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"I wish no other herald
"No other speaker of my living actions;
"To keep mine honor from corruption
"But such an honest chronicler."

Shakspeare—HENRY VIII.

Legislature of New-York.

GOVERNOR'S SPEECH.

Gentlemen of the senate and of the Assembly, The approaching crisis of our national concerns, and the arduous and diversified duties of revising the whole system of statute law, upon which the peace, the happiness, and the destinies of nearly one million of free citizens may depend, give to the session upon which you have just entered, more than ordinary solemnity and interest. It becomes us, therefore, to advance to its cares, with minds untainted with party acrimony—unswayed by selfish and interested motives, and with our aspirations of praise and thanksgiving to the great Preserver of nations, to mingle a humble and devout supplication for his guidance and approbation in the accomplishment of the task before us.

In my communication to the representatives of the people at their last meeting, I had the honor to revert to the then state of our foreign relations, and to note the accumulated injuries which had been inflicted upon us by the powers of Europe. I shall, therefore, forbear to repeat the disgusting detail, on the present occasion:

Nothing has occurred to alter our relative situation with France since the last session of the legislature. One item of complaint, however, has been expunged from the long catalogue of British wrongs, whilst fresh aggravations and insults have been substituted in its stead. The almost forgotten topic of an attack upon the frigate *Chesapeake*, has been lately revived by an unexpected tender of reparation which has met the acceptance of our national rulers.

An affront calculated to excite equal sensibility, is to be found in the late assault of the *Little Belt* upon the frigate *President*, mitigated, to be sure, by the consoling reflection, that it was bravely and nobly chastised upon the spot.

Although accumulated evidence of the actual suspension of the operation of the obnoxious decrees of France, has been submitted to the British cabinet, we are still doomed to witness a persistence in her orders in council, of which the edicts of Berlin and Milan were the pretended and ostensible basis, in defiance of a solemn stipulation to the contrary; and to be the victims of an increased rigor in their execution, which has given the decisive and ultimate blow to our neutral commerce.

It would be painful to dwell upon every item of aggression and insult which swells the list of our grievances. The precise points of difference are stated, and luminously discussed in the documents which have recently been submitted to congress by the national executive. These are so universally and well understood, and the merited confidence in the wise and patriotic managers of our national concerns has been so thoroughly confirmed, as to have

produced an union of feeling and sentiment in the nation, seldom before witnessed; and it furnishes a source of conscious pride and satisfaction in every American bosom, to be convinced, that whatever may be our local and domestic differences, we shall be an united and formidable people, upon all questions which involve our national existence and privileges, or which affect the vital principles of independence.

Experience has at length taught us the feeble reliance which is to be reposed on appeals to the veracity, the magnanimity or the justice of monarchs, and has dissipated every remaining gleam of hope that our neutral rights will be suitably respected.—The consequent unanimity and spirit which inspire the nation, and which have dictated the late measures of congress, shew a determination to enforce respect for our rights and sovereignty at every hazard.

It therefore behoves the state of New-York to clothe herself in armour, and to stand prepared for the approaching contest. The security of her valuable and exposed maritime frontier on the south, and the protection of her inhabitants upon the extensive borders of the north and west, challenge our anxious solicitude and united services.

The documents now communicated, with others which will be laid before you by special message, in a few days, will furnish full and accurate information of the number and equipment of the militia, of the extent and distribution of the military stores, and of the situation of our fortifications and military depositories.

With respect to the militia, the most flattering improvements in discipline and equipments, have been universally exhibited both by the officers and privates. The introduction of military schools into several of the counties, has contributed materially to excite ambition, and a spirit of emulation. We may repose unlimited confidence in the patriotism, gallantry and efficacy of the militia, whenever the honor and safety of the country shall require their services. The organization established by the act of 1809, has been found to be satisfactory and judicious in most respects. It is, however, essentially defective on one or two particulars. It prescribes no limitation or guide to the jurisdiction of military courts, nor is there in it any designation or definition of what shall constitute military offences, nor any rules or regulations for the practice and proceedings of those tribunals. The remedies proposed for these, and for other omissions and defects which practice has discovered, will be specified in a special report of the adjutant general, which will be laid before you previously to the revision of the militia laws.

The revision of our code of laws will furnish you with opportunities of making many beneficial alterations. To devise the means for the gradual and ultimate extermination from amongst us, of slavery,

that reproach of a free people, is a work worthy the representatives of a polished and enlightened nation.

Allow me here to observe, that the law which authorizes the transportation of slaves convicted of offences, is very generally considered impolitic and unjust. Impolitic, because it cherishes inducements in the master, to whom alone those unfortunate creatures can look for friendship and protection, to aggravate, to tempt or to entrap the slave into an error—to operate upon his ignorance or his fears, to confess a charge, or to withhold from him the means of employing counsel for defence, or of establishing a reputation which is frequently the only shield against a criminal allegation. This inducement will be peculiarly strong, where the slave is of that description, the sale of which is prohibited, for a conviction will enable the master to evade that restriction, and to make a lucrative disposition of what might otherwise be a burthen to him. It is unjust because transportation is added to the full sentence which may be pronounced upon others. To inflict less punishment for the crimes of those who have always breathed the air of freedom, who have been benefited by polished society, and by literary, moral and religious instruction and example, than to the passions and frailties of the poor, untutored, unrefined and unfortunate victims of slavery, is a palpable inversion of a precept of our benevolent Redeemer. The servant "that knew not, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes; for unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required."

It would be an employment equally grateful and honorable, to endeavor to ameliorate the condition and cultivate the affections of the natives, who dwell within our territory. These have generally demeaned themselves in a friendly and inoffensive manner. Although they are amenable to our laws they are yet disqualified from pursuing the ordinary means of redress, for injuries committed upon their persons or their property. It is not to be disguised that worthless and unprincipled white persons, availing themselves of the ignorance of the Indians, and of their horror at becoming the objects of punishment, by laws which they cannot interpret or comprehend, wantonly and boldly violate their individual possessions and national domain. Such persons are generally of transitory residence, and are amongst the most depraved members of community, who, besides the violation of the individual and national rights of the Indians, corrupt and debase their propensities and habits. These intruders bid defiance to the ordinary remedy by ejectment, the issue of which they can protract for two or three years, and if they cannot, in the mean time, avail themselves of the contingency of the purchase, by the state, or of special legislative interposition in their behalf, they escape before final process overtakes them, and leave the state or the Indians encumbered with the expense of the proceedings. Of repeated and earnest appeals for the redress of these grievances, a wise and prudent legislature cannot be regardless. As no right to the possession or title of Indian lands can be acquired from them by an individual, and as, therefore, no legal or valid defence can possibly be made in a suit at law, it is submitted whether a power to expel, in a similar way, intruders upon Indian territory, or upon public lands, where no pre-emptive right is reserved, ought not to be vested somewhere, to be exercised under suitable restrictions, and whether such intruders ought not to be deemed public offenders, and be dealt with accordingly.

You will, in a few days, receive the report the commissioners, who were appointed to investigate the titles of the Onondaga salt lots. Its importance will doubtless direct your serious attention to the general regulation and permanent usefulness of that invaluable establishment. Every discernable avenue ought to be closed, by which associations or individuals may monopolize the lots, or the salt manufactured at the public springs. If that be permitted, the object contemplated by the government may be defeated, and the industrious and enterprising citizens of that flourishing portion of the state, be essentially and permanently injured.

Our treasury for upwards of twenty years, has been constantly drained by the discharge of pretended or real demands against confiscated lands. The best means of resisting or limiting those demands, has frequently engrossed the earnest attention of the legislature. The systems which it has heretofore devised, however, have been more or less parried by speculative management or legal ingenuity. Possessions of nearly twenty years, warranted and confirmed by public authority, are constantly disturbed, and our treasury still feels the pressure of demands, which the purchasers of those claims are constantly heaping upon it. It is essential to our financial resources, that effectual barriers be interposed against those claims. It would, perhaps, contribute materially to lessen their amount in future, were you to make void, and punish as fraudulent and criminal speculators upon the state, all direct or indirect purchasers of them.

Much of the time of the legislature has heretofore been engrossed with the concerns of incorporated institutions. It is a question worthy of our serious meditation, whether corporations, other than those of a literary, charitable or religious kind, have not already been multiplied to a dangerous and alarming extent, particularly those of them which are endowed with the power of conducting monied operations.

It has already been announced, that petitions for new banks, to the amount of eighteen and an half millions of capital, will be presented during the present session. It will appear by a report on your files of February last, and by an inspection of the laws passed since that, that our existing bank capital, including the stock to be subscribed by the state, amounts to nearly thirteen millions of dollars. The debts which may now be legally contracted upon that capital, are thirty nine millions; and if eighteen millions and an half of additional capital should be granted, the banks of this state alone will then be enabled to contract debts, or in other words, to issue their paper to the enormous sum of ninety-four millions of dollars, a sum at least sixteen times greater than the whole specie capital of the state. A failure to discharge such a debt, will produce universal bankruptcy and ruin.

The fearful prospect presented to my imagination by the preceding facts, and by the infatuation which has hitherto occasionally prevailed, with respect to banks, demand of me, as a sacred, official duty, to submit to your consideration a few remarks upon that subject.

The intrigue and hollow pretences, which are frequently practised to draw the legislature into the views of applicants, by exciting expectations that particular local benefits will flow from the grant of the charter solicited; or that particular classes of citizens, or politicians, will be peculiarly gratified by it, ought not to impose upon us at this late day; for we know, that expectations, excited by

such representations, have too often vanished in a subsequent selfish, speculating and demoralizing distribution of the stock. Neither ought we to be unmindful, that not unfrequently, the prominent men who seek the incorporation of new banks, are the very same who have deeply participated in the original stock of most of the previously established banks. Having disposed of that stock at a lucrative advance, and their avidity being sharpened by repeated gratification, they become more importunate and vehement in every fresh attempt to obtain an opportunity of renewing their speculations. It is also worthy of preliminary notice, that the apparent unanimity in favor of a measure which often surrounds this capital, when the legislature are beset with bank applications, is no real indication of the sentiments of the community at large.

One prominent objection, which meets us at the threshold of an examination of this subject is, that the vaults of banks are the reservoirs into which the specie is collected, and where larger quantities of it are at all times accessible by those who may wish to send it out of the country, than would be the case were the specie left diffused, instead of the paper.

Bank stock is generally owned by the speculating, the wealthy, and the aspiring part of society. An amount of their personal property, equal to that vested in stock, is withdrawn from other applications and appropriations of it, which would probably be more beneficial to the agricultural, manufacturing and laboring interests. Hence arises the difficulty experienced by enterprising farmers, manufacturers and mechanics, to raise money at lawful interest upon the best security; and hence it follows that the necessity of temporary pecuniary relief, frequently drives them into the embraces of unprincipled, avaricious usurers, who fertilize upon the wants and distresses of the needy and unfortunate.

The influence or the wealth amassed and concentrated in bank stock, wielded under the direction of a few persons not accountable or responsible to the community for their conduct, nor restrained by any official oath, may be devoted to a sway over individual passions, sentiments and exertions, alarming in a representative government. A diligent observer will have already perceived one palpable operation of this influence on public sentiment, in the fashionable, erroneous opinion, which prevails, that there is greater sanctity in corporate, than in individual property and rights, and that the one is less amenable than the other to governmental control, and less subservient to any paramount public good.

The multiplication of banks increases the facility of counterfeiters to make depredations on society, and their operations are almost exclusively prejudicial to the less wealthy part of the community, whose business does not familiarise them with the great variety of paper money which is put afloat. The last mentioned part of society are generally the most moral, upright and useful members thereof, and are the main dependence of government in times of danger and of war. Of them, therefore, the legislature ought to be the peculiar guardians. A recent detection of immense quantities of false bills, creates serious apprehension that the amount of forged paper already emitted, bears a great proportion to the quantity of genuine paper in circulation; and if so, how will the country be delayed with the former, if the facilities for putting it off be multiplied?

One of the baleful consequences of banks, is the facility with which credit may be obtained by certain descriptions of persons in and near cities and villages through the medium of a responsible endorser. The fictitious capital thus acquired by a dealer and mechanics, who consequently trust him. Whenever adversity overtakes him, the property on hand is immediately transferred to the endorser to secure the bank demand. This course is dictated by a sense of gratitude to the endorser, and by a desire to propitiate the good will and future patronage of the bank: and thus it happens, that whilst the bank obtains full payment, more humble creditors, who have trusted the insolvent, in consequence of the imposing appearances, with which that very bank invested him, lose the utmost farthing of their dues. Hence, and not from the defect of the insolvent law, as is generally imagined, proceeds the universal complaint, that the estates of insolvents yield no dividends to ordinary creditors.

The wound which the morals and reputation of neighboring states have experienced from a too great indulgence of the bank mania, and the present depreciated credit of bank currency there and in England, furnishes a lesson of vast importance to patriotic and upright statesmen. The paper of the late bank of the United States had an unbounded credit and circulation. At its first creation, there were few rival institutions in the great mercantile cities, where its branches were established, and it therefore enjoyed the deposits and business of the first houses and characters in the union. It was also patronised by the exclusive deposits of the general government to the amount of near twenty millions annually, which added greatly to its ability for accommodation; and if that bank with such unprecedented advantages, can neither make a dividend for the present year, nor redeem the original stock at par after payment of its debts, which is evident from the price of its stock, what would be the fate of many of our present banks, were their affairs brought to a close? And they will assuredly be brought to a close whenever a material shock shall be given to the credit and circulation of their paper. The then disastrous consequences are incalculable, consequences which will not be confined to cities and villages, but will pervade in a more eminent degree the agricultural parts of the state.

