterday, seemed to admit that it is not advantageous for a nation to depend on only one other nation in trade, and yet, did not approve of making any efforts to relieve ourselves, from that situation. There certainly are very serious disadvantages in depending on one nation only, for supplies; we are thereby at the mercy of the caprice of sovereigns, and of other casualties. If the nation with which we have an exclusive intercourse, should be involved in pecuniary embarrassments, or a general bankruptcy, the effect will be felt by us; and that this may happen, is within the sphere of possibility, indeed the experience we have but lately had upon this score, ought to make us wise. If the nation is involved in a war, or experiences any great derangement, the effect, owing to our dependence on them alone, for supplies, will reverberate upon us undoubtedly, and we shall feel part of her embarrassments. At this moment indeed, we suffer for want of the assistance of foreign bottoms, for the transportation of our produce. But there are besides, other more serious evils, arising from this state of commercial dependence, the influence which it produces on our public councils, and the most alarming feature of this evil is, that the more inconvenient it becomes by its constant growth, the more obstacles it is able to throw into the way of a necessary remedy.

If the question is asked, what will be the probable consequence of making an attempt, for the vindication of our commercial interest? Whether it will produce retaliation? He saw no probability that the interest of Great-Britain will suffer her to retaliate, and he believed, that the intercourse between the two countries, would be interrupted no more than convenient to our interest; we have nothing to apprehend on this score. If it is asked, what would be the issue of a commercial conflict, he could answer, and he believed he could shew, that if the business should call for self-denial, we should go through it with more advantage, and might count in the issue, upon a complete triumph. The effect of such a system, would be felt in Great Britain, in the shipping business, the merchant would feel it, but above all, the manufacturer. There is a paper in Anderson's history of commerce, which rates the amount of the value of British manufactures annually, at £ 51,310,000 sterl. They are supposed to employ, 5,250,000 souls; this gives £ 10, to a soul. Supposing Great-Britain to export to this country; two & 1-2 millions of sterling pounds, of her manufactures, then we must employ 250,000 of her hands. To this we may add, 50,000 probably employed upon the raw materials, which we send them, and then we may compute that 300,000 of her manufacturers are employ-

ed to supply us. If these were suddenly thrown out of employ, it is impossible to say, what a complication of distresses they would labor under. In this situation, the United States would be considered as a natural asylum from wretchedness; and whether they remained in discontent in their own country, or fought their fortune in another, the foil would be considered and felt by the British government, as equally great, and they would surely beware of taking any step that might provoke it.

A country situated as this is, in such a conflict would have vast advantages over a populous and manufacturing country. Our country produces the necessaries of life within itself, and other countries, who do not produce them in sufficient abundance are dependent on us to supply their wants. Again the manufacturer of that country depends on us for a sale of his merchandize which is to procure him bread. Here is a double dependence of Great-Britain on the United States. They are dependent for what they consume of our produce and dependent for what we chuse to consume of her manufactures. The articles we supply are the necessaries of life to the manufacturer, and what he sends in return we can dispense with, without sacrificing a comfort or even a reasonable fancy.

He recollected, he said, a petition presented, not many years ago to the Prince of Wales by 15,000 buckle manufacturers, that stated, that their subsistence depended on his wearing buckles instead of strings, as he was acknowledged the king of fashions. It was not the Prince that petitioned them to go on making buckles. The same would be the case between this country and Great-Britain, they would soon petition us for employment.

Suppose that Great-Britain obtained here all her necessaries and that this was her only market for her supplies, then the dependence would be complete and we might impose what terms we chose. This is to be sure not the case; but in proportion as we stand in those relations, is her dependence upon us. The West-Indies are almost completely dependent, we are the best market for their productions and almost the only market where they can obtain the necessaries of life. We give them provisions, lumber, flour &c. and on our part sugar is perhaps the only article that may be considered as wanted from them, and he was well informed, that not more than 1-6 of this article consumed in the United States comes from the English dominions. Their dependence is still stronger on us in case of war or famine, it is sometimes such as to appeal to our humanity as well as policy for a supply, and yet the gentleman from South-Carolina considers it as a favor conferred upon us that our produce should be admitted there to the exclusion of that of other countries, a nominal exclusion only.

