

Ordered, That this bill pass to the second reading.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the motion made the 22d instant on the report of the committee, on the petition of Conrad Laub and others, respecting the election of Mr. Gallatin to be Senator of the United States, and after progress,

On motion,

Ordered, That the further consideration thereof be postponed until to-morrow.

It was agreed that the second reading of the bill "in addition to the act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States," assigned as the order of this day, be further postponed.

The Senate adjourned to 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Wednesday, February 26th, 1794.

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Beckley their clerk:

"Mr. President—The House of Representatives have passed the bill, sent from the Senate, for concurrence, entitled, "An act in alteration of the act establishing a mint, and regulating the coins of the United States."—And he withdrew.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the motion made the 22d instant, on the report of the committee, on the petition of Conrad Laub and others, respecting the election of Mr. Gallatin to be a Senator of the United States; and after progress,

On motion,

Ordered, That the further consideration thereof, be postponed until to-morrow.

The following written message was received from the President of the United States, by Mr. Dandridge, his Secretary.

United States, 26th February, 1794.

Gentlemen of the Senate,

I have caused the correspondence, which is the subject of your resolution of the 24th day of January last, to be laid before me. After an examination of it, I directed copies and translations to be made; except in those particulars, which, in my judgment, for public considerations, ought not to be communicated.

Those copies and translations are now transmitted to the Senate; but the nature of them manifests the propriety of their being received as confidential.

G. WASHINGTON.

The message was read.

Ordered, That the message and papers therein referred to, lie for consideration.

The Vice-President communicated a letter from the Secretary for the department of Treasury, explaining the causes of delay in reporting on the petition of Arthur Hughes, referred to his consideration—which was read.

Ordered, That it lie on the table.

The bill, sent from the House of Representatives for concurrence, entitled "an act making appropriations for the support of government, for the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four," was read the second time.

On motion,

Ordered, That the further consideration of this bill be postponed.

The Senate adjourned until 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Thursday, February 27th, 1794.

On motion,

Ordered, That the bill, sent from the House of Representatives for concurrence, entitled, "an act making appropriations for the support of government, for the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four," be referred to Mr. Cabot, Mr. Frelinghuysen, and Mr. Langdon, to consider and report thereon to the Senate.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the motion made the 22d instant, on the report of the committee, on the petition of Conrad Laub and others, respecting the election of Mr. Gallatin to be a Senator of the United States, and after progress,

On motion,

Ordered, That the further consideration thereof, be postponed until to-morrow.

The Senate adjourned until 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.

CONGRESS.

House of Representatives.
January 30.

In committee of the whole on Mr. Madison's resolutions.

SPEECH OF MR. FOSTER,
of Massachusetts.

UPON the first statement of the propositions which have been so long under the consideration of the committee, I was

one of the individuals who had to examine the subject in the various lights under which it ought to be viewed, in order to form an opinion upon the necessity, the expediency, and the probable consequences of the adoption of the system which the resolutions contemplate. I have listened with unremitting attention to the debates, and have endeavoured that a single observation of importance should not escape unnoticed. The resolutions, at first view, appeared important—on a critical and attentive examination they do not appear less so—they confessedly involve a great variety of interests—interests of the highest magnitude, and, if adopted, will essentially alter the circumstances, the views, the commercial prospects, and the civil policy of the National government.

The candour and ingenuity with which the subject has been discussed, have given me great satisfaction. The arguments against and in support of the resolutions, have been displayed in a manner highly gratifying to an enquiring mind. The variety of views in which the subject has been examined—its relative connection with our agriculture, our manufactures, and the whole civil polity of the United States—the influence which the system would have upon our intercourse with foreign nations, and the probable effects resulting to them, more especially to France and Great-Britain, have afforded much information; and I am happy in acknowledging my obligations to the gentlemen, who have, with so much ability and precision, favored us with their sentiments.

Much time, Mr. Chairman, has been already spent in the discussion. The subject is momentous and required it. The affirmative and the negative of the question have been ably advocated and ably supported.

A general review of the arguments may not perhaps be without its use.