To facilitate commercial operations is the ostensible pretext for soliciting bank charters, and is the only justification for granting them. But at this moment commerce is almost annihilated, and therefore there exists now no necessity ostensible or real for the multiplication of banks.

There is one other consideration of enphatical influence at the present period. It is well known that stock is generally considered an unfit subject of taxation, and in fact, is not included in the taxable fund, nor does it contribute to discharge the public burdens, nor is it liable to distress, or to seizure or sale upon execution. To increase, therefore, the amount of that untangible kind of property at this moment of apprehended war, would be justly considered a partial exemption from contribution towards the public burdens of so many millions of the personal property of the rich. With what indignation would the yeomanry, the great body of our constituents, receive the intelligence of measures directly calculated to increase their burdens by a partial indulgence to the property of the rich?

Finally, we must be feelingly alive to every thing

which has a tendency to impair confidence in the public functionaries. If the interests and the sentiments of the great mass of our constituents are opposed to the further incorporation of the banking associations: If their institution will greatly facilitate forgers in passing false bills: If the suspension of commerce takes away the only plausible and rational pretext for countenancing them: If the wisdom taught us by the experience of neighboring states, of foreign countries, and by the supposed situation of the late United States bank, confirm and proclaim the danger to be anticipated from assenting to the increase of the number and capital of banks: If they contribute to drain the country of specie and discourage agriculture and manufactures, by withdrawing from other uses and appropriations more beneficial to them, the money of the affluent: If they have an influence which enable them to obtain the whole property of insolvent debtors, to the injury of other creditors: If their tendency be to the subversion of our government, by vesting in the hands of the wealthy and aristocratic class, powerful engines to corrupt and subvert republican notions: If the augmentation of bank capital, causes an equivalent curtailment of the taxable fund, and will thereby relieve the wealthy stockholders from their equal share of contribution to the public service, and proportionally enhance the tax on the hard earnings of the farmer, manufacturer, mechanic and labourer: If the wisdom and example of the national government be worthy of respect or imitation: And if we still persevere in multiplying banks, will there not be danger of infusing into the public mind a suspicion, either that we yield too pliantly to the management and pressure of external combinations, or that the unhallowed shrine of cupidity has its adorners within the very sanctuary of legislation. Such a suspicion will be the prelude to the downfall of republican government, for it is erected and supported upon the affections of the people at large, and upon their faith in the inviolable firmness, and and probity of their public agents, and when once the foundation is removed the superstructure must fall of course. Let us, therefore, conscientiously endeavor so to dispose of the various bank applications with which we are to be assailed, as to promote the general welfare, and at the same time, to retain and confirm public confidence, not only in the wisdom, but also in the unflinching independence and unsullied integrity of the legislature.

A communication from the chancellor of this state, relative to certain existing evils in the administration of justice, in the high and important tribunal over which he presides, is now presented. Your discernment and watchful care over the rights of your constituents, and the dignified and respectable source from whence the representation of the existence of those evils is derived, will doubtless engage your best efforts to devise and apply the appropriate remedy.

The report of the commissioners of the school fund, shortly to be laid before you, will attract your attention to the diffusion of useful knowledge, and the consequent promotion of virtue and happiness.

The flourishing state of domestic manufactures, and the share which the encouragement and bounty of the legislature has had in contributing to their activity and success, and the consequent independence of the country, prompt to a continuance of every countenance and support compatible with our resources.

On a former occasion I had the honor of com-

municating to the legislature my ideas of corporal and capital punishments. I shall not, therefore, dwell upon that theme now, longer than to repeat that I have always entertained serious doubts of the right of society to take away life in any case. That such extreme and vindictive punishment is by no means indispensable for the preservation of the social compact, or for the peace and security of society; and that it is offensive and repugnant to those sympathetic emotions, those beneficent virtues, and that refinement of policy and of reason which adorn civilized and free communities. If by inviting your reflections once more to this interesting topic, I shall be so fortunate as to subserve the cause of humanity, by effacing from our revised code that vestige of barbarism, it will be to me a source of high and durable satisfaction.

GENTLEMEN,--For the unusual length of this address, my only apology is to be found in the great variety and importance of the matters which will necessarily engross your attention.

With an acknowledgment of my high sense of your patient indulgence, I offer a fervent prayer to Him, who directs the passions and talents of man, and controls the destinies of nations, to inspire us, with unanimity, patriotism and wisdom, in the performance of the high and responsible duties of our respective stations, and to grant that our services may redound to the lasting happiness and welfare of the state.

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS.

Albany, January 8, 1812.

Public Sentiment.

The following is a copy of the resolutions introduced in the house of assembly of this state on Thursday last, by SAMUEL PENNINGTON, Esq. approbatory of the proceedings of the general government, and tendering their aid and support in such measures as shall be adopted for the general welfare.

[New-Ark Centinel.

LEGISLATURE OF NEW-JERSEY.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, JAN. 11, 1812.

WHEREAS, in cases of great national concern, involving in their consequences the interests, the rights and the welfare as well of the future as of the present generation; it cannot fail to be useful and acceptable to those entrusted with the national government to be made acquainted with the deliberate opinion of every portion of the union: The members of the legislature of New Jersey at this momentous crisis in our national concerns, think it a duty incumbent on them, publicly to express, as well the sense of the legislature, as the known feelings and sentiments of the citizens of the state they represent. In contemplating the convulsive struggles that have within the last twenty years broken up the governments, overturned the ancient land marks and carried disorder and distress into almost every quarter of the European world; the citizens of New Jersey have surveyed the destructive progress of this war of ambition on the one side and of unmercantile monopoly on the other, not only as men commiserating the sufferings of others, but with a view to the consequences on the safety and happiness of America. The anxious solicitude manifested by the general government to observe an impartial neutrality in relation to the belligerent nations, has at all times met the decided approbation of the government and citizens of New Jersey.

It was confidently hoped that this line of conduct would have secured to our country the complete

observance of the acknowledged laws of civilized nations, or at least have protected the persons and property of our citizens from outrageous violence. It was therefore not without emotions of astonishment and indignation that they saw the two greater belligerent European powers, at one and the same time, set at defiance the public law of nations by commencing a wanton unprovoked attack upon the property and persons of our citizens on the high seas. This indignation was increased by the insults offered to an enlightened nation in pretexts assigned as the causes of this violence. The danger and impolicy of waging war against all Europe at once justified the course pursued by the general government of remonstrance, negotiation and commercial restrictions. It has now become a subject of some consolation that one of the great belligerent nations has receded from her hostility, ceased to violate our neutral rights, made assurances of future amity and the observance of the laws of nations, and thereby left America a single antagonist to contend with—one against whom she has already measured her strength.

In contemplating the evils inflicted on our country by Great Britain, the legislature of New Jersey disclaim bringing into the calculation the injuries suffered by the revolutionary war, these having been magnanimously buried in the treaty of 1783. Nor do they take into account the alleged instigation of the savages to hostilities on our frontier settlements, the facts not being officially ascertained and declared; they leave out also the insult to the American flag in the attack on the Chesapeake frigate, that having been amicably adjusted; nor would they at this time think proper to complain of the refusal of Great Britain to accede to the desires of the civilized world, of ameliorating the evils of war, by adopting as a rule, that free ships make free goods. Even if the controversy between the two countries arose solely out of the interruption to our carrying trade, although they consider the trade founded on a perfect indisputable right which ought never to be yielded by treaty, yet policy might suggest the propriety of sleeping over the injuries arising from the deprivation of the exercise of this right for a time.

But the two following causes of complaint on which America and Great Britain are at issue, are of so unquestionable a nature as to leave no doubt or hesitation on the mind: First, the abominable practice of impressing native American seamen, while in the pursuit of a lawful commerce, forcing them on board their ships of war, and compelling them under the lash to fight against nations with whom we are at peace, and even against their own country.

Second. The depredations committed on the legitimate commerce of America, it being now openly avowed by the British government, that an American built ship, owned by the citizens of the United States, navigated by native American seamen, laden with goods the growth or manufacture of the United States, not contraband of war, bound to a belligerent port, which is neither invested nor blockaded, is subject by the orders of the British government to seizure and condemnation, both ship and cargo; the ruin of individuals, and the destruction of commerce, evidence the rigid execution of these orders.

This flagitious conduct of the rulers of Great Britain needs no comment; it is too notorious to be denied, too palpable to be susceptible of explanation, and too atrocious for palliation or excuse. The answers to the reasonable remonstrances of our government have only added insults to injuries, by

assuming positions, at variance with reason, justice and the public law, in consequence of which further negotiation becomes idle and vain: it only remains for the constituted authorities of the union to guide the destinies of a numerous, brave and powerful nation, by marking out its future course. That in doing this they may rely with confidence on the support of New Jersey—

Be it resolved by the legislative council and general assembly of the state of New Jersey, That at this important crisis in our national concerns, the government of New Jersey entertain a full and perfect confidence in the wisdom and integrity of the president, the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America—and hereby most solemnly assure the national government, that New Jersey will readily accord in any measures which it may, in its wisdom, think proper to adopt for the redress of national wrongs. That they cordially approve the recommendation of the president of the United States to both houses of congress, admonishing them to put the nation in armor. That in case the government of the United States shall eventually determine to resist by force the lawless aggressions committed by the British nation on the persons and property of our citizens, this legislature, in behalf of themselves, and the citizens of New Jersey, whose representatives they are, pledge themselves to the nation to render to the general government all the aid, assistance and support in their power, and with readiness, perform all the duties required of them in the prosecution of a war undertaken for the common defence and general welfare.

Resolved, that his excellency the governor be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing to the president of the United States, with a request that he would be pleased to communicate a copy to each branch of the legislature.

Resolved, That his excellency the governor be also requested to transmit a copy to each of our senators and representatives in congress.

Burr Mill Stones.

Some months ago, I had the pleasure to announce to the public, through the *Baltimore Evening Post*, the discovery of a quarry of stones in the state of Georgia, which it was believed, would answer all the purposes of the *French Burrs*; in that publication it was stated they were under trial at the famous *Bradywine* mills, &c. I have now the pleasure to communicate the result of that trial to the numerous readers of the *WEEKLY REGISTER*, and to congratulate them on the discovery of so great a desideratum.

To those that are personally acquainted with the gentlemen who sign the annexed article, (from the *American Watchman*) any thing I could say of their *prudence and circumspection*, or of their *capability* of judging in this matter, might well be deemed superfluous. But to those who do not know them, I feel a pleasure to declare, that the most implicit confidence may be placed in all they assert. [Eds.]

It is now some months since we took the liberty to request the public to suspend their opinion of the Georgia Burr Stones until an opportunity had been offered by experience to test their value. We now have four pair of mill stones made from the Georgia Burr's in the mills we work, and have supplied four other pairs to different millers at this and other places; and we have no doubt that if the proper

care is taken in selecting them at the quarries and in making them up, they will be found adequate to all the wants of the country. The quarries are said to be very extensive. One only objection can be made to them—that they are too soft; but if taken out of the earth and exposed to the air as the French Burr's are, we believe they will be found in no respect inferior to them, and in some circumstances they are much superior to the French.

WM. POOLE & Co.

Brandwine Mills.

History

Of the Invasion of Spain by Bonaparte.

ABRIDGED FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

CHAPTER VIII.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 328.)

While the peasantry of Spain were thus manfully struggling for their liberties, the *grandes* were acting a very different part in Bayonne. This city once belonged to England, and was, for a considerable time, the residence of her favorite hero, Edward the black prince. It is remarkable that he there received the visit of Pedro, the exiled king of Castile, who requested his assistance in the re-conquest of his kingdom: and from that place the English force marched which did restore him to his throne. It was now the residence of Joseph Bonaparte. Here he received a deputation of the *grandes* of Spain, with the duke del Infantado at their head, who expressed their lively joy at presenting themselves before his royal person. His presence, they said, was necessary to the re-establishment of their country. The *grandes* had at all times distinguished themselves by their fidelity towards their sovereigns, and that fidelity he would now experience from them. He answered by assuring them of his especial protection, and declared that it was his intention to rule only by virtue of the laws. Deputations from the different counsels, and from the army, were ready also with their homage and their flattery. —The serene brother of the great Napoleon, they told him, deserved to be his choice on this important occasion; for he united in his person the sublime qualities by which thrones are supported and strengthened. "Your majesty," said these sycophants, "constitute a part of the family destined by Providence to govern. The fame of your deeds has stretched itself over the Pyrenees and spread itself over all Spain." One thing which passed at this audience is especially worthy of notice: Joseph said to the deputies of the inquisition, that other countries allowed of different forms of religion, but he considered it as the felicity of Spain that she had but one and that the true one.

A national assembly had been convened at Bayonne, to do homage to Joseph, and receive from him a new constitution. Of 150 summoned, not more than ninety attended. Don Miguel Joseph de Aranza, the president of the body, pronounced an empty declaration,—in which he congratulated the venerable meeting on the pleasing and honorable task in which they were engaged, and exhorted them to offer their individual benefits on the altar of their country, in order to raise a simple and great monument, in place of the gothic and tottering structure of their former government.

For the feelings of some of this convention, irony and sarcasm could not have employed language of keener reproach. Let the motives of their conduct

be what they may, whether their submission to the intruder have been affected or sincere, the whole weight of their sanction was given to his authority, and the nation at large is the more to be admired for its general insurrection: because these men to whom it had been accustomed to look up as the most enlightened and patriotic of its chiefs—had apparently sold themselves to Joseph Bonaparte.

