



AND North-Carolina State Gazette.

Quare are the plans of fair and bright peace,
Unwar'd by party rage, to live like brothers.

Vol. VII.

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DISPUTE with G. BRITAIN.

Debate on

MR. GREGG'S RESOLUTION.

MR. MACON'S SPEECH

Concluded from our last.

Tuesday, March 11, 1806.

Permit me, Mr. Chairman, to return my thanks to the committee for their indulgence yesterday; I was then too much exhausted to have concluded the observations I wished to make. I was then shewing the fate of a few nations who had attempted to protect the carrying trade by war. It has, I believe, been the fate of all who made the attempt, Great-Britain alone excepted, and she is at this moment engaged in a most tremendous war, almost overloaded with taxes, and tottering under her public debt. Can any fact more clearly illustrate the advantage of the peace over the war system, than a comparison of the tonnage between the United States and Great-Britain, in 1789 and now. Ours has been the peace, hers the war system, and we have probably increased ten to her one. It seems to me that it is impossible for any nation to carry on the whole trade of the world; and every attempt to force trade, is acting under the idea that it can be done, and every attempt made to engross the whole carrying trade, is acting under the same impression. The large capitalists in the United States are concerned in this business. I wish not to meddle with it, but leave it, like every other branch of industry, to find its own level. They may not dread war, because they may employ their stock in another way. But what is to become of those less rich, especially young beginners? They must be ruined. If the resolution produces any prejudicial effects, it must be on the carrying trade. It does not appear to be intended for any thing else, and no one can believe that it will operate favorably to the seamen.

The measure will not only affect the revenue paid on the tonnage of vessels, and on the importation of goods, but it will also affect the revenue to be derived from the sale of the public lands; it must very considerably lessen the number of purchasers, and may ruin many who have already purchased in Ohio. Many, no doubt, who have removed to that State, have sold their property on a credit, to meet the payments which they were to make for the lands there purchased of the U. States. Stop, by your measures, the sale of produce, or reduce the price thereof to almost nothing, and how are these people to get paid for the property sold before they went to Ohio? A disappointment to them may be ruinous; it may cause them to lose the land and all the improvements made on it. They have not quite so quick a remedy against their unfortunate debtors, as the United States will have against them. You may turn the people off the land, and nearly depopulate the State, but you will get no money.

It is pretty evident, from an argument of the gentleman from New-York (Mr. Williams) that the resolution is not expected to operate injuriously on the exportation of grain from the middle states. He told us that we must protect commerce; and that he was in favor of the resolution (meaning I suppose that the resolution would protect it) or the people in the back country would drink too much whiskey. If then the resolution will protect commerce, and thereby insure the exportation of grain, there will not be grain left in the country to make whiskey. This is in some measure acknowledging that for which we have been contending, to wit, that the resolution will operate partially; but I deny that the people in that part of the country are more in the habits of intoxication than their neighbours in other parts of the union. They are as moral, as industrious, and as honest as those living elsewhere. I do not contend that they are superior, only that they are equal.

Much has been said about the spirit of the nation, and that we are far behind it; meaning I suppose those who oppose the resolution. As to my part, I do not know how the spi-

rit of the nation has been ascertained. There is no manifestation of it on the table. It is however true that two towns have sent resolutions pledging their lives and fortunes to support whatever measures Congress may adopt. There are also several memorials from the merchants and insurance companies; but if gentlemen take these for the manifestation of the national spirit, they are I think mistaken. The national spirit is to be found no where but among those who are to fight your battles. These people may, for ought I know, be of that number. They may have been before Tripoli, and they may be now ready to enter into the army or navy. Addresses, we well know, will not fight battles nor fill regiments. We have seen in former days the Speaker's table loaded with addresses from almost every part of the union, pledging also their lives and fortunes, to support any measures that the then administration might adopt. What was done? Among other acts, one was passed to raise twelve regiments of infantry. There was no difficulty in getting officers, unless, indeed, it was to make the selection out of the great number that applied. But how was it about privates; instead of getting enough for the twelve regiments, scarcely enough for four could be enlisted. At that time we heard a great deal too about the spirit of the nation, and saw a something of the spirit then talked of in a corps called — Blues. Those who then spoke of the spirit of the nation, were deceived; they took the vapouring of the towns and the noise of the addresses to be really the spirit of the nation. But, be assured, sir, that whenever the spirit of this nation shall move, that every individual in every department of the government will move too.

