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THE
ORDERS IN COUNCIL,
&c.

THE
ORDERS IN COUNCIL
AND
THE AMERICAN EMBARGO
BENEFICIAL
TO THE
POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL INTERESTS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BY LORD SHEFFIELD.

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1809.

These pages were hastily written, immediately after the Debate, in the House of Lords, on Friday the 17th February; the publication having been delayed, a few passages have been introduced, referring to a later period.

Portland Place, March 10, 1809.

THE
ORDERS IN COUNCIL, &c.

BOLD assertions, however groundless, will often succeed in making an impression upon the public; and, when such representations are of a complicated nature and perplexed, intentionally or otherwise, it is difficult to perceive, at the moment, how far, and in what manner, they can best be refuted or exposed.

This observation applies to the unfounded clamour which has been raised against the Orders in Council; and, to the various misrepresentations which have been, and are still, made upon the subject of our commercial intercourse and political connection with the States of America. Assertions, though repeatedly refuted, are, with little variation, again brought forward; and, being delivered with great confidence, may impose on those who have not leisure or attention to develop their fallacy, or the means of forming a correct estimate of their merits.

Notwithstanding the able confutation,* (in no instance either superfluous or defective),

* By Earls Bathurst and Liverpool.

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which the arguments* of the advocates for American pretensions have already experienced in the House of Lords, during the present Session, these questions continue to be agitated. It may, therefore, be useful, especially as some new circumstances have arisen, to call the attention of the country to a few facts, in illustration of the justice and necessity of an adherence to those principles of maritime and commercial policy, which constitute the basis of our prosperity and power, and, by which alone, we shall be enabled to bear up against those outrageous attacks upon our existence as a nation, which have been instigated and directed by the insatiable ambition, the insidious arts, and the power, of an inveterate enemy.

That men should differ on probable results is not extraordinary; but, that they should persist in endeavours to uphold doctrines, with whatever views they were first embraced,—that they should continue to hazard their credit as statesmen and politicians, after it has been ascertained, by experience and incontestible proof, that those doctrines are erroneous, appears utterly incomprehensible.

Ever since the Orders in Council were first discussed, it has been constantly contended, by the American advocates, both in and out of Parliament, that our manufactures would be ruined, and our commerce destroyed, by their operation; that our revenue would be fatally

* The prevailing taste for diffusive declamation, which is now so frequently displayed in speeches of three hours and upwards, (the whole matter of which might be much better stated in half an hour), renders attendance in parliament, a most severe duty; and essentially interferes with the despatch of public business.

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reduced; and, that they would prove of no effect as measures of annoyance to the enemy. That those predictions were unfounded, the experience of the last year has fully established; and the object of the following pages is, to render that fact, in plain words, evident to every person who interests himself in the inquiry.

Although the French Government had, previously to the invasion of Prussia and the occupation of Hamburgh, exerted its utmost endeavours to prevent the introduction of British manufactures and of our colonial produce, into France and every other country under its controul or influence, yet they still continued to find their way to the Continent, where the demand for them was considerable, though not to the extent which would have obtained in times of peace. Even the French themselves found it necessary to import, through the medium of neutrals, large quantities of cotton yarn or twist, and of calicoes and cambric-muslins, for the maintenance of their printing works. Hence, the exportation of our printed calicoes and cotton yarn had progressively advanced, from the commencement of the war; but, in consequence of competition in the foreign markets, the export of other cotton articles had somewhat decreased. The Continent furnished several at a lower rate; and, the quantity of East India goods which, with such bad policy, had been suffered to be brought to Europe, by foreign Americans, contributed in a great degree to that decline.

But, subsequently to the invasion of Prussia,

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and the consequent occupation of Hamburgh, the exports from this country to the Continent diminished; and our trade through Tonningen and other ports in the North of Germany ceased, a few months afterwards, except, in the article of cotton yarn, which continued to be admitted until the latter end of the year 1807.

The demand from Russia, however, was then much more considerable than it had been for many years preceding; and goods, to a large amount, were smuggled into Holland. Early in the summer, the French had abated their rigour in respect to the execution of their prohibitory decrees; but, our merchants wisely distrusted the relaxation, which was only intended to deceive, and to entice them to make more considerable consignments, which would have been seized and confiscated.* Considerable quantities of hardware, cotton, woollen, and other goods were sent to Sicily, Malta, and even the Italian States. The greater part of the consignments to Malta were re-exported, in neutral vessels, to the ports of Fiume and Trieste, for the supply of Germany, Hungary, &c. and to the Adriatic, the Greek Islands, Turkey and the Levant; where they found a ready market. Towards the autumn of 1807, that Island and Sicily afforded the chief opening to the Continent of Europe for our manufactures and merchandize; and our exports, thither, of cotton and woollen goods exceeded that to any other part of Europe.

* In the year 1807, upwards of one hundred sail of vessels arrived direct from France, laden with brandy, wines, grain and drugs, of various sorts, in considerable quantities; but on the return of those vessels, no British manufactures or other merchandize were sent direct to that country.

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The temporary footing which we obtained in South America, also, conduced to the maintenance of our export trade, and afforded a market for large quantities of cotton and other goods; and our commerce with the American States was very considerable during the former part of the year.

Thus, it will appear that, if the demand for British manufactures and merchandize from one part of Europe declined, our exports to other places proportionally increased: and, upon the whole, the amount of our commerce, in the year ending the 5th of January 1808, suffered only a very trifling diminution, whilst the export of British manufactures and produce, was greater than in the year ending the 5th of January 1806; as will be seen by the following comparative statement of imports and exports.

An Account of the Total Official Value of all Imports into, and Exports from, Great Britain for Three Years ending 5th January, 1808.*

Years ending 5 Jan.	Imports. £	Exports.		Total Exports.
		British Manufactures, &c.	Foreign Merchandize.	
1806	30,344,628	25,004,337	9,950,508	34,954,845
1807	28,835,907	27,402,685	9,124,499	36,527,184
1808	28,854,658	25,171,422	9,395,149	34,566,571

* When statements of imports and exports, during war, are to be made, I would rather refer to the official values, because I conceive the extent of a trade, and the quantities of merchandize, are thereby best ascertained for the purposes of comparison; the fluctuating and extraordinary prices of certain articles, in time of war, must affect every estimate of their real value, and would only lead to delusive conclusions.

However, at the close of the year 1807, and before our Orders in Council, of November and December had come into operation, our commerce declined, and our manufactures experienced a heavy, though temporary, depression. The causes which contributed to produce that depression, arose out of the recent political events in the North of Europe, and the unfriendly proceedings of the American States, upon the rencontre between the Leopard and Chesapeake frigates.

The disastrous campaign in the North had been terminated by the treaties of Tilsit, in July; the rupture with Denmark took place in August; the Russian declaration of war against England, was issued in October; that of Prussia in December, and about the same time that the French had taken possession of Portugal: so that, before Christmas, Buonaparté had, either actually or virtually, acquired an absolute controul over the whole extent of sea coast from Venice to Archangel, affording him the means of enforcing, as much as possible, the execution of his interdictory decrees against the commerce of this country. The Austrian ports of Fiume and Trieste were shut against us, through the influence of the French government, even prior to the Emperor's declaration of hostilities; and the shores of the Adriatic had become equally hostile to the interests of British Merchants.

At the commencement of the last year, 1808, therefore, our commerce was labouring under greater difficulties than at any former period, during the present war; it being excluded from all the Russian ports in the Baltic, from those of Denmark, Prussia, Portugal, &c. to which

we had had access in the preceding year; and our manufactures, were consequently depressed in an unusual degree. Independent of any other cause, it will be evident that the shackles which Buonaparté had imposed upon our commercial intercourse with the European continent, must have produced a great diminution in the exports of this country, and that, this circumstance would alone account for the seeming great decrease of our trade, upon the face of the accounts lately laid before Parliament.

