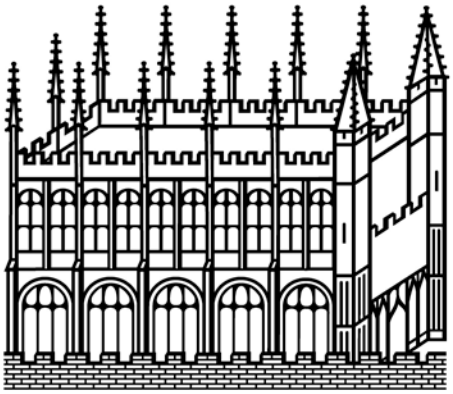

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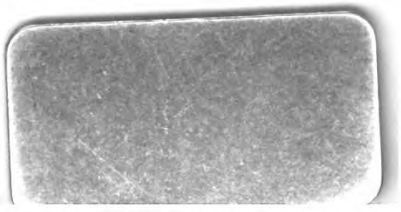

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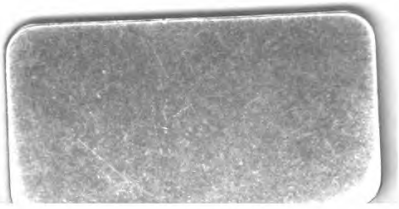

J. P. BRISSOT,

Born the 14.th of Jan.y 1754.
Deputy of the Department of Paris
in the first Legislature.
Suffered by the Guillotine
on the 31.st of October 1793.

Published Sept.r 1.st 1794. by J.S Jordan N.166. Fleet Street.

NEW TRAVELS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

INCLUDING THE

COMMERCE OF AMERICA WITH EUROPE;

PARTICULARLY WITH

FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF BRISSOT,

WITH AN

ELEGANT PORTRAIT.

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SHEWING

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION TO THE INTERESTS OF FRANCE,

AND POINTING OUT THE ACTUAL SITUATION

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA,

IN REGARD TO

TRADE, MANUFACTURES, AND POPULATION.

BY J. P. BRISSOT DE WARVILLE,

AND

ETIENNE CLAVIERE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LAST FRENCH EDITION,

Revised by BRISSOT, and called the SECOND VOLUME of his View of America.

WITH THE LIFE OF BRISSOT, AND AN APPENDIX,

BY THE TRANSLATOR.

LONDON:

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BIBLIOTHECA·BODLEIANA·

A SKETCH
OF THE
LIFE
OF
J. P. BRISSOT.

By the Editor.

He was born at the village of Ouarville, near Chatres, in Orleannois, on the 14th of January 1754. His father was what the French called a *Traiteur*; that is, keeper of an eating houſe or an ordinary. He was intended for the profeſſion of the law, and was articled to an attorney for that purpoſe. But he grew diſguſted with the chicane and turpitude he was daily obliged to witneſs, and therefore, after the five years of his articleſhip were expired, he left Chatres, and went to Paris.

An accident one night at the theatre at Paris placed him in the company of an Engliſh gentleman. They became intimate, and from this gentleman he obtained ſome knowledge of the Engliſh language; which he afterwards improved by a reſidence in London.

He had received a regular claſſical education, and acquired, by ſtrict application, a tolerable knowledge of the German, Italian, and Spaniſh languages, ſufficient to conſult the authors who have written in thoſe languages. On his arrival at Paris his firſt ſtudy was juriſprudence, with an intention of becoming an advocate in parliament. No ſcience however eſcaped his attention. He attended lectures and experiments in every branch of ſcience; wherein his active genius found ample exerciſe. Chymiſtry was his favourite object of purſuit; but his circumſtances were too limited to indulge much in it. The ſmall patrimony which he inherited from his father did not exceed forty pounds per annum.

In

In the year 1777 he made his firſt tour to London. During his ſtay in London he became engaged in the conduct of a French newſpaper, at that time called the *Courier de l'Europe*, but ſince the *Courier de Londres*. Some miſunderſtanding having happened concerning the ſtamps (at the ſtamp-office in London) for this paper, the proprietor took a reſolution of printing it at Boulogne ſur-mer; and Briſſot was appointed the Editor, and reſided at Boulogne for that purpoſe. He continued in this capacity at Boulogne about two years. From thence he went to Paris; and was admitted Counſellor in Parliament.—Early in the year 1782 he went to Neufchatel to ſuperintend the printing of one of his books (mentioned hereafter). This was the memorable period of the revolution at Geneva. Here he became acquainted with M. Claviere and M. du Rovray, who, with a numerous party, were expelled that city, and ſought an aſylum in Ireland.

In the autumn of this year, he married a

daughter of Madame Dupont of Boulogne. This young lady had been recommended to the celebrated Madame de Genlis, who obtained a ſituation for her in the nurſery of the Duke de Chartres, late Duke of Orleans, who ſuffered under the guilotine; in which ſituation ſhe continued ſome time after her marriage.

At the beginning of the year 1783 he viſited London a ſecond time. His view in this journey was to eſtabliſh in London a Lyceum, or Academy of Arts and Sciences, together with an office of general correſpondence. In this undertaking he was encouraged by ſome of the firſt literary men in France; and a Monſieur du Forge, muſician at Paris, was ſo captivated with the ſcheme, that he advanced four thouſand livres (166l.) for one third ſhare of the profits. Briſſot was to have the ſole management, and the other two thirds of the profits. He took a houſe in Newman Street, Oxford Street; and publiſhed a proſpectus of his undertaking. He ſent for his wife and his youngeſt brother (his eldeſt

eldeſt brother was a prieſt). At this time he commenced his deſcription of the ſciences in England (mentioned hereafter), to be publiſhed monthly. Having in one of his publications taken occaſion to vindicate the Chevalier de Launay, editor of the *Courier du Nord*, printed at Maeſtricht, the editor of the *Courier de l'Europe*, now M. du Morande, was ſo highly offended by it, that he became from that time Briſſot's moſt determined enemy. It is to be obſerved, that the Courier du Nord and the Courier de l'Europe were rival newſpapers. De Launay quitted Maeſtricht, and went to Paris, where he was immediately put into the Baſtile, and was never more heard of.

In the month of May, 1784, Briſſot was arreſted by his printer in London. Although he was at this time very well known to ſeveral perſons of rank and fortune, yet he was too delicate to apply to any of them for pecuniary aſſiſtance. But after remaining a day or two in a lock-up houſe in Gray's Inn Lane, he ſent

his brother to an intimate friend, who inſtantly paid the printer his bill, and liberated him.

The next morning Briſſot ſet out for France, leaving his wife and brother in England, aſſuring them he would quickly return, which he certainly intended. But in this he was ſeverely diſappointed. Thus ended his literary enterpriſe of eſtabliſhing a Lyceum in London, in which he embarked his whole property with a degree of infatuation and zeal that ſeemed to border upon inſanity. During his reſidence in London he became acquainted with one Count de Pelleport, author of ſeveral pamphlets againſt the principal perſons of the French Court, particularly of one called *Soirees d'Antoinette*, for the apprehenſion of the author of which the French Court offered a thouſand pounds (1000 Louis) reward. Briſſot, inſtead of proceeding directly to Paris, ſtopped at Boulogne, and reſided there with his mother-in-law; here he reſolved to continue his publication on the original plan. Du M—— knowing that Pelleport

was

was the author of the offenſive pamphlet, and that Briſſot and Pelleport were intimate, reſolved to obtain the reward, and gratify his reſentment. He applied to Pelleport, offering him the ſuperintendance of a publication to be carried on at Bruges (near Oſtend), the ſalary of which was to be two hundred pounds per annum. Pelleport accepted the offer. But it was neceſſary to ſtop at Boulogne, where ſome final arrangements were to be made. In the month of July Pelleport embarked for Boulogne with Captain Meredith. But the moment he landed, he was ſeized by the officers of the Police, who put him in chains and carried him to Paris, where he was ſent to the Baſtile. Du M—— was an agent of the Police of Paris. Information being given to the Police, that Briſſot was at Boulogne, and that he was the intimate friend of Pelleport, he was immediately taken into cuſtody, carried to Paris, and committed to the Baſtile. However, it is certain that Briſſot never wrote any thing againſt either

either the King or Queen of France. He was ſincere in his abhorrence of the arbitrary and deſpotic principles of the French government, but with reſpect to the private conduct of the King and Queen he never beſtowed the ſmalleſt attention upon it. In this magazine of human victims he continued about ſix weeks. His wife applied to Madame Genlis in his favour, and Madame Genlis moſt generouſly made a point of it with the Duke de Chartres to obtain his liberty. The Duke de Chartrés's interference does not appear by any document; but Briſſot's acquittal of the charge brought againſt him, appears in the following report of his examination, made to the French miniſter, M. Breteuil, on the 5th of September.

" The Sieur Briſſot de Warville was convey-
" ed to the Baſtile on the day after the Sieur
" de Pelleport, who was arreſted at Boulogne
" ſur-mer, arrived at Paris. In conſequence of
" his connections with this man, guilty of
" writing libels, he was ſuſpected of having

" been

" been his coadjutor. The atteſtation of a boy " in the printing office, from whence one of " theſe libels iſſued, gave ſtrength to ſuſpicions; " but this atteſtation, tranſmitted from Lon- " don, is deſtitute of authenticity; and the " Sieur Briſſot de Warville, who has very ſa- " tisfactorily anſwered to the interrogatories " which were put to him, attributes his crimi- " nation to the animoſity of enemies whom he " conceives to have plotted againſt him in " London. The Sieur Briſſot de Warville is a " man of talents, and of letters; he appears to " have formed ſyſtems, and to entertain extra- " ordinary principles; but it is certain that, for " the laſt ſeven or eight months, his connec- " tions with the Sieur de Pelleport had ceaſed, " and that he employed himſelf ſolely upon a " periodical paper, which he obtained permiſ- " ſion to circulate and ſell in France, after " having ſubmitted it to the examination of a " licenſer."

It is proper to obſerve, that the addition of

de Warville, which Briſſot made to his name (to diſtinguiſh himſelf from his eldeſt brother) is a kind of local deſignation, not uncommon in many countries. William of Malmſbury, Geoffry of Monmouth, Rapin de Thoyras, Joan d'Arc, &c. &c. But in the orthography he ſubſtituted the Engliſh *W* for the French dipthong *Ou*; the ſound of that dipthong being ſimilar to our W. Thus *Ouarville* is pronounced *Warville* in both languages.

In a very ſhort time after his releaſe from the Baſtile he very honourably diſcharged his pecuniary obligation to his friend in London.

In the year 1787, which was the era of the foundation of the French revolution, the Duke de Chartres, now become Duke of Orleans by the death of his father, embraced the party of the Parliament againſt the Court. Upon the principle of gratitude Briſſot attached himſelf to the Duke of Orleans. As an honeſt man he could not do otherwiſe.

We

We ſhall here paſs by his tour to America, and ſome other circumſtances, becauſe they are intimately connected with the account of his writings, which is ſubjoined.

Upon his return to France he found that his celebrity had not been diminiſhed by his abſence. He was elected a member of the Conſtituent Aſſembly, and was much engaged in the committees of reſearch, of which he was the reporter. He was alſo elected a member of the Legiſlative Aſſembly for the department of Paris. It muſt be obſerved, that the revolution caſt a veil over the crimes of all thoſe who had been obliged to leave their country. In this group who returned to France was Du M——. He oppoſed Briſſot in his election for Paris, but Briſſot was elected by a majority of more than three to one. However Du M——'s party were exceſſively mortified; and they unceaſingly calumniated Briſſot in the moſt opprobrious terms. M. Petion, mayor of Paris, and who was Briſſot's friend and townſman, contributed

contributed much to ſtrengthen his intereſt and aſcendancy.

Briſſot now diſtinguiſhed himſelf as one of the *Amis des Noirs* (friend of the Negroes), of whom he was a moſt zealous advocate. In a ſpeech which he delivered in the Aſſembly in the year 1791, there is a ſtrong trait of philanthropy.

Of this ſpeech the following is a ſhort extract: "You have heard of enormities that freeze you with horror; but Phalaris ſpoke not of his brazen bull, he lamented only the dagger that his own cruelty had raiſed againſt him. The coloniſts have related inſtances of ferocity; but give me, ſaid he, an informed brute, and I will ſoon make a ferocious monſter of him. It was a white man who firſt threw a negro into a burning oven; who daſhed out the brains of a child in the preſence of its father; who fed a ſlave with its own proper fleſh. Theſe are the monſters that have to account for the barbarity of the revolted ſavages.—Millions of Africans have

periſhed

periſhed on this ſoil of blood. You break, at every ſtep, the bones of the inhabitants, that nature has given to theſe iſlands; and you ſhudder at the relation of their vengeance. In this dreadful ſtruggle the crimes of the Whites are yet the moſt horrible. They are the offſpring of deſpotiſm: whilſt thoſe of the Blacks originate in the hatred of ſlavery, and the thirſt of revenge. Is philoſophy chargeable with theſe horrors? Does ſhe require the blood of the coloniſts? Brethren, ſhe cries, be juſt; be beneficent; and you will proſper.—Eternal ſlavery muſt be an eternal ſource of crimes;—diveſt it at leaſt of the epithet *eternal*; for anguiſh that knows no limitation of period can only produce deſpair."

Upon the abolition of the French monarchy, in the month of September 1792, the Legiſlative Aſſembly diſſolved itſelf. The conſtitution being diſſolved by the abolition of the King, they conceived that it was the inherent right of the people to chooſe a new repreſentation, in order

order to frame a new conſtitution, ſuited to the wiſhes of the people, and to the neceſſity of the exiſting circumſtances of the times. In this general election Briſſot was elected one of the deputies from the department of Eure and Loire. His abilities and talents became every day more conſpicuous. He was choſen the Reporter of the Committee of Public Safety; in which ſituation he conducted himſelf without reproach, until the treacherous conduct of Dumourier threw a ſuſpicion on the whole of the Gironde party.

Although aſſailed on all ſides by his enemies, his character aſperſed and depreciated by the baſeſt of calumnies, Briſſot ſhewed himſelf conſiſtent with his public principles of philanthropy.

In the dreadful maſſacre of the 3d of September, his opponents, particularly Du M——, ſought every opportunity to accompliſh his deſtruction, by accuſing him of being a principal inſtigator of thoſe horrors. And it muſt be

owned, that theſe repeated and continued calumnies weakened him in the public eſteem. Du M—— was perfectly acquainted with the Engliſh method of writing a man down.

When Condorcet moved for the abolition of royalty, Briſſot was ſilent.

When the motion was made to paſs ſentence of death on the King, Briſſot ſpoke and voted for the appeal to the primary aſſemblies.

When Fayette was cenſured, Briſſot defended him.

When the Duke of Orleans (M d' Egalité) was cenſured, Briſſot defended him.

The two firſt ſeem to have ariſen in principles of humanity.

The two laſt, unqueſtionably, aroſe in the ſtrongeſt ties of gratitude and friendſhip.

A conſcientious man cannot ſuffer a more ſevere affliction, than when his private honour places him againſt his public duty.

OF BRISSOT'S WRITINGS;

AND PARTICULARLY OF THIS WORK.

UPON the ſettlement of the American government after the war, he became an enthuſiaſtic admirer of the new conſtitution of that great country. But ſome French perſons, who had been in America, and were returned to France, had publiſhed their thoughts and opinions of America, in a manner that was nothing ſhort of illiberality. The reader will find the principal names of theſe writers in the thirty-ſecond chapter of the firſt volume. Briſſot was fired with indignation at this treatment of a people, whom he conceived could not in anywiſe have deſerved ſuch reproach; and, imagining that the general peace of 1783 had opened an honourable and free commuication of reciprocal commercial advantages between America and France, he wrote *this volume* with the view of ſupporting and eſtabliſhing that primary idea,

or

or *theory* of a French commerce with the United States.

Upon this point it is no more than ordinary candour to obſerve, that all which Briſſot recommends, explains, or relates, concerning a French commerce with the United States, applies equally, and in ſome points more than equally, to the Britiſh commerce with them. Every Britiſh merchant and trader may derive ſome advantage from a general view of the principles which he has laid down for the eſtabliſhment and regulation of a reciprocal commerce between France and America. The produce and manufactures of England are infinitely better ſuited to the wants of America; and therefore all his theory, which is directed to the welfare and improvement of France, muſt ſtrongly attach the attention of the Britiſh merchant and mechanic; who, in this great point, have not at preſent any ſuperiors, but have ſeveral rivals. Briſſot's ambition was to make France the greateſt and moſt powerful rival. And every candid perſon

muſt allow that he deſerved much credit of his countrymen for the progreſs he made, in this firſt attempt, to open the eyes of the French nation to proſpects of new ſources of advantage. All that is further neceſſary to ſay of this work, is ſaid by Briſſot himſelf in the introduction, from the tenth to the twentieth pages. In the laſt French edition of Briſſot's Travels in America, publiſhed by himſelf, about ſeven or eight months before his decapitation, this volume is placed the laſt of that work. We have followed the Author's arrangement, and collated the whole by the laſt Paris edition.

Of the preceding volume, entitled "New Travels in the United States of America," we have nothing to add: the whole of the French edition is now before the reader.

Of Briſſot's other works it is proper to mention the following.

The Theory of Criminal Laws, in two volumes.—Although M. la Cretelle, at the concluſion of his Eſſay on the Prejudices attached to Infamy,

Infamy, ſpeaks in flattering terms of this work, for he ſays, that it exhibits an extenſible knowledge, and ſhews the writer's ambition aſcends to great principles; yet to thoſe perſons who have read Beccaria's Eſſay on Crimes and Puniſhments, it will not appear that Briſſot has added much novelty to the ſubject.

The Neceſſity of a Reform of the Criminal Laws.

What Reparation is due to innocent Perſons unjuſtly accuſed.

Theſe were two diſcourſes which were crowned by the Academy of Chalons ſur Marne, and were printed in the form of two pamphlets. The miniſters of Louis XVI. were a good deal offended at the principles they contained, and they forbid the Academy propoſing the diſcuſſion of ſimilar ſubjects at any of their future meetings.

This check ſerved but as a ſtimulus to Briſſot to continue his ſubject. He therefore, in two years afterwards, publiſhed his *Philoſophical Library of the Criminal Laws.* This work is

now *ten volumes*. Briſſot's view in this work was, to diffuſe and explain thoſe grand principles of freedom which produced the revolution in England in the year 1688, and the revolution in America in the year 1775. Before the diſſolution of the monarchy in France thoſe principles were almoſt unknown to the French, and are ſtill almoſt unknown to the other parts of Europe. But as ſeveral of the monarchs of Europe approved of the American revolution, it may be preſumed that their ſubjects will not long continue ignorant of the motives and grounds of a meaſure which was honoured with the patronage of their ſovereigns. This circumſtance alone ſhould convince the Engliſh, that many of the powers of Europe behold with pleaſure the diminution of their greatneſs and conſequence, and that very few of thoſe powers are ever friendly to them, except during the time they are receiving a bribe, by virtue of an inſtrument, commonly called *a ſubſidiary treaty*.

Of

Of Dr. Price of London he was an admirer; but of Dr. Prieſtley he was alſo an imitator for he amuſed himſelf frequently with chymiſtry, phyſics, anatomy, and religion. On the laſt ſubject there is a preſumption that he wrote but little; for in his *Letter to the Archbiſhop of Sens* (the only tract on religion, by him, that has come to the Editor's knowledge) he ſays, "That religious tyranny had been proſtrated "by the blows of Voltaire, Rouſſeau, D'Alem-"bert, and D'Iderot." His mind was capacious, and his comprehenſion extenſive. In his zeal to become an imitator of Prieſtley, he publiſhed a volume *Concerning Truth, or Thoughts on the Means of attaining Truth, in all the Branches of Human Knowledge*. Here was a wide field for the diſplay of Briſſot's talents and induſtry. His deſign was to have carried on the work to ſeveral volumes, and to have invited the communications of the literati of all Europe, in all the different *ſciences*, and, it may be added, *ſpeculations*. But there was ſuch a freedom of

ſentiment manifeſted in the firſt volume, that both the author and printer were alarmed with the terrors of the Baſtile. Filled with theſe apprehenſions, he left Paris, and went to Neufchatel. There he printed his proſpectus, and he cauſed it to be alſo printed in London. But when theſe copies were attempted to be circulated in France they were ſeized. Not a ſingle number was permitted to be ſeen in any bookſeller's ſhop in France.

Finding the execution of his project thus rendered impracticable, he left Neufchatel, and went to London; where, in order to give currency to his free opinions, he altered the title of his book. He propoſed to publiſh the remaining part periodically, under the name of *A Deſcription of the Sciences and Arts in England*; great part of which was intended to be devoted to an examination of, and to obſervations on, the Engliſh conſtitution. His friends ſolicited the French miniſtry to permit this work to be reprinted at Paris. At firſt they obtained this favour;

favour; and the work went on as far as twelve numbers, or two volumes. After which it was prohibited; not more to the author's mortification than to the injury of his pocket. M. de Vergennes, who was at that time miniſter of France, had ſo ſtrong a diſlike to every thing that was Engliſh, that he would not endure the ſmalleſt commendation upon any part of the Engliſh conſtitution, or commerce, to be promulgated in France. He had begun to diſcover, that the favourite idea of his maſter, of ſeparating the Britiſh colonies from the Britiſh empire, might lead to an inveſtigation of the principles of government at home, and prove extremely dangerous to a deſpotic monarchy.

Notwithſtanding he was thus diſappointed a ſecond time, he ſtill purſued his deſign; but under a ſecond change of title. He publiſhed two volumes under the title of *Philoſophical Letters on the Hiſtory of England.* The title did not attach the public attention; becauſe two volumes under a ſimilar name had been

publiſhed in London, and had with ſome *art* been impoſed on the public, as the production of Lord Lyttelton; but they were written by Goldſmith, in ſupport of tyranny and ariſtocracy.

Every circumſtance of cruelty and oppreſſion met with the obſervation of Briſſot. When the late Emperor Joſeph was puniſhing Horiah, the leader of the revolt in Walachia, and iſſuing his ſhocking edict againſt emigration, Briſſot addreſſed *two letters to him* upon thoſe ſubjects, which were read throughout Germany. In one letter he affirmed, that Horiah was juſtified in his revolt: in the other he held, that a privilege to emigrate from one country to another was a ſacred right derived from nature.

He was an enthuſiaſt in his admiration of the American revolution, and of the conduct of the Americans in riſking every thing to emancipate themſelves from the tyranny of Great Britain. Upon comparing the new conſtitu-

tion of America with that of England, he changed his opinion of the latter—*he ceaſed to approve of it.*

Some French gentlemen, who had viſited America, having, when they returned to France, written ſome ſevere remarks on the Americans, Briſſot defended the Americans, particularly in his book called *A Critical Examination of the Travels of the Marquis of Chatelleux.* But as this work has been already mentioned in the preceding volume (ſee chapters 31 and 32), it is not neceſſary to ſay any thing more of it here.

It muſt never be forgot, that during the period of the French monarchy there were more intrigues always going on in the French court than in any court in Europe. At this time (the year 1787) the court was full of intrigues—libidinous as well as political; for though the King had no miſtreſſes, the Queen had her favourites, and her party. Necker was diſmiſſed, and Calonne was appointed by her influence.

fluence. Montmorin ſucceeded Vergennes, and the Duke of Orleans was at the head of the party that ſought the overthrow of the new miniſtry. When Calonne aſſembled the Notables at Verſailles, Briſſot publiſhed a pamphlet entitled *No Bankruptcy; or Letters to a Creditor of the State concerning the Impoſſibilty of a National Bankruptcy, and the Means of reſtoring Credit and Peace.* This pamphlet, which contained many ſevere obſervations on Calonne's meaſures and plans, and ſome arguments in ſupport of certain privileges claimed by the people, the Duke of Orleans was highly pleaſed with. He made inquiry after the author, for the tract was anonymous, and having diſcovered him, he ordered his chancellor to provide a ſituation for him. He was made ſecretary-general of the Duke's chancery. This did not ſave him from miniſterial reſentment. A lettre de cachet was made out againſt him, but having notice of it, he inſtantly eſcaped to the Netherlands. He was for ſeveral months editor of the

Courier

Courier Belgique, printed at Mechlin. It was during this voluntary exile that he formed his project of viſiting America. He communicated his deſign to the Philanthropic Society of the Friends of the Negroes at Paris, and was by them aſſiſted and recommended to ſeveral perſons in America. The produce of this viſit to America was the firſt volume of this work, written upon his return to France. The French miniſtry being changed before he left Europe, he embarked at Havre de Grace in the month of June 1788.

Intelligence having reached him in America of the rapid progreſs liberty was making in France, he returned to his native country in 1789, in a confidence that his labours might become uſeful to the general intereſt.

His firſt publication after his return (except the preceding volume of his Travels in America) was *A Plan of Conduct for the Deputies of the People.*

His knowledge and admiration of America naturally

naturally produced a friendſhip with the Marquis de la Fayette, who introduced him into the club of the Jacobins.

We ſhall paſs by the ſeveral ſteps and meaſures of the revolution; for to give an account of all Briſſot's concern therein, would be to write a large volume upon that event only. But the mention of a few circumſtances which are attached to Briſſot peculiarly, is indiſpenſable.

By the intereſt, or rather influence, of Fayette he was made a member of the Commune of Paris. He was agent of the Police, and a member of the Committee of Inſpection at Paris; and afterwards a repreſentative for the department of Eure and Loire.

He commenced a newſpaper, which he called *Patriote Français*; in which he conſtantly defended the conduct of la Fayette. He atached himſelf to the party called the Girondiſts.

To the Engliſh reader this name may require ſome explanation. The warm and moſt violent

violent of the National Convention, having gained the confidence and ſupport of the city of Paris by various arts, but principally by declaring, upon every opportunity, that Paris muſt conſtantly be the place in which the National Repreſentation muſt hold their deliberarations; to balance againſt this power of Paris, Condorcet, Petion, Vergniaux, Briſſot, Iſnard, and others, all members of the Convention, endeavoured to gain the commercial cities in their intereſt. Bourdeaux was the principal of thoſe cities which joined them; it is ſituated on the river Garonne, locally pronounced *Gironde*, which being the center of a department, named from the river, the appellation of Girondiſts was given to the whole party.

The whole was a ſtruggle for power: there was no other object whatever. It is a fooliſh, and an idle aſſertion, in thoſe who ſay, that Briſſot and the party had engaged in a plot to reſtore the monarchy of France. Whatever their opinions might have been in ſome of the early

early ſtages of the revolution, perhaps from an apprehenſion that the people of France might heſitate at an abrupt propoſition of a republican government, they were unqueſtionably innocent of the charge, at the time it was made. Here follow, however, the documents as publiſhed by authority, in juſtification of the execution; which, like all other ſtate papers, in every country, conſiſts of the beſt apology, or moſt colourable pretence, for a thing that has been done by order of government.

REPORT *againſt* BRISSOT, *and the other arreſted Deputies; made October* 3, 1793.

THE Citizens of Paris, being informed that Amar was to preſent his Report from the Committee of General Safety this day, filled the galleries at a very early hour.

As ſoon as he appeared at the Bar, the applauſes were ſo loud and continued that he was unable

unable to begin for more than a quarter of an hour.

At length, amidſt the moſt profound ſilence, he read his report.

He began by ſtating, that, before he proceeded to the report which had been expected with ſuch impatience, and would amply recompenſe the unavoidable delay that had prevented a more ſpeedy gratification of the wiſhes of the people, he was commanded by the Committee of General Safety to requeſt that none of the members of the Convention ſhould be allowed to go out till the Decree of Accuſation had been adopted. This requeſt was immediately complied with, and a decree being paſſed, the Preſident gave orders to the Commander of the National Guards to allow no Members to go beyond the Bar.

Amar then affirmed that the gigantic arm of treaſon had been uplifted to ſtrike the repreſentative majeſty of the people, and to level with the ground the unity and indiviſibility of the

French Republic.—The arm of treaſon had been nerved and ſupported by the united energies of Briſſot, Condorcet, Guadet, Vergniaud, and the other Deputies.

Briſſot, the leader of this traitorous band, commenced his political career by being a Member of the Commune of Paris, to which he was introduced by La Fayette, to whoſe deſigns he had proſtituted his pen.—At this æra of his life he made his appearance three times in the Jacobin Club.—In the firſt viſit he propoſed thoſe meaſures which have proved ſo diſaſtrous to the Colonies; in the ſecond, he attempted to produce the aſſaſſination of the people in the Champ de Mars; and in the third viſit he moved the declaration of war againſt Great Britain.

Introduced into the Legiſlative Aſſembly, he immediately entered into a coalition with Condorcet and the Girondine faction, whoſe deſigns he approved and ſupported. The conſummation of the object of this coalition was to have

been produced by the ſurrender of the Republican body to the violation of the Allied Powers, and by the deſtruction of that unity and indiviſibility which can alone be expected to combat with effect the tyrants who would undermine the proud pillar of Liberty, and deſtroy even the veſtige of freedom from the face of the earth.

The Court made uſe of their influence to declare war at a moment when the armies and the fortified places were in a ſtate of abſolute want, or entruſted to traitors choſen by a perjured King. They protected Narbonne, the miniſter, whom all France accuſed of the meaſures taken to render this war fatal to liberty; and in their Journals they calumniated the Patriots who had the courage to reſiſt them. They defended Dietriſch, convicted of being an accomplice with La Fayette, and of having offered to give up Straſbourg; and while the chiefs of that faction protected the conſpirators and traitorous Generals, the patriotic ſoldiers were pro-

ſcribed, and the volunteers of Paris ſent to be butchered.

During the time we were ſurrounded by the ſatellites of deſpots, when the Court was going to open the gates of France to them, after having cauſed the intrepid defenders of liberty to be murdered at Paris, Briſſot and his accomplices did all they could to counteract the generous efforts of the people, and to ſave the tyrant. During and after the unhappy inſurrection of the 10th of Auguſt, they endeavoured to prevent the abdication of Louis the XVI. and to preſerve to him the Crown.

In the night of the 10th of Auguſt, Petion, ſhut up in the Thuilleries, conſulted with the ſatellites of tyrants the plan to maſſacre the people, and gave orders to Mandat, Commander of the National Guards, to let the people come in, and then to cannonade them in the rear. A few days before, Genſonne and Vergniaud engaged to defend Louis XVI. on condition that the

the three miniſters, Roland, Claviere, and Servan, were recalled.

Petion and La Source made uſe of all their means to ſend the federates from Paris. Briſſot, Kerſaint, and Rouyer, according to the letters found in the Thuilleries, gave bad advice to the tyrant, and, in defiance of the laws, they dared to ſolicit places in the miniſtry, under a promiſe to extend the deſtructive authorities of the deſpot.

The project to overturn the foundatiou of the Republic, and to murder the friends of Liberty, was put in practice in the Legiſlative Aſſembly, by Briſſot, in his inſidious harangue on the 20th of July 1792, oppoſing the abdication of the throne. We have ſeen Briſſot and his accomplices Republicans under Monarchy, and Royaliſts under the Republic; always conſtant in their deſigns to ruin the French nation, and to abandon it to its enemies. At the time the hypocritical tyrant, Louis the XVI. came into the Aſſembly to accuſe the people, whoſe maſ-

ſacre he had prepared,—Vergniaud, like a true accomplice of the tyrant, told him—"That the Aſſembly held it to be one of their moſt ſacred duties to maintain all conſtituted authorities, and conſequently that of Royalty."

When the Attorney General, Raderer, came to announce, with the accent of grief, that the citizens in inſurrection had taken the reſolution not to ſeparate till the Aſſembly had pronounced the forfeiture of the Crown, Preſident Vergniaud ſilenced the applauſes from the galleries by telling them, that they violated the laws in obſtructing the freedom of opinion; and he told Raderer, that the Aſſembly was going to take into immediate conſideration the propoſal which he, Vergniaud, had made, ſhewing the neceſſity of preſerving the exiſtence of the King.

Kerſaint ſeconded the motion, Geradet propoſed to liberate Mandat, who was arreſted for having given orders to fire on the people; or, in the event that that commander was no more, to ſend a deputation of twelve Girondiſt Members,

Members, authoriſed to chooſe his ſucceſſor, in order by this means to keep the public force at the diſpoſition of that miſchievous faction.

In that memorable ſitting of the 10th of Auguſt, the Girondiſt chiefs, Vergniaud, Guadet, and Genſonne, took by turns the chair, and went to the galleries to ſlacken the energy of the people, and to ſave Royalty, under the ſhield of the pretended conſtitution. They ſpoke of nothing but obedience to the conſtitutional laws to thoſe citizens that came to the bar to protect their newly acquired liberty.

When the municipality came to invite the Aſſembly to ſend the *proces-verbal* of the great operations of the 10th of Auguſt, in order to prevent the calumnies of the enemies of liberty, Guadet interrupted the members who made that demand, by making a motion to recommend anew to the magiſtrates the execution of the laws.—He blamed the Council of the Commune for having confined Petion in his own houſe: though they did it in order to render it

impoſſible for that impoſtor to make even inſurrection ſubſervient to act againſt liberty.

When a deputation from the ſuburb St. Antoine came to announce the civic affliction of the widows and children maſſacred on that day, the perfidious Guadet coolly anſwered them, "That the Aſſembly hoped to reſtore public tranquillity and the reign of the laws."

Vergniaud, in the name of the extraordinary commiſſion directed by that faction, propoſed the ſuſpenſion of the King, who had been dethroned by the people, as a ſimple conſervatory act of royalty; and ſeemed greatly affected at the events which had ſaved the country, and operated the ruin of the tyrants. He oppoſed Choudieu's motion, tending to exclude from the Convention the Members of both the Legiſlative and Conſtituent Aſſemblies; and with the ſame cunning he prevented the regiſters of the civil liſt from being depoſited on the table.

Guadet wiſhed to have a governor named to the ſon of the late King, whom he called the Prince Royal.

Royal. Briſſot and his accomplices always affected to invoke the literal execution of the Conſtitution, while the people, in the name of the martyrs who fell before the caſtle of the Thuilleries, demanded the complete overthrow of the tyrant.

Vergniaud oppoſed this demand, ſaying, that the people of Paris were but a ſection of the empire, and affected to oppoſe it in this manner to the departments.—He likewiſe reſiſted the petition made by the Commons to put the tyrant under arreſt. He uſed all his efforts with Briſſot, Petion, and Manuel, to get Louis XVI. confined in the Luxembourg, from whence it would have been eaſier for him to eſcape than out of the tower of the temple.

Genſonne and Guadet had the ſervility to publiſh, at different times, that Louis XVI. had commanded the Swiſs not to fire upon the people. From that time, the leaders of the Girondiſts (Department of Bourdeaux), compelled to praiſe the events of the 10th of Auguſt,

continued, notwithſtanding, to undermine the Republic. They publiſhed the ſevereſt ſatires againſt the Jacobins, againſt the Commons and people of Paris, and in general againſt all thoſe who contributed to the deſtruction of monarchy. Roland's houſe was filled with packets of libels, which were to be diſtributed among the people, and ſent into the departments.

Theſe guilty men protected all the conſpirators, favoured the progreſs of Brunſwick with all their power, and were the agents of the Engliſh faction which has exerted ſo fatal an influence during the courſe of our revolution. Carra was in league with certain characters of the Court of Berlin. In his Journal Politique of the 25th of Auguſt, 1791, he formed a wiſh, on account of the marriage of the Duke of York with the Princeſs of Pruſſia, "that the Duke might become Grand Duke of Belgium, with all the powers of the King of the French." While Brunſwick was preparing to decide the fate of the French nation by the force of arms,

Carra

Carra in the ſame Journal repreſented him as a great commander, the greateſt politician, the moſt amiable Prince in Europe, formed to be the reſtorer of liberty in all nations.—He publiſhed, that this Duke, on his arrival at Paris, would go to the Jacobins, and put on the red cap, in order to intereſt the people in favour of this ſatellite of tyrants. Finally, Carra was ſo audacious as to propoſe openly to the Jacobins, for the Duke of York to be King of the French.

From theſe and many other facts, too tedious to mention, there reſults, that Carra and his aſſociate were iniquitous and deep diſſemblers, penſioned by England, Pruſſia, and Holland, to enable a Prince of that family which rules over thoſe countries to obtain the crown of France. This ſame Carra, together with Sillery, the diſhonoured confidant of a contemptible Prince, was ſent by the then reigning faction to Dumourier, to complete that treaſon which ſaved the almoſt ruined army of the Pruſſian deſpot. Dumourier came ſuddenly to Paris to concert with Briſſot, Petion, Guadet, Genſonne, and Carra, the

the perfidious expedition into the Auſtrian Netherlands, which he undertook when the Pruſſian army, waſting away by contagious diſorders, was peaceably retiring—while the French army was burning with indignation at the inaction in which they were kept.

It was not the fault of this faction, if the motion often made by Carra to receive Brunſwick at Paris was not realized. He meditated, in the beginning of September 1792, to deliver up this city, without means of defence, by flying beyond the river Loire, with the Legiſlative Aſſembly, with the Executive Council, and with the captive King. He was ſupported in it by Roland, Claviere, and le Brun, the creatures and inſtruments of Briſſot and his accomplices.

But theſe perfidious miniſters, having been threatened by one of their colleagues to be denounced to the people, it was then that Carra and Sillery were ſent to Dumourier, to authoriſe this General to negociate with Frederick

William, to enable this Prince to get out of the kingdom, on condition that he ſhould leave the Netherlands without the ſufficient means of defence, and deliver them up to the numerous and triumphant armies of France.

The calumnious harangues that were made in the Tribunes were prepared or ſanctioned at Roland's, or in the meetings that were held at Valaze's and Petion's. They propoſed to ſurround the Convention with a pretorian guard, under the name of Departmental Force, which was to be the baſis of their fœderal ſyſtem. In the Legiſlative Aſſembly they meditated a flight beyond the Loire, with the Aſſembly, the Executive Council, the Royal Family, and the public treaſure. Kerſaint, at his return from Sedan, dared to propoſe this project to the Executive Council; and it was ſupported by Roland, Claviere, and le Brun, the creatures and inſtruments of Briſſot.

The faction ſtrove to put off the judgment of the tyrant by impeding the diſcuſſion. They appointed

appointed a commiſſion of twenty-four members to examine the papers found in the Thuilleres, in the guilt of which ſome of theſe members were implicated; and they endeavoured, in concert with Roland, to conceal thoſe which tended to diſcover their tranſaction with the court. They voted for the appeal to the people, which would have been a germ of civil war, and afterwards wanted a reſpite to the judgment.

They inceſſantly repeated, that the Convention could do no good, and that it was not free. Theſe déclamations miſled the departments, and induced them to form a coalition, which was near being fatal to France.

They patronized an incivic piece, entitled *L'ami des Loix.*

On the 14th of January, Barbaroux and his friends had given orders to the battalion of Marſeillois to ſurround the Convention.

On the 20th, Valadi wrote to the other Deputies—"To-morrow in arms to the Convention—

tion—he is a coward who does not appear there."

Briſſot, after the condemnation of Louis Capet, cenſured the Convention and threatened France with the vengeance of the European Kings. When it was his object to bring on war, he ſpoke in an oppoſite ſenſe, and treated the downfal of all thrones, and the conqueſt of the univerſe, as the ſport of the French nation. Being the organ of the Diplomatic Committee, compoſed almoſt entirely of the ſame faction, he propoſed war ſuddenly againſt England, Holland, and all the powers that had not then declared themſelves.

This faction acted in coalition with perfidious Generals, particularly with Dumourier. Genſonnet held a daily correſpondence with him: Petion was his friend. He avowed himſelf the Counſellor of the Orleans party, and had connection with Sillery and his wife.

After the revolt of Dumourier, Vergniaud, Guadet, Briſſot, and Genſonne, wiſhed to juſtify

juſtify his conduct to the Committee of General Defence, aſſerting that the denunciations made againſt him by the Jacobins and the Mountain were the cauſe of his conduct; and that Dumourier was the protector of the *ſound* part of the Convention. This was the party of which Petion, Briſſot, Vergniaud, &c. were the chiefs and the orators.

When Dumourier was declared a traitor by the Convention, Briſſot, in the *Patriote Françoiſe*, as well as other writers, who were his accomplices, praiſed him, in defiance of the law. As members of the Committee of General Defence, they ought to have given information relative to the preparations that were making in La Vendee. The Convention, however, was not made acquainted with them till the war became ſerious.

They armed the Sections where Ariſtocracy reigned, againſt thoſe where public ſpirit was triumphant.

They affected to believe that a plot was meditated by the Republicans againſt the National Convention,

Convention, for the purpoſe of naming the commiſſion of twelve, who, in an arbitrary manner, impriſoned the magiſtrates of the people, and made war againſt the patriots.

Iſnard developed the views of the conſpiracy, when he uſed this atrocious expreſſion: "The aſtoniſhed traveller will ſeek on what banks of the Seine Paris once ſtood." The Convention diſſolved the commiſſion, which, however, reſumed its functions on its own authority, and continued to act.

The faction, by the addreſſes which it ſent to the departments, armed them againſt Paris and the Convention. The death of numbers of patriots in the ſouthern departments, and particularly at Marſeilles, where they periſhed on the ſcaffold, was the conſequence of thoſe fatal diviſions in the Convention, of which they were the authors.—The defection of Marſeilles ſoon produced that of Lyons. This important city became the central point of the counter-revolution in the South. The republican municipa-

lity was diſperſed by the rebels, and good citizens were maſſacred.—Every puniſhment that cruelty could deviſe to increaſe the torments of death was put in execution. The adminiſtrative bodies were leagued partly with Lyons, and partly with foreign Ariſtocrats, and with the Emigrants diſperſed through the Swiſs Cantons.

The cabinet of London afforded life and energy to this rebellious league. Its pretext was the anarchy that reigned at Paris— its leaders, the traitorous deputies of the Convention.

Whilſt they made this powerful diverſion in favour of the tyrants united againſt us, La Vendee continued to drink the blood of the patriots.

Carra and Duchatel were ſent to this department in quality of Deputies from the National Convention.

Carra publicly exhorted the adminiſtrators of the Maine and Loire to ſend troops againſt Paris. Both theſe deputies were at the ſame time

time connected with the Generals of the combined armies.

Couſtard, ſent alſo as a commiſſioner, carried his treaſonable projects to ſuch a length, as even to furniſh ſupplies of proviſions and ſtores to the rebels.—The miſſion of the agents of this faction, ſent to different parts of the republic, was marked by ſimilar traitorous meaſures.

Perhaps the column of republican power would ere this have meaſured its length upon the ground, if the conſpirators had preſerved much longer their inordinate power.—On the 10th of Auguſt the foundation of the column was laid, on the 31ſt of May it was preſerved from deſtruction. The accuſed publiſhed a thouſand ſeditious addreſſes, a thouſand counter-revolutionary libels, ſuch as that addreſſed by Condorcet to the department of the Aiſne. They are the diſgraceful monuments of the treaſon by which they hoped to involve France in ruin.

Ducos and Fonfrede formed the flame of the rebellion, by their correſpondence and their ſpeeches, in which they celebrated the virtues of the conſpirators.

Several of theſe conſpirators fled, and diſperſed themſelves through the departments—They eſtabliſhed there a kind of National Convention, and inveſted the adminiſtration with independent powers—they encircled themſelves with guards and cannon, pillaged the public treaſuries, intercepted proviſions that were on the road to Paris, and ſent them to the revolted inhabitants of the former provinces of Britanny. They levied a new army, and gave Wimpfen, degraded by his attachment to tyranny, the command of this army.

They attempted to effect a junction with the rebels of la Vendee, and to ſurrender to the enemy the provinces of Britanny and Normandy.

They deputed aſſaſſins to Paris, to murder the members of the Convention, and particular-

ly Marat, whoſe deſtruction they had ſolemnly ſworn to accompliſh.—They put a poignard into the hands of a woman who was recommended to Duperret by Barbaroux and his accomplices. She was conveyed into the gallery of the Convention by Fauchet.—The enemies of France exalted her as a heroine. Petion pronounced her apotheoſis at Caen, and threw over the blood-ſtained form of aſſaſſination the ſnowy robe of virtue.

Girey Dupre, the colleague of Briſſot, in the publication of the *Patriote Français*, printed at Caen ſeveral ſongs, which invited, in a formal manner, the citizens of Caen to arm themſelves with poignards, for the purpoſe of ſtabbing three deputies of the Convention, who were pointed out by name.

Briſſot fled with a lie added to his other crimes. Had he gone to Switzerland, as the falſe paſſport ſtated, it would have been for the purpoſe of exciting a new enemy againſt France.

Rabaud St. Etierre, Rebecqui, Duprat, and Antiboul, carried the torch of ſedition into the department of le Gard and the neighbouring departments.—Biroteau, Rouger, and Roland, projected their terrible plots in Lyons, where they poured the ample ſtream of patriotic blood, by attaching to the friends of their country the appellation of anarchiſts and monopolizers.

At Toulon theſe endeavours were ſucceſsful, and Toulon is now in the hands of the Engliſh. The ſame lot was reſerved for Bourdeaux and Marſeilles.—The reigning faction had made ſome overtures to Lord Hood, whoſe fleet they expected. The entire execution of the conſpiracy in the South waited only for the junction of the Marſeilleſe and Lyoneſe, which was prevented by the victory gained by the Republican army which produced the reduction of Marſeilles.

The meaſures of the conſpirators were exactly ſimilar to thoſe of the enemies of France, and particularly of the Engliſh.—Their writings differed

differed in nothing from thoſe of the Engliſh miniſters, and libellers in the pay of the Engliſh miniſters.

Mr. PITT	The DEPUTIES
Wiſhed to degrade and to diſſolve the Convention.	Attempted to do the ſame.
He wiſhed to aſſaſſinate the members of the Convention.	The deputies procured the aſſaſſination of Marat and Le Pelletier.
He wiſhed to deſtroy Paris.	The deputies did all in their power to produce this effect.
He wiſhed to arm all nations againſt France.	The deputies obtained a declaration of war againſt all nations.
In the intended partition of France, Mr. Pitt wiſhed to procure a part for the Duke of York or ſome other branch of his maſter's family.	Carra and Briſſot entered into a panegyric of the Dukes of York and Brunſwick, and even went ſo far as to propoſe them for Kings.
He endeavoured to deſtroy our colonies.	The deputies have produced the deſtruction of the colonies.
	Briſſot, Petion, Guadet, Genſonne, Vergniaud, Ducos, and Fonfrede, directed the meaſures relative to the colonies, which meaſures reduced them to the moſt lamentable ſituation.

Santhonax and Polverel, the guilty Commiſſioners who ravaged the colonies with fire and ſword, are their accomplices. Proofs of their corruption exiſt in the correſpondence of Raimond, their creature.

Of the numerous facts of which the faction are accuſed, ſome relate only to particular individuals: the general conſpiracy, however, is attached to all.

Upon this act of accuſation they were tried before the Revolutionary Tribunal, on the 30th day of October, 1793. When the act of accuſation was read to them in the Court, they refuſed to make any anſwer to it, unleſs Roberſpierre, Barrere, and other members of the Committee of Safety, were preſent, and interrogated: they inſiſted upon thoſe members being ſent for; which being refuſed, and they ſtill refuſing to make any anſwer, the Judge ſtated to the Jury, that from the act of accuſation it reſulted that,

I. There

I. There exiſted a conſpiracy againſt the unity and indiviſibility of the Republic, the liberty and ſafety of the French People.

II. That all the individuals denounced in the act of accuſation are guilty of this conſpiracy, as being either the authors of, or the accomplices in, it.

The Jury of the Revolutionary Tribunal, to whom theſe facts were ſubmitted, brought in their verdict at eleven o'clock at night, on the 30th of October, againſt

BRISSOT,

Vergniaud	Sillery
Genſonee	Fauchet
Duprat	Duperret
Valaze	Laſource
Lehardi	Carra
Ducos	Beauvais
Fonfrede	Mainvielle
Borleau	Antiboul
Gardien	Vigee, and
Duchatel	Lacaze,

who were declared to be the authors and accomplices of a conſpiracy which had exiſted againſt the unity and indiviſibility of the Republic,

public, and againſt the liberty and ſecurity of the French people.

The Prefident of the Revolutionary Tribunal immediately pronounced the ſentence decreed by the conſtitution:—That they ſhould ſuffer the puniſhment of death—that their execution ſhould take place on the ſubſequent day, on the *Place de la Revolution*—that their property ſhould be confiſcated, and that this ſentence ſhould be printed and poſted up throughout the whole extent of the republic.

As ſoon as the ſentence was pronounced, Valaze pulled a dagger from his pocket and ſtabbed himſelf.—The Tribunal immediately ordered that the body ſhould be conveyed on the morrow to the *Place de la Revolution*, with the other deputies.

At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, on the 31ſt, the execution took place.—The ſtreets were lined with ſoldiers, and every precaution taken to prevent the diſturbance of the public tranquillity.

Duchatel,

Duchatel, Ducos, Fonfrede, and Lehardi, preſerved a firm and undaunted air, and ſurveyed the engine of death with a compoſed and unruffled countenance.

The deportment of Briſſot was manly—he preſerved a fixed ſilence, and ſubmitted his head to the guilotine, after ſurveying ſtedfaſtly, for a few moments, the Deputies, to whom, however, he did not ſpeak.

Sillery ſaluted the people with much reſpect, and converſed a ſhort time with his confeſſor, as did Fauchet.—Laſource died in a penitential manner.—Carra, Vergniaud, Genſonne, Duperret, Gardien, Duprat, Beauvais, Mainvielle, Lecaze, Boileau, Antiboul, and Vigee, died with firmneſs, and with the exclamation of "*Vive la Republique.*"—The execution was concluded in thirty-ſeven minutes.

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INTRODUCTION,

INTRODUCTION,

By J. P. BRISSOT de Warville.

THE Court of Great-Britain had no ſooner ſigned the Treaty acknowledging the Independence of her late Colonies in North America, than her merchants and political writers ſought the means of rendering to her by commerce an equivalent for her loſſes by the war.

Lord Sheffield has predicted, in his Obſervations on the Commerce of America, "that England would always be the ſtorehouſe of the United States; that the Americans, conſtantly attracted by the excellence of her manufactures, the long experienced integrity of her merchants, and the length of credit, which they only can give, would ſoon forget the wounds which the miniſterial deſpotiſm of London, as well as the ferocity of the Engliſh and German ſatellites, had given to America, to form with it new and durable connexions *."

* Theſe are not Lord Sheffield's words. They are M. Briſſot's; and contain *his* deſcription of Lord Sheffield's *ſuppoſed* ſentiments, from a peruſal of that Nobleman's Obſervations on the Commerce of America. *Edit.*

This politician was the only one who appeared in that career; others followed it [Dr. Price, &c.]; and the debates, which the new regulations of commerce propoſed for America, produced in Parliament, prove that the matter was known, diſcuſſed, and profoundly examined.

The Engliſh nation reſembled at that time a man who, coming out of a long delirium (wherein he had broken every thing that he ought to have held moſt dear), eagerly ſtrives to repair the ravages of his inſanity.

As for us, we have triumphed, and the honour of the triumph is almoſt the only benefit we have reaped. Tranquil under the ſhade of our laurels, we ſee with indifference the relations of commerce which nanature has created between us and the *United States*; —whilſt, to uſe the language of vulgar policy, the Engliſh, of whom we are jealous as our rivals, whom we fear as our enemies, uſe the greateſt efforts to make it impoſſible for us to form new connexions with our new friends.

That the Engliſh will ſucceed, there is no doubt, if our languor be not ſoon replaced by activity; if the greateſt and moſt generous faculties, on our part, do not ſmooth this commerce new, and conſequently eaſy to be facilitated: finally, if our ignorance of the ſtate of America be not ſpeedily diſſipated by the conſtant ſtudy of her reſources of territory,

ritory, commerce, finance, &c. and affinities they may have with thoſe of their own.

Our ignorance! This word will undoubtedly ſhock,—for we have the pride of an ancient people: We think we know every thing,—have exhauſted every thing:—Yes, we have exhauſted every thing; but in what? In futile ſciences, in frivolous arts, in modes, in luxury, in the art of pleaſing women, and the relaxation of morals. We make elegant courſes of chemiſtry, charming experiments, delicious verſes, ſtrangers at home, little informed of any thing abroad: this is what we are; that is, we know every thing, *except that which is proper for us to know* *.