An address was voted to Joseph. It was in the basest strain of adulation. They spoke of governing only for the happiness of Spain, as "a resolution worthy the monarch, whose fame was spread over the universe, as a model of gentleness and virtue—who constituted the delight of the people whom he governed, and whom he left in tears, because he went to bear away his virtues in another land." At the third sitting (June 20) the constitutional statute for Spain was pre-ented by order of Napoleon Bonaparte, who is ambitious of the fame of a legislator as well as that of a conqueror. On the seventh, the ceremony of accepting this constitution was performed, at which another speech was addressed to Joseph. A few days before this mockery took place, he had abdicated the crown of Naples. "Providence," said he in the proclamation which he addressed to the Neapolitans, "Providence whose designs are inscrutable, having called us to the throne of Spain and the Indies, we have found ourselves in the cruel predicament of withdrawing ourselves from a people who had so many claims to our attachment, and whose happiness was our most gratifying hope, the only object of our ambition." With that impious hypocrisy which belongs to kings, he appealed to the searcher of all hearts, to witness how reluctantly he left them, for the purpose of accepting another kingdom. But to insure their future comfort, he presented them a new constitution of the latest fashion, which Napoleon approved and guaranteed. Some weeks elapsed before the people of Naples were informed of the name of the prince, to whom the emperor had committed the charge of rendering them happy. Murat at length, (July 20) who was now recalled from the scene of his proscriptions to Bayonne, announced to them that the crown had been ceded to him by his brother-in-law, conformably to the decrees of Divine Providence; that he had assumed the title of Joachim Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the constitution of the state, king of the two Sicilies, and grand Admiral of the empire, and that he should appear in the midst of them with the queen Caroline, his august spouse, and the prince royal, Achilles Napoleon. Such, however, was his fear of his new subjects, that one of the first measures of his reign was to revive a law prohibiting the manufacture of arms without permission from government, and to pass a decree compelling gunmakers to register the name of every man who bought a musket, and forbidding any person to carry arms without an especial license.

Joseph, with a suite of about one hundred carriages, entered Spain by Irun (9th July) two days after he had received homage from the Junta at Bayonne. When he reached Bergama, a deputation sent from St. Andero, while the French were in possession of that place, appeared to solicit his forgiveness and ratify the submission of their townsmen. A few hours only before those townsmen recovered their liberty. Deputations also from Guipuscoa and Alava were ready with their compulsory homage. At Vittoria he was proclaimed: all the troops were under arms when he entered that city, and the

inhabitants were compelled to receive him with the forms of rejoicing. On the evening of the 20th he reached Madrid, all the troops being under arms, a necessary part of the parade. He had previously been crowned king in the city of St. Sebastian on the ninth inst. Instead of the rejoicings usual on such occasions, the most sullen silence prevailed during the coronation. The general reception he met with is detailed in the following letter, dated from that city July 11. "Last Saturday, at half past one in the afternoon, arrived here a person of the name of Joseph, and found a city deserted by nine-tenths of its inhabitants, who fled before his arrival to shun his sight. There was not a single individual who returned the bows he made in his coach, and no shouts were heard but those of a woman in the market-place, who, on his passing by, exclaimed, long live Ferdinand VII." This entry resembled the funeral of a poor deceased in the hospital. A certain Urquijo complained of this conduct, but no attention was paid to his complaints. The constituted authorities received him with the respect which is due to a foreign prince, and told the *Urquijo*, that they could not controul the sentiments of the people. On the 10th he was again proclaimed at Vittoria, and under circumstances not more flattering. Every possible means were taken, therefore, to prepare the metropolis for his reception in a more flattering manner, and to keep down the spirit of the people. The publication of news from the provinces was prevented by the severest measures; and, if any of the patriots' manifestoes found their way to Madrid, to print, copy, read, or listen to them, was declared and punished as high treason. A proclamation was forged in the bishop of St. Andero's name, recommending the people to receive with gratitude, the king and the army who were come to regenerate them. The proclamation of Joseph took place on St. Iago's day; the grand standard-bearer and his son effected their escape from the capital, and thus avoided the degradation of appearing in such a procession. Nothing indeed could be more striking than the contrast between this day and that on which Ferdinand made his entrance as king; then, the streets swarmed with the population of the whole surrounding country; then, all the zeal and authority of the magistrates were necessary to repress the popular enthusiasm;—now, what few demonstrations of joy were made was procured by authority, the officers going from door to door to call upon the inhabitants.

The houses were just sufficiently decorated to preserve them from the military commission to which they would otherwise have been exposed.—The money which was scattered among the populace, lay in the streets where it fell, for the French themselves to gather up; and the theatres which were thrown open to the people, were left to be filled by Frenchmen.

Joseph seems to have halted at Vittoria till he received intelligence of Bessieres' victory at Rio Leco, and to have advanced to Madrid in full confidence that the French would be equally victorious in all parts of the Peninsula. The first news which reached him after his arrival was of the defeat and surrender of Dupont. St. Andero had been recovered by the patriots, Moncey had been put to flight before Valencia, Lefebvre, after sustaining a repulse, was in vain attempting to subdue Zaragoza;—meantime two victorious armies, one from Valencia, and one from Andalusia, were advancing towards Madrid. Bessieres, instead of being able, as he had hoped, to march to the assistance of Ju-

not in Portugal, was fain to fall back himself, and provide for his own safety; and Blake, whom the defeat at Rio Leon seemed only to have rendered more formidable by displaying his talents, and obtaining that reputation which he merited, was ready with the Gallician army to co-operate for deliverance of the capital, and might not improbably cut off the retreat of the French court unless it were speedily effected. The French force at Madrid would perhaps have been sufficient to have defeated all these hasty levies had the contest been with these only; but the inhabitants of the metropolis were ready to rise upon them at the first favourable occasion, and take vengeance for their murdered brethren. On the 29th July, says the Oviedo Gazette of 2d August, it was reported that Joseph Bonaparte was marching, and that all the troops in the city were following him. He intended to start in the dusk on the 30th. The carriages were harnessed and repaired to the court of the palace, but the coach-men and mule drivers, and most of the attendants of the private carriages, had disappeared. He was therefore obliged to wait until the following day, when he departed on horseback, being unable to put the carriages in motion. Before he went he took all the horses, mules and harness from the stables and sold them for the lowest price. He forced open the public treasury and the bank, putting the people in the greatest terror, from the apprehension of a general pillage. At two in the morning of the 1st Aug. a cannonade was heard, which though at first was taken for a fatal signal, was in fact but the precursor of the brightest and happiest day that ever shone upon Madrid. Before the French left the city, they seized upon the regalia and the crown jewels, burnt the gun carriages, spiked the cannon, threw two hundred barrels of powder into a pond, and, generally, destroyed all that they could not take with them. When the inhabitants of Madrid saw themselves delivered from the horde, they returned thanks to the supreme ruler of events, and assumed as a badge the portrait of Ferdinand.

Spain had no sooner risen in arms against the Bonapartes, than the attention of the British government was directed to the Spanish troops, who, having been marched under false pretences into the northern parts of Germany, were now stationed in the Danish Islands. There the emperor thought he had secured them, the court of Denmark being disposed to act with subserviency to his will, partly from its attachment to France, and partly from a deep-rooted feeling of hatred towards Great Britain. The Paris journals (Aug. 12) had published that these troops had taken the oath of allegiance to Joseph with universal enthusiasm. No man who knew the Spanish character—no man, indeed, who knew any thing of human nature, believed this falsehood; on the contrary, when this oath was proposed, far as they were from Spain, with no probability, scarcely with the hope of returning to it,—ignorant of the spirit which had manifested itself there, and surrounded by French and Danish troops, who were equally hostile to the cause of the patriots, they planted their colors, formed a circle round them, and there swore on their knees to be faithful to their country. The difficult task of opening a communication with their commander, the *marquis de la Romana*,* and endeavoring to bring off their troops,

*The marquis was kept in profound ignorance of the events that had taken place in his country, and various attempts had been made on the part of the British government, to communicate the tidings to him, and to devise means for his escape with the

was entrusted to rear-admiral Keats, one of the ablest and most distinguished officers in the British service. The main body of these troops were with the commander in chief upon the island of Funen, some were in Jutland, some in Zealand. A smaller body in Langland. It was proposed by the British admiral (Aug. 7) that those in Funen should secure themselves in a peninsula on the north side of the island, from whence if necessary, they might be removed to the small island of Ramsoe. The Danish gunboats would be rendered inactive if the Spanish general had it in his power, and should think it proper, to seize on the town and port Nyborg; but this measure admiral Keats thought might endanger the safety of the troops in Zealand and Jutland, by inducing the Danes to act hostily, when they otherwise might be disposed to wink at, or make no serious efforts to impede, the quiet removal of the Spaniards. There was little hope that any negotiation for their peaceable departure would be successful: but immediately after the movement should have commenced, a declaration of the unoffending object in view, might thus, he thought, be advantageous. The troops in Zealand, it was proposed, should attempt to force their way to the peninsula near Corsor, where it seemed likely that they might be able to defend the isthmus till they could be removed to the neighboring island of Sproe. Those at Frederica, in Jutland, were to seize vessels, and endeavor to unite with their countrymen at Funen; but if the troops in Langland were strong enough to feel themselves in safety, it would be better to land all the others there, from whence they could be transported at leisure.

troops under his command, without effect. At length a Swedish clergyman was found, in whose good sense and enterprising disposition, the firmest confidence could be placed. This gentleman, disguised as a low and travelling tradesman, went by the way of Helligoland, and having overcome many obstacles with the utmost patience, prudence and fortitude, at length arrived at the place where the marquis and his troops were stationed. Having ascertained the person of the marquis he was obliged to watch incessantly for an opportunity of addressing him, without exciting the suspicion of the numerous spies by whom he was surrounded. The venerable agent at last was obliged, as if by accident, to jostle the marquis in the street, in order to attract his attention. Having done so, he apologized, as if ignorant of the person whom he addressed, and concluded with offering to sell him some excellent coffee. The marquis treated this offer with contempt, and signified that he supposed he was talking to a smuggler. The minister, however, persevered in recommending his coffee, and in the course of the conversation, found means to intimate that he was not a smuggler but a gentleman. "We'll soon see that," said the marquis, and then asked him he could speak Latin. The minister answered in the affirmative, and a conversation ensued, apparently about coffee, as the gestures of both were calculated to deceive all who might observe them. The marquis was then duly informed of every thing that had occurred in Spain, of the assistance the British government had rendered, of their readiness to adopt any measure that might be thought practicable for effecting the rescue of himself and his troops, that they might join their countrymen in resisting the French in their attempts to enslave them.

It was scarcely possible that these various move-

ments could be concerted without exciting suspicion, prepared as the French officers and the Danish government were to expect some such attempt, and after the manner in which the Spaniards had expressed their abhorrence of the usurpation of their country. A premature execution of the plan became necessary, and Romana, accordingly (9th August) took possession of Nyborg. Admiral Keats had hoisted his flag the preceding day, in the *Viper*, off that town; and as soon as the Spaniards entered it, he dispatched a letter to the governor, informing him, that notwithstanding the state of war between England and Denmark, it was his wish to abstain from every hostile act, provided no opposition was made to the embarkation of the Spanish troops. While this was going on, he must necessarily co-operate with those troops, and, consequently, communicate with the town of Nyborg; but the strictest orders had been given to all under his command to observe the utmost civility towards the inhabitants. If, however, the Spaniards were opposed, he must, however reluctantly, take measures which might occasion the destruction of the town.

The Danish garrison had yielded to circumstances: but an armed brig and a cutter which were moored across the harbor, near the town, rejected all the pacific offers both of the Spanish general and the English admiral, and even all the remonstrances of their own countrymen: such small vessels and boats as could be collected were sent against them and they were taken. It had been the special care of Romana, that no act of hostility should be committed by his men, except such as were absolutely necessary to secure their embarkation. Some of them, however, irritated at the obstinacy with which the English were opposed, fired a few shots at the Danish ships before they struck. Admiral Keats now addressed a second letter to the governor, telling him, that, as his entrance into the harbor had been opposed, it was evident that he was bound by no absolute law or usage to respect the property of the inhabitants.—The Spanish general had occasion for some of the small craft in the port: unless the masters and crews would assist them in equipping and navigating them, it might not be in his power to secure them from injury; if they would, he pledged himself, after the short service for which they were required should be ended, not only to secure them from injury, by every means in his power, but also grant them passports to return in safety. Accordingly a great part of the artillery, baggage and stores, were embarked on board such vessels as were in the ports; the troops amounting to 6000, were taken on board, and landed upon Langland; and a convention being made between Romana and the governor of that island, in which the latter agreed to supply the Spaniards with provisions, they, on their part, abstaining from hostilities. Above a thousand troops from Jutland effected their escape in the manner proposed, and joined their countrymen while at sea. Another thousand had arrived at Langland. One regiment in Jutland was too distant, and too unfavorably situated, to effect its escape; and two in Zealand after having fired upon the French general who commanded them, and having killed one of his aides-du-camp, were overpowered and disarmed. Nothing could exceed the joy of those who effected their escape,—the regiment of Zamora made a march of eighteen Danish (equal to eighty two English) miles in twenty-one hours. This regiment which made this

surprising exertion for the sake of turning to their own country, to maintain its independence, was one of those which the French papers described as discovering the greatest attachment to Joseph.

The court of Denmark issued a proclamation on

this occasion, expressing its astonishment at what it called the treachery of the Spaniards, and charging them with having violated the most sacred duties! That court was therefore the first to give its sanction and support to the usurpation of Spain.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

Official Papers.

Accompanying the Secretary of the Treasury's annual report. (See page 229.)

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 401.)

(D. d.)

Statement of the amount of the public debt on the first of April, 1801, and on the first of January, 1812.

