

ly exhilarating to our pride & affords the strongest argument against the assertion. It goes beyond controversy; it is a contradiction which can be understood by any man who can read. There is no resisting its force, when adduced to prove, that so far is our commerce from being confined, that the most distant ports and oceans in Russia and China, and the Pacific, are its only boundaries. It completely illustrates the practical as well as theoretical independence of American commerce; for of the whole amount of the tonnage employed abroad, but sixty-two thousand, some odd hundreds, go to Britain and its dependencies—there are two hundred and twenty-seven thousand tons of this total, employed among other nations—and Britain, which formerly monopolized indeed our commerce, has now a little more than one fifth of the navigation of the United States in her ports. It is true that 3-4ths of the imports are from thence and that our export to her is not equal to this import; but that deficiency is paid circuitously and to advantage, by bills, for as the trade is free to leave her, as the merchants, actuated by interest, would buy as cheap as possible, we are fairly to conclude, that they sell some of our raw materials and products to more advantage in other ports than hers, but yet purchase in her's cheaper; so the commerce must be a beneficial one, or they would naturally forsake it. That our exports are greater to Portugal, Spain, and the United Provinces, than our imports from thence, is a proof that they give good prices for our products; but from want of assortments, or from their manufactures not being as saleable here, or as cheap as those from Britain, our merchants make up by bills from those places on London, to supply the deficiency of the export to that port. With respect to predilection for Britain, introduced as a ground of consumption, he did not believe it existed; certain he was, he felt it not himself. He could see nothing in the mere exercise of taste, in the consumption of manufactures, or preference of what was well manufactured and cheap that was connected with the theory of political sentiment. In this country, no such predilection for that nation existed; on the contrary, he believed the most substantial interests of commerce were now at hazard, from the very prejudices which were used by gentlemen sometimes to prove the very reverse. As to the perfect freedom of trade, and that universal treaty, of which the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Giles) gave us a hint, but no outline, the other day, he questioned much if the accidental variance among nations, on which substantial differences had been moulded by habits, rendered the thing possible, and were it possible, whether all young countries that were not on even terms of manufacture, and ready for a competition of ingenuity, would not suffer extremely by the institution; he was sure this would. The idea was a benevolent one, but it was not one that could bear practice. On all questions in which great and complicated interests were under speculation, when habit, and modes of life and taste, and an immemorial course of things were to be considered, he always wished to see much respect paid to the past as well as the existing order of such things, as long as the result of the whole seemed to be a great and certain share of national prosperity. It was, Mr. Murray observed, a difficult and hazardous thing to attempt to define with precision the particular cause of prosperity; it led to political quackery. We know however with certainty, that never did a country so rapidly move forward to perfection as do the United States. That our navigation has increased since the adoption of this government, in proportion to other branches of trade, and that our commerce is both useful and ornamental, and the instrument of a revenue essential to the payment of a debt that we must discharge.

He said the complaint of gentlemen who supported the resolutions that our tonnage was inadequate to our exports, was in his mind an inconsiderate and fallacious species of regret. It might be a desirable thing were our tonnage equal to our exports, but even this would be a good or an evil, as it might be connected or not with objects over which we had no certain control. He would remark, that such a state of navigation at present assumed two things as its basis—a great and manifest disproportion between all the branches of industry dependant on ship-building and navigation, and the other trades; and our

