



AND

North-Carolina State Gazette.

Ours are the plans of fair & delightful peace,
Unwar'd by party rage, to live like brothers.

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DISPUTE with G. BRITAIN.

Debate on

MR. GREGG'S RESOLUTION.

MR. MACON'S SPEECH

Continued from our last.

The gentleman first up, from Pennsylvania, has observed, that the contraband trade was generally carried on by foreigners. (Mr. Gregg explained, and said he had observed that he believed this to be the case in many instances.)

Mr. Macon. I thank the gentleman for the explanation, as I have no wish to mistake what has been observed, but the difference in the statement will not affect the question, that foreigners may be concerned both in illicit and contraband trade. I have no doubt but there are some facts known to all that will shew, that others besides foreigners have been concerned in business not the most honorable. The petition of Nicklin and Griffith now before the House, contains the proof, that an American, with an American Register, covered a vessel for a foreigner, who armed vessels to fight their way into the St Domingo trade. I have heard it was no foreigner but an American, who fitted out the Leander for Miranda, and by this act run the risk of committing the peace of the country. I understood that it was an American. In stating these facts I mean no reflection on the merchants; they, like every other class in the community, have among them good, bad and indifferent. The same gentleman said he was not willing to protect the wild carrying trade. I know not what this wild trade is, unless it be that which will involve the nation in war; it is not the contraband, because that no one will protect.

It has also been said, that if we adopt the resolution, and cannot get what we want from G. Britain, we will manufacture for ourselves. This sounds well on this floor, but I very much doubt the practicability of making this nation manufacture for itself, while we have land enough for every industrious citizen, to become a land holder, and a cultivator of the soil. Connecticut and Massachusetts have tried the experiment, and both without success, and both on articles in which it was most likely to succeed; if these states, with their population could not succeed, what chance of success is there in other states? The practicability ought to be satisfactorily shewn before we enter on the plan. It may, as has been said, prevent our wives from wearing silk gowns, and ourselves from wearing broad cloath; whether it will produce this effect is quite uncertain; fashion is as great a tyrant as we have to contend with; it will, I fear, be difficult to destroy its influence by legislating. The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Smilie) and myself, plain as we are, are both obliged in some degree to yield to it, we can no more contend with it, than we can fly to Europe.

The gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Crowninshield) has told us, that the balance of trade between this country and G. Britain, is 10 or 12 millions annually against us, and endeavours to support the assertion by the report of the Secretary of the Treasury. It is true that the report states a balance against us of 11,710,000 dollars, and this the Secretary attempts to account for; no doubt he has done it as well as it can be done from custom-house books. But surely every one must be convinced, that you cannot rely on them for the balance of trade; this balance is always a secret, and depends much on the economy and industry of those concerned in trade. Is it possible that this balance can really be against us, and that it has been against us ever since the establishment of the present constitution, and that our commercial intercourse should be constantly increasing with that nation, it seems to me to be impossible. If the balance was really so much against us, our merchant would long since have declined the trade. There is a trade carried on with the British dominions in the East-Indies from the U. S. which appears by the report to be more against us than that just mentioned, and I am sure that the gentleman

from Massachusetts will not say that the balance of that is against us. The annual exports to which are one hundred and thirty thousand dollars, and the annual imports 3,530,000 dollars. Here is a greater balance appearing against us, than that stated by him, because the whole exports has been stated to be 15,680,000, and the whole imports are 27,400,000 dollars. The India trade I have always understood was very profitable, perhaps as much so as any carried on from the U. States. But the same report informs us, that on the whole trade of the nation there appears to be a balance against us, of 6,345,000 dollars. Can there be any thing more astonishing than this, and is it not evident that no reliance can be placed on the custom-house books for the balance of trade? Look at the people, happy and prosperous beyond example, all classes doing well; the old part of the country rapidly improving; the new settling with unheard-of success; the villages growing into towns and the towns becoming cities, and all this with the last mentioned balance against us. Philosophers and statesmen may talk about the balance of trade, but if they confine themselves to the information to be derived from custom House books, they might as well read Robinson Crusoe.