It would be opening a vaſt field to ſhew what is proper for us to know, therefore I will not undertake it. I confine myſelf to a ſingle point: I ſay that it concerns us eſſentially to have a thorough knowledge of the ſtate of America, and that, never-

* This aſſertion will perhaps appear ſevere and falſe, even to perſons who think that we excel in phyſics and the exact ſciences. But in granting this, is it theſe kinds of ſciences to which a man who reflects ought at firſt to give himſelf up? Does not the ſtudy of his ſocial and civil ſtate more nearly concern him? Ought not this to intereſt him more than the number of ſtars, or the order of chymical affinities?—It is, however, the ſcience of which we think the leaſt. We are paſſionately fond of poetry: we diſpute ſeriouſly about muſic; that is, we have a great conſideration for playthings, and make a plaything of our affairs.

theleſs, we have ſcarcely begun the alphabet which leads to it. What I advance has been ſaid before by Mr. Paine, a free American, and who has not a little contributed, by his patriotic writings, to ſpread, ſupport, and exalt, among his fellow countrymen, the enthuſiaſm of liberty. I will remark, ſays he, in his judicious letter to the Abbé Raynal, *that I have not yet ſeen a deſcription, given in Europe, of America, of which the fidelity can be relied on.*

In France, I ſay it with ſorrow, the ſcience of commerce is almoſt unknown, becauſe its practice has long been diſhonoured by prejudice; which prevents the gentry from thinking of it. This prejudice, which is improperly thought indeſtructible, becauſe the nobility are improperly thought one of the neceſſary elements of a monarchical conſtitution; this would alone be capable of preventing French commerce from having activity, energy, and dignity, were it not to be hoped, that ſound philoſophy, in deſtroying it inſenſibly, *would bring men to the* great idea *of eſtimating individuals by their talents, and not by their birth:* without this idea there can be no great national commerce, but ariſtocratical men will abound; that is, men incapable of conceiving any elevated view; and men contemptible, not in a ſtate to produce them.

Finally, another prejudice, quite as abſurd, which has been combated a thouſand times, and is always predominant,

predominant in France, withholds from the eyes of the public precious memoirs, and intereſting diſcuſſions, which would inform France of her intereſts.

Who is ignorant that it is to the freedom of debate and public diſcuſſion that England owes the ſingular proſperity which, till lately, has followed her every where, in commerce, in arts, in manufactures, as well abroad as at home? a proſperity which ſhe may enjoy in ſpite of the faults of her miniſters; for none but theſe have ever endangered it: and it is to the freedom of debate that ſhe has often owed her ſalvation from ruin. Who doubts that this liberty would not produce the ſame happy effects in France; —that it would not deſtroy falſe appearances;—that it would not prevent the deſtructive enterprizes of perſonal intereſt;—that it would not alarm miſchievous indulgence, or the coalition of people in place with the enemies of the public welfare? Government ſeems at preſent to do homage to this influence of the freedom of diſcuſſion. At length, it appears to relax of its ſeverity in the laws of the preſs; it has ſuffered ſome ſhackles, which reſtrained diſcuſſion, to be broken, eſpecially in political matters. But how far are we ſtill from feeling the happy effects of the liberty of the preſs, rather granted to public opinion, than encouraged by a real love of truth.

By what fatality are energetic diſcourſes of truth ineffectual? This ought to be pointed out; go-

vernment itſelf invites us to do it; the abuſes which render information uſeleſs in France, ought to be laid open.

It is becauſe the liberty of thinking and writing on political matters is but of recent date.

Becauſe the liberty of the preſs is environed with many diſguſting circumſtances; and that an honeſt man who diſdains libels, but loves frankneſs, is driven from the preſs by all thoſe humiliating formalities which ſubject the fruit of his meditation and reſearches to a cenſure neceſſarily ariſing from ignorance.

It is becauſe the cenſor, inſtituted to check the elevation of a generous liberty, thinks to flatter authority, by even exceeding the end propoſed; ſuppreſſes truths, which would frequently have been received; for fear of letting too bold ones eſcape, with which he would have been reproached, multiplies objections, gives birth to fears, magnifies dangers, and thus diſcourages the man of probity, who would have enlightened his fellow citizens; whilſt this cenſor ſanctions ſcandalous productions, wherein reaſon is ſacrificed to ſarcaſms, and ſevere morality to amiable vices *.

It

* We may put in the rank of theſe productions which diſhonour the cenſorſhip, the comedy of Figaro, a ſcandalous farce, wherein, under

It is becauſe there are but few writers virtuous enough, ſufficiently organiſed, or in proper ſituations to combat and ſurmount theſe obſtacles.

Becauſe theſe writers, few in number, have but little influence; abuſes weakly attacked and ſtrongly defended, reſiſt every thing which is oppoſed to them.

Becauſe the neceſſity of getting works printed in foreign preſſes, renders the publication difficult; but few of them eſcape from the hands of greedy hawkers, who monopolize the ſale, to ſell at a dearer price, who poſt the myſtery, and a falſe rarity, to ſell dear for a longer time.

Becauſe theſe books are wanting in the moment when they would excite a happy fermentation, and direct it properly, in giving true principles.

Becauſe they fall but ſucceſſively into the hands of

under the appearance of defending morality, it is turned into ridicule; and wherein great truths are diſparaged by the contemptible dialogiſt who preſents them; wherein the end ſeems to have been to parody the greateſt writers of the age, in giving their language to a raſcally valet, and to encourage oppreſſion, in bringing the people to laugh at their degradation, and to applaud themſelves for this mad laughter: finally, in giving, by culpable impoſture, to the whole nation, that character of negligence and levity which belongs only to her capital.

well-informed men, who are but few in number, in the ſearch of new truths.

Becauſe the Journaliſts, who ought to render them a public homage, are obliged, through fear, to keep ſilence.

Becauſe the general maſs, abandoned to the torrent of frivolous literature, loſes the pleaſure of meditation, and with it the love of profound truths.

Finally, becauſe truth is by this fatal concurrence of circumſtances never ſown in a favourable ſoil, nor in a proper manner; that it is often ſtifled in its birth; and if it ſurvives all adverſe manœuvres, it gathers ſtrength but ſlowly, and with difficulty; conſequently its effects are too circumſcribed for inſtruction to become popular and national.

Let government remove all theſe obſtacles; let it have the courage, or rather the ſound policy, to render to the preſs its liberty, and good works, ſuch as are really uſeful, will have more ſucceſs; from which there will reſult much benefit.

Does it wiſh for an example? I will quote one, which is recent and well known: the law-ſuit of the monopoliſing merchants againſt the coloniſts of the ſugar iſlands. Would not the laſt have, according to cuſtom, been cruſhed, if the diſpute had been carried

carried on in obſcurity? They had the liberty of ſpeech, of writing, and of printing; the public voice was raiſed in their favour, truth was triumphant; and the wiſe miniſter, who had permitted a public diſcuſſion that he might gain information, pronounced for humanity in pronouncing in their favour.

Let us hope that this example will be followed; that government will more and more perceive the immenſe advantages which reſult from the liberty of the preſs. There is one which, above all others, ought to induce it to accelerate this liberty, becauſe it nearly regards the intereſt of the preſent moment: this liberty is a powerful means to eſtabliſh, fortify, and maintain public credit, which is become, more than ever, neceſſary to great nations, ſince they have ſtood in need of loans. As long as the attempts of perſonal intereſt are feared by the obſcurity which covers them, public credit is never firmly eſtabliſhed, nor does it riſe to its true height. It is no longer calculated upon the intrinſic ſtrength of its reſources, but upon the probability, upon the fear of the diſorder, which may either divert them from their real employ, or render them ſterile. The liberty of the preſs keeps perſonal intereſt too much in awe not to fetter its meaſures; and then public credit ſupports itſelf if it be eſtabliſhed, is formed if it be ſtill to be conſtituted, and fortifies itſelf if it has been weakened by error.

Full

Full of theſe ideas, as well as the love of my country, and ſurmounting the obſtacles to the liberty of printing, I have undertaken to throw ſome light upon our commercial affinities with the United States. This object is of the greateſt importance: the queſtion is, to develope the immenſe advantages which France may reap from the revolution which ſhe has ſo powerfully favoured, and to indicate the means of extending and conſolidating them.

It appears to me that all the importance of this revolution has not been perceived; that it has not been ſufficiently conſidered by men of underſtanding. Let it, therefore, be permitted me to conſider it at preſent.

I will not go into a detail of the advantages which the United States muſt reap from the revolution, which aſſures them liberty. I will not ſpeak of that regeneration of the phyſical and moral man, which muſt be an infallible conſequence of their conſtitutions; of that perfection to which free America, left to its energy, without other bounds but its own faculties, muſt one day carry the arts and ſciences. America enjoys already the right of free debate, and it cannot be too often repeated, that without this debate, perfection is but a mere chimera. In truth, almoſt every thing is yet to be done in the United States, but almoſt every thing is there underſtood: the general good is the common end of every individual,—this end cheriſhed, implanted, ſo to ſpeak, by

by the conſtitution in every heart. With this end, this intelligence, and this liberty, the greateſt miracles muſt be performed.

I will not ſpeak of the advantages which all America muſt one day reap from this revolution; nor of the impoſſibility that abſurd deſpotiſm ſhould reign for a long time in the neighbourhood of liberty.—I will confine myſelf to the examination of what advantages Europe, and France in particular, may draw from this change.—There are two, which are particularly ſtriking: the firſt, and greateſt of the revolution, at leaſt in the eyes of philoſophy, is that of its ſalutary influence on human knowledge, and on the reform of local prejudices; for this war has occaſioned diſcuſſions important to public happineſs,—the diſcuſſion of the ſocial compact,—of civil liberty,—of the means which can render a people independent,—of the circumſtances which give ſanction to its inſurrection, and make it legal,—and which give this people a place among the powers of the earth.

What good has not reſulted from the repeated deſcription of the Engliſh conſtitution, and of its effects? What good has not reſulted from the codes of Maſſachuſetts and New York, publiſhed and ſpread every where? And what benefits will they ſtill produce? They will not be wholly taken for a model; but deſpotiſm will pay a greater reſpect, either

either from neceſſity or reaſon, to the rights of men, which are ſo well known and eſtabliſhed. Enlightened by this revolution, the governments of Europe will be inſenſibly obliged to reform their abuſes, and to diminiſh their burdens, in the juſt apprehenſion that their ſubjects, tired of bearing the weight, will take refuge in the aſylum offered to them by the United States.

This revolution, favourable to the people, which is preparing in the cabinets of Europe, will be undoubtedly accelerated, by that which its commerce will experience, and which we owe to the enfranchiſement of America. The war, which procured it to her, has made known the influence of commerce on power, the neceſſity of public credit, and conſequently of public virtue, without which it cannot long ſubſiſt: what raiſed the Engliſh to that height of power, from whence, in ſpite of the faults of their Miniſters, Generals, and Negociators, they braved, for ſo many years, the force of the moſt powerful nations? Their commerce, and their credit; which, loaded as they were with an enormous debt, put them in a ſtate to uſe all the efforts which nations, the moſt rich by their ſoil and population, could not have done in a like caſe.

Theſe are the advantages which France, the world, and humanity, owe to the American Revolution; and when we conſider them, and add thoſe we are obliged

obliged to let remain in obſcurity, we are far from regretting the expences they occaſioned us.

Were any thing to be regretted, ought not it to vaniſh at the appearance of the new and immenſe commerce which this revolution opens to the French? This is the moſt important point at preſent for us,—that on which we have the leaſt information, which conſequently makes it more neceſſary to gain all we can upon the ſubject; and ſuch is the object of this work.

In what more favourable moment could it appear, when every nation is in a ferment to extend its commerce, ſeeks new information and ſure principles? The mind is inceſſantly recalled in this book to the *nature of things*, the firſt principle of commerce.—At a time when people, which an ancient rivality, an antipathy, ſo falſely and unhappily called natural, kept at a diſtance one from the other, are inclined to approach each other, and to extinguiſh in the connexions of commerce the fire of diſcord; this work ſhews that theſe rivalities muſt be effaced by the immenſity of the career which is opened to all.—At a time when all the parts of univerſal policy are enlightened by the flambeau of philoſophy, even in governments which have hitherto profeſſed to be afraid of it, the author of this work has let ſlip no opportunity of attacking falſe notions and abuſes of every kind.

Never

Never was there a moment more favourable for publiſhing uſeful truths. Every nation does not only do homage to commerce, as to the vivifying ſpirit of ſociety; but they employ in the examination of all theſe connexions and affinities,—that logic of facts, whoſe uſe characterizes the end of the preſent century,—that art truly philoſophical, of conſidering objects in their nature, and in their neceſſary conſequences:—never had well-informed men more contempt for thoſe chimerical ſyſtems ſolely founded upon the fancies of pride, upon the little conceptions of vanity, and upon the preſumption of the falſe political ſcience, which has too long balanced the deſtiny of States. Never were ſo many men ſeen united by the ſame deſire of an univerſal peace, and by the conviction of the misfortune and inutility of hateful rivalities. At length it appears, that men perceive that the field of induſtry is infinite; that it is open to every ſtate, whatever may be its abſolute or relative poſitions; that all ſtates may thrive in it, provided that in each of them the ſupport of individual liberty, and the preſervation of property, be the principal end of legiſlation.

This work ſtill concurs with the patriotic views which the Sovereign of France manifeſts at preſent: he meditates important reformations. He directs them towards the happineſs of the people; and conſults the moſt reſpectable members of this people, whom he wiſhes to render happy, upon the means of

inſuring

inſuring the ſucceſs of his good intentions. Therefore, could there be a more propitious moment, to offer to the preſent arbitrators of the national proſperity, a work written with deliberation, on the means of eſtabliſhing a new commerce with a new people, who unites to an extenſive ſoil, and proper to nouriſh an immenſe population, laws which are the moſt favourable to its rapid increaſe ?

At firſt I had alone undertaken this work, depending on my own ſtrength and laborious reſearches: I had collected all the facts,—all the books,—all the proofs which could be certain guides to my ſteps; but I ſoon perceived the impoſſibility of raiſing upon objects of commerce a ſolid and uſeful theory, if it were not directed by the ſkill which practice only can give, and poſſeſſed by a man whoſe judgment had been long exerciſed by reflection, and whoſe decided love of truth and the public welfare, had accuſtomed to generalize his ideas. I found this man, this co-operator, of whoſe aſſiſtance I ſtood in need, in a republican; to whom I am united by a ſimilarity of ideas, as well as by the moſt tender attachment. I have permiſſion to name him,—he conſents to it: I have conquered his modeſty by the conſideration of his intereſt, and of the law which the particular circumſtances of his ſituation impoſes on him: I have perſuaded him, that the beſt means of deſtroying calumny was to make known his principles and opinions on public matters.

It

It is M. Claviere, a Geneveſe, exiled without any form from his country, by the military ariſtocracy; which has ſubſtituted its illegal and deſtructive regimen to the reaſonable and legitimate influence of a people, diſtinguiſhed by their natural good underſtanding, their knowledge, and their more ſimple manners. What was his crime? That of having defended the rights of theſe people, with a firmneſs and ability, which the implacable hatred of his enemies atteſt! This part does too much honour to my friend, not to confine myſelf to deſcribe him in this character, the only one which has ever been productive of public good.

M. Claviere has, during his abode in France, given proofs of his knowledge in the philoſophical and political part of commerce. It is to his abode among us that the public is indebted for ſome uſeful works on theſe abſtract matters; works, as remarkable for their ſolidity of principle and truth of diſcuſſion, as for the clearneſs and preciſion of ideas; works, whoſe ſucceſs proves that minds may be led to the contemplation of theſe matters, by ſubſtituting an exact and clear analyſis to the metaphyſical and obſcure jargon which reſtrained them from it.

Finally, the preſent work will prove at once the extent of his knowledge, and that of the ſincere philanthropy which animates him, even for the good of a country, where a man leſs generous would ſee nothing

nothing, perhaps, but the origin and cauſe of his misfortunes. Oh! how happy am I, to have it in my power to defend my friend againſt cowardly calumniators, in putting him under the ſafeguard of his own talents and virtues? And is it not a ſacred duty for me, as the calumny is public, to publiſh the part he has taken in this work, wherein it is impoſſible not to diſcover the honeſt man, in the man enlightened? The friend of mankind in the propagation of the wiſeſt maxims? In the thinking philoſopher, accuſtomed to a ſevere logic, to purſue the intereſts of public good, whenever the light of truth can clear up ſome of its aſpects? This is not a vague eulogium; people will be convinced of it in reading the two chapters which concern the principles of commerce; a great number of notes in which he has had a part, and eſpecially the article of tobacco, which is entirely his own. In general, he will be known in thoſe new conſiderations which the commercial man of reflection only can ſuggeſt to the philoſophical politician.

The ſame motive has guided us both in the compoſition and publication of this work. It was the deſire of being uſeful to France, to Free America, to Humanity; for nothing which paſſes in the United States, neither ought to, nor can in future, be indifferent to humanity. America has revenged it by her revolution: ſhe ought to enlighten it by her le-

giſlation, and become a perpetual leſſon to all governments, as a conſolation to individuals.

It remains to me now to ſpeak of the ſources to which we have had recourſe, in the order of this work, &c. &c.

We have joined the information of intelligent perſons, whoſe abode in America has given them an opportunity of gaining information, to that with which the public papers, the acts of Congreſs, of different legiſlatures, and the different works publiſhed in the United States, have furniſhed us. Therefore credit may be given to all the facts which we advance.

In aſſociating our ideas, we have ſtriven to give them an uniformity: we have, above every thing, endeavoured to expreſs them with that clearneſs which is ſo difficult to introduce into matters of commerce and finance. The poverty of our language, and the ſingularity of new circumſtances which we had to deſcribe, has ſometimes led us to what is called neology. We muſt create what we have not, and of which we ſtand in need, without giving ourſelves any trouble about thoſe grammarians, but triflingly philoſophical, whom Cicero deſcribes thus in his time: *Controverſies about words torment theſe little Greeks, more deſirous of contention than of truth* *.

* *Verbi controverſia torquet Græculos homines contentionis cupidiores quam veritatis.*

We

We have carefully avoided certain words much uſed in vulgar politics, and which give and perpetuate falſe ideas and deceitful ſyſtems. Such are theſe expreſſions; *powers fill the firſt character*, *have the firſt rank*, the balance of *trade*, *the political balance of Europe*, &c. Theſe words, which ſtir up hatred and jealouſy, are only proper to feed petulant ambition, and, if I may uſe the expreſſion, to put the *policy* of *diſturbance* in the place of that happineſs. Miniſters, wearied of theſe words and ideas, will attach a greater price to real glory,—that of making the people happy.

Many notes will be found in this work; we thought it neceſſary to give this form to all the ideas, which, thrown into the text, might have obſcured the principal one.

A note relaxes the mind, in ſuſpending the chain of the principal thoughts; it excites curioſity, in announcing a new point of view; it forces the reader to a certain degree of attention, in obliging him to attach the note to the text, to reap any advantage from his reading.

We have in theſe notes indicated, as often as it has been poſſible, the ideas of reform which may be uſeful to France. We have frequently quoted the Engliſh nation and government. Let not our readers be ſurpriſed at it. It is this nation which has made moſt progreſs in the practice of ſome good principles

of political economy. To what nation in Europe can we better compare France? If a rivality ought to exiſt between them, is it not in that which is good? Ought not we from that moment to know all the good meaſures taken in England? Ought people to be diſpleaſed with us for mentioning theſe meaſures? The example of thoſe who have already quoted England has encouraged us. They have naturalized in France, happy inſtitutions, imitated from her rival.

If our criticiſm appears ſometimes roughly expreſſed, our readers will be ſo good as to conſider, that friends to public welfare can but with difficulty refrain from being moved by the aſpect of certain abuſes, and from ſuffering the ſentiment of indignation which it excites in them to break forth.

Notwithſtanding the numerous precautions we have taken to come at truth; notwithſtanding the extreme attention we have given to this work, errors will undoubtedly be found in ſome of the ſtatements, and perhaps in the reaſonings. Whether they be publicly diſcuſſed, or that we are privately informed of them, we ſhall ſee theſe refutations with pleaſure; we ſhall joyfully receive theſe obſervations, and if they be well founded, we ſhall be eager to retract. This is but a ſimple eſſay on an important ſubject. It may become a good work by the aid of a concourſe of lights.

PARIS, April 1, 1787.

THE

COMMERCE, &c.

CHAP. I.

OF EXTERNAL COMMERCE; THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH LEAD TO IT, AND THE MEANS OF ASSURING IT TO A NATION.

COMMERCE ſignifies an exchange of productions, either by barter, or by repreſentative ſigns of their value.

External commerce is that carried on between two or more nations. It ſuppoſes in them mutual wants, and a ſurplus of productions correſpondent thereto.

Nations, which nature or the force of things invites to a commercial intercourſe, are thoſe which have that correſpondence of wants, and ſurplus of productions.

This familiarity enables them to trade together, directly or indirectly; a direct commerce is that which exiſts between two nations, without the intervention of a third.

Commerce is indirect when one nation trades with another by way of a third. This is the caſe of ſtates which have no ſea-ports, and yet wiſh to exchange their productions for thoſe of the Indies.

That nation, which having it in its power to carry on a direct commerce with another, yet makes uſe of an intermediate one, is neceſſarily obliged to divide its profits. However, this diſadvantage may ſometimes be compenſated by other conſiderations.

Such, for inſtance, is the caſe of a nation which, in want of huſbandmen and manufacturers, prefers that ſtrangers ſhould themſelves come in ſearch of its ſuperfluities, and bring in exchange thoſe of others: its wants of population impoſes this law, and whilſt theſe conſiderations exiſt, it is both morally and phyſically better, that its inhabitants ſhould be employed in cultivation, than become carriers of their own national productions, or of thoſe of others.

It is impoſſible that nations which already have communications with each other, ſhould be ignorant of their mutual productions. Hence ariſes the deſire of acquiring them in thoſe where they do not exiſt. Hence direct or indirect commerce, which is conſequently the inevitable reſult of the ſtate of things.

From

From the ſame principle, it is the intereſt of each nation to render its exterior commerce direct as ſoon as poſſible, without doing an injury to its interior trade.

Direct importations, not being ſubject to the expences and commiſſions of agents, procure things at a cheaper rate.

A moderate price is the ſureſt means of obtaining an exterior commerce, the beſt reaſon for preference and the guarantee of its continuation *.

The

* It is vulgarly ſaid that a thing is dear when once it is above the accuſtomed price; and it is eſteemed cheap the moment that price is diminiſhed.

By this it ſeems that the dearneſs of a thing is the compariſon of its ſtated, with its uſual price. The laſt is determined by five principal circumſtances. 1ſt. The coſt of the raw material. 2d. That of the workmanſhip. 3d. The want the conſumer has of the thing. 4th. The means he has of paying for it. 5th. The proportion of its quantity with the demand there is for it. Theſe circumſtances increaſe or diminiſh the profit of the ſeller; ſometimes indeed they may prevent him from gaining at all. Circumſtances which influence the moſt are ſcarcity and abundance, expreſſions by which the proportion between the want and the quantity of productions are deſignated.

If there be a ſurplus of them, they are naturally ſold at a low price. Whence it appears, that nations having great quantities of raw materials, various manufactures and a numerous population, are more particularly invited to an exterior and

The country which can produce and ſell a thing at the cheapeſt rate, is that which unites the favourable advantages of that production, whether it be with reſpect to its quality, manufacture, or its low rate of carriage.

The advantages which render commodities and raw materials cheap, are a fertile ſoil, eaſy of cultivation, climate favourable to the production, a government which encourages induſtry, and facilitates carriage by the conſtruction of public roads and navigable canals: finally, a population not too numerous relative to the extent of country which offers itſelf to be cultivated *.

The

continued commerce, becauſe they have it in their power to carry it on upon better terms.

An article may be ſold at a low price, and enrich him who furniſhes it; as it may be ſold dear, and ruin the ſeller. This depends upon the relation there is between its value and the means of its production. Every nation diſpoſed to exterior commerce in whatſoever article it may be, ought therefore to conſider two things, the price at which it can afford ſuch an article, and that at which it is ſold by rival nations: if it cannot equal the laſt, it ought to abandon that part of its trade.

* The ſituation of the United States proves the laſt aſſertion, which may at firſt ſight appear paradoxical; things are cheap there, becauſe population is not in proportion to the extent of lands to be cultivated. In a good ſoil, a man may, by his labour, eaſily ſupply the conſumption of ten men, or even more.

The ſame circumſtances are ſtill more favourable to the manufacture of things common, ſimple, or little charged with faſhion, if the raw material be a natural production of the country, in plenty, and eaſy to be worked up; becauſe theſe manufactures require but few hands, or are carried on at that leiſure which agriculture affords. Nothing can equal the cheapneſs of this workmanſhip, and in general no induſtry is more lucrative, or better ſupported on eaſy terms, than that which is employed in the intervals of repoſe from cultivation; in that caſe cheapneſs is neither the product nor the ſign of miſery in the manufacturer: it is, on the contrary, the proof and conſequence of his eaſy circumſtances *.

The moſt neceſſary conditions for manufacturing, at a cheap rate, articles complicated, or extremely fine and perfect, or which require the

more. Theſe ten men may therefore be employed for exterior conſumption.

* Switzerland, and certain parts of Germany, offer a ſtriking example of this fact. Merchandiſe is fabricated there, at a lower rate than in any other country of Europe, by means of this employment of leiſure hours, and is capable of being tranſported to diſtant countries, without loſing its original advantage; even acroſs great ſtates, where nature, left to her own energy, would be ſtill more favourable to the ſame manufactures.

union

union of ſeveral kinds of workmanſhip, are a conſtant and aſſiduous application, and a numerous population; one half of which muſt be at a diſtance from the labours of the field, and applied to manufacture alone.

Theſe manufactures ought, according to natural order, to be the productions of an exceſs of population only, which cannot give its induſtry to agriculture or ſimple manufactures; but in general they are the reſult of the gathering together of the poor and wretched in great cities *.

Theſe

* Theſe manufactures are crowded with individuals, who having no property, or hope of conſtant employ in the country, or who are reduced by the allurements of gain and luxury, run into cities, and ſoon become obliged to ſell their induſtry at a mean price, proportioned to the number of thoſe who are in want of employ. When cheapneſs of workmanſhip comes from this afflicting concurrence of the want of money in men without employ, it is not a ſign of proſperity. On the contrary, it is the reſult and proof of a bad ſocial organization, of too unequal a diviſion of property, and conſequently of an unjuſt diſtribution of neceſſary employments, which compels induſtry to change, from the fabrication of what is neceſſary and uſeful, to that which is fantaſtic, forced, and pernicious. Hence it follows that wretchedneſs in any country is in proportion to this cheapneſs of workmanſhip.

It is equally evident from theſe reaſonings, that new and well conſtituted ſtates ought not to deſire manufactures produced

Theſe manufactures cannot furniſh their productions but with difficulty and uncertainty for exterior commerce, when they are eſtabliſhed and ſupported merely by forced means, ſuch as prohibitions, excluſive privileges, &c. by which natural obſtacles, not to be deſtroyed, are pretended to be combated. Countries exempt from them prevail in the end, and obtain a preference.

It ſometimes happens, that obſtacles cauſed to manfactures by dearneſs of proviſions, burthenſome impoſts, diſtance from the raw material, and unſkilfulneſs, or ſmall number of hands, are ſurmounted by ingenuity, or the uſe of machines; which make the work of one man equal to that of many, and render a manufacture capable of ſupporting the commerce of populous countries, where ſuch manœuvres and machines are not made uſe of, or known.

But theſe means are precarious, and ſooner

produced by things ſo badly arranged: they ought not to be anxious about them till the rate of population and exceſs of uſeful labour naturally incline induſtry to apply itſelf to improve and carry them on. Theſe reaſonings againſt low priced workmanſhip do not hinder us from agreeing, that there is a real advantage in the means of exterior commerce; and that in the actual ſtate of things manufacturing and commercial nations may perhaps be obliged to ſeek for it, although it does not compenſate the interior evil by which it is produced.

or later give way to a more happy ſituation, where climate, ſoil, and government eſpecially, concur in favouring, without effort, all the activity and induſtry of which men are ſuſceptible *.

Thus, in the final analyſis, the power of furniſhing at a low price belongs inconteſtably to countries ſo favoured, and they will obtain in all markets a ſure preference to thoſe to which nature has been leſs kind, let their induſtry be ever ſo great, becauſe the ſame induſtry may always be added to natural advantages.

Exterior commerce, more than any other, is intimidated by ſhackles, cuſtoms, viſits, chicaneries, and proceſſes; by the manner of deciding them, and the ſolicitations and delays they bring on.

The ſtate which would favour ſuch a commerce ſhould, in the firſt place, deſtroy all theſe obſtacles. It is more to its intereſt ſo to do, as from exterior commerce reſults an augmentation of the national revenue.

All things equal, relative to the price of mer-

* *Favouring*, in political economy, ſignifies, for the moſt part, not to ſhackle induſtry with too many regulations; however favourable certain of theſe may be, they reſtrain it in ſome reſpect or other. Trade is never better encouraged than when left to itſelf.

chandiſe,

chandiſe, and to the facilities with which direct exterior commerce can be carried on, it is more readily eſtabliſhed between two nations which have a ſimilary of political and religious principles *, manners, cuſtoms, and eſpecially of language: theſe deciſive means of connexion cannot be combated but by evident advantages from which there reſults leſs expence and more profit. Commercial people generally place profit at the head of every thing.

Nations not having theſe affinities between them, ought, in order to compenſate for their deficiency, to give great encouragements, and tolerate to the utmoſt degree the religious and political opinions of ſtrangers, as well as their manners and cuſtoms.

To obtain the preference in exterior commerce, neither treaties, regulations, nor force muſt be depended upon. Force has but a mo-

* Religious conſiderations had formerly a conſiderable influence on civiliſed men, and on commerce. The Catholic fled from the Proteſtant, the Puritan ſuſpected the Quaker. A reciprocal hatred reigned between the ſects. To day, mankind being more enlightened, all ſects connected by commerce, and experience having ſhewn that probity has almoſt always been independent of religion, it is no more required to know whether a man goes to the temple, or to confeſſion—It is aſked if he fulfils his engagements with honour. Yet this relation muſt ſtill be counted among commercial connexions.

mentary

mentary effect. It deſtroys even that which it means to protect. Treaties and regulations are uſeleſs if the intereſts of two nations do not invite them to a mutual intercourſe. They are ineffectual if that attraction does not exiſt. Treaties, regulations, force, all yield to the impulſe or nature of things*.

This force of things in commerce, is but the reſult of the circumſtances in which two nations are which attract one towards the other, and oblige them to enter into an alliance, rather

* *Force of things.* The political law which governs all, in politics as in phyſics. There is a general force whoſe action is manifeſt, which, in ſpite of wars, treaties, and the manœuvres of cabinets, governs all events, and carries away men and nations in its courſe. It is this force of things which overturned the Roman empire, when it ſtood upon a baſis diſproportioned to its maſs; which in the 14th century took from the Engliſh one half of France, and in the 18th, has taken from them half of the new world;—which delivered Holland from the yoke of Spain, and Sweden from that of Denmark. It is this force which deſtroyed the projects of ſuch conquerors as Charlemagne, Zengis, and Nadir. They ran from place to place; they deſtroyed mankind to build empires. Theſe empires died with them. This force acts upon commerce as upon revolutions. It is that which, by the diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope, bereaved the Venetians of their trade to the Indies, and made it paſs over ſucceſſively to the Portugueſe, the Dutch, the Engliſh, and the French. Finally, it is the force of things which will decide the great queſtion of the commerce of America.

than with any other nation. Theſe terminate in their mutual intereſt: it is therefore neceſſary, in order to create a perpetual commerce between two countries, to give each of them a preponderating intereſt ſo to do.

CHAP. II.

OF EXTERNAL COMMERCE, CONSIDERED IN ITS MEANS OF EXCHANGE, AND ITS BALANCE.

WE are deceived in believing that commerce cannot be eſtabliſhed between two nations without gold or ſilver to balance their accounts. It will be intereſting to enter into ſome detail on this head, on account of the deficiency of coin in the United States, and the neceſſity of reducing themſelves to the commerce of exchange, being the two principal objections ignorantly brought againſt a trade with them *.

It

* The ſcarcity of money in the United States of America has been greatly exaggerated in France. It muſt be ſcarce in all new ſtates, where nothing ſhackles induſtry, where ſo many things

It has been frequently aſſerted that the balance will be againſt them; that they can only offer an exchange in merchandiſe. It is therefore neceſſary to prove that this great word, balance, is inſignificant; that a great commerce may be carried on without money, and that one of exchange is the moſt advantageous of any.

When a nation pays with money the whole, or the balance of its importations, it is ſaid the balance of trade is againſt it, by which a diſadvantageous idea of its poſition is meant to be given. This is a prejudice eaſy to be overturn-

things are to be created, and where, in every quarter, there are ſuch quantities of lands to be cleared. In order that money ſhould be plenty in this ſtate of creation, mines would be neceſſary; and at the ſame time a want of hands, and induſtry clogged with impediments, circumſtances much more unfavourable to foreign commerce than the ſcarcity of money in an active and induſtrious country. One fact ſeems to prove to us, that in independent America, money is found in the moſt deſirable proportion to population, at leaſt by taking Europe for the term of compariſon. Contracts eſteemed good, and of which the intereſt is regularly paid, are ſold there at the rate of ſix per cent. per annum. Yet the clearing of lands muſt produce a much greater benefit; why then is not all the money ſwallowed up? why remains there enough of it to fulfil theſe contracts, which produce no more than five or ſix per cent? Is it not becauſe money is not ſo ſcarce there as people in France imagine?—where the actual ſtate of the Americans is confounded with the diſtreſs in which they were when they combated for their liberty.

ed, although entertained by men celebrated for their knowledge.

In effect, whence comes to this country the gold it pays? It is either from its mines, and in that caſe it pays with one of its own productions; or it owes it to artificers who exerciſe their functions in a foreign country, and even then it pays with a production which originates within its dominions. As long as a nation pays another, directly or indirectly, with its own productions, its poſition cannot be diſadvantageous. Therefore, the unfavourable word balance, thus attached to the balance of an account paid in money, offers no exact and nice idea of the favourable or unfavourable ſtate of a nation.

Gold is alſo a merchandiſe, and it may be convenient to one nation, according to its relations or connexions with another, to pay with money, without its having, for that reaſon, an unfavourable balance againſt it.

There is but one caſe wherein the balance againſt a nation can be declared; it is, that when having exhauſted its money and treaſures, it remains debtor to another nation. But things could not remain long in this ſtate; ſo wretched a ſoil, unequal to the conſumption and exchange of its inhabitants, would ſoon be abandoned; this, however, cannot happen. Impor-

tation preſently becomes in proportion to exportation; an equilibrium is eſtabliſhed, and the pretended unfavourable balance has not duration enough to give a right of ſuppoſing even its exiſtence.

There is as little truth and juſtice in ſaying a nation has the balance of trade in its favour, when it receives in money balances due to it upon the amount of its exportations. This balance, exiſting for a certain time, would heap up ſpecie in the country, and at length render it very miſerable. This has never been the caſe, yet it would have happened if this ſyſtem had the leaſt foundation.

The circulation of money depends on too many cauſes, to deduce from its abundance a certain ſign of a favourable commercial balance; a thouſand combinations and events, which have no relation to that balance, draw money from abroad or ſend it there; and in general, continued and various motions of commerce, the tables of exportation and importation, according to which the ſign of a favourable or unfavourable balance is regulated, are too uncertain and defective for the purpoſe, as well as for forming a judgment of the quantities of coin or riches of a nation *.

Let

* I will give a ſtriking example of the deficiency of theſe calculations,

Let the tables for comparing the exportation and importation of raw materials, and of manufactured articles, be encreaſed to what they may; let

calculations, of the eſtimation of a balance of trade and of the quantity of money. This example will prove that political calculators neglect, or are ignorant of foreign events which overturn their calculations.

M. Neckar wiſhed to inform himſelf (Chap. IX. Vol. 3d, of his Treatiſe on the Adminiſtration of Finance) what was the ſum brought to and preſerved in Europe from 1763 to 1777. He eſtimates it at one thouſand eight hundred and fifty millions of livres, according to the regiſter of Liſbon and Cadiz, comprehending that even which entered by contraband, and he values at 300 millions of livres that which went out of Europe during the ſame interval.

It will only be neceſſary to quote two or three authenticated facts, to prove the inſufficiency of this calculation founded upon the regiſters of Cuſtom-houſes.

In ſtating the ſum of money entered into Europe, it does not appear that M. Neckar takes account of the gold and ſilver, which the conqueſt and poſſeſſion of Bengal by the Engliſh, and their eſtabliſhments in the Eaſt-Indies, have cauſed to paſs into this quarter of the world. But according to the calculation of the ſecret committee, appointed by the Parliament of England, to examine the ſtate of Engliſh poſſeſſions in India, the ſums drawn from Bengal from 1757 to 1771, amount to 751,500,000 livres[a]. To what will it amount, if

[a] The detail of this calculation is given in The Deſcription of the Indies, Vol. I. page 249. It is neceſſary to take notice here of an error crept into that work, which is, that the ſum total is there given in pounds ſterling, inſtead of livres tournois.

let the greateſt care and fidelity be employed to render them perfect, the reſult will never be more certain or deciſive; for as long as prohibitory

there be added to it thoſe drawn from the Carnatic and from Oude, of which the Nabobs have the ſhadow only of the property, from the revenue of the northern Circars, from the theft committed on the Emperor of Mogul, from 1771 to the preſent day, of his twenty-ſix millions, from the perpetual increaſe of territories and revenues, from the ſale made in 1773 of the Rohillas to the Nabob of Oude, which produced to the Engliſh upwards of fifty millions [b].

Finally, what will be the amount, if there be added to it the enormous ſums exported from the Indies by individuals, who have there enriched themſelves? The fortune of Lord Clive was beyond calculation; that of Mr. Haſtings, againſt whom a proſecution is now carrying on, is calculated at thirty or forty millions. Another Governor has, according to ſeveral well-founded reports, recently paid upwards of two millions of livres to ſilence his accuſers. It is true that a part of theſe immenſe riches have been employed to defray the expences incurred by the Engliſh in guarding their poſſeſſions in India; that a more conſiderable one has been ſent into Europe under the form of merchandize; but it cannot be denied that a third part has been brought in gold and ſilver to our continent. What is the amount of it? This is impoſſible to ſtate. But whatever it may be, it renders the calculation of Mr. Neckar doubtful.—Let the inexhauſtible riches of the Indies be judged of by one fact, and conſequently the immenſe ſource from

[b] See Mackintoſh's Voyage to the Eaſt-Indies, Vol. I. page 340.

which

tory laws, which are always accompanied by illicit commerce, ſhall exiſt, it will be impoſſible

which the Europeans have drawn them, and by another conſequence, the money which muſt have come into Europe. Nadir Schah, who conquered Delly in 1740, took from India about forty millions ſterling[c]. This money was circulated in Perſia, and as that unhappy ſtate is torn by deſpotiſm and continual wars[d], produces but little, manufactures nothing, and is conſequently debtor to exterior commerce, which comes almoſt entirely into Europe, it follows that two-thirds of the ſums ſtolen from India by the freebooter Nadir, have paſſed over to the ſame quarter. Theſe events, unnoticed by political calculators, have certainly had great and univerſal influence upon the fluctuation and circulation of money. That which makes it ſuppoſed that no metals come from India, is the opinion that their importation is diſadvantageous. But have the freebooters who have pillaged that country for the laſt thirty years calculated this diſadvantage? They ſtrive to ſecure their thefts, and do not ſpeculate like merchants: bulky merchandize would betray them.

With reſpect to the ſtated ſums of money which paſs from Europe to India, there is the ſame defect in the calculations of Mr. Neckar. He takes no notice of the events which obliged the Engliſh to remit conſiderable ſums to India: for inſtance, the two wars againſt the Marrattas were prodigiouſly expenſive, that againſt Hyder Ally in 1769 was not leſs ſo. A ſingle conflagration at Calcutta coſt nearly twenty-four millions of livres, which it was neceſſary to replace, yet theſe ſums are far from balancing thoſe which are exported from India.

[c] See Mackintoſh's Voyages, Vol. I. page 341.

[d] See Mr. Capper's Voyage, at the end of that of Mackintoſh, Vol. II. page 454.

to know and ſtate exactly what comes in and goes out *; and if there be a country where no ſuch laws exiſt †, are exact regiſters of the exports and imports to be found in it? And if they were, would it not be a conſtraint which the private intereſts of merchants would frequently oblige them to avoid?

Moreover, does it appear that, in theſe general balances, which are ſuppoſed to be paid in money, notice is taken of the operation of bankers, foreign government, and thoſe who go abroad, in exporting the public ſpecie ‡. Knowledge

* This is a ſtrong objection made by the adverſaries of Lord Sheffield, to which his Lordſhip has not ſatisfactorily replied.

Nothing can be more impoſing than the tables of importation and exportation, and of the balance of trade in Great-Britain, publiſhed by Sir Charles Whitworth. Yet ſee with what facility the Count de Mirabeau reduces to twenty millions of livres tournois, the ninety millions which Sir Charles Whitworth eſtimates to be the annual balance of Engliſh commerce; and truſt after this to cuſtom houſe calculations.—See Conſiderations on the Order of Cincinnatus, in this volume.

† Such a country does exiſt. There are many States among the new Republics of America, which regiſter veſſels as they enter, becauſe duties are paid on importation; but there are none on exportation.

‡ It is very probable there are a number of particular cauſes which

ledge is deceitful which is acquired from ſuch conſequences.

But how appreciate—how eſtimate the increaſe of the riches and commerce of a nation? —By its population. If this ſenſibly augments, if eaſe and the conveniencies of life become more general, if the cauſes of indigence in an increaſing people be ſeen to diminiſh, or are confined to inability to work, occaſioned by accidental illneſſes; it is evident, that the revenues of that nation exceed its expences, and that the balance of trade is in its favour; for if the value of its exportation were inferior to that

which inſenſibly diminiſh the quantity of coin in thoſe nations which have the balance of trade conſtantly in their favour. Were no ſuch cauſes to exiſt, the conſequence will be that ſuch nations would be obliged to bury their gold and ſilver in the earth, to prevent its falling into diſuſe; yet neither of theſe caſes happen. Therefore money neceſſarily paſſes from ſuch countries to others.

M. Caſaux has proved this to be true, with reſpect to England, in his Conſiderations on *the Mechaniſm of Society*. He there explains, that if the calculations of Sir Charles Whitworth be true, England ought to poſſeſs at this moment about four hundred thouſand millions of livres in gold and ſilver, as the ſole balance of her commerce from 1700 to 1775. Yet it is certain that ſhe is far from having that enormous ſum. She has not even a ſum in proportion to her population and contingencies. She ſupplies that deficiency by an immenſe circulation of her bank-paper.

of its importation, a conſiderable debt and impoveriſhment would ſoon be the conſequences: and impoveriſhment falls immediately upon population. It is therefore by rational and well compoſed tables upon this ſubject only, that a miniſter of ſound judgment, profound and extended in his plans, will be prevailed upon to govern himſelf. It is by them he will judge of the increaſe and advantages of exterior commerce, as well as of national riches.

He will be very cautious of decorating with this title the amaſſing of gold and ſilver, and equally ſo of making it the token of riches, or of judging of their extent by the quantity of thoſe metals. All ſuch ideas are ſordid, dangerous, and falſe; ſordid, becauſe they attach to this ſign the repreſentation of productions, and conſequently the extenſion of commerce; dangerous, becauſe they accuſtom men to look upon gold as real riches, to neglect the thing for its ſhadow *, and make them ſtrangers to their

* Could gold and ſilver be preſerved from adulteration and the attempts of tyranny and ignorance, they would have a much better title to be conſidered as real riches. Gold being an univerſal agent, he who poſſeſſes it may emigrate to whereever he pleaſes, and take his gold with him. This metal is therefore every thing, with nations unhappy enough to make arbitrary

their country; falſe, becauſe that diſplay of figures announces the quantity only of money which continually diſappears; and which, when carried to a certain degree, is of no farther conſideration *,

Enquiries

arbitrary exceptions to general maxims, upon which public credit is founded. But how dearly do they pay for their ignorance of the advantages of public credit! How dearly do governments themſelves pay for their errors and outrages! All their meaſures are forced—nature is liberal in vain; inceſſantly employed in repairing evils which continually preſent themſelves, ſhe has not time enough allowed her to add to our happineſs. When it was ſaid that money had no particular country, governments were emphatically told, that it was neceſſary to do without great quantities of it: it will never be rejected till the ineſtimable advantages reſulting from a reſpect for public credit ſhall be properly known. The leſs individuals love and heap up money, the richer, more enlightened, and better governed will a nation be. To be attached to money, to hoard it up, is a ſign of an alarming criſis, of a deficiency of judgment and faith in adminiſtration; from whence comes the proof of what has been ſaid in the text, that 'a writer who extols gold as a ſign of riches, and recommends it to his fellow citizens, is deceived, or has a bad idea of their ſituation.' In the laſt caſe he would do much better, if, inſtead of preaching this pernicious doctrine, he encouraged government to give an immoveable ſtability to national credit.

* It has not yet been remarked, that thouſands of millions is a vague expreſſion, and does not furniſh a complete idea. The imagination cannot exactly conceive for ſuch a ſum an employ which would ſerve as the meaſure of its power and effect. It

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Enquiries on the quantity of coin are like thoſe on the balance of trade. To eſtabliſh both one and the other with ſome degree of certainty, it is neceſſary to aſſemble notions and details, of which the elementary principles vaniſh, or inceſſantly vary *.

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is known what could be done with twenty or an hundred millions of men, but it is not known what could be effected with an hundred thouſand millions of crowns; yet they are heaped upon paper to give an idea of power.

* In general, the maſs of gold or ſilver is divided into three principal parts.—The firſt under the form of money, ſerves for daily and unavoidable expences. Each individual, as ſoon as he is charged with the ſupport of himſelf and family, muſt have at leaſt ſome pieces of money for daily exigencies, and the payment of impoſts. To this muſt be added that ſum which is reſerved for caſualties.—This cuſtom is more or leſs obſerved in all countries, in proportion to the probability of diſaſtrous events. It is impoſſible to calculate this firſt part—It is however evident, that it ought to be in proportion to the population, and to increaſe with it; and that a decreaſe of population would ſoon take place, were many individuals totally deprived of a pecuniary contingency ſufficient to procure them ſuch neceſſaries as cannot be diſpenſed with, and which they neither make nor receive themſelves. It appears alſo, that this part of the coin remains in the country by reaſon of its continued application in little ſums to daily wants, and of the abſolute ſtagnation of that which is laid up in reſerve.

The ſecond part is deſtined, under the ſame form, to the great operations of commerce. It is equally impoſſible to fix its quantity, on account of an infinity of combinations which

continually

The proceedings in the adminiſtration of finances are more uſeful and certain; by laying aſide the pomp of falſe riches, and by conſidering gold and ſiver in a point of view relative to their

continually change and cauſe theſe metals to paſs from one country to another. Daily charges, cuſtoms, &c. retain a part; but theſe objects belong equally to our firſt diviſion.

The third part contains uncoined gold and ſilver, under whatever form they may have: it is, like the ſecond, ſubject to numbers of continual variations, which leave no ſatisfactory means of determining its quantity.

To pretend to aſcertain the quantity in the maſs, by payments of uncertain commercial balances, and by the addition of ſpecie produced from mints ſince a new coinage has taken place, is not a more certain means, becauſe it would be equally neceſſary to obſerve the continual action of commerce upon theſe metals, under all their forms, and of the combinations it produces, which ſucceſſively ariſe from one another. In thus eſtimating money it is forgotten, that it is an univerſal agent, which, by that character alone, muſt neceſſarily change its ſituation perpetually; ſince commerce has produced an affinity among men, by wants, which they have created to themſelves, of their reciprocal productions. It is equally unobſerved, that different circumſtances reduce gold to the ſtate of an ingot; that conſequently the ſame piece may paſs ſeveral times under the die in the courſe of a certain number of years. This is a reflection which M. Neckar ſeems not to have made when he ſtated the money exiſting in France at ſo conſiderable a ſum. It will be known when the recoinage of the old Louis is finiſhed, what we ought to think of his calculations. But the ſum is far ſhort of 957 millions, as eſtimated by that miniſter. It is more

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their particular properties. They ſupply our wants as means of exchange only; they are notes to the bearer, which having every where the ſame value, are every where negociable. Thus they are ambulatory; they paſs, repaſs, are accumulated or diſperſed like the waves of the ſea, continually agitated by ſucceſſive winds blowing from every point of the compaſs. To undertake to make them ſtationary, would be ſtriving to change their nature, to deprive them of that property from which they derive their value: this ridiculous enterpriſe is, notwithſtanding, a conſequence of the ſyſtem which cauſes them to be looked upon as real treaſures. Their diſappearance is dreaded, and yet their circulation is clogged, and the mind loſes ſight of the uſe of the moſt ſimple and univerſal means of creating real riches, without which metals would be uſeleſs, and conſequently of no value.

On the contrary, diſdaining vulgar opinions, and ſeeing nothing in gold and ſilver but the means of exchange, but proper agents to faci-

than probable, that it will never amount to more than two thirds of it.

At this moment, fourteen months after the arret for a new coinage, it amounts to no more than 550 millions, and every thing indicates a rapid decline.

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litate it; the mind, freed from the fear of the want of them *as riches*, conceives the idea of doing without them *as agents*, at leaſt about man's perſon *. What a vaſt field is this opened to induſtry! Theſe metals are in that caſe reſerved for the beſt uſes to which nations who obtain them from abroad can put them to. They are ſent out to ſeek materials for induſtry, new commodities, and eſpecially increaſe the number of ci-

* It is aſtoniſhing, that among ſo many travellers who have gone over the United States of America, not one of them has given a detail of the manner of exchanging ſeveral neceſſaries of life; they are reciprocally furniſhed in the country with what they are in want of, without the interference of money. The taylor, ſhoe-maker, &c. exerciſe their profeſſions in the houſe of the huſbandman who has occaſion for their commodities, and who, for the moſt part, furniſhes materials, and pays for the workmanſhip in proviſions, &c.—This kind of exchange extends to many objects; each of theſe people write down what they receive and give, and at the end of the year they cloſe an account conſiſting of an infinity of articles, with a very ſmall ſum; this could not be effected in Europe but with a great deal of money. Thus it appears, that an eaſy means of doing without great ſums of money is given to country people by inſtructing them in writing and arithmetic; that conſequently the ſovereign who ſhould eſtabliſh ſchools for the purpoſe of teaching this moſt neceſſary art and ſcience, would create a conſiderable means of circulation without the uſe of coin, and that this expence, which ſeems to alarm ſo many governments, is in fact one of the moſt lucrative ſpeculations which the treaſury could make.

tizens;

tizens; of every ſpecies of riches this is the moſt ſure and fruitful. Thus when gold is reduced to its exact value, that its real uſe is known, the advantageous purpoſes to which it is proper, are more juſtly calculated. It is then perceived that paper credit may have the ſame properties as gold itſelf; and to ſucceed in giving them to it, nothing more is neceſſary than to preſerve the moſt inviolable reſpect for the principles which ſupport public confidence; for upon what baſis reſts the value and general uſe of money, if it be not upon the certitude that it will be received every where in payment for things which men's wants may require, becauſe of its conventional value? why ſhould a paper which preſents the ſame conventional value, the ſame certitude and ſolidity, be refuſed in payment? I will add more—A more ſolid baſis than gold and ſilver has, may be given to paper money*: for we have no guarantee that the value of theſe metals will not be all at once diminiſhed by the diſcovery of new and rich

* I ſay, paper-money, without attaching to this expreſſion the idea of conſtraint to receive it as ſuch; this obligation diminiſhes its value—I would ſay paper credit, if the word credit did not ſeem to exclude its principal quality, that of being always ſuſceptible, and in an inſtant, of being converted into money without the leaſt loſs.

mines; we cannot calculate their quantities concealed in the earth, and men inceſſantly rake up its bowels in ſearch of them *. Therefore in countries where precious metals are ſcarce, but where lands may be ſucceſsfully cultivated, banks ſhould be formed, whoſe operations ſhould chiefly reſt upon title deeds and productions depoſited; in a word, upon ſuch objects only as gold and ſilver ſhould repreſent †.

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* Why ſhould not diſcoveries be made in other countries, like that in the laſt century by two ſhepherds in Norway, of the rich mines of Konſberg, where very conſiderable maſſes of ſilver are found? The King of Denmark has one of 560lb. weight in his cabinet.