The ocean must be considered a common and divided property, to which each nation has a right; hence the difficulty of affording the same security and protection there as on land, where each knows the spot where his dominion ends, and his neighbour's begins. It is in vain, therefore, the present real situation of the United States being considered, to expect from her that perfect protection on the ocean, which she can afford within her territorial limits; I believe this cannot be done even to that part of the ocean from whence we get a part of our exports; other nations also frequent the same place, for the same purpose; this like the rest is joint property; not so with our land, no nation pretends to claim a right to cultivate that.

Permit me here to remark, though not directly connected with my last observation; that I consider the report of the secretary of the treasury, to be as correct as any man living could make it. And that from custom-house books it is impossible to obtain that information, which could really shew the true balance of trade.

A gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Findley) has gravely told us, that it would do more harm, since the resolution has been taken into consideration, to reject it, than if it had never been brought. This is placing those who do not like it, or who prefer any of the other resolution, in a strange dilemma. The friends of it ought to have thought of this, before they went into the discussion. If any injury should be produced, either by the rejection or the adoption, they are to blame, and not those who oppose it. It is their measure, not ours. It is, in fact, endeavouring to throw the blame of their conduct on us. The same gentleman made a very unfortunate comparison, when he compared waggons, carrying our flour to market; to vessels engaged in the carrying trade. No two things are more unlike. The waggon is only intended to carry our own productions to our own markets; and the vessels are engaged in carrying foreign produce to foreign markets. Besides, the nation protecting duties, to encourage the owning of vessels; while the owner of the waggon, is left to depend on his industry and skill. And if any man should ask the government to give encouragement to

the employment of waggons, he would be laughed at; yet waggons are certainly as necessary as vessels. The one carries loads of our own productions, to our own markets; while the other, which is engaged in the fair trade, for home consumption, carries cargoes of them foreign markets.

A gentleman from Maryland (Mr. McCreery) in order to induce us to adopt the resolution, has informed us, that the towns, in proportion to their numbers, pay more taxes than the country. He did not prove the fact to be so; he cannot. The towns, I apprehend, pay little or no tax. Their merchants and mechanics, who act prudently, calculate on, and generally get, a certain profit. You cannot tax the capital of the merchant or trader. Impose whatever duty you shall please on goods; he immediately considers it like first cost, and charges the same profit on it. The consumer not only pays the tax and charges on the merchandize, but he pays them with a profit to the merchant. Whenever a merchant lives on his capital, we all know he will soon eat it out. To the mechanic the government has given protecting duties, which secures to him the sale of every article he may make, at almost any price. The cultivator of the soil depends on himself, and is often compelled to sell the products of his land for any price he can get; because they will not keep in good condition all the year, like the goods of the merchant and mechanic. From these considerations, it seems to me, that it is at least probable, that the towns do not pay more than their proportion, nor even as much.