As to our commerce with the American States, it should be recollected that, in consequence of the war in Europe, they had successively acquired the carrying trade of almost the whole world, and nearly the exclusive supply of the foreign colonies; and that, under this state of things, our nominal exports to those States had doubled, in less than five years. Towards the latter end of July, 1807, our merchants had received intelligence of the rencontre between the Leopard and Chesapeake frigates; and, in the course of the first week in August, they were in possession of the President's proclamation interdicting the entrance of British armed vessels into the American ports and waters. The uncertainty of the result of the negotiations, which were then entered into, between the British and American governments, produced a great diminution in our trade with the people of the American States, in the autumn of that year. The very violent proceedings of the Southern States, added to the known partiality of the persons at the head of their government, to France, naturally excited a strong distrust in the minds of our merchants and manufacturers;

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diminution of £6,349,747; that, the diminution of imports, in the same period, amounts to £6,498,680; and that, giving to Ireland, and Scotland, (which are not included in the account,) a proportionate share, the aggregate diminution of our commerce was £14,000,000.

In the first place, it should be observed that the above official paper was called for in a manner which, necessarily, tends to produce a very inconclusive and disadvantageous comparison. During the years ending October 10, 1806, and 1807, our commerce had been little affected, at any time, by the prohibitory decrees and other hostile measures of the Enemy. When our manufactures had been repelled from one part of the continent, a new channel for their vent was immediately opened in another; and the demand for them continued in full activity. But, in the six months succeeding the last mentioned period, the enemy was enabled, by the success of his arms, and by his influence in the councils of Russia, to close every avenue to the continent; and, except some goods introduced through the medium of a smuggling trade, our manufactures and merchandize were entirely excluded therefrom. At first, the continental states did not experience any very essential inconveniences from this deprivation of supplies from Great Britain, the stocks on hand being very great. When these were exhausted, the ingenuity of the merchant suggested new modes of procuring further supplies; the extraordinary profits which were derived from the sales of British merchandize and colonial produce, amply indemnified him for the charges attending their circuitous introduction, and for the risk of confiscation. Im-

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mense quantities of goods were sent to Malta, Sicily, and Sweden, from whence they were re-exported to adjacent parts of the continent. About the same period, our commerce with the Brazils, and other Portuguese settlements, became important; and, soon after, the explosion in Spain opened the ports of that country to our shipping, and very considerable consignments of goods were made both to Spain and Portugal. Large quantities of British manufactures and produce were likewise exported to the Spanish colonies. Our commerce with South America produced an extraordinary demand for cotton goods of every description, linens, woollens, &c. &c.; and our manufacturers were, in general, fully employed. An extensive trade had, also, been carried on, under the Barbary flags, in the Adriatic Sea and Archipelago, to the Levant; and, it is well known to every mercantile man, that the export trade of this country was, certainly, much more considerable in the last three months of 1808, than it usually is at that season of the year.

Upon these grounds I am clearly of opinion that, our commerce for the year, ending the 5th of January last, had suffered very little, if any, diminution compared with an average of preceding years. But though the demand for our manufactures were considerably less than it actually was, the decrease could not be considered as the general effect of a state of common warfare, but of the unprecedented events which have occurred within the last two years. And it should be recollected that the abolition of the Slave Trade deprived us, last year, of the African market for our merchandize; and

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that the external consumption of our cotton manufactures, as well as those of Sheffield, Birmingham, &c. was consequently reduced nearly to the amount of what that trade had required, when carried on in British shipping—and besides these, the greater part of the prohibited piece goods of India went to Africa, the supply of which, as well as the trade in slaves, had fallen into the hands of foreign Americans. And I cannot refrain from observing that, there is something peculiarly disingenuous in the suggestion that, we have experienced a loss of 14 millions, and that it arises from the Orders in Council and *supposed* consequent Embargo. The loss cannot be made to amount to 14 millions, (as it has been stated in Parliament), by the most exaggerated account, or upon any principle of calculation; and nothing can be more absurd than that of adding import to export, by way of marking our loss of trade; because, it is the difference between import and export, and not the aggregate of both, which constitutes the gross amount of the balance of trade, and which furnishes the only basis, upon which an estimate of the profit or loss to the country can be founded.

It has, however, been stated that, the supposed great defalcation in our general trade, arises principally from the decline in our commerce with the American States; that trade having diminished in the last year to the amount of nearly eight millions estimated real value; that this decrease was partly the effect of the embargo; and that the embargo is solely attributable to the Orders in Council.

The means used to exaggerate the advantages arising to this country from her trade with the American States, for the purpose of gain-

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ing mischievous concessions, may deceive those who are not practically, or otherwise, well acquainted with the subject. Of this, however, we may be assured, that they never have, and never will, take from us any article which they can procure cheaper or better from other countries. They find it highly advantageous to take our manufactures and produce to enable them to carry on their commerce with other nations; especially on account of the long credit which they obtain here, and which no other country can afford. They have the advantage of drawing immediately for the produce received from them, though they require and are allowed from 12 to 18 months credit from us. Indeed, so pertinaciously are the magnified advantages of the American trade insisted upon, with the view of intimidating us into measures highly injurious to British interests, that they require even further contradiction. It has the characteristics of the worst trade. The apparent balance, in our favour becomes nearly a non-entity. A trade with every country is, certainly, desirable; inasmuch as an extensively general commerce with the world secures us from a state of dependance on any one individual nation. But, what advantages do we derive from an exportation, if we are not paid for it? Which, most assuredly, is much more frequently the case, in the course of our trade with the citizens of the American States, than with any other country. Immense sums have been continually lost to our merchants and manufacturers, by the insolvency of their American customers; and the payment of any part of their accounts is, always, very slow and uncertain: otherwise, they would not have it

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in their power to hold out, the threat of confiscating an estimated debt due to us of ten million pounds sterling; which is, however, over-rated.

Every thing taken from hence, by American vessels, is put down to the consumption of the American States. But, this matter has been closely investigated; and, there is ground to believe that, not one half of the manufactures and produce, entered at the Custom House as exports to the American States, (and of which we have so frequently had a grand display,) were consumed in those States, but that, they were re-exported, in their ships, to different parts of the world, whither they would have been, and might otherwise be, carried by other neutrals or by ourselves. And, in corroboration of this statement, it is well worthy of notice that, the goods and merchandize which had heretofore been carried to the foreign colonies, by the citizens of the American States, were last year carried, in British bottoms, and, on British account: and that, by this transfer, not only our merchants acquired all the profits arising from the interchange of their commodities with the foreign colonies; but, our shipping-interest was, also, benefitted to the full amount of the profits of the freight accruing from the possession of the carrying trade.* The commerce between Great Britain and the American States had altered, by degrees, from an equality of British and American shipping employed, to a reduction, on our part, to only 3000 tons, in the year previously to the em-

* This is further authenticated by the following statement,

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bargo; whilst the quantity of American shipping, employed in that trade, had increased in the inverse ratio of 172,000 tons. But, under

made by Mr. Rose, in the House of Commons, on the 6th of March.

The estimated real value of exports from England to the American States, on an average of the two years ending the 10th of October 1807, was	L.
11,774,000	
Ditto, the year ending the 10th of October, 1808	5,784,000
Decrease in 1808.	5,990,000
Ditto, to all parts of America, exclusive of the American States but inclusive of the British and Foreign West Indies, the year ending the 10th of October, 1808.	12,859,000
Ditto, Ditto, on an average of the two years ending the 10th of October, 1807.	8,622,000
Increase in 1808,	4,230,000
Leaving a decrease in our trade to all parts of America of	L. 1760,000.