The same gentleman said if war should come, we could take more from Great Britain than she could from us, that we had done so in the revolutionary war. Without enquiring into past captures, let us examine the situation of both countries at both periods. We are certainly much stronger now than we were at any time during the war; we have more men and more tonnage and more property on the ocean, and could, if the same naval force could be had to operate on the British navy now as then, nearly destroy her commerce. But this cannot be had. At that time the navies of France, Spain and Holland were all united against her, and the navies of the two first for some time disputed possession of the channel with hers. The navies of these are now gone. But besides, the armed neutrality acted upon her like a powerful screw; under the pressure of all these she nearly sunk towards the latter end of the war. Playfair's political Atlas fully demonstrates this: No doubt in case of war, by privateering we could take many of her vessels; suppose we took more of hers than she did of ours, would this be a commerce that would be beneficial to agriculture, or to the merchants engaged in exporting by fair and regular trade the productions of the country? No, it would not. In the regular trade every thing is certain, in the other all is uncertain.

It has been said we might sequester the debts due from this country to Britain, and thus indemnify ourselves. This I never will consent to, so long as the treaty made by Mr. Jay is in force, however I may disapprove that instrument, I consider the faith of the nation as much pledged by it, as it can be by any engagement she can enter into with any foreign power. But it has been observed, that we may repeal the treaty, and thus, I suppose, get clear of the objection to sequestration, which is derived from it. We have once before tried this plan of repealing a treaty, with other half way measures; but the repeal did not produce any consequence favorable to the U. States. Suppose you repeal the treaty by law, and then undertake to negotiate, and your ministers are asked, are you in consequence of the repeal at war? What answer will be given? This treaty too provides against sequestration in case of actual war; what opinions civilians and jurists may entertain of the repeal of such a treaty, I know not. But be this as it may, I never will consent to aid in blasting the fair fame which this nation has deservedly acquired for honesty and fair dealing; in this she is, in my opinion, inferior to none. I sincerely hope the gentleman who used the expression, will, from his known candor, on reflection, take it back.

I very sincerely regret that a gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Smilie) ascribed to a sentiment delivered

by a gentleman from Virginia (Mr. J. Randolph) a tendency to dissolve the union. In my mind it had no such tendency. The dissolution of this union, ought not, I conceive, to be mentioned in this house on any pretence whatever, and certainly ought not to be hinted at on slight grounds. I believe every state and every part of the country attached to the union, indeed the union may be compared to a chain, the value of which depends on its being whole, but may be destroyed by taking away any one of its links; and whoever breaks the chain, by which the states are linked together, will render the whole people miserable.

I come now, to that part of the subject where every man must feel the injury done to his fellow citizens. I mean the impressment of our seamen. Is there a father who does not feel this? No not one in the nation, and that man who shall devise a certain remedy for this evil will deserve the thanks of his country; he will, indeed, be its greatest benefactor; he, like the impressed sailor, will have a place in the tenderest part of the hearts of his countrymen. If a plan, to prevent this injury, was only made known, the very knowledge of the plan would put an end to the injury. But can gentlemen seriously believe that the adoption of the resolution will produce this effect; the means are not adequate to the end, I conceive, at least it remains to be shown that they are. I will, without hesitation, state what I believe to be the best remedy for the evil. It is this, to agree with G. Britain that neither country shall employ the sailors of the other, and to agree also, on the proof that shall be required on both sides; we might expect that G. Britain would adhere to an agreement of this kind, because it would be her interest to do so, and on her interest alone I should rely. In considering this subject we must look at things as they really are, and not as we could wish them to be. The British government exercise the right, or rather the power, of impressing their sailors, and I believe in time of war of prohibiting their going into foreign service. Under these circumstances may it not be advisable for us not to employ them; notwithstanding we may do it with their consent, especially if it would prevent their impressing our countrymen. If the merchants really be the friends of the American sailors, they would willingly agree to such a regulation. If they would not be willing, is it not clear they would employ British sailors at the risk of having ours impressed? On this subject, it might not be improper to state, that I have been informed, in some parts of the world, certificates of persons being American citizens are sold and that the market has been well supplied with them. I have also been informed, that a British officer in Philadelphia actually procured one for the purpose of enabling him to go home. This favored G. Britain. I have given this information to shew that others, besides citizens, may obtain certificates. Impressments I fear can only be prevented by negotiation; indeed I have heard that the two governments have been engaged on this interesting subject. I hope it will be resumed, and that it will end in securing to our countrymen their safety on the ocean.