† It is not true that much gold and ſilver are neceſſary to eſtabliſh banks, or create notes which may be thrown into circulation. A proof of the contrary ariſes from facts continually before our eyes. The multitude of bills of exchange which circulate and croſs each other in every direction, have not all of them, for origin and ſecurity, a depoſit of gold and ſilver. Neither are they all paid when due with theſe metals. Commerce produces an abundance of ſuch papers, which falling due on the ſame day are diſcharged by each other without the intervention of ſpecie; eſpecially in cities where public banks are eſtabliſhed to facilitate this kind of payment. Theſe are called transfers, and the principal object of Caiſſes d'Eſcomptes and banks is to facilitate them by the payment of bills fallen due by thoſe who have ſtill ſome time to run. In fine, theſe Caiſſes d'Eſcomptes and banks, are themſelves cauſes and ſtriking proofs of the little difficulty there is in ſupplying,

by

In countries where theſe metals are already in circulation, but are ſtill foreign productions, eaſy and certain means ſhould be ſought after to render exchanges leſs dependent on the ſecurity or abundance of ſpecie. Paper credit ſhould be naturalized there, becauſe its infallible effect is to double or treble the quantity of current coin, and even to replace it entirely, where, as in England, public confidence has never received a wound. Theſe obſervations might be more extended if a treatiſe on the nature of banks and Caiſſes d'Eſcompte were in queſtion. But this is not my preſent object ; I have conſidered exterior commerce in its means of exchange only, like metals and paper credit, and in its balance for the purpoſe of applying theſe principles to the relations and commerce of France and the United States : and more eſpecially to clear up ſome difficulties to the French, who ſeem to have a bad opinion of this commercial intercourſe, on account of the want of money

by confidence, the places of gold and ſilver. Firſt eſtabliſhed by depoſits in ſpecie, they ſoon circulate their notes for ſums more conſiderable than thoſe depoſited : and what ſurety is there for the payment of ſuch notes if it be not by other bills not due, which the Caiſſes and banks receive in exchange for their own notes payable at ſight, to which public confidence give the ſame value as to gold and ſilver.

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in America, and to encourage the independent Americans, who ſeem to dread the pretended inconveniencies ariſing from its deficiency.

I think I have proved:

1ſt. That the balance of trade is but an inſignificant word: that the balance paid in ſpecie is no proof of a diſadvantageous commerce on the part of the nation which pays it, nor advantageous to the nation which receives it *.

2d. That the tables of that commercial balance deſerve no faith, and that the only me-

* Obſerve what a reſpectable author, well verſed in the matter, and whom we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to quote, thinks of it.

" Theſe commercial balances, calculated in different ſtates, are pitiful; when I ſee conſequences drawn from ridiculous and laboured official accounts, *mi fanno dal riſo crepare.*

" To conſider France and England only, the two principal manufacturing countries, and the moſt commercial ones in the world, what omiſſions, negligencies, double employs, errors, corruptions, nocturnal expeditions, duties evaded, and contraband trade! The prodigious quantity of wool which is ſent from England is certainly not regiſtered, no more than the ſilks, gold laces, gauzes, blondes, cambrics, brandies, and many other articles which are fraudulently introduced there. The ſame in France: no account can be taken of the immenſe quantities of drapery, hoſiery, and ſmall hardware, which the Engliſh ſend in exchange. Voy. en Italie, de M. Roland de la Palatiere, tom. i. p. 352.

thod of eſtimating the increaſe of trade, is by the increaſe of population *.

3d. That it is impoſſible to judge exactly of the quantity of money exiſting in a country, and that all calculations on that head are founded upon an uncertain and defective baſis, becauſe it is impoſſible to collect all their elementary principles.

4th. That metals are not real riches.

5th. That conſidered as agents of exchange, it would be more advantageous to ſubſtitute pa-

* The errors in theſe pretended balances muſt be continually inſiſted upon: conſequences dangerous to the people are frequently drawn from them.

Financiers who pillage the kingdom, ſay to Princes on preſenting them theſe fallacious calculations, "that things are in a proſperous way; that commerce flouriſhes, that impoſts may be laid on, loans negociated, &c. Theſe ſophiſms are ſeducing: let Princes accuſtom themſelves to judge of public proſperity by population, and the general eaſe of the people; let them be eye-witneſſes of this, and miſtruſt a momentary appearance of proſperity, which frequently covers profound miſery, and they will not be ſo often deceived.

A King of Sardinia paid a viſit to a part of Savoy, the nobility of which had been repreſented to him as being poor and miſerable: they came to him elegantly dreſſed in clothes of ceremony, to make him their court. At this the King expreſſed his ſurpriſe to one of the gentlemen, who ſaid to him, *Sire, nous faiſons pour votre Majeſté tout ce que nous devons, mais nous devons tout ce que nous faiſons.*

per

per credit in interior commerce, and to apply them to uſes for which paper is unfit, to wit, all the purpoſes of exterior commerce. There reſults from theſe demonſtrations, that commerce may be begun between two nations without the aid of money; that the quantity a nation has of it to exchange for foreign productions is in proportion to its confidential interior eſtabliſhments, which advantageouſly ſupply its place.

In three words, a good ſoil, paper credit, and a government anxious to ſupport it, are the true means of opening the reſources of a nation, of procuring abundance of ſpecie, as well as an extenſive exterior commerce.

I have not conſidered this commerce in its influence upon the manners of the people; ſuch a diſcuſſion would here be uſeleſs, becauſe whatever that influence may be, exterior commerce is a forced effect of the reſpective ſituations of France and the United States, as will hereafter be made appear. I examine this matter as a politician, not as a philoſopher, and I pray the reader not to forget the diſtinction.

CHAP. III.

APPLICATION OF THE FOREGOING GENERAL PRINCIPLES TO THE RECIPROCAL COMMERCE OF FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES:

That France has every Means of procuring a great Commerce, and thoſe which muſt aſſure it to her in the United States; that her Productions are proper for them; and that her particular interior Circumſtances oblige her to engage in this Commerce.

THESE truths will not be conteſted when the fertility of the ſoil of France ſhall be conſidered, her various and particular productions, and the temperature of her climate, which favours thoſe the moſt ſimple and neceſſary.

Theſe advantages conſtantly aſſure her workmanſhip at a lower price than thoſe of nations endowed with the ſame activity, but which have not the advantages of ſuch favourable circumſtances.

Her manufactures are numerous, and her population is conſiderable in compariſon with that of moſt other nations. Yet theſe are far from the

the degree to which they may be extended; for in conſidering France, room for a more extenſive population is ſoon diſcovered, and an immenſity of means for a great number of manufactures, which only wait for the will of government to be eſtabliſhed.

What other nation has more activity? more induſtry? or unites to ſo great a degree, all the advantages of civilization, and the matter and means of the moſt varied and extenſive interior and exterior commerce, independent of completion? What other would have been able to reſiſt, for ſo long a time, the chain of misfortunes, and repeated faults of which ſhe has been the victim? The force of her conſtitution, rather than her apparent proſperity, ought to be calculated by this reſiſtance. France is not what ſhe might and ought to be. There is no doubt but ſhe will become ſo if ſhe opens her eyes to her true intereſts, if unſhackling her interior ſhe does not neglect her exterior commerce, and particularly that which the United States wiſh to open with her. The productions of her ſoil and induſtry are proper for them. She can export in exchange from independent America the raw materials for which ſhe may have occaſion. Theſe two countries may therefore carry on a *direct* commerce of *ex-*

change between them, and ſo much the more advantageous, as the raw materials, which muſt conſtitute it, would coſt them more in any other place. Theſe truths will not be doubted when the double catalogue of the reſpective wants of France and the United States, or of their importation and exportation, ſhall have been examined.

Intelligent patriots are of opinion, that it cannot be advantageous to France, in her preſent ſituation, to engage in the commerce of the United States.—They obſerve, that her manufactures being inferior to thoſe of the Engliſh, ſhe will be worſted in the American markets; they add, that inſtead of encouraging this commerce, government would perhaps act more wiſely by preventing the interior abuſes which ſtop the progreſs of cultivation and induſtry.

I am far from denying the neceſſity there may be of ſtirring to reform ſuch abuſes, and to direct our efforts to culture and the improvement of manufactures; but it is eaſy to demonſtate, that exterior commerce will in a very ſhort time infallibly bring on ſuch a reform, and that France in her preſent ſtate is in the greateſt need of this exterior trade.

In effect, an active and induſtrious nation, whoſe ſoil is fertile, ought always to have markets

kets for the ſale of its commodities to animate its induſtry. Its culture and manufactures would languiſh if the limits of its conſumption were perceived. It is even neceſſary that theſe markets ſhould be ſuperabundant; that one may ſucceed the other, in caſe of unſuſpected events, which might cauſe a momentary change in the ordinary courſe of things.

What cauſe has thrown Ireland into ſo continued a ſtate of languor, although one of thoſe countries the moſt favoured by nature, and the beſt ſituated for exterior commerce, if it is not the deprivation of that commerce? An embarraſſing exuberance of productions was feared; the cultivation of them was preſently neglected, and this negligence increaſed waſte lands. This iſland would at length have offered a ſpectacle of the moſt deplorable miſery, of a complete depopulation, if, by a reſtitution of the liberty of commerce, an end had not been put to ſo cruel a diſcouragement which choaked induſtry, by making it fear a want of markets for the vent of its productions.

Let our patriots, therefore, ceaſe to look upon foreign commerce as contrary to the reforms which are to revive our interior trade: to encourage the firſt is not to proſcribe the ſecond, becauſe one cannot ſucceed without the other.

But, on the contrary, the ſeeds of activity are ſown in the latter, by extending the boundaries of conſumption.

Alas! is not France evidently in need of them? Are not her magazines crowded with a ſuperfluity of the moſt neceſſary productions, for which ſhe has no market? Such as, amongſt others, her wines and brandies *. The United States offer to her an immenſe conſumption; why does ſhe refuſe to ſupply them?

Even if her wines and brandies were not in ſuch ſuperfluity, it would be prejudicial not to ſupport the price of them by foreign conſumptions. The greateſt ſcourge of induſtry, and eſpecially of manufactures, is the low price of thoſe liquors which are ſeducing by their ſtrength. On this account prudent manufacturers carefully avoid wine countries. It would be ſuperfluous to give a detail of their reaſons; but certainly the politician, the moſt jealous of a free extenſion of individual enjoyments, will never become an advocate for the indulgence of men in thoſe articles which deprive them of their faculties and reaſon.

* Such is the ſituation of Aunis and Saintonge—plentiful vintages are there literally feared, and theſe provinces are at this moment overcharged with wine, for which they have no exportation: the people are miſerable in the midſt of abundance. See Note, Chap. V. Sect. 1.

France

France ought to deſire the commerce of the United States. She ought alſo to be anxious for it on account of her manufactures, to employ her population which is in want of work. Conſequently workmanſhip is cheap; whence reſults indigence, beggary, and ſtrife *. Work and productions are increaſed by opening new markets. Thus, for example, vineyards will remain, which a want of conſumption would ſoon cauſe to be deſtroyed; thouſands of labourers, who languiſh, will be employed, ſociety will be increaſed by thouſands of individuals; more corn, more cloth, &c. will be neceſſary: hence an increaſe of interior conſumption and population.

When we examine the queſtion, if exterior commerce be advantageous and neceſſary to a nation; a newly conſtituted ſtate, whoſe population is far from being in proportion to its ſoil, where there is ſpace and property in land for every one, muſt be diſtinguiſhed from that which is ancient, rich in productions as well as

* Means are every day ſought to diminiſh and prevent crimes—Let property or employ be given to thoſe who are without them: this is the ſecret—It muſt notwithſtanding be agreed, that property is preferable to employ in workſhops; under this point of view, commerce with the United States, in opening to us a great market, will be a means of diminiſhing mendicity and vices in France.

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in men; or, to ſpeak with more preciſion, a ſtate where the unequal diſtribution of property takes men from the fields, ſhuts them up in cities, and proſtitutes their faculties to the fancies of the rich.

Certainly ſuch a new ſtate cannot increaſe its foreign commerce before it has cleared great quantities of lands, and is become conſiderably peopled, and has a ſurplus of men and productions.

Such a ſtate, while neceſſary, will undoubtedly follow this counſel.

But this counſel would be improper to another ſtate, which, advanced in its civilization, covered with a population without property, having manufactures and money in abundance; whoſe induſtry and territorial riches wait for demands, and whoſe culture languiſhes for want of markets. A foreign commerce is neceſſary to this ſtate to vivify it.

Such is the ſituation of France; neither ſoil, induſtry, activity, nor the thirſt of gain, is there wanting; other pernicious cauſes ſlacken her interior commerce. If the merchant has not a certainty of markets, he does not buy nor give orders; the manufacturer employs fewer hands, has leſs occaſion for the productions of the earth.

earth. Languor then deſcends from manufactures to cultivation, and diminiſhes population.

The reverſe will be the caſe in the ſuppoſition of a vaſt exterior commerce, and will lead to the improvement even of our manufactures; for the neceſſity of improving to obtain a preference will oblige manufacturers to ſtudy the taſte of the Americans, and to conform themſelves to it, to vary the productions of their induſtry; and will oblige them not to relax, that they may not be ſurpaſſed by rivals.

It is here neceſſary to make ſome reflections on the general inferiority found in our manufactures, on comparing them with thoſe of the Engliſh. This fact has furniſhed Lord Sheffield with his principal argument, to maintain that America will always prefer the latter. It is neceſſary to clear up this point, which ſeems not to be well underſtood.

Manufactures of luxury, of conveniency, and of neceſſity, muſt be diſtinguiſhed in a manner hereafter pointed out. Lord Sheffield and all foreigners agree, that France has the advantage in the firſt claſs of manufactures *. His Lordſhip

* Our manufactures of ſilk have proportionably a much greater ſale abroad than that of our woollens. It is that, independent of taſte, or, if we will, of faſhion, which we poſſeſs, and

ſhip agrees even that France makes finer cloths than thoſe of England; but with reſpect to manufactures of convenience, or ſuch as are intended for the conſumption of the people, we muſt, in ſpite of patriotiſm, agree on our part, that we are in many articles inferior to the Engliſh. This will appear by the ſequel. It would be ridiculous and even dangerous to flatter the nation in this particular; the illuſion would keep it in a ſtate of mediocrity. It is for a better conſtituted patriotiſm to prove to the nation, that it may riſe above mediocrity, and to ſhew it by what means this is to be effected. Should any body wiſh to know the cauſe of this double difference between the French and Engliſh manufactures, it is as follows:

There is in England a greater number of men, among the people, in eaſy circumſtances, than in France, and who are conſequently in a ſituation to chooſe and pay better for ſuch articles as they like. It is a known fact, that the common people of England, although loaded

and which opens to us a great conſumption, the raw material is in a great meaſure one of our own productions; an advantage which puts it in our power to ſurmount many general inconveniencies, whoſe effects are more ſenſible upon our other articles of exportation, ſuch as woollens, the production of which has leſs relation with the manufacture.

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with taxes, are well clothed and fed *; the rags of miſery are not found with the *poulle au pot* †. The Engliſh manufacturer having a greater demand for articles of neceſſity, and being better paid for them, can make improvements in his manufacture.

Should it be required to know from whence comes the eaſineſs of circumſtances ſo general in England: independent of the ſoil and poſition, and the advantages of that liberty which

* The goodneſs of things manufactured is ſo generally requiſite in England, that merchandizes deſtined for exportation are there diſtinguiſhed from thoſe for interior conſumption. There are great warehouſes wherein the ſales are for exportation only; the object of others is interior conſumption. People who judge haſtily conclude from hence, that thoſe for exportation are badly manufactured. They are deceived, the difference is in the choice of materials. *The Engliſhman ſpares nothing for that which he conſumes.* The workmanſhip is the ſame; it would coſt in general more to manufacturers to have two ſorts of workmanſhip, a good and a bad one, than to have one only which is good, and a manufacture eſtabliſhed upon a bad kind of workmanſhip would ſoon be decried. A ſhoe deſtined to foreign commerce is as well made as another; but it does not laſt ſo long, becauſe the leather is not choſen from the beſt kind; and ſo of the reſt.

† A memorable expreſſion of Henry the fourth of France, who, in a converſation with his favourite Sully, ſaid, he hoped to ſee the time when the pooreſt of his ſubjects would have it in their power to put a fowl into the pot for their Sunday's dinner.

reigns there, it reſults from the conſideration attached to induſtry in the opinion of the public; from the laws ſure protection accorded to every individual againſt the agents of government; and the haughtineſs and inſolence, to which they are naturally inclined (becauſe in men of ſlender education theſe are the effect of power), being continually repreſſed, and their being prevented from trampling upon the citizen, who muſt be obedient.—He is obedient to the law, and not to him who puts it in execution *. In fine, it is the conſequence of not bluſhing to be a tradeſman, artificer, or workman, from father to ſon.

In France there are individuals exceſſively rich; but the people are poor. The firſt have it in their power to pay extremely dear for arti-

* *Thee* and *Thou* as terms of contempt are unknown in England: *Sir* is the general deſignation of every individual. A man accuſed of the greateſt crimes, and who has the moſt miſerable appearance, is never ſpoken to in the ſingular number when he is interrogated by his judges; and as he becomes an object of pity when he is convicted, decent appellations, generally in uſe, are not changed with reſpect to him. Can one ſuppoſe that this reſpect for man is prejudicial to public proſperity? Man is elevated by it; it gives him energy, and inclines him to eaſe. Contempt, which in other places is affected for the people, leads them to miſery, and retains them in it.

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cles of luxury and fancy, which cauſe an improvement of manufactures of this kind. Finer cloths, as it has been before obſerved, are to be found in France than in England; but their quantity is not great, becauſe there is not an extenſive demand for thoſe of the firſt quality.

On the other hand, the property of the people being very inconſiderable, they pay badly, and the conſequence is, that things of convenience or neceſſity are badly manufactured for them.

I will not here enter into the examination of cauſes which occaſion ſuch a ſtate of things, nor of the means of changing it. I will leave the diſcuſſion of ſuch means for another chapter, but the following concluſions muſt neceſſarily be drawn from theſe facts: the perfection of manufactures depends upon the demand, and the demand upon the means of payment. Now becauſe the French have not thoſe means, they muſt be ſought after in a foreign country. Increaſe foreign demands for French manufactures, and they will be ſeen to improve very rapidly. This is the effect which the commerce of the United States will produce in France. Theſe States contain a people accuſtomed to be well clothed, to make uſe of well manufactured things only, and capable of paying for

good workmanſhip by their productions. Charged with the furniſhing of articles for American conſumption, French manufacturers will ſtrive to outdo their rivals; and they can eaſily accompliſh this *when Government ſhall be willing*. Nature has given them the means. They will become ſuperior in almoſt every thing when once they ſhall no longer be obſtinately counteracted.

Therefore the commerce with the United States will be the cauſe of improvement in French cultivation and induſtry. Conſequently it is neceſſary to embrace and purſue it.

CHAP. IV.

THAT THE UNITED STATES ARE OBLIGED BY THEIR PRESENT NECESSITIES AND CIRCUMSTANCES TO ENGAGE IN FOREIGN COMMERCE.

SOME writers, among whom are found the celebrated Dr. Price and the Abbé Mably, have exhorted the independent Americans, if not to exclude exterior commerce entirely from their ports, at leaſt to keep it within very contracted bounds. They pretend, that the ruin

of republicaniſm in the United States can happen only from exterior commerce; becauſe by great quantities of articles of luxury and a frivolous taſte, that commerce would corrupt their morals, and without pure morals a republic cannot exiſt.

" Alas! What can the United States import " from Europe, continues Dr. Price, except it " be infection? I avow it, cries the Doctor, I " tremble in thinking on the furor for exterior " commerce, which is apparently going to turn " the heads of the Americans. Every nation " ſpreads nets around the United States, and ca- " reſſes them, in order to gain a preference; " but their intereſt cautions them to beware of " theſe ſeductions *."

I am far from contradicting, *in its baſis*, the opinion of theſe politicians. Moreover, I think, with Dr. Price, that the United States will one day be able to produce every thing neceſſary

* Price's Obſervations, page 76. See the Abbé Mably, what he ſays of theſe obſervations, from page 146 to page 163. See alſo what the Comte de Mirabeau has added to the Obſervations of Dr. Price, in his Reflections printed at the end of his tranſlation of this work, page 319. London edition, 1785.

He has, as a ſevere philoſopher, treated on exterior commerce, and made abſtraction of the actual ſituation of the Americans.

and convenient, but I am alſo of opinion, that theſe two writers have conſidered the independent Americans in a falſe point of view; that they have not ſufficiently obſerved the ſtate of their circumſtances; in fine, that *their circumſtances and actual wants oblige them to have recourſe to foreign commerce.* This is a truth which I propoſe to demonſtrate; for I will prove that the independent Americans are in want of the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life, and in ſome ſtates, of luxuries, and that their habits and nature, added to other circumſtances, will always prevent their renouncing them entirely.

I will prove, that having no manufactures, they cannot themſelves ſupply theſe wants, and that they can have no manufactures for a long time to come.

That although they already poſſeſſed them, they ought to prefer to national ones thoſe of exterior commerce, and that they ſhould rather invite Europeans to their ports than frequent thoſe of the European ſtates.

Finally, that by the ſame reaſon which makes it impoſſible to exclude exterior commerce, in caſe of wants which alone it can ſupply, it is equally ſo to fix its boundaries.

When the nature of man is attentively con-

ſidered, it is ſeen that it inceſſantly diſpoſes him to render his life agreeable. If he has a property, he ſtrives to improve it; if the ſoil he cultivates be fruitful, and demands but little in advance, the deſire of increaſing his enjoyments ſtimulates him to torture his land to draw from it its various productions. One idea put in practice gives birth to another; one want ſatisfied creates a ſecond, to have the pleaſure of ſatisfying this alſo. Such is the nature of man: his activity, which leads him from deſires to enjoyments, from one change to another, is the ſource of what are called manufactures. A manufacture is but the means of giving to a production of the earth, a form which adds to it a new degree of agreeableneſs and utility. Want and deſire of manufactures are therefore in the nature of man; ſo that if we ſuppoſed Europe entirely annihilated, manufactures would ſoon riſe up in America, becauſe each individual ſtrives to render his exiſtence agreeable by means the moſt ſpeedy and efficacious *.

Manufactures,

* Perhaps the character and life of ſavages, who are ſuppoſed to have no manufacturers among them, will be oppoſed to theſe reaſonings? Men are deceived in judging thereby; for theſe people, which we look upon as only one degree re-

Manufactures, like the wants of civilized men, may (as was obſerved in the laſt chapter) be divided into three claſſes: 1ſt. Thoſe of neceſſity; 2d. thoſe of convenience; 3d. thoſe of fancy or luxury. Food, and the natural exigencies of mankind, are comprehended in the firſt claſs.

It is from the wants of convenience eſpecially, that manufactures have their origin. Without doubt, ſkins of ſheep were ſufficient to defend men from the ſeverities of cold; a cabin or a hut from the intemperature of the atmoſ-

moved from a ſtate of nature, work up and manufacture the earth's productions. Thus from their corn, before it is ripe, they extract a gelatinous juice, with which they make palatable cakes. Therefore, before the arrival of Europeans, they knew how to make fermented liquors, tools, utenſils, arms, ornaments, &c. They confined themſelves to theſe; hunting took them from a ſedentary life, and did not give them time enough to extend their ideas.

The paſtoral life of the Arabians has conducted them one or two degrees farther in the art of manufacturing, becauſe that kind of life affords greater leiſure, and gives more uniform and conſtant productions. Thoſe ſhepherds whoſe riches conſiſt but in their flocks, and who live on milk alone, and are cloathed with their wool only, have a paſſionate deſire for coffee, ſherbet, and ſugar. The deſire of increaſing their enjoyments is the cauſe. Let it be therefore agreed, that man by his nature is inclined to enjoyment, and conſequently to manufactures.

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phere; but man is no ſooner preſerved from one evil, than he ſeeks to get rid of another. Skins are inſuſceptible of being well joined together, uſe makes them hard; a cabin is frequently thrown down, is confined and ſmoaky; whence ariſe the wants of conveniency, which are transformed into enjoyments, whoſe accuſtomed uſe changes them into neceſſities.

When man has every convenience, he then thinks of ornament. Hence the wants of luxury; they are entirely in the imagination, and procure imaginary pleaſures only. Therefore to wear any laced clothes, or drink coffee out of a china rather than a delfen cup, is a want created by luxury or fancy.

The nature of theſe three kinds of want being pointed out, it is neceſſary to know what thoſe of the Americans are. They have the two firſt of them. Their habitudes contracted in their infancy from European emigrants, and their commerce with the Engliſh, have accuſtomed them to the kind of life and taſte of the latter, and it is well known that Engliſh induſtry has been particularly directed to neceſſary and uſeful arts.

The independent Americans, at leaſt thoſe who inhabit great maritime cities, have borrowed from the Engliſh a taſte for luxuries; they

ſeek for gauzes, blond lace, ſilks, &c. It is however with pleaſure I obſerve, that if this taſte of modes has infected London within theſe few years, its ravages have not been extended with the ſame rapidity in the United States as in Europe. Their ſituation, auſtere religion, morals, and ancient habits, their rural or marine life, prevent their ſeeking after elegance and dreſs, and keep them from oſtentation and voluptuouſneſs. Although they may perhaps be changed a few degrees, the evil is not yet ſenſible, at leaſt in the Northern States *. Therefore our obſervations ought principally to reſt upon the two firſt claſſes of wants. Now it is impoſſible that the Americans ſhould ever renounce them; they will be perpetually led and attached to them by their nature and habitudes, and by the manner in which their population is increaſed.

By their nature, becauſe they are men; and it has been proved, that man is endowed with

* Luxury is certainly to be found in Virginia; and when we ſpeak of luxury with reſpect to free America, it is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh carefully the Southern from the Northern States; cities from the country; maritime cities from interior ones. By theſe diſtinctions many contrarieties in the accounts of ſuperficial travellers may be explained.

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that activity which perpetually diſpoſes him to add to his enjoyments.

By their habitudes, becauſe, as it has been obſerved, they contracted that of all thoſe wants, and it is well known, that a taſte for pleaſure is not to be exterminated when rooted by habitude. How can it be required of man to deprive himſelf of wine and liquors to which he is accuſtomed, and in which he places a part of his enjoyments, except we would render him unhappy? I will not quote hermits, ſick perſons, or philoſophers, who have had that empire over themſelves; but let not a like prodigy be expected in a whole nation. An aſſociation of three millions of philoſophers has not yet been, nor will be ſeen to confine themſelves to the regimen of Pythagoras *, or the diet of Cornaro.

The ſevere ſacrifice of tea, which the independent Americans made at the beginning of the war, will perhaps be alſo quoted. The enthuſiaſm of liberty and influence of example were able, during ſome time, to overcome their

* It is not that we ought not to believe that one of the great means of regenerating the old people of the Continent, and of ſupporting republicaniſm in the United States, would be to give to children ſuch an education as Pythagoras exerciſed at Crotona.—*See the Life of Pythagoras.*

habitudes*; as religious enthuſiaſm has combated, ſometimes ſucceſsfully, the paſſions of an hermit. But there is no cauſe powerful enough to produce a like effect, except in the criſis which makes the ſacrifice neceſſary and eaſy. The reaſon of the dependence in which the Americans would put themſelves with reſpect to the Europeans, and the fear of diſtant corruption, are motives too feeble to carry men to that point of heroiſm! It is not ſufficiently demonſtrated to them, that they cannot drink wine from Madeira without being ſome day corrupted by it, and without preparing the way for great calamities.

The manner in which population is renewed and increaſed in America, does not make it probable that its inhabitants will ever be able to renounce the want of European productions.

A prodigious number of individuals emigrate every year from all parts of Europe to America, who carry with them wants and inclinations

* It is aſſured that abſtinence from tea was not every where faithfully obſerved, which appears very probable on reflecting that there was a party which fain would have violated it. I have known ſeveral perſons whom the deprivation of tea had made ill for a long time, although they had tried illuſive means, by ſubſtituting the infuſion of agreeable ſimples for that of the tea-leaf.

which

which they have from education and habit. If they find them in America, they continue to gratify them; if they are unknown there, they naturalize them, and it is the firſt thing they go about; for they do not ſo much perceive the new pleaſures they are going to enjoy, as thoſe of which they are deprived; ſo great is the force of our firſt habits and cuſtoms. Remembrance, although frequently mixed with the cruel idea of ſervitude, abandons man in the grave only.

According to this inclination, natural to all men, let the immenſe variety of wants and appetites be calculated which are going to tranſplant themſelves from Europe to the United States; and let it be judged, whether it be poſſible to put bounds to or deſtroy them.

To ſucceed in this, it would not only be neceſſary to ſhut out foreign commerce from all the American ports: American induſtry muſt be circumſcribed, and the ſource of their wants ſtopped up; it would be neceſſary to imitate the Lacedemonian law, which ordained that nothing ſhould be worked up but with the heavy hatchet, the more effectually to baniſh the luxury of elegant furniture. In a word, a miracle muſt be operated upon the Americans, to take from them all remembrance of what they have been,

been, of all they have ſeen, ſmelt, or taſted; and the ſame enchantment muſt deprive European emigrants of their ideas; as it would be abſurd to hope for a like prodigy, *the force of things*, which drags the independent Americans into exterior commerce, muſt be ſubmitted to*. All is reduced to two words; America has wants, and Europe has manufactures.

In the United States ſome of the inhabitants fill up the leiſure afforded by agriculture (in which the Europeans cannot hope to become their rivals) with an attention to manufactures. And they have others confined to the moſt neceſſary arts; connected with cultivation, fiſheries, and the conſtruction of veſſels. But even theſe manufactures are but few in number, and inſufficient for the wants of the United States. They are therefore obliged to have recourſe to Europe. It is not that they neither have, nor can have almoſt all the raw materials employed

* It is with regret that I write this fact, on conſidering it philoſophically, but it appears to have been demonſtrated politically. No perſon wiſhes more than I do to ſee the United States ſeparate themſelves from all the world, and in this ſituation to find again the auſterity of the Spartan regimen, without its cruel principles of military diſpoſition. It would be a ſmart ſtroke in politics; but this unhappily is no more than a dream.

in

in our own manufactures. They have hemp, flax, and cotton *.

But, if they had raw materials in plenty, they ought to be adviſed not to eſtabliſh manufactures; or, to ſpeak more juſtly, *manufactures could not be eſtabliſhed*; *the nature of things ordains it ſo.* Let us diſcuſs this queſtion, as it is an important one.

There are many reaſons for men's engaging in a new country in agriculture rather than in manufactures. There, where two individuals can eaſily live together, they marry, ſays Monteſquieu. The labour of the field offers to them more means of living together, of augmenting and ſupporting their family, than working at

* The four Southern States gather great quantities of cotton. Their poor are clothed with it winter and ſummer. In winter they wear cotton ſhirts, and clothes of wool and cotton mixed. In ſummer their ſhirts are linen, and their outward clothes of cotton. Women's dreſs is entirely of cotton, and made up by themſelves, women of the richeſt claſs excepted; yet a woman of this claſs has a deal of cotton worked up in her houſe, and this callico equals in beauty that of Europe. Thoſe from the South furniſh a deal of cotton to the States of the North, which cannot grow it, the climate being too cold.

There is ſcarcely any part of the United States without good flour and ſaw mills. The Northern States have others for flattening iron. It is in the conſtruction of mills eſpecially, that the Americans diſtinguiſh themſelves, in varying their employ and utility, and in their diſtribution.

manufac-

manufactures : in theſe the dependence of the workman, his precarious and changeable ſtate, his moderate wages, and the high price of proviſions in cities, where moſt manufactures are eſtabliſhed, put it out of his power to think of having a companion, and if he has one, the proſpect of miſery which ſhe muſt have before her eyes after his death, impoſes on him a law contrary to propagation, to avoid the cruelty of cauſing children to be brought into the world only to be unhappy *.

In a new country where land is not dear, where it requires not much in advance, or an expenſive cultivation, and is at the ſame time fruitful, the number of little and happy families muſt rapidly increaſe.

What a difference in other reſpects from this pure and ſimple country life, where man is conſtantly in the preſence of nature, where his ſoul is elevated by the ſpectacle, where his phyſical principles continually regenerate by a ſa-

* Journeymen manufacturers, and in general men in a ſtate of dependence, whoſe ſubſiſtence is precarious, and who have children, certainly love them leſs than the inhabitants of the country who have a ſmall property. The paternity is a burthen, and conſequently often odious to the firſt ; their children are ignorant of the ſoft careſſes of paternal love. What kind of generation muſt ariſe from ſuch a connexion !

lubrious air, and in reviving exerciſes, where he lives in the midſt of his relations and friends, whom he makes happy: what a difference from that to the life of manufacturers condemned to vegetate in diſmal priſons, where they reſpire infection, and where their minds are abſorbed, as well as their lives abridged. This conduct alone ought to decide the Americans to reject the painful ſtate of manufactures *.

Beſides

* The idea of property is one of the ſtrongeſt ties by which man is attached to life, to his country, to virtue, and I will add even to health. The ſatisfaction of a manufacturer, who at the end of the week has a guinea in his pocket, is far from that of the little country proprietor, who is ſeldom poſſeſſed of ſuch a ſum; but who gathers in his own field every thing neceſſary. He loves it, ſees it always with pleaſure, takes care of its cultivation, and, by a conſequence of this ſoft diſpoſition, he attaches himſelf to the animals which aſſiſt him in that cultivation.

The labourer ſees, as he works, the poſſibility of increaſing the number of his children; and he has the pleaſing hope of leaving them after his death a little corner of earth which will keep them from indigence.

The labourer is happy becauſe his contracts are with the earth only, which gives liberally and diſintereſtedly, whilſt the intereſt of the maſter who pays the manufacturer embitters the wages which he receives.

The labourer is ſtill happy, becauſe he is only amongſt his equals; inequality is the ſource of malice. The ſuperior is malicious

Beſides there will be, for a conſiderable time to come, more to be gained in the United States, by

malicious to ſupport his oppreſſion. The ſlave is vindictive to deſtroy and revenge it.

The labourer is amiable and generous, becauſe it would be neceſſary to abandon all cultivation, if there were not between huſbandmen a reciprocity of ſervices and confidence.

Perhaps it would not be difficult to prove that health and goodneſs are diminiſhed in proportion to the increaſe of manufactures, cities, property, and the deſertion of rural life, and that vices and crimes are increaſed in the ſame proportion.

This is not the opinion of the ſenſible and intereſting author of the Study of Nature: "When I was at Moſcow," ſays he, (Vol. III.) "an old Genevois, who was in that city, "in the time of Peter I. told me, that ſince different means "of ſubſiſtence had been opened to the people by the eſtab-"liſhment of manufactures and commerce, ſeditions, aſſaſſina-"tions, robberies, and incendiaries, had been leſs frequent than "formerly."

But this would not have exiſted, and there would have been the ſame public and private virtue, if inſtead of making the Ruſſians manufacturers, they had been made proprietors of lands. Huſbandmen are honeſt people, ſays M. de St. Perre himſelf.—And workſhops, as I have juſt obſerved, do not offer that neceſſity of reciprocal ſervice which gives the habitude of goodneſs; they preſent intereſt ſtruggling againſt intereſt, rich and indolent ſtupidity ſtriving to cheat active indigence. If workſhops do not make men raſcals, they diſpoſe them to become ſo; they make them egotiſts, inſenſible, uncouth, and bad fathers.

Therefore, the fact quoted by this author does not prove, that

by the earth, which yields abundantly, than by manufactures—and man places himſelf in that ſituation where the greateſt and moſt ſpeedy gain is to be acquired.

As population muſt, for many ages, be diſproportioned to the extent of the United States, land will be cheap there during the ſame length of time *, and conſequently the inhabitants will for a long time be cultivators.

Thoſe

that to prevent crimes, it is neceſſary to eſtabliſh manufactures; but that it is better to have manufactures peopled with degraded workmen, than foreſts with banditti; 'tis a leſſer evil, but it is ſtill an evil.

* An idea of the price of lands in the United States, may be formed from the following article taken from the Gazette of Philadelphia, of 9th of December 1784: "Obſerve that the "ground of Pennſylvania begins to be dear, and that the inha-"bitants begin to emigrate to Kentucky."—By this advertiſement there are offered to ſale, "25,000 acres of land, ſitu-"ated in the county of Northampton, State of Pennſylvania, "upon the Delawar.—A public road, a navigable river, fertile "ſoil, excellent for culture—meadows—places for mills—"great foreſts—plenty of fiſh-ponds, &c. at half a guinea an "acre.

"Another quantity of 25,000 acres, upon the Suſquehan-"nah, with equal and even greater advantages, at the ſame "price.—Good title deeds,—facilities of payment.—A reſerve "of three hundred acres only will be required in each diſtrict "for the maintenance of the clergyman of the pariſh;—one "hundred

Thoſe whom ambition, thirſt of gain, or ignorance, ſhould incline to eſtabliſh manufactures, will, from that moment, be diſbanded from it by the dearneſs of workmanſhip. This dearneſs is already very conſiderable *, and may become ſtill more ſo, as the cauſe which occaſions it muſt naturally become more extended.

What is the cauſe ? It has already been intimated ſo as to be foreſeen.

Cities are built in all quarters †; lands are cleared and eſtabliſhments made every where. In the county of Kentucky, for inſtance, where, in 1771, there were ſcarcely one hundred inhabitants, there are now nearly thirty thouſand; and theſe men have emigrated from inhabited coaſts or countries. Thus hands are taken from the commerce and agriculture of theſe laſt, which is conſequently the cauſe of the increaſed price of workmanſhip.

" hundred guineas when there ſhall be fifty families, to build a " parſonage houſe—ten guineas a year for five years, and pro- " viſion for the ſchool-maſter."

* Three, four, and five livres, are frequently paid in the cities of the United States for the day's work of a carpenter, lockſmith, &c.

† This is a great evil, as will be hereafter proved, and which will contribute more than any other to the ruin of republican ſpirit.

From

From this dearneſs it has been concluded in Europe, that the people in America were wretched; a contrary concluſion ought to have been drawn. Wherever workmen govern; wherever they are paid a high price, the people are neceſſarily happy; for it is of them that the various claſſes of workmen are compoſed.

On the contrary, wherever workmanſhip is at a low price, the people are wretched; for this cheapneſs proves, that there are more workmen than there is work to execute, more want of employ than can be ſupplied. This is what the rich deſire, that they may govern the workmen, and buy the ſweat of their brows at the loweſt rate poſſible *.

It is the reverſe in America, the workman gives the law, and ſo much the better, he receives it too often every where elſe.

* To be convinced of this truth, look at England and France; workmanſhip is very dear in London but cheap in Paris. The workman in London is well fed, clothed and paid; in Paris he is quite the contrary.

" It frequently happens," ſaid an American one day to me, " that I meet in the United States a ploughman, conducting his " plough and horſes, and eating a wing of a turkey and a piece " of good white bread. I have ſeen, added he, a veſſel arrive " at New York, full of Scotchmen, not one of whom was un- " employed the next day."

This dearneſs of workmanſhip is prejudicial to manufactures, and ſtill ſo much the better. Theſe eſtabliſhments are ſo many tombs which ſwallow up generations entire *. Agriculture, on the contrary, perpetually increaſes population.

By preventing, or at leaſt retarding the riſe of manufactures within their provinces, the Americans will ſtop the decadency of morals and public ſpirit : for if manufactures bring gold into the States, they bring at the ſame time a poiſon which undermines them. They reſemble a number of individuals whoſe nature and morals are at once corrupted : they form and accuſtom men to ſervitude, and give in a republic a preponderance to ariſtocratical principles, and by accumulating riches in a ſmall number of hands, they cauſe republics to incline to ariſtocracy.

Therefore the independent Americans will do wiſely to leave to Europe the care of manufac-

* There are ſeveral manufactures at Amiens, and it is remarked, that the hoſpitals are more filled with manufacturers than with maſons or other like artizans. A manufacturing life makes more people ill and their complaints more dangerous; it is becauſe this kind of workmen becomes ſooner debauched, and goes ſooner to the hoſpital, being moſtly ſingle, and without any domeſtic attachment.

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turing for them, becauſe ſhe is irreſiſtibly dragged into manufactures; and as their population and conſumption muſt rapidly increaſe, it is not impoſſible that Europe may one day confine herſelf to this kind of occupation, and that America may one day become her ſtorehouſe of grain and raw materials, of which ſhe will not be in need. In this caſe, nothing will be ſeen in Europe but cities and workſhops; in independent America, nothing but fields well cultivated. I will leave it to be decided which country would have the moſt happy fate.

Under the ſame point of view, the independent Americans will ſtill act wiſely by leaving it to the Europeans to furniſh them with neceſſary articles; and in ſeldom frequenting the cities and ſea-ports of the ancient continent. In effect, an European tranſported to independent America is in the proportion of one to one hundred, and ſometimes to a thouſand.—His example has therefore but very little influence; the luxury of which he makes a parade in paſſing by, excites leſs conſideration or reſpect than contempt and ridicule. If he leaves a remembrance of himſelf, it is ſoon effaced by the general motion: there are, moreover, ſome Europeans, who, ſtruck and edified by the manners and cuſtoms

of free America, have good ſenſe enough to reſpect and conform themſelves to them.

It is the reverſe when an American goes on ſhore in Europe, almoſt alone, with his ſimplicity of manners in the midſt of a vortex of men who eſteem the eclat of exterior appearance only; who, agitated and led by the general ton, ſacrifice every thing to the furor of making a great figure by the brilliance of dreſs, equipage, and pomp: this American muſt at firſt be torn down and tormented, becauſe he finds himſelf thrown into a circle of habitudes contrary to his own. Afterwards he becomes familiariſed by little and little, and if he does not quite get a taſte for them, at leaſt his attachment to a ſimplicity of life and manners is neceſſarily weakened. Carrying back with him to his own country this diſpoſition of mind, he introduces it inſenſibly into the minds of thoſe who are about him, upon which it has ſome influence—upon the minds of his children and friends. Their taſte for ſimplicity becomes lukewarm by his example, and the following age ſees public virtues fall into indifference.

It will be leſs dangerous to the public ſpirit of the independent Americans to admit the Europeans into theUnited States, than to go themſelves

ſelves into Europe; from which it reſults that it would be very impolitic to encourage the former to become the carriers of their exterior commerce.

I have inſiſted upon this reflection becauſe there ſeems to have appeared in ſome States a diſpoſition to give premiums for diſtant navigation. They ought to reflect, that they have but few hands, and that as few as poſſible ſhould be taken from culture. They are in the ſituation I have ſpoken of in my principles of exterior commerce, where a nation gains by making carriers of others having leſs ſoil or employ. They ſhould alſo recollect, that republican morals are better preſerved in the boſom of agriculture than upon the ſea and in foreign voyages, which give to men communications with other morals and governments.

It is a general queſtion in the United States, by what means it is poſſible to put bounds to exterior commerce, and ſtop the progreſs of luxury: ſtay at home,—cultivate, cultivate, I will repeat to them; this is the ſecret whereby you will prevent the increaſe of luxury; a ſecret much preferable to ſumptuary laws and prohibitory regulations, which ſome ſtates have it in contemplation to make.

There is no power great enough to ſet, by regulations, ſuch boundaries to exterior commerce as will not be exceeded: to circumſcribe it for inſtance to merchandizes of convenience, without the importation of thoſe of luxury. The nature or force of things only has ſuch a power. That force has, as has been before explained, the union of the natural circumſtances of a nation; theſe circumſtances alone mark the limits of commerce. A nation which cannot pay for luxuries with its own production, does not purchaſe them. The ſavage can only procure with his furs, brandy, gunpowder, and woollen coverings; he buys neither ſilks nor laces.

If, therefore, the productions of the United States be ſcarcely ſufficient to pay for the importations of neceſſity and convenience from Europe, merchandizes of luxury will not be imported: if theſe be carried to it, 'tis becauſe it can pay for them. There is no merchant who likes to ruin himſelf.

If, on the contrary, the United States have productions proper for the ancient continent, in quantities ſufficient to procure, by their exchange, not only the moſt neceſſary and convenient things, but even thoſe of luxury, nothing can hinder

hinder the latter from being ſooner or later imported, by means of exterior commerce.

In truth, to increaſe demands of this nature, the public opinion, which before treated opprobriouſly a taſte for modes, muſt totally change, and the particular opinions of certain ſects equally yield to it.

But notwithſtanding the powerful influence of opinion upon merchandizes of luxury, the fate of this kind of commerce will be more particularly determined by the ſtate of the independent Americans, for when rich they will adopt them. This fact will appear certain, if what has been ſaid on the nature of the human heart be recollected, and its inclination to improve man's ſituation, and to increaſe his enjoyments.

Taſte for a rural life alone, if the Americans preſerve it, will retard the progreſs of luxury, which ſprings up in cities, from ſatiety, want of ſomething to do, and from laſſitude: employment preſerves the country from thoſe moral ills.

There is one laſt conſideration, which ought to perſuade the independent Americans to employ themſelves in cultivation, and reject both manufactures and exterior tranſports; which is,

that in wiſhing to undertake every thing at once, the ſcarcity of money, neceſſary at leaſt for the mechanical part of theſe operations, will always be more perceived, whilſt, by giving themſelves up entirely to cultivation, they will procure from their ſoil productions ſufficient to pay for theſe manufactures from Europe, and to make up for the ſcarcity of coin *.

They

* The independent Americans have but little money; this ſcarcity ariſes from two cauſes; firſt, from the kind of commerce they heretofore carried on with England, and afterwards from the ravages of a ſeven years war. As this commerce was purely one of exchange, and that in certain ſtates, as Virginia, the importations always ſurpaſſed the exportations; the reſult was, that they could not but be debtors to England, and could not draw money from that iſland.

It was a kind of commercial ſervitude, which the Engliſh looked upon as the pledge and guarantee of the dependence of the Colonies upon the mother country.

The money they had came from their illicit commerce with the Sugar Iſlands and European powers. The war, afterwards, by changing labourers into ſoldiers, cauſed a part of their lands to remain without cultivation. From that time exchanges increaſed and money decreaſed. The little of it remaining in America, came firſt from money carried and expended there by the Engliſh and French armies, and afterwards by the loans negociated in Europe by Congreſs.

But it is eaſy to conceive, after what has been ſaid upon the quantity of coin, how a nation, which, by an extraordinary revolution, is all at once widely developed, its population ra-

pidly

They appear to be alarmed at this; what has been ſaid upon the ſubject of money ought to remove their fears. It has been demonſtrated that a nation may carry on a very conſiderable commerce without its aid. It will hereafter be ſeen that the United States produce many raw materials eſſentially neceſſary to France, and that ſhe can make their exports with greater advantage than thoſe of any other country.

Thus it appears that theſe two countries may carry on together a direct trade of exchange without money, conſequently an advantageous one; for the exchange between them of productions is more lucrative than an exchange of productions for money; although this opinion may not be adopted by men in general, who attach a greater price to gold than to merchandize, and continually forget its repreſentative value, to ſubſtitute for it a real one. It muſt be inceſſantly repeated to them that money would be abſolutely nothing without produc-

pidly increaſed, and is thereby obliged to continual advances, for clearing of lands, for building, making of roads and canals, to pay foreign debts, moſtly in ſpecie, and which has no mines, muſt feel the ſcarcity of money, and the reaſon of it is clear: the want of it is at preſent ſupplied, in Connecticut, by an exchange of commodities, or theſe againſt labour.

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tions; that a rich people is that which, by its induſtry, increaſes population, and has conſequently an abundance of productions; that the ſecret of increaſing the quantity of coin conſiſts only in the art of multiplying neceſſary productions, and it is this to which the United States ought to incline, without being anxious about the money which they may have at preſent or in future.

Let us reſume the different queſtions contained in this chapter.

My object has been to make it appear that the United States were forced by their neceſſity and circumſtances to engage in exterior commerce.

To convince my readers of this, I have proved that the independent Americans had wants of neceſſity, of convenience, and even ſome of luxury, which they could neither renounce nor ſupply themſelves with.

That having no manufactures of their own, they were obliged to have recourſe to thoſe of Europe: that they could eſtabliſh none for a long time, having but few hands, and that cultivation ought to employ all their cares.

That according to phyſical, political, and moral relations, they ought to perſevere in applying

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ing themſelves to agriculture alone, and even give up all thoughts of tranſporting to Europe, by their own means, their proper productions.

That this was the only means of preſerving their republican morals, and of retarding the progreſs of luxury.

In fine, that by engaging in agriculture, and neglecting manufactures, they will leſs perceive the want of money, and will find the means of ſupplying that want, and of carrying on a very advantageous exterior commerce of exchange of commodities.

Theſe different points being firmly eſtabliſhed, it is at preſent neceſſary to prove, that of all the nations of Europe, France is the moſt proper to enter into a commercial alliance with the United States, and that their neceſſities and productions are correſpondent to each other. It is propoſed to lay open this truth, by preſenting the double table of reciprocal importations and exportations, to be made between France and free America.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

OF THE IMPORTATION TO BE MADE FROM FRANCE INTO THE UNITED STATES, OR OF THE WANTS OF THE UNITED STATES, AND THE PRODUCTIONS OF FRANCE WHICH CORRESPOND THERETO.

THE attentive reader will have already been able to judge, that if the independent Americans do not deviate from the career which is open to them, Europe will, for a long time, have to furniſh them with manufactured merchandize. It has been made to appear, that the clearing and cultivation of lands, and all that relates to interior commerce, ſuch as roads and canals, offered to their induſtry the moſt favourable and uſeful employ, eſpecially whilſt impoſts do not reſtrain their movements, and that a free conſtitution equally honours every individual.

It is now neceſſary to take a curſory view of their wants, and to point out thoſe articles with which France may pretend to furniſh them in competition

competition with other nations, if even ſhe cannot do it more advantageouſly than her rivals. I will follow, in this enumeration, the Engliſh publications which have treated upon the matter, and particularly that of *Lord Sheffield:* he has omitted nothing, becauſe his country pretends to furniſh every thing *.

SECTION I.

WINES.

Wine becomes a real want of thoſe who have once been acquainted with it. Happy or miſerable, rich or poor, every body makes uſe of wine. Wine is the delight of the happy or of the rich. It helps the unfortunate to ſupport his ſorrow; the poor think they find it an equivalent for the food they are without.

Eaſe has lately been too general in the United States, not to have introduced the uſe of wine; and futurity, by augmenting their means, will only increaſe their want of this liquor.

* I will not deſcend to the minutiæ his Lordſhip has done, but I will prove, in every important article, the French, if they know how to profit by their natural advantages, muſt obtain a preference.

The wines which were moſt generally conſumed in the United States, were, as in England, Oporto, Madeira, and ſome from Spain. French wines charged as in Britain, with enormous duties, were introduced by contraband only.

Liberty has cauſed thoſe Britannic ſhackles to diſappear. French wines are freely imported into the United States, and pay but little duty.

Such is the ſtate of things, and it leads me to the diſcuſſion of three queſtions:

Does it ſuit the United States to cultivate vines, and to make wine?

Ought they not, in renouncing this cultivation, to give the preference to French wines?

And what means ought the French to uſe, in order to obtain and preſerve this preference?

It would be abſurd to deny, that the United States can produce wine, becauſe the experiments hitherto made have been fruitleſs. Extended as they are, and having countries as ſouthern as Europe, it is impoſſible there ſhould not be, in many places, a ſoil proper for the vine.

The little ſucceſs of attempts may therefore, without hazarding too much, be attributed either

ther to the ignorance of the cultivator, his want of perſeverance, or a bad choice of plants.

However that may be, if the Americans will hearken to the counſels of able obſervers, and reap advantage from the errors of other nations, they will carefully avoid the cultivation of vines. In every country where they have been cultivated, for one rich man, they have made a number wretched.

The long and conſiderable advances which vines require, the preparation, preſervation, and ſale, of their produce, have put all the good vineyard plots into the hands of rich people, who not cultivating theſe themſelves, pay the real cultivator very badly. The ſalary of the wretched vine-dreſſer is every where inevitably fixed; the time he does not work not being calculated, and few wine countries offer any employ by which loſt time may be filled up; and otherwiſe, the variations in the prices of the moſt neceſſary commodities occaſioned by a thouſand cauſes, by the abundance or even ſcarcity of wine, are not conſidered for him.