The same gentleman told us that the nation sustained a considerable loss by sending too much tobacco to England. This seems to me to be a little like what we heard about the balance of trade; but it may be so. I will, however, state my sentiments on the subject. If erroneous, I shall be glad to have them corrected. Merchants, like every body else, do business with a view to gain; and would they, year after year, send tobacco to England, if they could do better by sending it to the continent? I presume they would not. They understand their business, and generally do that which is best calculated to promote their interest. In examining this subject, we ought to take into consideration the profit to be made on the whole voyage, not barely the price of a single article at a particular place. The place where the whole exported cargo can be sold dearest, and the imported one bought cheapest, is the place which will always give the most profit. If a merchant should send a cargo of tobacco to England, and wished a few pieces of Russia sheeting in return cargo, would it not be better to purchase them there, than send his vessel to Russia for them, where they could be a little cheaper. He would, I conceive, actually save by so doing. I wish the gentleman had told us, the places where the tobacco might have been exported to, so as to save all that he now thinks we lose, by sending it to England. I should have been glad to have been informed, whether the places were known to possess mercantile capital, and whether merchants of established character lived at them; that sort of character, to which a prudent man might with safety, consign a valuable cargo. He did not tell us that we lost by sending cotton to G. Britain. It may, therefore, be presumed, that it could not be sold anywhere else at this time, to more advantage. Is there any other country in Europe, now prepared to manufacture it? I believe not; nor will it be purchased by any to lay up, until able to do it. Before it is possible to manufacture, mechanics, who understand the business, must be obtained. Neither can they, nor necessary machinery be got in a day. It is now well known, that since the introduction of labour-saving machines, manufactures do not depend so much on the number of people as formerly. I ask, what country on the continent of Europe, convulsed as she is to her centre, can offer a market for this article. What country there is now in a situation to

commence large and extensive establishments, to manufacture for exportation? Is it Germany—overrun? Or is it France, raising every man he can to make new conquests? If they have mechanics or merchants both, is the skill of the one or the reputation of the other known? I fear not. Sir, I would to God that we had not so much commercial interest with Great-Britain, and I sincerely wish our commerce was more equally divided among the nations of the earth, than it is; but I know not how this is to be done. Trade thrives best when left to itself. The merchant must be left to trade in the way he most approves; provided he shall not hazard the peace of the country thereby.

The gentleman from Vermont (Mr. Elliot) has told us, that by adopting the resolution, we shall encourage other European nations to manufacture for us. It is, I conceive, quite enough for the agricultural part of the community, to pay their money to encourage the manufactures of this country. It is as much as I am willing to do. But what certainty have we, if we adopt the resolution, and give the proposed encouragement, that any one of them will leave their present occupation, be that what it may, to take our advice. Each one of them may think that their interest is as well understood at home, as we can possibly understand it.

The gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Bidwell) stated the case of our prisoners at Tripoli, as a case in point. He is I think a little mistaken. We were at open war with that power, when the frigate Philadelphia unfortunately struck on the rocks in the harbour of Tripoli. The result is known—the enemy got possession of the vessel, and the crew were made prisoners of war. There then existed a state of actual war between the United States and the Tripolians. In the present case we have just cause of complaint against Britain; and are endeavouring to have them settled by negotiation. I will state a case which seems to me to compare better with the situation of our unfortunate country-men, who may now be imprisoned on board the British ships of war. It is the case of Captain O'Brian and his crew, who were captured by the Algerines, and remained with them so long, that I believe the Captain in the latter part of the time, dated all his letters to his friends, by the year of his captivity. I have understood that they suffered as much as any people could bear. We had then, I believe no addresses, no resolutions, nor memorials from merchants and insurance companies. But this case may not be thought to apply to that part of our complaints which relate to the capture of our vessels carrying coffee and sugar to France and Spain by the British armed ships. I will state one which I think has some; it is the case of Scott of South-Carolina, which has been decided in this house. He claimed pay for property taken by the Indians at a time when no open and declared war existed. He got nothing from the national government. The United States in a subsequent treaty gave the property up to the Indians. I believe at the time it was taken, some hostilities had been committed. Permit me here to observe that no agent was appointed by the government to endeavor to recover this property, and that I well recollect, when the claim was under debate, that it was stated by a member of the house that one of the Indian agents had got the treaty at his desire so formed, as to relinquish a claim to the property.