We are told that the nation calls for strong measures, that the President has recommended them, and that men of the greatest talents think them requisite. This may be true, but as I have neither seen nor heard this call of the nation, and as I do not know the opinion of others, I shall certainly pursue my own. The first message of the President to Congress, most unquestionably pointed as strongly towards Spain as it did towards G. Britain; and hitherto but little has been said of the usage we received from her. But the recommendation of the President alone, is not always a good reason for legislating, I apprehend; because, every President has recommended subjects for the consideration of Congress, on which no act was ever passed. If ever the liberties of this nation are destroyed, by

strong measures, it will be, when the recommendation of the President shall alone be deemed good cause for their adoption. At present we have choice of all the resolutions on the table, notwithstanding all that has been said in favor of the one now under consideration. No doubt can be entertained, but the mover of each thinks his own the best. From the number, it would seem there was no difficulty in finding remedies for the injuries we have received. Again, it is said we must adopt this resolution or we shall be degraded. This is no new phrase to me; I have formerly heard it so often, and on so many occasions, that I have become a sort of sceptic on it. We shall not be degraded, by not following the example of the European nations, by rushing into war on every opportunity that may offer. War is nothing but another name for blood and taxes; we shall not be degraded, being free and happy at home; but we shall be degraded, if we fail in paying the national debt, or if we refuse to observe treaties constitutionally made. This will be the worst kind of degradation, because it will proceed from a want of morality. In order to induce us to adopt the resolution, we are seriously told, that the revenue is derived from commerce. This I deny, and say that it is derived from the whole labor of the community. Stop the laborer in the field and the revenue is gone. Commerce is useful, it is the means by which our productions are exchanged for the productions of other countries.

It has been said, that the land tax overthrew one administration; adopt his measure, and you may possibly overturn another. I doubt whether the gentleman who made the assertion is altogether correct in point of fact, it might have aided; but other laws were passed, which undoubtedly had more effect, and were more obnoxious in the part of the country where I reside; I mean the attempt to raise an army without an actual war, an army of officers, almost without soldiers; the alien and sedition laws. It was also said, we were pledged to protect this carrying trade. This reminds me of what I once heard said before, which is this, that we were pledged to pay the salaries of certain Judges, after the law was repealed, under which they were appointed. I believe, we are as much pledged in one case as in the other, and not more; I know of nothing binding in this country except the constitution and the laws. A majority of both Houses of Congress may pass a law to give the carrying trade what protection they please and that law will be binding. We are also called on to become the champions of the law of nations, as if all the nations would at once agree, with us, what these laws really are, and as if a majority of them adhered to their principles; when we know that scarcely a nation in Europe pays any regard to them; and that they will, at different times, entertain different opinions on the same subject. Have not most of them formerly declared, that free ships should make free goods, and have not some of the same nations since given up the principle? Before we undertake this business, would it not be prudent, to endeavour to ascertain the opinions of other nations, whose interests may be most like our own. I wish no alliance with any of them; but if all the nations of Europe should be willing to yield the principle which we are desirous to maintain no man will be mad enough to maintain that we ought to contend for it. There is certainly a great difference of opinion, as to the nature of the measure. Some think it a war measure; others that it may lead to war, and others again consider it entirely pacific. Without attempting now to enquire which of the three opinions is most correct, it is sufficient for me, that I believe it will not produce the effect intended, and that its operation on the U. S. will be partial. If, however, it should be adopted, and produce war, we must support it with all our strength; and if it produce a good effect, I for one will rejoice as much as any man in this House. A great many appeals have been made to the spirit of 1776; that spirit was not

only the spirit of liberty, but also of magnanimity and justice; all the measures; all the measures then taken operated equally on every part of the union.