Would it be believed, that abundance is the moſt unfortunate thing that can happen, either to the proprietor or the vine-dreſſer? In fact, the expence of gathering augments, and the

price

price of the thing diminiſhes. There is more work to be done, more hands are neceſſary, and they are paid more wages; more hogſheads are wanted, the expences of carriage greater, more ſpace is required, the ſale is leſs, and conſequently the income*.

The ſcarcity of wines, or the ſterility of the vineyard, is perhaps leſs unfortunate than the abundance, at leaſt to the proprietor. But it is cruelly felt by the vine-dreſſer, and thoſe wandering troops of day labourers, whom the

* The day's work of a vintager varies according to the ſcarcity or abundance of wine, from ſix to fifty ſols. The price of hogſheads has likewiſe variations in a different price, from three to fifteen livres. There are years wherein the price of the hogſhead is higher than that of the wine which it contains.

The proprietor who eſtabliſhes his expences upon his revenues, is every year deceived by thoſe of the vineyard. In one year he receives at the rate of 20 for 100; the ſecond year his vineyard is perhaps deſtroyed by hail; the third he is expoſed to bankrupcy, or to ſuffer by it, or his wines turn ſour; the fourth he may have but a moderate produce, which will not compenſate for his preceding loſſes. In ten years time a proprietor would ſcarcely find an average year which was tolerably good; yet, as men love to exaggerate their riches and means, each proprietor calculates his revenue upon the higheſt produce that his vineyard has ever yielded: the greateſt part of them ſpend in conſequence, and are ruined.

ingratitude

ingratitude of their ſoil, or a bad government, forces to go from home in ſearch of employ.

The numerous variations which have an influence upon the produce of the vineyard, make it very inconvenient property, and triflingly advantageous *. The return muſt be waited for when much has been gathered; payments muſt be made when there has been but little. The proprietor muſt therefore have other reſources, whether it be to wait or to pay. The vine-dreſſer, unhappy enough to have a property †, without any of theſe reſources, ruins himſelf ſooner or later. He is obliged to ſell at a low price ‡, or to conſume his wines himſelf; thence

* It is a proverb in France, that there is no property worſe conditioned than that of the vineyard.

† The ſituation of a vine-dreſſer is different according to the cuſtom of countries. In ſome he is hired only by the day, and there he is completely wretched. In others, as in Switzerland, he has half of the produce. But an unjuſt and tyrannical tax, laid on by the proprietors themſelves, reduces this half to a quarter part.

‡ Such is nearly the ſituation of moſt of the vine-dreſſers of *Aunis*, who are proprietors. They are at the mercy of the rich farmers of that country. When winter comes, the vine-dreſſer has neither bread nor money. He goes to the farmer,

thence reſults his ſtupidity and idleneſs, his diſcouragement, his dull and quarrelſome humour, and eſpecially the ruin of his health. Too much wine in the time of abundance, no bread in that of ſcarcity; theſe are the two alternatives which divide his life.

Therefore countries covered with vineyards, are generally leſs peopled, and preſent a picture of a degenerated, weak, and wretched population. For the moſt part they want hands to cultivate the vineyard in a ſeaſon when work cannot be delayed. It is done by theſe bands of ſtrangers, of whom I have already ſpoken, and who come to ſell ſome days work to the poor vine-dreſſer.

The cultivation of a vineyard cannot be better compared than to thoſe manufactures, of

aſks him for both: the farmer ſays I will accommodate you, give me your note. The buſhel of wheat is worth ſix livres, oblige yourſelf to return me, at a certain epocha, the quantity of wheat which ſhall be ſold for ſix livres. He always takes care to fix the time when corn is at a low price. The obligation is paſſed, the moment of payment arrives; the vine-dreſſer, who has corn, gives more than he has received. If he has none, he is ſtill more embarraſſed; the farmer preſſes him, you have wine ſays he, ſell it me. But at what price? The farmer offers a very low one. It is refuſed, he threatens, the poor vine-dreſſer is obliged to ruin himſelf, and this ſcene is annually repeated.

which the hopes of ſucceſs are founded, upon the low price of workmanſhip, and which enrich none but the undertakers, and retailers or ſhopkeepers.

The pernicious influence of the vine is extended, in wine countries, to even thoſe who do not cultivate it; for the cheapneſs of wine leads to exceſſes, and conſequently it becomes a poiſon for all ranks of ſociety, for thoſe eſpecially who find in it a means of forgetting their ſorrows.

Therefore, as I have already remarked, induſtry carefully avoids theſe dangerous vineyard plots. None of the great manufactures, whoſe ſucceſs is the conſequence of order, aſſiduity, and labour, are ſeen in the neighbourhood of them.

The reſult of all theſe obſervations is, that the Americans ought to proſcribe the cultivation of the vine.

It would infallibly render miſerable that claſs of ſociety which ſhould apply itſelf to it, and in a republic there ſhould be none who are wretched, becauſe want obliges them to diſturb civil order, or, what is worſe, becauſe they are at the command of the rich by whom they are

paid, and who may make uſe of them to deſtroy republicaniſm *.

Conſidered with reſpect to the proprietors, the vine ought ſtill to be proſcribed by the United States; becauſe every profeſſion or calling, ſuſceptible of too great a variation of fortune, which ſometimes heaps up riches to one perſon, and at other reduces to indigence individuals in eaſy circumſtances, ought carefully to be avoided.—Economy, ſimplicity, private virtues, are not attached to ſuch changeableneſs.

They are found in the boſom of mediocrity only, from eaſineſs of circumſtances, founded upon that kind of toil whoſe produce is conſtant †. Such is that of agriculture in general; it embraces divers productions, which, in caſe of accident, replace each other ‡.

Finally,

* The mean language of ſhopkeepers, who humbly offer their merchandize, has already begun to find its way into the American papers.

† The Indians are almoſt all cultivators or weavers, which is the reaſon why private morals have been better preſerved among theſe people than any where elſe, in ſpite of the exceſſes of deſpotiſm.

‡ What recompence would be conſiderable enough for an ingenious man, who ſhould give to humanity the means of preſerving potatoes for ſeveral years, eſpecially if the proceſs were

Finally, if it be inſiſted that wine is neceſſary to man, let it not ſtupify him; it ſhould be uſed with moderation, and its dearneſs alone may oblige men to be moderate in the uſe of it. It being greatly the intereſt of the American Republics to remove all exceſſes from individuals, in order to prevent this degeneracy, they ought to keep perpetually at a diſtance from them a production, whoſe dearneſs will prevent the abuſe of it, whoſe cultivation would render it cheap, and conſequently bring on dangerous exceſſes both to policy and morals *.

The catalogue which I have juſt gone over, of the evils and abuſes occaſioned by the culture of vines, will not induce the French to pull up theirs. But it ought at leaſt to excite

were ſimple and not expenſive? In that caſe want would be no longer feared. The embarraſſment about the legiſlation of corn would diſappear, and miſery perhaps be driven from among men.

* It will be objected, that men employed in agriculture, have need of wine to ſupport them in their labour. This is but an opinion: there are found, in countries where it is leaſt uſed, vigorous and indefatigable men. In truth, wine contains an active ſpirit which may ſupply the want of ſubſtantial aliment, and it is for this reaſon the peaſants have recourſe to wine or brandy, which is more within their reach. Give them meat and potatoes, and they will eaſily do without wine.

them to increaſe in foreign markets the conſumption of wines, in order to keep up their price, and conſequently to diminiſh a part of the evils which they produce. This will be doubly advantageous, by an additional exterior profit, and a diminution of interior ill. Nobody will deny that French wines muſt obtain the preference in the United States. They are the moſt agreeable, the moſt varied, and wholeſome, if moderately uſed; the leaſt prejudicial, if uſed to exceſs. They ought to be the baſis of our exportations to America; no nation can raiſe a competition with us. Lord Sheffield himſelf pays this homage to our wines; but in order to aſſure to them this advantage for ever, the art of making, preſerving, and tranſporting them muſt be improved.

In general we are at preſent far from this *; ignorance,

* I will quote, for inſtance, the wines of Provence, which by their ſtrength ought to be capable of ſupporting the longeſt voyages; and by their analogy to the wines of Portugal, would have the greateſt ſucceſs in the United States, if they were properly prepared. Theſe wines have hitherto been in the loweſt repute in the North, in the Indian and American colonies; and that becauſe, on one hand, the fitters out of veſſels brought them without chooſing, and on the other, the individual having no idea of the culture of vines, nor of the preparation

ignorance, old prejudices, diſcouragement of the people, impoſt on exportation; all concur to retard the progreſs of improvement.

The United States (theſe ſtates of ſo new a date) already furniſh us the model of an inſtitution, which alone would encourage the culture of corn and vines, and make the momentary inconvenience of abundant vintages, which ruin the proprietor and farmer, diſappear.

This inſtitution, eaſy to be naturalized in France, would have two branches, a depoſit in the public magazines of the productions of the earth; certificate or billets of depoſit which would form an authentic title for the diſpoſing proprietor, transferable without formalities at the current price, like all other public effects.

It is thus, that in Virginia means have been

paration of wine, mixed the white grape with the red, did not diſtinguiſh the plants, the ſoil, nor ſituation; cured it by rote, without paying attention to the difference of years and qualities; put into his tubs, to give, as he pretended, a higher flavor to his wine, all ſorts of deteſtable ingredients, ſuch as ſalt, lime, plaiſter, and pigeon's dung; put it into bad caſks of cheſnut-tree; left in them a year's ſediment, and never drew off the wine, ſo that it was always more inclined to turn ſour then any other wine, and therefore became little fit for a foreign voyage.

found to ſupply the want of money *, and to give, at the time of reaping, a real and uſeful value to tobacco, which, without that, waiting for a demand, lies heavy upon the proprietor.

This is not the place to examine this idea profoundly, neither to deſtroy the objections which will be made againſt it. This project may conſtitute the matter of a memoir by itſelf. I give here nothing more than the title †.

People

* The Virginians have given another example which proves how eaſy it is to do without money. Many countries near to the Ohio, having none of it, the general aſſembly reſolved, they ſhould pay their quota of imports in hemp and flax, which ſhould be depoſited in the public magazines.

† If it were wiſhed that this project ſhould ſucceed, it would be abſolutely neceſſary to put away all poſſibility of an abuſe unpuniſhed. It would perhaps be neceſſary, that government ſhould take no part, nor have any influence in it. This precaution will be exclaimed againſt, but let us once more caſt our eyes upon England. If there be a government upon earth whoſe hands are tied, whoſe ſteps are watched, whoſe actions are brought to light, to public cenſure, and conſequently, whoſe ſecret attempts are leſs to be feared by the people, it is that of England. See what the aſtoniſhing Miniſter, who is now at the head of affairs, propoſes to hinder the intervention and influence of the Engliſh government in the new plan of redemption of the public effects and of their decreaſe. He inſiſts, that the commiſſioners who ſhall be charged with it, ſhall be always independent of government; that they ſhall be public agents, and that no force ſhall conſtrain

People in the United States, complain of an abuſe in the commerce of the French wines, which abuſe, it is of importance to remedy in

ſtrain them to alienate from its object the money deſtined to pay off or leſſen the public debt.

This miniſter clearly perceived, that the confidence of the people ought to be gained at any price, for the eſtabliſhment which exiſts but by confidence; and that in ſuch a caſe, the ſacrifice of power would ſignify nothing to a government which is really willing to prevent abuſes.

The advantages reſulting from a plan like this are viſible. Public depoſitories would ſupply the defect of ability in thoſe who could not lay up the productions of the earth. They would prevent ſquandering, loſſes, and ſcarcity, and eſtabliſh a more conſtant uniformity in prices as well as in quantities: want of confidence would at firſt perhaps hinder the uſe of theſe magazines, caves, or cellars of theſe public reſervoirs. But this would not long be the caſe, if ſincerity, order, and economy, reigned in theſe eſtabliſhments. It is an advantage which might have been procured by means of provincial adminiſtrations, and which perhaps will never be enjoyed but under their auſpices.

With reſpect to the *billets* or *notes of commodities or productions*, it is ſeen how greatly they would increaſe national riches, how quickly the miſery of the peaſants would diſappear, if theſe notes circulated as value in commerce, and if the vine-dreſſer could change his note of depoſit for productions of which he was in need. The monopoly of rich cultivators would then be overturned; of cultivators who ſuck up the whole ſubſiſtence of the vine-dreſſer, and, by avaricious advances, reduces him to their will.

the

the moſt ſpeedy manner, if we would not deſtroy the commerce in its origin. Illicit commerce produced there before the revolution good Bourdeaux wine, becauſe it *is a property of ſmuggling to give that which is of ſuperior quality, and at a cheaper rate.*

Now, ſince the peace, wines ſent from France have not been, as it is aſſerted, of a good quality. It is poſſible that from greedineſs they may ſometimes have been adulterated. But this tranſient abuſe which the merchant may eaſily deſtroy whenever he pleaſes, by chooſing in the United States commiſſioners whoſe reputation is untouched; this abuſe, I ſay, ought not to ſtop the exportations of France.—Wine, if it be good, will always find conſumers.—Nothing but intelligence and ſincerity are neceſſary to ſucceed in this, for nature has done the reſt for France.

The Americans prefer, in general, the wine which is carried to them in bottles, becauſe they believe it leſs ſubject to become ſharp, or to change on the voyage. On the firſt view, it ſeems advantageous to France to furniſh its wines with this envelope, becauſe it is a new opening for its glaſs-ware. But if it be recollected, what a prodigious quantity of combuſti-

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bles glaſs manufactures require, to the ſenſible deſtruction of foreſts, it appears imprudent to encourage a commerce which cannot but augment it rapidly. At leaſt, before it be encouraged, it would be neceſſary to have very certain accounts of the number of glaſs manufactories in the kingdom, of their conſumption of wood and charcoal, of their produce and exportation, and finally of our foreſts and mines.

SECTION II.

BRANDY.

The rapid progreſs lately made in chymiſtry, has diſcovered in moſt of the fruits of the earth, the ſalts and ſpirits which conſtitute the eſſence of brandy; this diſcovery has been turned to advantage; there reſults from it a conſiderable abatement in the price of that liquor, that is to ſay a very great evil; this proves, by the way, that there are diſcoveries in phyſics which ſhould not be revealed without having firſt conſidered their moral and political effects, and having indicated to government the means of preventing their inconveniencies; it alſo proves, that

that a chymiſt ought not to be a chymiſt only, but a politician alſo.

The brandies of France are generally looked upon as the beſt, that is to ſay, the moſt delicate and leaſt pernicious: therefore they obtain the preference with people in eaſy circumſtances.

A great deal of brandy is conſumed by the common people; but this is counter-balanced at home and abroad by ſpirits drawn from grain, fruit, or ſugar.

Rum, which is produced from the latter, has had, and ever will have, in the United States, the preference over our brandies, by reaſon of its cheapneſs. The Americans, eſpecially the Boſtonians, import melaſſes from the ſugar iſlands and diſtil it, and independently of their conſumption, they re-ſell a great part of it to the inhabitants of the ſame iſlands, who cannot diſtil it for want of combuſtibles.

Beſide rum, the Americans make ſtrong ſpirits from grain, potatoes, &c. They are indebted for this to the Iriſh and Germans who have gone to ſettle in the United States. A pernicious preſent thoſe emigrants have made them.

In Ireland the cheapneſs of ſpirits made from grain,

grain, places them within the reach of the pooreſt man. The loweſt claſſes of ſociety uſe them to an incredible exceſs; and this exceſs contributes not a little to promote that quarrelſome humour which characteriſes the Iriſh, to plunge them into ſtupidity, and hinder them from riſing to that degree of proſperity to which the liberty of commerce they have lately obtained ought to carry them.

The Americans would already have experienced a part of that degradation of which the exceſſive uſe of ſtrong liquors is the cauſe, if they were not almoſt all proprietors, in eaſy circumſtances, and fathers of families; if inſtruction and morals were not more generally propagated among them than among any other people; and, finally, if the quick and conſiderable profits which workmen there obtain by the high price of workmanſhip, did not give them a ſalutary ambition which keeps them from intemperance *.

Thoſe

* The temperance of the Americans proves, *that a man is honeſt when he is happy.* He is neither vicious nor criminal, *except when he is wretched.* What therefore is the firſt cauſe of his vices and crimes? The cauſe of his wretchedneſs. The genealogy of almoſt all crimes is—no property or want of employ—cauſe of wretchedneſs of the people—wretchedneſs the

Thoſe of the United States *, where the people have gone from ſimple and primitive manners, where luxury begins to reign, where ſla-

the cauſe of drunkenneſs—drunkenneſs the cauſe of quarrels —of idleneſs, of miſery, of theſts.—Theſts cauſe impriſonment and capital puniſhments.

The firſt link only to which a defect of property is attached, remains to be remarked. It is not neceſſary to name it. But it ariſes from this genealogy, that in the actual order of things, the people being drawn into vices and crimes, are leſs culpable than they are imagined; conſequently, they ought not to be ſo ſeverely puniſhed, and that government ſhould ſuppreſs too ſevere pains. This truth cannot be too often repeated, and it ought to be joined to every circumſtance when opportunity offers, ſeeing that the liſt of bloody executions is every where augmented, and that narrow minds which ſee the atrocity only of the crime, without perceiving its cauſe, inceſſantly demand blood for expiation. There would be but few ſcaffolds if none but real criminals mounted them.

* See Smith's Voyage to the Southern United States, where a deſcription of the life of the Carolinians is given. This author makes it appear, that they drink to exceſs the ſtrongeſt liquors, although the climate be extremely hot. By this they abridge their lives, and appear old in the flower of youth. This is one of the cauſes of the mortality among the Engliſh in the Eaſt Indies; they have introduced there the uſe of wines and ſtrong liquors, and they are victims to them. The Indians make no uſe of theſe, and live to a great age.

In quoting Smith, the European readers ought to be put on their guard againſt Engliſh partiality, which reigns throughout the work.

very

very ſtill exiſts, are daily witneſſes to the ravages cauſed by the exceſſive uſe of ſpirits made from grain *.

A long habit is difficult, and often impoſſible, to ſhake off, eſpecially when it procures enjoyments. Therefore, it is not to be expected that the Americans will ever renounce the uſe of theſe liquors. The philoſopher ſighs at this; commercial nations, which turn to profit the misfortunes and caprices of mankind, ſtrive to take advantage of it. France will have the advantage †, if ſhe can reduce the price of brandies to the level of that of rum. Government, in order to aim at this point, has already perceived the neceſſity of lowering the duties on the exportation of theſe ſpirits.

But ought it to favour, with ſo much complaiſance, the diſtillation and exportation of brandies? I do not think ſo; this new opinion ſeems to be a paradox; it will ceaſe to appear

* All brandies, except thoſe from ſugar and wine, are pernicious, eſpecially when new. They cannot be drank without immediately diſordering the body. The moſt trifling exceſs is ſufficient to cauſe death.

† Lord Sheffield agrees that the brandies of France are preferable to thoſe of Spain and Portugal, of which there is nevertheleſs ſome conſumption in the United States.

ſo,

ſo, when it ſhall have been examined with attention.

The diſtillation of brandies, cauſe a great decay of combuſtibles: one great evil in a country where combuſtibles daily become more rare *.

The exportation of brandy produces but little to the revenue. To encourage this article, it has been neceſſary to take off the impoſt, which at preſent is no more than five ſols per hogſhead, whilſt wine pays a duty of at leaſt an hundred ſols, and in the Bordelois from that ſum to twenty-eight livres †.

Government

* All the provinces of France, thoſe even to which nature has refuſed the means of tranſporting their wood to others, feel the ſcarcity of this article. Lorrain may be quoted as an inſtance. The foreſts of that province decay, as it is reported, in the proſpectus of a price upon pit-coal, propoſed by the academy of Nanci—the dearneſs of wood is exceſſive there. The cauſe of this inconvenience is not difficult to aſſign; it is the neceſſary conſequence of forges, glaſs-houſes, ſalt-pits, &c. The academy requires pit-coal to be ſought for, to ſerve inſtead of wood. A more ſimple means would be to deſtroy forges and glaſs-houſes, and to get iron and glaſs from America.

† Government has, ſince this work has been written, ſuſpended the duties paid by the wines of Bourdeaux and Languedoc. This ſuſpenſion was granted upon a remonſtrance, importing

Government ought to have done the reverſe, to have reduced the duties on wines, and augmented thoſe upon brandies.

The exportation of brandies is prejudicial to the conſumption of our wines, for it is the baſis of all made wines in countries where wine is not produced. It is put into a great quantity of water; to which is added bay berries, every where to be found. Wine brandies are indiſpenſable in this fabrication, no other can ſupply their place, becauſe they only can give to artificial wines the winy taſte which is eſſential to make them drinkable.

What immenſe gain to ſtrangers in this proceſs—and what loſs to France! A barrel of brandy which pays a trifling duty on exportation, whoſe tranſport coſts but little on account of its contracted bulk, may be added to five or ſix barrels of water, which coſt nothing, and by the aid of ſugared ingredients, which give colours, may enter into competition with ſix barrels of wine, that pay conſiderable duties on

importing that there was an enormous quantity of wines at Bourdeaux, and which the holders dared not export, that they might not be obliged to advance the high duties. This proves, that impoſts occaſion a ſtagnation.

exportation; and whoſe exportation and tranſport is very expenſive.

Therefore, in diſtilling and exporting brandies, we work for the intereſt of our rivals; we give them an eaſy means of doing without our wines. What folly! What would people ſay of an Alchymiſt, who having found the philoſopher's ſtone, ſhould communicate his ſecret to his rivals, who would make uſe of it to his prejudice.

And yet this operation ſo prejudicial to France has been favoured by government. It encourages diſtillers; that is, it raiſes up enemies againſt the meliorating vineyards and wines; and eſpecially againſt the art of preſerving the latter. It would be much more prudent and advantageous to diſcourage diſtilleries. In fact, the diſtillation of brandies is for the vineyard proprietor a laſt reſource, which proves his ruin *.

SECTION

* In the Orleanois, ſix barrels at leaſt of wine are neceſſary to make one of brandy. The wine of this country, when it is drinkable, is ſold on an average at thirty livres a barrel. The ſix barrels produce one hundred and thirty livres, and reduced to brandy they ſcarcely produce eighty. Thus the proprietor ſuffers a loſs of one hundred. Brandies ſent abroad, where they diminiſh the ſale of wine, can bear no exportation duty.

SECTION III.

OILS, OLIVES, DRY-FRUITS, &c.

Theſe articles are ſo many wants with the Americans of eaſy fortune, and eſpecially thoſe in the northern States. Our ſouthern Provinces, which produce ſuch delicious fruits, cannot in this reſpect fear any competition. They are alſo articles which have hitherto beſt ſucceeded in adventures made from Marſeilles.

Moreover, all that Europe will be able to furniſh of them, will find room in the United States; they will accompany our wines, and we can join with the ſame eaſe and certainty of ſale, perfumeries, anchovies, verdigriſe, &c. as well as an hundred other little things taken by the Engliſh from Marſeilles, and of which they have created a want to the Americans.

duty. Wines, on the contrary, pay a conſiderable one. Let theſe calculations be anſwered. The Engliſh themſelves ought not to admit the brandies of France, becauſe, in filling England with artificial wines, they are prejudicial to their wine duty. The prohibition of brandies would, under this double aſpect, be advantageous to both countries.

Lord Sheffield, in his work, makes Spain, Portugal, and Italy, furniſh the United States with theſe commodities. I wiſh he had been ſincere enough to give the advantage to France. France is ſo generally known to ſell theſe productions in the States of America, that it is equally aſtoniſhing this writer ſhould have been ignorant of it, or ſilent upon the ſubject. This fact, by proving his partiality, ought to put readers upon their guard againſt his aſſertions.

SECTION IV.

CLOTHS.

People governed by a free conſtitution are naturally grave and deliberate. They prefer, in every thing they uſe, goodneſs to elegance, what is ſolid to that which is ſubject to the caprices of mode. Therefore as long as the independent Americans enjoy their excellent conſtitution, they will prefer clothes of cloth to thoſe of the moſt brilliant ſtuffs.

Moreover its beauty, pliancy, ſtrength, and duration, render it more generally fit for this

uſe

uſe in any climate whatſoever: cloth ſecures the body from the exceſſes of cold as well as from thoſe of heat. It reſiſts rain; in a word it unites every convenience; and if it be the univerſal clothing of people in a middling ſtate, it offers equally to the rich, but reaſonable man, a choice proper to ſatisfy his taſte, and to proportion his expences to his means.

The manufacture of cloths is in the number of thoſe complicated manufactures which employ throughout the year a great number of workmen by the day; therefore it will not be ſuitable to the Americans, ſo long as that claſs of men which produces theſe workmen ſhall be able to employ themſelves more uſefully in the clearing of lands, and in cultivation in general.

A manufacture of woollen ſtuffs, proper for the clothing of the country proprietor, his family, and ſervants, may, without doubt, be aſſociated into the labours of the field; but manufactures of this kind, although very important in themſelves, can only be applied to coarſe and unfiniſhed ſtuffs. The interrupted leiſure of the peaſant permits him to do nothing which is complicated. Card, ſpin, weave, and

bleach, is all that he can do*. If it be neceſſary for him to go beyond theſe, he will find a greater advantage in ſelling his raw materials, or even with their firſt preparations, if they be ſimple, and to draw from the manufactures, properly ſo called, the articles of which he is in need.

We owe little gratitude to thoſe of our ſpeculators who immediately after the peace diſperſed our cloths in the United States. If one ſpark of public ſpirit had animated them, they would have perceived the precious and honourable ſervice which they were able to render to their country in theſe firſt adventures, by giving to the Americans a great idea of the ſtate of our manufactures. Theſe people were well diſpoſed, by the ſuccour France had given them, to cheriſh its inhabitants, to eſteem their cha-

* As long as there are lands to be cleared, the leiſure which agriculture affords will be very ſhort, becauſe every ſeaſon is proper for this employ, except when too great a quantity of ſnow ſtops the work. The intervals of leiſure become regularly eſtabliſhed, when the ſyſtem of cultivation is fixed, and the ſoil entirely diſpoſed thereto. Then undertakings are calculated upon their duration; but, in general, ſimple work, which requires no workſhop, no conſiderable apparatus, is that only which agrees with agriculture.

racter,

racter, and receive their productions. They were well diſpoſed to abjure the contempt and averſion with which the Engliſh had inſpired them for their rivals and their productions, and to give France the preference in every thing. Why has avarice, by a miſerable calculation, rendered theſe good diſpoſitions of no effect? Men were willing to gain, to gain greatly; to make what is called a good ſtroke, in taking advantage of the diſtreſs of the Americans, and forcing them to take thoſe commodities which were unfit for every other market *.

This diſhoneſty has counterbalanced the ſervice rendered them; for the imprudent and wretched young man, whoſe throat is cut by an uſurer, owes him no acknowledgment. A greater evil to France has been the conſequence —her cloths have loſt their reputation in the

* I do not accuſe any body; but I can certify, upon the authority of the moſt reſpectable eye witneſſes, that ſome of theſe outcaſt cloths fell at the end of ſix months wear into ſhreds.

The Americans were ſo ſtruck by this, that Mr. Laurens, after having received two millions, which France lent to the United States, employed a part of that ſum to buy Engliſh cloths. Complaints were made; he anſwered that it was his duty to buy better and cheaper cloths.

United States. But let the Americans undeceive themſelves; let them not attribute to the nation the fault of a few individuals; let them not have a bad opinion of our cloths, becauſe ſome bad ones have been ſent to them. The ſame accident would have happened to Engliſh cloths if, in a like caſe, there had been Engliſh merchants avaricious enough, and ſo far ſtrangers to the public good, as to ſend their refuſe to the United States *.

* Engliſh merchants love as well as others to get money, and there are among them thoſe who, for the love of gain, would trample under foot every patriotic conſideration. But the public ſpirit of the generality of them puts, in England more than elſewhere, a check upon the ſhameful enterprizes of avarice; conſequently the greater part of the merchants never abandon the national intereſts in their ſpeculations, neither the honour of Engliſh commerce, nor the reputation of their manufactures. It is thus they are become the principal agents for furniſhing every ſpecies of manufacture to the whole world. When it happens that any of them ſacrifice national reputation to views of private intereſt, honeſt patriots generally prefer accuſations againſt them before a public tribunal, and then the culprit is not ſuffered to anſwer by clandeſtine memoirs to public and ſubſtantial accuſations; this obſcure and cowardly reſource is held in too great contempt to be made uſe of. There remains nothing to the culprit but ſilence or falſehood; in both caſes he is diſhonoured in the opinion of the public, which affects and marks every individual, without reſpect to rank, power, or riches

The

The Americans who come among us, ſtudy the nature of the intercourſe which we ſhall one day have with the United States; they know that our manufacturers poſſeſs all the means which give to Engliſh cloths their reputation; that they make them in the ſame manner, and that the ſuperfines are ſuperior to thoſe of England; that in general dying is better underſtood with us, and carried to a greater perfection: in ſhort, that it depends but on ſome circumſtances eaſy to be got over, to make the cheapneſs of our workmanſhip aſſure us the preference to the Engliſh with reſpect to cloths.

Lord Sheffield, in avowing the ſuperiority of our fine cloths, and of their cheapneſs, obſerves, that the greateſt conſumption of the Americans is of common cloths, with reſpect to which France cannot enter into a competition with England. And he draws from it this conſequence, that the inconvenience of dividing the demands to compoſe aſſortments, and the conſideration of the ſmall quantity of fine cloth neceſſary to form them, will cauſe theſe to be ordered in England, notwithſtanding the advantage there would be in getting them from France.

But

But why ſhould we not furniſh common cloths to the United States, ſince the labour of our manufacturers is cheaper than that of England? It is becauſe the Engliſh wool is cheaper than ours. The Engliſh grow their own wool, and ſtand in no need of foreign wool, except a little Spaniſh, indiſpenſable to ſuperfine cloths. On the contrary, we import more than half of the wool we manufacture into cloth. M. la Platiere ſays there are thirty-five millions of ſheep kept in Great Britain, each of which, he affirms, produces on an average at leaſt ſix pounds of wool. It is the breed of ſheep which gives to England ſuch an amazing ſuperiority over all other nations in her woollen manufactures. France ought to encourage the breed of ſheep and the deſtruction of wolves*. M. la Platiere ſaw this evil, and had courage to publiſh it in the Encyclo-

* In the time of the monarchy there was an office called *Louveterie*, or Maſter of the French King's wolf-hounds, and his aſſociates received a trifling recompence for the head of every wolf they killed: of whom this fact is well atteſted. There is a ſmall diſtrict, the ſub-delegate of which put into his account the price of ten thouſand wolves heads. The quantity appeared extraordinary to the miniſter. The affair was examined. The ſub-delegate was diſcharged. But he who prompted him to the act went unpuniſhed.

pedie

pedie Methodique. Platiere was called a man of pretenſions. The ſame title was given to Dr. Price in London when he predicted the loſs of the Colonies. The miniſterial heads of that country laughed at the prophet, but the event proved he was right.

SECTION V.

LINENS.

There are two principal ſpecies of linen-drapery, which are ſubdivided into a multitude of others.

The firſt ſpecies contains linen properly ſo called; that is to ſay, linen which ſerves to make ſhirts, ſheets, table linen, and all the linen made uſe of for every purpoſe of cleanlineſs.

Theſe linens are made with hemp, flax, or cotton; this laſt article is employed when the two former ones are ſcarce, it is ſometimes mixed with flax.

The manner of making theſe linens is very ſimple; they are made in all parts of Europe *.

Thoſe

* If there be a country where the manufacture of linens is encouraged, it is in Ireland, particularly ſince its reſurrection into the political world. Parliament has eſtabliſhed a committee which is particularly employed about this manufacture, and which grants very conſiderable ſuccours to manufacturers.

There

Thoſe countries where religious or political deſpotiſm diſcourages induſtry; where the numerous inſtitutions of charity, invented to divert the attention of deſpair from miſery, nouriſh idleneſs; theſe countries are the only ones wherein this manufacture does not merit the attention of the political obſerver.

There is one who has obtained more than thirty thouſand pounds ſterling from government, and whoſe manufacture employs two thouſand men and women, and ſix hundred children.

This committee names inſpectors to examine the ſtate of manufactures, and afterwards to make reports, or give a general deſcription of their ſituation, of the number of workmen they employ, of their produce, reſources, wants, &c ‖.

Still more has been done in Ireland, to encourage the commerce of linen; great edifices have been built, and deſtined to receive them, as well as thoſe who come to offer them for ſale. The moſt conſiderable market being at Dublin, three or four times a year, linen merchants from the North, who have bleach yards, come to Dublin with their aſſortments. They find in theſe edifices, places for their linens and for themſelves to lodge in, all at no expence.—They meet Engliſh buyers or others, who go there to gather together all their purchaſes.—Like depoſitories are eſtabliſhed in the North; they are eſſentially neceſſary to thoſe manufactures, the articles of which are gathered in the country.—Where they exiſt, expences are leſs, and work is better paid for.

‖ When theſe inſpectors are honeſt, and men of underſtanding, their reports are evidences of ſucceſs. Then example has a ſingular influence upon induſtry.

Every

Every where elſe, the country people employ, more or leſs, the leiſure which their kind of life affords them to ſpin and weave linen. Moſt of the farmers and proprietors who enjoy a little eaſe, or who are not afraid of letting it appear, ſow hemp or flax, and draw from their ſoil and the work of their hands the linen which covers their bodies and ſupplies their family.

The Engliſh have added other cauſes to thoſe which produce low-priced workmanſhip: their aſtoniſhing induſtry, their obſerving genius, their ever calculating mind, have invented for the ſpinning, &c. of cotton, and for weaving, ſeveral machines which ſtill ſurpaſs the cheapneſs to be expected from the leiſure of the inhabitants of the country.

As theſe machines are inſenſibly introduced into countries, it may be expected that the low price of linen-drapery will be every where eſtabliſhed.

But notwithſtanding the multiplication of theſe machines, nations which groan under a bad government, or are grown ruſty in old and wretched habits, will always depend, for that article of neceſſity, upon thoſe which have eſtabliſhed bounds to their government, but none

none for their induſtry, which muſt conſtantly increaſe.

It reſults from theſe facts, that the United States will always have, in proportion to the increaſe of their population and culture, leſs recourſe to ſtrangers for that principal kind of linen-drapery whoſe manufacture is ſo well aſſociated with the labours of the field*.

Very fine linens muſt be excepted; they are deſtined for luxury, and the individuals employed in manufacturing them are condemned to vegetate miſerably in cities, rolling perpetually in the ſame circle of mechanical labours †.

It

* The American women are renowned for their induſtry in the conduct of their houſes; they ſpin a great deal of wool or flax; they would loſe their reputation and be deſpiſed, if their whole family were not almoſt entirely clothed with the cloth and linen made in the houſe: if the whole interior of their ruſtic habitation did not bear evident marks of their cleanlineſs and induſtry.

† Manufactures are much boaſted of, becauſe children are employed therein from their moſt tender age; that is to ſay, that men congratulate themſelves upon making early martyrs of theſe innocent creatures; for is it not a torment to theſe poor little beings, whom nature commands us to permit to take the air and their ſports, until they are of riper years, and their ſtrength is become conſiderable—Is it not a torment to them to be a whole day, and almoſt every day of their lives,

employed

It is the unhappy fate of all thoſe who are born in Europe without property, and will not debaſe themſelves by domeſtic labour.

The United States, where laborious individuals may with ſo much facility become proprietors, are far from that degradation; and if they are wiſe, they will have, for a long time, the happineſs not to ſee ſpun or woven among them, any of thoſe delicate kinds of thread and fine linens, which, ſought after and bought up by the opulent, are the real productions of European miſery.

The ſecond ſpecies of linens contains what is more properly called linen-drapery; that is

employed at the ſame work, in an obſcure and infected priſon? Muſt not the wearineſs and vexation which they ſuffer, obſtruct the opening of their phyſical and intellectual faculties, and ſtupify them? Muſt not there reſult from this a degenerate race, inclined to automatoniſm and ſlavery? For moſt manufactures require no other than mechanical labours, which a machine would perform as well as a man. It is therefore impoſſible that a man condemned to this kind of employ ſhould not become a machine; and ſtupidity and ſervitude are joined to each other.—Theſe truths cannot be too often repeated, not to diſguſt the Europeans with the mania of manufactures; they are too far advanced to retract; but to hinder the Americans from ever following the ſame career.

to ſay, cloth made of thread of different colours, whether flax or cotton; or theſe two ſubſtances mixed with others.

The greater part of this drapery requires too complicated a proceſs, too varied an apparatus, too continued a labour, to be manufactured otherways than in thoſe particular eſtabliſhments, ſituated from neceſſity in the neighbourhood of cities, and which have no affinity with a rural life.

The art of making well the tiſſue, of mixing the colours, of contraſting them, of imaginary agreeable deſigns, of preparing the linen when it is finiſhed, &c. this art extenſive, varied, and delicate, requires the greateſt attention. The moſt important thing is to do a great deal in it at a little expence, and it is the point to which the Engliſh are arrived, with reſpect to that kind generally known under the name of printed callico.

This will be for a long time a conſiderable article of commerce, between Europe and the United States, which conſumes a great deal of it; and it is an article wherein French induſtry, left to its natural force, and not being reſtrained by any obſtacle, need not fear com-

competition *. In this, as in moſt other articles, the nature of things is entirely in favour of France, and ſucceſs depends wholly on the will of her government.

In the year 1785 the government of France invited, by an arret, foreign manufacturers of theſe linens to come and ſettle in France.

But this invitation is not made in terms ſufficiently clear, or flattering, to induce ſtrangers to come and ſettle amongſt us; eſpecially not ſuch as have a little energy and elevation in their characters, and it is of theſe alone that we are in need.

Among different favours granted them, there is one which entitles them to the *enjoyment of their ſtate or profeſſion, and of their uſages*; *in*

* Lord Sheffield maintains in his work, that France has not even linen enough for her own conſumption. A commercial dictionary, printed at Lyons in 1763, aſſures on the contrary, that France ſends a great deal abroad. If the compiler of the dictionary ſpoke truth, he might be anſwered according to the author of Les Etudes de la Nature—"Of "what uſe is it to a ſtate to clothe foreign nations, when "ones own people are quite naked?"—Theſe two writers may be made to agree, by ſaying that France, reſtored to her energy, would eaſily furniſh linens to foreigners and her own citizens, and that various interior cauſes have hitherto prevented her from doing it.

that which ſhall not be contrary to the laws of the kingdom, &c.

But what ſignifies all the vague expreſſions of enjoyment, of ſtate and profeſſion, liberty and uſages? What State is here ſpoken of? Is it of the political, civil, religious, or domeſtic ſtate? Engliſhmen, independent Americans, have a political ſtate, a political liberty, that is, a right to take part in the adminiſtration of public affairs; is this ſtate underſtood? Is the liberty of having a temple for communion, for marriage according to that communion, underſtood by the liberty of uſages? Why are not theſe uſages ſpecified?

And above all, what ſignifies theſe words, *in that which ſhall not be contrary to the laws of the kingdom.* If they convey a clear meaning, do not they completely deſtroy the preceding favours granted? or, at leaſt, do not they leave a great uncertainty upon that which is or is not granted?

Why is not a language clear and without evaſion made uſe of, eſpecially in treating with ſtrangers? Inſtead of an equivocal jargon, dangerous in its nature, becauſe it produces miſtruſt, and may give an opening for deceit, why not ſay to them in clear terms, "If you come within

within our ſtates accompanied by your wives and children,—if you bring your manufactures, if you eſtabliſh yourſelves among us, you ſhall enjoy all the rights of our ſubjects? Theſe rights are, to poſſeſs property in the fulleſt ſecurity, and not to be deprived of it but by the laws, tribunals, &c. If you fix your abode among us, your children will, without obſtacle, be your heirs: you ſhall alſo preſerve your religious opinions. When there ſhall be a certain number of you, you ſhall have a temple wherein to worſhip, according to your own manner, the Everlaſting Father; and you ſhall have miniſters, and hold aſſemblies; ſhall intermarry according to your rules, &c. If France be not agreeable to you, nothing, abſolutely nothing, ſhall hinder you from leaving it, and carrying with you your riches." It ſhall be told that all this was meant to be ſaid by the arret: it was neceſſary then to explain it clearly, and why were theſe obſcure words added,—*in that which ſhall not be contrary to the laws of the kingdom?*

How ſhould a German, an Italian, an Engliſhman, who ſhould be tempted to eſtabliſh themſelves in France, be acquainted with your ancient laws and ordinances? Will they turn over your innumerable folios? Certainly they will

not, they will ſtay at home; you will therefore have failed in your intentions. On the other hand, do not they know that a century ago, and even ſince that time, thouſands of ordinances were, and have been made againſt the Calviniſts, and that theſe ordinances are not yet repealed? Ought not they to be afraid that theſe would be brought forth againſt them if they gave the leaſt offence? They will remain at home, and once more you have miſſed your aim.

It is the more neceſſary for monarchies not to diſguiſe under a captious form the advantages by which they ſeek to entice ſtrangers; as free ſtates, ſuch as Ireland and independent America, do not ſubject emigrants to any capitulation or conſtraint: they offer them all the rights of citizens the moment they ſet their feet on free ground; and what rights! In Ireland that of voting at elections; in the United States, that of being elected themſelves; and conſequently the moſt ſeducing right, becauſe it is the moſt proper one to maintain the dignity of a man who has dignity; the moſt proper to give it to him who has it not.

When a nation perceives the neceſſity of enticing ſtrangers to ſettle in it, nothing ought to be

be ſpared, eſpecially in ſtates far advanced in civilization.

It is a means of regenerating morals, if it be poſſible to regenerate them, and eſpecially to encourage induſtry: for in order to exiſt in a ſtrange land, and to gain in it conſideration and confidence, emigrants are forced to have good morals, probity, and exactitude. Their example cannot but have a ſalutary influence upon the nation which receives them into its boſom.

Otherwiſe, having opinions, habitudes, and knowledge, different from thoſe of that nation, they may help it to break its bad cuſtoms, to give it a greater extent in its views, more coſmopolitiſm, or of that character propér for approaching nations to each other, and for diminiſhing national antipathies.

When the advantages which a country acquires by ſtrangers who fix themſelves in it are conſidered, it is aſtoniſhing to ſee governments think ſo little about them, and frequently not to reſpect their rights. They ought, on the contrary, to protect a ſtranger ſo much the more as he ſeems leſs ſupported by the laws than a citizen; that he is unacquainted with them; that he may eaſily be the victim of artifice and chicanery; that it frequently happens

that he does not underſtand the language; finally, that being alone, he has neither family, friends, nor patrons.

In this ſituation, the ſtranger ought to be environed by the ſafe-guard of a particular adminiſtration, which ſhould watch over his ſafety; but it is the reverſe of this in many ſtates *.

Thus whilſt we ſee in thoſe ſtates who underſtand their intereſts better, Frenchmen direct the greateſt part of their manufactures, few ſtrangers are ſeen to come and eſtabliſh themſelves amongſt us.

I could quote, as a proof of what I advance, known facts, quite recent; but I will not write a book upon every article of exportation; I will confine myſelf to ſaying that *great liberty, and*

* If a ſtranger be ſuſpected, few examinations are made, he is arreſted—liberty is left to a citizen, or at leaſt he is treated mildly; the ſtranger is impriſoned: the ſubaltern, inſolent by reaſon of the indifference of his ſuperiors, treats him with ſeverity: for what is there to fear from him? Is the word with them all,—ſet at liberty—will that ſtranger go and make the temple of chicane ring with his complaints? He fears, leſt it may be a new foreſt,—he flies, curſing that inhoſpitable country.

few regulations *, are the two beſt means of improving the linen manufactures in all countries, as well as in France.

SECTION VI.

SILKS, RIBBONS, SILK-STOCKINGS, GOLD AND SILVER LACE, &c.

There are upwards of ſeventy thouſand looms and frames employed in theſe articles, and one half of the ſilk made uſe of is produced in the kingdom.

The other ſtates of Europe, except Spain and Italy, are obliged to procure from abroad the whole of the ſilk neceſſary for the manufactures

* I might quote, as a proof of what I have ſaid in the courſe of this work, that even the regulations which appear favourable to induſtry, are prejudicial to it; the new arret paſſed in favour of French linens, ſubjects them to a ſtamp duty, under the pretext of preventing fraud. The duty appears moderate, yet the manufacturers are ſenſibly injured by it; moreover it reſtrains them, in ſubjecting them to the caprices of revenue clerks; and this does not prevent fraud; therefore to prevent the manufacturer from being robbed, his money is taken from him, and the robbery ſtill takes place; he would prefer being left to defend himſelf againſt thieves.

which they have eſtabliſhed, in imitation of thoſe of France.

If there be added to the advantage which theſe circumſtances give to the French, their ſingular aptitude for the manufacture of every article of luxury; their incredible fecundity in varying theſe articles; the abſolute and general empire allowed them over the taſte and mode which preſide in theſe manufactures; an empire ſo particular, as to be every where copied; no doubt will remain, that French ſilks, ribbons, ſilk-ſtockings, and lace, will be preferred to all others in the United States*.

It is not to be feared, that they will be manufactured there; from the cares, which the

* Yet Lord Sheffield gives for competition with France, England and Spain. It is to be obſerved that England cannot undertake with advantage thoſe manufactures wherein gold and ſilver are introduced, nor in general thoſe which have for their baſis the uſe of brilliant metals. Fire is neceſſary as an agent in ſuch manufactures, and a coal fire is prejudicial to them. The atmoſphere in England is perpetually charged with ſulphureous vapours, where contact tarniſhes, in a very little time, gold or ſilver lace, &c. and this perhaps is the motive, which more than manners, has baniſhed, and will for ever exclude this kind of luxury from England; and it is not a misfortune.

inſect that produces the ſilk, requires, to the arrival of the ſtuff in the warehouſe where it is to be ſold, almoſt all is workmanſhip; and the workmanſhip of Europe muſt for a long time, if not for ever, be even cheaper than that of the United States.

The conſumption* of thoſe articles cannot be

* Our deſign being to diſſuade the free Americans from wiſhing for manufactures, we ought not to loſe the preſent opportunity of deſcribing to them the abuſes and inconveniencies inſeparable from theſe eſtabliſhments. There is none which has had more ſucceſs in France than that of ſilk. Yet ſee the frightful deſcription given of it by M. Mayet, director of the manufactures of the King of Pruſſia, in his Memoir on the manufactures of Lyons. (Paris, Moutard 1786.) He indicates as cauſes of the decadency of theſe manufactures, the drunkenneſs of workmen on Sundays, the infection of their diſmal lodgings, bankruptcies which are the reſult of ignorance and diſhoneſty, the ceſſation of work during court mournings, which occaſions ſome workmen to emigrate, and others to ſteal, the miſconduct of revenue officers, the monopoly of ſilk, &c. abuſes ſo much the more alarming, ſays M. Mayet, as they are, for the moſt part, the offſprings of luxury, and which are produced either by acquired riches, or the thirſt of acquiring them; it ſeems as if they could not but ſpring up in manufactures.

Who can recommend the eſtabliſhment of manufactures, on reading the following reflections of the ſame author?

"The concurrence of manufactures neceſſitates their

"cheapneſs:

be very conſiderable there*, if America takes advantage of that opening to which nature calls her. Ribbons excepted, the reſt are proper for great cities only; where vanity being inceſſantly excited, makes dreſs a deſirable and almoſt neceſſary object. But theſe great cities will, without doubt, be very rare in the United States. It is ſtill more certain that the conſumption of ſilks does not, at preſent, form

" cheapneſs: to have a preference of ſale, it is neceſſary to " ſell at a lower price; the wages of workmen muſt there- " fore be moderate, and they muſt gain no more than will " find them in neceſſaries: the workman muſt never be ſuf- " fered to enrich himſelf. In becoming rich, he becomes " difficult, exacting, enters into combinations, impoſes laws, " becomes diſſipated and idle, he cauſes the price of work- " manſhip to increaſe, and manufactures to fail." *Thus rich ſtuffs ought to be watered with the tears of the workman who manufactures them.*

Ought not this laſt phraſe to diſguſt the free Americans for ever with the mania of manufactures of luxury?—Let them reflect, that to ſupport the ſilk manufactures of Lyons, the ſame author propoſes to the king of France, to ſacrifice his taſte for ſimplicity of dreſs, and to wear brilliant clothes, &c.

* Lord Sheffield ſays, that it is not the fifth part of Indian ſilks, &c. but what ſignifies this calculation? The country which conſumes the greateſt quantity of ſilk ſtuffs, does not, perhaps, conſume the twentieth part of that which Lord Sheffield means by Indian ſilks.

there

there a conſiderable article; that it will augment but very ſlowly, and in a manner almoſt inſenſible. The Americans ought undoubtedly to be congratulated upon it. Their manners will be good and ſimple as long as they do not contract a want of theſe articles; but if they do not want them for themſelves, they will have occaſion for them to form branches of their ſmuggling commerce with the Spaniards. Nature invites them to carry on this commerce in an advantageous manner, both by ſea and land *.

It is known that wretched individuals, who vegetate in South America, maſters and ſlaves, all ſigh after nothing but luxury, pomp, and dreſs. Elegant and ſhining ſtuffs of France; her ſilks and laces will therefore be ſought after, demanded, and bought up with avidity.

However it may be with reſpect to this commerce, which exiſts but in futurity, and which muſt be preceded by other circumſtances, there

* This commerce will be better eſtabliſhed by land—The riſks there will be leſs—The great rivers which water thoſe immenſe countries will favour it. A maritime commerce muſt be protected by a naval force, and the nature of things will hinder the Americans from having one for a long time to come.

is at preſent a certain conſumption of ſilks, ribbons, &c. in the United States; and the French ought to be anxious to ſupply them.

I will obſerve upon this ſubject, that if the French government ordered that the regular packet-boats going from France and America ſhould receive as much merchandize on board as their deſtination would permit, little ventures of our ſilk, ſtuffs, ribbons, gauzes, ſtockings, &c. would be frequently ſent out, and theſe articles would ſerve better than any other to eſtabliſh uninterrupted connexions, and which by the inſight they give, and the experiments which they afford an opportunity of making, conduct nature herſelf to thoſe great commercial intercourſes to which we ought to aſpire.

The facilities which packet-boats offer for the ſending out of merchandize of value and of little incumbrance ought not to be neglected, ſince, in this claſs of merchandize, we have things which have a decided preference. I will return to thoſe packet-boats which it is important to keep up and to increaſe, and it is to be wiſhed, that no monopoly of right or fact may take poſſeſſion of them, in order to carry on one branch of commerce in excluſion of others.

SECTION VII.

HATS.

Although a fine hat be called a beaver, it does not follow that Canada and the United Northern States are more favourable to the fabrication of hats than France. Hats, purely of beaver, do not wear well, and are inconvenient on account of their weight. The fineſt, handſomeſt, and beſt hats, contain but little of the fur of that animal, which we eſteem at too high a price, when we think of the loſs of Canada. Wool, the furs of the hares and rabbits; the hair of goats, which is in fact wool, and camels hair, are more neceſſary for making of hats than the fur of beavers.

The few hats of beaver made in the United States, will be ſufficient for their conſumption. —The Americans muſt, however, be inceſſantly told this great truth, that manufactures are not proper for them except in thoſe articles which are immediately aſſociated with agriculture, and which facilitate its operations. That of hats is not of this kind.

Europe

Europe will therefore furniſh hats to the Americans. And of what great importance is this object, when the rapid increaſe of their population is conſidered? It may be affirmed, that every nation capable of ſending them out merchandize, will ſend them hats; but thoſe of France will have the preference. This manufacture had there its origin. The French alone have carried it elſewhere, like many other things, but it has never ceaſed to improve in France.

French hats are always the beſt fulled and dyed, and the moſt agreeable. When government ſhall have reſolved to do for wools that which it has done for mulberry trees, the manufacture of hats will be ſo much the more advantageous, as we ſhall be leſs tributary to foreigners for the articles employed therein.

SECTION VIII.

LEATHER.

SHOES, BOOTS, SADDLES, &c.