But, to set against that decrease, there should be taken into the account, the mercantile profit on the L.4,230,000; and also, the profits derived from the British shipping employed with all the beneficial consequences attending it; which, in the way the trade was before carried on to those countries, were entirely engrossed by the Americans.

The estimated real value of British goods exported to the American States, in 1808, was	L.
5,784,000	
Ditto, of British goods consumed in that country, according to accounts from thence, in 1804,	5,158,000

So that, under all the embarrassments of the Non-Importation and Embargo Laws, imposed in the American States, we did, in fact, last year, send goods there to the amount of their consumption.

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the operation of the American embargo, there was an increase of 60,000 tons of British shipping employed in the colonial trade, in the last year, 1808.

The American Non-Importation Act was originally passed on April 18, 1806, fifteen months prior to the affair of the Chesapeake, and long before any of our Orders in Council, restraining the commerce of neutrals, were meditated; and it was passed for the obvious purpose of inducing us to abandon our right of search. The operation of this Act, however, was suspended until the 25th November following; and, on the meeting of Congress, in December, (1806), it was further suspended until the 1st July, 1807. The Act was not, therefore, in force more than three weeks, during the whole of that period; and, even in that short space, its execution was not enforced. British ships, as well as their own vessels, were permitted to land at the ports of the States, every article which they had been before allowed to carry to them; and no essential impediments were opposed to their admission, till late in the autumn of 1807, about which time some English goods had been seized at Charlestown, in virtue of the Act. Early in December, 1807, a Supplementary Act was passed, and, on the 22nd of the same month, the Embargo was laid, in consequence of the President's Message of the 18th. From that period, the Non-Importation Laws were put into execution; but, it will be seen, by a reference to those Acts, that, comparatively speaking, very few of those articles of our manufactures, (and especially woollens), which are actually consumed in the American States,

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are prohibited; and that, they only forbid the admission of articles that are not essentially necessary to them.*

In respect to the American Embargo Law, it is, in point of fact, only a restraint on the exportation of the produce of their own states; and though inconveniences may have been felt in this country, from a short supply of some articles of American produce, yet, it will be presently shewn that, they cannot be of material importance. The execution of these laws, therefore, has tended, and can merely tend, to circumscribe their own commerce, and to destroy that carrying trade which they probably might have retained as long as the European Belligerents continued their hostilities; and that they do not, by any means, essentially affect the external commerce of Great Britain. Indeed, I am much disposed to believe that, our direct exports to the American States have declined fully as much from their want of credit in this country, (for there was no want of commissions,) arising from their hostile or unfriendly proceedings towards us, as from any other circumstance. And it should be further observed that, there is every reason to expect, (judging from what took place during the American Revolution,) that in the event of hostilities with America, at least one half of the exports from this country, usually consumed in those states, would be introduced into them through the medium of an illicit trade, even supposing all the states to be hostile, which assuredly would not be the case with the New England provinces and Vermont.

* Vide American Non Importation Acts, in the Appendix.

The exaggeration, also, is very great, respecting the mischief supposed to arise to our manufactures from the want of certain raw materials from the American States. If we compare the imports of last year with those of the preceding year, when an extraordinary exportation from America to this country took place, in consequence of the apprehensions of hostilities or of a non-intercourse act, the decrease is very considerable. But, in regard to cotton wool, which amounts, according to the estimated real value, to much more than half of the aggregate imports from the American States, if we look back to the preceding year, 1806, we shall find the quantity of that article imported, to be not much greater than what was imported last year, as will appear from the subjoined account.

Official value of Cotton Wool imported into Great Britain from the United States of America, in the following years, ending the 10th of October, 1808.

		£.
1806	— —	714,452
1807	— —	1,069,638
1808	— —	627,185*

Much stress having been laid upon the injury which our cotton manufacture and trade are supposed to have sustained, under the operation of the American embargo, and it having been stated that, very distressing consequences must continue to result from the decrease in the supplies of cotton wool from the American States,

* Certain accounts having been printed by Order of the House of Commons, since the above was written, I am enabled to lay before my readers, the following statement, in further proof that, the supply of cotton wool was, at no

It may be worth while to enter more at large into this subject.

Since cotton wool became an article of extensive consumption in England, a very great proportion of its product has been exported to the European continent, in the state of yarn, (wherein the manufacture is advanced, on an average, at least one half,) and in manufactured goods; until the different channels were successively stopped by the prohibitory edicts of the enemy. In the mean while, and previously to the American embargo, the stocks of yarns in this country, spun principally with a view to export, became very large, notwithstanding an increased quantity was taken by the manufacturers, encouraged by the extremely low prices

part of the last year, inadequate to the demand from our manufacturers.

The quantity of cotton wool imported into Great Britain.

	From the United States.	From all other parts.	TOTAL.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
On an average of four years, ending 5th Jan. 1807, was	— — —	— — —	58,859,415
In the year ending 5th January, 1807,	27,549,393	30,626,890	58,176,283
In the year ending 5th January, 1808,	44,090,079	30,835,227	74,925,306
In the year ending 5th January, 1809	12,228,397	31,239,748	43,468,145
Average of the two years ending 5th January 1809,	28,159,238	31,037,487	59,196,725

The average importation of cotton wool, in the years 1807 and 1808, therefore, exceeded the average importation of the four preceding years; and consequently, the supply was greater, at a period when the consumption was decreasing, than it had been previously to the decline in the demand. The average import from the American States, also, was greater in those two years, than it had been in the year preceding, viz. 1806—the excess being 609,845 lbs. equal to about 2,400 bags of American cotton.

at which yarns were procured. Manufactured goods were hereby daily accumulating, beyond any existing or looked for demand.

At the commencement of the year 1808, the stock of cotton wool in Great Britain, imported at very low prices, was equal to about six months of the then computed consumption, namely, 260,000 bags annually. The importations from the American States and elsewhere, in the early months of the year, were not deficient of the quantity demanded for consumption, and prices had advanced only 20 to 30 per cent.: but, in the middle of the year, it becoming evident that, the supplies were materially diminishing, extensive speculations ensued, and prices advanced from 50 to 80 per cent. generally, and 70 to 90, and progressively to 130 per cent. on American cottons.*

* Cotton wool imported into Great Britain.

	From the United States.	TOTAL, exclusive of Asia.
	lbs.	lbs.
Quarter ending 5th April, 1806	6,896,244	13,546,628
5th April, 1807	9,277,484	16,066,258
5th April, 1808	9,004,849	13,664,176
5th July, 1806	7,644,844	12,097,499
5th July, 1807	10,827,705	16,695,510
5th July, 1808	2,537,942	7,698,812

LONDON PRICES CURRENT OF BOWED GEORGIA COTTON WOOL.

	s. d.	a	s. d.	
Jan. 7, 1807	1	4	1	} Nearly the fair average prices since the commencement of the war.
July	1	3	1	
Nov.	1	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	} The market overstocked.
Jan. 1808	1	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	
April	1	2	1	} Prices increased by extensive speculations.
June	1	6	1	
Feb. 10th 1809	2	2	2	

As yarns and goods did not, however, advance in any adequate proportion, and the spring shipment had passed without any relief to those branches of the trade from foreign exports, the spinners began, gradually and generally, to reduce their consumption; so that in October to December last, it did not, probably, exceed the rate of 104,000 bags annually. This quantity was found to be fully adequate to the demand from the manufacture, which had called in to its aid, all the surplus stock of yarns abovementioned.

