

But if we add to this, the profit which the very slave could have furnished, if transported to the islands, (and it is certain that all the slaves carried to Louisiana are so many hands taken from the islands,) we shall find that the actual loss of the nation, in the interruption of labour, will amount to upwards of 600 livres per annum, so that the first loss for the nation in the introduction of 1000 slaves to Louisiana, will be 600,000 livres. It is true, that if peace continues, and if, in opposition to expectation, the colony should prosper, the rich planters will make a great consumption of French goods, but that of the slaves will ever be very small, or their labour without profit, because, as I have already observed, being employed to cultivate articles which the islands can more easily supply for every demand, and the sale of which is confined, by increasing the quantity, they will only lessen the prices of those commodities which it is essential for France to keep high, because she possesses the most fertile islands. I know there is an opinion entertained by many, viz. That French goods, in their way to the Mississippi, will find a market in the western part of the United States. The most complete ignorance of the navigation of that river could alone have given rise to such an opinion, which is likewise grounded on the ignorance of the wants of the inhabitants. It is certain that the wines of France are not fit for climates as hot as those they must cross before they arrive in the Western States; that they are still less suited to the means and taste of the inhabitants, who are more accustomed to their own liquors such as cider, beer, whisky, and peach-brandy, the latter, with time, becomes superior to the best French brandy; so that instead of receiving these articles through Louisiana, they might themselves supply the colony with them. As to the articles of glass and earthen ware, they are made in every part of the Western States, where the raw materials are every where found. The demands for China ware are small, but if they were large, French ware is too dear to hurt the sale of China.

Large iron works are also wrought on the spot, and English hard ware has so well known a superiority over the French, that the latter would certainly remain unsold, if both were exposed at Market. The only articles perhaps which might be introduced into the country, would be silks, cambrics, and a few other articles of luxury. But even all these can never pass through the river Mississippi.—The dangerous navigation of the gulf, the long and expensive distance to go against the current, the large capitals of the English and American merchants at Philadelphia, and the great improvements which are made every day in the roads and inland navigation, will cause land carriage to be preferred as far as the Ohio, and other rivers, whence they are carried to the settlements, easily and cheaply. It is a well known fact, that dry goods have been carried from Philadelphia to New-Orleans by land, by that route in preference to sea carriage. It is therefore, visionary to believe that goods from France will be carried that way; whilst the enterprising English who have the right of navigating that river, and the prejudices of the Americans in favour of their manufactures, never attempted to introduce their goods that way; because they well know that they were more easily bro't by Philadelphia and Baltimore. But should France be desirous of introducing that way, more bulky articles into the Western States, and accustom the inhabitants to their wines and manufactures, it could only be by putting New-Orleans into their hands, with the proviso, that it shall ever be a free port for French vessels and goods without being subjected to any other duties, than those paid by the Americans. By this means the American merchants, settled at New-Orleans may be interested in their commerce; instead of going to England, their capitals will go to France; the latter will have all the advantages of a colony without the expence of supporting it, and the money which American activity obtained from the Spaniards would go to France, for England, which has not the same means and which pays higher duties, could not supply those goods at so low a rate.

But should France, on the other hand, resolve to keep the island, a great proportion of the capitals of the commerce to New-Orleans, which are especially in the hands of the English and Americans, will naturally take the course which the United States shall fix, and that must be a rival place of commerce with New-Orleans, which being rid of the vexations consequent upon a military government, distance from the sovereign, will draw, in spite of all the disadvantages of its situation, the whole commerce of which the other is at this day the centre.

The boundaries established between

Spain and the United States, and very lately between the English and Spanish possessions, have deprived the inhabitants of Louisiana of their share of the Fur-trade, which it must be confessed was not, nor could ever be very important, as the peltry of the South are of but little value, the few skins are of no importance to commerce as may be seen in the tables of importation of New-Orleans. Goods are ever to be transported from the Mississippi in the United States, that way.