To what cauſe ought the great ſuperiority of Engliſh leather to be attributed over ours? Why is there in this leather-work of all kinds

that

that neatneſs, that ſeducing appearance, which we have not yet approached? It muſt be repeated, that in England men honour the profeſſion of a tanner, and pride themſelves upon it, whilſt it is the contrary in France. An Engliſh tanner, ſhoemaker, or ſaddler, does not quit his trade when he is rich; but makes his riches ſerve, in proportion as they augment, to give luſtre to his profeſſion, to multiply his workſhops, to extend his affairs, to become important even in the article which has furniſhed him the means of doing it. The leather which comes from the tanneries whoſe owner is in eaſy circumſtances, is always well prepared, becauſe he can advance ſums of money, and give to hides the time neceſſary for their progreſs through his tan-yard. A poor tanner is always preſſed by his wanting to take the leather out of the tan-pit, where it is neceſſary it ſhould remain a long time to acquire a good quality. In general, it is impoſſible with this penury, unknown to the Engliſh, that there ſhould be time to manufacture or fabricate good merchandize. Thoſe who employ the leather, acquire no reputation in their profeſſions but in proportion to great proviſions made before hand, which puts it in their power to furniſh nothing but

leather

leather improved by being kept. It will be aſked, how the wholeſale dealers manage when they begin buſineſs? They find credit, if in their apprenticeſhips, which precede their eſtabliſhments, they have acquired a good reputation *.

This

* We may readily perceive, that this hope of being ſome day well eſtabliſhed with great ſuccours, is worth all the books of morality. The engravings of Hogarth, which repreſent the fate of the idle apprentice, paint, to the life, Engliſh manners. The intention of the workman is not to become *Secretaire du Roi* ‖. He marries the daughter of the good maſter who has brought him up, and ſucceeds him in the ſame buſineſs which he has contributed to extend.

It is not that the French tanner, who barters his profeſſion againſt a brevet of Secretaire du Roi, or commiſſary of war, ought to be blamed. He reaſons well. He ſees that no conſideration is attached to talents and induſtry, and he delays not to buy himſelf a title. It is therefore wrong to joke merchants and artizans, who, for money, get themſelves enregiſtered in a privileged claſs. It is an evil to the ſtate, but it is not the fault of thoſe who purchaſe. The fault is due to the kind of diſgrace from which government has not yet delivered the ignoble.

It ought to be obſerved here, how fatal the ſpeculation which eſtabliſhed this order of things has been to the nation. To procure money, offices were created; which, by ennobling, induces the ignoble to purchaſe them; they are diſguſted with

‖ A petty title of bought diſtinction, which, in the language of ridiculous pride, is conſtrued into nobility.

their

This credit is then ſupported, not only by the certainty of ſucceſs, but alſo by that of ſeeing them become a conſtant means of conſumption.

Such is the art of the Engliſh to ſupport and increaſe their commerce in every thing, and every where. If we could put it in practice, all our commodities of leather would ſoon equal the perfection of theirs, ſince we do not otherwiſe want materials. Their being beforehand with us, ought not to diſcourage any body, but it is neceſſary to the ſucceſs of this rivality, that government ſhould deliver the tanners from the ſhackles with which they have fettered them*, and ſuppreſs or diminiſh the enormous

their ſituation by being diſhonoured, and for a few millions of livres, which this pitiful operation ſlowly procures, commerce is ruined by having its capital diminiſhed: that commerce, which, by being ſupported, would continually produce millions to the ſtate.

* Two cauſes have ſingularly contributed to ruin the tanneries in France. The conſiderable duties impoſed ſucceſſively upon leather, (ſuppreſſed afterwards in part through prudence) and eſſentially the ſevere inſpection that the *commis* (in this caſe a kind of exciſeman) may make every hour of the day and night at the tanners. Nothing diſguſts a man, who has ſome energy, more with his profeſſion, than this diſ-

enormous duties with which the tanneries are loaded*.

SECTION

graceful ſervitude, than the fear, than the conſtraint which ariſe from the idea of being diſturbed at every moment, by his fireſide, by contemptible ſatellites who live on the miſchief only which they do, and whom the certainty of impunity, intereſt, and habitude, render unmerciful, inſolent, and frequently perjured.

Conſiderable proceſſes have been ſeen to ariſe from theſe viſits, and very rich tanners to quit a profeſſion which promiſed them nothing but torment, anguiſh, loſs and law ſuits. It will be a long time before the evil which the farm has done to the tanneries be repaired. Intereſted men, who think to conſole us for real evils, which we ſuffer, by thoſe which they ſuppoſe among our neighbours, ſay, and repeat, that the ſame vexation of *commis* and of cuſtoms, produce in England the ſame effects. This may ſometimes happen, but there is a law to puniſh them, without a hope of pardon, when they overleap the boundaries preſcribed to them. And theſe boundaries are much more contracted than ours, which the following fact will convince us.

Two officers of the exciſe, having taken it into their heads to follow a man carrying a hamper of wine to the houſe of a particular perſon, entered with him in contempt of the law; the maſter of the houſe called ſome conſtables and charged them with the officers: they were taken before Alderman Hamett, who read the act of Parliament to the culprits, and ſent them to priſon, for having violated the rights of citizens.

Mercure politique 1786, p. 286.

* The following is a liſt of duties paid on leather, whether it be French or foreign; and it muſt be here obſerved, that the

SECTION IX.

GLASS HOUSES.

English glaſs ware is brought to great perfection, and England makes it a great object of exportation.

the leather of France is far from ſupplying our wants. We get the greateſt part of that which we conſume from the Spaniſh and Portugueſe colonies, from the Levant, and from the coaſt of Barbary.

			livres	ſols
Green leather, French or foreign, pays on entering the kingdom by the hundred weight			1	5
Leather worked up or tanned, pays afterwards the following duties				
Leather and ſkins -	2	ſ. per pound		
Goat ſkins -	4			
Ten ſols per pound, which gives more upon leather - -	1			
Goat ſkins - -	2			
General average -	4	6		
and by the hundred weight - -			22	10
Cuſtom to the general farm - -			2	0
		Total	25	15

Leather and ſkins pay a duty of a third of their value.

exportation. America ought to prefer Engliſh glaſs to ours, becauſe we ourſelves prefer it to

When in 1759 a duty was impoſed, the king ordained that theſe two ſols upon leather and ſkins, and the four ſols upon goat ſkins, ſhould be reimburſed to the manufacturer, when he ſhould have ſent his merchandize abroad.

But adminiſtration demanded and obtained leave to reimburſe two-thirds only.

Since that time there has been a new impoſt of ten ſols per pound, which makes the duty one ſol more upon leather, and two ſols upon goat ſkins.

This new duty has completed the ruin of the tanneries.

There is another abuſe, which merits to be obſerved. It is that the adminiſtration receives its duties undiminiſhed upon leather half rotten, ſcraped or tanned.

After theſe facts, it may be comprehended, that the tanners in France are reduced to a ſmall number, and are in general miſerable.

An important note relative to the article of leather.

The note on the duties paid on leather, is true with reſpect to the reality of the duties; but we have been convinced, ſince the note was printed, that a middle price cannot be ſettled between hides, and calf and goat ſkins. There are at leaſt two hundred of the two firſt for one of the laſt. We have been equally convinced, that the hundred weight of ſkins bought at thirty-ſeven livres, and ſold after the tanning at ſixty-four livres, ſixteen ſols, produces to the tanner a profit of no more than five livres five ſols.

This eaſily explains how the tanners have been ruined.

TRANSLATOR.

that of our own manufactory, common bottles excepted, which we make better, and which are of a finer glaſs than that of the Engliſh. But although this opinion may hurt the intereſt of thoſe who have ſuch eſtabliſhments, it is neceſſary to ſay, that France, far from encouraging them, ought to wiſh for their deſtruction. This kind of manufacture deſtroys combuſtibles, of which the rapid progreſs is alarming, when it is compared to the ſlowneſs with which they are produced.

The Engliſh, ſeated upon their coal mines, are little uneaſy about the voracity of furnaces wherein glaſs is melted; but although it be ſaid that we have the ſame advantage, it is ſtill permitted to doubt of it. And moreover it is not ſufficient to have immenſe coal mines under foot, it is neceſſary to be able to work them at a little expence. Glaſs manufactories, placed within the reach of mines, ſhould not be too far diſtant from the ſea, for the tranſports becoming expenſive, would give to the Engliſh an advantage over us, who from every part of their iſland can eaſily get to the ſea. Finally, our own conſumption of glaſs-ware, much greater than that of the Engliſh, may already be too conſiderable, if it be compared with the

means to which the ever growing ſcarcity of combuſtibles reduces us *.

To be fully convinced that we ought not to put glaſs-ware into the liſt of articles of exportation to America, it is only neceſſary to reflect upon the ſituation of the United States. They have immenſe foreſts to clear, conſequently it is highly proper that they ſhould eſtabliſh glaſs manufactories, and increaſe them as much as poſſible. The labour employed to deſtroy the woods for the clearing of lands, at the ſame time that it diſpoſes the land to culture, will ſerve for the production of a very extenſive object of manufacture, therefore the utility of this deſtruction is double to the Americans †. It cannot be doubted, that this conſideration

* The ſcarcity of wood, which begins to be manifeſt, becomes ſo much the more alarming, as combuſtibles which have been attempted to be ſubſtituted for it have not ſucceeded, and that luxury and population naturally inclined to increaſe, eſpecially with commerce, the conſumption of combuſtibles will be doubled.

† This is what is done in New Jerſey for the forges. It is impoſſible, ſays the author of the *Cultivateur Americain*, to travel acroſs this province without meeting with ſome little iron forges. If a proprietor has a great marſh full of wood, and that he wiſhes to clear it, he begins by making a dyke at one extremity to ſtop the water of the rivulets which run acroſs

ſideration will ſtrike them, that they will one day conceive the project of furniſhing Europe with glaſs-ware, of adding this article to thoſe which they can exchange for ſuch European productions as are improper for little States to cultivate or manufacture within themſelves. It can be no more doubted, that France will gain greatly by ſeeing her glaſs manufactories deſtroyed by thoſe of the Americans, who will ſell us glaſs-ware in exchange for our wines, cloths, printed linens, ſilks, &c. In the mean time, it would undoubtedly be a ſalutary meaſure, to open the kingdom to the importation of foreign glaſs.

SECTION X.

IRON AND STEEL.

The conſumption of theſe two articles is immenſe in the United States; the ſingle article

acroſs it. He fixes in this water the wheels neceſſary for the manufacture of iron, &c. And in a ſmall number of years the traveller, who had ſeen in paſſing by nothing but a vaſt pond full of trees thrown down, and had heard the noiſe of hammers and anvils, ſees well encloſed fields, vaſt meadows, &c.

of nails amounts to conſiderable ſums. This will not appear extraordinary, when it is remembered, that all the houſes, all the encloſures of the Americans, are of wood, that they build a great number of ſhips, which require frequent reparations.

It is the ſame with reſpect to ſaws, ſhovels, hoes, and in general all the inſtruments neceſſary to agriculture and navigation.

The Americans are ſingularly curious in the choice of the firſt neceſſity. They have therein the general taſte of the Engliſh; they will have that only which is good. On comparing thoſe which they make themſelves with the tools made in France, it muſt be acknowledged that we are far from that perfection at which they are arrived in them: this perfection is owing to the eaſe of the labourer, and to the conſideration attached to agriculture. Imperfection is a neceſſary conſequence of reſtraint and diſhonour.

The Americans have attempted to make iron and ſteel. Many manufactories have been ſet up at New York, in New Jerſey, and in Penſylvania; it is true that theſe manufactures are few in number, but they will neceſſarily increaſe for the reaſons which I ſhall hereafter give.

England

England heretofore exported a conſiderable quantity of iron and ſteel*: her mines not having yet furniſhed iron proper for certain inſtruments, ſhe had recourſe to thoſe of Ruſſia, and eſpecially to thoſe of Sweden, whoſe iron and ſteel are moſt eſteemed. She did no more with regard to America than ſtand between her and others, and this circuit augmented the expences of the coloniſt, without procuring him any benefit. This will exiſt no longer, becauſe the Americans are about to trade directly with the Swedes and Ruſſians.

Lord Sheffield calculates, that one year with another England imported 50,000 tons of foreign iron, of which from 15 to 20,000 was

* To favour the exportation of theſe articles, the parliament had forbidden all the eſtabliſhment of mills and other machines in the United States for making of ſteel. See 25 Geo. II. ch. 29, ſect. 10.

It may be judged by this circumſtance to what a point the mother country, or rather the monopolizers, can carry avariciouſneſs; ſince the Americans were forbidden to enjoy thoſe advantages which nature had thrown before them. Monopoly reſpects nothing. When theſe attempts are conſidered, ought we to be ſurpriſed at the eternal miſunderſtanding between colonies and the mother country, a miſunderſtanding which finiſhes either by the ruin of the former, or their ſeparation from the latter.

afterwards

afterwards exported to the colonies either in its natural ſtate or worked up.

The profit to the mother country was, according to his Lordſhip, 12,000,000 livres, or thereabouts.

During the war, and ſince the peace, ſome exports of this kind have been made from France to the United States; but they did not ſucceed. Accuſtomed, according to the principles of monopoliſers, who have hitherto directed our foreign commerce, to furniſh our colonies with brittle utenſils, and otherwiſe very imperfect, our merchants were willing to treat the independent Americans like their ſlaves in their iſlands*; and the Americans refuſed our

* The Chamber of Commerce of Marſeilles, in an inſtruction very well drawn up, addreſſed in 1784 to the merchants, had recommended them to act contrarily—"Recollect," ſaid it, "that you have not ignorant or enſlaved coloniſts to treat "with, but a free people; and, conſequently, rapidly tending "to perfection. If you wiſh to ſucceed, act with fidelity, "upon extended and liberal views," &c. &c.

I have not read this inſtruction. A man of letters, who has reſided a long time in the country, has given me the ideas of it, which I have related. We muſt not be ſurpriſed to find in the merchants of Marſeilles intelligence *on commerce ſo rare any where elſe*. Leſs ſhackled, commerce muſt offer more ſolid ideas.

The

our merchandiſe. They ſaid, that we did not even know how to make nails; and, in ſtrict truth, they were right in their aſſertion. They preferred the iron and ſteel of England, although the duties on exportation increaſed their dearneſs.

It is probable enough that the Engliſh legiſlature will ſuppreſs them, according to the advice of Lord Sheffield; and this, joined to the benefit of the œconomy procured by the diſcovery of Lord Dundonald, and of Meſſrs. Watts and Boulton, for heating furnaces at half the common expence, will undoubtedly produce a reduction in the price of iron.

This diminution is one of the cauſes which muſt neceſſarily hinder us from attempting a rivality in this particular with the Engliſh; but there is another, which is ſtill more deciſive.

In fact, the obſervations made heretofore upon the neceſſity of deſtroying our glaſs manufactories, apply naturally to that conſiderable branch of iron-work, of which the workmanſhip is the leaſt expence, and which requires a great

The ſame energy is found in an excellent Memorial on the Franchiſes of this city, lately publiſhed againſt the general farm, and of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak.

quantity

quantity of combuſtible materials. The United States are obliged to deſtroy their immenſe foreſts: France ought, on the contrary, to think of re-producing hers; therefore, the founderies and forges will offer in America the advantage of turning to profit woods, which, without theſe manufactures, it would be equally neceſſary to burn: whilſt in France, wood and charcoal, becoming every day more ſcarce and dear, renders theſe eſtabliſhments more expenſive. Now, as the abundance in which iron mines are every where found *, makes the price of iron depend almoſt entirely on that of combuſtibles neceſſary to melt it, it is evident that the United States have over us, and even over the Engliſh, a conſiderable advantage.

Moreover, forges are a part of the equipage neceſſary to country labour; for, if it were neceſſary to ſeek at a diſtance the utenſils of agriculture, the progreſs of clearing of lands would ſoon be ſtopped—the productions would not pay the expences. Theſe would ſtill be increaſed by the repeated neceſſity of ſubſtituting new utenſils to thoſe which there would be no means

* It is now proved, that there are many of them in America. Mines of tin, and of very good copper, have alſo been diſcovered there.

of

of repairing. As ſoon as a people have mines of iron; as ſoon as they are led by the nature of things, and by neceſſity, to eſtabliſh founderies and forges, it is not a long time before they renounce all foreign aid in the articles of iron*; therefore, the Americans are, as I have obſerved, already provided with theſe eſtabliſhments: and as Engliſh induſtry has eſtabliſhed and directed them, they are all at that degree of perfection which we have not yet attained.

Let it be remarked, that theſe manufactures being joined to a life of agriculture, and carried on in the midſt of it for its uſes, can have none of the pernicious influences which ought to be feared in thoſe complicated manufactures which are obliged to be concentrated in the incloſures of cities, whoſe deſtructive employ exhauſts the natural ſtrength of men, by corrupting their morals.

* Perhaps nails muſt be excepted. Their price will be a long time in Europe lower than in America. If, as Mr. Smith aſſerts in his Treatiſe on the Wealth of Nations, a young man of twenty years of age can make 2,400 nails a day, let it be judged to what a degree of cheapneſs low-priced workmanſhip ought to reduce them; therefore, wherever workmanſhip is dear, nails cannot be made. Yet we read in the American Gazettes, that there has been eſtabliſhed in one of the States a manufacture of nails. Will this ſucceed?—Futurity will ſhew us.

Therefore,

Therefore, to reſume this article—far from encouraging the exportation of iron manufactured in France, we ought, for our own intereſt, to encourage the importation of foreign iron, becauſe manufactures of this kind take away combuſtibles from things more preſſingly wanted, and from leſs deſtructive manufactures, where workmanſhip produces a greater profit.

This, however, is not the caſe with every article of curioſity of iron, ſteel, or copper work, wherein the workmanſhip exceeds the other expences. They belong to that weak organiſation which the Americans ought not to envy. But it muſt not be diſſimulated, that a competition with the Engliſh will, on this head, be difficult to maintain: their great ability and addreſs in the diſtribution of work and different proceſſes, the invention of which has not been conſtrained by any error * or falſe view of

* Thoſe falſe views cannot be too much deplored—thoſe narrow ideas—thoſe fears of ignorance, which ſnatch from the hands of induſtry the happy inventions which are proper to enrich a whole nation! Who can calculate the riches that England owes to the ſole application of the coining-mill, or engine and dye, whoſe free uſe has been left to all the manufactures which it was capable of improving in accelerating their

of the adminiſtration of England, gives them over us a conſiderable advantage; yet it is not impoſſible

their effects? How many proceedings more ingenious and expeditious has this machine produced? Happily for England, there have not been found in her boſom thoſe able miniſters, who, ſeeing that this machine is of uſe in making money, have drawn from it the profound conſequence that every one would make falſe money if the free uſe of it were permitted: as if it was poſſible to make falſe money for a long time; as if the more general uſe of the machine did not awaken the public, and even private intereſt, and render them more attentive to abuſes which might be committed; as if its uſe would not produce much more benefit to the revenue, than it could deprive it of by the falſe coinage of money, which can never be either extenſive or dangerous.—When therefore will thoſe who hold the reins of empire calculate like ſtateſmen?

It is true that at preſent artiſts are permitted to have mills, &c. by conforming themſelves to certain formalities,—always formalities! No other are required in England than thoſe of being able to pay the expence of the machine,—and has England perceived from it any pernicious effects? Has falſe money overturned public order, impoveriſhed the nation, or diminiſhed her revenues?

With what difficulty has the invention of the coining mill made its way into France? It is due to an induſtrious Frenchman of the fifteenth century, named Briois. Perſecuted for this diſcovery, he was obliged to take refuge in England; the Engliſh received him favourably, and put his invention into execution. Another Frenchman of the name of Warin, of the laſt century, wiſhed to procure the advantages of it to his countrymen, he experienced a like abſurd perſecution; and without

impoſſible for us to balance it, for this diſtribution of work and proceedings are neither ſecrets nor ſuperior to French induſtry. Let government adopt and follow the trivial maxim—'Who will have the end will find the means.' Let it in conſequence not interdict any of the means, and this induſtry will not have to envy the ſucceſs of our rivals.

without the ſupport of the Chancellor Sequier, he would have failed in his attempt.—I do not allow myſelf to ſpeak of the perfection to which M. Droz pretends to have brought the coining mill at preſent; but by the vexations he ſuffers, it may be judged that he has in fact ſimplified that machine, that he has rendered fewer hands neceſſary, and the coinage of money more perfect and expeditious; two advantages very precious in this art, as the expences of it cannot be too much reduced, and the exactitude and perfection of the ſtamp of money are the ſureſt means of diſconcerting coiners. What fatal genius is it therefore which purſues induſtry in France? That of companies, of corporations, of privileges. As ſoon as a happy diſcovery attacks their profits, they employ even the baſeſt means to defend them; intrigue, falſehood, ſeduction, are all legitimate with the people which compoſe thoſe aſſociations, whilſt the man of genius, ſtanding alone for the moſt part, and who attaches too great a value to his time to proſtitute it to theſe manœuvres, generally experiences the moſt humiliating diſguſts.

SECTION

SECTION XI.

JEWELLERY, GOLD AND SILVERSMITHS' ARTICLES, CLOCK-WORK, &c.

If the inhabitants of the United States concentrate their labours and pleaſure in a life of huſbandry; if they continue to ſeek happineſs, not in pomp, but in nature herſelf, and in a ſimplicity of manners; in that ſimplicity which naturally produces eaſe, and the population and proſperity of ſtates; they will not ſeek after, but diſdain plate and jewels, to which we attach ſo great a price. They will reſerve precious metals for mints and commerce.

It is not however to be preſumed, that this order of things ſhould long ſubſiſt in great cities, and eſpecially in frequented ports: European taſte and wants prevail in America*, and French induſtry ought to be anxious to ſupply

* Plate is uſed in the Southern States—magnificence is ſeen there; on which account, travellers having but little philoſophy, ſpeak highly of them:—but obſerve what is attached to this luxury,—ſlavery reigns in the South, and there are many poor.—There are none in the Northern States,—no plate is there uſed.

their conſumption, ſeeing that the French can underſell the Engliſh in theſe articles.

But it is probable that the plated ware (copper plated with ſilver) invented in England, will take place in the United States of that of ſilver plate, as painted paper has replaced there much more expenſive hanging: this new ſort of plate has for uſe all the advantages of the other, and coſts a great deal leſs.

How comes it that the Engliſh are already ſo advanced in this branch of induſtry, whilſt there exiſts in France but one or two manufactures where copper is plated on one ſide only and ſilvered over on the other? How have the Engliſh already carried this invention to ſo high a degree of perfection? How have they made of it a matter of extenſive commerce, whilſt we are reduced to the two manufactures wherein no progreſs is ſeen, and where the inferiority of the workmanſhip diſguſts thoſe who would otherwiſe find it to their advantage to make uſe of this kind of plate?

Theſe manufactures have an excluſive privilege: there is the word—Government fearing leſt falſe money might be made in them, has forbidden even the plating on both ſides.

Reaſoning would here be ſuperfluous: it is

ſufficient to open the eyes to ſee which of the two adminiſtrations has beſt ſerved its country; whether it be that of England, by not cramping induſtry, and in not giving way to fears, whoſe illuſion is ſhewn by the moſt trifling obſervation, or ours, in following a contrary plan. Again, was it apprehended, that counterfeit crowns would be made my millions; as a ſacrifice is made to this fear of an induſtry which would certainly produce many millions of them?

Thus when we conſider all theſe articles, wherein trifling conſiderations ſhall be our induſtry, and condemn to mediocrity our means of proſperity; when we thence turn our attention towards the different ſpirit which governs England, it is aſtoniſhing that induſtry ſtill exiſts in France, and that the nation does not fall into ſloth, and remain there. Let us give thanks unto nature, who has richly gifted us, and her guardian ſtrength has hitherto demonſtrated itſelf ſuperior to the malignant influence of the falſe ſcience of our adminiſtrators *.

Shall

* A curious and more uſeful work would be, a faithful and more rational hiſtory of all the errors into which the rage of

Shall we remain behind the Engliſh and Swiſs in clock-work? The Americans muſt have watches; this admirable invention carries with it ſuch a degree of utility for even the poor claſſes of ſociety, that it ought not to be conſidered as a ſimple acquiſition of luxury, eſpecially in the United States, where the diſtance of habitations one from another make the neceſſity of it more fully perceived.

But watches muſt be made good and at a cheap rate; theſe two conditions will aſſure them a prodigious ſale wherever civilization exiſts; time is there a precious property, and its price renders the inſtrument neceſſary which divides it: they will be made good and at

regulating and prohibiting has thrown adminiſtration. It is very probable that the reſult would be, that French commerce has always proſpered, in proportion to the inexecution of regulations; that in cauſing them to be rigorouſly executed, foreign commerce has been favoured and enriched. The ſpirit of invention and induſtry which our prohibitory regimen has developed on foreign nations, was never perhaps ſuſpected; neither the innumerable quantity of workſhops which are there conſtructed, in proportion to the multiplication of excluſive privileges in France. Thus, that of the India Company has made Switzerland like the Eaſt Indies, for the manufacture of muſlins, and plain and painted linens.

a cheap

a cheap rate, when able artiſts are conſulted *.

This ſpecies of manufacture will always belong to great cities, where the exceſs of population keeps workmanſhip at a low price, where the difficulty of ſubſiſting enſlaves that crowd of weak and indolent beings which are under the law of the rich undertaker. The United States are far from ſuffering this difficulty of ſubſiſtence, this exceſs of population; they are therefore far from theſe manufactures.

* Paris has produced ſome very diſtinguiſhed ones; they honoured their art becauſe they had great ſenſe and ingenuity, and had been well inſtructed; but their pupils, for the moſt part ſtrangers, and not having the ſame means of gaining conſideration, were afraid of our injudicious manner of deſpiſing the hands which work at mechanical employments, and quitted the country. We have at preſent a Swiſs, M. Brequet, whoſe talents are equal, if not ſuperior, to thoſe of the moſt celebrated Engliſh watch-makers. Happily for us, his character, his elevated views, his obliging zeal, command reſpect in ſome meaſure, and place him above prejudices. Let government conſult him, and he will ſoon indicate certain means whereby France may have a national manufacture of clock and watch-work.

We are informed that he has preſented to the Miniſtry a profound memorial upon this ſubject.

SECTION XII.

DIFFERENT SORTS OF PAPER, STAINED PAPER, &c.

This uſeful production from old rags, thrown off by people at eaſe, and gathered with care by the indigent, is daily improved in France *. The

* The manufacture of M. M. Johannot d'Aunonay, produces finer paper than any other manufacture in Europe, and the proof is ſimple.—There is more demand from Ruſſia, England, and Holland, for this paper than the manufacturer can furniſh; this ſcarceneſs of paper d'Aunonay explains, for why, our ſhopkeepers ſtill get paper from Holland. To diminiſh this ſcarcity, theſe good citizens have generouſly offered to communicate their proceſs to all the manufacturers of paper in the nation, and even to form ſchools, wherein the art of paper-making may be taught. Many perſons have profited by theſe offers; the States of Burgundy have lately ſent three pupils—Theſe manufacturers have proved that it was not more expenſive to make good and excellent paper than that of a middling quality. M. Le Clerc, who has a great paper manufactory at Eſſone, found with concern, that his manufactory coſt him a great deal, and produced bad paper only: he communicated his regret to M. Johannot; the latter went to Eſſone and produced good paper with common paſte. This was certainly a great ſervice done to France, and a good example given to the ſordid avarice of monopolizers, who,

The Engliſh themſelves buy our paper for printing, and our writing paper will not be long unequal to theirs, if it does not ſurpaſs it *.

But if there be an object of commerce for which Europeans need not fear a reciprocal competition; if there be an article which offers to all European manufactures a certain and lucrative employ, it is that of paper: the conſumption will always be equal at leaſt to the production, and its numerous uſes inſure a ſtill greater conſumption, in proportion as population, commerce, and knowledge, ſhall increaſe.

who, not being able to do and embrace every thing, hinder others from doing it. May theſe generous patriots receive that honour which they deſerve: may their example be followed every where and by all. This will be to them a more flattering eulogium, a more brilliant and laſting recompenſe than cordons and ribbons, unworthy of true merit, becauſe they are frequently the price of intrigue, and the ornament of mediocrity. The pleaſure of well-doing, and the ſuffrages of honeſt men, are pure and unchangeable recompenſes.—The artiſt who does not know how to confine himſelf to theſe, will never do any thing which is great.

* Rags are more ſcarce, and conſequently dearer, in England than in France, and they are articles of illicit commerce between the two countries. There are very ſevere laws againſt this commerce, but it is, and ever will be, carried on, as long as there ſhall be any thing to be gained by it.

Every nation ought therefore to obſerve without jealouſy, that each country ſtrives to have within itſelf manufactures of this kind.

The Americans cannot however enjoy this advantage for a long time to come: beſides the dearneſs of workmanſhip, their population cannot furniſh them old rags in quantities ſufficient to eſtabliſh paper mills whoſe productions would be equal to the conſumption of the inhabitants.

Will their population ever furniſh them with this ſufficiency? This is a queſtion difficult to reſolve. In fact, in proportion to the knowledge which nations may acquire, and to the liberty of the preſs, which may be enjoyed in America, a prodigious quantity of paper muſt be conſumed there; but can the population of this country produce rags in the ſame proportion? It cannot reaſonably be hoped that it will. It is therefore probable that the American markets will not for a long time be provided with any other than European paper, and that this will find a place there*.

* Rags are exceſſively dear in America: but the time is arriving when, by an increaſe of population, they will become plenty. In Pennſylvania they already make very good paper.

But

But ſince the uſe of paper is ſo advantageous to men, ſince it is ſo varied, it behoves every nation to look upon foreign conſumption as a ſupplement only, as an open port in the caſe of a ſuſpenſion of interior commerce. It behoves every nation to keep paper at a moderate price within itſelf, and to attain this end, means muſt be thought of to increaſe materials which ſerve to compoſe this article, and to purſue the happy attempts already made to do it*. Theſe re-

ſearches

* In the moment of writing this note, I have before me very intereſting eſſays on vegetables, and on the bark of ſeveral trees, to transform them into paper; theſe eſſays are due to the reſearches of M. Delille, to whoſe care the manufacture of Montargis is indebted for a great part of its reputation. He has far ſurpaſſed that Scheffer, whom our men of erudition have quoted with ſo much emphaſis.—On ſeeing the books which M. Delille has printed, on paper made from a ſpecies of mallows, and the bark of the linden tree; and on perceiving the advantages which might be reaped from this invention, at leaſt in packing and ſtained paper, of which ſo great a conſumption is made; we wiſh that this invention may be more and more known, received and adopted, as a means of remedying the want of rags and the dearneſs of paper, which ought to have more influence than is commonly believed on the progreſs of knowledge.

It is almoſt impoſſible that this invention ſhould not ſoon become general, and it is greatly the intereſt of the free Americans to naturalize it among them.

Strong

ſearches are ſo much the more eſſential, ſo much the more urgent, as the happy invention of coloured paper for hanging is of a nature always to cauſe a greater conſumption of paper; and this manner of hanging with paper will ſubſiſt for a long time, becauſe it gives a neat and agreeable appearance to apartments.

No other is known in the United States; it is there univerſal; almoſt all the houſes are neat and decent.

SECTION XIII.

PRINTING.

The liberty of the preſs being a fundamental principle of the American conſtitution, there can be no doubt that printing will increaſe there.

Strong lies of lime and pot-aſh, and the intelligent uſe of vitrolic acid, are great means of reducing hemp and flax to that kind of ſubſtance extremely attenuated, ſoft and brittle, which is proper for making of paper. It might be contrived by theſe means to ſupply the want of rags by old cordage. Theſe would even ſerve to make good paper, ſince being reduced to tow, it may eaſily be bleached. The attenuation to be feared for linen is not ſo for the material of which paper is made.

But

But it muſt be obſerved, that extenſive printing requires workmen at a little expence; that is to ſay, men without property, talents, or conduct; whom great cities produce and employ in work which requires neither intelligence nor emulation; and it has already been obſerved, that the United States, unleſs the rage of great cities takes poſſeſſion of them, will contain but few of theſe wretched beings.

Printing will not therefore, it may be preſumed, be extended among the free Americans, at leaſt beyond that which is neceſſary for the public prints *. Their conſtant and conſiderable ſale, permitting a greater expence in workmanſhip, conſequently draws about the preſs many individuals, becauſe they have, in a good ſalary, a view of the means of becoming proprietors or traders †.

The

* Gazettes are ſingularly multiplied in the United States. They will become ſtill more ſo with an increaſe of population, and this is an advantage, for they are what that excellent patriot Dr. Jebb called them, "Sentinels which watch over "public liberty and the preſervation of truth."

† However, conſiderable works are ſometimes printed in the United States, and of which the edition is carefully enough corrected.—I have ſeen, for inſtance, the Memoirs in Quarto of the Academies of Boſton and Philadelphia, of the laſt year, which

The furniſhing of books of ſcience and amuſement muſt therefore make a conſiderable object of importation into the United States. It is for France to appropriate to herſelf this commerce, and to encourage the impreſſion of Engliſh books. Our workmanſhip being cheaper than that of England, and the Engliſh making uſe of our paper, our binding being leſs expenſive, why ſhould not all the books in which the Americans ſtand in need of be printed in France?

It will be ſaid that we do not enjoy the liberty of the preſs,—be it ſo:—But it is only with reſpect to our books*; for undoubtedly the

which proves at the ſame time that free America is not ſo totally without typographical eſtabliſhments, and that the inhabitants are not all ſuch idiots as a prejudiced German dreamed they were.

* Under the reign of Louis XIV. whoſe ambition extended to every thing, it was ſeriouſly attempted to make the French language univerſal. This abſurd pretenſion was ridiculouſly ſupported by the tyranny exerciſed upon books and authors. This tyranny could not but produce bad ones, and conſequently diſguſt ſtrangers. Happily ſome judicious men had the courage to make ſacrifices, and to get their works printed abroad. It is theſe prohibited books which have enriched the French language and increaſed the reputation of French literature. What authors are heard quoted in every country? Rouſſeau, Voltaire, Helvetius, Monteſquieu, &c. that

the adminiſtration does not pretend to extend its coercive principles to books written in foreign languages; it would not attain its end, ſeeing that it does not do it with reſpect to French books*; and by this impolitical rigour France would be deprived of a lucrative article of commerce, certain, and of continual increaſe.

The Dutch, ſo active and vigilant in ſeizing the riſing branches of commerce, have for a long time ſpeculated on books in the United States: many bibles and books of prayer, for the uſe of the Americans, are printed in Holland. Lord Sheffield is obliged to acknow-

that is to ſay, men who have been patriotic enough to violate the tyrant's laws of the preſs.

* So that even more than half of the libraries in France are compoſed of French books, printed abroad, for which there are two cauſes—the cheapneſs and goodneſs of the books; the *octavo* leaf printed, is commonly ſold in Switzerland to the public at nine deniers or a ſol, and it coſts three or four ſols in France. Prohibited books are ſold at Paris at the ſame price as books permitted, which proves the dearneſs of French printing.—For to the original price of prohibited books, there muſt be added the expences of carriage, riſks of entry, the commiſſions of different agents, &c.; with reſpect to the goodneſs of the works, the beſt, as I have already obſerved, are printed abroad: Helvetius has ſaid with reaſon, "*On ne dit la verite, que dans les livres, prohibes, on ment dans les autres.*"

ledge,

ledge, that printing in Holland is by far more cheap than that of England, and of courſe muſt have the preference. They will ſome day extend this commerce to claſſical books*.

SECTION XIV.

SALT.

This article, ſo neceſſary to the Americans, and ſo abundant in France, muſt not be forgotten in the enumeration of commodities to be imported into America. The Americans will for a long time be obliged to get it from Europe; not that they have no ſalt marſhes upon the coaſts, and ſalt pits in the interior parts of the country; but theſe marſhes, theſe ſalt pits, muſt have hands to work them; and hands are

* A man of letters, who had remarked the dearneſs of Engliſh books in France, and how difficult it was to get them from England, thought of getting the beſt Engliſh works reprinted in Paris;—this was a ſpeculation really patriotic—he abandoned it after having got a few volumes reprinted, probably becauſe the conſumption in France was not great enough, and that of England was not open to him. He might at preſent revive it, independent America preſents a great opening to him.

better

better employed in the United States*. The ſalt exported from Europe will for this reaſon be a long time cheaper than that of America: —moreover, its freight will coſt but little, as veſſels coming from Europe may be ballaſted with it. The Americans ought to give the preference to French ſalt; it is leſs ſharp, leſs corroſive, and poſſeſſes a better quality for ſalting, than any other European ſalt.

The three millions of inhabitants which the United States contain at preſent, are ſuppoſed to conſume ſixty million pound weight of ſalt, without reckoning that which is given to cattle, and that employed in ſalting proviſions; of which great quantity is conſumed in the United States, and with which they will carry on a commerce more and more conſiderable: I will not at preſent go into a calculation of the immenſe riches which the furniſhing of made ſalt to foreign population, continually increaſing, would produce to France. I ought to guard againſt exaggerations: but it may not be im-

* Salt, during the late war, was very dear in America, it was worth twenty times its ordinary price.—The deprivation of this article was very ſenſibly felt by the Americans, who conſume much ſalted proviſion, and give a great quantity of ſalt to their cattle.

proper

proper to obſerve that a conſiderable part of the States of the North will never make any ſalt. It is therefore poſſible that French ſalt may have a preference among them, as being cheaper and more within their reach: the population of theſe States will be more rapid than that of the others, and the commerce more varied and extenſive.

SECTION XV.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE CATALOGUE OF FRENCH IMPORTATIONS INTO THE UNITED STATES.

I will extend no further the liſt of articles, which French commerce may furniſh to the United States: there are many others which I omit, becauſe the bounds of my work will not permit me to examine any more than the principal ones.

If faith be given to the calculations of Lord Sheffield, and of other political writers, it appears that the amount of the exportations of Great Britain into free America was, upon an average, calculated upon three years, taken before 1773, near three millions ſterling, upwards of ſeventy-two millions of livres tournois.

nois. How much will it increaſe in following the progreſſion of population, and clearing of lands? It is eſpecially for this future ſtate of things that France ought to prepare her means.

Let it be alſo obſerved, that this commerce employed ſeven or eight hundred veſſels, and about ten thouſand ſailors.

Ought France to let ſlip ſo important a commerce, and a means ſo natural of ſupporting her marine? For without commerce there can be no marine. Has not ſhe, in the richneſs of her ſoil, in a variety of her manufactures, in the low price of her workmanſhip, in the induſtry and taſte of her inhabitants, in her population, and in the ſituation of her ports, an infinity of means, ſufficient to eſtabliſh in America a ſolid and extenſive commerce? It muſt be continually repeated, that if it be wiſhed that peace ſhould reign upon the earth, the words *preference and competition*, which are frequently ſignals of diſcord, muſt be uſed with circumſpection. Why ſhould there be any jealouſy with reſpect to this commerce? In the courſe of time, independent America will offer a field wide enough for all the European manufactures.

CHAP. VI.

OF THE ARTICLES WHICH INDEPENDENT AMERICA MAY FURNISH IN RETURN FOR IMPORTATIONS FROM FRANCE.

ARRIVED at this part of my work, I cannot do better than conſign to it the letter addreſſed by M. de Calonne to Mr. Jefferſon, Miniſter Plenipotentiary from the United States of America.

LETTER

ADDRESSED TO M. JEFFERSON, MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE COURT OF FRANCE.

Fontainbleau, 22d October, 1786.

SIR,

The King's intention being to favour as much as poſſible the commerce of the United States, I have the honour to communicate to you ſome diſpoſitions made for that purpoſe.

By a letter of the 9th of January, 1784, to the Marquis de la Fayette, I informed him, that inſtead of two free ports, promiſed by the treaty to the United States, the king had determined to grant them four, which has been effected; and I promiſed him to conſider the cuſtoms and duties on importation and exportation which ſhackle commerce; obſerving to him, that theſe objects required conſiderable application; they have not yet been completed. By another letter, I informed the Marquis, that his Majeſty had ſuppreſſed the duties on the exportation of brandy, a meaſure which he hoped would be uſeful to American commerce; I aſſured him alſo, that the duties of the king and admiralty, payable by an American veſſel on its arrival in a port of France, ſhould be diminiſhed; and afterwards that ſuch of them as remained, ſhould be reduced to a ſingle duty, to be regulated according to the number of maſts or draught of water, and not according to the too uncertain eſtimation of gauging. This reduction requires an exact knowledge of all the duties received in the ports, and as they are of various ſpecies, the ſtate which I ordered to be drawn up of them has not yet been given in.

You know, Sir, the king has charged a par-

ticular committee, to examine our commercial connexions with the United States, and that the Marquis de la Fayette has laid before it a project analogous to the ideas contained in your letter to the Count de Vergennes: but you muſt perceive, how imprudent it would be to hazard, by a change of ſyſtem, the produce of a branch of revenue, which amounts to twenty-eight millions of livres, without falling upon any object of the firſt neceſſity. After an ample diſcuſſion of every thing which might at preſent favour the importation of tobacco from America to France, it has been decreed, not that the agreement made with Mr. Morris ſhould be departed from, but that, after the expiration of it, no other of the ſame import ſhould be made; and that in the mean time the Farmers General ſhould be obliged to purchaſe annually about fifteen thouſand hogſheads of American tobacco, coming directly from the United States in French or American ſhips, at the ſame prices as ſtipulated in the contract made with Mr. Morris.

You will recollect, Sir, that whilſt the demands which had been made for whale oil were under conſideration, the Marquis de la Fayette made a private arrangement with M. Sangrain, permitting

permitting him to receive as much of that article as ſhould amount to eight hundred thouſand livres tournois, and that I had granted paſſports to exempt this firſt quantity from all duties whatſoever. M. Sangrain made afterwards an agreement with the merchants of Boſton for whale oil, to the amount of four hundred thouſand livres a year, for ſix years, for which his Majeſty has promiſed the ſame favours as enjoyed by the Hanſe towns.

This manner having lately been examined under a more general point of view, the adminiſtration, to which the committee has made its report conformable to the requeſt of the Marquis de la Fayette, and to your opinion, relative to the entire abolition of all duties on oils, has diſcovered that it cannot conſent to it for the preſent, on account of engagements entered into with other powers. All that could be done was to inſure, for ten years, whale oil, ſpermaceti, and every thing comprehended under theſe denominations, coming from the United States in French or American ſhips, the ſame favours and moderation of duties as are enjoyed by the Hanſe towns.

His Majeſty hopes commercial connexions between the United States and France will

become extenſive enough to engage him to continue the effect of this proviſionary deciſion; and as it has been obſerved in the committee, that a conſiderable duty was paid upon the making of the moſt favoured whale oils, and even upon national ones, his Majeſty conſents to aboliſh this duty with reſpect to the former, and upon ſpermaceti coming immediately from the United States in French and American ſhips; ſo that ſpermaceti and theſe oils will have to pay, for ten years to come, no more than ſeven livres ten ſols, and the ten ſols per pound, for all manner of duty; the laſt augmentation of ten ſols per pound to ceaſe in 1790.

It has been determined to gain particular information upon the conſumption in France of rice from Carolina, and that encouragement ſhould be given to the exportation of that article.

Upon the repreſentations which have been made, touching the conſiderable duties paid on the entry of pot aſh and pearl aſh, as well as relative to thoſe of beaver ſkins and fur, and raw hides, his Majeſty has ſuppreſſed all the duties on pot aſh,—on the fur and ſkins of beavers,—and on hides, coming raw from the United States, on board American or French veſſels.

He

He will alſo conſider of proper encouragements to be given to every article of the ſkin and fur trade.

His Majeſty has equally conſented to free from all duties maſts and yards of every ſpecies, red cedar, green oak, in ſhort, all timber proper for the conſtruction of veſſels, coming from the United States in French or American ſhips.

The committee having alſo repreſented, that there was a duty of five per cent. upon the purchaſe of veſſels built abroad, and that this duty was prejudicial to the ſale of American veſſels, his Majeſty has taken this into his conſideration, and exempted the purchaſe of all ſhips, which ſhall be proved to have been conſtructed in the United States, from every duty of the kind.

Trees, ſmall ſhrubs, and ſeeds of trees alſo, pay high duties, which his Majeſty has agreed to aboliſh upon ſuch as ſhall be ſent from the United States to France, on board French or American ſhips.

It having been repreſented, that the State of Virginia had ordered arms for its militia to be made in France, it has been determined, that the prohibitions which have hitherto hindered

the exportation of arms and gunpowder, as well as the duties required in caſes of particular permiſſions, ſhould be aboliſhed, and that whenever the United States ſhall wiſh to have from France arms, fuſils, and gunpowder, they ſhall have full liberty to do it, provided it be in French or American ſhips, and that thoſe articles ſhall be ſubject to a very moderate duty only, ſolely for the purpoſe of calculating the exportations.

Finally, his Majeſty has received in the ſame favourable manner the demand made to the committee to ſuppreſs the conſiderable duties hitherto paid on books and paper of every kind. His Majeſty ſuppreſſes all duties on articles of this kind, deſtined to the United States, and put into French or American veſſels.

It is with pleaſure, Sir, I announce to you theſe diſpoſitions of his Majeſty, which are a new proof to you of his deſire to unite cloſely the commerce of the two nations, and of the favourable attention he will always give to propoſitions which ſhall be made to him in the name of the United States of America.

I have the honour to be, with a ſincere attachment, Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

(Signed) DE CALONNE.

Your nation, Sir, will undoubtedly ſee, with pleaſure, the facilities the king has juſt given to the exportation of the wines of Bourdeaux, Guienne, and Touraine, and the ſuppreſſions of duties granted to that effect, by different Arrets of Council, with which the Marquis de la Fayette will be able to acquaint you.

EXPORTS OF AMERICA.

I WILL treat but of a few of the articles which America furniſhes, on account of the attention which they all merit.

SECTION I.

TOBACCO.

Of all the articles which France may procure from the United States, tobacco is the moſt important one to the inhabitants of the two countries. If it cannot be claſſed with our moſt urgent neceſſities, it follows them ſo cloſe, that excepting caſes wherein the uſe of it excites diſguſt, the deprivation of it ordinarily diſcovers the laſt degree of miſery.

We muſt not be ſurpriſed at its general uſe. The man greedy of ſenſations, has found one lively

lively enough in tobacco: it is perhaps the only one which he can enjoy at pleaſure without injuring his health, diminiſhing his ſtrength, or ſuſpending his work or meditations. Tobacco awakens the mind agreeably, and obſervers who have remarked the innocent pleaſure, the ſpecies of inſtantaneous comfort, which a little tobacco procures to a poor man, borne down by the weight of affliction, have always wiſhed that ſo ſimple an enjoyment ſhould be improved and become leſs and leſs expenſive; and they cannot reflect without horror on the crime of that fiſcal induſtry, which, hardened by monopoly to increaſe its profits, adulterates ſnuff ſo much, as to make it pernicious to health.

The conſumption of tobacco muſt therefore become more and more conſiderable, and the commerce of this leaf, already very important, cannot be decreaſed but by the diminution of its cultivation; which the policy of America will never permit.

The cultivation of tobacco is by no means proper for the European States, which have acquired population enough to apply another kind of cultivation to all their good lands.

It is true the Alſaciens cultivate a little tobacco, and they boaſt of it; but they would make

make a greater profit if they cultivated their lands for proviſions. This experience is deciſive for France, where none of thoſe rich lands exiſt which are ſo well known in America. It is therefore the intereſt of France to get tobacco from abroad, but it muſt be paid for by her manufactures: ſhe may enjoy this advantage more fully with free America than with any other country. I will not repeat the reaſons of it; I will obſerve only, that the free Americans, having an immenſe extent of lands which cannot be cleared but in the courſe of ſeveral centuries, muſt have, for a long time to come, tobacco to ſend to Europe, ſince this production pays with uſury the expences of clearing.

It is true, that the cultivation of tobacco in America muſt be farther and farther from the ſea, and that the expences of carriage may become conſiderable.

But different conſiderations place this epocha at a diſtance; firſt, in cultivating tobacco in none but abſolute new lands, the cultivation is much leſs expenſive, and the produce conſiderably more abundant; conſequently it will coſt much leſs in a new ſoil than when the ſoil requires more labour and manure. Secondly,

America,

America, interſected in every direction by rivers and lakes, has infinite reſources for rendering water carriage every where eaſy, and conſequently never expenſive. It is eaſy to multiply canals, and conſequently communications: no part of the world is ſo much favoured in this reſpect as America. Thirdly, The banks of the Ohio and the Miſſiſſippi offer immenſe lands to be cleared; the Ohio falls into the Miſſiſſippi, which falls in its turn into the ſea: theſe two rivers are almoſt every where navigable, and the lands near them produce already excellent tobacco, and will continue to do ſo for a long time*. Fourthly, If the price of

* It is impoſſible to view, without indignation, that narrow policy of Spain, which would ſhut out the Americans from all communication with the ſea by the Miſſiſſippi. How is it, that ſhe cannot perceive, that her mercantile intereſts invite her, on the contrary, to favour this navigation, by erecting ſtore houſes upon the banks of this river near to its mouth? Is ſhe ignorant of the advantages of depoſitories? And with reſpect to her political intereſt, is there a greater one for her in theſe countries, than to make herſelf immediately neceſſary to American eſtabliſhments, within the reach of the Ohio? Muſt ſhe wait till they adopt other means? What will be gained by creating diſcontent among a free people? If it be wiſhed that theſe people ſhould not become powerful, they muſt be deſtroyed; and if this barbarity belongs not to the eighteenth century, it is neceſſary to make friends of them. Expedients in politics are childiſh and vain.

tobacco ſhould be increaſed, France would not feel the difference, if the free Americans, preferring the culture, continued to want European manufactures, and gave the preference to thoſe of France. According to this ſyſtem, the exchange of merchandize, manufactured in France for the productions of the ſoil of America, may be ſtill made with advantage, if even theſe productions were ſold in France below the firſt coſt in America. We have long ſeen the French commerce of the Levant produce great profits, although the merchandize brought in return was ſold at a leſs price in France than it coſt at the place where it was produced. This circumſtance ſtill exiſts.

Therefore the ſpeculation, moſt to the intereſt of France, is to take as much tobacco as ſhe can conſume from the Americans, and pay for it with her manufactures *.

* The tobacco leaf, of which the farmers general had the entire monopoly, or excluſive ſale, produced to the king a clear nett revenue, annually, of between twenty-eight and twenty-nine millions of livres.

SECTION II.

FISHERIES, WHALE OIL, &c. SPERMACETI CANDLES.

Among the articles of ſubſiſtence which nature has liberally given to men, fiſh is one of the moſt abundant, the moſt eaſy to be procured, and the moſt proper to preſerve their health and ſtrength *. By what fatal privilege is this food confined in France almoſt to the rich? Why does not fiſh abound in all places, where this tribute of the ſea can be received in its original ſtate, and without being charged with the expences of too long a carriage? Since it is ſo well known, that it is advantageous to a ſtate, and to every claſs of citizens, to procure an abundance and a variety of eatables, let them come from where they will, or of whatever

* Such is the powerful influence on population, of the abundance of articles of ſubſiſtence, and eſpecially that of fiſh, that it is principally to this article of life that the empire of China owes the incredible number of its inhabitants.

nature

nature they be, provided they be cheap and wholeſome; why is this political rule departed from, with reſpect to fiſh, to that aliment which nature produces every where with ſuch fecundity? Whatever may be the motives which may repel it, by an overcharge of duties, they can proceed from nothing but a culpable ignorance.

Fully convinced of the benefit which muſt reſult to mankind from an abundance of proviſions, and from the facility of producing this abundance, in receiving from each nation the ſuperfluity which nature has given it, I ſhall take great care not to copy the narrow ſyſtem of Lord Sheffield with reſpect to fiſheries.—His Lordſhip agrees, that the independent Americans have, for the great fiſhery, natural advantages, with which it is impoſſible for the Europeans to contend.

In fact, the Americans are near that part of the Atlantic where great fiſh abound; therefore their fiſhery muſt be leſs expenſive to them. If accidents happen, they are ſoon repaired; all their operations are more prompt and ſure; having a better knowledge of theſe ſeas, they are expoſed to leſs riſks than Europeans: finally, their proximity to the fiſheries, aſſures them

proviſions

proviſions more freſh *, and puts it in their power to renew them more frequently; conſequently their fiſhermen enjoy more conſtant health, and have older officers and ſailors among them: theſe are ineſtimable advantages to America.

The Engliſh have very few of theſe advantages; the French ſcarcely any.—But ought we to conclude with Lord Sheffield, from this order of things, that American fiſh ſhould be charged with duties, in order to ſupport the national fiſhery, againſt this competition; the nature of things dictates to France more wiſe and advantageous means.—Fiſh is nouriſhing, —whatever is nouriſhing is prolific: if the Americans fiſh at leſs expence than the French, ſo much the better for the laſt; fiſh will be more abundant, and at a lower price in France. Let France open her ports; the Americans will bring fiſh into them, and will pay themſelves with either the productions of the ſoil of France,

* Such is the advantage of the Americans, that they furniſh proviſions to the ſedentary fiſheries of the Engliſh. According to Colonel Champion, the proviſions of Europe are more dear, and not ſo good; the difference in favour of the Americans is in the proportion of four to ſeven; and it cannot be otherwiſe.

or of her induſtry; and the population to which this abundance and cheapneſs are favourable will increaſe the productions of French induſtry.

