

ON SOME FLAKES OF FISH FALLING INTO A LADY'S BOSOM.
TO Miss Mrs. Celia's fairer breast,
The flow forsakes its native fates,
But proving an unwelcome guest,
It grieves, dissolves in tears, and dies.
Its touch, like mine, but serves to wake
Through all her frame a death-like chill,
Its tears, like those I shed, to make
That icy bosom colder still.
But blame her not—From Celia's eyes
A comely face beholders prove;
Each sways, each fair one weeps and dies,
With envy, tears, and those with love.
ARMIN.
Dec. 25, 1793.

ANECDOTE.
CAPTAIN N. who lately arrived at Bolton, when going up to the wharf, ordered an Irishman to throw over the buoy, and going below for a few minutes he called to his Irish servant and asked him if he had thrown over the buoy!—No, says he, and indeed I could not catch the boy, but I threw over the old cook!

From a Concord, (N. H.) Paper.
Recent BON MOT
CERTAIN Mr.—, famous in the line of preaching, being (as he supposed) a true shepherd, collected his flock of sheep, among whom he found a Goat, who according to his law, must suffer excommunication—the accordingly called his flock into his yard, alias synagogue, and ordered Mr. G. (the goat) to stand in the broad ally and then delivered his sentence as follows:

"I call on the Supreme God, the Lord Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Elect, Angels, Saints in Heaven, Saints on Earth, Saints Assembled here, Sinners Assembled with those Saints—I likewise call on this house, the shingles and roof boards, walls, clapboards, and ceiling, posts and pillars, floors, and the desk I stand in, to bear witness, that I give Mr. G. to the Devil, for the destruction of his flesh, that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord."
To which Mr. G. replied, "I call on this house, all within and without it, around and about it, above and below it, to bear witness, that I give Mr. G.—and his whole Church, to the devil—And now, gentlemen, judge ye, which made the devil the best ye."

From the SALEM GAZETTE.
IMPORTANT DECISION.
At the Circuit Court, held at Exeter, for the district of New Hampshire, in October last, in which the Hon. Judge Blair sat, solely—a question of great importance, not only to those immediately concerned, but probably to the United States in general, was decided.

The question was, whether the court of appeals appointed by the old Congress, in the year 1781, or 1784, had right of cognizance of a certain matter which took place in the year 1777. The state of affairs were these—a prize with a British register, and other British papers, bound from London to Halifax, in Nova Scotia, with provisions and English Goods (insured in London, at ten per cent. undoubtedly against American cruisers, as the loss was afterwards paid and carried to the credit of the claimant) was taken by a privateer belonging to Portsmouth, and carried into that port, in the year 1777—was there libelled, and tried at the Maritime Court erected by the Legislature of the

State of New Hampshire, and condemned—the vessel and part of the cargo was claimed by an inhabitant of Massachusetts, who demanded an appeal to Congress, which was denied, as the laws of that State did not admit thereof. He then claimed an appeal to the Superior Court of that State, which was granted; there the matter was argued by great law characters, and committed to a jury, legally empanelled and sworn, who confirmed the sentence below, and the Court ordered the Marshal to sell the property, and pay the proceeds to the captors, and owners. An appeal to Congress being again claimed was refused as before. In the year 1783, or 1784, the claimant carried the matter before the court of appeals by complaint, which took up the cause, and ordered restoration of the property; but it seems had no power to put the sentence into execution—the claimant then carried it by a writ of *superior* before the Inferiour and Superior Courts of Massachusetts, where he found the Judges of the last mentioned court unanimous, that the court of appeals had no jurisdiction of the cause—it afterwards came before the courts of Pennsylvania, where he met similar fortune.

The matter was now brought before the circuit court, praying that the sentence of the court of appeals may be carried into effect—the Judge then thinking it incumbent on him to hear and determine the question solely, the matter was argued by the counsel on each side.

The counsel for the respondents pleaded to the jurisdiction of the circuit court, and to that of the court of appeals; both which pleas, the judge overruled, and substantiated the court of appeals.

His principle reasons for the decree were, that although the State had not specifically vested Congress with the powers of war and peace, with its natural incident of that of prize and no prize, yet Congress possessed these powers implicitly, and that if the State objected there, they should have withdrawn themselves from the confederacy, which confederacy some have presumed to say never existed, for that the colonies were only united in sentiment to oppose the lawless claim and power of Britain.

