

Mr. Boudinot then observing on the patriotic conduct of our merchants, with regard to their obedience to the revenue laws, which he thought did them greater honor than could be claimed by those of any other country; warned the committee against carrying the matter too far, he warned them not to make it the best trade on fair calculation, that one merchant could pursue, to defraud the government of the duties. When once smuggling became a business which the merchants generally thought themselves justified in, it would be like powerful assailants getting possession of a strong fortress, it would not be easy to dislodge them. It was out of the power of laws to prevent smuggling, if the merchants once determined to adopt it.

Mr. Boudinot said, he had carefully avoided saying any thing about the Algerines, because although in his private opinion he thought circumstances bore hard against Great Britain; yet as a legislator he could not lay his finger on the evidence and say this or that proves the fact, and as he believed some facts had been mistaken, he was afraid of acting without adequate proof. Besides, although he was at first affected by the suggestion, yet on carefully investigating the proceeds of the business, he thought he could see reasons which might render it possible that Great Britain had a good excuse for her conduct independent of American considerations. Every gentleman knows that Holland had a considerable trade with Portugal, which she was obliged to carry on with a convoy of men of war on account of the Algerines. Portugal had three or four ships continually cruising on the same account. Great Britain (with these states) was engaged in a war with France, whose fleet notwithstanding all her difficulties was rather superior to that of Great Britain. It became then a considerable object with Great Britain to emancipate these ships of her allies from other services, so as to operate with her in the common cause. Again it was possible that Great Britain by promoting this trade with Holland and Portugal might find it easier to persuade the Algerines to declare war against France the common enemy; this we are told has been accomplished, and if so, must have been a considerable object with Great Britain. If then these reasons might have operated with Great Britain without respect to America, we ought at least to wait till we are better acquainted with facts, and this we may soon reasonably expect from our foreign ministers, especially when we are officially told, that the British agent who accomplished this trade, had not heard from his court for eighteen months.

On the whole Mr. Boudinot observed, that, while the duties already laid on the farmer, mechanic, laborer and other citizens of the United States, were sufficiently high for the support of government and the protection and encouragement of our home manufactures, while higher duties must in the end fall on those who are already oppressed with those duties that are necessary; while our citizens cannot avoid the duties by a supply from home manufactures or those of foreign nations in alliance with us; while he was of opinion that nations not in alliance, cannot be affected by duties paid by our citizens, he did not think this the time to increase the duties on articles which must be consumed in the United States, for purposes which it cannot clearly & indubitably be proved, will answer very essential and important ends to our government and its citizens.

As to the second object of the resolution, he had been always of opinion that it is the true way of accomplishing the ends proposed. He had ever joined the gentleman who brought this forward, in considering the regulating of foreign shipping, a principle of great importance to the interest of the United States, and whenever an answer shall be obtained from our minister abroad, by which the state of the present negotiation shall appear to be unfavorable to the United States, he would be ready to enter fully into the measure, and hoped then there would be a perfect unanimity in that committee, which would greatly ensure the efficacy of the measure. But as there was reason to expect the issue of the negotiation in a short time, he should be unwilling to agree to any measure of this nature having a principle of retaliation for its object, till the real grievance could be known, and of course the committee better capable of judging of the adequate remedy. He was averse from

forcing any nation into a commercial treaty with us. It ought to be a voluntary act, and he was for allowing the same freedom of action to other nations, we claimed for ourselves. But when we could not obtain a reciprocity of benefits, he thought we had the undoubted right of conferring a reciprocity of restrictions.

His idea was, when we did proceed on this principle, we should make old and wise nations our example, and copy their acts. This could give no reasonable offense, but if offence was taken, the answer would be obvious and convincing.—Great Britain by her commercial regulations had rose to power and opulence;—This gave us a right to copy her example, and whenever the executive gave us information that negotiation was ineffectual, Mr. Boudinot was ready to pursue this remedy, as the only salutary and effectual one, but as this period had not yet arrived, he should wait with some degree of patience for the issue, which as a friend to both countries he hoped would be a favorable one, and should accordingly vote for the present, against the resolution now before the committee.

After Mr. Boudinot had spoken, Mr. Ames rose, and remarked that it had been repeatedly asserted in a vague manner that our commerce is unfavorably situated, he wished the specific grievances stated and the facts on which they are said to be founded vouched for. One fact is worth a dozen theories.

