

of his colleagues, that a nation ought to carry in proportion to the bulk of her exports. This rule he said seems not to grow out of the nature of the subject. The countries surcharged with inhabitants ought rather to afford carriers for the produce of more happy nations. Wanting the means of subsistence at home they are compelled to plough the Ocean for bread.

It might as well be said that every nation should manufacture in proportion to its consumption, and that every individual should practise all the mechanic arts he may have occasion for. This is one of the earliest and most imperfect ideas of commerce: Doubtless we ought to encourage the carrying trade for the important purpose of public safety, but not to pursue it as a source of wealth. When we proceed beyond that degree, which is necessary for public security, we diminish the wealth, population and agriculture of our country; we reduce our yeomanry to be hiring laborers for foreign masters.—Mr. Dexter observed, that it had been said, that the balance of our commerce with Britain is much against us; this he agreed is true, but he doubted whether the balance of the aggregate of our commerce were so. But even if this were also true, he said he should not be alarmed, as we are a young country rapidly increasing, and the balance against us might be viewed as a loan from a foreign nation, and employed by us in internal improvement, which we can at any time repay, and reserve a great profit thereon to ourselves.

It becomes capital in commerce; it facilitates our agricultural improvements. But he added, that he was still less apprehensive of danger from considering that the nature of commerce forbids that such a state should continue long enough essentially to injure our country. If we import more than we export, the balance must be paid in cash or not paid at all. If it be paid in cash, we soon drain our country of specie, and what may then remain, becomes from its scarcity more valuable here than elsewhere, and more valuable than any thing we can obtain for it in foreign countries; and this at once reduces our imports to the amount of our exports, or still lower in order to obtain a balance in specie, which has now become the most valuable article. If we do not pay the balance at all, we soon lose our credit, and there ends importation. Reverse this reasoning, and we shall be convinced that we pursue a phantom, when we labor to secure a perpetual balance in our favor. Cash soon becomes so plenty as to reduce its value, and consequently we exchange it with foreigners for any gewgaws; thus we increase our imports until we lose the surplus of currency.

We can no more keep it than we can heap up water. It would be useless, nay mischievous if we could keep it; it would enhance the price of the necessaries of life, it would destroy that sober industry and frugality, which form the loveliest features in our national character.

We ought not then to wish for a balance of trade perpetually in our favour, or in other words for a constant increase of currency; but we ought to wish for an increase of capital, and this is produced as much by our imports as by our exports. As then the exports from a country never can for a long time greatly exceed its imports, it follows that it is a mistaken policy to labour to lessen our importations, because we thereby reduce our exports.—The demand for them as a remittance will cease, consequently they will cease to be produced, and idleness and poverty will follow. Nature has made laws on this subject which we cannot repeal.

But now, said Mr. Dexter, let us suppose what is in some degree true, that our navigation and commerce are not in the best possible situation; do the resolutions afford a remedy. They cannot, if they have no tendency to encourage either.—They discriminate in favour of some foreigners against others, and compel us to pay the difference of their markets, and they lessen the duties on the commerce of certain favourite foreign nations, thereby lessening the discrimination in favour of our own.

But it is said they will in their operation, by depriving the British artizans of the necessaries of life, and the raw materials for manufactures, compel that nation to open to us her West India ports, and treat our nation more respectfully. As to depriving them of the necessaries of life they now refuse to take our provisions, and this is one complaint against them: they will not suffer more when we refuse to let

them go there. A time of scarcity only can give this effect, and none of the resolutions ordains a famine in Britain; as to depriving them of raw materials, we know not how much other nations can supply: when a new demand arises, necessity opens new resources; in this way we may create to ourselves formidable and permanent rivals.

Can we distress them by refusing to take their manufactures? From statements made by the mover of the resolutions, it appears that we take only 4 per cent. of the whole amount of British manufactures—Only the profit on this 4 per cent will be lost by them, for the raw materials they are not to have from us, and the labour of manufacturing will of course be saved.

But even this profit will not be lost to them, for by consuming the manufactures of other nations, we shall make a demand in those nations, and British manufactures will go there to supply the place of those we may take; nay more, we shall take even British manufactures from other nations, and the expence of a double voyage, deposit, and commission will be added to the Price of the articles. In the mean time our bulky articles of export, the value of which will not pay for the enhanced expences of transportation, will perish; being forbidden the usual market and advantages.

Mr. Dexter asked, is this a time for making experiments? All Europe is in agitation, and our commerce must partake of it; we steer our bark on the margin of a whirlpool; there are seasons when it ought to satisfy us that we do not go backward.