power of becoming carriers for other nations, which would not be the case if maritime powers acted with their accustomed vigilance.—Unless the last employment were provided for by the regulations of foreign powers in favor of our ships, the first would be a serious evil. He thought it a safe proposition to which nothing but wild and crude speculation could be opposed; to say—that, as long as our right to be the carriers of other nations was not submitted to by them, the power to export all the raw materials of this country and its products would be an evil. This regret of gentlemen he believed to be founded on a comparison of this branch of trade here and in other maritime countries, as Holland, England, and some others. A little reflection would, he believed, afford consolation by shewing that their comparative superiority in the carrying business resulted from a solid difference in the situation of these countries, and of the United States;—nay, that this very superiority is the result of necessity more than choice—a necessity which the free and happy citizens of this rich and abundant country did not feel, and which they would not feel for ages. The carrying trade of this country will never be equal to its exports till the population of America bears a nearer proportion to the lands and the raw materials; till each branch of industry is proportionably supplied with labor; or the foreign powers admit our carrying trade to a fair competition with their own. It is true that we abound in articles of immense importance to the European artist, but they are so extremely bulky and heavy, that it is clear our exports require more than double the quantity of tonnage that the imports demand. The exports are tobacco, rice, grain, of all sorts, lumber, pot and pearl-ash, and such heavy and bulky products; whereas the imports are manufactures, small in bulk, high finished, light, portable and of great value for the space and tonnage they require in transportation. The proportion between them both is of value, and not of size. The first and great tendency of all things here is towards agriculture and the rougher arts, as lumber getting, which belongs to agriculture—the other arts and pursuits are but auxiliary to this main body of the national calling. This predisposition and tendency will be for ever keeping up the ability to furnish the raw and bulky article of export, while it irresistibly dis-furnishes the ship-yard and its dependant arts, of that industry which would be necessary to complete the power of affording domestic tonnage equal to the export; that is, we can afford more labor in the procuring of the export, than we can spare to the arts of ship-building and navigation.—these pursuits that belong to agriculture and a settled life, are more congenial with our country, where freedom and plenty invite to marriage, the rearing of families, and the acquisition of lands. At present he believed the seamen engaged in the foreign American tonnage, to say nothing of the coasting trade and fisheries, which doubled the amount, were more than in proportion to the citizens employed in the mechanic and manufacture trade, making the relative proportions between them in England the standard to judge by.

The tonnage rapidly increased every year; and, he took it for granted, would observe a due proportion under its present great encouragement, which amounted just to an easy protection to stimulate industry and secure cheap imports, without giving a rash monopoly to that branch of business—and here he would remark, that under the existing regulation, the very best consequence flowed in on the consumer. By the additional duty of ten per cent. on goods imported in foreign bottoms, and the addition of forty-four cents per ton we secured the importation of foreign goods to American tonnage, and by this means bought cheap; and by leaving your ports free to foreign vessels under an easy tonnage duty, there is a competition kept up in the domestic market for those exports, for which the foreign tonnage comes into your harbor. Thus already we buy cheap and sell dear at home. The competition that arises in our markets, in consequence of foreign ships becoming carriers of the surplus over that to which our own tonnage is equal, certainly raised the price of all things exportable; and a sudden and violent check in this order of things would vitally affect the agricultural, the lumber, the tobacco and all the more bulky objects of exportation.

It appeared then to him that the anticipation of effects from the resolutions,

on the point of disproportion between our exports and tonnage, was calculated on a growth of navigation forced unnatural and pernicious—a growth that would call off from other employments the labor which is better bestowed as it now is, in increasing our ability to furnish, by enlarging the powers of agriculture.

A sudden alteration which would, for a considerable time, check that competition between the foreign carrier and our own, for our products, would surely do mischief; nor could he see into what line of employment, except the mere carrying of our exports, would so immense an addition to our navigation be led; for unless foreign powers permit its participation in that branch of trade which from local consideration has ever been deemed so precious to them, the tonnage that conveys the exports, over and above that quantity of it necessary to the imports, must return in ballast: That is, if the export requires six hundred thousand tons, and the imports but three hundred thousand, there will be the half of our tonnage employed abroad, either in voyages that will but little benefit our country which wants internal labor more than foreign enterprise, at least of so useless a kind, or it will return in ballast.

But even admitting its policy he had no evidence of the only thing, which, combined with the idea of a navy, could render the object attainable, he meant the relaxation of the great navigation systems in Europe which secured to their own ships, advantages, in which participation was contemplated.—In the two great scenes, France and Great Britain, to which American habits and course of business would most probably lead, and from whence the manufactures were to be imported, the American carrier would find himself after unlading his export under restrictions which would force him to seek distant and circuitous trading voyages, or return home in ballast. In both these countries, he would find his enterprise checked by their respective navigation acts:—For Monsieur Barrere has reported a navigation act—it has been adopted by the convention—and as far as it respects the carrying trade precludes us except merely for our own productions. The artificial progress of things in France in manufactures, her political rivalries, and her colonial relations one would have supposed would long since have pointed out such an imitation of the English act.—The English act seemed dictated by necessity arising from causes, which, somewhat resembling those of France find little analogy in the present circumstances of this country.

When imitation is pointed out to us as a piece of policy, it is a duty to view our actual situation to discover similitude of principle and causes; and to estimate the importance of differences between national qualities here and in countries of whose practice and systems an imitation is proposed. If the situations, times and causes are similar, there will be plausible ground: If other causes of national prosperity, more eligible than those of other countries present themselves to our view, we ought to be cautious, certain and slow to decide. Very remarkable differences are palpable here from the circumstances that seemed to him to have forced the carrying powers of Europe to be such. It was important to view them, for political contentment would result from a comparison in which we found our difference.

