

THE TRUE REPUBLICAN, OR A MERICAN WHIG.

"THE TRUTH OUR GUIDE—THE PUBLIC GOOD OUR END"

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SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES. EMBARGO DEBATE.

MR. GILES SPEECH, [Continued.]

But, Sir, I will mention another circumstance, which may be some alleviation to the farmer, for the difference in the price of his surplus plenty now, and in ordinary times. When the price of produce is low, the temptation to raise large crops, will be lessened, and the farmer will turn a certain portion of his labor to the improvement of his farm. The high prices of produce heretofore, have induced the farmer to impose too much upon his land; too great demands have been made on it, and it has been in some degree exhausted. The embargo has apprized the farmer of this important circumstance, and taught him his true interest in this respect. I have observed a great change in the application of labor in this respect, and I have no doubt a general sentiment exists in favor of a still greater change; a greater portion of labor is also converted into household manufactures, which will lessen our demand and dependence upon foreign nations. In both these respects, I believe the operation of the embargo is favorable to the farmer, at the present moment, and will certainly be favorable to posterity by transmitting to it a more fertilized soil for cultivation. It will be favourable, at the present moment, in this respect; that before the adoption of the embargo, the farmer was tempted to apply too great a proportion of his labor to the annual increase of crops, and too small a portion of it to the permanent improvement and fertilization of his farm. I mention this as an alleviation, not as a complete exemption from the effects of the embargo, and as so far producing a beneficial influence upon cultivation and internal improvement.

I hope by this time, Mr. President, that the gentleman will concur with me in opinion, that the situation of the American farmer, is rather enviable than miserable—That he has good sense enough to make a just estimate of his own interests, and possesses too much honorable sensibility not to rebel with indignation, every attempt to reduce him into a disgraceful surrender of his own liberties or his country's independence.

Let us now take a view of its effects upon some other classes of our fellow citizens, which seemed a most to have escaped the gentleman's notice, or at least not to have excited so much of his plaintive sympathies; I allude to the manufacturer, the mechanic and the laborer. The manufacturer seems to be in such a state of prosperity, as rather to have excited the gentleman's jealousy, than his tender consideration; he fears that the real object of the embargo was to erect the manufacturing system upon the ruins of commerce. I do not mean, here, Sir, to reply to the suggestion of the unfounded jealousy. I mean, in the course of these observations, to make that subject of distinct and separate examination. I shall here, however, take the liberty of remarking, without the fear of still further exciting the gentleman's jealousy, that I am extremely happy to see not only that we have abundant fabrics for manufactures, but that we have artisans sufficient to mould them into all the article necessary for home consumption, and thus lessen our dependence upon foreign nations for our supply. I rejoice indeed to see our infant manufactures growing into a porrance; and that the most successful specimens has attended, every attempt at improvement. What is the situation of the mechanic, and the laborer? They have full employment, good wages, and cheap living. I am told Sir that within the last year one thousand houses have been erected in Philadelphia. I see at this time, more houses building at Georgetown, e-

ven for mercantile purposes, and more improvements in this City than I ever have seen before; and I believe this generally to be the case throughout the country. That this is a correct statement of facts, I have no doubt how then is this agreeable and unexpected scene accounted for, amidst the mercantile clamor about the stagnation of business? It is because a greater proportion of the overgrown mercantile capital, is now diverted from external commerce, to internal improvements, and I am strongly inclined to think that this transposition of a certain portion of the mercantile capital, will produce a beneficial operation in a national point of view, and probably even more productive to the capitalists, than risking it in the employment of foreign trade. This I believe to be a fair, just, and candid statement of the operation of the embargo laws upon the several great classes of citizens; and when correctly viewed, how different is its aspect from the miserable picture of horrors presented to us by the gentleman from Connecticut. When you tell a mechanic or a laborer of his distresses and sufferings when he has full employment, good wages, and cheap living, he would laugh at you, he would rather think you silly, or that you mean to treat him with indignity and insult. There are all the blessings he could wish, and they are enough for any man to possess, when he reflects upon the narrow span of human enjoyments, this world affords—Sir, the migratory laborer on the other side of the Atlantic, would consider the enjoyment of the laborers here. Elysium itself; and I can but lament for the sake of suffering humanity that it cannot find the way to these enjoyments. I presume that during the late secessioning scene, that every laborer and mechanic in Pennsylvania was told a thousand times that he was ruined by the embargo; but thirty thousand voices (in justice) have told these frantic, silly, and foolish disturbers of the public quiet, in low and awful tones, how silly and ridiculous they consider the suggestion. The recent elections in most of the other States, speak the same emphatic language. Have been thus minute, Mr. President, in the examination of this part of the subject, as well to relieve ourselves from the miseries and apprehensions of our own deluded imaginations, as to relieve foreign nations, as far as was within my power, from their delusions, which I shall show in the course of my observations, are the principal if not the only cause of the very hardships and sufferings so loudly and caustically complained of by some gentlemen. Now, Sir, take an impartial review of the effects of the embargo laws, as operating upon ourselves and what is the actual result? Why, Sir, as far as they were precautionary, their success has been complete; and whilst in their general operations, they have been attended with some privations and sufferings they have not been without their beneficial effects on society.