In these considerations I have kept no account of the pains, expences and loss of men, which are inseparable from new settlements in a marshy country, and a burning climate; the invasion of indians; the insurrection of slaves; the insubordination of the troops; the abuses committed by officers, remote from the sovereign's vigilant eye. All these inconveniences united, or only a few of them, are enough to stop an undertaking, and ruin a settlement. A very important observation is however, to be made, and that is of some weight. Many of those who will carry their families to Louisiana, observing that the lands are as cheap on the American side, will prefer settling there, even in time of peace; some, because they will prefer the government of that country, others by caprice, others through spite, or to rid themselves from a military government, such as that of Louisiana must necessarily be. That wish must be general in a case of war between France and England, for admitting that the latter maintains her naval superiority (as I have already proved in another place, she must, unless France changes her commercial system in order to establish it upon more liberal principles,) the mouth of the Mississippi will be blocked up, and the planters in the French colonies will be reduced to the greatest distress while those of the United States, will derive from the war the greatest benefit.

Then it will be, that a great part of the capitals brought from France to Louisiana, will pass into the United States, where are found farms, already cleared, for one half of what it would have cost a French planter to clear his; because an American familiarized from his infancy to the use of the axe, has acquired a dexterity and a muscular strength which are never obtained by a man used to other business.

The experience of the past is wholly in support of these observations. Though settled for one century, Louisiana has never prospered under either the French or Spanish government. And one half of the commerce of New-Orleans is now carried on with American capitals, under the guarantee of their treaty with Spain. As soon as the French will plant a rival colony, that commerce will be carried on in any other place in the United States, which the policy of the government may judge proper to encourage.

If the settlement of Louisiana is not advantageous to France in a commercial view, because it diverts capitals from a much more important channel, it is still more contrary to her interests in a political point of view. America is of the utmost importance to France, whether considered as a commercial or maritime power. I have explained my opinion fully in this first relation, on another occasion as to the other, there is no question that an agricultural nation, which, by her industry and her raw materials, is able to procure all the superfluous luxuries of Europe, and whose habits and occupations prevent them from manufacturing for themselves; there can be no question that such a nation must afford a very important market to the inhabitants of the old world.

In this view the commerce of the United States is considered as very profitable to England, but when French manufactures shall have obtained all the improvement of which they are capable: when commerce shall be established upon a suitable basis, it will present a much greater variety of articles upon which to support itself than the commerce of England. Woolen articles and hard ware are the only articles which America receives from England; but France shall furnish not only these articles, but her agriculture will gain by the sale of her wines, her brandies, and her oils. Those advantages added to the relative situation of France and the United States, which removes every suspicion of rivalry between them, both by sea and land, have exhibited France as the natural ally of the United States, to the eye of those who have considered, in the extent of her power, a new pledge of the security of their commerce and their future tranquility. They have done homage to the wisdom of those statesmen who at the conclusion of an advantageous war, have thought that France would gain more by securing the solid friendship of the U. States, than by acquiring a territory which would be for them an object of jealousy,

and might again force them under the domination of a people whose yoke they had just assisted them to shake off.

I am not ignorant how delicate it is to foretell political misfortunes, which might result to France and the United States from the possession of Louisiana, and the Floridas by the former. I must either conceal that which truth would have me say, or, on the other hand frighten certain querulous minds who may fancy they see a threat in my frankness. Nevertheless, a citizen of one of the two nations, and strongly attached to the other, I hope that those to whom this memorial may be delivered will be able to set a just value on the motives of my conduct, and will see in it, nothing but my exertions to remove every subject of dispute between two people formed to assist one another; and although I am too well acquainted with the resources of my own country to dread the power of any of the European nations, it will easily be seen that I am incapable of conceiving the ridiculous idea of threatening a government which has seen all Europe bend the knee before its power.

I have observed, that France and the United States are, in a respective situation, so fortunate as to have no point of collision. They may assist without being tempted to hurt one another in any manner. This commerce is useful to both nations; this union of sentiments and interests rests upon principles which ought to form the maritime code, and deliver the universe from the tyranny founded by Great-Britain, which she maintains, and which never will be combated with success, until the other powers, by uniting, will abridge her means by transferring to nations more moderate a part of her commerce; and as there are no nations on the globe whose consumption offers to foreign manufactures resources as vast as those offered by the United States, if we consider with what rapidity this consumption increases, the means which America has of creating a navy when her political situation shall render it necessary, we shall be obliged to own that France must have very strong motives and very powerful, to induce her to abandon these advantages, and change a natural ally, from a warm friend into a suspicious and jealous neighbour, and perhaps hereafter into a declared enemy.