I have endeavoured to confine my observations to the resolution now under consideration, and to answer some of the arguments urged for his support; though I confess, that while examining this, I have also paid some attention to the others on the table. I wish gentlemen before they vote, would seriously consider whether this is the best. I think it is not. When we reflect on the happiness we enjoy, the prosperity of the nation, the growth of the villages, towns and cities; the improving state of agriculture, the

number of turnpike roads, bridges, and canals, which are undertaken in many parts of the union, and that one improper act may alter for a time this happy state, and retard every improvement; we ought to be cautious before we change the ground on which we stand. Complaints have been made of delay on this important subject; they are, in my opinion, without foundation.

It required serious deliberation, and no time has been lost. It is always far better to decide rightly than quickly. It is immaterial to other nations, what estimate we form of our own strength, there are two rules by which they will judge; the number of men, and the state of the treasury. Indeed it seems of late to have become a maxim in war, that the longest purse the longest sword. It is true that we have a single million in the treasury to spare, it is equally true that resolutions are before us, which, if adopted, will require at least that sum to carry them into execution. In this situation, ought we to take measures which may endanger the revenue without providing ways and means to meet any deficiency? We talk of war with an almost empty treasury; no two things can be less connected, except that they are both bad. I have stated that, which appeared to me, to be the best plan to secure our seamen from imprisonment; but the man who shall actually produce the plan, which shall have that effect, will deserve the gratitude of the nation.

In this time of difficulty, we are all embarked in the same ship; my ardent prayer is, that whatever shall be done, may promote the interest and happiness of all.

Western Lands.

THE Subscribers residing in Merit District, State of Tennessee, have had in their possession for some time, a correct copy of all the warrants issued from the office of John Armstrong, late Entry-taker of Western Lands, so far as regards the Middle District; as also of all surveys made and on which grants have issued in said district; that from the possession of those documents, as well as from actual surveys made on the premises, they have nearly completed a connected list of the said surveys; of the lands entered and not surveyed, and of the vacant lands on the Duck and Elk rivers, and the creeks which make into the same.

They are authorized to inform those who may be interested in Lands lying in that part of the country, that they can shew the number of each warrant, to whom issued, if the lands surveyed by whom surveyed and when, the date of the grant, where the lands lie, their value, whom joining interference, if any, and validity of title.

When it is understood that the Duck and Elk rivers, with their tributary streams, spread through an extensive and thickly covered country of Cane, and that locations were in constant danger from the Indians, it will not be thought strange that location has been made upon location on the same water course, differing only in the name, and that from the same cause surveys have been made and grants perfected, the lines whereof interfere in many instances; that many of the locations in the warrants yet to be acted upon, are vague and indefinite in description, hence it has been found a laborious undertaking to trace the lines of surveys, or to fix with certainty the locality of location or the priority of claims. His however they feel confident to assure the Public they are enabled to do, as well as to give information in regard to the situation, quality and strength of claim or title.

Gentlemen residing in North-Carolina or elsewhere, claiming lands by virtue of grant or warrant, situated on the above described waters, or holding warrants capable of being removed, and who may wish their claims investigated and settled into certainty, or warrant removed, may be accommodated on application to the subscribers, in the character of agents, or by interesting them in the lands.

WILLIAM P. ANDERSON,
JOHN STROTHER.

P. S. Communications may be addressed to Nashville, postage paid.

April 2, 1806.

To the Free Electors of the Seventh Election District, consisting of the Counties of Anson, Richmond, Robeson, Cumberland, Moore and Montgomery.

GENTLEMEN,
In August next, it will be your privilege to elect one of your fellow-citizens to represent you in the Congress of the United States. You are hereby informed, that I offer as a Candidate for that honourable appointment. Should I be found to stand so high in your confidence, as to obtain a majority of your suffrages, rest assured, that it will be my pleasure to endeavour to meet your expectations in the faithful discharge of my duty.

I am, Gentlemen, with due respect,
Your obedient servant,
Montgomery County, JAS. SANDERS.