The gentleman next triumphantly tells us, that the embargo laws have not had their expected effects upon the aggressing belligerent. That they have not had their complete effects; that they have not caused a revocation of the British orders and French decrees, will readily be admitted; but they certainly have not been without some beneficial effects upon those nations. Let me however ask, Sir, is this failure a cause of triumph to the gentleman? Does he feel more pleasure in the delusive expectation of a triumph over a political adversary, than in the triumph of the nation over our common adversary? Are his political feelings so strong, that they are to be indulged even at the expense of his own, and his country's interests? Does he vainly suppose, that disregarding or postponing all considerations of the people's interests, when they are at stake, to the indulgence of these pet

animosities, will give him a just claim to the people's applause? If he does, Sir, he is mistaken. It is by the reverse of this conduct that he can lay any just claim to their applause. It is by banishing his prejudices—it is by conquering his own passions, and by devoting the whole energy of his mind to their service, at this critical moment, that he can be justly entitled to their applause. This would be for him a glorious triumph—a triumph over his own passions; and it would secure him the public approbation, because the conduct would be right. Let us then, Sir, hope for this conciliation which would be so honorable to ourselves, and would promise so much advantage to the nation.

In this spirit of conciliation and patriotism, then, Mr. President, let us enquire first, what have been the actual effects of the embargo laws upon the aggressing belligerents? And, secondly, what are their failure of complete success? The first enquiry involves much mercantile information. I have only some views of general mercantile principles—I know little or nothing of their operation &c &c; I had, therefore, hoped for much information upon his part of the subject from gentlemen who possessed it; but have received very little satisfaction from them in that respect.

The first effect of the embargo, upon the aggressing belligerents, was to lessen their inducements to war, by keeping out of their way, the rich spoils of our commerce which had invited their cupidity and which was saved by these laws. If they had once possessed themselves of this enormous booty it would have been a sure pledge for open and direct war. It would have detracted the expenses of the war for several years. If they had not gone to war, they would have been compelled either to restore the captured property, or to make indemnification for it. His amount alone, would have been a sufficient security against either of these acts of justice. And is it not better, that his enormous amount of property should be on this side of the Atlantic, than on the other? In the hands of its lawful owners, than in the hands of unprincipled freebooters? Is it not better that it should be drawn to our aid in the event of war, than applied to aid our unjust adversary? Upon this point, I presume, there can be but one opinion.

The second effect, which the embargo laws have had on the aggressing belligerents, is to enhance the prices of all American produce, especially articles of the first necessity to them, to a considerable degree; and, if it be a little longer persisted in, will either banish our produce, (which I believe indispensable to them,) from their markets altogether, or increase the prices to an enormous amount; and, of course, we may hope will furnish irresistible inducements for a relaxation of their hostile orders and edicts. However, I may generally respect the mercantile information of the gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Lloyd) and the gentleman from Connecticut, (Mr. Hillhouse) they appear on this occasion, not to have been very correct. I have before me, two Prices Current from Liverpool, the one of the 8th, and the other of 20th September last. They I presume were written under no partial bias, favourable to the United States. Let us draw our facts from them. It all began with the article of the first necessity in Great Britain, and one which, at a time, excites her highest sensibility. She manifests, at all times, more anxiety about her own laws than any other subject in her political economy. This is a necessary result from the peculiar state of her population.

Let us then enquire what is the present state of bread stuffs in Great Britain. The Liverpool Price Current of the 8th September, I find this information upon the subject. Our grain market for the most part of the last month was very dull;

however, within this day or two there have been some extensive sales made of New York wheat at 13 3d per 40 lbs and the holders now demand 13s 6d a 14-0d for prime parcels, which may possibly be obtained, as the appearances for the harvest in most parts of this kingdom are not quite so favourable as was at first thought, the late heavy rains having proved injurious in many places, and the grain is much lighter in the ear than former seasons; but as the dealers and country millers buy only to supply their immediate wants, we do not calculate upon a material improvement on the annexed prices, unless some export vent to Spain or to our West India colonies takes place—Good sweet American flour is not to be had in this market.

In the Price Current of the 20th, I find these observations:—Large speculations have lately been made in tobacco in consequence of our stock becoming limited; but should the embargo be raised, this & every other description of your produce must very materially decline in price, wheat and flour excepted.

Our stocks of grain are but moderate, although we have been much favoured in our harvest.

What reflection does this information naturally present to the mind? That the crop is limited—that bread stuffs are high, and likely to be higher—that there is such a deficiency of bread stuffs, that our whole supply will not depress the market, even in the event of the raising the embargo; and certainly continuing it, (which does not seem at all calculated upon in England) would lessen the quantity and raise proportionably the demand and price.

The gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. Hillhouse) tells us, we cannot starve Great Britain, the being mistress of the trade of the world, will supply herself with bread stuffs from other quarters and particularly from Spanish America. Never heard it suggested, except by the gentlemen in the opposition, that we could starve Great Britain; but, that through our produce, particularly of Bread stuffs, we could make a strong appeal to her interests. This fact is demonstrated to my mind. The Liverpool merchants differ with the gentleman in his mercantile information. They tell us that our whole supply of bread stuffs will not depress their market. If a ready supply could be obtained elsewhere, upon better terms, there would be no need of a supply from us. But when has it happened that Spanish America could afford this supply? So far from affording a supply to Great Britain, it gets a portion of its own supply from us. The gentleman tells us that Spanish Americans export great quantities of hydes and tallow.—that is true.—These however, are not bread stuffs. It is not pretended that Great Britain is in want of meat, but bread: bread is an essential of life—meat is no substitute for bread—it could not prevent even a famine.—These documents also go to show the reason of the low price of New York flour, quoted by the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Lloyd). It is because the hour was not sweet. It has been so long kept, as to become sour.—I have no doubt that the British cabinet is now looking at this subject with great anxiety; and particularly at our movements in relation to it. Again, Sir, suppose Great Britain should be able to provision her island, it would be at such an expensive rate, as to render them very unprofitable.

The next important article is cotton. Let us see the Prices Current respecting that article.—

The operations in our Cotton market during the whole of last month have been immense, while our total imports are inadequate to one half of the usual monthly consumption; as the stocks of this article have become nearly exhausted, the speculators continue purchasing with interest, and many of them have already re-