	Principal.	Interest.
Debt on 1st April, 1801.		
Six per cent. and deferred, unredeemed,	37,857,840 54	2,273,270 43
Three per cent. outstanding	19,102,477 89	573,074 33
Five and a half per cent. - - - 1,847,500		
Four and a half per cent. - - - 176,000		
Eight per cent. (including 800 dollars over issued) - - - 6,482,500	12,657,700	863,218 50
Navy six per cent. - - - 711,700		
Temporary loans, viz.		
at six per cent. 2,040,000	3,440,000	
at five per cent. 1,400,000		
1796 six per cent.	80,000	4,800
Foreign debt, on first January, 1801, - - - 10,419,000		
Deduct principal and premiums paid between 1st January and 1st April, 1801, - - - 343,996	10,075,004	466,100
Unfunded debt, consisting of such parts of the registered debt, and debt due to foreign officers, as have been subsequently paid, - - -	90,092 58	
Debt, first April, 1801,	79,893,115 01	4,180,463 26
Reimbursements from 1st April, 1801, to 1st Jan. 1812, viz:		
On six per cent. and deferred stocks, - - - 20,820,744 46		1,249,244 67
Three per cent. including reimbursement of converted stock and deducting converted stock outstanding - - - 2,379,269 44		(a) 54,418 53
Eight, five and a half, four and a half, and navy six per cent. stocks, and temporary loans, paid all in full - - - 12,657,700		863,218 50
Foreign debt paid in full, - - - 10,075,004		466,100
On account of unfunded debt, - - - 90,092 58		
Total reimbursement,	46,022,810 48	2,632,981 70
Debt on first January, 1812.		
First, old debt, viz:		
(b) Six per cent. and deferred, - - - 17,067,096 08		1,024,025 75
(c) Three per cent. - - - 16,157,890 04	16,723,208 45	518,655 80
Converted six per cent. - - - 565,318 41		
1796 six per cent. - - - 80,000		4,800
Old debt, - - -	33,870,304 53	1,547,481 56
Second, new debt, viz:		
Louisiana six per cent. - - -	11,250,000	675,000
Total amount of debt, first January, 1812,	45,120,304 53	2,222,481 56
The reimbursement of principal for 1812, will be 1,569,900 65, thus:		
Nominal amount of six per cent. and deferred stocks, 32,424,080 14		
at six per cent. - - - 2,593,926 41		1,569,900 65
Of which is interest, as above, - - - 1,024,025 76		
Total amount annually payable on the public debt after 1812,		3,792,382 21

Notes to statement D. d.

(a) Interest extinguished on 2,379,269 34 at three per cent.	71,378 08	
Deduct, interest increased, three per cent. on 565,318 41		
converted six per cent. stock, outstanding, -	16,959 55	
Diminution of interest on three per cent. stock	54,418 53	
(b) Six per cent. and deferred stocks, 1st January, 1801. Nominal amount exclusive of the sinking fund, -		41,895,310 03
The previous reimbursements, by the accounts of receipts and expenditures, amounted to, -	3,976,239 84	
Deduct for an error, as stated in the accounts for the year 1803, -	24,210 31	
	3,952,029 53	
But of that reimbursement, there has been paid on stock transferred to the sinking fund, a sum of -	4,177 72	
Leaving for the reimbursement on the above stated nominal amount, -		3,947,851 81
And making for the unredeemed amount, as per report of April, 1808, -		37,947,458 20
The reimbursement paid on 31st March, 1801, was -		59,617 66
Unredeemed six per cent. and deferred, on 1st April, 1801, -		37,887,840 54
The payments of principal from first April, 1801, to first January, 1812, are as follow :		
I. Annual reimbursements from 1st January, 1801, to 1st January, 1811, per printed accounts of receipts and expenditures, -	13,012,741 16	
Deduct reimbursement for 1st quarter of 1801, as above, -	59,917 66	
	12,953,123 53	
Reimbursement of the year 1811, estimated at -	1,499,000	
	14,452,123 53	
II. Paid in for lands and purchased, viz :		
For lands, unredeemed amount, as stated in the several estimates marked D, -	61,282 10	
Deduct, on account of the nominal amount, instead of the unredeemed amount, having been inserted in those estimates, prior to the 30th September, 1805, -	4,229 90	
	57,052 20	
Purchased in 1806, -	17,517 61	
	74,569 81	
III. Exchanged stock, reimbursed in full, -	6,294,051 12	
		20,820,744 46
Unredeemed amount on 1st January, 1811, -	18,566,096 08	
Deduct reimbursement of 1811, estimated as per above, at -	1,499,000	
		17,067,096 08
(c) Three per cent. stock on 1st January, 1801, (including Higgin's stock, 17, 18, stated subsequently in the accounts) per report of April, 1808, -		19,093,902 21
Ditto, issued subsequently thereto, -		8,575 68
Total outstanding 1st April, 1801, -		19,102,477 89
Reimbursements.		
I. Surrendered in exchange for converted stock, -	2,861,309 15	
II. Paid in for lands, -	83,278 70	
		2,944,587 85
Outstanding on 1st January, 1812, -		16,157,890 04
From the above amount of reimbursements, -	2,944,587 85	
Deduct, outstanding converted stock, on 1st January, 1812, -	565,318 41	
Makes the reimbursement on three per cent. stock (including converted) from 1st April, 1801, to 1st January, 1812, -		2,379,269 44
viz. Difference between three per cent. surrendered and converted stock, issued under the act of February 11, 1807, -	1,001,458 45	
Three per cent. stock paid in for lands, -	83,278 70	
Converted, do. do. -	80	
Do. do. to be reimbursed on the 31st December, 1811, -	1,294,452 29	
		2,379,269 44

Financial Views.

A friend, who is quite out of humor with Mr. Gallatin and his letter to the chairman of the committee of ways and means, has urged some general propositions on finance with a view to their publication in the REGISTER; accompanied by such remarks and observations as we might believe calculated to elucidate his ideas—which we are more inclined to do from their novelty, in one instance, and apparent plausibility in another.

He PROPOSES

LOANS.—There shall be two kinds of loans; *direct loans*, and loans from individuals, or corporate bodies as usual.

The *direct loans* are to supply the place of *direct taxes*, and supercede the necessity of some of the *internal revenues* proposed by the secretary of the treasury. Suppose these loans to amount to 3,500,000 dollars *per annum*, to be raised from the people as their *county levies* are raised. Let each state be directed by the general government to raise her proportion of the said amount according to her representation, by directing her several levy courts, or county commissioners, to assess such an additional *per centum* on their usual taxes as will supply the quota to be furnished by the *county*; which supply shall be according to population, rating the slaves agreeably to the principle laid down in the constitution of the United States. The money, when collected, to pass from the *county treasuries* to the *state treasury*, and from thence to the *treasury of the United States*; the proper evidences of the contribution being given, in the first instance, by the state treasurers to the county treasurers, and by the treasurer of the United States to the state treasurers, upon drawing the money.

On the supplies thus raised no interest shall be paid at present [if at all]; but on the return of peace, or at such period as may be agreed upon, ways and means shall be provided to return to the states every succeeding year, for the reimbursement of the *counties*, a sum equal (at least) to one half of the amount levied in any one year, with the whole or some proportionate part of the *interest*, [if thought most expedient] until the principal [with simple interest therefor] shall be finally and fully paid. On the receipt of their instalments the *states* shall direct the *counties* to make an *ABATEMENT* of their usual levy, proportionate to the sum that *reverts* to them, and so continue to do until the whole war loan is exhausted for *county purposes*—or, in other words, in fact, *returned into the pockets of the people*.*

The organization of this system is exceedingly simple; and will be attended with no expence whatsoever except the usual *per centum* allowed for collection.

To pay the interest upon the money thus obtained, or cast out a *sheet anchor* for the extinguishment of the debt, suppose that one *seventh part* of the contribution shall be annually invested by the purchase of evidences of the public debt bearing *interest* payable semi-annually or annually, and so form a *SINKING FUND*† If actively employed it will produce the following results:

* If at the time these instalments are to be repaid, any of the counties shall feel themselves in a condition to appropriate the money to *public works*, what elegant roads and bridges might be made—what useful public buildings might be erected!

† If the theory of this sinking fund is not approved of, let it be thrown aside altogether—we can

At the end of the first year the amount of principal, and interest will be \$ 530,000
Add to the fund one seventh of the contribution - - - - - 500,000

1,030,000

The interest on which for one year, at six per cent. is - - - - - 61,800

SECOND YEAR
Add one seventh, as above - - - - - 1,091,800
- 500,000

1,591,800

Interest - - - - - 95,508

THIRD YEAR
Add one seventh - - - - - 1,687,308
- 500,000

2,187,308

Interest - - - - - 130,838

FOURTH YEAR
Add one seventh - - - - - 2,318,146
- 500,000

2,818,146

Interest - - - - - 169,748

FIFTH YEAR 3,087,894

And so on until the expiration of ten years, when the amount of the fund will be \$7,134,675.

There may be, and, perhaps, must be, some objections to the perfect operation of this plan; but it is presumed the purchase of stocks on which the interest is payable *semi-annually* would fully make up for any time lost, and give a result at least as favorable.

Here, with this system it is proposed, in part, to stop. The war has lasted ten years; peace is re-established, and business has assumed its usual channels. We have now a large surplus revenue [to be shewn hereafter] and can appropriate 8 or 10 millions to the payment of the principal of the public debt, after discharging the interest. Let the *sinking fund* attached to the *direct loans* operate 10 years longer, by the mere accumulation of interest, and it will amount to \$12,766,497—of this sum the *principal* invested is only 5 millions in the whole, and there remains a balance of \$7,766,497 applicable to the payment of the interest, and a *clear profit* of \$3,266,497 by the operation.‡

But suppose that on these *direct loans* no interest should be paid during the period of war and for five years after its conclusion, when a sum shall be annually refunded equal to one year's contribution and the *current year's* interest on the whole sum borrowed? Would any think the imposition grievous? Would not such a sacrifice (if a sacrifice it can be called) be among the least that any man could expect to make? WHO WOULD FEEL OR KNOW IT? No person could be sensible of it unless he took up pen and paper to calculate it; when he would rather estimate a *profit* that might have resulted than a

do very well without it, and would have \$500,000 a year more for defence than has been calculated, and the final reimbursement will only be obstructed for six months. But the fund might be useful as a *market for stocks*, and strengthen the public credit by its demands.

‡ Balance after payment of principal \$7,766,497
Fifteen years interest (equated time) on five millions 4,500,000

PROFIT \$3,266,497

loss actually sustained. Yet this non-receipt of interest, as above proposed, would stand in lieu of taxes to the amount of TWO MILLIONS *per annum* during the war, (supposed for ten years) which taxes, every man would, very often, *feel and know*.

Loans from individuals to the amount of ten millions *per annum* it is presumed may be easily obtained. This is Mr. Gallatin's calculation; and of the willor capacity of the people to furnish such a supply there can be no question. There is a vast monied capital in the United States which such requisitions would bring into action. The sums raised, it is to be remembered, are not lost to the people, but immediately revert to them through a thousand different avenues. Indeed, it is the opinion of many, and an opinion that appears pretty well founded, that money would thereby become much more plenty (to use a common saying) than it is at this time. Open war would give a free circulation to that which in our mongrel peace, every man is afraid, or has not the spirit, to part with.

Thus is provided a resource say of thirteen millions a year—but the secretary, for all his purposes, wants about twenty millions—there are yet seven millions deficient.

It is admitted that the duties on goods imported, if *doubled*, will produce five millions. This is certainly the lowest possible estimate that can be formed.

The tax upon *salt* is allowed to be a good tax, inasmuch as it will give a great spur to an important domestic manufacture, and can be collected without any or but little additional expence. This will raise, says Mr. Gallatin, \$400,000.

Granted that *WHISKEY* is, of all possible subjects that can present itself, the fairest for taxation. Had Great Britain such a resource she would levy twenty millions a year upon it *in addition* to all her present excises and duties, and the tax would be paid. Notwithstanding our immense supply of domestic distilled liquors, we have imported ten millions of gallons in one year of foreign spirits; a drop of which could not sometimes be found by a traveller in a whole day's ride, within fifty miles of a seaport; and yet our *foreign liquors* have cost

the people about as much as their whole export of *provisions* were sold for!! In many parts of the interior no other than domestic spirits are seen—and in no part of it are foreign productions in general use. From this it is presumed that the quantity of home-made liquors distilled will amount to at least thirty millions of gallons a year; perhaps to 40 millions. Let the duty on foreign spirits be *trebled*—those on the sea-board who choose to drink them will pay for them. Their consumption will be diminished; but this diminution will give a proportionate vent for the domestic product; excite the distillers to improve the excellency of their article, and afford a great *home market* for our extra quantities of grain, &c. Whiskey, which but a few years ago was accounted as fit only for the lowest drags of the people, is now to be found on the side-boards of the most opulent amongst us; and a duty upon it, (*by making it appear more respectable*!) would rather increase than diminish its consumption.

It is concluded that at least 30 millions of gallons of whiskey, rum, gin or brandy—say *whiskey*, is distilled every year in the United States—the average price of it is 35 cents in the interior—45 in the sea-ports—say 40-cents *per gallon*. Let a duty be laid according to the proof to produce an equation of 25-cents *per gallon*; and its average price will be 65 cents. This duty shall be *permanent*. The price of the article will yet be low enough in all conscience. The *retailers* will raise it from three cents a gill to four cents; it will only cost a man *one cent* more to get tipsey then than it does now, and his heart being *warm* he will pay it with pleasure!—The only inconvenience that ought to attend this tax is the payment of it, in the first instance, by the distillers—but a plan may be devised whereby, on giving the proper securities, they may be excused until a period has expired presumed sufficient for them to make sales, as is the case with goods imported by our merchants.