It is worthy notice that the respondents are called upon, as well jointly as individually, to pay to the claimant, not only the part which was paid by the order of the supreme court of New Hampshire, to the captors, of whom perhaps not one is now living; but to account for all the parts of those of the owners who are dead, or otherwise incapable of paying their several parts. And it is yet an undetermined matter whether it does, or does not rest in the breast of an individual to determine whether they shall pay at the rate of three or four fold on the sterling cost, or with interest from the time of capture.

This matter may probably be worth the speculating & investigating genius of the free & enlightened people of this happy union; it is pregnant with consequences, that are either good, or evil; the sovereignty of the separate States, if they have not already dissolved themselves of the whole and the invaluable benefit of unity, are worth guarding and perhaps ought to be preserved.

Gather up the fragments, that nothing be lost,
WAS a family order, given after a plentiful meal, by one who could instantly command a supply of bread. The power of providence is exercised with the same wise economy, as the power of miracles. Neither of them is prostituted to the gratification of luxury, or the encouragement of negligence and laziness. In the divine works, there is no profusion, and there ought to be none in ours. Providence is bountiful but not wasteful; its blessings are bestowed freely, but not lavishly. We are to receive them thankfully, and use them frugally; not lose them by carelessness, nor squander them away in extravagance. The man, who gathers up what heaven gives, and who suffers nothing to be lost, will always have a supply. He who receives not what is offered, or preserves not what is cast into his hands, will always be in want.

My friend Providus is a prosperous husbandman. His crops of grain and hay are plentiful: his cattle are in heat, and his cows afford him butter and cheese in abundance. Some, who live near him, on farms as large, and of nearly the same quality, buy half their bread corn, &c. are destitute of hay every spring, and from the same number of cows, have scarcely milk for their families. They wonder what is the matter. They say to Providus, "there is a peculiar blessing on your husbandry." "No," says he, "there is no greater blessing than to me, than to you. The only difference is, I am always ready to receive and improve it. The sun shines as warmly, and the rain falls as liberally on your farms, as on mine; but they will do you no good, if you sow no seed in season, or make no fence until the crop be destroyed. I prepare my fields well—sow them early—fence them effectually—gather my grain when it is ripe—house it before the rats have eaten half it—and what I mean to spare I sell, when I have a good market. I never so confuse my old stores, as to reap my grain before it is ripe, or run too much in debt for rum or any thing else, as to threaten for my creditors, when I should be preparing for another crop. I cut my grass, when it is in its proper state, and proportion my flock to my fodder. I never destroy my grain or mowing grass by feeding them down in the spring. I keep my cattle well—and my oxen are strong—and my cows yield me plenty of milk. My wife in her department, uses the same economy. She gathers up the fragments, and suffers nothing to be lost. What cannot be immediately applied to human use, she applies to some other use, which ultimately turns to the benefit of the family. She cuts her pork in the barrel with attention, so that one third of it is not reduced to morsels and scraps, and thrown by for soap grease. Her dairy she attends with care, and her cheese is not half destroyed by maggots. When she makes her bread, she does not let it stand until it is too four, until it is reduced to a coal, and then throw it to the dogs. She knows how to time her visits. She mends her children's clothes, before

they are tattered to rags. She makes every thing, which she handles, go as far as it can. Nothing is lost in her hands. Thus we manage our affairs. We act in concert, often advising, but never opposing each other. If there comes a blessing, we have the benefit of it. Use the same economy and industry within doors as without, and you will have your share of the common blessing, and find that providence is more impartial than you seem to imagine."
NEW GOODS.