It is said, this is the right time to settle all our disputes with G. Britain, because she is now hard pushed—if we wish to make a treaty that may be lasting, we ought not to take any unjust advantage of her situation—if we do, whenever she shall be free from her present embarrassments, she will be discontented and restless under it, and never satisfied until she gets clear of it. The true rule for us, is to take no advantage, and in all cases to act justly.

I agree in opinion with the gentleman from Pennsylvania, (Mr. Smilie) that war destroys the morals of the people, hence I was greatly surprised, when he followed this correct sentiment with an assertion, that he would rather have war than loss of national honor. This thing called national honor has ruined more than half the people in the world, and has almost banished liberty and happiness from Europe. Destroy the morals of the people, and we may play over such a game of war as has been played in France. Nothing less than to perpetuate the liberty and happiness of the nation, ought to induce us to go to war.

It is a little remarkable that the U. States have, since the adoption of the present constitution, become the second commercial power in the world, when, if we believe the public prints, she has lost capital enough to have ruined the most wealthy nation in Europe. Million after million is lost, and yet her prosperity is unrivalled, either in ancient or modern times. I know full well that according to the opinions of the writers on the laws of nations, we now have just cause of war against G. Britain. I also know as well, that we have heretofore had as good cause of war against both G. Britain and France. We then preferred peace—the result has been prosperity. What destroyed the prosperity and liberty of Venice, of Genoa and of Holland? Wars—and wars too generally undertaken to protect the carrying trade.

[It being now about half past three o'clock, Mr. Smilie suggested the propriety of an adjournment, in which the House acquiesced, on the intimation of Mr. Macon that indisposition disabled him from finishing the remarks which he wished to offer.

(To be continued.)

SHERIFF'S SALES.

WILL BE SOLD,

At Granville Court-House, on Tuesday the 12th of August next.

THE following Tracts or Parcels of Land lying in the County of Granville, or so much thereof as will discharge the Taxes due thereon for the year 1804, the expenses of advertising, &c. viz.

- 109 3/4 Acres entered by Gideon Williams, in Abram's Plains District.
- 577 acres enlisted by Thomas Griffin, in Beaver Dam District.
- 100 do. by Burwell Kemp, in the same District.
- 100 do. by Murphey Kemp, in do.
- 160 do. by Joseph Neil, in do.
- 381 do. by Peyton Clements, in Dutch District.
- 200 do. by William Williams, in do.
- 51 do. by Gideon H. Macon, in Epping Forest District.
- 110 1-2 do. by John Jones McLeroy, in the same District, on Long Creek.
- 150 do. by Rebecca Moore on Long Creek.
- 140 do. by Josiah Strange, on Tar River.
- 50 do. by Shem Cook, jun. in Fort Creek District.
- 196 do. by Joel Kittle, in do.
- 222 1-2 do. by Henry Straitt, in do.
- 150 do. by Adam Straitt, in do.
- 232 do. by Stephen P. Pool, in Goshen District.
- 328 1-2 do. by Stephen Hester, on Ledge of Rock, in Ledge of Rock District.
- 50 do. by Daniel Tucker, in Tar River District.
- 144 do. by Solomon Williams for J. Williams, in the same District.
- 150 do. by Howel Mangrum in Nap of Reed District.

M. SMITH,
Sheriff of Granville County.

April 10th, 1806.

BLANKS

OF VARIOUS KINDS,

For sale at J. GALE'S, Street