This excise, then will raise \$7,500,000 *per annum*—deduct one million for expence of collec-

|| In 1804 we imported 10,488,696 gallons of spirits, the average duty on which was more than 29 cents *per gallon*—we also imported 3,003,312 gallons of wine, the average duty on which was almost 32 cents *per gallon*, producing together a revenue of \$4,059,124 19—of which were re-exported about as much as, *by drawback*, reduced the net revenue to *three millions and a half*. This, perhaps, is more than the average; and we will call it three millions, to aid the suppositions.

The citizens of the United States living on the sea-board, or in the immediate neighborhood of seaport towns, constituting not *one sixth* of the whole population, have paid at least *three fourths* of this revenue of three millions; and what has been the inconvenience or hardship of it? *Let a man look at it fairly*. If the *one sixth* of the people have paid, without being the least oppressed or feeling the least inconvenience from the tax, three fourths of three millions a year for foreign spirituous liquors, can it be believed that the *whole people* will be unwilling, or are unable to pay for all their ardent drinks, the small comparative sum of seven millions and a half? The proportion of the tax upon the *whole* will then be as the tax is at present on the *part*, as 1 is to 2—that is, for one cent that the whole of the people will have to pay, a part of the people now pay 2 cents.

* * * * *Fruits being perishable, the duty might be lower on the spirits produced from them—the deficiency to be made up by a higher duty on those made of foreign materials.

§ It is probable this source of revenue would produce at least eight millions. With all their navy the British could not watch the American coast as closely as they watch the Atlantic shores of France, as it were at their doors; and of our vessels (whether on the coast of France, or the high seas, or at the mouths of our own harbors) they do not seize more than one of three engaged in the commerce, though they are not prepared as they would be if open, undissembled, candid war were declared. It should be recollected also, that the United States can and probably would soon have afloat 1000 or 1200 of the *wickedest* and most active privateers that ever were on the ocean, and that a vast quantity of the richest commerce of Britain passes by our coasts. We have the ships and vessels fitted for the service; but, what is more, we have "200,000 seamen and half seamen," a quantity greater, perhaps, than all the world possesses besides, Great Britain herself excepted. Does any man suppose that a *schratka* to the *Irish channel* (between England and Ireland) will be unvisited by these privateers? Captures will be made upon the coast of England—in the sight of her 74's; many will be retaken, but some will arrive safe, and the duties on the cargoes will run up very fast, being doubled.

tion and losses, and we have a clear revenue of six millions and a half, and more than five millions above the wants of the secretary of the treasury, without oppressing or vexing any part of the community, or sending out swarms of officers, like locusts, to eat up their substance. Besides, thirteen hundred thousand dollars might be raised from the usual sales of public land, and the contemplated tax upon retailers, the latter to be collected by the same persons who collect the excise upon whiskey.

ANNUAL SUPPLIES.

Direct loan, after deducting \$ 500,000	
for sinking fund	3,000,000
Other loans	10,000,000
Excise on whiskey, rum, gin and brandy	6,500,000
Impost, including a duty on salt	5,400,000
Sales of land	600,000
Licenses to retailers	700,000

\$ 26,200,000

Suppose the war to last ten years, though no man believes it will last more than from two to five years, if carried on with vigor, and we shall have borrowed	
By direct loans	\$ 35,000,000
Other loans	100,000,000
Add the present debt say	40,000,000

and owe \$ 175,000,000

But during the whole of the war we have a surplus of revenue beyond the apparent wants of the secretary of six millions each year, and, from our sinking fund, have in the treasury, at the end of 20 years, nearly thirteen millions of dollars. So that the whole real amount of debt cannot be assumed at more than about 130 millions, the interest on which, supposing one half of it to be raised at 8 per cent, will be per annum \$ 6,100,000

The ordinary expenses of a 'peace establishment,' will be less than 5,500,000

Expense of government and interest	\$ 11,600,000
The ordinary imposts will raise in a time of prosperity	\$ 15,000,000
Excise on whiskey, which shall be permanent protected by high duties on foreign liquors	6,500,000
Sales of land	600,000
Many small items	400,000

Whole revenue \$ 22,500,000

A sum must certainly within the means of the people—and which will leave almost 11 millions a year applicable to the reduction of the national debt, and effect its whole redemption in from 10 to 12 years.

It may be urged by the fastidious that congress have no constitutional right to compel the states to make these "direct loans" and that some will not comply with this requisition. It can hardly be believed that any would refuse; but to guard against it, let it be called a *tax* and its reimbursement a *donation*. The first may be coerced and the latter will not be rejected! The fact will be the same, except the state refusing will lose so much money as the expense to be incurred by appointing extra commissioners, assessors, collectors, &c. The matter may be so arranged that interest shall lead all heartily into it. The revenue to be derived from whiskey, at a first view may be considered extravagant—but we have actually paid more (*per gallon*) on foreign spirits, and can as easily pay it on the domestic article. The estimate of the quantity distilled is below the real amount.

With such prospects is it not sinful to "despair of the republic?" Our resources are like the infant Hercules in the cradle—let the serpents of despotism attack us, and our strength will be manifest.—There is no country under heaven with the same population, that has so much general wealth; and like our soil, our resources are new and vigorous. And to guarantee the whole, if a guarantee is necessary, there is a public property in LAND (not in *figures* or *paper money*!)—but firm substantial soil, worth, (and will ultimately produce), from six to seven hundred millions of dollars. Our population is doubling itself in every 25 years, and the wealth of the country is trebled in the same period. Labor begins to be employed in all parts of the country to the best advantage. The states are full of machinery—and the ingenuity and enterprise of our people are second to none under the canopy of the sky. LET CONGRESS, WHICH SHOULD BE THE FOUNTAIN OF WISDOM AND ENERGY, PUT THEIR TRUST IN THAT PROVIDENCE WHICH NEVER DESERTS A GOOD CAUSE; RISE UP IN THE MAJESTY OF THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE GIVEN THEM THE LEAD, AND FEAR NO DANGER. War, by this means, may be avoided—if it must come, we shall be prepared to meet it as we ought. The resources of the country are adequate to its wants, and he who doubts should be suspected. It is time to act or at least to leave off talking. As the last section of this monition is only in our power, we obey it by concluding this very long article; under a hope that if it does no good to the nation, it may furnish a little amusement to some individuals composing it.

The British Minister.

It has been doubted, by several great men, whether language contributed more to the advancement or hindrance of human knowledge, and an eminent scholar of the last century has said that the English language, of all others, possessed the greatest number of defects. When we consider the variety of interpretations which may be given to the same phrases; the contradictory constructions of the same words; and the easy transposition of sentences to suit the particular views of the writer or reader, we are inclined to give a ready assent to the correctness of the opinion.

Diplomatic writers who should, of all others, seek to be the most perspicuous, so far from endeavoring to attain so desirable an object, even boast of the ingenuity with which they can cast a shade of obscurity over every line they pen. Explanations are ready for every emergency, and a negotiation, which might be concluded in a couple of days, is thus kept up, always to the dishonor of one or other of the parties, for as many years. Mr. Foster whose meaning, if we believe himself, has not been understood on any essential point of his correspondence, has lately complained, in a whining strain of puerility, to the secretary of state, "that the import of his former letters (anticipating we presume the same fate to the present) has been misunderstood in two important circumstances." We shall not stop to ask Mr. Foster why the discovery of this important misunderstanding was not made sooner; perhaps he knew the moment for explanation; but we shall proceed to inquire whether it were possible that the import of his letters in these "two important circumstances" could be understood in any other sense than that given to them by the secretary of state. The import which he denies to

* See Weekly Register, p. 377.

not be sent back to them, as they had reported such a bill as they approved; and if it were to be new-modelled, they wished it to go to those gentlemen who had expressed so much dissatisfaction with it, though they believed but few of them would vote for it in any shape.

The motion for a re-commitment was lost.

The question was then taken upon the engrossment of the bill, and carried 62 to 59.

On motion of Mr. D. R. Williams, the house resolved itself into a committee of the whole, Mr. Calhoun in the chair, on the bill supplemental to an act for raising, for a limited time, a military force.

Mr. Williams explained the object of this bill to be to provide for mounting a regiment of horse artillery, directed to be raised by a law of 1808. The bill was reported without amendment, and ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

On motion of Mr. Cheves, the house went into a committee of the whole, Mr. Widgery in the chair, on the bill making further appropriation for the defence of our maritime frontiers.

The blank in the bill for the appropriation, was filled with a million of dollars. The house concurred in the amendment, and the bill was ordered to a third reading.

Wednesday, Feb 5.—The speaker laid before the house certain resolutions of the legislature of Kentucky, expressive of their approbation of the course of policy pursued by the general government, and pledging their most cordial support.

A bill from the senate to promote the progress of science and useful arts, was twice read and referred to a select committee.

The bill for classing and arming the militia was read the third time; and the question being taken on the passage of the bill, it was negatived, 55 votes to 55. [The yeas and nays in our next.]

The bill supplementary to an act to raise, for a limited time, an additional military force, passed the 12th of April, 1808, was read the third time and passed.

The bill making a further appropriation for the defence of our maritime frontier, was read the third time; and on the question "shall the bill pass its third reading?"

Mr. B. Hall called the yeas and nays upon the question, [and stated his objections.]

It was defeated by Messrs. Cheves, Mitchell, Talmadge, Potter, Wright, Sheffey, and Widgery, who stated that the appropriation was called for by the proper authority: that New York and Rhode-Island had been mentioned by the secretary of war as requiring a part of the expenditure, but that the appropriation was intended to be left at large to be used as the president of the United States might think proper, and according to existing circumstances; that it was impossible at this time, to foresee what might be necessary in this respect; and that the president, who is entrusted with the use of the military force of the country, might very well be entrusted with the expenditure of this money, or any part of it, on such fortifications as he might deem it necessary to erect or repair.

The question on the passage of the bill was carried, 88 to 25.

The unfinished business being postponed,

On motion of Mr. Bacon, the house went into a committee of the whole, Mr. Stanford in the chair, on the bill making appropriations for the military establishment of the United for the year 1812; the bill making appropriations for six companies of mountain rangers, for the year 1812; and the bill

making appropriations for the support of an additional military force, for the same period. The committee having filled up the blanks in these several bills, they were reported to the house. The house took them up, concurred with the committee in the amendments, and ordered the bills to be engrossed for a third reading to-morrow.

On motion of Mr. Bacon, the house again resolved itself into a committee of the whole, Mr. Nelson in the chair, on the bill making appropriations for the support of the navy for the year 1812. The committee having gone through the bill, reported it to the house with amendments. The house considered the amendments, agreed to them, and ordered the bill to a third reading on to-morrow.

Thursday, February 6.—Mr. Williams reported a bill authorising a detachment of 100,000 militia, and appropriating one million of dollars for the purpose.

Some minor business was done, to be noticed hereafter.

The Chronicle.

We have accounts from France to the 22d of December, but no news of importance. Our minister, Mr. Barlow, appears to be very respectfully treated. Flour and rice are in demand, the crops having been short. The Prussian army is reduced to a peace-establishment. Hostilities between the Russians and Turks have for a long time been suspended; but now likely to be renewed. Public opinion, as far as could be ascertained in France, was favorable to America.

Extracts from London papers to the 18th of December are before us—The Spanish general Blake acknowledges that he lost 4,000 men in the battle near Saguntum; he had retired under the walls of Valencia, which city it was believed at Cadix, would be taken by the French. Blake is accused of treason. Hostilities were expected to commence in Sicily between the *Sicilians* and the *British*, and the latter appear to calculate upon driving the "legitimate sovereign" of the island to *Sardinia*!

A long article in the London *Courier* notices the president's message, and insists on those conditions being fulfilled which Mr. Foster, by explanation, says he did not expect. The affair of the *President* and *Little Belt* is also spoken of—the editor proposes to settle the affair by sending out a frigate to attack the first American frigate she can meet with. To this we, with equal confidence and consequence, say but one word—AGREED.

The United States' frigate Constitution, captain Hull, sailed from Cowes for France, December 21.

The king of England was as well as per last advices.

The orders in council were still in force.

American flour is stated to command a price equal to twenty dollars a barrel in England.

Price of stocks, December 18.—3 per cent. cons. for op. 64 1-8 1-4, 3 per cent. 62 3-4 7 8, 4 per cent. 78 3-8 1-2.

The British have captured *Bataria*, the famous seat of the Dutch power in the East. Details hereafter.

By the aid of a supplement, we present our readers with a *plentiful* repast of original and selected matter. As we have given a general credit to the *National Intelligencer* for congressional articles, it is just to observe, that Mr. Anderson's speech is copied from the *American*.

THE WEEKLY REGISTER.

Vol. I.]

SUPPLEMENTARY TO NO. 23.

Printed and published by H. NILES, Water-street, near the Merchants' Coffee-House, at \$5. per annum:

"——— I wish no other herald
"No other speaker of my living actions,
"To keep mine honor from corruption
"But such an honest chronicler."

Shakspeare—HENRY VIII.

Destruction of the Mamalukes.

[From Bell's Weekly Messenger.]