Gentlemen and Ladies are invited to the Store of
ARAD BROWN,
and Company,

In Easthampton, where they have just received a fresh assortment of GOODS, which are now ready for sale, and may be purchased at the lowest rate for cash or country produce. A great variety of English and Hard Ware Goods, consisting of, Scissors, Dials and Blue Brocade, Furred do, Elastica, Cuffcases, Coating of all kinds, Lambkins, Cambric, Green, Yellow and White Razors and Razors, Duffel and Rose Blankets, Cambric, Wild-birds, Shalloons, Douras, Callimancoes, Silk Crapes, Scarlet, Blue and Plum-colour'd Mores, Calicoes and Calicoes of the newest fashions, Pocket Handkerchiefs, of all sorts, China and Paper Shaws of all sorts, English and India Bandannas Handkerchiefs, Buffaloes, Sattin and Mode of all kinds, Lawn and Cambric, Lawn Aprons of all kinds, Striped and Plain Madras, Mellin Handkerchiefs, Plain and Striped Vellin, Olives, Tuckers, Vell Shapes of all kinds, Pins by the Bundle, Needles, Chapped and Common, by the Paper, Ribbons, by the piece, Scarlet and Crimson Scales, Writing Paper, Bookram, Ladies' Bonnets, Tooth do, Gentlemen's and Buckles, Gloves, Woollen and Silk Mitts, Weather's Spelling Books, Qualifying and Short-Hand, Scotch and Plain Nankens, Paste Boards, Milliners, Gentlemen and Ladies Shoes, Japanese and Paper Inkstands, Cottons and Worsted Hosiery, Silk and Twill, Morocco Pocket Books, Bellows, Ostrich Feathers, Sattin and Everlasting, Scarlet, Green, and White Saracens, 7 shs, and 4 shs Irish Linens, Table, Thread, from No. 1 to 64, Imperial Buttons, Chip Hats, Black Gauze, Fustian and Jane.

HARD WARE.
Knives and Forks of all kinds, Shear-Hooks and Pieces, of all kinds, Tins and Awns, Large and Small Shears, Saws, Bars, Bots and Screws, Iron Candlesticks, Brass Ball do, Table and Tea Spoons, Large and Small Thumb Latches, Razors and Penknives of all prizes, Shoe and Kneec Buckles, Plated and Steel Spoons, H and H Hinges, Large and Small Gimblets, Brass Handles and Ecuichons, Brass Knobs, Steel and Japanned Tobacco Pipes, Snuff do, Saubers, Chest Locks, Hair Springs, Nitting Pins and Wire, Sealing Wax and Wafers, Boxes and Green Tea, Coffee, Allspice, Ginger, Powder, Salt, and other articles, at the most moderate of Crocker, China, and Glass Ware. The expect in a few days, most kinds of West India Goods.

Wheat, Rye, Indian Corn, Peas, Beans, Oats, Flax, Butter, Cheese, Tallow, Soap, Beef, Wax, Beef, Pork, Aches, Rags, Singles, will be received in payment, for any of the above Goods—Also, third and approved credit if desired—Constant attendance given, and all favours acknowledged.
Easthampton, Dec. 20, 1793.

TO BE SOLD, a most delicious fish, called the *Amherst*, the principal part of said Fish, adjoins a great variety of leading through said town to Hadley, the buildings stand on the same road—very commodious for a Farmer, or a Trader; a large Store is adjoining the house, which is now improved by Mr. Smith, of Hadley, a good Orchard, and a good well of water, with conveniences about the house—said Farm contains about fifty acres—and is without exception as fit a situation as any in the town for the sale of said Fish, and other articles, or for a residence.
R. MATTHEW, Junr.
Amherst, Nov. 25, 1793.

ALL persons indebted to the estate of Capt. Robert Dawes, late of Easthampton, deceased, are desired to make speedy settlement. Also those who have demands on said estate, are desired to exhibit their accounts to the subscriber by adjustment.
ROBERT DAWES, Administrator.
Easthampton, Dec. 10, 1793.