The manufacture, in the interim, had diminished but little, not having relied so much upon export to the continent of Europe, and having experienced great relief by exports to the Brazils, and to our own West India Islands for re-exportation to Spanish America; in addition to our own internal consumption, that of our colonies, and at least two thirds of our usual exportation to the American States. It is therefore certain that, during the last year, the cotton trade, generally, did not experience any inconvenience from the American embargo; but, on the contrary, it should be considered as having been benefitted by an accumulating inactive stock being called into active demand.

In looking to the probable state of this branch of our commerce for the present year, under the supposition that the American embargo will remain in force, two points must be considered; 1st, the probable demand for yarns and manufactured goods; and, 2d, the supply of the raw material. Assuming that there is little probability of any essential change in our favour, on the European continent, we must take for granted that the present system of commercial

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regulations will be continued by the Belligerents, and that, therefore, a very large quantity of yarn will not be produced for export. During the whole of last year, some trade in cotton yarns and goods was carried on with Fiume and Trieste; and some shipments were made to Heligoland and Sweden, from whence they were successfully smuggled into the North of Germany. That this smuggling trade was not carried on to a much greater extent is attributable, in a great measure, to the circumstance of the stocks of the raw material and of yarns, on the continent, not being so much exhausted as they must since have become, by the continued operation of the American embargo and of our Orders in Council. And, unless the continent can raise a further supply of cotton within itself, (Turkey being now, the only source from whence it draws any quantity), or dispense with the use of cotton goods, to a certain degree, by the substitution of linens and woollens, it may be concluded that, under the continuance of the two measures, larger supplies of yarns and goods must be drawn from this country, in the present year: especially, if our government rigidly enforce the very politic prohibition of the export of the raw material. It certainly does not appear likely that, our manufacturers will want a market, even though they should be, in a great measure, deprived of that of the American States. And it may well be doubted whether, the whole quantity usually taken by those States for their own consumption, and for trade to Spanish America, will not still be drawn from this country, in some shape or other. It is also proper to notice the encouragement afforded, by the present state of things, to our

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East India piece goods, which have for several years been accumulating in England, without any material vent, except to the African market, and selling at prices far below the import cost. These have been lately demanded both from the north of Europe, and the Mediterranean, and have experienced an advance of 15 to 20, and 30 per cent. within the last six months.

To supply the demand for cotton wool, we commenced the present year with a stock of about 80,000 bags, being about nine months consumption at the lowest diminished rate, viz. 104,000 bags, annually; but this rate being likely to increase from the want of the redundant stock of yarns in England before mentioned, our stock of cotton wool should be estimated as a supply for only six months. We are now receiving, and are likely to receive, from the Brazils, the East Indies, the Mediterranean, and our West India colonies, supplies fully adequate to our wants; and, most probably, the supplies which we shall obtain, in the autumn and afterwards, will render us entirely independent of the American States, for this article, even although any opening to the continent should renew the former demand for yarns. Within the last fortnight, (February 24th) 16 vessels have arrived from the American States, in breach of the embargo, bringing upwards of 6,000 bags of cotton. These vessels sailed before the additional restrictions, founded upon the rigorous principles recommended by Mr. Gallatin in his letter to the embargo committee, and adopted by Congress, had been completely carried into execution; and, perhaps, we may have some further arrivals in the same way. It does not, however, seem probable that, when the new embargo regulations

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are strictly enforced, they can be frequently, if at all, evaded by vessels sailing direct from the American ports: but there is a well founded expectation that large quantities of cotton will find their way here, from Halifax, the Floridas, and the Bahamas; one or two cargoes have already arrived from each of those places. Prices are, in consequence of this state of the trade, now falling.

The supply of printing and dying materials has varied a good deal; but, on the average, it has been adequate to our wants, throughout the last year. The commercial decree of Holland, issued in the autumn, permitting Dutch vessels to pursue their coasting trade, and to export their own produce, though in force only a very short time, was the means of bringing a seasonable supply of drugs, and particularly a very large quantity of fine madder, which was much wanted; and it had the effect of reducing considerably the high price to which that article had risen, the stock being nearly exhausted. On the whole, this branch of the cotton trade did not sustain any material inconvenience.

Whether or not the urgent wants of the Northern European States will induce them to adopt any other expedient, than an exercise of their ingenuity in smuggling, may be matter of doubt. By the prohibitory edicts of the enemy they have been deprived of an extensive vent for their linens, which article may possibly contribute to lessen materially the demand for cottons, as it can be afforded at an exceedingly low rate. The supplies of cotton wool from Turkey may probably be increased, or some may even be produced in other parts of Europe, so as to diminish the pressure which might

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otherwise be felt. From present appearances, however, it would seem that, means will be found to obtain supplies from this country; and that, whatever expedients may be recommended by the French Government to obviate the heavy inconveniences which are now felt on the Continent, under the deprivation of our yarns and goods, they will not be very generally adopted.

Under these circumstances, it will appear, how truly imaginary are those apprehensions of the destruction of our cotton trade and manufacture, which, it is said, must inevitably result from the continuance of the American embargo, and a perseverance in our present system of commercial policy. That there was a reduction in our consumption of cotton wool, in the latter part of last year, is admitted. But, the radical causes of that reduction lie widely remote from our Orders in Council or the American Embargo; though, the latter measure was certainly the immediate cause. It however only acted the part of a salutary medicine upon a previously diseased body. It has been already shewn that, the accumulation of yarns and of manufactured goods, at the close of the year 1807, was much beyond any existing or looked for demand. At that time, cotton wool was at an extremely low price, only about 12*d.* per pound, for the article most in use; yet such was the glut in the market produced by our exclusion from the Continent, that neither yarns nor goods could be sold with any advantage to the spinner or the manufacturer. A depression would probably have been felt much sooner had not the manufacturers continued their works, even when there remained

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no orders to execute. The free and unshackled state of the manufacture tended to keep the work-people employed, as the reduction of wages tempted persons of capital to continue the manufacture, at a period when they had no immediate prospect of a demand for their goods.

A continuance of this state of things could only issue in distress to the whole trade; and therefore, the American Embargo, by giving a salutary check thereto, has been productive of essential benefit. In no view of the question can our Orders in Council be supposed to have contributed to the diminution of our consumption. On the contrary, we may be assured that, those Orders have produced a pressure on the European Continent which would never otherwise have been felt; and that, unless restrained by them, the Americans would have been supplying that Continent with raw materials, which would soon have enabled the latter to return to the former their value in manufactures, in competition with, or in opposition to, our own. It is therefore certain that, the Orders in Council and the American Embargo, by uniting in depriving the Continental countries of their usual supplies of the raw material, give to our yarns and goods an additional value, and that they will tend, more and more, to frustrate the objects of that system of exclusion which has been adopted by the enemy.