The following narrative is said to be extracted from the papers of a gentleman who was travelling in Egypt, in the capacity of Travelling Fellow of the university at Cambridge, at the time the massacre took place:

Egypt has ever been considered by the Mamalukes as their patrimony; and so deeply was this idea impressed upon their minds by long possession and undisturbed enjoyment, that they complained of the infringement of their rights, when upon the evacuation of the English army, the Porte, was reinstated in its original authority; But had it even been consistent with justice to restore to the Mamalukes their usurped dominion; such conduct would scarcely have been reconcilable to sound policy; since their numbers have been so much reduced by the superiority of the French arms, as to incapacitate them from defending the country against the attacks of a foreign invader, or even from suppressing the languid efforts which the native Egyptians might make against the tyranny of their masters: Yet the Beys, though sensible of their weakness; still sighed for the pleasure of unlimited dominion, of which they had been so lately deprived; their obedience to the Turkish viceroy, except when enforced by arms was nearly nominal, and the operations of his government were perpetually embarrassed and resisted by Mamaluke intrigue or rebellion.— They were carrying on open war in upper Egypt against Mohammed Ali, the present viceroy and Pacha, and were even then on the eve of extermination, when the news arrived of the landing of the British army under general Fraser. Upon the receipt of his intelligence, the Pacha immediately concluded a peace with the Mamalukes as his less dangerous enemies, and led his troops against the British, with what success is too well known: In one of the articles of that treaty, it was stipulated that the whole corps should come and reside at Cairo; with this condition great part of them complied; and, under the command of Scisiam Bey fixed their residence at Gizeh, near the capital, but on the opposite bank of the Nile: the remainder under the command of Ibrahim Bey, continued in upper Egypt. The Beys, convinced of the inutilty of contending against a man who was their equal in fraud, and their superior in force, relinquished for the present, their attempt to overthrow the Pacha's authority; waiting until one of those sudden convulsions to which Oriental despotism is subject, should remove or enfeeble the object of their apprehensions, and open a way to the recovery of their former influence.

About this period, the Porte entertained considerable alarm on account of the rapid progress of the Wechabt. Mecca and Medina were in the possession of these seceders from the catholic faith of

Islamism; and the head of the law at Constantinople had asserted, that misfortune must attend all their undertakings, so long as the cradle of their faith remained in the hands of heretics. Jussuf, pacha of Danascus, had not been able to resist the numbers and the enthusiasm of this new sect; and Suliman, pacha of Acre, had in consequence been commissioned to send the head of Jussuf to Constantinople; and assume the command of the Pachalik of Danascus. The unfortunate Jussuf fled to Cairo; where he was hospitably received by Mahommed Ali; and protected from the attempts of his rival; and the Porte finding Suliman no better able than Jussuf to support its authority against its infidel impugnors, at last ordered the pacha of Egypt to undertake the recovery of the holy cities, and promised to invest him with the government of Danascus and Acre:

The pacha of Acre was already highly exasperated against the viceroy of Egypt on account of the asylum granted to his unfortunate predecessor; and this order and promise of the Porte at once increased his desire for revenge, and presented an opportunity of gratifying it. He listened with eagerness to the proposal made to him by the Mamalukes of joining his forces with theirs, and of falling upon Mahommed Ali and the small remains of his army which would be left in Egypt after the departure of the expedition against Mecca under the command of his son. The plan was matured and the period of its execution seemed fast approaching; as the pacha of Egypt had assembled a number of boats, nearly sufficient to convey his troops down the Red Sea to Gedda, and his army was collected and encamped near Cairo, in readiness to march down to the coast. But the jealousy and vigilance of the viceroy was as great as the treachery of his enemies. A person in the confidence of Scisiam Bey had been bribed to betray his master, and regularly transmitted to the pacha copies of the correspondence carried on by the Beys of Cairo with those in Upper Egypt and Suliman of Acre. The porte was duly informed of the designs of the conspirators, and when its definitive orders were received, the viceroy immediately prepared to carry them into execution.

Mahommed Ali, on his return from Suez to Cairo, announced the approaching completion of his preparations against Mecca; and that therefore on the first of March he should celebrate the grand festival on the occasion of solemnly investing his son, Tussoin Pacha with the pelisse of command, previous to the departure of the expedition. The Mamalukes in Cairo were requested to honor the ceremony with their presence; and accepted the invitation. The procession was to pass through the private streets of Cairo up to the citadel, where the investiture was to take place. The Turkish infantry led the way, and was followed by the Mamalukes on horseback, under the command of

Sciaim-Bey, who was supported by two sons of the viceroy Ibrahim Bey, and Tussum Pacha; the Delhatrî or Turkish cavalry followed, and closed the procession. The foot had already entered the interior of the citadel, and the Mamalukes pressing between the inner and outer wall of the fortress, along a narrow way inclosed on both sides by high walls and ruined buildings, when the gates at each extremity of the passage were closed. The pacha had revealed his intention to no one until this moment, when he ordered his infantry to line the walls which surrounded the Mamalukes, and to commence a heavy fire upon them; even his sons were still mixed with them, and for a time exposed to the same fate. The Mamalukes, cooped up in a narrow space, where their equestrian skill, and their dexterity in the use of the sabre, were unavailing; impeded by their own numbers, encumbered by their dresses of ceremony, and surrounded on all sides by an enemy superior in force and protected by his situation, made but a feeble resistance, and were soon compelled to surrender. The wicket of the inner gate was then opened and the Turkish soldiers dragged out their victims one by one into the court of the citadel, where they were first stripped, and then beheaded. They met their fate, it is said, with the most undaunted courage; regretting only that the cowardice of their adversaries had deprived them of an opportunity of displaying that bravery and skill which the Turks had so often and so fatally experienced; and menaced their executioners with the vengeance of their brethren in Upper Egypt. Sciaim Bey was brought alive into the presence of the pacha, who reproached him with his treachery to himself, and with the assassination of his adopted father, Elfi Bey; and then ordered him to be led away to execution. Some of the Mamalukes, whilst the attention of the Turks were engaged by the slaughter of their companions, succeeded in climbing over the walls which enclosed them; most of these, however, unable to escape out of the precincts of the citadel, were taken and beheaded in the course of that or the following day; three of them contrived to secret themselves for nearly a week amongst the dilapidated buildings at the fortress, and when almost expiring with hunger were discovered, and shared the fate of their comrades. Several who had concealed themselves until the first fury of their murderers was overpast, were suffered to live for some time in the dungeons of the castle; and the pacha, when his safety required no farther bloodshed, was disposed to spare their lives; but the Chiaja Bey, viceroy lieutenant, hearing of this intended clemency, and doubting the policy of it, immediately caused his prisoners to be privately executed before the intelligence of their pardon could be officially announced to him. Of eight hundred Mamalukes who were enclosed within the walls of the citadel, it is not certainly known that any escaped except a few boys, who owed their safety to their extreme youth and personal attractions. During the carnage, the Delhatrî, against whom the gates of the citadel had been closed, after the entry of the Mamalukes, by way of equivalent for their absence from the slaughter, began to plunder the houses of the Beys. Their women, their money, their jewels, horses, and arms, fell all into the hands of the spoilers. This pillage indeed, was contrary to the orders of the pacha, who had no intention that so valuable a booty should be lost to himself; but he could not see the unfinished work of death in the citadel;

and it was not until the houses of the Mamalukes were already stripped of every thing valuable, that he sallied out at the head of his guard, and by the instant execution of the most active delinquents, put a stop to farther depredation, and delivered the inhabitants of Cairo from the apprehensions of a general sack and massacre.

The day after this butchery, the heads of the boys and principal cachets, to the number of twenty-four, were forwarded to Constantinople. An order was given at the same time for the slaughter of all the remaining Mamalukes in Egypt. In the course of the month seven or eight hundred were destroyed in the towns and villages; and the heads of such as had been taken in the neighborhood of the capital, were brought on camels to Cairo, and daily exposed before the gates of the citadel. A large body of troops marched immediately against the boys in upper Egypt, who were encamped near the Cataracts, at the head of eight or nine hundred Mamaluke sabres, with a considerable body of negroes and Arabs, under the command of Ibrahim Bey. This chieftain is, with the exception of Osman Bey Hassan, the only leader of note who survives, and is well known as such to every English and French commander who has served in Egypt. But both he and Osman are incapacitated by age from acting with energy proportioned to their difficulties, and from supporting the fatigues incident to their erratic mode of warfare. Indeed, a report has lately reached England, that the pacha's troops had surprised the Mamalukes of Upper Egypt, and succeeded in destroying the last remains of this singular people, which had subsisted under such varied fortune from the days of Saladin to the present period.

The boys who perished on the first of March last, were:—Sciaim Bey Elfi, Achmet Bey, Murad Bey, Jichia Bey, Noman Bey, Emin Bey, Hussein Bey, the elder, Hussein Bey, the younger, of the house of Elfi; Suliman Bey, Roschwan Bey, Ibrahim Bey, Achmet Bey, of the house of Elbual; Jussuf Bey Abujah; Marzuc Bey, son of Ibrahim the Great; Ali Bey el Fajumi, Achmet Bey Chereengi; with five other Beys or less note.

Emin Bey Elfi, and Achmet Bey Elfi, (two who accompanied Elfi Bey to England,) were reported to have escaped. It was said, that on seeing the inner gates of the citadel closed, they immediately suspected treachery, and, being in the rear of the Mamaluke procession, had time to turn round and escaped before the outer gates were closed upon them. It is not probable, however, that they were thus fortunate, as the officers of the pacha asserted that their heads were amongst the number of those sent to Constantinople. The principal boys who remained in March last in command in Upper Egypt were Ibrahim Bey the Great, Osman Bey Hassan, Selim Bey Machrami, Achmet Bey Maifauah, Ali Bey Ajub.

New Zealand Flax.

The flax of New Zealand has been repeatedly offered to the attention of the institution of the arts in France, and Labillardiere has communicated the result of his experiments, which he fully describes. The result is that the Indian cordage had its strength represented by the power of seven, that of flax between eleven and twelve, that of hemp between sixteen and seventeen, that of the flax of New Zealand which is the *Phormium tenax* of Linnaeus, between twenty three and twenty-four, and

that by silk of thirty-four. And that the quantity in which they stretch before they break, is another proportion which here represents for the Indian cordage at two and an half, for the flax at half, for the New-Zealand flax, one and an half, and five for silk. The report ends in a recommendation of the New-Zealand flax, which might be cultivated in France. In the recommendation he says, "It is easy to perceive all the advantages which may result from the cultivation of this valuable plant, particularly for our marine, and in regard to the burden of the vessels, for in a 74 we allow 68 thousand weight for the cordage used upon her. The flax of New-Zealand would lessen the weight more than one half, and by diminishing the weight of the cordage reserved below decks, it would admit more of articles of the first necessity. As the cordage lessens in diameter, and not in strength, the vessel might sail better, and the cordage being smaller and lighter than that of hemp, fewer hands would be required to manage it, and so more vessels might be navigated with fewer hands."

(*Extr. Reg.*)

Merino Sheep.

France and America are at this time, (says a late Glasgow paper,) indefatigable in their respective exertions to propagate, as extensively as possible, the breed of merino sheep, with the evident view of rivaling, in time, the woolen manufactures of Great Britain. The following decree by Bonaparte plainly manifests his view of this important subject.

COPY.

Palace of the Thuilleries, March 8, 1811.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, Mediator of the Swiss Confederacy, &c. &c. &c. On the report of our minister of the interior, and our council of state having heard the same, we have decreed as follows:

Formation of Depots of Merino Rams.

Article 1.—In the course of the year 1811 and 1812 there shall be formed 60 depots of merino rams.

2. Each of these depots shall consist of at least 150, or at most 250 rams.

3. They shall be entrusted to land owners, or farmers, who shall maintain and take care of them, receiving the profit which arises from the fleece, and an annual indemnity, to be, in the first instance, regulated by our minister, according to the price of fodder and, other local circumstances.

4. When the season shall arrive, the rams shall be distributed gratuitously among the owners of the native flocks, who shall take care of them, shall be answerable for them, except in cases of unavoidable accidents, and shall return them to the depot, after using them.

5. The number of depots shall be annually increased for seven years, till there shall be 500.

6. Their situations shall be determined by our minister of the interior, according to the wants of breeders, and other local circumstances.

7. In order to form these depots, all the rams shall be taken which are on our imperial farms, except a reserve for their own wants; all those, which shall in future be produced thereof; all those, which shall from time to time be bought of individuals, they being ascertained by the inspectors, of whom mention will be made below, to be of pure race; without admixture.

8. Every owner of a flock, therefore, which is known to be of pure blood as above described, is

forbidden to cause any ram whatever to be castrated, until one of our said inspectors shall have examined the animals, both old and young; shall have given to the sheep owner an attestation thereof; shall have chosen rams for the depots, and shall have licensed the castration of those left defective, which he shall mark for that purpose. The surplus shall be bought from time to time on account of government.

9. Every owner of a flock of the mixed breed, who is within the depot, and to whom the depot can furnish rams for his ewes, shall be held bound to have all his males to be castrated.

10. Any breach of the articles shall be ascertained by the inspectors of the flocks, or, at their requisition, by the officers of the police, and punished by confiscation of the castrated animals, in the case described by the article 8, and the animals not castrated, in the case described, by article 9, and further, by the penalty of not less than one hundred, and not more than one thousand francs, which shall, however, be doubled in case the offence being repeated.

11. There shall be for the superintendence and inspection of the depots, for the purpose of making purchases, and exercising the police, four inspectors general, and a common inspector for each district, the extent of which shall be regulated by our minister of the interior.

12. The inspectors general shall be charged to visit, once a year, every depot, and every flock of pure and improved blood, each in that part of the empire which shall be assigned to him; make purchases of rams on account of government, comprehending all the information which he can obtain with respect to this branch of rural economy.

13. The common inspectors shall superintend the depots, distribute the rams for the season, visit the flocks which they are serving; prescribe salutary measures, and cause them to be executed; inspect the pure and improved flocks, as well as correspond with the minister of the interior, the prefect and inspector general, under whom they shall be placed.