Moreover, it is neceſſary, either to renounce exterior commerce, or to conſent that there ſhall be ſomething to exchange on both ſides. To wiſh to eſtabliſh and encourage a commerce with a foreign nation, and not to leave it to the care of furniſhing that which it collects with the greateſt facility, is a manifeſt contradiction. The enlightened policy of commerce is not to invade all the branches of it, but to do nothing but that which can be done better and cheaper than any other. Therefore, ſince the Americans have fiſh on their coaſts, ſince they are in the neighbourhood of Newfoundland, leave to their induſtry that branch which nature has given to them in preference; let us not diſpute it with them; firſt, becauſe it would be in vain to do it, and in the next place, becauſe France may reap, without fiſhing, more advantageouſly the fruit of the American fiſheries.

"But," ſays Lord Sheffield, "ſailors muſt "be found for the navy; and the fiſheries are "the nurſeries for them; therefore, the fiſh-

"eries

"eries muſt be ſupported; and no fiſh con-
"ſumed but that which we take ourſelves; on
"which account premiums are neceſſary."

There is no doubt but ſailors are formed in the fiſheries, but it is not in throwing nets or hooks, in curing or preparing fiſh, that this is done; it is by a frequent and long exerciſe on board veſſels in laborious manœuvres, in living, ſo to ſpeak, among rocks, and in ſeas, which the vicinity or nearneſs of oppoſite coaſts makes continually dangerous: now this exerciſe of vigilance, agility, and intelligence, is performed by the ſailor in coaſting and fiſhing on the coaſts of his own country. Let coaſting be frequent, and let not this fiſhery be diſcouraged in France, and it will not be neceſſary, in order to form ſailors, to ſend them ſo far to take fiſh, which they cannot bring to Europe without great expence: by which the conſumption is conſequently limited, and which deprives us of the ineſtimable advantage of receiving in abundance, that which the independent Americans can take at much leſs expence.

Without doubt the exerciſe of the fiſheries of the North forms intrepid ſailors; and this painful life muſt be conſented to. But when nature has placed men in a climate where they

have but a few ſteps to make to the interior of the country*, to find an occupation exempt from dangers and leſs fatiguing; when they can get their bread upon land, under a clear and calm ſky, if he reaſons, how will he be engaged to truſt his life to boards, and to brave icy ſeas, to expoſe himſelf during the fineſt months in the year to perpetual ſtorms, which aſſail theſe fiſhing banks, ſo frequently ſtained, by means of the moſt fatal errors, with European blood?

It will be anſwered, by premiums†, by privileges,

* The French fiſh but a part of the year; moſt of the fiſhermen are day labourers, employed on land, which they leave in the month of February, and return to it in July.

† England gives conſiderable premiums to her fiſhermen. —But the inconveniences and abuſes of the firſt premiums, render them of no effect. Theſe abuſes are chiefly as follows: The fiſhing veſſel muſt go to a certain port; the equipage muſt paſs in review before the Officers of the Cuſtoms; the ſhip muſt complete her cargo, or remain three months at ſea to do it:—ſo that if in the firſt week ſhe procured nine-tenths of it, ſhe would be obliged to keep the ſea for the other tenth. The ſhip can take no inſtruments but thoſe proper for the fiſhery, to which the premium is applied; the cargo cannot be diſcharged but in a certain port; there are general formalities to be obſerved with reſpect to the ſalt which ſhe carries out and brings home; the owners are expoſed to vexations from Cuſtom-houſe Officers, to law ſuits which they are obliged to carry

vileges, and by prohibitions or overcharges of duties, which are equivalent to prohibitions on foreign induſtry.

But it muſt not be forgotten, that articles of ſubſiſtence are here in queſtion, that thoſe forced means make them dearer, that their conſumption is then limited, and their effect reſtrained; that in forcing nature in this manner, is doing it at the expence of population, for by this barbarous regimen, men are deſtroyed inſtead of being produced, whilſt permiſſion to bring into ſea-ports the fiſh of thoſe who have nothing better to do than to take it would infallibly increaſe population.

Moreover, to whom are theſe premiums and all other favours, with which it is wiſhed to combat the nature of things, diſtributed? Does the individual of whom it is intended to make a ſailor enjoy any advantage from them? Let not men be deceived in this, they are the prey

carry on in courts of juſtice, far from their reſidence.—Judge if a poor fiſherman can expoſe himſelf to theſe inconveniencies; this is what has cauſed fiſheries to decline, eſpecially thoſe of Scotland.—It is what has given ſo much aſcendancy to the Dutch, who have no premiums. It is that which has rendered premiums uſeleſs. Other Governments adopt this method of giving premiums: the ſame difficulties are attached to them, and yet people are aſtoniſhed that things go not on better.

of the navigator, who goes not out of his cloſet but to walk about, and who directs his ſteps ſometimes toward the ſea ſide. He begins by taking his own ſhare, and be perſuaded that the wages which he offers to thoſe whom he employs to conduct his perilous enterprize are parſimoniouſly calculated: therefore the end is not attained.

If there be an abſolute want of ſailors who have paſſed their noviciate about the Banks of Newfoundland, and in the North ſeas, there is a more ſimple and ſure means, leſs expenſive, and what is more important, one which is exempt from deſtructive conſequences, to form them. Chooſe from honeſt families young, robuſt, and intelligent men; inſure to them a perſonal recompenſe if, after a certain number of voyages on board fiſhing veſſels, they bring certificates of good behaviour, and of experience acquired by practice. Oblige them to go on board veſſels belonging to nations or cities, to which theſe difficult fiſheries are a neceſſary reſource. It is there they will acquire real knowledge. Theſe, added afterwards to ſailors exerciſed in the coaſting and in the fiſheries on their own coaſts, will form for the navy experienced ſailors.

Whale oil belongs to the fiſheries: it is another

ther great article of commerce with the United States. All oil of this denomination is not produced by whales only; great quantities of it is drawn from ſeals, and other ſpecies of fiſh.

The uſe of this oil is much reſtrained in France*: that of the white of the whale, and of which ſuch fine candles are made, is little known there. The uſe of oil will become more general.

Lord Sheffield is of opinion, that ſound policy makes it neceſſary that the Engliſh ſhould prohibit, or at leaſt diſcourage by duties, American oil. It was with this idea that the government of England impoſed a duty of four hundred and fifty livres tournois per ton on oils imported by the independent Americans, to favour the oils of Canada and Nova Scotia.

This rigour ſhould make this production, which has been hitherto proſcribed, received in France. The introduction of it is ſo much the more neceſſary, as the French whale fiſhery is ruined. Bayon, formerly celebrated for this fiſhery, has abandoned it; Dunkirk, which con-

* By ſtatements which deſerve ſome faith it appears, that in 1784 the importation into France of whale oil, and that of other fiſh taken by the French, was 1,610,69 lb.—Foreign oil 2,748,099 lb. Portugal furniſhed almoſt half of the laſt.

tinues to fit out veſſels, furniſhes but little of this oil, and at a very high price.

Whether the French go to the North, or towards Braſil, they will labour under a diſadvantage:—Without aſylum in caſe of misfortune, their navigation is always longer and more expenſive than that of other nations which carry on a whale fiſhery. It is therefore more to the advantage of France to receive American oil, and to pay for it with her wines and manufactures.

The French government ſoon perceived the neceſſity of receiving the oils of America. Had not this been done, an emigration of American fiſhermen into Canada and Nova Scotia would have been the conſequence. This was near happening, ſome time after the peace, in the iſland of Nantucket. In deſpair on ſeeing the ports of England ſhut, and not knowing where to ſell their oils, which alone ſupplied all their wants, the inhabitants had reſolved to emigrate to Nova Scotia, when, on the moment of departure, they received a letter from the Marquis de la Fayette, whom they juſtly looked upon as their patron and father. He perſuaded them to be patient until the French government ſhould ſuppreſs or reduce the duties on oils, which

have

have been reduced for a limited time; but during this time the independent Americans are to enjoy, with reſpect to their oils, all the advantages given to the moſt favoured nation *; and this favour, joined to all their other advantages, cannot fail to give them a great ſuperiority in this branch of commerce, as beneficial to France as to them.

The white of the whale muſt be added, and the candles made with this ſubſtance; they are known by the name of ſpermaceti candles, and ſerve inſtead of very fine bougies or wax candles. The American Colonies exported of them, according to Lord Sheffield, to the amount of five hundred thouſand livres tournois, in the years 1768, 1769, and 1770, calculating theſe candles at thirty-two ſols a pound. It is probable, that theſe would be better made in France.

* Such are the duties on whale oil, &c. paid in France, according to the tarifs of 1664, and 1667; whale bone, cut and prepared by the French, thirty ſols per cwt. fins three livres per cwt. a barrel of oil of five hundred pounds weight, three livres.—Whale bone from foreign fiſheries, pays in the firſt inſtance, nineteen livres, in the ſecond, thirty livres, and twelve livres in the third. The Hanſe Towns pay nine livres in the firſt inſtance, and ſeven livres ten ſols in the third.—It is this laſt duty which the American oils now pay.

SECTION

SECTION III.

CORN, FLOUR, &c.

Foreign corn and flour enter France on paying a duty too inconſiderable to make any ſenſible increaſe in their price. The principles laid down in the preceding article, with reſpect to articles of ſubſiſtence, muſt be adopted for the commodities of corn and flour.

The corn merchant, the moſt uſeful of all merchants (whatever the vulgar, who, from a want of information, confounds a dealer in corn with a monopoliſer, may think of him), fears arbitrary exceptions, ſudden prohibitions, and unexpected ſtrokes of authority. This ſtate of uncertainty prevents the ſolid eſtabliſhment of the true ſyſtem of liberty, whence reſult innumerable inconveniencies, which no other ſyſtem would bring on provided it were fixed, and that it afforded a certain baſis of calculation.

But how could a legiſlation for corn be formed which ſhould not be one of liberty, and which ſhould nevertheleſs afford a like baſis?

This

This is impoſſible: ſeeking, firſt of all, the particular rules for every caſe, when theſe are of a nature not to be foreſeen, is ſeeking for a chimera.

Not to fall into contradiction it is neceſſary to chooſe between arbitrary power and liberty. —But that which is arbitrary preſents nothing but a perſpective which is naturally diſcouraging. No property is ſafe under this ſyſtem: when it exiſts, the merchant and the cultivator are obliged to hazard their property in a lottery, of which the chicaneries cannot be calculated; for it is neceſſary to foreſee the falſe informations, errors, and manœuvres, of an intereſt different from their own, and even from that of the public, the attempts of power, &c.; and if all theſe conſiderations ought to enter into the elements of their calculations, how can they found hopes on ſuch a variable baſis?

Liberty conſiſting, on the contrary, in the choice which every one may make of that which is moſt agreeable to him, according to the circumſtances of the moment. This is a general rule; it is applicable to every caſe, and the hope of gain is always accompanied by the deciſive certainty that an individual will be maſter of all his induſtry, and of combining his

ſpeculations

ſpeculations according to circumſtances, which human power cannot govern.

From this demonſtrated truth, that in every ſtate of circumſtances, the firſt thing needful to the commerce of grain is a fixed rule, reſults the neceſſity of embracing the ſyſtem of liberty, and of protecting it in its fulleſt extent, without oppoſing any reſtrictive condition*.

Governments ſhould be determined by the neceſſity alone of this fixed rule, if the ſyſtem of liberty was not even demonſtrated to be the beſt in every reſpect. But this ſyſtem is moreover the moſt certain preſervative againſt the alternatives of ruinous abundance, and ſcarcity ſtill more ruinous, which are both calamities, wherever impoſts are conſiderable.

Lord Sheffield obſerves, that Europe, not being conſtantly under the neceſſity of recurring to American corn, the United States cannot put corn and flour into the claſs of productions, which found an eſſential and durable com-

* The Engliſh ſometimes prohibit importation or exportation.—But it muſt be obſerved, that the Engliſh previouſly fix the price of corn, which determines prohibitions. This is therefore a fixed law, and which, conſequently, deranges not ſpeculators like an arbitrary law.

merce *. Lord Sheffield is miſtaken. It is a truth, which every man of obſervation is acquainted with, that not a year comes forward without ſhewing that ſome one or more nations in Europe are in want of corn. This want of grain therefore being occaſionally extended to all Europe, France ought to be anxious to become the magazine of it, ſince England was ſo formerly. Therefore it would be advantageous to conſtruct in the free ports opened to the United States commodious depoſitories to receive and preſerve American corn. By this means

* We have no ſimple expreſſion in France for *ſtaple commodities*; words by which the Engliſh term thoſe ſorts of productions of ſoil or induſtry, ſo naturalized as to form an eſſential part of national riches, and of which the commerce is favoured by great eſtabliſhments, ſuch as public buildings, depoſitories, and places or markets, deſtined to theſe productions. Theſe are called the *ſtaple*, whence the expreſſion *ſtaple commodities* was naturally formed.

We have not, like the Engliſh, the happy liberty of making words: their language becomes more rich, their elocution rapid, and we loſe ourſelves in long circumlocutions, to deſcribe a thing of which we want the name; an inconvenience more pernicious to inſtruction than is believed. This remark is not at preſent ill timed: it is to thoſe who conduct affairs, who live among them, whoſe vocation it is to treat thereon, to create words which explain them clearly and properly.

corn would be always ready to be tranſported to the place where the beſt price was to be had for it. Theſe free ports being depoſitories where articles neceſſary to the United States would be collected, the commerce of corn would thereby acquire a continuation advantageous to the two nations:—advantageous to America, becauſe the certainty of a place of depoſit, ſafe and little expenſive, would cauſe grain to be ſent more frequently; advantageous to France, becauſe, beſides the continual poſſeſſion of an important commodity, and which would guarantee it from every manœuvre of interior monopoly, theſe depoſitories would furniſh the means of a coaſting trade, almoſt continual, from the north of France to the fartheſt part of the Mediterranean.

France does not grow all the corn ſhe conſumes*; ſhe is obliged to get it from the north, from Sicily, and the coaſts of Africa;

* This is a fact, though contrary to the common opinion. Another fact, which proves the neceſſity of admitting corn at a low rate, ſuch as the corn of America is, that three-fourths of the inhabitants of the province of Beauce, which produces ſuch fine corn, eat black bread and no other, and of which they have not even enough. What muſt this ſcarcity be in other provinces where no corn is grown?

that

that of the United States ought to be more proper for her, for two reaſons: Firſt, it muſt be cheaper, being the produce of a cultivating people. Secondly, the people have more various and general wants of freſh proviſions than the ſouthern countries of Europe. The American may receive wines, fine oils, and fruits of France, in exchange for his corn. The Neopolitan, the Sicilian, and the African, cannot be paid in the ſame manner.

Finally, there is another conſideration favourable to the importation of American corn: it may eaſily arrive at Honfleur*; there it may be ſtored up, and undergo all the proceſſes neceſſary to its preſervation; proceſſes which are become very ſimple and little expenſive†. Theſe

* I quote Honfleur, becauſe this port, from various circumſtances, uſeleſs to mention here, is deſtined by nature to become the depoſitory of a great commerce, and that eſpecially of the United States with France. The project of making it a free port has been under conſideration; and it is to the greateſt intereſt of France that this project ſhould be carried into execution.

† Theſe conſiſt in nothing but placing magazines in the open air, opened to dry winds, and conſtructed in ſuch a manner as to be entirely removed. This operation, performed once a fortnight, in proper weather, needs only to be repeated a certain number of times; after which the corn may

Theſe eſtabliſhments would keep up a conſiderable quantity of foreign corn within the reach of the capital, a greater advantage than may be imagined.

There are ſtill other motives which ought to engage the French to encourage the importation of American corn. They have need of it for the vaſt magazines which the land and ſea forces, and frequently ſcarcity, oblige them to keep ſtored.

What ſhould hinder Government from forming magazines of American corn in the French ſugar iſlands, which tempeſts, conflagrations, and other unforeſeen accidents, expoſe ſo frequently to famine, becauſe contracted victualling is carried on by monopoliſers, who ſend but little in order to ſell dear?

may be left in a heap, without fear of its heating. Experiments of this kind have been carefully made. The method of preſerving corn uſed at Geneva may be quoted: The government has eſtabliſhed one of its greateſt revenues in the ſale of corn to the people, and its intereſt has, conſequently, led it to improve the art of preſerving this commodity. Beſides, in depoſitories deſtined wholly to the corn dealers, the ſame corn never remains long enough to render its preſervation difficult. There is ſome reaſon to believe that the ſalt air of the ſea is favourable for it.

SECTION IV.

MASTS, YARDS, AND OTHER TIMBER FOR THE NAVY.

France, like other European ſtates which have a royal navy and fleets of merchant ſhips to keep in repair, imports timber from Livonia and Ruſſia. This general magazine begins to be exhauſted; the quality of its maſts is not ſo good as formerly. This commerce is, moreover, attended with the diſadvantage to France of requiring conſiderable remittances of money, without reckoning the inconveniences of a dangerous navigation, frequently interrupted by ice; alſo the competition of ſeveral nations, which their proximity and many other circumſtances naturalize, ſo to ſpeak, in the ports and ſeas of the North; advantages which the French cannot have.

Theſe conſiderations ought to determine France to turn her attention to the United States, to procure from them the timber neceſſary for her navy, and maſt timber eſpecially. There is but one objection to this, and it ariſes from prejudice. It is pretended in France, that

the quality of American timber is very much inferior to that of the Baltic. Some people go ſo far as to maintain that it is improper for the conſtruction of veſſels. I have reaſon to believe that this judgment is not only haſty, but dictated either by ignorance, or the partiality of perſons intereſted in the Baltic timber.

It is not in the laws of nature, that immenſe countries, whoſe aſpects are as varied as thoſe of Europe can be, and in whoſe ſoil there are the ſame diverſities, ſhould produce no timber but of a quality inferior to that of the timber of Europe.

Better directed inquiries, and a more attentive examination, will ſoon deſtroy this prejudice againſt the quality of American timber; a prejudice ſo much the more diſagreeable, as it would deprive the commerce between France and the United States of an article important to the two nations.

If France will inform herſelf ſeriouſly of this matter, let her conſult even the enemies of America; let her conſult Lord Sheffield, ſo moderate in his eulogiums, when it is neceſſary to give them to the independent Americans. His Lordſhip ſays expreſsly, "that the negociators of the treaty of peace, who have ceded

"the

"the territory of Penobſcot, to the eaſt of "Caſco bay, belonging to Great Britain, de- "ſerve the ſevereſt cenſure; as this country "produces, without contradiction, the beſt "timber. The coaſt," adds his Lordſhip, "is covered with timber proper for navigation "and other uſes, and in quantities ſufficient to "the wants of Great Britain for centuries to "come. The white pine, known in England "by the name of the Weymouth Pine, or "the Pine of New England, abounds in this "territory; it is inconteſtably the beſt for "maſts, and grows there to a prodigious "height."

This is confirmed to us by men who have travelled and reſided in the United States. Theſe men aſſure us, that the States produce all kinds of timber of which we are in need, and that the white pine of the Connecticut, Penobſcot, and Kennebeck rivers is, at leaſt, equal in quality to that of the north of Europe. The ſhip-builders of Philadelphia eſteem it ſo much, that they begin to make uſe of it for ſide planks above the ſurface of the water.

Green oak, of which there are ſuch fine foreſts in Georgia, unites the moſt precious qualities; it may be procured from St. Mary's,

of a more conſiderable ſcantling than that which comes from the Levant and the iſland of Corſica; it is compact, the worms never attack it, and its duration is unequalled. The green oak of Carolina is the hardeſt timber known;—the veſſels built with it are of a very long duration.

SECTION V.

SKINS AND FURS.

In this trade Lord Sheffield looks upon the United States as dangerous rivals to Canada; and it is not without reaſon that his lordſhip is of this opinion.

The proximity of the great eſtabliſhments which the independent Americans form at preſent at *Pitſburgh*, and in many other places of their poſſeſſions beyond the mountains, muſt inſenſibly give them great advantages in this commerce, and make them partake with Canada a large ſhare of the profits.

In fact, the regions ſituated between the waters of the lake *Ontario*, and thoſe of the Miſſiſſippi, interſected by the numerous rivers which fall into the South and North-Weſt of

Lake

Lake Erie, of the *Michigan*, and of the *Superior*, as far as the *Ouiſconſing**, and even to the *lac des bois*; the great undertakings in which the Virginians are at preſent employed, to improve the navigation of the *Potowmack*, to the foot of the Alle-Gheny; the probability of another communication with the ultramontane waters, by means of the weſtern branches of the *Suſquehannah*; without omitting the facility with which the inhabitants of the ſtate of New York went to *Niagara* before the war, in going up the Hudſon's river from their capital to Albany, beyond that of the Mohawks, croſſing the little lake of Oneida, and by means of an eaſy carriage going down the river of *Oſwego*, in the mouth of which the Ontario forms an excellent harbour; all theſe reaſons, and many others which relate not only to geography, but to climate, proximity, &c. muſt in a few years put the Americans in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of the fur trade.

Theſe advantages will be ſtill more certain, when the Engliſh ſhall have evacuated the forts

* A great river which falls into the Miſſiſſippi, at ſeven hundred leagues from the ſea.

of Niagara *, the great eſtabliſhment of the ſtreight †, and that of the Michillimakinack ‡.

The annual ſales in London of furs from Canada, produced, in 1782, four millions ſeven hundred thouſand livres tournois, ſomething more in 1783, and in 1784 they amounted to upwards of five millions. All theſe furs are paid for with Engliſh manufactures, and the fourth part is prepared in England, by which their value is doubled. Now this rich commerce, carried on by way of Quebec, will certainly fall as ſoon as the forts and the countries which they command ſhall be reſtored to the Americans. It is from this conſideration that the reſtitution of theſe forts is withheld; to the period of which the Engliſh look forward with pain.

* A very important one, which commands the ſpace of the thirteen leagues which ſeparates the lakes Erie and Ontario.

† A city founded by the French, on the height of St. Claire, which carries the waters of the lakes Michigan and Huron into the Erie.

‡ A fort and eſtabliſhment at the point, in the iſland of this name, which commands the paſſage of the falls of St. Mary, through which the waters of the upper lake fall into thoſe of the Huron.

SECTION VI.

RICE, INDIGO, FLAX-SEED.

It is not poſſible to ſpeak of American rice without thinking of the pernicious inconveniences which its cultivation produces. The wretched ſlaves who cultivate it, obliged to be half the year in water, are expoſed to ſcrophulous diſorders and a premature death. It is ſaid, that this conſideration prevents the ſtates, wherein rice is produced, from aboliſhing ſlavery. Free men would not devote themſelves willingly to this deſtructive labour*.

Were this even true, and that in the ſyſtem of liberty means could not be found to reconcile this culture to the health of the labourers, a ſufficient motive could not be drawn from it to condemn to death, or to cruel diſeaſes, a part

* Rice is cultivated in Piedmont and in Italy, by people who have no habitations, and are known by the name of Banditti, the fruit of the bad political conſtitutions of that part of Europe. When theſe Banditti have finiſhed their work, the Sbirres conduct them to the frontiers, for fear of the diſorders to which their inaction and miſery might incline them.

of our fellow creatures, born free, equal us*, and with an equal right to live. Were the culture of this commodity even abſolutely neceſſary, this neceſſity would give us no right over the lives of negroes, or it would be the effect of a ſtate of war; for ſervitude was never a right.

* They are of a different colour from that of the Europeans; but does the quality of man depend on colour? Are not the negroes organized as we are? Have not they like us every thing which belongs to the production of the ſpecies, to the formation of ideas, and to their development? If their black colour ought to have any moral effect, to have any influence over their fate, or to determine our conduct towards them, it ſhould be that of inducing us to leave them where they are, and not to force them away from their country; not to puniſh them by the moſt barbarous treatment on account of their colour; not to drag them into a foreign land, to condemn them there to the vile and painful life of animals. Do they come and offer themſelves voluntarily as ſlaves? Do they aſk to leave thoſe torrid zones, wherein nature ſeems to have circumſcribed them by their colour, as ſhe has done by us in more temperate ones by our white complexions? Their wants being few, keep them in ignorance; we add every thing capable of changing it into imbecility, and we argue upon this degradation, of which we are the culpable authors, to tranquillize ourſelves on the juſt reproaches which nature makes us! Can we boaſt therefore of our knowledge, as long as it remains an accomplice in theſe horrors? See on this ſubject, *l'examen critique des Voyages*, de M. de Chaſtelux.

There

There is a ſpecies of dry rice no way dangerous to cultivate. Moreover the example of the Chineſe and the Indians, among whom the culture of rice makes not ſuch ravages, ought to make us hope, that in imitating them life and health would be reſtored to men, of which we have never had a right to deprive them.

After having conſidered this production as a man ſhould conſider it, I muſt now conſider it as a merchant ought to do.

The French government has not yet taken a determined reſolution relative to the introduction of American rice. It is a wholeſome and ſimple article of ſubſiſtence, proper to ſupply the place of principal commodities. It cannot be too often repeated, that the multiplication of articles of ſubſiſtence ought to be encouraged; it would render life leſs painful to the people, increaſe population, and conſequently natural riches.

If France wiſhes to have a great and ſolid commerce with the United States, ſhe ought to admit all the productions of the United States.

The Americans exported annually, during the years 1768, 1769, and 1770, to Great Britain and the ſouth of Europe, a hundred and

fifteen thouſand barrels of rice, worth ſix millions and a half of livres tournois *. It is the moſt conſiderable article of exportation after tobacco, wheat, and flour. It deſerves therefore that France ſhould think of it for her commerce, and endeavour to bring it into her ports, to be diſtributed there to other European markets.

INDIGO.

The ſame thing may be ſaid of the indigo of the Carolinas and Georgia; it makes a part of the important productions of the United States, and is conſumed in Europe;—it is therefore neceſſary to open for its reception all the French ports, and afterwards to give it eaſy communications. The Engliſh received of it annually, during the years 1768, 1769, and 1770, to the amount of three millions of livres tournois †. It was principally conſumed in England, Ireland, and the north of Europe, by reaſon of its low price. The indigo of St. Domingo is much dearer.

* The exportation from Charleſtown, from December 1784, to December 1785, amounted to 67,713 barrels.

† The exportation of dye-ſtuff, made in 1785, from Charleſtown, amounted to 500,920 pound weight.

The

The Indigo of Carolina and Georgia has acquired a much better quality ſince the firſt quantities of it arrived in England; but I have not learnt that it is to be compared with the indigo of Domingo. Travellers ſay, that Carolina produces indigo almoſt as good as that of the French iſlands.

There are kinds of dying to which low priced indigo is proper; and, for this reaſon, certain dyers uſe that of the Carolinas and Georgia. In theſe caſes, it will always have the preference. Therefore American indigo ſhould be admitted as long as there is a conſumption for it, for the Americans will continue to cultivate it; and ſince this cultivation cannot be prevented, the moſt advantageous thing is to ſtrive to become agents in the general commerce of America.

FLAX-SEED.

North America ſent to England and Ireland, during the years 1768, 1769, and 1770, flax-ſeed to the amount of two millions and a half of livres tournois;—it was all conſumed in Great Britain. The advantage of paying for this ſeed with Iriſh linens, gave it the preference to that of Flanders and the Baltic. Flax-

ſeed

ſeed from theſe countries is, moreover, very dear.

It is the buſineſs of thoſe French merchants, who may be intereſted in the commerce with the United States, to conſider what advantages they may derive from this commerce. If the culture of flax becomes extenſive in France, foreign ſeed ought to be preferred for two reaſons: —the quality of the production is improved by it, and there is more advantage in ſpinning flax in peopled and induſtrious countries, than in letting it ripen to gather ſeed. It appears, that flax-ſeed comes not in abundance, but from countries where there are not hands ſufficient to ſpin, or give the firſt preparation, even to the flax they produce; it is then proper to cultivate it for its ſeed, which becomes a conſiderable article of commerce: as long as this ſtate of things ſubſiſts, it muſt alſo be proper for peopled countries to get flax-ſeed from abroad.

Flanders ſeems to be an exception; but the exportation of flax is there prohibited, for the purpoſe of encouraging ſpinning, &c.; in this caſe Flanders, being a country very proper for the cultivation of flax, may leave to many cultivators of this plant no other reſource than the commerce of the ſeed. It is probable, that if the

the flax could be ſent from Flanders, after the firſt preparation for ſpinning, nobody would think of gathering the ſeed.

SECTION VII.

NAVAL STORES, SUCH AS PITCH, TAR, AND TURPENTINE.

Before the emancipation of America, England received conſiderable ſupplies of theſe articles from America, particularly from Carolina and the ſouth. The quantities of theſe articles amounted annually, during the years 1768, 1769, and 1770, to twenty-ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred barrels of pitch; eighty-two thouſand four hundred barrels of tar; and twenty-eight thouſand one hundred of turpentine: the whole amounting, in the port of exportation, to one million two hundred and twenty-eight thouſand livres tournois.

Theſe ſtores were very valuable to the Engliſh, as well for their commerce as for their proper conſumption. Two conſiderable manufactures, eſtabliſhed at Hull, were ſupported by them; tar was there converted into pitch, conſiderable quantities of it were exported to the

the ſouth, where it was received in competition with that from the north of Europe. Turpentine, converted in theſe manufactures into oil or ſpirit, furniſhed a conſiderable object of commerce. England conſumes a great deal of it in the preparation of colours, varniſhes, &c.

The American revolution has not made the Engliſh loſe ſight of theſe ſtores: the want they have of them makes it imprudent to truſt wholly to the exportation of theſe articles from Ruſſia and Sweden, where the Engliſh have the Dutch for competitors. Moreover, the navigation of America, leſs dangerous than that of the Baltic, is not, like the laſt, limited to a certain time of the year, it is conſequently more frequent and leſs expenſive; ſo that theſe ſtores will come for a long time from America at a lower price than from the north. American tar is as good as that of Europe, thicker and more proper for making pitch; it is preferred for ſheep, even at a higher price. American turpentine is inferior to none but that of France.

An Engliſh merchant has taught the Ruſſians how to furniſh as good turpentine as that from any other nation: this production will be in

great abundance there, by the numerous and immenſe foreſts of firs in the neighbourhood of Archangel, where their corps are depoſited.

This ſtate of things ſhews to France what value ſhe ought to attach to the naval ſtores which may be furniſhed from America. The quantities of them exported from Charleſtown becomes more and more conſiderable*. The ſandy ſoil near the ſea, in North Carolina and the ſouth of Virginia, produces a great quantity of firs, from which tar and turpentine are extracted; this is done without much trouble, and the facility of felling and preparing the trees is a great encouragement.

* In 1782,—2041 barrels of pitch, tar, and turpentine, were exported from Charleſtown. In 1783,—14697 barrels. I know not how many barrels the exportation of 1784 amounted to; but that of 1785 conſiſted of 17,000. The ſame increaſe is obſerved in other articles. The moſt conſiderable is rice, afterwards indigo;—the other articles are, tobacco, deer-ſkins, timber, wheat, butter, wax, and leather. This exportation amounts to near four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

SECTION VIII.

TIMBER AND WOOD, FOR CARPENTERS AND COOPERS WOOK; SUCH AS STAVES, CASK-HEADS, PLANKS, BOARDS, &c.

France as well as England ought to be, for their own intereſts, engaged to favour the importation of theſe articles, of which the United States can furniſh ſuch great quantities.

Timber fails in France, and will become more and more ſcarce; population deſtroys it:—yet timber muſt be found for houſes, mills, &c.—hogſheads muſt be made for ſugars; caſks and barrels for wine, brandy, &c. Theſe articles of timber are principally furniſhed from the North to the ports of France—but they become dear, their quality diminiſhes, and the Americans have the advantage in the carriage *.

The

* It is neceſſary to give our readers an idea of the price of ſome of theſe articles: an American very converſant in them has furniſhed us with the neceſſary particulars.

White oak planks, of two inches and a half thick, ſawed by the hand, were ſold, in 1785, at fifteen piaſtres, or two hundred and ſixty livres ten ſols tournois, the thouſand feet.

Ordinary

The value of theſe articles, exported from America to Great Britain only, amounted to two millions of livres tournois in the year 1770, according to a ſtatement drawn up in the Cuſtom-Houſe of Boſton. The general exportations to the Engliſh, French, American, and Spaniſh iſlands, and to the different parts of Europe, are immenſe, and become daily more conſiderable. Were not this timber of a good quality, the increaſe of this commerce would not be ſo rapid. The French have in this reſpect ſome prejudices, which it is of importance to deſtroy. If the American ſlaves are eſteemed in making rum caſks, &c. they will undoubtedly preſerve our brandies.

Ordinary planks of fine white pine an inch thick, fourteen or fifteen feet long, and from a foot to fourteen inches wide, were ſold at the ſame time at ſeven piaſtres, or thirty-ſeven livres tournois, the thouſand feet.—Thoſe of a double thickneſs, double the price.

Planks, from two to five inches thick, and from fifteen to ſixty feet long, at twenty-one pounds New York money, or two hundred and ſeventy-three livres tournois, the thouſand feet.—The ſame perſon ſaid he had ſeen curbs or bent timber at ten ſhillings, New York money, a ton, the expence of cutting, &c. not included.

SECTION IX.

VESSELS CONSTRUCTED IN AMERICA, TO BE SOLD OR FREIGHTED.

It has been obſerved that the bulk of the commodities which might be exchanged by the commerce between France and the United States, was, at an equal value, much more conſiderable on the ſide of America than that of France. There reſults from this, that in theſe exchanges a great number of American veſſels muſt be ſubject to return to America in ballaſt. —This ſtate of things would certainly be prejudicial to the commerce between the two nations, if ſome compenſation could not be eſtabliſhed which ſhould remove the inequality.

This compenſation may be made in a very advantageous manner to both. The independent Americans conſtruct veſſels for ſale: if it be agreeable to a nation to purchaſe of another the articles which this manufactures at a leſs expence, and with more means, it follows, that the French ought to buy American veſſels; and,

and, in fact, this commerce begins to be eſtabliſhed.

Lord Sheffield reprobates this commerce with reſpect to his own country.—" Its exiſt-
" ence," ſays his Lordſhip, " depends on its
" navy; this depends as much on Engliſh ſhip-
" builders as on Engliſh ſailors; therefore, of
" all trades, that of ſhip-building is the moſt
" important to be preſerved in Great Britain." The advances, according to his Lordſhip, are of little conſequence, and theſe veſſels not being deſtined to be ſold to foreigners, what they coſt ought to be conſidered ſo much the leſs, as the expence is incurred in the country.

Lord Sheffield preſumes alſo, that ſhip-building will be encouraged in New Scotland, Canada, the Iſland of St. John, &c. Finally, his Lordſhip declares, " that the encouragement
" of ſhip-building in the United States is ruin-
" ous to Great Britain; that it is the ſame to
" thoſe who may purchaſe American built veſ-
" ſels; becauſe, notwithſtanding their cheap-
" neſs, theſe veſſels are little durable, from the
" nature of their materials." This obſervation relates particularly to veſſels built for ſale, which, his Lordſhip ſays, " are very inferior to thoſe which are beſpoken."

It cannot be denied, that it is of conſequence to a nation which attaches a great importance to its navy, to have ſhip-builders. The repairs &c. of which veſſels are conſtantly in want, would be badly directed, if there were not, in the claſs of workmen to whom this induſtry belongs, men capable of conſtructing a veſſel, and habituated to this conſtruction. What is ſtill more, as ſoon as a nation has a navy, it is greatly to its intereſt to poſſeſs every means of improving it; and the poſſeſſion of theſe means is ſo much more ſecure when there are eſtabliſhments in the country which, in this caſe, ſupport emulation, by the conſtant exerciſe of the art.

But it does not follow, that to preſerve ſuch an advantage, a nation ought to have no other veſſels than thoſe which are home built: it is here neceſſary to diſtinguiſh ſhips belonging to the royal navy from merchant ſhips. The firſt are alone ſufficient to employ a requiſite number of able builders, and to ſupply every thing which the conſtruction and repairs of veſſels require. But merchant ſhips, of which a conſiderable number is wanted, may be procured from abroad, if thoſe of an equal quality can be had at a price conſiderably leſs.

Will it be ſaid, that a nation becomes ſo much

much the more powerful at ſea, as the conſtruction of veſſels is encouraged in her ports? that under this point of view it is neceſſary to be cautious not to furniſh the independent Americans the means of forming a navy, which would render them formidable? that it is at leaſt unneceſſary to haſten theſe means?

If this conſideration were true, it would in ſome meaſure impoſe on France a law to encourage the United States to form their navy: for, however formidable her own may be, ſhe has too many natural obſtacles to remove for her navy to be the effect of any thing but painful efforts, and conſequently that it ſhould be an eſtabliſhment very difficult to maintain,—very expenſive, and ſubject to long intermiſſions. And ſince it is neceſſary to ſpeak conſtantly of a threatening rivality,—of an armed rivality,—France has the greateſt intereſt, to balance more ſurely the force of her rivals, by calling to her aid the naval force of a friendly people,—of a people to whom nature has been prodigal in the means ſhe has given them of having a conſiderable one.

But the policy which refuſed to purchaſe American veſſels, for fear the Americans ſhould become formidable at ſea, would be badly

founded. A ſure manner of retarding the eſtabliſhment of a navy, by a nation which poſſeſſes the means and materials; the power and activity which ſuch a great eſtabliſhment requires, is to employ it continually in the conſtruction of veſſels for ſale, and to habituate it to this kind of commerce. If this nation, and ſuch is the poſition of the United States, has nothing to fear interiorly from any other power, it will certainly deſpiſe all ſuch military preparations, whoſe profit and utility will not be ſo immediately perceived, as the frequent gains of peaceful commerce. Therefore, let the independent Americans be perſuaded to build veſſels for ſale: let them not be provoked to build ſhips for defenſive and offenſive operations, and they will neglect the great means with which nature has furniſhed them, of having a reſpectable navy: they will even neglect them, when greater riches, and a more conſiderable population, ſhall facilitate to them the uſe of their natural means.

Far from ſuffering by this new arrangement of things, France would gain thereby. This idea will undoubtedly appear extraordinary, becauſe, in abandoning workmanſhip to American ſhip-builders, France is deprived of it: but how

eaſily

eaſily may ſhe compenſate this apparent loſs! In fact, when nothing is to be had without labour, it is then conſidered as real riches: therefore, it ought to be employed with a prudent economy, eſpecially in the ſyſtem of national rivalities. The workmen who will not build veſſels, will make cloth, with which veſſels may be paid for. The expence of manufacturing theſe cloths will be paid at home, as that for the conſtruction of veſſels would have been; by which means, theſe will be had at a cheaper rate. This labour and expence will therefore produce greater advantages, and place the nation in a more deſirable relation with its rivals.

Finally, Lord Sheffield, whoſe narrow policy is here refuted, propoſes that ſhip-building ſhould be encouraged in Canada, New Scotland, &c. But do phyſical circumſtances favour theſe countries as much as the United States? Can England reap real advantages from this encouragement? It is a queſtion with which ſeveral writers have combated Lord Sheffield, and on which I cannot decide.

But if England had this reſource, France would be without it. Veſſels built in America will always coſt her leſs than her own, or thoſe

conſtructed elſewhere: ſhe ought therefore to favour the introduction of the firſt.

A celebrated miniſter, whom France has reaſon to regret, thought as follows: his deſign was to get a part of the veſſels of the French navy conſtructed in Sweden; he thereby expected to make great ſavings: they will be greater and more real, in getting the veſſels conſtructed in the United States.

The Engliſh themſelves will not be able to reſiſt the force of things; they will ſooner or later return to the uſe of American veſſels; for theſe coſt but a third * of what Engliſh veſſels are built for; and cheapneſs is the firſt law of commerce.

The bad quality attributed to American veſſels is a fable, ariſing from the following circumſtances: in the contention for independence, the Americans built veſſels in haſte, to arm them as cruiſers: they were forced to make uſe of wood which was green, and unprepared; other things were either wanting to theſe veſſels, or precipitately prepared. Conſequently

* In New England the conſtructors of veſſels make their bargains at the rate of three pounds ſterling per ton, carpenter's work included. On the Thames, the price is nine pounds ſterling for the work alone of the carpenter.

the

the veſſels were imperfect; but this imperfection was but accidental. A cruiſe is a lottery, wherein no notice is taken of the goodneſs and durability of the veſſel. It is ſufficient that it be a good ſailer, this is the eſſential quality.

Peace has re-eſtabliſhed the conſtruction of veſſels in the manner it ought to be; and there are American veſſels built before the war, and ſome thirty years ago, which for goodneſs and duration are not inferior to any Engliſh veſſel.

More progreſs has been made in America than any where elſe in the art of ſhip-building; this is eaſily explained:—it muſt not be forgotten, when the independent Americans are ſpoken of, that they are not recovering from a ſtate of barbarity. They are men eſcaped from European civiliſation, employed, ſo to ſpeak, in creating their country and reſources: no ſhackles reſtrain their efforts, every thing in Europe is looked upon as perfect, and made uſe of, without thinking of improving it. Theſe two eſſential differences cauſe a very conſiderable one in the intenſity of induſtry.

Boſton has produced a man aſtoniſhing in the art of ſhip-building. Long and cloſely employed in the ſearch of means to unite ſwiftneſs of ſailing in veſſels to their ſolidity, Mr. Peck has

has had the greateſt ſucceſs. It was his hand which produced the Beliſarius, the Hazard, and the Rattleſnake, which were ſo particularly diſtinguiſhed during the late war by their ſwiftneſs of ſailing. Veſſels conſtructed by this able builder have qualities which others have not; they carry a fourth more, and ſail faſter. Theſe facts are authenticated by a number of experiments.

The Engliſh themſelves acknowledge the ſuperiority of American ſhip-building: "The "fineſt veſſels," ſays Colonel Champion, "are "built at Philadelphia; the art of ſhip-build-"ing has attained in that city the higheſt de-"gree of perfection. Great veſſels are built in "New York, alſo in the Cheſapeak, and in "South Carolina: theſe laſt, made of green "oak, are of an unequalled ſolidity and dura-"bility."

The American proverb ſays: *That to have a perfect veſſel, it muſt have a Boſton bottom and Philadelphia ſides.*

The French, if connoiſſeurs be believed, are very inferior to the Americans in the minutiæ of ſhip-building. This ſuperiority of America ought not to ſurpriſe us: it will ſtill increaſe. The independent Americans who inhabit the coaſts,

coaſts, live by the ſea, and pride themſelves in navigation. As they have competitors, their genius will never ſleep, nor will its efforts be ſhackled in any manner whatever. In France, the people are, and ought to be cultivators; the marine is but a ſubordinate part, and by the nature of things, it muſt enjoy but a very precarious conſideration. Honour, which affects the head of every Frenchman, is diſtributed but at Paris and at Court; and there men are, and muſt ſtill be, far from perceiving the importance of attaching merit to the improvement of ſhip-building: it muſt therefore languiſh, or yield to that of the Americans. Hence it reſults, that the French, in preſerving every thing which can maintain amongſt them an able claſs of ſhip-builders, muſt buy veſſels of the Americans; becauſe every convenience is united to that of facilitating their reciprocal importations and exportations, of which the bulks are ſo different in one nation from thoſe of the other.

This circumſtance is attended with the advantage of procuring the French merchant an American veſſel at a leſs price than if he had ordered it to be built, or if he bought it in America, becauſe it will always be more to

the intereſt of the American to ſell his veſſel, than to take it back in ballaſt.

Such is the fitneſs of American veſſels for the French marine, and eſpecially for merchant ſervice; ſuch is that fitneſs for all the European powers who have harbours and ſea-port towns, that I think a ſure and commodious road in Europe would ſoon be aſſorted with American veſſels for ſale, if every thing which can encourage a like depoſitory were granted to the port wherein this road might be. This market for veſſels will be eſtabliſhed;—the Engliſh reject it. France will, in a ſhort time, encourage it.

SECTION X.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PRECEDING CATALOGUE OF IMPORTATIONS FROM THE UNITED STATES INTO FRANCE.

The liſt which I have gone through of the articles with which the independent Americans may furniſh Europe in exchange for her merchandize is not very long; but theſe articles are conſiderable, and important enough in themſelves, to merit the attention of European merchants:

merchants: they are ſufficient to deſtroy the prejudices of thoſe who, under the falſe pretext of the inability of the Americans to furniſh articles of exchange, diſdain a reciprocal commerce with the United States. Theſe articles are not, however, the only ones which France may receive from them. Independently of pot-aſh, ſo precious to manufactures, and of which the ſcarcity becomes daily more ſenſible; iron, vegetable-wax, wool, flax, hemp, &c. may increaſe the number. The Engliſh received of pot-aſh to the amount of four hundred thouſand livres per annum, during the years 1768, 1769, and 1770; pot-aſh being the produce of the wood burnt by the Americans, and as the burning of wood muſt increaſe with the number of people, the quantities of pot-aſh muſt have increaſed with population.

I ought to hope that this work, once known in the United States, will excite the independent Americans to co-operate with me, in what I have propoſed to myſelf, which is to ſpread inſtruction on every thing which relates to their country. They will make known to Europe, in a more extenſive and complete manner, every thing which can maintain that reciprocal commerce in favour of which I write:

they will aſſemble in a work correſpondent to this, all that I have been able to expoſe but imperfectly: they will rectify my errors. I invite them to apply to this intereſting ſubject: I pray them to give it for a baſis, more philoſophical, and philanthropical principles, than thoſe which have hitherto directed the jealous induſtry of each ſociety. For each, led on by a blind ambition, has wiſhed to embrace every thing, to do every thing at home, and furniſh every thing to others; each has taken for principle to receive nothing from others, except it be gold; each has accuſtomed itſelf to look upon every production, manufactured or unmanufactured, which it ſent abroad as a profit, and all thoſe which it received as ſo many loſſes. Such is the falſe principle, according to which all the European nations have directed their exterior commerce.

What would be the conſequence of a like ſyſtem, if it continued to prevail? All nations would be ſtrangers to each other, and exterior commerce abſolutely annihilated; becauſe it tends to take from this commerce that which ſupports it. For the gold which is wiſhed for in payment for exportations is refuſed to thoſe who would obtain it: all nations look upon the

neceſſity

neceſſity of giving it alike; that it is diſadvantageous—and ſtrive to avoid it. If, therefore, on one ſide, none will take returns in kind, and on the other, nobody will diſpoſſeſs himſelf of his gold, what will become of exchanges? what will become of commerce?

Nature, which intended to make men ſo many brothers, and nations ſo many families;—nature, which, to unite all men by the ſame tie, has given them wants, which place them in a ſtate of dependence one on the other;—this wiſe nature has, by the diſtribution of her gifts, anticipated and condemned this excluſive ſyſtem. She has ſaid to the inhabitants of Nantucket, The rock which thou inhabit is rude and ſtormy; renounce, therefore, the deſire of drawing from it the delicious wines and fruits which more calm and temperate climates produce. Look at the ſea which ſurrounds thee,—that is thy property and thy treaſure: I have made it inexhauſtible; and if thou knoweſt how to make uſe of it, if thou wilt confine thyſelf thereto, all the enjoyments of the other continent are thine: a ſingle ſtroke of a harpoon, dexterouſly thrown, will produce a thouſand times more wine in thy cellar, than if by a painful

a painful cultivation thou continueſt obſtinate, in acting contrary to my intentions.

Nature holds the ſame language to the other inhabitants of the earth: ſhe tells the French to uſe all their efforts in the fruitful ſoil which ſhe has given them, and to ceaſe traverſing foreign ſeas to obtain, at an immenſe expence and much riſk, the fiſh and oil which the inhabitants of Nantucket procure with greater facility and more ſucceſs and economy.

Why ſhould not all nations underſtand a language ſo ſimple, ſo wiſe, and ſo proper to produce univerſal harmony? But how are they to be made to underſtand it? By what means are they to be prevailed upon to adopt it? What means are proper to engage nations which might have a direct commerce between them, to ſign a treaty of commerce, which ſhould leave each at liberty to furniſh that which it could export better and cheaper than others; and thus eſtabliſh exchanges on the immutable laws of nature?

As ſoon as nations ſhall be enlightened enough to perceive the advantage of ſuch a treaty, from that moment it will ceaſe to be neceſſary, and every other treaty will be ſtill leſs ſo. It will then be ſeen, that they all center

ter in the ſingle word *liberty*. It will be diſcovered that liberty can put every thing in its place; that liberty alone, without negociation or parchment, can every where give birth to an advantageous induſtry. Finally, that every where, and at all times, ſhe has ſported with thoſe commercial conventions, of which politicians have ſo ridiculouſly boaſted; of thoſe conventions wherein the contracting parties are inceſſantly on the defenſive with reſpect to each other, inceſſantly diſpoſed to deceive, and frequently multiply the ſeeds of war in a work of peace.

Under ſuch a ſyſtem of liberty, there would be no longer occaſion for craftineſs in national policy with reſpect to commerce:—of what uſe would it be? No more ſtrife; for it would have no object: no more jealouſy or rivality; no more fear of making others proſper and become rich; becauſe the riches of each ſtate would be advantageous to the whole. In a word, according to this ſyſtem, each nation would wiſh the other more means, in order to have more to give and more to receive. Commerce would become what it ought to be, the exchange of induſtry againſt induſtry; of enjoyments againſt enjoyments, and not againſt

deprivations: finally, a ſtate of riches, without poverty on any ſide.

What people have more right and title than the Americans, to be the firſt in adopting ſo philanthropical a ſyſtem, and which is ſo conformable to the laws of nature; at leaſt to do nothing which ſhall retard it among them? Let their Congreſs,—that reſpectable aſſembly, which may become the light of nations, and from whoſe deliberations univerſal happineſs may reſult,—remain faithful to the indications of this nature; let it interrogate her conſtantly, and give every nation the ſame ſalutary habitude.

If Europe refuſes to admit the productions of the United States, let Congreſs,—rejecting the poor policy of repriſals,—open, by a great and republican reſolution, their ports to all European productions. What evil can reſult from this to the independent Americans? If European prohibitions rendered their means of exchange uſeleſs, European merchandize muſt of courſe be without a market in America; or, falling to a mean price in the United States, it would become profitable to the Americans, in paying for it even with gold.

The law may be given to an idle and degraded

graded nation, but never to one which is active and induſtrious. This always puniſhes, in ſome manner or other, the tyrannical proceedings of other nations. The force of things is alone ſufficient to revenge it.

It is a misfortune to the United States, in not having been able to eſtabliſh at firſt the noble ſyſtem of which I have ſpoken, and to be obliged to have recourſe to the miſerable means of other governments,—that of impoſing duties on foreign merchandize to pay their debts. Every impoſition but a quit-rent upon lands is a ſource of errors. The *pretended protecting duties* impoſed in Europe are one conſequence of theſe errors, and of which the effect leads government aſtray, ſo far as to perſuade them, that they poſſeſs a creative force equal to that of the Divinity himſelf. And what are theſe enterpriſes by which men would force nature? Miſerable hot-houſes,—wherein every thing is haſtened to finiſh the ſooner; wherein induſtry vainly exhauſts itſelf to ſupport an unnatural exiſtence; and wherein a vigorous whole is frequently ſacrificed to a corrupted part.

Let the Americans carefully avoid theſe erroneous enterpriſes;—to inſure themſelves

therefrom, let them conſider the ſtate of Europe. The Europeans have no longer any judgment in matters of impoſt; ſimple ideas are loſt, and become impoſſible to be realized by the metaphyſician which it is neceſſary to employ to combat ignorance, prejudices, and habitudes: all ideas of juſtice and propriety are confounded. A truth cannot be advanced without meeting, at every moment, falſe notions to combat. The man of information is fatigued, diſguſted, and frequently at a loſs what to anſwer to objections preceeding from habits of error. He perceives with concern, that the laws of happineſs cannot be written, but upon tables from which there is nothing to be effaced: and ſuch, I flatter myſelf, is the ſituation of the United States. They are yet virgin ſtates, they are unacquainted with the inſtitutions which end in chaos, wherein the love of public good loſes all its force.