As to other articles of importation from the American States, the high prices which they now bear, result chiefly from the suspension of our commerce with Russia, whence those products were principally drawn. The supplies of pot and pearl ashes, of pitch and tar, of turpen-

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tine, of seeds, flax and linseed, of tobacco, and other articles which we received from the States of America, in the two last years, are not much below an average importation, according to the accounts of imports from the United States ending the 10th of October 1808, lately called for in the House of Lords.—Much stress is laid on the probable want of flaxseed, for the linen manufacture of Ireland; and it is insinuated that, this essential manufacture has suffered and will suffer extremely in consequence of it. At present it flourishes as well as it ever has done, and very lately Irish linens have risen from 40 to 50 per cent. which is partly to be attributed to the advantage given to them by the check to the export of that article from the North of Europe, and partly to the apprehension of a scarcity of flax, in the ensuing year. The extraordinary circumstance of the ports of almost all Europe and of the United States being, at least nominally, closed against exportation to the United Kingdom, undoubtedly occasions some difficulty on this point. The quantity of seed, however, in this country, is more considerable than was imagined. Speculation has raised the price, and a high price will bring supplies in opposition to all restrictions. Scarcely a day passes that one or more American ships do not enter, in breach of the embargo, with various goods of their produce. But the scarcity of this article will ultimately prove a great advantage, if it should lead us to raise among ourselves the whole quantity of flax and flaxseed wanted, which undoubtedly is very practicable.—In regard to timber, masts, and staves, very considerable quantities have been received from our remaining colonies in North

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America. The duty on timber, fit for naval purposes, imported from those colonies, was wisely repealed by an Act of 46 Geo. III. the beneficial effect of which is experienced in the large additional supply; and it will tend to render us independent of foreign America, and almost, if not quite, even of the Baltic, for the supply of those articles.

The prognosticated decay of revenue has not answered the expectation of the American advocates better than their other predictions. The details will soon be laid before the public; therefore, at present it will be sufficient to observe that, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1809, the deficiency in the customs was about £400,000. but that the amount of the permanent, annual, and war taxes, that is, the aggregate revenue, collected in 1808, exceeded that of the preceding year, £2,700,000.

We come now to a consideration of the alarming difficulties and embarrassments which, it is alleged, our West India Islands have to encounter, in consequence of the suspension of intercourse with the American States.—Notwithstanding the nature of our commercial intercourse and political connection with those States has, during the last 25 years, been frequently discussed and investigated, the same wild and unfounded doctrines which were originally advanced on that subject, are still maintained with a degree of perverse and disingenuous obstinacy, which renders it necessary to recall the attention of the public, once more, to the only genuine principles of policy, upon which this country ought to act, and to govern her conduct, in her relations with the States of America.

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The main points of the question alluded to, having been several times debated in Parliament, a power was given to the Crown, to regulate the intercourse between the West India Islands and the United States, by proclamation. An enquiry was instituted, and diligently pursued for a considerable time. Many eminent merchants and others, the best informed, were examined, and a most able report was made, in 1784, by the late Lord Liverpool, President of the Committee of Council, appointed for the consideration of matters relating to trade and foreign plantations, which appeared to those conversant with the subject, completely conclusive as to the leading points. In consequence of certain acts passed by the Congress of the American States, in the year 1789, the Committee of Council was directed to examine those acts, and to enquire into their probable effects: a full examination took place, and a second very able and satisfactory report was made, in 1791, by the late Lord Liverpool.

Another discussion of the material points, respecting the intercourse between our colonies and the American States, took place in 1806, when the late Ministers assumed the power of dispensing with some of the most essential laws of our country, never before entrusted to the executive branch of our government; and again, in 1807, the same subject, intermixed with other considerations, was several times debated in parliament.

The result of all these inquiries and discussions has uniformly been, that the complaints of the West India planters, on the restrictions contained in our Navigation and Colonial system are utterly unfounded; that Great Britain

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and Ireland and the remaining British Colonies in North America, are fully adequate, at all times, to the supply of all the necessary articles for the West India Colonies, in British ships; and that, the ship-owners of the United Kingdom, instead of rejecting the Navigation between the American Continent and those colonies, on account of the expence of the circuitous voyage, have every inducement of profit, if the navigation laws are inviolably maintained, to enter fully and effectually into that trade.

The wisdom and essential utility of our Navigation and Colonial system have been since admitted by the West India colonists themselves; for, in the resolutions passed by the House of Assembly, in Jamaica, on the 29th of October 1807, relative to the distressed state of the Colony, the following are stated to be among the principal causes which had produced the extreme depreciation of their principal staple, sugar; viz. "The departure from what has been usually called the rule of the war of 1756, but which, in fact, was established before that period, and decided that *a neutral has no right to deliver a belligerent from the pressure of his enemies' hostilities by trading with his colonies in time of war, in any manner which was prohibited in time of peace.*—The peculiar relaxations of this rule, by the orders issued to the prize courts, in the year 1794 and 1798, respectively, which, with very trifling modifications, continue to regulate the decrees of those important tribunals. —The geographical position of the ports of the United States of North America, the neutral power chiefly engaged in carrying the produce of the enemy's West India colonies,

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which renders the few restrictions yet retained by the last mentioned orders to be hardly an inconvenience, as they are got over by systematic fraud and perjury.—The easy expense and security, with which, by means of this fraudulent system of neutrality, the sugars of the enemy's colonies are transported to the European markets, it having been proved that, for freight and insurance alone, the British planter pays for every hundred weight of sugar, conveyed through the parent State to the ports of Holland, or the North of Europe, 8s. 1½d. sterling, and to the Mediterranean 12s. 6d. more than attaches on the goods of the French or Spanish cultivator, carried in neutral bottoms to the same markets.—The restrictions of importation into the continental ports, from the power and influence of the French domination, whilst the temptation to resist and evade it, is taken away by the abundant supply, brought under the neutral flag.—The agriculture of the belligerent colonies, has been encouraged by a monopoly of the demand from the United States of America, and by having their produce transported under the safe and cheap protection of the neutral flag, to every market where it was in request.—And we shall discover in some later legislative proceedings of the same House of Assembly, a practical proof of their admission that, they are, by no means, dependent on the American States for a supply of provisions and lumber, and that it is not expedient, nor necessary, that the intercourse should be carried on, even in time of war, in foreign bottoms, to the certain consequent exclusion of British shipping. An Act, imposing a tax upon the importation of the produce of the American

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States, into the Island of Jamaica, and laying a duty of a dollar per ton upon every vessel belonging to that country, which should hereafter enter their harbours, was actually passed by the House of Assembly, in the last sessions. Unfortunately, the disputes which arose, respecting the mutiny in the 2d West India regiment, between the Governor of the Island and the Assembly, obliged the former to prorogue the sessions, before the act had received that sanction which the formalities of the laws require, and its execution was therefore necessarily suspended.

This last mentioned Act never would have been entertained by the representatives of the Island, if they had not been thoroughly convinced that, they were not dependent on the American States for supplies of those articles in their shipping. In fact, the West India Islands have never been better supplied than they were during the last year, under the operation of the American embargo. The prices current evince that, little or no inconvenience was experienced by them, in consequence of that measure; and it has had the beneficial effect of accustoming the inhabitants to entertain just views of the subject of their intercourse with the States, and to disregard idle fears of retaliation. The Island of Jamaica has been so well supplied with flour through our remaining colonies that, of one thousand barrels shipped to that Island from hence, about six months ago, instead of 20,000 which were ordered under the expectation of a deficient supply from America, less than one half had been, with difficulty, sold in December last, under prime cost. Flour has even been cheaper at Kingston than at Philadelphia.