For his part he viewed the subject very differently; though we thus exchange necessaries of life for luxuries, the gentleman thinks it is nothing that the whole carrying trade should be taken from us. His sentiments put into the mouth of a West-Indian would be this; "I will agree not to starve myself, but to turn your produce, send you in return our rum you can do without, but then I must have all the advantage of the carrying trade."

He made some observations on the manner in which the revenue may be affected by the resolutions. From the revenue system of Great Britain, a tax of 40s. per poll is borne by the subjects of that country, while not more than 6s is laid here. Here the price of labor is double, and there the weight of our taxes is not more than 1-13 as great as in England. This is not exactly true, however; though they nominally bear this burden yet it is somewhat less as they draw from their East-India and West-India possessions, and in the course of trade from all nations who have not commercial regulations with them. However, all deductions made the resources of Great Britain are certainly more strained than ours.

They have great arrearages of unfunded debt and are engaged in a war which is carried on by accumulating taxes for posterity. Their population is stationary. From all these considerations, this country is surely best calculated to bear the shock of a stagnation in commerce. He went thro' a calculation to shew, that the advantage derived from a system of regulations such as these proposed, would be such as to do more than counter-balance any diminution of the present revenue.

It may be thought by some, that some of the nations of Europe with whom we have no treaty and yet have a valuable commerce should be excepted out of the effect of these regulations, he meant Spain and Portugal. He admitted this might have some weight, but an inconvenience of this kind should not surely prevent our taking measures essential to our national dignity and prosperity.

A consideration of the subject would much diminish the force of the objection. The manufactures we import from Spain and Portugal are very trifling, and as to tonnage, the first enjoys only one sixteenth and the other one seventeenth of the tonnage employed in our commercial intercourse with them. Besides neither appears particularly anxious to extend her navigation. Their policy is to admit other nations to enjoy the carrying trade in the commerce with them, and to secure to themselves this trade in all intercourse with their dependencies. However, if it still should be thought that they should be excluded from the operation of the proposed regulations, he had no objection to confine it expressly to those nations who have navigation laws, or they may be excluded by confining it to the countries north of Cape Finister, a very common distinction.

The gentleman from South-Carolina appeared well satisfied that in our intercourse with Great Britain we are as well treated as other nations. This did not satisfy him, he owned. If other nations are willing to bear impositions or were unable to retaliate, he hoped that is not an example we are to follow.

But is it true that the same system of equality subsists between us and Great Britain, as between that and other European nations? He believed not. Before the war France had established legal regulations to reciprocate those of Great Britain unfavorable to her. He believed Sweden and Denmark both exclude, if not altogether at least a great portion of the British manufactures. From this it appears that other nations by their acts have placed their intercourse with Great Britain upon a basis more reciprocal than that established in our intercourse with her.

It has also been asserted that Great Britain treats us as well as other nations treat us. What nation, he asked, has such a navigation act? What nation besides excludes us from a circuitous trade? What nation excludes us to such an extent from carrying our commodities in our own bottoms?

On the subject of the different dispositions of France and England towards us, the gentleman from South Carolina appears to think very differently from the President. The President in his message expressly tells the legislature, that the former has uniformly shewn a good disposition towards us and has granted as many commercial advantages, while his silence as to the latter sufficiently shews that this cannot be said of her policy towards us.

But he wished from facts to shew that our intercourse with the two nations is on a very different footing, for this purpose he had also drawn up a small table. He wished, however to premise, that he could not agree with the gentleman from South Carolina on the propriety of recurring for documents to a period antecedent to the French revolution.

He (Mr. S.) remarked, that since that period the order of things has been unsettled; and therefore the Secretary of State has taken up the subject in this view—Mr. Madison said, he hoped, for his part that the present is the settled order of things, he hoped and believed that the revolution is not a fugitive thing and that it is the old order of things that is now unsettled for ever. He should not, however, he said, exclude from his calculations what was done under the monarchy in our favor, because it is not reasonable to suppose that the disposition of that nation towards us could be less favorable to us now, than when under the former government.

(To be concluded in our next.)

STOLEN,

A few days ago, from No. 6, Latitia Court.

A Silver Table-Spoon,

Marked I. C. maker's name R. H. Whoever returns said Spoon to the owner, shall receive One Dollar reward, and no questions asked.

N. B. Silversmiths and others are requested to stop said spoon, if offered for sale, and give notice as above.

Jan. 17.