RE P O R T
OF THE
SECRETARY OF STATE,
ON THE
PRIVILEGES AND RESTRICTIONS ON THE COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES, IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.
Published by order of the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.
[Concluded from our last.]
SWEDEN receives favourably our grains and meat, salted provisions, indigo, and whale-oil.
They pay for rice to duties of fifteen cents the pound weight, carried in bag, on that, or 22-10 mills, carried in cask, or any other. Being thus reduced, on or dear as an article of common food, little of it is consumed with them. They consume some of our tobacco, which they take chiefly through G. Britain, paying heavy duties on them; also, they consume in their own vessels, and of forty per cent on that additional, if carried to our coast or any other vessel.
They prohibit altogether our bread, fish, and salt, pepper, flux, seal, tar, pitch, and turpentine, wood; except oak timber and ash; and all foreign manufactures.
Under many restrictions and prohibitions, our navigation with them is reduced almost to nothing.
With our neighbours, an order of things more liberal presents itself.
SPAIN and PORTUGAL refuse, to the ships of America which they govern, all direct intercourse with any people but themselves. The commodities in mutual demand, between them and their neighbours, are to be exchanged in some part of the dominions of either, and the transportation between that and the other State must be in a domestic bottom.
FRANCE by a standing law, permits the West India possessions to receive directly our vegetables, live-provisions, horses, wood, tar, pitch, and turpentine, rice, and maize, and prohibits our other bread-stuffs; but a suspension of this prohibition has been lately to the colonial legislatures, in some of the islands, it was formerly suspended occasionally, but latterly without interruption.
Our fish and salted provisions (except those received in their islands under a flag of peace) are as free as their own to carry to commodities thither, and to bring a few tons and waddles.
GREAT BRITAIN admits in her islands, our vegetables, live provisions, horses, wood, tar, pitch & turpentine, rice, and bread-stuff, by a proclamation of her executive, limited always to the term of a year, on which renewed from year to year, she prohibits our salted fish, and other fish-provisions. She does not permit our fish to carry thither our own produce—Her vessels alone, may take it from us, and bring in exchange, rum, molasses, sugar, coffee, cocoa-nuts, ginger, and pimento. There are, indeed, four free ports in the Island of Dominica, but under such circumstances, as to be little used by us, in the British continental colonies, and in Newfoundland, all our productions are prohibited, and our vessels forbidden to enter their ports. Their governors, however, in times of distress, have power to suspend a temporary importation of certain articles, in their own bottoms, but not in ours.
Our citizens cannot reside as merchants or officers within any of the British possessions, this being expressly prohibited by the same statute of 12. Car. 2. c. 18, commonly called the navigation act.
In the DANISH AMERICAN possession, a duty of five per cent, is levied on rum, corn-meal, rice, tobacco, wood, salted fish, indigo, horses, oxen, and live stock, and of ten per cent on our flour, bread, pitch, and beef, tar, pitch, and tar.

In the AMERICAN ISLANDS of the UNITED NETHERLANDS and SWEDEN, our vessels and produce are received, subject to duties, not so heavy as to have been

Hampshire Gazette.

NORTHAMPTON, (Massachusetts) Printed and Published by WILLIAM BUTLER.
Vol. VIII.] WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1794. [NUMB. 386.

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complaint of; but they are heavier in the Dutch possessions on the continent.
To sum up these RESTRICTIONS, so far as they are important:
1. In Europe—
Our vessels are at most times under prohibitory duties in England, and considerably limited on re-exportation from Spain to her colonies.
Our tobacco is heavily duties in England, Sweden, and France, and prohibited in Spain, and Portugal.
Our rice is heavily duties in England and Sweden, and prohibited in Portugal.
Our fish and salted provisions are prohibited in England, and under prohibitory duties in France.
Our whole oils are prohibited in England and Portugal.
Our vessels are denied naturalization in England, and of late in France.

2. In the West Indies—
All intercourse is prohibited with the possessions of Spain, and Portugal.
Our salted provisions and fish are prohibited by England.
Our salted pork, and bread stuff (except maize) are received under temporary laws only, in the dominions of France, and our salted fish pays there a weighty duty.
3. In the ARTICLE OF NAVIGATION.
Our own carriage of our own tobacco, is heavily duties in Sweden, and lately in France.
We can carry no article, not of our own production, to the British ports in Europe. Nor even our own produce to her American possessions.

Such being the restrictions on the commerce and navigation of the United States, the question is, in what way they may best be removed, modified or contracted?
As to commerce, two methods occur, 1. By friendly arrangements with the several nations with whom these restrictions exist; 2. By the separate act of our own Legislators for counterbalancing their effects.
There can be no doubt, but that of these two, the first arrangement is the most eligible. The least of counterbalancing our most valuable articles of regulating laws, duties and prohibitions, could it be relieved from all its shackles in all parts of the world—could every country be employed in producing that which nature has best fitted it to produce, and each be free to exchange with others mutual supplies, for mutual wants, the greatest mass possible would then be produced of those things which contribute to human life and human happiness; the numbers of mankind would be increased, and their condition bettered.