14. The inspectors general shall have a salary of 8000 francs per annum, and 4000 francs for the expenses of their circuit.

15. The common inspectors shall have a salary of 8000 francs per annum, and 4000 francs for the expenses of their circuit.

16. To carry the preceding measure into execution, there shall be placed, at the disposal of our minister of the interior, a fund of 600,000 francs for 1811, and successively for other years, the sum necessary to complete and maintain the depots till the system of amelioration shall be fully attained.

Our ministers of the interior, of finance, and the treasury, are charged, each as far as it concerns him, with the execution of the present decree, which shall be inserted in the bulletin of laws.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

By command of the emperor,

H. B. Duke of Bassano

Mr. Anderson's Speech

In the senate of the United States, Dec. 17, 1811, in support of this motion to reduce the number of regiments proposed in the bill to raise an additional military force, and in reply to Mr. Giles.

Mr. Anderson said, he was not a little surprised to hear the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Giles,) say that he was unprepared to oppose a very unexpected motion, when he (Mr. A.) had two days be-

fore, whilst the bill was under consideration, suggested his intention *in his place*, to make the motion he had now made; upon which the honorable member expressed a wish to postpone the consideration of the question, and immediately moved the postponement of the bill, which was not opposed, and of course prevailed. Mr. A. said, that the motion was not therefore made without due notice, and he would add without due consideration. He had consulted with a number of the members of this honorable body, for whose judgment and opinions he had great respect, and with whose approbation, and he might indeed add, at whose instance, the motion had been made. He was however himself ready and willing to meet all the responsibility that might attach to it; notwithstanding the surprise of the honorable member as to the question from which it had come.

Mr. A. said, he should not pretend to reply to all the various observations the gentleman had thought proper to make, very many of which he considered altogether irrelevant to the question under consideration, but which might perhaps answer some other purpose which the honorable member might have in view.

Mr. Anderson said, he was as strongly impressed with the necessity of a sufficient force, for the invasion of Canada as the gentleman from Virginia could possibly be, and not a single expression had escaped him to induce a belief that he should be unwilling to vote a proper and ample force for that service; but he differed greatly with the gentleman, as to the kind of force we ought immediately to employ. The honorable member appeared to place his sole dependence upon regular troops; and yet, if he understood his argument, he was decidedly in favor of making a descent upon Canada early in the spring. As to the time, Mr. A. agreed with him; but as to the means, he certainly differed very greatly from him. The number of regulars contemplated by the gentleman could not possibly be raised within the time: he was therefore of opinion, that a less number ought to be inserted in the bill. It should be recollected that we had very recently authorized the regiments in the peace establishment to be filled; they would require at least 6,000 men; add thereto 25,000 more, the number proposed by the honorable member; and he would ask him to answer candidly, whether he really believed that so great a number troops could be enlisted within the time required for the service to be performed. Mr. A. said, impressed, as he was, with a firm belief, that not more than half the number proposed by the hon. member could be enlisted within the time they must take the field, in order to act efficiently against Canada, he could not see the propriety of retaining the whole number contemplated by the bill. Mr. A. said it must be well known to every gentleman, that the invasion of Canada must necessarily take place before the breaking up of the ice in the river St. Lawrence; otherwise, twice 25,000 would be required; because large reinforcements, as soon as an opportunity presented, would most certainly be thrown into that country. Mr. A. said, upon a fair view of the whole subject, as it presented itself to him, he was decidedly of opinion that the number of regular troops to be raised by that bill, ought not to exceed 16,000, and he had no hesitation in saying that in his opinion, as efficient a force would be raised under such a provision within the time limited for taking the field, as would be raised were the present number in the bill retained—and in the former case, we should prove to our enemies, that we were able

to raise such number of regular troops as might be wanted upon a sudden emergency; but in the latter, we should not be able to make the same exhibit. What then would be the consequence? You would give a most mortifying proof, that your means were not commensurate to your ends; that your plan had been badly digested, and worse executed. And surely the gentleman can have no desire to present such a state of things, at the very moment when all the energies of the nation seem to be required. Mr. A. said, to avoid this extraordinary exhibit, was also one of his objects; and this in his opinion, could be done by taking the course he had contemplated; reduce the number of regulars, and supply the deficiency by volunteers. This he firmly believed was in our power. Combine the two corps, take nearly an equal number of each; and the object intended could be effected. Mr. A. said, he was convinced that it was the mode the president had contemplated: and he entirely approved it; and if the honorable member had attended to another part of the president's message were it speaks of volunteers, he must himself have been convinced, that the president did not mean to make the descent upon Canada with the 10,000 regulars only; which had been understood as the gentleman had stated, to be the auxiliary force referred to in the message. The object of the president cannot be better explained than by referring to the message itself. He says—"I recommend accordingly, that adequate provision be made for filling the ranks and prolonging the enlistments of the regular troops; for an auxiliary force, to be engaged for a more limited time; for the acceptance of volunteer corps whose patriotic ardour may court a participation in urgent services." The manner in which the president speaks of the volunteers can leave no doubt upon the mind of any one, as to the service in which they were to be employed;—they are evidently intended to be united with the regular troops to perform urgent services, according to the express language of the message. Mr. A. would ask the honorable member, what was the urgent service meant by the president? most certainly a descent upon Canada, in which the regulars and volunteers were equally to participate. Why then the hon. member had taken so much pains to prove that the 10,000 regulars were the only military force with which the president had intended to perform the urgent service referred to in his message, Mr. A. was at a loss to comprehend; for he understood the message, and objects of it very differently; and he should have expected that the candor of the hon. member would have induced him to have given the message a fair interpretation. That he had not done so must be supposed to proceed from his recent, but very strong attachment to a regular military force. However anti-republican this doctrine had formerly been, it seemed now to be viewed through a different medium by the hon. member from Virginia. Mr. A. said, that having, as he thought, proved by a fair interpretation of the president's message, that he intended to unite the volunteers, (that might be thought requisite) with the regular troops, to perform the urgent services of which he speaks, he would endeavor to present a fair and impartial view of the course recommended by the president, and compare it with the course which had been taken and so strenuously supported by the hon. member from Virginia. The president had recommended the raising of volunteers: and it was incidentally made known, that the auxiliary force spoken of, was 10,000 regular troops. If then provision had

been immediately made by law for raising 10,000 regular troops, and also for raising volunteers, those troops now would be in a state of preparation; a considerable number of regular troops would ere now have been enlisted, and the chance of getting the whole number greatly increased. If time had been afforded, as it ought to have been, the laws passed within two or three weeks after congress met, which might have been done, a sufficient regular force would, in all probability, have been in a state of readiness in all the month of April; and the number of volunteers which might have been required to make up the necessary force, would no doubt long since have offered their services, and the whole have been in a state of preparation to take the field in time to have performed the arduous services contemplated by the president. But instead of that course having been pursued, what has been done? Your first military bill reported only a few days ago, is now under consideration; the session now almost half expired, and at this late period, the honorable member, to whom as chairman of the committee, &c. the whole management of the military business was referred, insists upon raising twenty-five thousand regular troops, whose duty it shall be to make a descent upon Canada, in all the month of May. Can the gentleman be serious? Does he believe it practicable? If he does, Mr. A. said he should be obliged to believe, that the hon. member was in earnest some days ago, when he assured the senate that he knew very little of military affairs. Mr. A. said from the proofs we have repeatedly had, of the difficulty in obtaining men by enlistment for so long a time as five years, and the want in our country of those kinds of materials of which regular troops are made, he did not believe that one half the number proposed to be raised by the bill could be enlisted within the time required. Mr. A. said, that although he was not as much in the habit of prophesying as the hon. member, he would, under all the circumstances, adventure to predict, that the scheme of now raising twenty-five thousand regular troops, to perform the arduous service contemplated in the president's message, would entirely fail, and that the course pointed out by the president must at last be adopted; that is, to unite volunteers with regular troops.

Mr. A. said, he trusted that the honorable member and himself had in view the same object, but differed as to the means of carrying it into effect; the means proposed by the honorable member were regular troops only. If then the bill should pass to raise twenty five thousand, entire dependence would, in all probability, be placed upon the regular troops, *ordered to be raised*; the consequence, as he had before said, would be, that the whole object must fail. He was therefore for taking all the regular troops that could be raised in time, and supplying the additional number of men which might be wanted, by volunteers: fifteen or twenty thousand of whom could, he had no doubt, be brought into the field, before ten thousand of the regular troops contemplated by the bill, could be enlisted by this mode. Notwithstanding so much time had been lost, an efficient army might yet be provided in time to carry into effect the objects of the government, which, Mr. A. said, he did not believe, could or would be done, if dependence were placed only upon the regular troops. Notwithstanding the little confidence which the honorable member seems disposed to place in the volunteers, Mr. A. said, he had no hesitation in giving it, as his most decided opinion, that at least as much dependence might be placed upon the volun-

teers, as upon the newly raised regular troops. The volunteers could have the same chance of discipline that the new regulars would have. A sufficient number of those who offered their services, might be called into the field, as early as the season would admit, and placed under strict discipline; to which, for their own honor they would readily submit; nay require, if left to their own choice; for the first object they would have in view, would be to acquire military skill; and they would not only be very soon prepared to perform field duty, but might be entirely depended upon for any other service. Witness the prowess of the volunteers at the battle on the Wabash, and these had not been disciplined at all. Mr. A. said, he expected the honorable member would admit, that the materials of which the volunteers would be composed, would be at least equal to those of which the regular troops would be formed; and the officers of the volunteer corps being appointed by the president would, he had not a doubt, faithfully perform their duty. These, said Mr. A. are means completely in our power; and he considered it our best policy, as well as our duty, to bring them into action. Mr. A. said, in addition to the efficiency of the means which he proposed to bring into the field, it would have one very considerable advantage over the regular army of the honorable member. It would be more conformable to the true principles of the constitution, and would consequently be more acceptable to the nation. The confidence with which he had spoken of volunteers, was not founded upon visionary theory, but practical experience; he had often in the revolution had opportunity to witness their military ardor, and persevering firmness; on two occasions, in particular, the one at Connecticut farms, the other at Springfield, in the spring of 1780. The enemy had advanced, in force about two thousand, to a place called Connecticut farms, about four miles from Elizabeth Town, in New Jersey.—The only troops that were within striking distance, to oppose this force, was the Brigade of Jersey regulars, containing then about a thousand men; many volunteers, however, flocked to their standard—the enemy were met by this force—a battle ensued—the American army had the advantage of the ground; but the right wing of the enemy, extended so far, that if not suddenly checked, it would have enabled them to have flanked our left. It was necessary to prevent it—services of this kind must be promptly rendered—four hundred regulars and two hundred volunteers were ordered to execute it; no more could be spared from the line. A good position alone could have justified the attempt, with the disparity of numbers. It was first made by manoeuvre, but it was soon found, it could only be done by the bayonet. A determined charge was made, and it was successful; the enemy were repulsed; the volunteers were upon the left; not a man broke his ranks. Some brave fellows fell, but their places were immediately filled; all behaved with the firmness of veterans. The next day, those troops had the thanks of general Washington in general orders. Those volunteers had only joined the regulars a few days before the action. In about two weeks after, the enemy advanced in greater force—about five thousand—the troops who had been in the former action, had kept their position where the battle had been fought; it was advantageous for an inferior force; it was a defile, covered for some distance on the right by a morass; on the left it was not well protected. Against this position, the enemy again advanced; and by their

increased numbers, they were enabled to extend their right wing so far as completely to turn our left. We were obliged to retreat; but not without having kept the enemy a considerable time in check. You know, Mr. President, there is no situation so trying to the bravery and firmness of troops, as a retreat (for *even you*, sir, I believe, had to retreat sometimes.) The volunteers, upon this occasion, behaved like themselves; a sullen, indignant step, marked their movements; and from the mouths of their guns they spoke to the enemy the language of defiance; the enemy did not advance one mile, before a fortunate position, supported by determined bravery, enabled the united force of the regulars and volunteers to arrest their progress for the remainder of the day. This day's action began with the dawn of the morning, and continued until the setting of the sun, when the enemy fell back to take a secure position against the expected attacks of the night. During the whole of this day's action, the volunteers kept the stations assigned them, which they sustained with as much firmness as the regular troops. Many of them were killed and wounded. Among the number, were said to be seven of one family connection, brothers-in-law, and cousins; several of whom he had himself seen after the action. Scenes like this, Mr. President (said Mr. A.) of which we have been an eye witness—and in which he claimed some participation, had given him that confidence in volunteers, which he had evinced to the senate in the course of his observations, and which, he said, should never cease but with his existence. They are, sir, the best military materials in your country—they are the flowers of your forests; they ought not to be thrown into the back, the better to enable the honorable member from Virginia to present his regulars in front.

Mr. A. said, I have stated, Mr. President, perhaps with some warmth, the grounds upon which my confidence in volunteers has been founded; and he it remembered, said Mr. A. that they were militia volunteers. He said, he ought to have stated, that the enemy they had encountered, was composed of regulars and Hessians—the whole under the command of the Hessian gen. Knyphausen. Mr. A. said, the volunteers he now proposed raising, he would have engaged for nine or twelve months, from the time of their reaching the place of general rendezvous. They should be engaged by officers to be appointed by the president, under such regulations (of course) as might be provided by law; but which could not now be well detailed.