Monteſquieu obſerves, that the enterpriſes of merchants are always neceſſarily mixed with public affairs; but that in monarchies, public affairs are for the moſt part ſuſpicious in the eyes of the merchants. But proſperity and national glory depend on commerce, as much in monarchies as in other conſtitutions. It is therefore

therefore the intereſt of monarchies to give to merchants that hope of proſperity which they have in republics, and which inclines them with ardour to every kind of commercial enterpriſe.

Provincial adminiſtrations are the ſureſt means of producing this happy effect. If they were already eſtabliſhed, the French would comprehend, how abſurd it is to imagine that the United States will not diſcharge their public debt; how impoſſible it is that Republicans ſhould make uſe of the diſhonourable reſource of bankruptcy and deception; and that their public ſpirit, their morals, and intereſt, require them to diſcharge this debt, contracted for the moſt legitimate and honourable cauſe that ever exiſted; and which is otherways but an atom when compared with their immenſe reſources. French merchants would then give themſelves leſs concern about the manner in which their merchandize was to be paid for in America. For in the improbable caſe of a want of American productions, or of precious metals, they have, as a laſt reſource, the paper of Congreſs and the States; which paper it is an advantage to acquire, by the price at which it is obtained, by the intereſt it bears, the certainty of its be-

ing paid, and by the conſequent tranſmiſſion which may be made of it in commerce to the Dutch merchant, to whom the paper of the whole world becomes neceſſary the moment it merits confidence.

I have mentioned precious metals. The Americans are in the neighbourhood of the countries which produce them. Theſe countries are the abodes of indolence, which diſpenſes not with neceſſaries. Skins, &c. of animals, and ſome metals, are every thing that can be given there in exchange for articles of ſubſiſtence, which the inhabitants have not the courage to make their lands produce; and for the neceſſaries, for which they find it more convenient to pay with gold than with their induſtry. The independent Americans will become factors, advantageouſly placed between European manufactures, and the inhabitants of regions condemned by nature to the ſterile productions of metals. All the powers of Spain cannot prevent this, nor ought even to undertake it. This new conſideration promiſing to the French payment, ſo fooliſhly deſired in gold, ought to encourage them to prepare for a commercial connexion with the United States.

CONCLUSION

AND REFLECTIONS ON THE SITUATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

It will be proper to finiſh this volume by ſome explanations of the pretended troubles which agitate the United States. Theſe explanations are neceſſary to deſtroy the unfavourable impreſſions which muſt be made by the unfaithful recitals of gazette writers, who, from ſervile prejudices or mean intereſt, affect to ſpread doubts of the happy conſequences of the revolution. If we believe theſe people, the independent Americans are plunged into inextricable embarraſſments, forced to become bankrupts, given up to the moſt violent anarchy, expoſed to the tomahawk of the implacable Indians, &c. How is it poſſible to reſolve to carry on a commerce with people whoſe ſituation is ſo deplorable? Ought not their ruin to be feared rather than their fortune hoped for, in the connexions which it is wiſhed to form with them?

It is neceſſary to refute theſe falſehoods. It

is ſo much the more ſo, as ignorance eaſily leads people, little acquainted with republican conſtitutions, into error; and that, led aſtray by the prejudices of their educations, a great number of Frenchmen look upon this form of government as a ſtate perpetually in a ferment, wherein life and property are continually expoſed to the greateſt dangers.

Theſe prejudices lead to the belief of the moſt puerile and abſurd fables. The leaſt attention is not paid to circumſtances. Would the United States have a Congreſs of magiſtrates if it were true that the people were at war with them? For how could Congreſs and the magiſtrates defend themſelves? They have no other defence but the reſpect which each individual has for the law, this is their only force. It is the obligation that the conſtitution impoſes on them in common, with the meaneſt citizens, of being obedient to the law, as the laſt means which conſtitute their only ſafety, and which maintains, in all caſes and every where, the authority which the people have confided in them. They cannot employ a phyſical force farther than the people are willing to lend them, becauſe they have neither an army nor ſoldiers in pay.

A diverſity of opinion exiſts wherever there

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are men. It belongs not to one conſtitution more than to another; but the eſſence of a republican government is to leave to each individual the liberty of expreſſing his ſentiments on every ſubject.

In the United States, legiſlation is more and more formed in proportion as things relative to each other are verified, extended, and multiplied. Is it aſtoniſhing that debates ſhould ariſe on account of the different laws which are propoſed, diſcuſſed, and adopted? Theſe debates become public, animate converſation, and make it highly intereſting. But is this anarchy?

The word *anarchy* is one of thoſe words which has been moſt abuſed and miſapplied. It is therefore neceſſary to explain it.

Where anarchy reigns, there is neither chief, government, laws, nor ſafety. Each individual becomes the defender of his own perſon, the ſocial contract is broken, and there is no longer any confidence or tranſactions, becauſe there can be no more contracts. Authority, changing at every inſtant, its rules, principles, and aim, becomes cruel or contemptible; it deſtroys, or is deſtroyed. Such a ſtate exiſts not long; or if it does exiſt, it ſoon divides ſociety into armed herds, enemies to each other, and which

ſubſiſt

ſubſiſt but in proportion as they fear and counterbalance each other's power.

Is any thing like this ſeen in the United States? Are there diſputes even about the principles of the conſtitution, the fundamental laws, or the propoſed end? Has not every thing relative to this been long ſince agreed upon? The preſent debates relate wholly to ſome rules of adminiſtration: it is upon the beſt manner of ſerving the public cauſe, and of ſupporting it, that minds are ſtill in a ſalutary agitation; and this agitation hinders not more the regular courſe of public affairs and tranſactions, than the debates in the Engliſh Parliament hinder the monarch from naming to offices and conferring rank—than they ſtop the courſe of juſtice, or are impediments to the affairs of every claſs of citizens.

The word *anarchy* is proper to ſtates which, like Egypt, have twenty-four ſovereigns, and neither laws nor government. It is applicable to the degenerated conſtitutions of Aſia, where the adminiſtration is divided into ſeveral departments, independent of each other, traverſing one another in their views and pretenſions, the operations of one part interfering with thoſe of the other, all having the power of making particular

ticular laws, or of ſuſpending the effect of thoſe which exiſt. There a real anarchy reigns, becauſe it is not known where the government is, nor in whom the legiſlative power is veſted. This incertitude brings on diſorder, renders property unſtable, and endangers perſonal ſafety.

None of theſe evils exiſt in the United States. America is not yet gnawed by the vermin which devour Europe, by indeſtructible mendicity: thieves render not her foreſts dangerous; her public roads are not ſtained with blood ſhed by aſſaſſins. How ſhould there be aſſaſſins and robbers? There are no beggars, no indigent perſons, no ſubjects forced to ſteal the ſubſiſtence of others to procure one to themſelves. Every man finds there lands to produce him articles of ſubſiſtence; it is not loaded with taxes, but renders to each, with uſury, a recompenſe for his labour. A man who can live eaſy and honourably, never conſents to diſhonour himſelf by uſeleſs crimes, which deliver him to the torments of remorſe, diſhonour, and the vengeance of ſociety.

The ravages of the ſeven years war were undoubtedly terrible; but as ſoon as the faulchion could be converted into a plough-ſhare, the

the land became fertile, and miſery diſappeared. The American ſoldiers were citizens; and they were alſo proprietors before they became ſoldiers; they remained citizens in uniform, and returned to their profeſſions on quitting it; they did not fight for money, nor by profeſſion, but for their liberty, their wives, children, and property; and ſuch ſoldiers never reſembled the banditti of the old continent, who are paid for killing their fellow-creatures, and who kill on the highways for their own account, when peace obliges their maſters to diſband them. There has been ſeen in America (what the annals of the world preſent not in any ſtate, except that of Rome) a General, adored by his ſoldiers, diveſt himſelf of his power as ſoon as his ſervices became no longer neceſſary, and retire into the boſom of peace and obſcurity; a numerous army, which was not paid, was ſeen generouſly to conſent to diſband without payment; the ſoldiers to retire, each to his home, without committing the leaſt diſorder, and where each tranquilly retook either his plough, or his firſt trade or profeſſion; thoſe trades which we in Europe look upon as vile.

The following advertiſement is taken from the

the American papers, in which there are a thouſand others of a like nature.

Two brothers, Captains who diſtinguiſhed themſelves during the war, returned at the peace to their trade of hat-making;—they inſerted in the gazette an advertiſement as follows:

"The Brothers *Bickers* inform the public, "that they are returned to their old profeſſion "of hatters, which they had abandoned to de- "fend the liberty of their country. They "hope that their fellow-citizens will be pleaſed, "in conſideration of their courage and ſervices, "to favour them in their buſineſs, and prefer "them to others." What European captain would put his name to a like advertiſement?

This is what reſults from liberty; but what is inconceivable in moſt European ſtates, a military ſpirit reigns there, and its prejudices are predominant. War is the road to glory, ambition, and fortune; and to preſerve to this profeſſion its luſtre and preponderance, it is an eſtabliſhed principle, that a *ſtanding army* is neceſſary to maintain order in ſociety; that it ought always to threaten the citizens, although peaceful, to keep them in ſubmiſſion to authority. This uſeleſs burden, this pernicious ſpirit, is unknown

known to the United States;—public ſpirit, much more favourable to good order, takes its place, and peace and ſafety reign without marechauſſée, or ſpies, or that police which diſparages the morals and characters of citizens. Public ſpirit ſupplies the place of all theſe means, whilſt they will never ſupply the want of public ſpirit; nor, like it, produce the happineſs of ſociety.

In vain will prejudiced men exclaim, that this is declamation—I offer them facts. It is neceſſary to read the American gazettes, not thoſe altered by the Engliſh gazette-writers, but thoſe which are printed in America; theſe only can give a juſt idea of the ſituation of the United States.

The American ſhould rather deſpiſe Europe, in remarking to us the continual ſlaughter we make of thieves and aſſaſſins; in comparing the immenſe number of dungeons, priſons, hoſpitals, and eſtabliſhments of every kind, inſtituted to cure or palliate the incurable ulcers of the old inſtitutions. In comparing this diſguſting liſt with the very few murders and thefts committed in the United States, with the hoſpitals, truly *domeſtic* and humane, which are eſtabliſhed there, with the happineſs of each

American family and their ſimple manners, and in proving to us, by their example, that a wiſe liberty regulates the ſocial man, and renders uſeleſs thoſe ruinous machines with which he is cruſhed, leſt he ſhould do any harm.

Theſe are the men, the laws, and the government, which Europeans have calumniated. Theſe men who are deſtined to regenerate the dignity of the human ſpecies!—Theſe laws which ſcourge nothing but crimes,—which puniſh them every where, and are never ſilent in the face of power!—This government, which is the firſt that ever preſented the image of a numerous family, well united, and completely happy; wherein power is juſt, becauſe it circulates through every hand, and reſts in none; wherein obedience, becauſe it is voluntary, anticipates command; wherein adminiſtration is ſimple and eaſy, becauſe it leaves induſtry to itſelf; wherein the magiſtrate has little to do, becauſe the citizen is free, and that a citizen always reſpects the law and his fellow creatures! Theſe are the prodigies which we calumniate; we, Europeans, enſlaved by antiquated conſtitutions, and by the habitudes given to us by prejudices, of which we know not either the barbarity or the frivolouſneſs! We ſpeak well, but act badly; why, therefore, do

we

we calumniate men, who not only ſpeak but act well? If it be not permitted us to have their virtues, nor to enjoy their happineſs, let us not decry them; let us reſpect that ſuperiority to which we cannot attain.

It will, perhaps, be objected, that the government of England has deferred the concluſion of a treaty of commerce with the United States, under the pretext that their conſtitutions were not yet ſufficiently eſtabliſhed. But can it be imagined that the Engliſh, who trade in Turky, with the Algerines, and at Grand Cairo, were ſerious when they decried and rejected commercial connections with the United States, under the pretence that their legiſlation was not yet well enough eſtabliſhed?

It cannot be doubted that the difference of poſition between the French and Engliſh merchants, reſpecting their governments, has a great influence upon their reciprocal proſperity; and for this reaſon, it ſhould be inceſſantly repeated to the French government, that if it wiſhes to inſure proſperity to its commerce, it ought to adopt the means, which are, *liberty of acting,—the right of proteſting againſt the attempts made on that liberty,—and the certainty of juſtice,—without reſpect to perſons:*—theſe are the

the baſis of the genius, induſtry, and greatneſs of a ſtate; and without which, a great commerce cannot exiſt: this baſis may be eaſily conciliated with the French conſtitution.

Paris, February,
1789.

APPENDIX;

CONSISTING OF

AUTHENTIC PAPERS,

AND

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Added by the Editor.

APPENDIX.

Return of the whole Number of Perſons within the ſeveral Diſtricts of the United States, according to "an Act providing for the Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the United States;" paſſed March the Firſt, One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Ninety-one.

The Return for SOUTH CAROLINA having been made ſince the foregoing Schedule was originally printed, the whole Enumeration is here given complete, except for the N. Weſtern Territory, of which no Return has yet been publiſhed.

DISTRICTS	Free white Males of 16 years and upwards, including heads of families	Free white Males under ſixteen years.	Free white Females, including heads of families.	All other free perſons.	Slaves.	Total.
Vermont	22435	22328	40505	255	16	85539
N. Hampſhire	36086	34851	70160	630	158	141885
Maine	24384	24748	46870	538	NONE	96540
Maſſachuſetts	95453	87289	190582	5463	NONE	378787
Rhode Iſland	16019	15799	32652	3407	948	68825
Connecticut	60523	54403	117448	2808	2764	237946
New York	83700	78122	152320	4654	21324	340120
New Jerſey	45251	41416	83287	2762	11423	184139
Pennſylvania	110788	106948	206363	6537	3737	434373
Delaware	11783	12143	22384	3899	8887	59094
Maryland	55915	51339	101395	8043	103036	319728
Virginia	110936	116135	215046	12866	292627	747610
Kentucky	15154	17057	28922	114	12430	73677
N. Carolina	69988	77506	140710	4975	100572	393751
S. Carolina	35576	37722	66880	1801	107094	249073
Georgia	13103	14044	25739	398	29264	82548
	807094	791850	1541263	59150	694280	3893635

Total number of Inhabitants of the United States excluſive of S. Weſtern and N. Territory.	Free white Males of 21 years and upwards.	Free Males under 21 years of age.	Free white Females.	All other perſons.	Slaves.	Total.
S. W. territory	6271	10277	15365	361	3417	35691
N. Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—

Schedule of the whole number of Perſons in the Territory of the United States of America, South of the River Ohio, as taken on the laſt Saturday of July 1791, *by the Captains of the Militia within the limits of their reſpective Diſtricts.*

		Free white Males of 21 years and upwards, including heads of families.	Free white Males under 21 years	Free white Females, including heads of families.	All other free Perſons.	Slaves.	Total of each county.	Total of each diſtrict.
WASHINGTON DISTRICT.								
Counties	Waſhington -	1009	1792	2524	12	535	5872	
	Sullivan -	806	1242	1995	107	297	4447	
	Greene -	1293	2374	3580	40	454	7741	
	Hawkins -	1204	1970	2921	68	807	6970	
	South of French Broad	681	1082	1627	66	163	3619	
								28649
MERO DISTRICT								
Counties	Davidſon -	639	855	1288	18	659	3459	
	Sumner - -	404	582	854	8	348	2196	
	Tenneſſee - -	235	380	576	42	154	1387	7042
		6271	10277	15365	361	3417		35691

Note.—There are ſeveral Captains who have not as yet returned the Schedules of the numbers of their Diſtricts, namely;—in Greene County, three—in Davidſon, one—and South of French-Board, one Diſtrict.

September 19*th*, 1791.

W. BLOUNT.

By the Governor,
DANIEL SMITH, *Secretary.*

Truly ſtated from the original Returns depoſited in the Office of the Secretary of State.

T. JEFFERSON.

October 24, 1791.

In point of ſize the towns in the United States may be ranked in this order; Philadelphia, New York, Boſton, Baltimore, Charleſtown, &c. In point of trade, New York, Philadelphia, Boſton, Charleſtown, Baltimore, &c.

From the preceding tables it is indubitable, that the number of inhabitants in the United States conſiderably exceeded Four Millions in the year 1791; excluſive of thoſe in the Northern territory, and ſome other diſtricts. If to this we add, Dr. Franklin's calculation, "That the number of the inhabitants of America is double every twenty years," this number muſt be increaſed to conſiderably above Eight Millions in the year 1811; excluſive of emigrants from the Old World.

The Engliſh reader, we hope, will not be offended, if, in this place, we ſay a word or two on the population of Great Britain. It is a current opinion, that the population of our iſland is yearly increaſing. The fact is quite the reverſe: but the aſſertion would ſignify nothing, if there were not inconteſtable proofs of it. The proofs are theſe.

Number of houſes in England and Wales, taken from the return of the ſurveyors of the Houſe and Window Duties; wherein they are ſtated diſtinctly, *charged*, *chargeable*, and *excuſed*.

Total of Houſes in	1759	986,482
——— in	1761	980,692
——— in	1777	952,734

Total of houſes according to the hearth-books in 1690, as ſtated by Dr. Davenant (ſee his works, vol. i. page 38) - - - - 1,319,215

In Scotland the number of houſes paying the houſe and window duties was, in 1777, only 16,206.

If the diſtinct returns of the pariſhes are examined, it will be manifeſt, that a calculation of five perſons to every houſe is a large allowance. From all which this reſult is obvious ——That the number of inhabitants in England and Wales is conſiderably ſhort of FIVE MILLIONS!——That, perhaps, including Scotland, the *whole* Iſland of Great Britain does not exceed that number.

The curoſity of the preſent moment may allow us to caſt our eye upon France, concerning this ſubject. The intendants of the provinces of France were ordered in the year 1771 and 1772 to make a return of the number of inhabitants in their reſpective diſtricts. The return of 1772 ſtates the number to be 25,741,320. *See Recherches ſur la population de la France, par M. Moheau.*

It would be a right meaſure in every government to cauſe a ſurvey to be made annually of the

the number of inhabitants. It is done at Naples by order of the King, and is publiſhed annually in the Court Calendars. America will probably follow the example.

Obſervations on the Population of America. Written by Dr. Benjamin Franklin. Printed at Philadelphia in the year 1755.

Tables of the proportion of marriages to births, of deaths to births, of marriages to the numbers of inhabitants, &c. formed on obſervations made on the bills of mortality, chriſtenings, &c. of populous cities, will not ſuit countries; nor will tables formed on obſervations made on full ſettled old countries, as Europe, ſuit new countries, as America.

For people increaſe in proportion to the number of marriages, and that is greater in proportion to the eaſe and convenience of ſupporting a family. When families can be eaſily ſupported, more perſons marry, and earlier in life.

In cities where all trades, occupations, and offices, are full, many delay until they can ſee how to bear the charges of a family; which charges are greater in cities, as luxury is more common; many live ſingle during life, and continue ſervants to families, journeymen to trades,

trades, &c. hence cities do not by natural generation ſupply themſelves with inhabitants; the deaths are more than the births.

In countries full ſettled, the caſe muſt be nearly the ſame; all lands being occupied and improved to the height; thoſe who cannot get land, muſt labour for thoſe who have it; when labourers are plenty, their wages will be low; by low wages a family is ſupported with difficulty; this difficulty deters many from marriage, who therefore long continue ſervants and ſingle.——Only as cities take ſupplies of people from the country, and thereby make a little more room in the country, marriage is a little more encouraged there, and the births exceed the deaths.

Great part of Europe is full ſettled with huſbandmen, manufacturers, &c. and therefore cannot now much increaſe in people. Land being plenty in America, and ſo cheap as that a labouring man, who underſtands huſbandry, can in a ſhort time ſave money enough to purchaſe a piece of new land ſufficient for a plantation, whereon he may ſubſiſt a family, ſuch are not afraid to marry; for even if they look far enough forward to conſider how their children when grown are to be provided for, they ſee that more

more land is to be had at rates equally eaſy, all circumſtances conſidered.

Hence marriages in America are more general, and more generally early, than in Europe. And if it is reckoned there, that there is but one marriage per annum among one hundred perſons, perhaps we may here reckon two; and if in Europe they have but four births to a marriage (many of their marriages being late), we may here reckon eight; of which, if one half grow up, and our marriages are made, *reckoning one with another, at twenty years of age, our people muſt at leaſt be doubled every twenty years.*

But notwithſtanding this increaſe, ſo vaſt is the territory of North America, that it will require many ages to ſettle it fully; and until it is fully ſettled, labour will never be cheap here, where no man continues long a labourer for others, but gets a plantation of his own; no man continues long a journeyman to a trade, but goes among theſe new ſettlers, and ſets up for himſelf, &c. Hence labour is no cheaper now, in Pennſylvania, than it was thirty years ago, though ſo many thouſand labouring people have been imported from Germany and Ireland.

In proportion to the increaſe of the Colonies,

a vaſt demand is growing for Britiſh manufactures; a glorious market wholly in the power of Britain, in which foreigners cannot interfere, which will increaſe in a ſhort time even beyond her power of ſupplying, though her whole trade ſhould be to her colonies.

Of the Weſtern Territory.

It is a miſtake in thoſe who imagine that the new State of Kentucky compriſes the Weſtern territory of North America. That new ſtate includes but a ſmall part of this great domain. The State of Kentucky is deſcribed to be bounded on the ſouth by North Carolina, on the north by Sandy creek, on the weſt by Cumberland river, making about 250 miles in length and 200 miles in breadth; whereas the whole Weſtern territory is infinitely more extenſive. The limits are unknown; but that part of it, which was ſurveyed by Captain Hutchins, geographer to the Congreſs, he has given us a ſhort account of. From his account, becauſe it is known to be authentic, we have extracted the following.

The part he ſurveyed lies between the 33d and 45th degrees of latitude, and the 78th and 94th

94th degrees of longitude, containing an extent of territory which, for healthfulneſs, fertility of ſoil, and variety of productions, is not perhaps ſurpaſſed by any on the habitable globe.

" The lands comprehended between the river Ohio, at Fort Pitt, and the Laurel mountain, and thence continuing the ſame breadth from Fort Pitt to the Great Kanhawa river, may, according to my own obſervations, and thoſe of the late Mr. Giſt, of Virginia, be generally, and juſtly deſcribed as follows.

" The vallies adjoining to the branches or ſprings of the middle forks of Youghiogeny, are narrow towards its ſource,—but there is a conſiderable quantity of good farming grounds on the hills, near the largeſt branch of that river. —The lands within a ſmall diſtance of the Laurel mountain (through which the Youghiogeny runs) are in many places broken and ſtony, but rich and well timbered; and in ſome places, and particularly on Laurel creek, they are rocky and mountainous.

" From the Laurel mountain, to Monongahela, the firſt ſeven miles are good, level farming grounds, with fine meadows; the timber, white Oak, Cheſnut, Hickory, &c.—The ſame kind of land continues ſoutherly (12 miles) to the

the upper branches or forks of this river, and about 15 miles northerly to the place where the Youghiogeny falls into the Monongahela.—The lands, for about 18 miles in the ſame courſe of the laſt-mentioned river, on each ſide of it, though hilly, are rich and well timbered.—The trees are Walnut, Locuſt, Cheſnut, Poplar, and Sugar or ſweet Maple. The low lands, near the river, are about a mile, and in ſeveral places two miles wide. For a conſiderable way down the river, on the eaſtern ſide of it, the intervals are extremely rich, and about a mile wide. The upland for about 12 miles eaſtwardly, are uncommonly fertile, and well timbered; the low lands, on the weſtern ſide, are narrow; but the uplands, on the eaſtern ſide of the river, both up and down, are excellent, and covered with Sugar trees, &c.

"Such parts of the country which lie on ſome of the branches of the Monongahela, and acroſs the heads of ſeveral rivers, that run into the Ohio, though in general hilly, are exceedingly fruitful and well watered. The timber is Walnut, Cheſnut, Aſh, Oak, Sugar trees, &c. and the interval or meadow lands are from 250 yards to a quarter of a mile wide.

"The lands lying nearly in a north-weſterly direction

direction from the Great Kanhawa river to the Ohio, and thence north-eaſterly, and alſo upon Le Tort's creek, Little Kanhawa river, Buffaloe, Fiſhing, Weeling, and the two upper, and two lower, and ſeveral other very conſiderable creeks (or what, in Europe, would be called large rivers), and thence eaſt, and ſouth-eaſt to the river Monongahela, are, in point of quality, as follows.

" The borders or meadow lands, are a mile, and in ſome places near two miles wide; and the uplands are in common of a moſt fertile ſoil, capable of abundantly producing Wheat, Hemp, Flax, &c.

" The lands which lie upon the Ohio, at the mouths of, and between the above creeks, alſo conſiſt of rich intervals and very fine farming grounds. The whole country abounds in Bears, Elks, Buffaloe, Deer, Turkies, &c.— An unqueſtionable proof of the extraordinary goodneſs of its ſoil! Indiana lies within the territory here deſcribed. It contains about three millions and an half of acres, and was granted to Samuel Wharton, William Trent, and George Morgan, Eſquires, and a few other perſons, in the year 1768.

" Fort Pitt ſtands at the confluence of the Allegheny

Allegheny and Monongahela rivers; in latitude 40° 31′ 44″; and about five degrees weſtward of Philadelphia. In the year 1760, a ſmall town, called Pittſburgh, was built near Fort Pitt, and about 200 families reſided in it; but upon the Indian war breaking out (in the month of May 1763) they abandoned their houſes, and retired into the fort.

" In the year 1765 the preſent town of Pittſburgh was laid out. It is built on the Eaſtern bank of the river Monongahela, about 200 yards from Fort Pitt.

" The junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, forms the river Ohio, and this diſcharges itſelf into the Miſſiſſippi, (in latitude 36° 43′) about 1188 computed miles from Fort Pitt. The Ohio in its paſſage to the Miſſiſſippi, glides through a pleaſant, fruitful, and healthy country; and carries a great uniformity of breadth, from 400 to 600 yards, except at its confluence with the Miſſiſſippi, and for 100 miles above it, where it is 1000 yards wide. The Ohio, for the greater part of the way to the Miſſiſſippi, has many meanders, or windings, and riſing grounds upon both ſides of it.

" The reaches in the Ohio are in ſome parts from

from two to four miles in length, and one of them, above the Muſkingum river, called the Long Reach, is ſixteen miles and an half long. The Ohio, about 100 miles above, or northerly of the Rapids, (formerly called the Falls) is in many places 700 yards wide; and as it approaches them, the high grounds on its borders gradually diminiſh, and the country becomes more level. Some of the banks, or heights of this river, are at times overflowed by great freſhes, yet there is ſcarce a place between Fort Pitt and the Rapids (a diſtance of 705 computed miles) where a good road may not be made; and horſes employed in drawing up large barges (as is done on the margin of the river Thames in England, and the Seine in France) againſt a ſtream remarkably gentle, except in high freſhes. The heights of the banks of the Ohio admit them every where to be ſettled, as they are not liable to crumble away.

" To theſe remarks, it may be proper to add the following obſervations of the ingenious Mr. Lewis Evans. He ſays that ' the Ohio river, as the winter ſnows are thawed by the warmth or rains in the ſpring, riſes in vaſt floods, in ſome places exceeding 20 feet in height, but ſcarce any where overflowing its high and up-

" On the north-weſtern ſide of Ohio, about 11 miles below the Cherokee river, on a high bank, are the remains of fort Maſſac, built by the French, and intended as a check to the ſouthern Indians. It was deſtroyed by them in the year 1763. This is a high, healthy, and delightful ſituation. A great variety of game; ——Buffaloe, Bear, Deer, &c. as well as Ducks, Geeſe, Swans, Turkies, Pheaſants, Partridges, &c. abounds in every part of this country.

" The Ohio, and the rivers emptying into it, afford green, and other Turtle, and fiſh of various ſorts; particularly Carp, Sturgeon, Perch, and Cats; the two latter of an uncommon ſize, viz. Perch, from 8 to 12 pounds weight, and Cats from 50 to 100 pounds weight.

" The lands upon the Ohio, and its branches, are differently timbered according to their quality and ſituation. The high and dry lands are covered with red, white, and black Oak, Hickory, Walnut, red and white Mulberry and Aſh trees, Grape vines, &c.; the low and meadow lands are filled with Sycamore, Poplar, red and white Mulberry, Cherry, Beech, Elm, Aſpen, Maple, or Sugar trees, Grape vines, &c.; and below, or ſouthwardly of the Rapids, are ſeveral large

large Cedar and Cypreſs ſwamps, where the Cedar and Cypreſs trees grow to a remarkable ſize, and where alſo is a great abundance of Canes, ſuch as grow in South Carolina. The country on both ſides of the Ohio, extending ſouth-eaſterly, and ſouth-weſterly from Fort Pitt to the Miſſiſſippi, and watered by the Ohio river, and its branches, contains at leaſt a million of ſquare miles, and it may, with truth, be affirmed, that no part of the globe is bleſſed with a more healthful air, or climate; watered with more navigable rivers and branches communicating with the Atlantic Ocean, by the rivers Potowmack, James, Rappahannock, Miſſiſſippi, and St. Lawrence, or capable of producing, with leſs labour and expence, Wheat, Indian Corn, Buck-wheat, Rye, Oats, Barley, Flax, Hemp, Tobacco, Rice, Silk, Pot-aſh, &c. than the country under conſideration. And although there are conſiderable quantities of high lands for about 250 miles (on both ſides of the river Ohio) ſouthwardly from Fort Pitt, yet even the ſummits of moſt of the Hills are covered with a deep rich ſoil, fit for the culture of Flax and Hemp; and it may alſo be added, that no ſoil can poſſibly yield larger crops of

red and white Clover, and other uſeful graſs, than this does.

" On the north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt ſides of the Ohio, below the great Kanhawa river, at a little diſtance from it, are extenſive natural meadows, or ſavannahs. Theſe meadows are from 20 to 50 miles in circuit. They have many beautiful groves of trees interſperſed, as if by art, in them, and which ſerve as a ſhelter for the innumerable herds of Buffaloe, Deer, &c. with which they abound.

" I am obliged to a worthy friend, and countryman, for the following juſt and judicious obſervations. They were addreſſed to the Earl of Hillſborough, in the year 1770, when Secretary of State for the North American department; and were written by Mr. Samuel Wharton of Philadelphia, who at time reſided in London, having ſome buſineſs there with Mr. Strahan, Mr. Almon, &c.

" No part of North-America," he ſays, " will " require leſs encouragement for the produc- " tion of naval ſtores, and raw materials for " manufactories in Europe; and for ſupplying " the Weſt-India iſlands with Lumber, Provi- " ſions, &c. than the country of the Ohio;— " and for the following reaſons:

" Firſt,

" Firſt, The lands are excellent, the climate " temperate, the native Grapes, Silk-worms, and " Mulberry-trees, abound every where: Hemp, " Hops, and Rye, grow ſpontaneouſly in the " valleys and low lands, lead, and iron ore are " plenty in the hills, ſalt ſprings are innumer- " able; and no ſoil is better adapted to the cul- " ture of Tobacco, Flax, and Cotton, than that " of the Ohio.

" Second, The country is well watered by " ſeveral navigable rivers, communicating with " each other; by which, and a ſhort land car- " riage, the produce of the lands of the Ohio " can, even now (in the year 1772) be ſent " cheaper to the ſea-port town of Alexandria, " on the river Potomack in Virginia (where " General Braddock's tranſports landed his " troops), than any kind of merchandiſe is ſent " from Northampton to London.

" Third, The river Ohio is, at all ſeaſons of " the year, navigable with large boats, like the " weſt country barges, rowed only by four " or five men; and from the month of Febru- " ary to April large ſhips may be built on the " Ohio, and ſent to ſea laden with Hemp, Iron, " Flax, Silk, Tobacco, Cotton, Pot-aſh, &c.

" Fourth, Flour, Corn, Beef, Ship-Plank,

" and other uſeful articles, can be ſent down " the ſtream of the Ohio to Weſt-Florida, and " from thence to the Weſt-India iſlands, much " cheaper, and in better order, than from New " York or Philadelphia to theſe iſlands.

" Fifth, Hemp, Tobacco, Iron, and ſuch " bulky articles, may alſo be ſent down the " ſtream of the Ohio to the ſea, and at leaſt 50 " per cent. cheaper than theſe articles were " ever carried by a land carriage, of only 60 " miles, in Pennſylvania; where waggonage " is cheaper than in any other part of North " America.

" Sixth, The expence of tranſporting Euro- " pean manufactories from the ſea to the Ohio, " will not be ſo much as is now paid, and " muſt ever be paid, to a great part of the " counties of Pennſylvania, Virginia, and Ma- " ryland. Whenever the farmers, or mer- " chants of Ohio, ſhall properly underſtand " the buſineſs of tranſportation, they will build " ſchooners, ſloops, &c. on the Ohio, ſuitable " for the Weſt-India, or European markets; " or, by having Black-Walnut, Cherry-tree, " Oak, &c. properly ſawed for foreign markets, " and formed into rafts, in the manner that " is now done by the ſettlers near the upper

" parts

" parts of Delaware river in Pennſylvania, and " thereon ſtow their Hemp, Iron, Tobacco, " &c. and proceed with them to New Or- " leans.

" It may not, perhaps, be amiſs, to obſerve, " that large quantities of Flour are made in the " diſtant (weſtern) counties of Pennſylvania, " and ſent by an expenſive land carriage to the " city of Philadelphia, and from thence ſhipped " to South Carolina, and to Eaſt and Weſt " Florida, there being little or no Wheat raiſed " in theſe provinces. The river Ohio ſeems " kindly deſigned by nature as the channel " through which the two Floridas may be ſup- " plied with Flour, not only for their own " conſumption, but alſo for the carrying on an " extenſive commerce with Jamaica and the " Spaniſh ſettlements in the Bay of Mexico. " Millſtones in abundance are to be obtained in " the hills near the Ohio, and the country is " every where well watered with large and " conſtant ſprings and ſtreams, for griſt, and " other mills.

" The paſſage from Philadelphia to Pennſa- " cola, is ſeldom made in leſs than a month, " and ſixty ſhillings ſterling per ton freight " (conſiſting of ſixteen barrels) is uſually paid

" for

" for Flour, &c. thither. Boats carrying 800 " or 1000 barrels of Flour, may go in about " the ſame time from the Ohio (even from " Pittſburgh) as from Philadelphia to Pennſa- " cola, and for half the above freight, the Ohio " merchants would be able to deliver Flour, " &c. there in much better order than from " Philadelphia, and without incurring the da- " mage and delay of the ſea, and charges of " inſurance, &c. as from thence to Pennſa- " cola.

" This is not mere ſpeculation; for it is a " fact, that about the year 1746 there was a " great ſcarcity of proviſions at New Orleans, " and the French ſettlements, at the Illinois, " ſmall as they then were, ſent thither in one " winter upwards of eight hundred thouſand " weight of Flour."

" I ſhall now proceed to give a brief account of the ſeveral rivers and creeks which fall into the river Ohio.

" Canawagy, when raiſed by freſhes, is paſſ- able with ſmall battoes, to a little lake at its head;—from thence there is a portage of 20 miles to lake Erie, at the mouth of Jadághque. This portage is ſeldom uſed, becauſe Canawagy has ſcarcely any water in it in a dry ſeaſon.

" Bughaloons,

" Bughaloons is not navigable, but is remarkable for extenſive meadows bordering upon it.

" French Creek affords the neareſt paſſage to lake Erie. It is navigable with ſmall boats to Le Beuf, by a very crooked channel; the portage thence to Preſquile, from an adjoining peninſula, is 15 miles. This is the uſual route from Quebec to Ohio.

" Licking and Lacomic Creeks do not afford any navigation; but there is plenty of coals and ſtones for building in the hills which adjoin them.

" Toby's Creek is deep enough for batteaus for a conſiderable way up, thence by a ſhort portage to the weſt branch of Suſquehannah, a good communication is carried on between Ohio and the eaſtern parts of Pennſylvania.

" Moghulbughkitum is paſſable alſo by flat bottom boats in the ſame manner as Toby's Creek is to Suſquehannah, and from thence to all the ſettlements in Northumberland county, &c. in Pennſylvania.

" Kiſhkeminetas is navigable in like manner as the preceding creeks, for between 40 and 50 miles, and good portages are found between Kiſhkeminetas, Juniatta, and Potomac rivers.

rivers.—Coal and Salt are diſcovered in the neighbourhood of theſe rivers.

" Monongahela is a large river, and at its junction with the Allegheny river ſtands Fort Pitt. It is deep, and gentle, and navigable with battoes and barges, beyond Red Stone creek, and ſtill farther with lighter craft. At ſixteen miles from its mouth is Youghiogeny; this river is navigable with batteaux or barges to the foot of Laurel hill.

" Beaver Creek has water ſufficient for flat bottom boats. At Kiſhkuſkes (about 16 miles up) are two branches of this creek, which ſpread oppoſite ways; one interlocks with French Creek and Cherâge,—the other with Muſhingum and Cayahoga; on this branch, about thirty-five miles above the forks, are many Salt-ſprings.—Cayahoga is practicable with canoes about twenty miles farther.

" Muſkingum is a fine gentle river, confined by high banks, which prevent its floods from overflowing the ſurrounding land. It is 250 yards wide at its confluence with the Ohio, and navigable, without any obſtructions, by large battoes or barges, to the three Legs's, and by ſmall ones to a little lake at its head.

" From thence to Cayahoga (the creek that leads

leads to lake Erie) the Muſkingum is muddy, and not very ſwift, but no where obſtructed with falls or rifts. Here are fine uplands, extenſive meadows, Oak and Mulberry-trees fit for ſhip building, and Walnut, Cheſnut, and Poplar trees, ſuitable for domeſtic ſervices.—Cayahoga furniſhes the beſt portage between Ohio and lake Erie; at its mouth it is wide and deep enough to receive large ſloops from the lake. It will hereafter be a place of great importance.

" Muſkingum, in all its wide-extended branches, is ſurrounded by moſt excellent land, and abounds in ſprings, and conveniencies particularly adapted to ſettlements remote from ſea navigations;—ſuch as ſalt ſprings, coal, clay, and free ſtone. In 1748 a coal mine oppoſite to Lamenſhicola mouth took fire, and continued burning about twelve months, but great quantities of coal ſtill remain in it. Near the ſame place are excellent whetſtones, and about eight miles higher up the river, is plenty of white and blue clay for glaſs works and pottery.

" Hockhocking is navigable with large flat bottom boats between ſeventy and eighty miles; it has fine meadows with high banks, which ſeldom overflow, and rich uplands on its bor-

ders. Coal and quarries of freeſtone are found about 15 miles up this creek.

" Big Kanhawa falls into the Ohio upon its ſouth-eaſtern ſide, and is ſo conſiderable a branch of this river, that it may be miſtaken for the Ohio itſelf by perſons aſcending it. It is ſlow for ten miles, to little broken hills,—the low land is very rich, and of about the ſame breadth (from the pipe hills to the falls) as upon the Ohio. After going 10 miles up Kanhawa the land is hilly, and the water a little rapid for 50 or 60 miles further to the falls, yet batteaus or barges may be eaſily rowed thither. Theſe falls were formerly thought impaſſable; but late diſcoveries have proved, that a waggon road may be made through the mountain, which occaſions the falls, and that by a portage of a few miles only a communication may be had between the waters of great Kanhawa and Ohio, and thoſe of James river in Virginia.

" Tottery lies upon the ſouth-eaſtern ſide of the Ohio, and is navigable with batteaux to the Ouaſioto mountains. It is a long river, has few branches, and interlocks with Red Creek, or Clinche's River (a branch of the Cuttawa); and has below the mountains, eſpeci-

ally for 15 miles from its mouth, very good land. Here is a perceptible difference of climate between the upper and this part of Ohio. Here the large Reed, or Carolina Cane, grows in plenty, even upon the upland, and the winter is ſo moderate as not to deſtroy it. The ſame moderation of climate continues down Ohio, eſpecially on the ſouth-eaſt ſide, to the Rapids, and thence on both ſides of that river to the Miſſiſſippi.

"Great Salt Lick Creek is remarkable for fine land, plenty of buffaloes, ſalt ſprings, white clay, and lime ſtone. Small boats may go to the croſſing of the war path without any impediment. The ſalt ſprings render the waters unfit for drinking, but the plenty of freſh ſprings in their vicinity, makes ſufficient amends for this inconvenience.

"Kentucke is larger than the preceding creek; it is ſurrounded with high clay banks, fertile lands, and large ſalt ſprings. Its navigation is interrupted by ſhoals, but paſſable with ſmall boats to the gap, where the war path goes through the Ouaſioto mountains.

"Sioto, is a large gentle river, bordered with rich flats, or meadows. It overflows in the ſpring, and then ſpreads about half a mile, though

though when confined within its banks it is ſcarce a furlong wide.

" If it floods early, it ſeldom retires within its banks in leſs than a month, and is not fordable frequently in leſs than two months.

" The Sioto, beſides having a great extent of moſt excellent land on both ſides of the river, is furniſhed with ſalt, on an eaſtern branch, and red bole on Necunſia Skeintat. The ſtream of Sioto is gentle and paſſable with large battoes or barges for a conſiderable way, and with ſmaller boats, near 200 miles, to a portage of only four miles to Sanduſky.

" Sanduſky is a conſiderable river abounding in level land, its ſtream gentle all the way to the mouth, where it is large enough to receive ſloops. The northern Indians croſs lake Erie here from iſland to iſland, land at Sanduſky, and go by a direct path to the lower Shawanoe town, and thence to the gap of the Ouaſioto mountain, in their way to the Cuttawa country.

" Little Mineami river is too ſmall to navigate with batteaux. It has much fine land and ſeveral ſalt ſprings; its high banks and gentle current prevent its much overflowing the ſurrounding lands in freſhes.

" Great

"Great Mineami, Aſſereniet or Rocky river, has a very ſtony channel; a ſwift ſtream, but no falls. It has ſeveral large branches, paſſable with boats a great way; one extending weſtward towards the Quiaghtena river, another towards a branch of Mineami river (which runs into Lake Erie), to which there is a portage, and a third has a portage to the weſt branch of Sanduſky, beſides Mad Creek, where the French formerly eſtabliſhed themſelves. Riſing ground, here and there a little ſtony, which begins in the northern part of the peninſula, between the lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan, and extends acroſs little Mineami river below the Forks, and ſouthwardly along the Rocky river, to Ohio.

"Buffaloe river falls into the Ohio on the eaſtern ſide of it, at the diſtance of 925 computed miles from Fort Pitt. It is a very conſiderable branch of the Ohio; is 200 yards wide, navigable upwards of 150 miles for battoes or barges, of 30 feet long, 5 feet broad, and 3 feet deep, carrying about 7 tons, and can be navigated much farther with large canoes. The ſtream is moderate. The lands on both ſides of the river are of a moſt luxuriant quality, for the production of Hemp, Flax, Wheat, Tobacco, &c. They are covered with a great variety of

lofty, and uſeful timber; as Oak, Hickory, Mulberry, Elm, &c. Several perſons who have aſcended this river ſay, that ſalt ſprings, coal, lime and free ſtone, &c. are to be found in a variety of places.

"The Wabaſh is a beautiful river, with high and upright banks, leſs ſubject to overflow than any other river (the Ohio excepted) in this part of America. It diſcharges itſelf into the Ohio, one thouſand and twenty-two miles below Fort Pitt, in latitude 37° 41′.—At its mouth it is 270 yards wide; is navigable to Ouiatanon (412 miles) in the ſpring, ſummer, and autumn, with battoes or barges, drawing about three feet water. From thence, on account of a rocky bottom, and ſhoal water, large canoes are chiefly employed, except when the river is ſwelled with rains, at which time it may be aſcended with boats, ſuch as I have juſt deſcribed (197 miles further) to the Miami carrying place, which is nine miles from the Miami village, and this is ſituated on a river of the ſame name, that runs into the ſouth-ſouth-weſt part of lake Erie.—The ſtream of the Wabaſh is generally gentle to fort Ouiatanon, and no where obſtructed with falls, but is by ſeveral rapids, both above and below that fort,

ſome of which are pretty conſiderable. There is alſo a part of the river, for about three miles, and 30 miles from the carrying place, where the channel is ſo narrow, that it is neceſſary to make uſe of ſetting poles, inſtead of oars. The land on this river is remarkably fertile, and ſeveral parts of it are natural meadows, of great extent, covered with fine long graſs.—The timber is large, and high, and in ſuch variety, that almoſt all the different kinds growing upon the Ohio and its branches (but with a greater proportion of black and white mulberry-trees) may be found here.—A ſilver mine has been diſcovered about 28 miles above Ouiatanon, on the northern ſide of the Wabaſh, and probably others may be found hereafter. The Wabaſh abounds with ſalt ſprings, and any quantity of ſalt may be made from them, in the manner now done at the Saline in the Illinois country: —the hills are repleniſhed with the beſt coal, and there is plenty of lime and free ſtone, blue, yellow, and white clay, for glaſs works and pottery. Two French ſettlements are eſtabliſhed on the Wabaſh, called Poſt Vincient and Ouiatanon; the firſt is 150 miles, and the other 262 miles from its mouth. The former is on the eaſtern ſide of the river, and conſiſts

of 60 ſettlers and their families. They raiſe Indian corn, wheat, and tobacco of an extraordinary good quality; ſuperior, it is ſaid, to that produced in Virginia. They have a fine breed of horſes (brought originally by the Indians from the Spaniſh ſettlements on the weſtern ſide of the river Miſſiſſippi), and large ſtocks of ſwine and black cattle. The ſettlers deal with the natives for furs and deer ſkins, to the amount of about 5000 l. annually. Hemp of a good texture grows ſpontaneouſly in the low lands of the Wabaſh, as do grapes in the greateſt abundance, having a black, thin ſkin, and of which the inhabitants in the autumn make a ſufficient quantity (for their own conſumption) of well-taſted red-wine. Hops large and good are found in many places, and the lands are particularly adapted to the culture of rice. All European fruits;—apples, peaches, pears, cherries, currants, gooſberries, melons, &c. thrive well, both here, and in the country bordering on the river Ohio.

"Ouiatanon is a ſmall ſtockaded fort on the weſtern ſide of the Wabaſh, in which about a dozen families reſide. The neighbouring Indians are the Kickapoos, Muſquitons, Pyankiſhaws, and a principal part of the Ouiatanons. The

The whole of theſe tribes conſiſt, it is ſuppoſed, of about one thouſand warriors. The fertility of ſoil, and diverſity of timber in this country, are the ſame as in the vicinity of Poſt Vincient. The annual amount of ſkins and furs obtained at Ouiatanon is about 8000 l. By the river Wabaſh, the inhabitants of Detroit move to the ſouthern parts of Ohio, and the Illinois country. Their rout is by the Miami river to a carrying-place, which, as before ſtated, is nine miles to the Wabaſh, when this river is raiſed with freſhes; but at other ſeaſons, the diſtance is from 18 to 30 miles, including the portage. The whole of the latter is through a level country. Carts are uſually employed in tranſporting boats and merchandiſe from the Miami to the Wabaſh river.

" The Shawanoe river empties itſelf on the eaſtern ſide of Ohio, about 95 miles ſouthwardly of the Wabaſh river. It is 250 yards wide at its mouth, has been navigated 180 miles in battoes of the conſtruction of thoſe mentioned in the preceding article, and from the depth of water, at that diſtance from its mouth, it is preſumed, it may be navigated much further. The ſoil and timber of the lands, upon

this river, are exactly the ſame as thoſe upon Buffaloe river.

" The Cherokee river diſcharges itſelf into the Ohio on the ſame ſide that the Shawanoe river does, that is, 13 miles below or ſoutherly of it, and 11 miles above, or northerly of the place where Fort Maſſac formerly ſtood, and 57 miles from the confluence of the Ohio with the river Miſſiſſippi. The Cherokee river has been navigated 900 miles from its mouth. At the diſtance of 220 miles from thence, it widens from 400 yards (its general width) to between two and three miles, and continues this breadth for near thirty miles farther. The whole of this diſtance is called the Muſcle Shoals. Here the channel is obſtructed with a number of iſlands, formed by trees and drifted wood, brought hither, at different ſeaſons of the year, in freſhes and floods. In paſſing theſe iſlnads, the middle of the wideſt intermediate water is to be navigated, as there it is deepeſt. From the mouth of the Cherokee river to Muſcle Shoals the current is moderate, and both the high and low lands are rich, and abundantly covered with oaks, walnut, ſugar-trees, hickory, &c. About 200 miles above theſe ſhoals is, what is called, the Whirl, or Suck, occaſioned,

occaſioned, I imagine, by the high mountain, which there confines the river (ſuppoſed to be the Laurel mountain). The Whirl, or Suck, continues rapid for about three miles. Its width about 50 yards. Aſcending the Cherokee river, and at about 100 miles from the Suck, and upon the ſouth-eaſtern ſide of that river, is Highwaſee river. Vaſt tracts of level and rich land border on this river; but at a ſmall diſtance from it, the country is much broken, and ſome parts of it produce only pine trees. Forty miles higher up the Cherokee river, on the north weſtern ſide, is Clinche's river. It is 150 yards wide, and about 50 miles up it ſeveral families are ſettled. From Clinche's to Teneſee river is 100 miles. It comes in on the eaſtern ſide, and is 250 yards wide. About 10 miles up this river, is a Cherokee town, called Chota, and further up this branch are ſeveral other Indian towns, poſſeſſed by Indians, called, the Overhill Cherokees. The navigation of this branch is much interrupted by rocks, as is alſo the river called French Broad, which comes into the Cherokee river 50 miles above the Teneſee, and on the ſame ſide. 150 miles above French Broad is Long Iſland (three miles in length) and from thence to the ſource of the Cherokee river is

60 miles, and the whole diſtance is ſo rocky, as to be ſcarcely navigable with a canoe.

" By the Cherokee river, the emigrants from the frontier counties of Virginia, and North Carolina, paſs to the ſettlements in Weſt Florida, upon the river Miſſiſſippi. They embark at Long Iſland.

" I will now proceed to give a deſcription of that part called the Illinois country, lying between the Miſſiſſippi weſterly, the Illinois river northerly, the Wabaſh eaſterly, and the Ohio ſoutherly.

" The land at the confluence, or fork of the rivers Miſſiſſippi and Ohio, is above 20 feet higher than the common ſurface of theſe rivers; yet ſo conſiderable are the ſpring floods, that it is generally overflowed for about a week, as are the lands for ſeveral miles back in the country. —The ſoil at the fork is compoſed of mud, earth, and ſand, accumulated from the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi rivers. It is exceedingly fertile, and in its natural ſtate yields hemp, pea-vines, graſs, &c. and a great variety of trees, and in particular the aſpen tree, of an unuſual height and thickneſs.

" For 25 miles up the Miſſiſſippi (from the Ohio)

Ohio) the country is rich, level, and well timbered; and then ſeveral gentle riſing grounds appear, which gradually diminiſh at the diſtance of between four and five miles eaſtward from the river. From thence to the Kaſkaſkias river is 65 miles. The country is a mixture of hills and vallies; ſome of the former are rocky and ſteep; but they, as well as the vallies, are ſhaded with fine oaks, hickory, walnut, aſh, and mulberry-trees, &c. Some of the high grounds afford moſt pleaſant ſituations for ſettlements. Their elevated, and airy poſitions, together with the great luxuriance of the ſoil, every where yielding plenty of graſs, and uſeful plants, promiſe health, and ample returns to induſtrious ſettlers.

"Many quarries of lime, free-ſtone, and marble, have been diſcovered in this part of the country.

"Several creeks and rivers fall into the Miſſiſſippi, in the above diſtance (of 65 miles), but no remarkable ones, except the rivers à Vaſe and Kaſkaſkias; the former is navigable for battoes about 60, and the latter for about 130 miles;—both theſe rivers run through a rich country, abounding in extenſive, natural meadows,

dows, and numberleſs herds of buffaloe, deer, &c.

" The high grounds, juſt mentioned, continue along the eaſtern ſide of the Kaſkaſkias river, at a ſmall diſtance from it, for the ſpace of five miles and a half, to the Kaſkaſkias village; then they incline more towards that river, and run nearly parallel with the eaſtern bank of the Miſſiſſippi, at the diſtance of about three miles in ſome parts, and four miles in other parts from it. Theſe are principally compoſed of lime and free-ſtone, and from 100 to 130 feet high, divided in ſeveral places by deep cavities, through which many ſmall rivulets paſs before they fall into the Miſſiſſippi. The ſides of theſe hills, fronting this river, are in many places perpendicular,—and appear like ſolid pieces of ſtone maſonry, of various colours, figures, and ſizes.