Had even a single nation begin with the United States this system of mutual intercourse, it would be advisable to begin it with that nation; since it is one by one only, that it can be extended to all. Where the circumstances of either party render it expedient to levy a revenue, by way of impost, on commerce, its freedom might be modified in that particular, by mutual and equivalent measures, preserving it entire in all others.

Some nations, not yet ripe for free commerce, in all its extent, might still be willing to mollify their restrictions and regulations in us in proportion to the advantage which an intercourse with us might offer. Particularly they may consent with us in reciprocating the duties to be levied on each side, or in compensating any excess of duty, by equivalent advantages of another nature. Our commerce is certainly of a character to entitle it to favor in most countries. The commodities we offer, are either necessities of life, or materials for manufacture; or convenient subjects of revenue; and we take in exchange, either manufactures, when they have received the last touch of art and industry; or mere luxuries, which our citizens may occasionally expect welcome, and friendly treatment at every market. Customers, too, whose demands, increasing with their wealth, and population, must very shortly give full employment to the whole industry of any nation whatever, in any line of supply they may get into the habit of calling for, from it.

But should any nation, contrary to our wishes, suppose it may better find its advantage by continuing its system of prohibitions, duties, and regulations, it behoves us to protect our citizens, their commerce and navigation, by counter prohibitions, duties and regulations also. Free commerce and navigation are not to be given in exchange for restrictions, and vexations; nor are they likely to produce a relaxation of them.

Our navigation involves still higher considerations. As a branch of industry, it is valuable; but as a resource of defense, essential. Its value, as a branch of industry, is increased by the dependence of so many other branches on it. In times of general peace it multiplies competitors for employment in transportation, and so keeps that at its proper level, and in times of war, that is to say, when those nations who may be our principal carriers, shall bear war with each other, if we have not within ourselves the means of transportation, our produce must be exported in belligerent vessels at the expensed expense of war-freight and insurances; and the articles which will not bear that, must perish on our hands.
But it is a resource for defence that our navigation will admit neither neglect, nor forbearance. The position and circumstances of the United States leave them nothing to fear on their land-boards, and nothing to desire beyond their present rights. But, on their sea-board, they are open to injury, and they have there too, a commerce which must be protected. This can only be done by possessing a respectable body of citizens fleet, and of armaments and establishments in readiness for ship-battle.

Were the ocean, which is the common property of all, open to the industry of all, so that every person and vessel should be free to take employment wherever it could be found, the United States would certainly not for the example of appropriating to themselves, exclusively, any portion of the common stock of occupation. They would rely on the enterprise and ability of their citizens for a due participation of the benefit of the sea-faring business, and for keeping the marine class of citizens equal to their object. But if particular nations grant to us duties, and more especially, if they freeze on the means of the United States to convert them into alienated for their own strength and withdraw them entirely from the support of those to whom they belong, defensive and protecting measures become necessary on the part of the nation whose marine resources are thus invaded, or it will be disarmed of its defense; its productions will lie at the mercy of the nation which has possessed itself exclusively of the means of carrying them, and its policies may be influenced by those who control the means of its commerce. If once established in another channel, cannot be refuted in the present we may desire. If we lose the seamen and artists, when it now occupies, we lose the present means of marine defense, and time will be requisite to raise up others, when distress or losses shall bring home to our feelings the error of having abandoned them. The materials for maintaining our due share of navigation, are ours in abundance; and, as to the mode of using them, we have only to adopt the principles of those who thus put us on the defence, and our commerce will be better fitted to our circumstances.

The following principles being founded in reciprocity, appear perfectly just, and to offer no cause of complaint to any nation.

1. Where a nation imposes high duties on our productions, or prohibits them altogether, it may be proper for us to do the same by theirs, first barrening or excluding those productions which they bring here, in competition with our own of the same kind; selecting next such manufactures as we take from them in greatest quantity, and which, at the same time we could the longest furnish to ourselves, or obtain from other countries; imposing on them duties, lighter at first, but heavier and heavier afterwards, as other channels of supply open. Such duties having the effect of indirect encouragement to domestic manufactures of the same kind may induce the manufacturer to come himself into these states; where cheaper subsistence, equal laws, and a vent of his wares, free of duty, may ensure him the highest profit of his

skill and industry. And here it would be in the power of the state governments to co-operate essentially, by opening the resources of encouragement which are under their control, extending them liberally to artists in those particular branches of manufacture, from which their soil, climate, population, and other circumstances have matured them, and following the pious effort and progress of household manufacture by some patronage suited to the nature of the objects, guided by the local information they possess, and guarded against abuse by their presence and attention. The oppression on our agriculturists in foreign ports would then be made the occasion of relieving it from a dependence on the councils and conduct of others, and of promoting arts, manufactures, and population at home.