Mr. A. said, he should now offer some observations upon the number of troops that ought to be employed. He said, that the invasion of Canada was 'not now contemplated for the first time—it had often been a subject of conversation, whenever there had been any prospect of a war with England. It has been considered as the most convenient mean which we could make reprisal, and thereby obtain some small reparation for the many losses and injuries, which have been sustained from the depredations committed upon the honor and interests of the nation. Mr. A. said, that upon different occasions, he had always given it as his opinion, that a descent upon Canada ought never to be attempted with a force of less than twenty-five thousand men; that such a force would make an awful impression and would in all probability save many valuable lives; as no opposing force, in the usual state of the country, would be able to meet it in the field. Mr. A. said he repeated, that no expression had escaped him, either in public debate or private con-

versation, to justify the insinuations made by the gentlemen, that he was unwilling to vote a sufficient force for the invasion of Canada. On the contrary, he believed that no man who had seen active military service, and who had any knowledge of the situation and state of that country, would say that it would be prudent or safe, to make a descent upon Canada, with a force of less than twenty-five thousand men; *peculiar circumstances* might, however, render it necessary, to attempt it with a smaller number, and depend upon immediate supplies being furnished, to sustain the ground that might be acquired. Mr. A. said the honorable member had intimated that he had not taken into consideration, the peculiar situation of the United States in relation to the Floridas, and the other parts of the southern and western frontiers—He said he was much indebted to the honorable member, for evincing so much interest for those sections of the union—but Mr. A. said he considered those already provided for, by the provision made to fill up the regiments on the establishment, which when complete, would amount to ten thousand men—this number will be quite competent to all the objects suggested by the honorable member, and it had not been contemplated, that he had heard, to remove any of these troops from the south or west—consequently the situation of those parts of the union, can have no relation to the number of men to be raised, by the bill under consideration.—These troops are understood to be exclusively for the northern section—and with that express view they are to be raised. Mr. A. said before he quitted the subject of the southern and western frontier, he felt himself constrained to take notice of some very extraordinary language, used by the honorable member in relation to the intentions of the late and present presidents, respecting the city of Orleans, in the event of a war with England. It was extremely painful to doubt the correctness of any gentleman's statement; but this was of so very extraordinary a character, that in duty to the section of country he represented, and from the respect due to those distinguished characters, Mr. A. said he considered himself bound to take notice, in a particular manner, of the assertions made by the honorable member from Virginia. Mr. A. said, the words had very much surprised him, when he heard them uttered; and he had immediately written them down. The honorable member has said, that he *did know*, that in the event of a war it was the *intention* of the late president, to let the *English take Orleans without opposition, and leave it to the western people to retake it themselves*; and he *did believe* that it was the intention of the present administration to act in the same way. [Mr. Giles attempted to explain; but Mr. A. insisted that the words as he had taken them down were correct, for which he appealed to the house. Mr. G. desisted from making any further attempt at explanation, and Mr. A. proceeded.]—If, sir, said Mr. A. I could believe that the late president of the United States capable of such an act; capable of so deliberate an infringement of the letter and spirit of the constitution, and all the moral and political obligations by which he was bound to his country and to his duty, I should not hesitate to say that all his well-earned fame ought to be for ever merged in such an atrocious, contemplated act.—But, said Mr. A. knowing as I do, the motives and views by which the late president had been uniformly actuated with respect to the whole western country, I have very solid reason to believe he never contemplated, nor was he capable of committing

so daring an outrage on the rights and interests of the whole western section of the union. What, Mr. President, would any one of the old states say, at thus being thrown out of the protection of the union?—nay, what would be the impulse of the nation, were the president capable of declaring, that in the event of a war with an enemy, no matter whom, he would leave either Philadelphia, New-York or Boston, without offering any defence, to be taken possession of by the army of the enemy, and leave it to the citizens of the state, whosetown should be thus occupied, to retake it themselves?—Sir, the indignation of these people, and of the nation, would rise to such a height, that whatever respect, esteem or veneration, they might have had for him—all would be instantly swept from their bosoms, and he would be hurled from their confidence forever. But, said Mr. A. the well earned fame of our late illustrious chief, is his shield and his buckler, as well upon this, as it has been upon many other occasions; and an elucidation of facts will test the correctness of the assertion made by the honorable member from Virginia. If, Mr. President, there was any one part of the United States dearer to the late president than any other, in a national point of view, Mr. A. said, he should naturally suppose it was New-Orleans.—It was, as it were, his own begotten child; he had nursed it in its infancy, and had almost reared it to manhood. Sir, he could never forsake it; much less could he voluntarily surrender it, to be sacked and plundered, as it most certainly would be, by a mercenary foe. I will now, Mr. President, examine some facts, said Mr. A. which have a strong bearing upon the assertion made by the honorable member from Virginia. It would be recollected by every honorable member upon this floor, that some few years ago, when it was understood that general Prescott, with a body of troops, had sailed from Halifax, with intent, as it was expected, for the mouth of the Mississippi, the then president apprehended the movement might possibly be to possess Orleans. What was the conduct of the president on that occasion? Did he leave it defenceless for the enemy to take? No, sir, he immediately gave orders for all the troops that could be collected within almost any reasonable distance, to march immediately for the protection of the place; and those that were near the sea-board were instantly transported by water; and every exertion was made to throw a sufficient force into Orleans and its vicinity, to afford it the most ample protection. This, sir, happened shortly before the president went out of office; and no other occasion presented itself of evincing his good disposition toward that portion of the union, until he was succeeded by the present chief magistrate, who has also been measurably implicated in the same charge, by the honorable member; but of this he has only expressed his belief; he has not, however, told us upon what that belief is founded. Inasmuch then, Mr. President, as this charge exists only in the belief of the honorable member, it is fair to presume purity of intention on the part of the executive, until the contrary shall appear; and this, Mr. A. said, he felt entirely confident never would appear. The uniform tenor of the president's moral and political rectitude, were ample vouchers for the correctness of his motives and the purity of his intentions. Mr. A. said, so far as we have had an opportunity of judging of the disposition of the present chief magistrate, in relation to the protection of Orleans, we had not the smallest reason to doubt the purity of his intentions; and he had en-

tire confidence, should an occasion present, that the president would faithfully, ably and impartially, discharge the duties he owed to every part of the union.

Mr. A. said, the observations of the honorable member, respecting the secretary of the treasury, the financial department, and the administration as connected with it, required and should receive an answer. Mr. A. said, he considered himself peculiarly bound to support the secretary, as he had been the innocent cause, by introducing him into the debate, in the course of the observations he had made, in support of his motion, and thereby bringing upon him the animadversions, which the honorable member had taken occasion to make. His attack upon the secretary is of a singular kind; he does not impeach a single official act of that officer, but throws out vague insinuations in so untangible a shape, as almost to defy an enquiry into their truth. The official acts of a public officer are always free subjects of investigation and discussion; but, does it comport with the dignity of a member of this body, to asperse without proof, not his acts, but his supposed opinions. The honorable member presumes the secretary gave his assent to the repeal of the salt tax.—Upon what authority does he found this opinion of the secretary? No proof can be given of it. Mr. A. said, he had always understood that the secretary was opposed to the repeal of that tax. His numerous reports prove the fact, in all of which, if they are examined, it will be found, that he considered that duty as one of the branches of revenue upon which he relied. But there would be no criminality, if we were to suppose that the secretary had joined in the general opinion and given his assent to the repeal, as well as the honorable member has done; the fact, however, Mr. A. averred to be otherwise. That officer must be supposed more alive to every thing connected with the treasury, than other members of the government. So far had the secretary carried this feeling towards the treasury, that he was not only opposed to the repeal of the salt tax; but, Mr. A. had always understood that he was opposed to the repeal of the internal taxes at the time they took place; with a view no doubt not only to be able to meet all the demands that could be legally made upon the treasury, but to procure a surplus, to meet any contingency that the peculiar state of our foreign relations might demand. How then the honorable member can charge the secretary with the deficiency which the salt tax would have prevented, according to the gentleman's calculation, Mr. A. said he was at a loss to know. The honorable member ought more properly to charge his own complaisance with the great deficit which he seems so anxious to charge to the secretary. The secretary was opposed to the repeal of the salt tax from his opinion of the correctness of it. The honorable member was also opposed to it, for the same reason; but from the complaisance, he himself tells us, he voted for the repeal. He then, and not the secretary, is answerable to the treasury for the great loss sustained by the repeal of that tax; for he has told us, that its repeal depended upon his single vote; and that vote he gave from complaisance, not from a conviction of its correctness.

The honorable member charges the treasury department with a recession from the difficulties of the nation during the last three years—and with the unwillingness of the secretary to afford the usefulness of his talents to government. Mr. A. said he could not well understand the meaning of this charge, as the honorable member acknowledges that government had not called on the secretary for

greater exertions. Mr. A. said he would ask the honorable member,—in what do that recession and unwillingness consist? Have not all the duties of the office been performed? Has the secretary ever shrunk from responsibility upon any occasion, or declined answering to the fullest extent, any of the calls made upon him by congress, either for information or opinion? Has he not carried the financial bark safely to this moment, notwithstanding the difficulties of the times? Have not all the public engagements been fulfilled; all the increased expenses been defrayed; notwithstanding the decrease of revenue; occasioned by the state of our foreign relations? What is then meant by recession? Does the honorable member mean to say, that it was the duty of the secretary to point out new branches of revenue; while those already existing were sufficient to defray the expenses authorised by law? At this moment, whilst we are acting on the subject of the army, which will (greatly) more than double the public expenses, the honorable member does not deign to enquire into the ways and means. He scouts the very idea, and finds great fault with him (Mr. A.) because he presumed to make some enquiry into the present state of the national treasury. Whether we now vote six or ten regiments of infantry, with the addition of those of artillery and horse, the expense will be great; but we think it necessary some additional troops shall be raised, and will vote accordingly. After they shall have been authorised, and not before, the treasury department may properly be called upon, to point out the resources and present them to our consideration. The honorable member, not satisfied with his vague charge of what he calls a recession of the treasury department, extends the charge in a most extraordinary manner, to the late and present administrations. To their indisposition to press on the treasury, and to disturb the repose and popularity of the secretary of the treasury, the honorable member ascribes the measures, which in his opinion had dishonored the nation, the last three years. Can this be correct, Mr. President? Can this house believe that the late and present administrations would be capable of acting upon such principles? The honorable member has roundly asserted that the late president; that Mr. Jefferson, whenever he was opposed to what he deemed unnecessary expense, instead of being actuated by his known aversion to saddle such an expense on the people, instead of being, as he expressed it, averse to taking from the *mouth of labor its hard earnings*, had no other motive but a fear to disturb the repose and popularity of the secretary of the treasury! But, Mr. President, what is the treasury, abstractly speaking; and what does the honorable member mean, by a fear to press on the treasury? The officers of the treasury are mere agents to receive and to pay the money which is collected from the people. There is never any real pressure on the treasury. If there be at any time a pressure for the purpose of defraying any expense, it is a pressure on the people, who must pay the money. Whether the treasury has ten or twenty millions to collect from the people, and to pay to the other agents of government, the repose of the secretary is in not in the least disturbed. When, during the revolutionary war, congress was obliged to call on the people for heavy taxes, or enable to redeem our paper-money, the pressure fell on the people, who had the taxes to pay and in whose hands the paper-money died away. When notwithstanding these inadequate resources, we were unable to defray the most ne-

cessary expenses, the pressure fell on whom? On your empty treasury? No, sir—it fell on the *army*—on the *defenders of your country*—on those *war-worn veterans*, who were *scarcely fed, hardly clothed, and not paid at all*, and whose earnings at least, fell into the hands of speculating harpies. But, sir, what effect had this state of things upon the personal repose of your then commissioners of the treasury? Not the least,—except so far as they felt for the distresses of their country, and identified themselves with its fate; and it is only in this point of view, said Mr. A. that the repose of a secretary of your treasury can be disturbed on similar occasions. That substitution of the treasury—of the chest into which the taxes are paid,—to the people themselves who pay them, is one of those equivokes of which the honorable member is so fond. It is, however, an artifice too thinly veiled, to deceive the senate, or mislead our constituents. Mr. A. said, the course taken by the honorable member had been so devious, that it had been hard to follow him; and indeed sometimes to understand his meaning correctly. Mr. A. said, he could not, nor had he intended when he rose, to answer all the observations of the honorable member,—he had selected the most prominent; and should answer only two more. The honorable member had said, that to the unwillingness of the late and present administrations to incur expense, he attributes the present situation of our country. Although he has made this charge against the administrations, he has not specified any case, in which the present administration had refused to incur expense. Mr. A. supposed it would have been rather too bold a charge, after the measures adopted by the president, and with their result now before us: he had however specified two cases under the former administration—a refusal to incur the expense necessary to carry the embargo into effect, and a rejection by the house of representatives of a proposition to authorise contingent letters of marque and reprisal. Mr. A. said, he had always understood, that the executive had used with great assiduity every means which had been placed in his hands by congress, to carry into effect the several embargo laws; that the laws were as well executed as any restrictive laws, of so pressing a character, could have been upon so extensive a coast, and more so than the restrictive laws of Great Britain and France had ever been, with all their navies and their numerous armies; and that it was not because this law was not well executed that it was repealed; but in consequence of another consideration, well known to the honorable member himself, who can give us *accurate a history* of the repeal of that law, as any honorable member of either house. Mr. A. said, with respect to the failure, on the part of the house of representatives to adopt *contingent* letters of marque and reprisal, he could not see how that could with any propriety be attributed to the late president. He did not indeed, by any official message, recommend such a measure, and the correctness of such a course might well be doubted, upon constitutional grounds. But, Mr. A. said, he well knew that the president was anxious for a provision of that kind, as a substitute for the embargo; whether in the precise phraseology of the provision the house rejected, Mr. A. could not say; but knowing, as he did, that the president was desirous of a strong substitute, he was sorry that the honorable member had attempted to attribute to him the failure of so important a measure, for which he was in no way responsible.