If the people of America should be so simple

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or infatuated as to submit much longer to the embargo, which is principally ruinous and hurtful to themselves, we may be assured that, their produce will still find its way to us and our Colonies: for, though that measure may prevent the direct supply of the West Indies from the American States; yet, it cannot, and will not, prevent the supply of flour, and other provisions in small coasting vessels, through the British North American Colonies. Flour, pork, beef, butter and cheese are now smuggled into these provinces, in vessels, from 14 tons and upwards. The number of Islands in the Bay of Fundy; the numerous ports in those waters, only a very few hours sail distant from each other, the incalculable means of meeting on Nantucket shoals, and at the uninhabited islands in Penobscot Bay (where they shift their cargoes), and the short navigation, over Lake Champlain, between Canada and Vermont, render the prevention of the illicit trade, by armed vessels, or by any other means which the American Government can put in action, absolutely impossible. Not a vessel, of any description, leaves an American port, that does not contrive to carry away some flour. The New England States are so hostile to the embargo that, it is scarcely regarded; and their repugnance to it has lately been more fully evinced, by open acts of violation of the law, amounting to little short of rebellion. The people have forcibly taken possession of the forts at Portland and Cape Anne; and forbidden the armed vessels, sent to enforce the embargo, to interrupt any ships sailing to the West Indies or elsewhere, with their produce. The courts of justice, in those parts, have discharged all persons bound in re-

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cognizances for the breach of the embargo laws; and since it was found that congress would not take off the embargo, numbers of vessels have gone to the West Indies laden with provisions. It is known, from the best authority, that 44,000 barrels of flour from Halifax, and 36,000 from St. Andrew, New Brunswick, were sent to the West Indies during the latter part of last year.

In the event of a Non-intercourse law being carried into execution, the public entry of articles may be checked, but the contraband trade cannot be suppressed. British manufactures and merchandize will be smuggled into the States, on the return of the vessels which carry flour, &c. to our provinces; and the greater part of their produce will be exported in that manner. At least two-thirds of the flour supplied to the West Indies, since the embargo was laid on, went from the American States through our Northern Colonies.

But, there is no doubt that, the British Colonies on the continent of America, in conjunction with Prince Edward's Island, and Newfoundland, will be able to supply our dependencies, with provisions of all kinds, and lumber, to the full extent of the demand, if foreign shipping be permanently excluded from our colonies, as the navigation laws require.

Our fisheries have been suffered to languish, in an extreme degree; the settlers on the coasts scarcely acquired a subsistence; they were without capital, and obliged to depend on precarious markets, and on the unstable demands of American adventurers. But, monied people are now vesting their capitals in this important branch of trade; and by the spirit and animation

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which they have infused into it, and the exertions which they are making, the supply will very shortly become much more than equal to the demand of the West India Islands. Neutral vessels should be prevented from carrying fish to any of our West India settlements; at present, they are only allowed to take them to those islands where the bounty is given; but, the British North American Colonies oppose the continuance of this permission, and urge that the supply of fish should be confined to British shipping. Previously to the year 1792, our fisheries supplied them with all the dry and pickled fish they consumed.

That our remaining colonies would very soon be competent to an efficient supply of lumber, in general, if the West India market be exclusively secured to them, is amply proved by the quantities which they furnished last year. The war which arose out of the French revolution, and the subsequent suspensions of our Navigation Laws, essentially checked the growing prosperity of the several provinces, and threw the supply into the hands of foreign Americans, to the immediate injury of our colonial navigation. The colonists were constrained to dispose of the products of their fisheries and forests, on the most disadvantageous terms, to the people of the American States, who re-exported, or rather shipped, them to the West Indies; so that, in fact, the greater part of the supplies which were imported into those settlements, in foreign shipping, was the growth and produce of British North American Colonies. The extensive forests of Cape Breton lying immediately contiguous to the sea coast and to the banks of navigable rivers; the yet unexplored and inex-

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haustible forests of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick; the facilities of water carriage for transportation; and the improved and powerful machinery, which has been established, for the purpose of preparing their timber, boards, staves, &c.; all these circumstances united, render those provinces peculiarly competent to supply the greatest quantities of lumber that can be required: And by a reference to the returns of their trade, for the first three quarters of last year, it will be seen what a very considerable augmentation it had experienced, under the operation of the embargo, in the short space of nine months only.

Beef, pork and butter, the American States have never supplied in an equal degree with the United Kingdom and its dependencies. Rice, is not an article of great consumption in the West Indies, and it is evident that, there can be no difficulty in procuring it elsewhere. As to corn and flour, the Colonies have so long laboured under a system of depression, that Canada, and Nova Scotia, from whence very large supplies were formerly received, have lately grown much less than they did, even when they were in the possession of the French; but, if due encouragement should continue to be held out to them, there is every prospect of the supply being considerably increased; the capacity of those provinces is indubitable. It should also be remarked that, the West India settlements will not require, in future, such large quantities of provisions and grain as they have hitherto been obliged to import. The embargo, in this instance, also, instead of causing the effects it was intended and expected to produce, has turned the attention of the planters to a more

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prudent cultivation of their lands, and to other resources which the colonies afford. Extensive tracts of ground are now appropriated to the growth of provisions; and therefore, they will be able to dispense with much of the grain which has hitherto been drawn from foreign countries.

Another very important advantage has resulted from the American embargo to the British nation. It has produced the recovery of our seamen; who, to avoid the impress, and for the sake of other advantages, quitted our service to enter on board American ships; but the embargo having thrown them out of employ, many have returned to us, at least 2000: one hundred and nine entered on board the Squirrel schooner and two other small vessels of war, within a short time since, at Passamaquoddy alone.

All the latest letters from the British North American provinces express the highest satisfaction on their flourishing state; they flatter themselves that, his Majesty's present ministers will not make any mischievous and unnecessary concessions to the encroaching and presumptuous requisitions of the government of the American States.*

* To prove all the preceding statements, the most respectable evidence can be brought before Parliament; and the most satisfactory accounts can be produced, to shew the ability of our Northern Colonies and the United Kingdom, to supply the wants of our West India settlements.

It was not agreeable to the late Ministers, when they brought forward the Bill for giving to themselves a power to suspend the Navigation Laws, in respect to the admission of American shipping into the British West Indies, to hear any evidence against their measure, notwithstanding there were many petitions from the most respectable bodies of men, praying to be heard. Judging from the candour and impartiality of this

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Thus, then, it is no longer matter of opinion but of proof, that the American embargo is, comparatively, of little or no disadvantage to our West India Colonies, to our manufactures, or to our commerce in general; and that, in respect to the British empire at large it is highly advantageous: and, above all, those who are susceptible of conviction must now be satisfied that, it is not Great Britain which is dependent on the American States, but they on Great Britain. The embargo has most effectually re-established our carrying trade, and it has, more especially, forwarded the re-establishment of our navigation and colonial system. No event which has occurred, gratifies me more than the experiment which has been made of it. It settles completely, the question, whether the British West Indies can be supplied without a direct trade with the American States; and we now know, from the best experience, that it is not necessary to sacrifice, for that purpose, our navigation and colonial system, the origin and main pillar of our political power and greatness.

In regard to the expediency of the Orders in Council, instead of impeaching the policy of those measures on the ground of the restrictions which they impose on neutral trade, I am disposed to attach blame to his Majesty's government, for not having availed themselves of the

Majesty's present Ministers, during the last sessions of Parliament, when a public inquiry at the bar of the House of Commons was instituted, for the purpose of acquiring information respecting the operation of the Orders in Council, upon the Petitions of Persons very unfriendly to those measures, it is not likely that, if a similar occasion should arise, the present Administration will refuse to attend to the Petitions of the merchants and others concerned.