2. Where a nation refuses permission to our merchants and factors to reside in certain parts of their dominions, we may, if it should be thought expedient, refuse residence to theirs in any and every part of ours, or modify their transactions.

3. Where a nation refuses to receive in our vessels, or to receive in any other, our manufactures, the first and second clauses of the bill, reported by the committee, are well formed to effect this object.

4. Where a nation refuses to consider any vessel as ours, which has not been built within our territories, we should refuse to consider as theirs, any vessel not built within their territories.

5. Where a nation refuses to our vessels the carriage even of our own productions, to receive in commerce under their dominion, we may refuse to receive, of every description, the carriage of the same productions to the same countries. But as justice and good neighbourhood would dictate, that those who have no part in imposing the restriction on us, should not be the victims of measures adopted to defeat its effect, it may be proper to confine the restriction to vessels owned or navigated by any subjects of the same dominant power, other than the inhabitants of the country to which the said productions are to be carried. And to prevent all inconvenience to the said inhabitants, and to ensure to our own, by too sudden a check on the means of transportation, we may continue to admit the vessels marked for future exportation, on an advanced tonnage, and for such length of time only, as may be supposed necessary to provide against that inconvenience.

The establishment of some of these principles in Great Britain, alone, has already lost us, in our commerce with that country and its possessions, between eight and nine millions of dollars, or about 40,000 tons of British manufactures, and other official materials, in which they are concerned. This involves a proportional loss of seamen, shipwrights, and ship building, and is too serious a loss to admit of barefacedness of some effectual remedy.

It is true we must expect some inconvenience in practice, from the establishment of discriminating duties, but in this, as in many other cases, we are left to chafe between two evils. These inconveniences are nothing, when weighed against the loss of wealth, and loss of force which will follow our preference in the plan of indiscriminate duties. Whether it shall be perceived that we are either in the system, or the habit, of giving equal advantages to those who extinguish our commerce and navigation, by duties and prohibitions, as to those who treat both with liberality and justice, liberality and justice will be converted by all into duties and prohibitions. It is not to the moderation and justice of others we are to trust for fair and equal access to market with our productions, or for our due share in the transportation of them; but to our own means of independence, and the firm will to use them. Nor do the inconveniences of discrimination merit consideration. Not one of the nations benevolentized; perhaps, not a commercial nation on earth, is without them. In our case, one distinction alone will suffice, that is to say, between nations who favor our productions and navigation, and those who do not favor them. One set of moderate duties, if the pro-

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Our navigation involves still higher considerations. As a branch of industry, it is valuable; but as a resource of defense, essential. Its value, as a branch of industry, is increased by the dependence of so many other branches on it. In times of general peace it multiplies competitors for employment in transportation, and so keeps that at its proper level, and in times of war, that is to say, when those nations who may be our principal carriers, shall bear war with each other, if we have not within ourselves the means of transportation, our produce must be exported in belligerent vessels at the expensed expense of war-freight and insurances; and the articles which will not bear that, must perish on our hands.

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Were the ocean, which is the common property of all, open to the industry of all, so that every person and vessel should be free to take employment wherever it could be found, the United States would certainly not for the example of appropriating to themselves, exclusively, any portion of the common stock of occupation. They would rely on the enterprise and ability of their citizens for a due participation of the benefit of the sea-faring business, and for keeping the marine class of citizens equal to their object. But if particular nations grant to us duties, and more especially, if they freeze on the means of the United States to convert them into alienated for their own strength and withdraw them entirely from the support of those to whom they belong, defensive and protecting measures become necessary on the part of the nation whose marine resources are thus invaded, or it will be disarmed of its defense; its productions will lie at the mercy of the nation which has possessed itself exclusively of the means of carrying them, and its policies may be influenced by those who control the means of its commerce. If once established in another channel, cannot be refuted in the present we may desire. If we lose the seamen and artists, when it now occupies, we lose the present means of marine defense, and time will be requisite to raise up others, when distress or losses shall bring home to our feelings the error of having abandoned them. The materials for maintaining our due share of navigation, are ours in abundance; and, as to the mode of using them, we have only to adopt the principles of those who thus put us on the defence, and our commerce will be better fitted to our circumstances.