" The low land between the hills and the Miſſiſſippi, begins on the north ſide of the Kaſkaſkias river, and continues for three miles above the River Miſouri, where a high ridge terminates it, and forms the eaſtern bank of the Miſſiſſippi.—This interval land is level, has few trees, and is of a very rich ſoil, yielding ſhrubs and moſt fragrant flowers, which, added

to

to the number and extent of meadows and ponds diſperſed through this charming valley, render it exceedingly beautiful and agreeable.

" In this vale ſtand the following villages, viz. Kaſkaſkias, which, as already mentioned, is five miles and a half up a river of the ſame name, running northerly and ſoutherly.—This village contains 80 houſes, many of them well built; ſeveral of ſtone, with gardens, and large lots adjoining. It conſiſts of about 500 white inhabitants, and between four and five hundred negroes. The former have large ſtocks of black cattle, ſwine, &c.

" Three miles northerly of Kaſkaſkias, is a village of Illinois Indians (of the Kaſkaſkias tribe) containing about 210 perſons and 60 warriors. They were formerly brave and warlike, but are degenerated into a drunken and debauched tribe, and ſo indolent, as ſcarcely to procure a ſufficiency of ſkins and furs to barter for clothing.

" Nine miles further northward than the laſt mentioned village, is another, called La prairie du Rocher, or the Rock meadows. It conſiſts of 100 white inhabitants, and 80 negroes.

" Three miles northerly of this place, on the banks

banks of the Miſſiſſippi, ſtood Fort Chartres. It was abandoned in the year 1772, as it was rendered untenable by the conſtant waſhings of the River Miſſiſſippi in high floods.—The village of Fort Chartres, a little ſouthward of the fort, contained ſo few inhabitants, as not to deſerve my notice.

" One mile higher up the Miſſiſſippi than Fort Chartres, is a village ſettled by 170 warriors of the Piorias and Mitchigamias (two other tribes of the Illinois Indians). They are as idle and debauched as the tribe of Kaſkaſkias which I have juſt deſcribed.

" Four miles higher than the preceding village, is St. Philip's. It was formerly inhabited by about a dozen families, but at preſent is poſſeſſed only by two or three.—The others have retired to the weſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſippi.

" Forty-five miles further northwards than St. Philip's (and one mile up a ſmall river on the ſouthern ſide of it) ſtands the village of Cahokia. It has 50 houſes, many of them well built, and 300 inhabitants, poſſeſſing 80 negroes, and large ſtocks of black cattle, ſwine, &c.

" Four miles above Cahokia, on the weſtern

or

or Spaniſh ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, ſtands the village of St. Louis, on a high piece of ground. It is the moſt healthy and pleaſurable ſituation of any known in this part of the country. Here the Spaniſh commandant and the principal Indian traders reſide; who, by conciliating the affections of the natives, have drawn all the Indian trade of the Miſouri;—part of that of the Miſſiſſippi (northwards), and of the tribes of Indians reſiding near the Ouiſconſing and Illinois rivers, to this village. In St. Louis are 120 houſes, moſtly built of ſtone. They are large and commodious. This village has 800 inhabitants, chiefly French;—ſome of them have had a liberal education, are polite, and hoſpitable. They have about 150 negroes, and large ſtocks of black cattle, &c.

"Twelve miles below, or ſoutherly of Fort Chartres, on the weſtern bank of the Miſſiſſippi, and nearly oppoſite to the village of Kaſkaſkias, is the village of St. Genevieve, or Miſſire. It contains upwards of 100 houſes, and 460 inhabitants, beſides negroes. This and St. Louis are all the villages that are upon the weſtern or Spaniſh ſide of the Miſſiſſippi.

"Four miles below St. Genevieve (on the weſtern bank of the Miſſiſſippi), at the mouth

of

of a creek, is a hamlet, called the Saline. Here all the ſalt is made, which is uſed in the Illinois country, from a ſalt ſpring that is at this place.

" In the ſeveral villages on the Miſſiſſippi, which I have juſt deſcribed, there were, ſo long ago as the year 1771, twelve hundred and ſeventy-three fencible men.

" The Ridge which forms the eaſtern bank of the Miſſiſſippi, above the Miſouri river, continues northerly to the Illinois river, and then directs its courſe along the eaſtern ſide of that river, for about 220 miles, when it declines in gentle ſlopes, and ends in extenſive rich ſavannahs. On the top of this ridge, at the mouth of the Illinois river, is an agreeable and commanding ſituation for a fort, and though the ridge is high and ſteep (about 130 feet high), and rather difficult to aſcend, yet when aſcended, it affords a moſt delightful proſpect. —The Miſſiſſippi is diſtinctly ſeen from its ſummit for more than twenty miles, as are the beautiful meanderings of the Illinois river for many leagues;—next a level, fruitful meadow preſents itſelf, of at leaſt one hundred miles in circuit on the weſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, watered by ſeveral lakes, and ſhaded by

ſmall

ſmall groves or copſes of trees, ſcattered in different parts of it, and then the eye with rapture ſurveys, as well the high lands bordering upon the river Miſſouri, as thoſe at a greater diſtance up the Miſſiſſippi.—In fine, this charming ridge is covered with excellent graſs, large oak, walnut-trees, &c. and at the diſtance of about nine miles from the Miſſiſſippi, up the Illinois river, are ſeen many large ſavannahs, or meadows abounding in buffalo, deer, &c.

" In aſcending the Miſſiſſippi, Cape au Gres particularly attracted my attention.—It is about 8 leagues above the Illinois river, on the eaſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, and continues above five leagues on that river. There is a gradual deſcent back to delightful meadows, and to beautiful and fertile uplands, watered by ſeveral rivulets, which fall into the Illinois river between 30 and 40 miles from its entrance into the Miſſiſſippi, and into the latter at Cape au Gres. The diſtance from the Miſſiſſippi to the River Illinois acroſs the country, is leſſened or increaſed, according to the windings of the former river;—the ſmalleſt diſtance is at Cape au Gres, and there it is between four and five miles. The lands in this intermediate ſpace between the above two rivers are rich, almoſt

beyond

beyond parallel, covered with large oaks, walnut, &c. and not a ſtone is to be ſeen, except upon the ſides of the river.—It is even acknowledged by the French inhabitants, that if ſettlements were only begun at Cape au Gres, thoſe upon the Spaniſh ſide of the Miſſiſſippi would be abandoned, as the former would excite a conſtant ſucceſſion of ſettlers, and intercept all the trade of the upper Miſſiſſippi.

"The Illinois river furniſhes a communication with Lake Michigan, by the Chicago river, and by two portages between the latter and the Illinois river; the longeſt of which does not exceed four miles.

"The Illinois country is in general of a ſuperior ſoil to any other part of North America that I have ſeen. It produces fine oak, hickory, cedar, mulberry-trees, &c. ſome dying roots and medicinal plants;—hops and excellent wild grapes, and in the year 1769, one hundred and ten hogſheads of well-taſted and ſtrong wine were made by the French ſettlers from theſe grapes,—a large quantity of ſugar is alſo annually made from the juice of the maple-tree; and as the mulberry-trees are long and numerous, I preſume the making of ſilk will employ the attention and induſtry of the ſettlers, when the

the country is more fully inhabited than it is at preſent, and eſpecially as the winters are much more moderate, and favourable for the breed of ſilk worms, than they are in many of the ſea coaſt provinces.—Indigo may likewiſe be ſucceſsfully cultivated (but not more than two cuttings in a year); wheat, peas, and Indian corn thrive well, as does every ſort of grain and pulſe, that is produced in any of the old colonies. Great quantities of tobacco are alſo yearly raiſed by the inhabitants of the Illinois, both for their own conſumption, and that of the Indians; but little has hitherto been exported to Europe. Hemp grows ſpontaneouſly, and is of a good texture; its common height is 10 feet, and its thickneſs three inches (the latter reckoned within about a foot of the root), and with little labour any quantity may be cultivated. Flax ſeed has hitherto been only raiſed in ſmall quantities. There has however been enough produced to ſhew that it may be ſown to the greateſt advantage. Apples, pears, peaches, and all other European fruits, ſucceed admirably. Iron, copper, and lead mines, as alſo ſalt ſprings, have been diſcovered in different parts of this territory. The two latter are worked on the Spaniſh ſide of

the Miſſiſſippi, with conſiderable advantage to their owners. There is plenty of fiſh in the rivers, particularly cat, carp, and perch, of an uncommon ſize.—Savannahs, or natural meadows, are both numerous and extenſive; yielding excellent graſs, and feeding great herds of buffaloe, deer, &c.—Ducks, teal, geeſe, ſwans, cranes, pelicans, turkies, pheaſants, partridges, &c. ſuch as are ſeen in the ſea coaſt colonies, are in the greateſt variety and abundance.—In ſhort, every thing that a reaſonable mind can deſire is to be found, or may, with little pains, be produced here.

"Niagara Fort is a moſt important poſt. It ſecures a greater number of communications through a larger country than probably any other paſs in interior America;—it ſtands at the entrance of a ſtrait, by which lake Ontario is joined to lake Erie, and the latter is connected with the three great lakes, Huron, Michegan, and Superior. About nine miles above Fort Niagara the carrying place begins. It is occaſioned by the ſtupendous cataract of that name. The quantity of water which tumbles over this fall is unparalleled in America;—its heighth is not leſs than 137 feet. This fall would interrupt the communication between the

the lakes Ontario and Erie, if a road was not made up the hilly country that borders upon the ſtrait. This road extends to a ſmall poſt eighteen miles from Fort Niagara. Here the traveller embarks in a battoe or canoe, and proceeds eighteen miles to a ſmall fort at lake Erie. It may be proper alſo to add, that at the end of the firſt two miles, in the laſt-mentioned diſtance of 18 miles, the ſtream of the river is divided by a large iſland, above nine miles in length; and at the upper end of it, about a mile from lake Erie, are three or four iſlands, not far from each other;—theſe iſlands, by interrupting and confining the waters diſcharged from the lake, greatly increaſe the rapidity of the ſtream; which indeed is ſo violent, that the ſtiffeſt gale is ſcarcely ſufficient to enable a large veſſel to ſtem it; but it is ſucceſsfully reſiſted in ſmall battoes, or canoes, that are rowed near the ſhore.

"Lake Erie is about 225 miles in length, and upon a medium about 40 miles in breadth. It affords a good navigation for ſhipping of any burthen. The coaſt, on both ſides of the lake, is generally favourable for the paſſage of battoes and canoes. Its banks in many places have a flat ſandy ſhore, particularly to the eaſtward of

the peninſula, called Long Point, which extends into the lake, in a ſouth-eaſtern direction, for upwards of 18 miles, and is more than five miles wide in the broadeſt part; but the iſthmus, by which it joins the continent, is ſcarcely 200 yards wide. The peninſula is compoſed of ſand, and is very convenient to haul boats out of the ſurf upon (as is almoſt every other part of the ſhore) when the lake is too rough for rowing or ſailing; yet there are ſome places where, in boiſterous weather (on account of their great perpendicular height), it would be dangerous to approach, and impoſſible to land. Moſt of theſe places are marked in my map with the letter X.

" Lake Erie has a great variety of fine fiſh, ſuch as ſturgeon, eel, white fiſh, trout, perch, &c.

" The country, northward of this lake, is in many parts ſwelled with moderate hills, but no high mountains. The climate is temperate, and the air healthful. The lands are well timbered (but not generally ſo rich as thoſe upon the ſouthern ſide of the lake), and for a conſiderable diſtance from it, and for ſeveral miles eaſtward of Cayahoga river, they appear quite level and extremely fertile; and except where

where extenſive ſavannahs, or natural meadows intervene, are covered with large oaks, walnut, aſh, hickory, mulberry, ſaſſafras, &c. &c. and produce a great variety of ſhrubs and medicinal roots.—Here alſo is great plenty of buffalo, deer, turkies, partridges, &c.

" Fort Detroit is of an oblong figure, built with ſtockades, and advantageouſly ſituated, with one entire ſide commanding the river, called Detroit. This fort is near a mile in circumference, and encloſes about one hundred houſes, built in a regular manner, with parallel ſtreets, croſſing each other at right angles. Its ſituation is delightful, and in the centre of a pleaſant, fruitful country.

" The ſtrait St. Clair (commonly called the Detroit river) is at its entrance more than three miles wide, but in aſcending it, its width perceptibly diminiſhes, ſo that oppoſite to the fort (which is 18 miles from lake Erie) it does not exceed half a mile in width. From thence to lake St. Clair it widens to more than a mile. The channel of the ſtrait is gentle, and wide, and deep enough for ſhipping of great burthen, although it is incommoded by ſeveral iſlands; one of which is more than ſeven miles in length. Theſe iſlands are of a fertile ſoil, and

from their ſituation afford a very agreeable appearance. For eight miles below, and the ſame diſtance above fort Detroit, on both ſides of the river, the country is divided into regular and well cultivated plantations, and from the contiguity of the farmers houſes to each other, they appear as two long extended villages. The inhabitants, who are moſtly French, are about 2000 in number; 500 of whom are as good markſmen, and as well accuſtomed to the woods, as the Indian natives themſelves. They raiſe large ſtocks of black cattle, and great quantities of corn, which they grind by windmills, and manufacture into excellent flour.—The chief trade of Detroit conſiſts in a barter of coarſe European goods with the natives for furs, deer-ſkins, tallow, &c. &c.

"The rout from lake St. Clair to lake Huron, is up a ſtrait or river, about 400 yards wide. This river derives itſelf from lake Huron, and at the diſtance of 33 miles loſes itſelf in lake St. Clair. It is in general rapid, but particularly ſo near its ſource;—its channel, and alſo that of lake St. Clair, are ſufficiently deep for ſhipping of very conſiderable burthen. This ſtrait has ſeveral mouths, and the lands lying between them are fine meadows. The country

country on both ſides of it, for 15 miles, has a very level appearance, but from thence to lake Huron, it is in many places broken, and covered with white pines, oaks, maple, birch, and beech."

Thoughts on the Duration of the American Commonwealth.

THERE is a greater probability that the duration of the American commonwealth will be longer than any empire that has hitherto exiſted. For it is a truth, univerſally admitted, that all the advantages which ever attended any of the monarchies in the old world, all center in the new; together with many others, which they never enjoy. The four great empires, and the dominions of Charlemaign, and the Turks, all roſe by conqueſts; none by the arts of peace. On the contrary, the territory of the United States has been planted and reared by a union of liberty, good conduct, and all the comforts of domeſtic virtue.

All the great monarchies were formed by the conqueſt of kingdoms, different in arts, manners, language, temper, or religion, from the conquerors; ſo that the union, though in ſome

caſes very ſtrong, was never the real and intimate connection of the ſame people; and this circumſtance principally accelerated their ruin, and was abſolutely the cauſe of it in ſome. This will be very different in the Americans. They will, in their greateſt extent and population, be one and the ſame people; the ſame in language, religion, laws, manners, tempers, and purſuits; for the ſmall variation in ſome diſtricts, owing to the ſettlement of Germans, is an exception ſo very ſlight, that in a few ages it will be unknown.

The Aſſyrian and Roman empires were of very ſlow growth, and therefore laſted the longeſt; but ſtill their increaſe was by conqueſt, and the union of diſſonant parts. The Perſian and Macedonian monarchies were ſoon founded and preſently overturned; the former not laſting ſo long as the Aſſyrian, nor a ſixth of the duration of the Roman; and as to the Maredonian, it laſted but ſix years. This advantage of a ſlow growth is ſtrong in favour of the Americans; the wonderful increaſe of their numbers is the natural effect of plenty of land, a good climate, and a mild and beneficent government, in which corruption and tyranny are wholly unknown. Some centuries are already paſt ſince their firſt ſettlement,

ſettlement, and many more will paſs before their power appears in its full ſplendour; but the quickneſs of a growth that is entirely natural will carry with it no marks of decay, being entirely different from monarchies founded by force of arms. The Roman empire periſhed by the hands of northern barbarians, whom the maſters of the world diſdained to conquer; it will not be ſo with the Americans, they ſpread gradually over the whole continent, inſomuch that two hundred years hence there probably will be nobody but themſelves in the whole northern continent; from whence therefore ſhould their Goths and Vandals come? Nor can they ever have any thing to fear from the ſouth; firſt, becauſe that country will never be populous, owing to the poſſeſſion of mines: ſecondly, there are ſeveral nations and languages planted and remaining in it: thirdly, the moſt conſiderable part of it lies in the torrid zone; a region that never yet ſent forth nations of conquerors.

In extent the habitable parts of North America exceed that of any of the four empires, and conſequently can feed and maintain a people much more numerous than the Aſſyrians or the Romans. The ſituation of the region is ſo advantageous

advantageous that it leaves nothing to be wiſhed for; it can have no neighbours from whom there is a poſſibility of attack or moleſtation; it will poſſeſs all the ſolid advantages of the Chineſe empire without the fatal neighbourhood of the Tartars.

It will have further the ſingular felicity of all the advantages of an iſland, that is, a freedom from the attacks of others, and too many difficulties, with too great a diſtance, to engage in enterpriſes that heretofore proved the ruin of other monarchies.

The ſoil, the climate, production, and face of the continent, is formed by nature for a great, independent, and permanent government: fill it with people who will of themſelves, of courſe, poſſeſs all ſorts of manufactures, and you will find it yielding every neceſſary and convenience of life. Such a vaſt tract of country, poſſeſſing ſuch ſingular advantages, becoming inhabited by one people, ſpeaking the ſame language, profeſſing the ſame religion, and having the ſame manners; attaining a population equal to that of the greateſt empire; ſprung from an active and induſtrious nation, who have transfuſed into them their own induſtry and ſpirit, and ſeen them worthy of their original; inhabiting a ſoil not

dangerouſly

dangerouſly fertile, nor a clime generally conducive to effeminacy; accuſtomed to commerce: ſuch a people muſt found a commonwealth as indiſſoluble as humanity will allow. Suffice it for England, that ſhe will have been the origin of a commonwealth greater and more durable than any former monarchy; that her language and her manners will flouriſh among a people who will one day become a ſplendid ſpectacle in the vaſt eye of the univerſe. This flattering idea of immortality no other nation can hope to attain.

And here let me make an obſervation that ſhould animate the authors in the Engliſh language with an ardour that cannot be infuſed into thoſe of any other nation; it is the pleaſing idea of living among ſo great a people, through almoſt a perpetuity of fame, and under almoſt an impoſſibility of becoming, like the Greek and Latin tongues, dead; known only by the learned.—Increaſing time will bring increaſing readers, until their names become repeated with pleaſure by above an hundred millions of people!

A STATE OF THE COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND FOREIGN NATIONS. WRITTEN IN THE MONTH OF JUNE 1792. BY THOMAS JEFFERSON, ESQ. SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE SAID UNITED STATES.

THE countries with which the United States have had their chief commercial intercourſe, are, Spain, Portugal, France, Great Britain, the United Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden, and their American poſſeſſions; and the articles of export which conſtitute the baſis of that commerce, with their reſpective amounts, are—

	Dols.
Bread ſtuff, that is to ſay, bread-grains, meals, and bread, to the annual amount of	7,649,887
Tobacco	4,349,567
Rice	1,753,796
Wood	1,263,534
Salted fiſh	941,696
Pot and pearl aſh	839,093
Salted meats	599,130

Indigo

	Dols.
Indigo - - - - - - - - -	537,379
Horſes and mules - - - - -	339,753
Whale oil - - - - - - - -	252,591
Flax ſeed - - - - - - - -	236,072
Tar, pitch, and turpentine - -	217,177
Live proviſions - - - - -	137,743
Ships	
Foreign goods - - - - - -	620,274

To deſcend to articles of ſmaller value than theſe, would lead into a minuteneſs of detail neither neceſſary nor uſeful to the preſent object.

The proportions of our Exports, which go to the nations before mentioned, and to their dominions, reſpectively, are as follows:

	Dols.
To Spain and its dominions - -	2,005,907
Portugal and its dominions - -	1,283,462
France and its dominions - - -	4,698,735
Great Britain and its dominions -	9,363,416
The United Netherlands and their dominions - - - - - -	1,963,880
Denmark and its dominions - -	224,415
Sweden and its dominions - -	47,240

Our Imports from the ſame countries are—

Spain and its dominions - - -	335,110
Portugal and its dominions - -	595,763

France

	Dols.
France and its dominions - -	2,068,348
Great Britain and its dominions -	15,285,428
United Netherlands and their dominions - - - - - - - - -	1,172,692
Denmark and its dominions - -	351,394
Sweden and its dominions - -	14,325

Theſe Imports conſiſt moſtly of articles on which induſtry has been exhauſted.

Our Navigation, depending on the ſame commerce, will appear by the following ſtatement of the tonnage of our own veſſels, entering into our ports, from thoſe ſeveral nations, and their poſſeſſions, in one year, that is to ſay, from October 1789, to September 1790, inclusive, as follows:

	Tons.
Spain - - - - - - - - - -	19,695
Portugal - - - - - - - - -	23,576
France - - - - - - - - -	116,410
Great Britain - - - - - - -	43,580
United Netherlands - - - -	58,858
Denmark - - - - - - - - -	14,655
Sweden - - - - - - - - - -	750

Of our commercial objects, Spain receives favourably our bread ſtuff, ſalted fiſh, wood, ſhips, tar, pitch, and turpentine. On our meals, however, as well as on thoſe of other foreign countries,

tries, when re-exported to their colonies, they have lately impoſed duties of from half a dollar to two dollars the barrel, the duties being ſo proportioned to the current price of their own flour, as that both together are to make the conſtant ſum of nine dollars per barrel.

They do not diſcourage our rice, pot and pearl aſh, ſalted proviſions, or whale oil: but theſe articles being in ſmall demand at their markets, are carried thither but in a ſmall degree. Their demand for rice, however, is increaſing. Neither tobacco nor indigo are received there. Our commerce is permitted with their Canary Iſlands, under the ſame conditions.

Themſelves and their colonies are the actual conſumers of what they receive from us.

Our navigation is free with the kingdom of Spain; foreign goods being received there in our ſhips, on the ſame conditions as if carried in their own, or in the veſſels of the country of which ſuch goods are the manufacture or produce.

Portugal receives favourably our grain and bread, ſalted fiſh and other ſalted proviſions, wood, tar, pitch, and turpentine.

For flax-ſeed, pot and pearl aſh, though not diſcouraged, there is little demand.

Our ſhips pay 20 per cent. on being ſold to their ſubjects, and are then free bottoms.

Foreign goods (except thoſe of the Eaſt Indies) are received on the ſame footing in our veſſels as in their own, or any others; that is to ſay, on general duties of from twenty to twenty-eight per cent. and conſequently our navigation unobſtructed by them.—Tobacco, rice, and meals, are prohibited.

Themſelves and their colonies conſume what they receive from us.

Theſe regulations extend to the Azores, Madeira, and the Cape de Verd Iſlands, except that in theſe meals and rice are received freely.

France receives favourably our bread ſtuff, rice, wood, pot and pearl aſhes.

A duty of five ſous the kental, or nearly four and a half cents, is paid on our tar, pitch, and turpentine. Our whale oil pays ſix livres the kental, and are the only foreign whale oils admitted. Our indigo pays five livres on the kental; their own two and an half: but a difference of quality, ſtill more than a difference of duty, prevents its ſeeking that market.

Salted

Salted beef is received freely for re-exportation, but if for home conſumption, it pays five livres the kental. Other ſalted proviſions pay that duty in all caſes, and ſalted fiſh is made lately to pay the prohibitory one of twenty livres in the kental.

Our ſhips are free to carry thither all foreign goods which may be carried in their own or any other veſſels, except tobaccoes not of our own growth; and they participate with their's the excluſive carriage of our whale oils and tobaccoes.

During their former government, our tobacco was under a monopoly; but paid no duties, and our ſhips were freely ſold in their ports, and converted into national bottoms. The firſt National Aſſembly took from our ſhips this privilege: they emancipated tobacco from its monopoly, but ſubjected it to duties of eighteen livres fifteen ſous the kental, carried in their own veſſels, and twenty-five livres carried in ours, a difference more than equal to the freight of the article.

They and their colonies conſume what they receive from us.

Great Britain receives our pot and pearl aſhes free, while thoſe of other nations pay a duty of

two ſhillings and three-pence the kental. There is an equal diſtinction in favour of our bar iron, of which article, however, we do not produce enough for our own uſe. Woods are free from us, whilſt they pay ſome ſmall duty from other countries. Our tar and pitch pay 11d. ſterling the barrel; from other alien countries they pay about a penny and a third more.

Our tobacco, for their own conſumption, pays 1s. 3d. ſterling the pound, cuſtom and exciſe, beſides heavy expences of collection. And rice, in the ſame caſe, pays 7s. 4d. ſterling the hundred weight; which rendering it too dear as an article of common food, it is conſequently uſed in very ſmall quantity.

Our ſalted fiſh, and other ſalted proviſions, except bacon, are prohibited. Bacon and whale oil are under prohibitory duties; ſo are our grains, meals, and bread, as to internal conſumption, unleſs in times of ſuch ſcarcity as may raiſe the price of wheat to 50s. ſterling the quarter, and other grains and meals in proportion.

Our ſhips, though purchaſed and navigated by their own ſubjects, are not permitted to be uſed, even in their trade with us.

While

While the veſſels of other nations are ſecured by ſtanding laws, which cannot be altered, but by the concurrent will of the three branches of the Britiſh legiſlature, in carrying thither any produce or manufacture of the country to which they belong, which may be lawfully carried in any veſſels, ours, with the ſame prohibition of what is foreign, are further prohibited by a ſtanding law (12 Car. II. 28. §. 3) from carrying thither all and any of our own domeſtic productions and manufactures. A ſubſequent act, indeed, authoriſed their executive to permit the carriage of our own productions in our own bottoms, at its ſole diſcretion; and the permiſſion has been given from year to year by proclamation, but ſubject every moment to be withdrawn on that ſingle will, in which event our veſſels having any thing on board, ſtand interdicted from the entry of all Britiſh ports. The diſadvantage of a tenure which may be ſo ſuddenly diſcontinued was experienced by our merchants on a late occaſion, when an official notification that this law would be ſtrictly enforced, gave them juſt apprehenſions for the fate of their veſſels and cargoes diſpatched or deſtined to the ports of Great Britain. The miniſter of that court, indeed, frankly expreſſed

his perſonal conviction that the words of the order went farther than was intended, and ſo he afterwards officially informed us; but the embarraſſments of the moment were real and great, and the poſſibility of their renewal lays our commerce to that country under the ſame ſpecies of diſcouragement as to other countries where it is regulated by a ſingle legiſlator; and the diſtinction is too remarkable not to be noticed, that our navigation is excluded from the ſecurity of fixed laws, while that ſecurity is given to the navigation of others.

Our veſſels pay their ports 1s. 9d. ſterling per ton, light and trinity dues, more than is paid by Britiſh ſhips, except in the port of London, where they pay the ſame as Britiſh.

The greater part of what they receive from us is re-exported to other countries, under the uſeleſs charges of an intermediate depoſit and double voyage. From tables publiſhed in England, and compoſed, as is ſaid, from the books of their cuſtom-houſes, it appears that of the indigo imported there in the years 1773—4—5, one third was re-exported; and from a document of authority, we learn that of the rice and tobacco imported there before the war, four-fifths were re-exported. We are aſſured, indeed,

indeed, that the quantities ſent thither for re-exportation ſince the war, are conſiderably diminiſhed, yet leſs ſo than reaſon and national intereſt would dictate. The whole of our grain is re-exported when wheat is below 50s. the quarter, and other grains in proportion.

The United Netherlands prohibit our pickled beef and pork, meals and bread of all ſorts, and lay a prohibitory duty on ſpirits diſtilled from grain.

All other of our productions are received on varied duties, which may be reckoned on a medium at about three per cent.

They conſume but a ſmall proportion of what they receive; the reſidue is partly forwarded for conſumption in the inland parts of Europe, and partly re-ſhipped to other maritime countries. On the latter portion they intercept between us and the conſumer ſo much of the value as is abſorbed by the charges attending an intermediate depoſit.

Foreign goods, except ſome Eaſt India articles, are received in veſſels of any nation.

Our ſhips may be ſold and naturalized there with exceptions of one or two privileges, which ſomewhat leſſen their value.

Denmark lays conſiderable duties on our to-

bacco and rice carried in their own veſſels, and half as much more if carried in ours; but the exact amount of theſe duties is not perfectly known here. They lay ſuch as amount to prohibitions on our indigo and corn.

Sweden receives favourably our grains and meals, ſalted proviſions, indigo, and whale oil.

They ſubject our rice to duties of ſixteen mills the pound weight carried in their own veſſels, and of forty per cent. additional on that, or 22,410 mills, carried in ours or any others. Being thus rendered too dear as an article of common food, little of it is conſumed with them. They conſume more of our tobaccoes, which they take circuitouſly through Great Britain, levying heavy duties on them alſo; their duties of entry, town duties, and exciſe, being 4 dols. 34 cents. the hundred weight, if carried in their own veſſels, and of forty per cent. on that additional, if carried in our own or any other veſſels.

They prohibit altogether our bread, fiſh, pot and pearl aſhes, flax-ſeed, tar, pitch, and turpentine, wood (except oak timber and maſts), and all foreign manufactures.

Under ſo many reſtrictions and prohibitions, our

our navigation with them is reduced almoſt to nothing.

With our neighbours, an order of things much harder preſents itſelf.

Spain and Portugal refuſe to thoſe parts of America which they govern, all direct intercourſe with any people but themſelves. The commodities in mutual demand between them and their neighbours muſt be carried to be exchanged in ſome port of the dominant country, and the tranſportation between that and the ſubject ſtate muſt be in a domeſtic bottom.

France, by a ſtanding law, permits her Weſt India poſſeſſions to receive directly our vegetables, live proviſions, horſes, wood, tar, pitch, and turpentine, rice, and maize, and prohibits our other bread ſtuff; but a ſuſpenſion of this prohibition having been left to the colonial legiſlatures in times of ſcarcity, it was formerly ſuſpended occaſionally, but latterly without interruption.

Our freſh and ſalted proviſions (except pork) are received in their iſlands under a duty of three colonial livres the kental, and our veſſels are as free as their own to carry our commodities thither, and to bring away rum and molaſſes.

Great Britain admits in her iſlands our vegetables, live proviſions, horſes, wood, tar, pitch, and turpentine, rice, and bread ſtuff, by a proclamation of her executive, limited always to the term of a year. She prohibits our ſalted proviſions: ſhe does not permit our veſſels to carry thither our own produce. Her veſſels alone may take it from us, and bring in exchange, rum, molaſſes, ſugar, coffee, cocoa nuts, ginger, and pimento. There are, indeed, ſome freedoms in the iſland of Dominica, but under ſuch circumſtances as to be little uſed by us. In the Britiſh continental colonies, and in Newfoundland, all our productions are prohibited, and our veſſels forbidden to enter their ports; their governors however, in times of diſtreſs, have power to permit a temporary importation of certain articles in their own bottoms, but not in ours.

Our citizens cannot reſide as merchants or factors within any of the Britiſh plantations, this being expreſsly prohibited by the ſame ſtatue of 12 Car. II. C. 18, commonly called the Navigation act.

In the Daniſh-American poſſeſſions a duty of five per cent. is levied on our corn, corn-meal, rice, tobacco, wood, ſalted fiſh, indigo, horſes, mules,

mules, and live ſtock; and of ten per cent. on our flour, ſalted pork and beef, tar, pitch, and turpentine.

In the American iſlands of the United Netherlands and Sweden, our veſſels and produce are received, ſubject to duties, not ſo heavy as to have been complained of; but they are heavier in the Dutch poſſeſſions on the continent.

To ſum up theſe reſtrictions, ſo far as they are important:

1ſt. *In Europe*—

Our bread ſtuff is at moſt times under prohibitory duties in England, and conſiderably dutied on exportation from Spain to her colonies.

Our tobaccoes are heavily dutied in England, Sweden, and France, and prohibited in Spain and Portugal.

Our rice is heavily dutied in England and Sweden, and prohibited in Portugal.

Our fiſh and ſalted proviſions are prohibited in England, and under prohibitory duties in France.

Our whale-oils are prohibited in England and Portugal.

And our veſſels are denied naturalization in England, and of late in France.

2d. *In*

2d. *In the Weſt Indies.*

All intercourſe is prohibited with the poſſeſſions of Spain and Portugal.

Our ſalted proviſions and fiſh are prohibited by England.

Our ſalted pork, and bread ſtuff (except maize), are received under temporary laws only, in the dominions of France, and our ſalted fiſh pays there a weighty duty.

3d. *In the Article of Navigation.*

Our own carriage of our own tobacco is heavily dutied in Sweden, and lately in France.

We can carry no article, not of our own production, to the Britiſh ports in Europe.

Nor even our own produce to her American poſſeſſions.

Such being the reſtrictions on the commerce and navigation of the United States, the queſtion is, in what way they may beſt be removed, modified, or counteracted?

As to commerce, two methods occur. 1. By friendly arrangements with the ſeveral nations with whom theſe reſtrictions exiſt: or, 2. By the

the ſeparate act of our own legiſlatures for countervailing their effects.

There can be no doubt, but that of theſe two, friendly arrangement is the moſt eligible. Inſtead of embarraſſing commerce under piles of regulating laws, duties, and prohibitions, could it be relieved from all its ſhackles in all parts of the world—could every country be employed in producing that which nature has beſt fitted it to produce, and each be free to exchange with others mutual ſurpluſſes for mutual wants, the greateſt maſs poſſible would then be produced of thoſe things which contribute to human life and human happineſs; the numbers of mankind would be increaſed, and their condition bettered.

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

Some nations, not yet ripe for free commerce,

in

in all its extent, might ſtill be willing to mollify its reſtrictions and regulations for us in proportion to the advantages which an intercourſe with us might offer. Particularly they may concur with us in reciprocating the duties to be levied on each ſide, or in compenſating any exceſs of duty, by equivalent advantages of another nature. Our commerce is certainly of a character to entitle it to favour in moſt countries. The commodities we offer are either neceſſaries of life, or materials for manufacture, or convenient ſubjects of revenue; and we take in exchange, either manufactures, when they have received the laſt finiſh of art and induſtry, or mere luxuries. Such cuſtomers may reaſonably expect welcome, and friendly treatment at every market; cuſtomers too, whoſe demands, increaſing with their wealth and population, muſt very ſhortly give full employment to the whole induſtry of any nation whatever, in any line of ſupply they may get into the habit of calling for, from it.

But ſhould any nation, contrary to our wiſhes, ſuppoſe it may better find its advantage by continuing its ſyſtem of prohibitions, duties, and regulations, it behoves us to protect our citizens, their commerce, and navigation, by counter-

prohibitions,

prohibitions, duties, and regulations alſo. Free commerce and navigation are not to be given in exchange for reſtrictions and vexations; nor are they likely to produce a relaxation of them.

Our navigation involves ſtill higher conſiderations. As a branch of induſtry, it is valuable; but as a reſource, eſſential.

Its value, as a branch of induſtry, is enhanced by the dependence of ſo many other branches on it. In times of general peace it multiplies competitors for employment in tranſportation, and ſo keeps that at its proper level; and in times of war, that is to ſay, when thoſe nations who may be our principal carriers, ſhall be at war with each other, if we have not within ourſelves the means of tranſportation, our produce muſt be exported in belligerent veſſels at the increaſed expence of warfreight and inſurance, and the articles which will not bear that, muſt periſh on our hands.

But it is a reſource for defence that our navigation will admit neither neglect nor forbearance. The poſition and circumſtances of the United States leave them nothing to fear on their land-board, and nothing to deſire beyond their preſent rights. But on their ſea-board, they are open to injury, and they have there, too,

too, a commerce which muſt be protected. This can only be done by poſſeſſing a reſpectable body of citizen-ſeamen, and of artiſts and eſtabliſhments in readineſs for ſhip-building.

Were the ocean, which is the common property of all, open to the induſtry of all, ſo that every perſon and veſſel ſhould be free to take employment wherever it could be found, the United States would certainly not ſet the example of appropriating to themſelves, excluſively, any portion of the common ſtock of occupation. They would rely on the enterprize and activity of their citizens for a due participation of the benefits of the ſeafaring buſineſs, and for keeping the marine claſs of citizens equal to their object. But if particular nations graſp at undue ſhares, and more eſpecially if they ſeize on the means of the United States to convert them into aliment for their own ſtrength, and withdraw them entirely from the ſupport of thoſe to whom they belong, defenſive and protecting meaſures become neceſſary on the part of the nation whoſe marine reſources are thus invaded, or it will be diſarmed of its defence; its productions will lie at the mercy of the nation which has poſſeſſed itſelf excluſively of the means of carrying them, and its politics may be influenced by thoſe who command

command its commerce. The carriage of our own commodities, if once eſtabliſhed in another channel, cannot be reſumed in the moment we may deſire. If we loſe the ſeamen and artiſts whom it now occupies, we loſe the preſent means of marine defence, and time will be requiſite to raiſe up others, when diſgrace or loſſes ſhall bring home to our feelings the error of having abandoned them. The materials for maintaining our due ſhare of navigation are ours in abundance; and as to the mode of uſing them, we have only to adopt the principles of thoſe who thus put us on the defenſive, or others equivalent and better fitted to our circumſtances.

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

1ſt. Where a nation impoſes high duties on our productions, or prohibits them altogether, it may be proper for us to do the ſame by theirs, firſt burthening or excluding thoſe productions which they bring here in competition with our own of the ſame kind; ſelecting next ſuch manufactures as we take from them in greateſt quantity, and which at the ſame time we could the ſooneſt furniſh to ourſelves, or obtain from other countries; impoſing on them duties

lighter at firſt, but heavier and heavier afterwards, as other channels of ſupply open. Such duties having the effect of indirect encouragement to domeſtic manufactures of the ſame kind, may induce the manufacturer to come himſelf into theſe ſtates; where cheaper ſubſiſtence, equal laws, and a vent of his wares, free of duty, may enſure him the higheſt profits from his ſkill and induſtry. And here it would be in the power of the ſtate governments to co-operate eſſentially, by opening the reſources of encouragement which are under their controul, extending them liberally to artiſts in thoſe particular branches of manufacture, for which their ſoil, climate, population, and other circumſtances have matured them, and foſtering the precious efforts and progreſs of houſehold manufacture, by ſome patronage ſuited to the nature of its objects, guided by the local informations they poſſeſs, and guarded againſt abuſe by their preſence and attentions. The oppreſſions on our agriculture in foreign ports would thus be made the occaſion of relieving it from a dependence on the councils and conduct of others, and of promoting arts, manufactures, and population, at home.

2d. Where a nation refuſes permiſſion to our merchants and factors to reſide within certain parts

parts of their dominions, we may, if it ſhould be thought expedient, refuſe reſidence to theirs in any and every part of ours, or modify their tranſactions.

3d. Where a nation refuſes to receive in our veſſels any productions but our own, we may refuſe to receive, in theirs, any but their own productions. The firſt and ſecond clauſes of the bill reported by the committee are well formed to effect this object.

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

5th. Where a nation refuſes to our veſſels the carriage even of our own productions to certain countries under their domination, we might refuſe to theirs, of every deſcription, the carriage of the ſame productions to the ſame countries. But as juſtice and good neighbourhood would dictate, that thoſe who have no part in impoſing the reſtriction on us, ſhould not be the victims of meaſures adopted to defeat its effect, it may be proper to confine the reſtriction to veſſels owned or navigated by any ſubjects of the ſame dominant power, other

than the inhabitants of the country to which the ſaid productions are to be carried.—And to prevent all inconvenience to the ſaid inhabitants, and to our own, by too ſudden a check on the means of tranſportation, we may continue to admit the veſſels marked for future excluſion, on an advanced tonnage, and for ſuch length of time only, as may be ſuppoſed neceſſary to provide againſt that inconvenience.

The eſtabliſhment of ſome of theſe principles by Great Britain alone has already loſt us, in our commerce with that country and its poſſeſſions, between eight and nine hundred veſſels of near 40,000 tons burthen, according to ſtatements from official materials, in which they have confidence. This involves a proportional loſs of ſeamen, ſhipwrights, and ſhip building, and is too ſerious a loſs to admit forbearance of ſome effectual remedy.

It is true we muſt expect ſome inconvenience in practice, from the eſtabliſhment of diſcriminating duties. But in this, as in ſo many other caſes, we are left to chooſe between two evils. Theſe inconveniences are nothing when weighed againſt the loſs of wealth and loſs of force, which will follow our perſeverance in the plan of indiſcrimination.—When once it ſhall be

be perceived that we are either in the ſyſtem or the habit of giving equal advantages to thoſe who extinguiſh our commerce and navigation, by duties and prohibitions, as to thoſe who treat both with liberality and juſtice, liberality and juſtice will be converted by all into duties and prohibitions. It is not to the moderation and juſtice of others we are to truſt for fair and equal acceſs to market with our productions, or for our due ſhare in the tranſportation of them; but to our means of independence, and the firm will to uſe them. Nor do the inconveniencies of diſcrimination merit conſideration. Not one of the nations before mentioned, perhaps not a commercial nation on earth, is without them. In our caſe one diſtinction alone will ſuffice, that is to ſay, between nations who favour our productions and navigation, and thoſe who do not favour them. One ſet of moderate duties, ſay the preſent duties, for the firſt, and a fixed advance on theſe as to ſome articles, and prohibitions as to others, for the laſt.

Still it muſt be repeated, that friendly arrangements are preferable with all who will come into them; and that we ſhould carry into

ſuch arrangements all the liberality and ſpirit of accommodation, which the nature of the caſe will admit.

France has, of her own accord, propoſed negociations for improving, by a new treaty on fair and equal principles, the commercial relations of the two countries. But her internal diſturbances have hitherto prevented the proſecution of them to effect, though we have had repeated aſſurances of a continuance of the diſpoſition.

Propoſals of friendly arrangement have been made on our part by the preſent government to that of Great Britain, as the meſſage ſtates; but, being already on as good a footing in law, and a better in fact, than the moſt favoured nation, they have not as yet diſcovered any diſpoſition to have it meddled with.

We have no reaſon to conclude that friendly arrangements would be declined by the other nations with whom we have ſuch commercial intercourſe as may render them important. In the mean while, it would reſt with the wiſdom of Congreſs to determine whether, as to thoſe nations, they will not ſurceaſe exparte regulations, on the reaſonable preſumption that they will

will concur in doing whatever juſtice and moderation dictate ſhould be done.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

P. S. Since writing the above, ſome alterations of the condition of our commerce with ſome ſovereign nations have taken place. France has propoſed to enter into a new treaty of commerce with us, on liberal principles; and has, in the mean time, relaxed ſome of the reſtraints mentioned in the Report. Spain has, by an ordinance of June laſt, eſtabliſhed New Orleans, Penſacola, and St. Auguſtine, into free ports, for the veſſels of friendly nations having treaties of commerce with her, provided they touch for a permit at Corcubion in Gallicia, or at Alicant; and our rice is by the ſame ordinance excluded from that country.

THE FOLLOWING ARE SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF EXPORTATION FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA DURING THE YEAR ENDING IN SEPTEMBER 1792.

Three millions one hundred and forty thouſand two hundred and fifty-five buſhels of grain (principally wheat).

One million four hundred and ſixty-nine thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-three barrels of flour, meal, biſcuit, and rice (reducing caſks of various ſizes to the proportion of flour barrels).

Sixty million ſix hundred and forty-ſix thouſand eight hundred and ſixty-one feet of boards, plank, and ſcantling (inch board meaſure).

Thirty-one million ſeven hundred and ſixty thouſand ſeven hundred and two ſtaves and hoops.

Seventy-one million ſix hundred and ninety-three thouſand eight hundred and ſixty-three ſhingles.

Nineteen

Nineteen thouſand three hundred and ninety-one and a half tons of timber.

Eighteen thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four pieces of timber.

One thouſand and eighty cedar and oak ſhip knees.

One hundred and ninety-one frames of houſes.

Seventy-three thouſand three hundred and eighteen oars, rafters for oars, and handſpikes.

Forty-eight thouſand eight hundred and ſixty ſhook or knock down caſks.

One hundred and forty-ſix thouſand nine hundred and nine barrels of tar, pitch, turpentine and roſin.

Nine hundred and forty-eight thouſand one hundred and fifteen gallons of ſpirits, diſtilled in the United States.

One hundred and ſixteen thouſand eight hundred and three barrels of beef, pork, bacon, mutton, oyſters, &c. (reducing caſks of various ſizes to the proportion of beef and pork barrels).

Two hundred and thirty-one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſix barrels of dried and pickled fiſh.

Seven thouſand eight hundred and twenty-three

three tons twelve cwt. and 4lb. of pot aſhes and pearl aſhes.

One hundred and twelve thouſand four hundred and twenty-eight hogſheads of tobacco.

Fifty-two thouſand three hundred and eighty-one hogſheads of flax ſeed.

Forty-four thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-two horſes, horned cattle, mules, and ſheep.

The preceding extract from the copy of an authentic official return of all the exports from the United States of America, within the year ending in September laſt, conveys an idea of the wealth, importance, and progreſſive proſperity of that country, far ſurpaſſing what has been heretofore entertained on the ſubject.

P. S. From the 1ſt of January 1793, to the 1ſt of January 1794, there were exported from the port of Philadelphia 422,075 barrels of flour.

OF THE CIVIL LIST, AND REVENUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Abſtract of an Eſtimate of the Expenditures of the Civil Liſt of the United States, for the year

year 1793, reported by A. Hamilton, Secretary of the Treaſury to the Houſe of Repreſentatives.

	Dollars.
Preſident's Salary	25,000
Vice-Preſident's ditto	5,000
Chief Juſtice	4,000
5 Aſſociate Juſtices	17,500
All the diſtrict Judges,	21,700
Congreſs	143,591
Treaſury Department	55,050
Department of State	6,300
Department of War	11,250
Commiſſioners of old accounts	13,300
Loan Offices	13,250
Weſtern Territory	11,000
Amount of Penſions	5,267
Contingencies	20,264
Total	352,466 or
In Britiſh Money	£.79,304 17 0 ſterl.

THE REVENUE.

The American revenue, for 1793, is ſtated to be 4,400,000 dollars, excluſive of what may

ariſe from the ſale of lands in the Weſtern territory; there is likewiſe upwards of the value of 5,000,000 dollars in bullion, lying in the Bank of the United States.

ESTIMATE OF EXPENCE FOR THE YEAR 1794.

	Dols.	Cents.
The whole Civil Liſt for 1794, is	397,201	6
——— Extraordinaries for Public Works, Benevolences, &c. - - - -	147,693	43
——— Eſtimate of the War expences for 1794 - -	1,457,936	1
Total	2,002,830	50

The Dollar is 4s. 6d. *ſterling, and the Cent is the hundredth part of a Dollar.*

The celebrated Mr. Thomas Paine, in his letter to Mr. Secretary Dundas, publiſhed in London in the month of June, 1792, and who on this ſubject (without offending any party) may be entitled to credit, gives a ſtatement of the expences of the American government in the following words:

The expences of all the ſeveral departments of the General Repreſentative Government of the United States of America, extending over

a ſpace of country nearly ten times larger than England, is two hundred and ninety-four thouſand five hundred and fifty-eight dollars, which at 4s. 6d. per dollar, is 66,275 l. 11s. ſterling, and is thus apportioned:

Expence of the Executive Department.

	£.	s.
The Office of the Preſidency, at which the Preſident receives nothing for himſelf - -	5,625	0
Vice Preſident - - -	1,125	0
Chief Juſtice - - -	900	0
Five aſſociate Juſtices - -	3,937	10
Nineteen Judges of Diſtricts and Attorney General - -	6,873	15

Legiſlative Department.

Members of Congreſs at ſix dollars (1l. 7s.) per day, their Secretaries, Clerks, Chaplains, Meſſengers, Door-keepers, &c. - -	25,515	0

Treaſury Department.

Secretary, Aſſiſtant, Comptroller, Auditor, Treaſurer, Regiſter, and Loan-Office-Keeper, in each State, together with all neceſſary Clerks, Office-Keepers, &c. -	12,825	0

Department

Department of State, including Foreign Affairs.

Secretary, Clerks, &c. &c. -	1,406	9

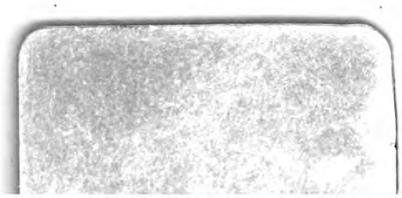
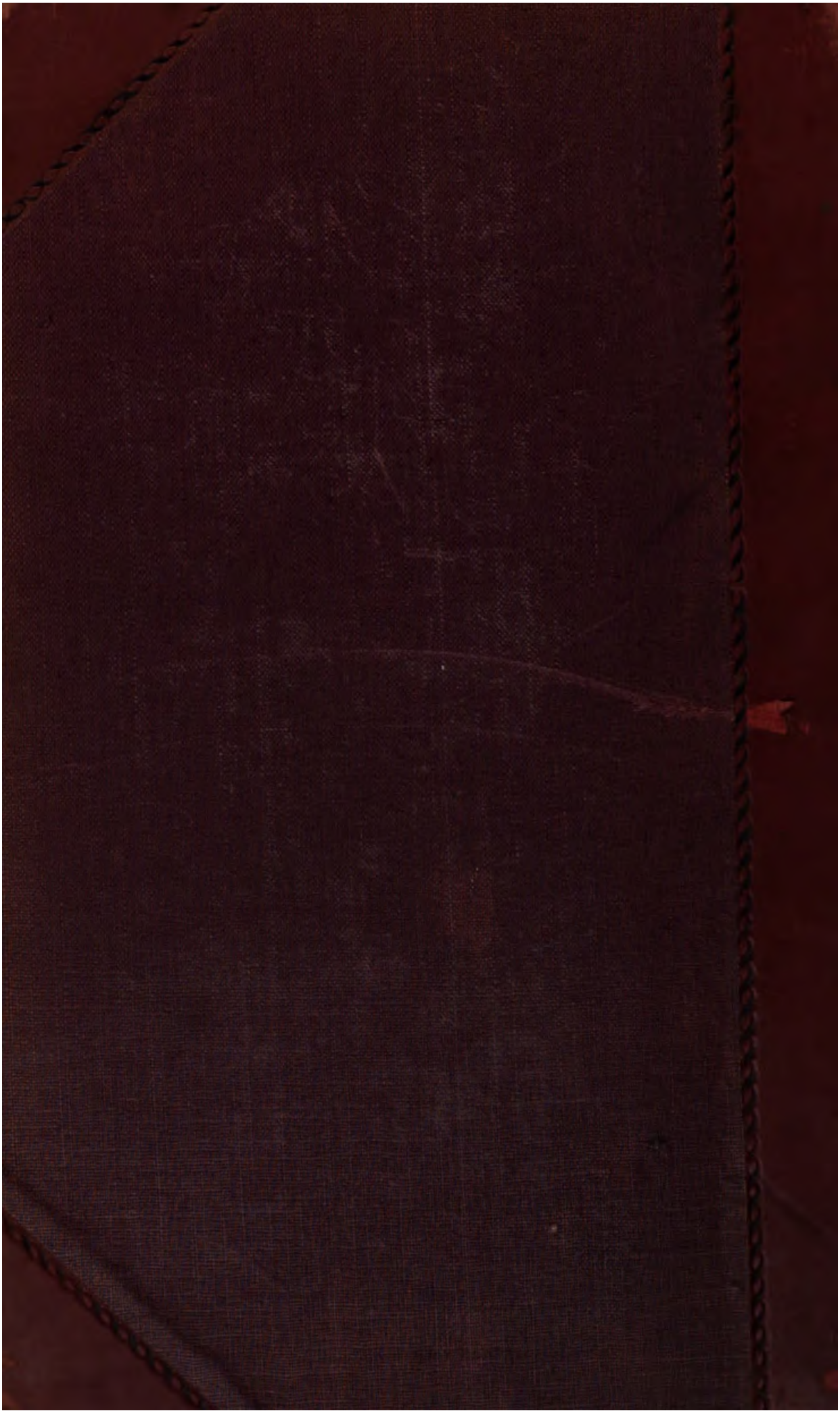
Department of War.

Secretary, Clerks, Paymaſters, Commiſſioner, &c. - -	1,462	10

Commiſſioners for ſettling Old Accounts.

The whole Board, Clerks, &c. -	2,598	15

Incidental and Contingent Expences.

For Fire Wood, Stationary, Printing, &c. - - -	4,006	16
Total	66,275	11

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