It is easy suddenly to do mischief which the wisdom of many succeeding years cannot retrieve. Mutual interest, the only sure bond of peace, has hitherto prevented a war between us and the kingdoms of Europe; shall we cut this bond asunder? It is said we may compel Britain to make a commercial treaty with us; she will never refuse voluntarily to make one which may promote her interest, and could we compel her to make one against her interest, it could not be lasting; it must end in war.

We have had no satisfactory evidence that she is averse to a treaty. The correspondence between our Secretary of State and the British minister rather shews the contrary. I much doubt the policy of multiplying our commercial treaties. A nation, which has more military strength than resources for commerce, may compel unequal stipulations in her favor. But this we neither wish, nor are able to do. We may suffer by treaties, but can hardly be benefited. Our strength consists not in ability to compel others, but in being invincible at home. If we are ever to make treaties, let us wait until experience shall have taught us all the commercial interests of our country. We are ascending an eminence—let us first arrive at the summit; when we shall have the whole extensive prospect before us, it will be early enough to judge of the advantages of our situation. We may now sacrifice important interests which we see not. Our progression may make that a lasting evil, which we now call an advantage.

It is said we ought to resent the political injuries and insults we have received. Is this resenting them? If the question is whether we shall retaliate hostilities, let us have it fairly and boldly stated, that we may consider it. Away with all mean disguises—strip the question of its slimy covering. We surely are not afraid to look at the subject of discussion. We wish not to conceal it from others. Before we take the first step, let us pause to review our situation, and consider the consequences. How much have we to lose both in possession and prospect, and how little to gain! Britain is aided by powerful allies, who hate and despise our political system. Our former ally instead of assisting us, needs to be assisted. The commerce of Britain is already interrupted by war, and we can add little to its embarrassments. Our commerce now flourishing, must be sacrificed, as we have no fleet to protect it. As to revenue, Britain has all the advantages without the evils of bankruptcy. The principal of her debt will never be paid, but her creditors are both interested and able to support her. Additional millions are lost in the masts without perceiving the increase.

To add a few millions of Dollars to our debt would alarm both us and our constituents. British soldiers are enured to foreign warfare. Our independent Yomen

are invincible in battle, for their rights, their habitations, their wives and their children; the world cannot subjugate them: but they harbor no wishes for conquest or plunder. If we commence hostility, we must persevere through every extremity of suffering, or meanly prostrate ourselves at the feet of Britain, to bear whatever she may please to impose.

When the welfare and dignity of our country require energy, I shall not be found an advocate for a pusillanimous system. No man is more proud of his country than myself. I agonize under the indignities she has suffered: But to repress resentment is sometimes true courage; untimely passion, which may betray the rights and dignity of the community, is perfidious. Our growth is so rapid, that a few years of peace will avenge us. I have made these observations Sir, not because I am the friend of Britain, but because a sense of duty compelled me. If I have prejudices respecting European nations, they are not in favor of Britain. I hesitate not to avow that they are in favor of the people with which she is at war. I can never forget, that probably by them, we exist as a Nation. I can never forget the noble energy with which they commenced their struggle to rescue this country from bondage. It is the place of my fathers' sepulchres—no man more ardently wishes them liberty and happiness, but justice obliges me to add, that no one more sincerely laments that spasm of patriotism, which convulses their body politic, and hazards the cause of freedom: But Sir, we ought not to suffer a torrent of feeling to sweep us from our post—we are neither Britons nor Frenchmen—we are Americans—the Representatives of Americans—the Guardians of their rights and interests; and these forbid us to pass the Resolutions now under consideration.

(Debate to be continued.)

For the GAZETTE of the UNITED STATES.

AT numberless meetings throughout the United States, for taking into consideration the Resolves of the Democratic Society of Philadelphia—*Genuine Patriotism* in the chair: The following resolutions were unanimously adopted.

1st. Resolved, That it is one of the *unalienable Rights of Freemen to discuss with freedom and firmness all subjects of public concern*: That in consequence of this principle, these meetings have an indisputable right to offer their sentiments concerning the *Democratic Society* and its several resolutions.

2d. Resolved, That the high professions of disinterested patriotism held out by the Democratic Society, are very equivocal proofs of its public virtue; and that these are best discovered in the resolutions which it has published.

3d. Resolved, That it is extremely impolitic, as well as ungenerous, for any Citizens of America, publicly to pour forth illiberal abuse against foreign powers with whom we are at peace—merely, because they are enemies to France: We say *impolitic*, because powerful nations may thereby be irritated to attack us, to whom we are by no means equal, either in population or military preparations: We say *ungenerous*, because some of these nations were our friends in the most trying days of our difficulties and distress.