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right which has been given them, to retaliate the whole system of blockade and exclusion which has been adopted and acted upon by France: and I cannot better express the opinions I have always entertained on the subject than in the words of Mr. Canning, in his just and perspicuous exposition of those measures, in his letter to Mr. Pinckney, of the date of 22d February, 1808; "The principle upon which the whole of this measure has been framed, is that of refusing to the enemy those advantages of commerce, which he has forbidden to this country; and the simple method of enforcing this system of retaliation, would have been to follow the example of the enemy, by prohibiting altogether all commercial intercourse between him and other states." Indulgencies granted to neutral trade, by suffering a commercial intercourse with the enemy, under any code of regulations whatever, essentially weaken the efficacy and operation of the retaliative measures; and have prevented that extreme pressure which would otherwise be felt on the Continent, and which might give rise to the most important political results, in our favour. Mr. Erskine also, in his letter of the 23 Feb. 1808, to Mr. Maddison, justly observes that, "the principle upon which his Majesty finds himself compelled to proceed, would justify a complete and unqualified retaliation, on his part, of the system announced and acted upon by France, in respect to his Majesty's dominions; and his Majesty might, therefore, have declared in a state of rigorous and unmitigated blockade, all the coasts and colonies of France and her allies. Such a measure, the maritime power of Great Britain would have enabled his

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“ Majesty to enforce: nor would those nations
 “ which have acquiesced without effectual re-
 “ monstrance in the French decree of blockade,
 “ have derived any right from the more per-
 “ fect execution of a corresponding determina-
 “ tion on the part of his Majesty, to complain
 “ of his Majesty’s enforcing that measure
 “ which the enemy has executed imperfectly
 “ only from want of the means of execution.”
 “ —“ You will observe, also, that the trans-
 “ portation of the Colonial produce of the
 “ enemy from the United States to Europe, in-
 “ stead of being altogether prohibited, (which
 “ would have been the natural retaliation for the
 “ rigorous and universal prohibition of British
 “ produce and manufactures by France,) is freely
 “ permitted to the ports of Great Britain, with
 “ the power of subsequently re-exporting it to
 “ any part of Europe, under certain regulations.”
 —“ Another most important relaxation of the
 “ principles upon which His Majesty’s Orders
 “ proceed, is that which licenses the importation
 “ of all flour and meal, and all grain, tobacco,
 “ and other articles, the produce of the soil of
 “ America, with the exception of cotton, through
 “ the ports of His Majesty’s dominions, into
 “ those of his enemies, without the payment
 “ of any duty on the transit. This is, I beg
 “ leave to observe, an instance in which His
 “ Majesty has deprived his measure of its most
 “ efficacious and hurtful operation against the
 “ enemy, through motives of consideration for
 “ the interests of America.”

Nothing, therefore, appears to me more clear
 than that, it is unnecessary and impolitic, as well
 as disgraceful, at the present moment, to retract
 our Orders in Council, which were issued for

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the purpose of counteracting Buonaparté’s de-
 crees against the commerce of this country.
 The American measure of Embargo, was un-
 doubtedly adopted and framed previously to
 any knowledge, in that country, of the Orders
 in Council.

It is known that, the persons who have the
 best information concerning the actual relations
 between France and America, declare that the
 embargo is despised in France, and almost
 forgotten in England; and have recommended
 a Non-Intercourse with France and conciliation
 with Great Britain, and to arm against the
 French cruizers: at the same time it has been
 recommended from another quarter, high in
 the confidence of the American government, to
 continue the embargo, on the ground that, if
proper measures are taken, an accommodation
 may be effected with England, there being a
 party in this country, disposed to be on friendly
 terms with the American States.

Superior talents, exerted with energy and
 judgment, will naturally excite invidious ob-
 servation, particularly in those who have not
 been as successful in their measures; — in this
 light, I consider the petty objections to the
 letters of Mr. Canning, whose official papers
 are generally considered to be as able and as
 masterly productions as any to be found in the
 archives of his office. The letters of the Ame-
 rican Secretary of State and Plenipotentiaries,
 if addressed to individuals on private concerns,
 would be deemed very offensive; and on any
 occasion, deserve a severe replication: but, I
 can observe nothing of that kind in the letters
 of Mr. Canning, to the style of which, over-
 strained and captious objections have been

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made. At all events, we owe to his firmness, and to that of the present Administration collectively, a great improvement in the situation of this country in respect to the American States; and to them we shall be indebted for the re-establishment of our excellent Navigation and Colonial system, and for the flourishing state of our colonies.

The same pretended anxiety for conciliation, and the same mischievous measures, through which the American Colonies were lost, (if they can be deemed a loss,) are again urged and brought forward, and with the same view,—to distress the government of the country. Those factious measures, if they were not the sole cause of the separation of the Colonies from this country, at least produced a peace which no success on the part of the enemy could justify. But, it is to be hoped that the country will not again be imposed upon, and we have reason to expect that the present Ministers are not likely to be intimidated by such means.

In respect to the question, whether the conduct of the American States has been, or is, such as to entitle them to a more peculiar modification of our Orders in Council, (which would, in its ultimate consequences, amount to a total relinquishment of our right to retaliate the Enemy's unjust decrees,) none of the assertions of the advocates for the American requisitions have surprized me more than, that their government is disposed to be friendly to us. The elaborate attempts to prove from the Official Letters of the American Ministers, (and which, they must have been assured, would be published,) their real views respecting France, scarcely deserve notice. I have too good an opinion of Mr.

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Maddison and of Mr. Pinckney to suppose that, they would, under existing circumstances, so far commit themselves as to declare, in their public correspondence, the secret disposition and ultimate views of their employers.

The strongest facts and circumstances, however, prove their partiality to France; and they scarcely attempt to conceal it. Their ports are shut, in the most rigid manner, to our ships of war; not a man is permitted to go ashore, except with despatches, nor is a cask of water allowed them: while vessels of the same description, belonging to Buonaparté, are permitted to repair, and victual, in their ports. They allowed five French privateers to equip and victual, at the Chesapeake and Savannah, not long since.

Great Britain has too long submitted to the aggressions of the people of the American States, whereby the honour and the dignity of this country have been disgracefully compromised, and its subjects injured. The terms of Treaties have been evaded, as well as the payment of debts. The encroachments in the Bay of Fundy have long and loudly called for redress. The violent aggression on British subjects, peaceably navigating within their own proper limits, on Lake Ontario, (as fully stated in a memorial from the merchants of Montreal to the Governor of Quebec,) requires ample satisfaction. Our forbearance and concessions, instead of conciliating, have only produced further invasions and claims, and the assumption of a dictatorial tone, not tolerated in any other power; and to which they are encouraged, by a kind of jargon, which ignorantly prevailed, that the commerce and manu-

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factures of the United Kingdom are entirely dependent on the good-will of the American States.

It is impossible to say, how far self-importance, and irritation, in consequence of their not having succeeded in their projects of intimidating us into concessions, by insulting Non-intercourse measures, may carry the government of the American States: but, even if they should be so infatuated as to prefer war with us, and the total ruin of their trade, to a friendly intercourse, it cannot be considered as a wild prediction that, the people of that country will, for a very short time only, tolerate such extravagant and ruinous conduct on the part of their government. What would become of their exports, amounting to 48 millions of dollars annually? What would become of their revenue, arising almost entirely from their imports, which would, in a great degree, become clandestine? Instead of being the principal carriers, as they have lately been, to the greater part of the world, they would scarcely have a commercial vessel on the ocean. Perhaps, at first, they might send some privateers to the West Indies; but, would they have a commercial ship in the West Indies, or in the East Indies, or in the Mediterranean? They are not now what they were, at the close of the American war; at that time, they were warlike; at present, they are merely commercial, and their dependence is solely on commerce; and they would assuredly very soon find, as many of them already perceive, that they cannot essentially injure this country.

Whenever the government of the American States shall recover from its frenzy, they will

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discover that, by being placed on the footing of the most favoured nation, they obtain every thing that they can reasonably expect from this country; and I hope we shall have discovered that, no Treaty is necessary, that it can communicate no advantage to the British Empire, and cannot be desirable to the United States, except with the view of gaining some undue concessions, and unjust advantages over British subjects.—These are the opinions I offered to the attention of the public, twenty-five years ago, and every thing that has since happened proves that they were well founded.