Experience has proved, that two nations could not be neighbours without being rival; and if this be true of two neighbouring nations, it may be said with still more truth of a colony formed by a great and powerful nation, removed from the metropolis, and of a people bordering on the territory of the other. The reason of this is plausible; where two nations are neighbours every thing passes under the inspection of the sovereign; but when the governor of a colony calculating upon the protection of the metropolis, is guilty of an act of hostility, the wound gets gaugered before a physician can be called. The offended sovereign who also thinks that the offenders will be so much the more strongly supported, as his nation is more powerful, tries every means in order to anticipate on the hostilities which he dreads, uses reprisals, and both nations are at war before any explanation has taken place.

If there be a situation in the world which may be attended with these consequences, it certainly is that of France, when she is in possession of New-Orleans. It is situated in such a manner as to block up the great passage towards the sea, from a great number of States and a very extensive population which increases rapidly.

A military government is about to be established on the island. The General, proud with reason, of the glory of his nation, will cast on every thing that surrounds him a look of superiority; commerce will be degraded; and merchants subjected to the despotism of men who will seek in the laying up of riches, a recompense for their privations in the remote and inhospitable country whether they are sent. The colony presents no lawful means of growing rich, except those (slow and progressive) of commerce and agriculture—ill suited means for soldiers. However vigilant the mother country, she will not vent at that distance, the vexations which may be exercised. On the other hand the government of the United States will not be able in a thousand instances, to restrain the petulance of the near inhabitants bordering on the limits of the Mississippi; to confine their vengeance wholly and compel them to expect from diplomatic representation a slow justice. Hatred will take place between the two people; the bonds of friendship will be destroy-

ed, and the government of the United States, which ever share the sentiments of the people, will be forced, by its situation, to alter its political relations. Then for the sake of guarding themselves against their old ally, for a pretended act of hostility, they will form a cautionary connection with England, which will be sedulous in obtaining her alliance, and will excite her resentment against France; because in that alliance she will see the means of preferring her commerce with America, which she now possesses almost exclusively, securing her colonies to be able, in case of war, to invade the French colonies, and especially of preventing the union of the commerce and navy of France and the United States, upon which alone France can engrave her naval superiority.

It may be asked, why those jealousies which I seem so much to dread for France, have not taken place for England in possession of Canada? First, because Great-Britain has prudently separated her territory by a natural limit which prevents the contact of the two nations. While she occupied the western posts, the United States saw her with jealousy, and it is beyond doubt that hostilities and a national increase of American population in that part had taken place; when those forts were given up, numerous symptoms had already manifested themselves.

Secondly, because the usual road of exports from the United States, being made through their own rivers, there is no important communication between them and Canada.

But it is chiefly because upper Canada is inhabited by American emigrants, who, in case of a rupture, would join, according to all appearances, to the United States, had not the spirit of their government been to prevent the extending of their limits.

But, after all, what political or commercial advantage can France receive from the possession of New-Orleans, and of the East bank of the Mississippi, that may balance the loss, which in these two points of view, she will sustain in the rivalry with the United States? The Floridas are a narrow strip of barren land, incapable of defence, in case of a rupture, and which will cost more than it is worth to guard, garrison, and the presents to the Indian Tribes. However advantageous New-Orleans might be for the United States, it will be of very inconsiderable value for France, when the foreign capitals shall be taken from it, or a rival city shall be established on the American side. From the best information, I find that one third of the best commercial houses employed in New-Orleans, are American. No sooner will a military government be established in the country than all these commercial houses, with the capitals which support them, will pass into the United States to that place assigned them by the treaty with Spain, or to the Natchez, where every vessel which may go to New-Orleans may be received. Large vessels from France have already arrived there, and unloaded their cargoes without difficulty, and as the foil is so much the more advantageous as we penetrate further, there is very little doubt this establishment will soon rival that of New-Orleans, when the American capitals shall have been taken out of it. When the United States shall have declared the Natchez a free port, New-Orleans will be very little as a place of commerce, and only an object of useless expence for France, and an inexhaustible source of jealousy between France and the United States.