In support of the resolutions it has been urged,

That the measures of the tendency hereby contemplated have been long expected by the citizens of the United States.

That the regulation of our commerce was the principle which first induced the formation and establishment of our present constitution.

That the adoption of the resolutions will probably excite a competition in foreign countries, as well as among our own citizens, operating to produce supplies of such articles as we may wish, from other nations than those who now furnish us, and as an encouragement to the domestic manufacture of the same articles.

That they will tend to the increase of our navigation, enable us to obtain our proper share of the carrying trade and enjoy those benefits and advantages to which from our relative situation and existing circumstances we are entitled.

That, by a pursuit of this system, we may injure the individuals, particularly the manufacturers, and consequently the governments of other countries, and make our enemies feel the extent of our power, our abilities to injure them, and thence induce a proper respect for our rights and interests, and our government.

That the probable diminution of our revenues, from the possible diminution of our imports, would, in some degree, be counter-balanced by the increase of the duties contemplated by the resolutions.

That we are bound to obtain reparation for the injustice done to individuals of our own country, by regulations contravening the Laws of Nations, made by some of the belligerent Powers; or, in default of obtaining such reparation, we are bound to compensate the damages which such individuals have sustained.

That provision is hereby proposed to be made, for raising monies to compensate, in the first instance, the individuals thus injured.

That leaving our trade to regulate itself, is, in fact, leaving it to be regulated by foreign nations.

That jealousy and ill-will have always marked the line of conduct of Great-Britain toward America. She has never executed the treaty of peace, she carried away our Negroes, she detained our western posts, she excited and encourages the Indian war, she has let loose the Algerines, she has violated our neutrality and committed spoliation on our ships at sea.

That the balance of our trade with Great-Britain is now much against us—this has produced on her part an extensive credit, operating as a grievance, creating a foreign influence, which pervades the mercantile and trading part of the com-

munity, may extend into our public councils, and have an undue effect on our government.

That we have all the necessaries of life produced in our own country, and consequently have greater advantages in establishing such regulations, beyond what are enjoyed by a populous and manufacturing nation.

That should the proposed system be adopted, and carried into effect, there is no probability of retaliation on the part of Great-Britain; should she be disposed she cannot effect it. If the issue require self-denial, we can endure the evil with the greater advantage, and may safely calculate upon a complete triumph.

That Britain is now at war against republican principles, and our commerce enables her to prosecute that war.

That the balance of our trade with France has always been in our favor. That friendship and disinterested benevolence have ever marked her conduct towards the United States.

That gratitude to the French nation requires us to turn the current of our trade from Britain to them.

That the system contemplated by these resolutions will induce France to confer on us additional favors; and finally, that by withholding our commerce from G. Britain, we shall aid the cause of the French, who are at war against despotism struggling for liberty, and the rights of freemen.

In opposition to the resolutions it is said,

That though measures similar to those now contemplated, may have been heretofore expected, a necessity for their adoption does not now exist.

That regulations have already been made, which have had a happy influence in increasing our commerce, our manufactures and our navigation.

That our commercial advantages, our fisheries, our seamen, and our ships, have been progressively increasing since the adoption of our present happy constitution—that their numbers and growth are still increasing, and under the influence of the existing system, will continue to do so as rapidly as will be beneficial to the community.

That although additional duties on foreign tonnage might encourage our navigation, yet the increase ought to be made with caution; a very great or undue proportion of American capital being vested in navigation would be hazardous, and in case of a war the loss would distress us extremely.

That an increase of our shipping beyond what is necessary for our importations, would be injurious; the surplus necessarily deducts from a capital which is wanted for other purposes, and may be more beneficially improved in the increase of our manufactures and agriculture.—An excess of zeal to promote our commerce and navigation, is more dangerous than a deficiency.

That it is the interest of the landholder that our trade should be free, and that foreign, as well as domestic vessels, should be admitted to our wharves, and permitted to receive our produce, for exportation without restraint.

That should additional duties be imposed, discrimination would be impolitic and unjust; the commerce of one nation ought not to be encouraged to the detriment of another; if there is no friendship in trade, it does not follow there must be enmity.