(Speech to be continued.)

Foreign Intelligence.

BRUSSELS, December 3.

The grand army, under Prince Cobourg, has lately made a retrograde movement; it is in great part cantoned near Mons, and the head quarters are removed from Bavay to that city. The right wing, which is continually harried by the French, is covered by Conde, and extends through Marchiennes, as far as Courtray. The center has an excellent position before Mons, between Bavay, Valenciennes and Quefnoy, and protects our 15,000 labourers, who are diligently working to repair the fortifications of the two last towns. The left which extends through Beaumont and Chimai, to Namur, where the corps under General Beaulieu is posted, is less secure, and exposed to the frequent sallies which, for this week past, have been made by the garrison of Maubeuge. To prevent this in future, Prince Cobourg has just sent a reinforce-

ment of 4000 men, who after having driven the French from the neighborhood of Beaumont, have taken post round that small town; so that our grand army is now secure against surprise, considering that the frontiers from Furnes to Namur, Huy and Liege, are sufficiently provided with troops to repel any second invasion. We are chiefly indebted for these good positions, which have entirely counteracted the plans formed by the Committee of War and General Jourdan, at Paris, to the highly important information communicated by the French Adjutant General to the Army of the North to Prince Cobourg. This General departed on the 21st of last month, has been well received by the Ministry, and had a long conference with the Arch Duke Charles. After having betrayed all the plans of attack, he yesterday departed for Mons.

By accounts received this morning from the army of the Rhine, it appears that in the different actions, from the 21st to the 26th ult. the Austrians have had 3,090 men killed and wounded, among whom are many brave officers. Col. de Priefs, Baron de Badder, Count de Clenau, Banfy, Tranconet, and Engelsheim, all officers commandant, besides 16 of inferior rank are killed. Among the wounded are Colonels Scharda, Kruzi, Kuanz, Lee, Mafur, and others. The loss of the Prussians is more considerable, amounting to 6000 men, killed and wounded. Among the wounded are Prince Louis of Prussia, who received a musket shot in his arm.

The loss of the French is doubtless much greater. It is computed at 10,000 killed and wounded; but they were almost every where victorious; for they attacked all the Austrian and Prussian posts at once, with 48,000 men, of whom General Wurmsier alone had to fight against 25,000.

The consequence is, that Wurmsier has been compelled to retreat and take post behind Haguenau, here he can hardly maintain himself for eight days. The Duke of Brunswick was less fortunate. He was pursued as far as Nieuftadt, in the Palatinate, within three leagues of Landau, where he arrived with his troops in the most deplorable condition, and almost entirely defeated. The Prussian General Kalkreuth, who suffered less, is posted with the troops under his command, at Keyfers Lautern, to oppose some check to the rapid advance of the French column from Deux Ponts.

The ravages committed by the French, in all the country evacuated by the Prussians, more especially in the Dutchy of Deux Ponts, are dreadful. Whatever they could not carry off they committed to the flames. All the fine houses of the capital are burnt.

Surprising or ridiculous as it may seem, the official details published here this day by authority of government speak only of successes, victories, and the total defeat of the French army. But it is only necessary to compare facts with consequences, to see that the above accounts which come from persons of undoubted veracity, and means of knowledge, are but two well founded.

A part of the Emperor's horses and baggage arrived yesterday from Vienna; but if the French should penetrate farther into Treves, where they are now in force, his majesty's journey may be retarded.

December 6.

Dampierre late Adjutant General to General Jourdan, is returned from Mons, accompanied by another French General officer. What is surprising is, that these two officers appear every where, even at the theatre, in the Republican uniform. Dampierre is very well received, particularly by the minister Count Metternich. He is very affable, prepossessing, and, as is said, a very able officer. It is generally believed that the failure of the French plan of attack, is solely owing to the accuracy with which he communicated it to the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, two days before it was intended to be made.

The number of sick and wounded in the five military Hospitals of this city, on the 30th of November, was 11,400. From the 15th to the 30th, the deaths were 1759, including the French, who are mingled with the Austrians in the Hospitals. The grand Maison de Force at Vilvoorde, will soon be ready to receive 4000 of these miserable wretches, one third of whom are now lying on straw in the corridors of the Hospitals.

HAGENAU, (in Alsace) Nov. 10.

Extract of a private letter. "When the Combined army, marched through our