Mr. Nicholas was astonished that the gentleman possessed so little American feeling, as so often to repeat the enquiry he had just made, or that he should attempt to divert the attention of the committee by a frivolous distinction between commercial and political considerations. The friends of the resolutions had supposed it unnecessary to enumerate, they conceived that every American must feel the wrongs we suffer, and they offered the resolution as a counter-terror. It appeared, however, that they were mistaken and must be under the necessity of enumerating grievances; it is necessary to tell the gentleman of the hostilities of the savages on our frontiers, of the murder of our citizens & plunder of our settlements—he must be told of the commercial advantages wrested from our hands, by that mean policy which lets loose the Algerines upon our defenceless merchantmen.

He hoped it would be allowed that this is a commercial as well as political injury. He enumerated the other injurious restrictions imposed on our trade by Great Britain, contrary to the law of nations and every colour of right, and then said, that since we suffer in blood and treasure, it becomes proper to enquire whether we can best resist, with arms or by making regulations in the spirit of those proposed, the effects of which will be felt by them in the distresses of their subjects. The committee had been told by gentlemen who opposed the resolutions how incapable we are of supporting any but a defensive war, our only alternative then is something like the resolutions, is to withdraw from them at least the sustenance they receive from us.

Some gentlemen, had, to be sure, reduced this question to very narrow ground, when they chose to throw on one side as inapplicable the injuries we suffer from Indians and Algerines and the injuries our commerce endures from pointed commercial regulations, and when all these are put out of the question they triumphantly ask, where are your grievances? They go further and attempt to shew that America is as favored in a commercial point of view as she has a right to expect. The regulations against us in the West-Indies are not grievances because they are of an ancient date, that they are part of an uniform system and that there is nothing in them particularly pointed at Americans.

This, he believed, is a mistake; there is an express law since the year 1780 excluding all articles from the West-Indies unless carried there under particular circumstances and in British vessels. This is an injury strictly commercial.

In answer to a remark, that British credit in Virginia does not appear to have generated British influence he observed, that the natural jealousy of and aversion to foreigners, who do almost all the commercial business in that state, naturally counteracts the influence of that credit, but where no such counteracting cause exists, where mercantile transactions are carried on by natives assisted by foreign credit, there he believed the natural dependence of borrower on lender gave deep

root to that influence: But the measures proposed do not go to the destruction of credit, but only tend to prevent its abuse.

It has been said, that Spain and Portugal could supply Great-Britain and her dependencies with grain and flour. He wondered at the argument being brought forward as it is notorious that those countries are among our best markets for those commodities.

A commercial treaty with Great Britain, it is said, is not desirable, because, that we have with France is not beneficial. Gentlemen should recollect the date of that treaty, that when it was made we had not much to give, and therefore not a right to expect much. The committee had been told that France had cheated us when they made the treaty with us, because it imposes some hardships now she is at war. This is owing to a contingency unforeseen at the time of making the treaty, and if we had been involved in war first, it with as much propriety might have been said that we had cheated them.

Much had been said on the propriety of permitting trade to regulate itself.—He approved of the position, but when restrictions are laid on one side, to restore the equilibrium contrary restrictions must be laid. We have no reasonable hope of a repeal of those injurious restrictions or a redress of grievances from Great Britain. At a time when these were a subject of negotiation she has let loose the Algerines upon us; what then are we to expect as the issue of those negotiations? Would an individual in similar circumstances expect an amicable settlement? In the existing state and nature of the grievances we complain of, it is extravagance in the extreme to expect they can be settled by negotiation. When matters are doubtful, recourse is had to amicable settlement—but if a man stabs my wife or child will I call on him to explain himself? No, I will have recourse to my power over him and procure satisfaction. The extent and nature of the injuries we experience, put all negotiation out of the question.

He dwelt on the propriety of the regulations, as the best weapons in our power, to obtain satisfaction.

He then took notice of the allusion Mr. Dexter had made to the body politic comparing it with the natural body, and contended that our body politic, cramped by British trammels, will not acquire the strength it is calculated to acquire, as speedily as if they were removed.

He adverted to the unnatural state of our commerce with the British West-Indies, which, though dependant on us for necessities, give us laws, and say we shall not carry those necessities in our own bottoms, except when they are in fear of famine.