4th. Resolved, That the public faith being equally pledged to preserve peace with Great-Britain as well as with France, all persons or societies, who *directly or indirectly*, shall endeavor to *bully or trick* our country into a war with either, must intend a violation of our national honor, and must therefore, be considered as enemies to America.

5th. Resolved, That the determination expressed by the Democratic Society, to *abide by our national engagements and preserve national friendships*, when contrasted with its insults against *friendly nations*, is as flagrant an instance of its inconsistency, as the insinuation of *panic faith* against our illustrious President, is a convincing proof of its impudence and presumption.

6th. Resolved, That the conduct of the French Republic in seizing our vessels, laden with provisions for the countries, with which she is at war, is as *damning an infringement of the established law of nations*, as any that we have experienced from other powers. Nay, this conduct is peculiarly aggravating, as it is expressly stipulated between France and, by *treaty*, that the vessels of the latter, thus laden, shall pass free and unmolested.

7th. Resolved, That the outrages offered to our trade, or citizens, by Great Britain, will probably be redressed in a much more proper manner, and redress much more easily obtained by the spirited conduct of our National Congress, and the long tried wisdom of our beloved President, than by the intemperate suggestions, and noisy declamations of any obscure Society wishing to bawl itself into political consequence.

8th. Resolved, That the trade of America has greatly contributed to her prosperity and credit, and that this trade having been greater with Great-Britain and her colonies, than with all the rest of Europe together—its interruption at this time, would overwhelm the agricultural and mercantile interest in unpeakable distress. Neither could its loss, in any proportion be supplied, by any commercial privileges in trading with colonies overrun with banditti, and desolated by incendiaries.

9th. Resolved, That however Foreign Ministers may be justified, in adhering strictly to the instructions of their own Sovereigns, yet these instructions are by no means binding on the nation, to which they are sent; neither is any Minister authorized on that account, to affront the Government to which he is delegated, or to look for countenance from the *real* Friends of that Government.

10th. Resolved, That every Government has a natural right to interpret its own treaties—that we rely implicitly, on the honor and abilities of our Executive to do so—and that the sense of these United States respecting our treaty with France, has been abundantly collected and evinced, not only by addresses and resolves from every quarter of the Union, but also by the unanimous declaration of Congress.

11th. Resolved, That *Imperialism in Imperio*, or one sovereign authority within another, is a fatal solecism in politics, and incompatible with Liberty: We therefore deem any particular Democratic Society, rising in the midst of our great Democratic Government, and presuming to dictate to its constituted authorities, fraught with the destructive materials of anarchy, inimical to law and order, and highly insulting to the great body of the people, who confiding in the wisdom and virtue of their own delegates, with neither the advice nor interference of self-constituted societies.

12th. Resolved, That we are united in the bonds of Civil Society, to resist with equal vigilance the encroachments of Anarchy, as well as of Despotism—that the name of *Liberty*, without its blessings is a delusive phantom—and that the greatest of these blessings are Security and Peace: That the Despotism of a Mob, is as tremendous an evil as that of a Monarch: That to countenance either, is to incur the execration of Mankind—and that they, who wilfully plunge a Nation, happily as this is, in discord and bloodshed, generally give birth to one or the other of these calamities.

Signed by Order of the  
Severall Meetings,  
COMMON SENSE, Secretary.

From the New-York Daily Gazette.

MR. M'LEAN,  
I read in an European Magazine as follows:  
"THE Quakers' Letter of this year, infills some of the noblest principles of Morality. That passage which inculcates paying our FULL DEBTS as soon as we are able, (notwithstanding any composition which creditors may accept of) ought to be written in legible Letters, and presented to every Bankrupt with his Certificate.—It is the opinion of many honest and judicious persons, that if a Law were enacted, prohibiting every species of *Luxury* to such as have been in a state of Bankruptcy, till they had paid twenty shillings in the pound, it would be attended with excellent consequences—Vanity would prompt many to this laudable conduct, in whose breast neither Honor nor Housery finds a place. These Luxuries might be specified—such as Plate, Carriages, saddle Horses, livery Servants, elegant Furniture," &c.

FRANCE.

The effects of the late King, which were burnt lately in the square of the Town Hall, were mere necessaries—A hat—a snuff-box, tortoise shell, broken—six suits of cloths—a cloth great coat—eight waist-coats, cloth, velvet, silk, and linen—ten pair of breeches—nineteen white waist-coats, and a satin under waistcoat—some white robes de chambre—five pair of slippers.