APPENDIX.

An Act to Prohibit the Importation of certain Goods, Wares, and Merchandize.

BE it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That from and after the fifteenth day of November next, it shall not be lawful to import into the United States, or the territories thereof, from any port or place situated in Great Britain or Ireland, or in any of the colonies or dependencies of Great Britain, any goods, wares, or merchandize, of the following description, that is to say:

All articles of which Leather is the material of chief value:

All articles of which Silk is the material of chief value:

All articles of which Hemp or Flax is the material of chief value:

All articles of which Tin or Brass is the material of chief value, tin in sheets excepted:

Woollen Cloths whose invoice prices shall exceed five shillings sterling per square yard:

Woollen Hosiery of all kinds:

Window Glass, and all other manufactures of glass:

Silver and plated Wares:

Paper of every description:

Nails and Spikes:

Hats:

Clothing ready made:

Millinery of all kinds:

Playing Cards:

Beer, Ale, and Porter: and

Pictures and Prints:

Nor shall it be lawful to import into the United

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States, or the territories thereof, from any foreign port or place whatever, any of the above mentioned goods, wares, or merchandize, being of the growth, produce or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the colonies or dependencies of Great Britain: *Provided however*, that no articles which shall within fifteen months after the passing of this act, be imported from any place beyond the Cape of Good Hope, on board any vessel cleared out before the passing of this act, from any port within the United States, or the territories thereof, for the said Cape of Good Hope, or any place beyond the same, shall be subject to the prohibition aforesaid.

SECT. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That whenever any article or articles, the importation of which is prohibited by this act, shall, after the said fifteenth day of November next, be imported into the United States, or the territories thereof, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act; or shall, after the said fifteenth day of November next, be put on board any ship or vessel, boat, raft, or carriage, with intention of importing the same into the United States, or the territories thereof, all such articles, as well as all other articles on board the same ship or vessel, boat, raft or carriage, belonging to the owner of such prohibited articles, shall be forfeited, and the owner thereof shall moreover forfeit and pay treble the value of such articles.

SECT. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That if any article or articles, the importation of which is prohibited by this act, shall, after the said fifteenth day of November next, be put on board any ship or vessel, boat, raft or carriage, with intention to import the same into the United States, or the territories thereof, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, and with the knowledge of the owner or master of such ship or vessel, boat, raft or carriage, shall be forfeited, and the owner and master thereof shall moreover each forfeit and pay treble the value of such articles.

SECT. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That if any article or articles, the importation of which is prohibited by this act, and which shall nevertheless be on board any ship or vessel, boat, raft or carriage, arriving after the said fifteenth day of November next, in the United States, or the territories thereof, shall be omitted in the

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manifest, report or entry of the master or the person having the charge or command of such ship or vessel, boat, raft or carriage, or shall be omitted in the entry of the goods owned by the owner, or consigned to the consignee of such articles, or shall be imported, or landed, or attempted to be imported, or landed, without a permit, the same penalties, fines and forfeitures shall be incurred, and may be recovered, as in the case of similar omission, or omissions, landing, importation, or attempt to land or import, in relation to articles liable to duties on their importation into the United States.

SECT. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That every collector, naval officer, surveyor, or other officer of the customs, shall have the like power and authority to seize goods, wares, and merchandize imported contrary to the intent and meaning of this act, to keep the same in custody until it shall have been ascertained whether the same has been forfeited or not, and to enter any ship or vessel, dwelling house, store, building, or other place, for the purpose of searching for or seizing any such goods, wares, and merchandize, which he or they now have by law, in relation to goods, wares, and merchandize subject to duty; and if any person or persons shall conceal or buy any goods, wares, or merchandize, knowing them to be liable to seizure by this act, such person or persons shall, on conviction thereof, forfeit and pay a sum double the amount or value of the goods, wares, and merchandize so concealed or purchased.

SECT. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That the following additions shall be inserted to the oath or affirmation taken by the masters or persons having the charge or command of any ship or vessel arriving at any port of the United States, or the territories thereof, after the said fifteenth day of November next, viz. "I further swear (or affirm) that there are not, to the best of my knowledge and belief, on board [insert the denomination and name of the vessel] any goods, wares, and merchandize, the importation of which into the United States, or the territories thereof, is prohibited by law: And I do further swear (or affirm) that if I shall hereafter discover or know of any such goods, wares, or merchandize on board the said vessel, or which shall have been imported in the same, I will immediately, and without delay, make due report thereof to the collector of the port of this district."

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SECT. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That the following addition be inserted after the said fifteenth day of November next, to the oath or affirmation taken by importers, consignees or agents, at the time of entering goods imported into the United States, or the territories thereof, viz. "I also swear (or affirm) that there are not, to the best of my knowledge and belief amongst the said goods, wares, and merchandize, imported or consigned as aforesaid, any goods, wares, or merchandize, the importation of which into the United States, or the territories thereof, is prohibited by law. And I do further swear (or affirm) that if I shall hereafter discover any such goods, wares or merchandize, amongst the said goods, wares and merchandize, imported or consigned as aforesaid, I will immediately, and without delay, report the same to the collector of this district."

SECT. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That all penalties and forfeitures arising under this act, may be sued for and recovered, and shall be distributed and accounted for in the manner prescribed by the act, intituled "An act to regulate the collection of duties on imports and tonnage:" and such penalties and forfeitures may be examined, mitigated or remitted in like manner, and under the like conditions, regulations, and restrictions as are prescribed, authorized and directed by the act, intituled "An act to provide for mitigating or remitting the forfeitures, penalties and disabilities accruing in certain cases therein mentioned."

NATHANIEL MACON,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

S. SMITH,

President of the Senate, pro tempore.

April 18, 1806.

Approved, TH. JEFFERSON.

An Act, supplementary to the act, entitled, "An Act to Prohibit the Importation of certain Goods, Wares and Merchandize."

Be it enacted, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That nothing in the act to which this is a supplement, shall be so construed as to prohibit the importation of the following articles, that is to say:—

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First. Wrappers and outside packages in which goods, the importation of which is not prohibited, usually are or shall be wrapped and packed at the time of their importation;

Second. Bags or sacks in which salt shall be imported;

Third. Glass bottles or phials in which drugs, medicines, or any other article, the importation of which is not prohibited, shall be imported;

Fourth. Printed books, maps and charts;

Fifth. Watches, tradesmen's and artificers' tools, mathematical, astronomical, and surgical instruments; gilt buttons, locks, and all other articles manufactured partly of brass and partly of any other metal;

Sixth. Shalloons and woollen stuffs, muslins, bayonets, swords, cutlasses, and pistols.

SECT. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That the articles of the following description, shall be held and considered as embraced by the description of articles, the importation of which is prohibited by the act to which this act is a supplement, that is to say:

All articles manufactured entirely of silk and wool, or of silk and flax, or of flax and wool, floor cloths, woollen cassimeres, carpets, carpeting, and mats, whose invoice prices shall exceed five shillings sterling, per square yard.

SECT. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That no articles imported on board any vessel of the United States cleared out before the fourteenth of December last, from any port within the United States, or the territories thereof, shall be subject to the prohibition enacted by the act to which this act is a supplement: *Provided*, that such vessels which may have cleared for any port beyond the Cape of Good Hope, shall return to some port in the United States or its territories, within twelve months. *And provided*, that such vessels as shall have cleared for any other port, shall return as aforesaid, within six months from the said fourteenth day of December.

Approved, February 27, 1808.

TH. JEFFERSON.

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