He then went into a comparative view of the ability of the United States, to support a commercial conflict with Great Britain, and bring her to reasonable terms, and shewed how sensibly a diminution in our consumption of their manufactures would effect her, and excite a rivalry here and in France, to afford a sufficient supply. The distress we should occasion, it had been said, would induce Great Britain to go to war with us. The mischief would spring from them, from their obstinate adherence to the measures she had adopted, to our injury.

Some members of the committee had insisted that the resolutions are a dishonorable mode of resisting, and a mean mode of making an attack, that is, that we are to give out of our own hands the weapons with which we can fight, and take up those which we cannot wield.

He concluded with some observations on Great Britain's present backwardness to make a treaty of commerce with us; indeed, he wondered how we could expect a treaty, from a nation that trampled on our prostrate rights, and how we could wish one, with a nation which persisted in not executing some of the most important points in the last.

Mr. Dayton remarked, that the injuries we have received from Great Britain, had been painted in very strong colours, and when a remedy is proposed, it turns out to be only a set of regulations on paper; the insolence of Britain, is contrasted with American weakness. If we really labor under wrongs, something more effectual than the measures proposed should be contemplated; but first it is our duty, to endeavor to obtain redress by pacific means, and before irritating measures are adopted, we should be well assured that redress has been refused.

Mr. Madison saw no ground to hope

for redress from negotiation, we must be satisfied that that resource has failed. He could not see, admitting we are injured, that we are bound by honor or prudence, to resent the injury, by the last appeal, to arms. It is best, he conceived, to try whether a more pacific weapon may not prove even more effectual. We can make use of none against Great-Britain, more effectual than commercial weapons, in that part, their commerce, that country is most vulnerable. He thought this the most eligible time for the exercise of those means most clearly in our power.

(Debate to be continued.)

From the General Advertiser.

AT a meeting of the paper Noblemen of the United States and the emissaries of the British government, to take into consideration the resolves of the Democratic Society, irredemable public debt in the chair—the following resolutions were unanimously adopted.

1st. Resolved, that it is the unalienable right of stock-holders, stock-jobbers, bank-directors, and speculators to discuss with freedom, all subjects of public concern, and that as no other person or persons are seized with this right, as they alone have the genuine interest of the public debt at heart, it being the paramount interest of America, to which all other interests ought to submit.

2d. Resolved, that the high professions of disinterested patriotism, held out by those persons who are not within the vortex of the funding system, are very equivocal proofs of their public virtue; and that every man may be suspected of treason, who dares question the republican tendency or virtue of that system.

3d. Resolved, that it is highly politic and generous, for any citizen of America publicly in Congress and out of Congress, to pour forth illiberal abuse against the French nation, merely because they are the enemies of Great-Britain, and the combined powers: We say politic, because powerful nations may thereby be conciliated to lend a helping hand to our views, and assimilate our government to theirs; we say generous, because France assisted the rabble of this country, to assume their station in government, and thereby frustrated the good intentions of our beloved mother country. And because France may by her influence and example, destroy those seeds of aristocracy and monarchy, which have been sown with so much secrecy and care, and which we have so sedulously cherished.

4th. Resolved, that although the public faith has been pledged to France, to guarantee her West India possessions, and to admit her to certain privileges, to the exclusion of the British nation, all persons or societies, who directly or indirectly shall endeavour to preserve our national engagements, are guilty of a breach of our funding interest, and ought to be considered as enemies to America.

5th. Resolved, that the determination expressed by the Democratic Society, to abide by our national engagements, and preserve our national friendships, is a flagrant instance of inconsistency; for "Pacifcus" asserts, that interest and not honour or gratitude ought to be the bond of nations, and he is our bible. That any insinuation against him or the President, is a proof of impudence and presumption, as experience testifies that a man who has once done right, can never do wrong.

6th. Resolved, that although we have not had the spirit to resent the outrages committed upon our trade by the British nation, and that although we have not fulfilled the terms and spirit of our treaty with France, we ought to resent with all our strength, the attempts of France to retaliate upon her enemies, and oblige her by all the energy in our power, to observe a scrupulous exactness in her engagements with us.

7th. Resolved, that the outrages offered to our trade, or citizens by Great-Britain, will probably be pocketed in a much more proper manner, or with more grace and compassion, much more easily obtained by the submissive conduct of our national Congress, and the long tried forbearance of our Executive, than by the intemperate suggestions, and noisy declamations of any ragamuffin society, or of the people, wishing to bawl itself into political consequence, or to larval the government into honor and justice.

8th. Resolved, that the trade of America has been the means of prostrating her