That in establishing a commercial system and forming a decision on the subject now under the consideration of the committee we should divest ourselves of political views, we ought not to suffer our resentments to influence us; the feelings excited by the consideration of the Indian war, the depredations of the Algerines, or the inexecution of the treaty of peace, have nothing to do with a subject which respects the regulation of our commerce only. To obtain redress for any political injuries we may have sustained, recourse in the first instance should be had to peaceable negotiations which would probably prove effectual.

That the object of the present resolutions appears to be a commercial warfare, which in all probability would be productive of one far more serious.

That the expediency of forming any commercial treaties may well be questioned, they necessarily connect us in the politics of Europe, a connection which can never be salutary for America; but if commercial treaties are formed, mutual interest

should be considered as the fundamental principle.

That the resolutions before us contain only an *affection* of aiding our navigation, commerce, and manufactures; they will in fact, prove detrimental to each of them, by producing a temporary stagnation at least, of the one, and unavoidable embarrassments upon the other.

That high duties, by augmenting the prices of such goods as might be imported, would only operate as taxes and burdens against our own citizens, who are the consumers; at the same time answering no valuable purposes to us with the government of Great Britain, against which they are professedly pointed, nor offering any particular encouragement to our own manufactures.

That the goodness of a market, is to be determined by the relative proportion of the dearth or cheapness, of the articles sold or purchased; and that on a comparative view, the commercial system of G. Britain is more favorable to us, than that of any other foreign nation. With respect to our exports she is and ever has been, a better customer than France, in the ratio of two to one.

That the restrictions complained of were in existence previous to our becoming an independent nation; they are in fact, a part of her colonial establishment and still operate only as they respect her colonial dependencies.

That the industry of our citizens has been, and is nourished by the aid of a foreign capital; for which credit is an excellent substitute, so far from being injurious it is highly beneficial, and, in the present situation of our country, has a happy effect in the promotion of ship-building, manufactures, and agriculture: admitting it was an evil, it is merely a municipal regulation and altogether beyond the controul of Congress.

That Great Britain is able to supply us with such articles as we want, in great abundance, and on better terms than any other nation; she has it in her power, and is willing to give us credit: the French cannot or will not do it.

That the influence of British credit on our public councils is chimerical; the safety of the idea is apparent, by the part taken and so ably supported by the respectable gentlemen, who represent a part of the United States, which has received the most extensive credit.

That should we be deprived of this advantage, merchants of great capitals only could trade. A monopoly by the wealthy, would increase the prices of the articles consumed, and the enterprise and industry of young men, who have need of credit, would be checked and discouraged.

That the faith of the United States has been heretofore pledged, appropriating the monies raised by certain existing duties, to the discharging of public debt. A system, like the one proposed, tending to the diminution of the amount of those duties, would be a breach of faith disgraceful as well as unjustifiable.

That the conduct of France, as respects our commerce, our navigation and our fisheries, has uniformly evidenced a selfish policy; and that we have no privileges to boast of in consequence of our present existing commercial treaty with that nation.

This, Mr. Chairman, is a summary view of the principal arguments which have been adduced on the one side and on the other of the important question before the committee. Many ingenious calculations, observations, comparisons and documents, fraught with information and tending to elucidate the subject, have been offered; I have listened with attention to the whole of them, and, on a careful review it appears to me that this is not the proper time for us to introduce very essential alterations in our commercial system—that, be our wishes what they may respecting the issue of the present war in Europe, neither duty or good policy will permit us to become parties. The strict principles of neutrality ought to influence our conduct—that the measures proposed would have a very bad tendency—that they would produce great inconvenience to our revenues—a temporary stagnation to our commerce—a future augmentation of the shackles under which it now labors—deprive our fellow-citizens of enjoyments which they have a right to possess—turn industry from its natural channel, induce a necessity of land taxes for the exigencies and support of government, prove injurious to public credit, be ruinous to our agriculture, and, in the present crisis might precipitate us into a war: Evils which just