The cession of Louisiana is nevertheless very important to France, if she applies it to the only use which found policy seems to dictate. I speak of Louisiana alone, and by this I do not mean to comprehend the Floridas, because I think they are no part of the cession. As it can by this cession acquire the right of carrying on the Mississippi, a free trade, if she knows how to profit of this circumstance, by a perfect understanding with the United States, she will find markets for a very great variety of articles, when she has accustomed the inhabitants of the Western countries to prefer them to the English, which she can only obtain by selling them cheaper and she can only sell them cheaper

by interesting the American merchants to sell them to have the use of their capitals, and by engaging the government of the United States to give them the preference. All this can take place only by the cession of New-Orleans to the United States, with the reserve of the right of entry, at all times free from all other duties than those paid by American vessels, together with the right of navigation on the Mississippi. This would give her vessels an advantage over the vessels of all other nations, will retain and even increase the capitals of New-Orleans, where the provisions for the island will be bought at the cheapest rate possible, and where the articles of her manufactures will be introduced in the western countries;—The United States will have no interest in preventing it for every reason of rivalry will be removed. Then France will command respect without inspiring fear to the two nations whose friendship is the most important for her commerce; and the preservation of her islands and all these advantages will be obtained without the expence of establishments which ruin the public treasure, and divert capitals from their true object.

But if, on the one side, France keeps New-Orleans, by attempting to colonize Louisiana, she will become an object of jealousy to Spain, the United States and England, which powers will not only discourage her commerce, but will compel her to make expensive establishments to secure the possession of it.

In the foregoing observations I have confined myself to observations which presented themselves, without having recourse to subtilties, which only serve to mislead the judgment. I have exposed simple facts with candor and all the simplicity of language. If a reply is made, it will be by pursuing a contrary course. With eloquence and sophistry they may be combated and obscured; time and experience will demonstrate their solidity.

\* It is probable this is a condition of the cession.

## WILMINGTON,

TUESDAY, July 26, 1803.

We have accounts via Alexandria which confirm officially, the capture of St. Lucia by the British, on the 22d June. Commodore Hood and Lieut. Gen. Griensfeld commanded the expedition, of the force of which they have given no account. The number of French prisoners is stated to be 619, inclusive; no mention is made of the killed and wounded, except on the part of the English 138.

Mr. Monroe, says the Morn. Chronicle, it is presumed, has now gone to the Spanish Court to complete the object of his mission by negotiating for the possession of the Floridas. There is little doubt but he will be as successful at Madrid, as Mr. Livingston has been at the Court of Paris.

Two British frigates, the Boston and Andromache, are said to be cruising on our coast. N. Y. Com. Advertiser.

A letter from Nevis dated June 14th, says, "Commodore Hood has sent into Barbadoes two French frigates and three transports, bound from France to Guadeloupe."

By an arrival at New-York from Havre de Grace, Paris papers to the 21st May inclusive are received. From one of that date, printed in the English language, the editor of the Mercantile Advertiser has copied the counter declaration of the French government on the subject of the late negotiations. This important state paper shall have a place in the Gazette next week.

The Mercantile Advertiser states, "we have also seen letters from a source of high respectability in Paris, which mention that Louisiana is ceded to the United States for eighty million of livres (about 15 million of dollars)—one fourth payable in debts due to the citizens of the United States from France, to be liquidated at Paris; and the remainder in 6 per cent stock.

The Enterprise left Havre on the 23d, and was boarded the day following by an English frigate, who, (as reported by her officers) had captured six French vessels, and sent them into British ports.

Came passengers Mr. Fleuron, & Mr. G. A. Hughes of Baltimore. The latter is the bearer of the Treaty respecting Louisiana, and proceeded immediately for the seat of government.

A Baltimore paper of the 11th instant, says "Tobias Lear, Esq. is appointed by the President, Consul General to the Barbary Powers; he, with his Secretary and family, are expected in Boston in a few days, to take passage in the frigate Constitution, Commodore Preble.

A Petersburg paper of the 19th inst. says "We learn by a gentleman from Richmond, that the celebrated James T. Collier was drowned in James River, opposite Richmond, on Sunday last."