The following principles being founded in reciprocity, appear perfectly just, and to offer no cause of complaint to any nation.

1. Where a nation imposes high duties on our productions, or prohibits them altogether, it may be proper for us to do the same by theirs, first barrening or excluding those productions which they bring here, in competition with our own of the same kind; selecting next such manufactures as we take from them in greatest quantity, and which, at the same time we could the longest furnish to ourselves, or obtain from other countries; imposing on them duties, lighter at first, but heavier and heavier afterwards, as other channels of supply open. Such duties having the effect of indirect encouragement to domestic manufactures of the same kind may induce the manufacturer to come himself into these states; where cheaper subsistence, equal laws, and a vent of his wares, free of duty, may ensure him the highest profit of his

skill and industry. And here it would be in the power of the state governments to co-operate essentially, by opening the resources of encouragement which are under their control, extending them liberally to artists in those particular branches of manufacture, from which their soil, climate, population, and other circumstances have matured them, and following the pious effort and progress of household manufacture by some patronage suited to the nature of the objects, guided by the local information they possess, and guarded against abuse by their presence and attention. The oppression on our agriculturists in foreign ports would then be made the occasion of relieving it from a dependence on the councils and conduct of others, and of promoting arts, manufactures, and population at home.

2. Where a nation refuses permission to our merchants and factors to reside in certain parts of their dominions, we may, if it should be thought expedient, refuse residence to theirs in any and every part of ours, or modify their transactions.

3. Where a nation refuses to receive in our vessels, or to receive in any other, our manufactures, the first and second clauses of the bill, reported by the committee, are well formed to effect this object.

4. Where a nation refuses to consider any vessel as ours, which has not been built within our territories, we should refuse to consider as theirs, any vessel not built within their territories.

5. Where a nation refuses to our vessels the carriage even of our own productions, to receive in commerce under their dominion, we may refuse to receive, of every description, the carriage of the same productions to the same countries. But as justice and good neighbourhood would dictate, that those who have no part in imposing the restriction on us, should not be the victims of measures adopted to defeat its effect, it may be proper to confine the restriction to vessels owned or navigated by any subjects of the same dominant power, other than the inhabitants of the country to which the said productions are to be carried. And to prevent all inconvenience to the said inhabitants, and to ensure to our own, by too sudden a check on the means of transportation, we may continue to admit the vessels marked for future exportation, on an advanced tonnage, and for such length of time only, as may be supposed necessary to provide against that inconvenience.

The establishment of some of these principles in Great Britain, alone, has already lost us, in our commerce with that country and its possessions, between eight and nine millions of dollars, or about 40,000 tons of British manufactures, and other official materials, in which they are concerned. This involves a proportional loss of seamen, shipwrights, and ship building, and is too serious a loss to admit of barefacedness of some effectual remedy.

It is true we must expect some inconvenience in practice, from the establishment of discriminating duties, but in this, as in many other cases, we are left to chafe between two evils. These inconveniences are nothing, when weighed against the loss of wealth, and loss of force which will follow our preference in the plan of indiscriminate duties. Whether it shall be perceived that we are either in the system, or the habit, of giving equal advantages to those who extinguish our commerce and navigation, by duties and prohibitions, as to those who treat both with liberality and justice, liberality and justice will be converted by all into duties and prohibitions. It is not to the moderation and justice of others we are to trust for fair and equal access to market with our productions, or for our due share in the transportation of them; but to our own means of independence, and the firm will to use them. Nor do the inconveniences of discrimination merit consideration. Not one of the nations benevolentized; perhaps, not a commercial nation on earth, is without them. In our case, one distinction alone will suffice, that is to say, between nations who favor our productions and navigation, and those who do not favor them. One set of moderate duties, if the pro-

hibited, duties, and regulations, it behoves us to protect our citizens, their commerce and navigation, by counter prohibitions, duties and regulations also. Free commerce and navigation are not to be given in exchange for restrictions, and vexations; nor are they likely to produce a relaxation of them.

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