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## MEMORIAL
### OF THE MERCHANTS OF THE CITY OF NEW-YORK.

*To the President of the United States, and the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled: the memorial of the merchants of the city of New-York.*

*(CONCLUDED.)*

In the controversies which have existed at different times, for extending the privileges of neutral vessels, and limiting the grounds of capture, we take no part: we appeal to the old law. If neutral rights can be reduced within more confined limits than this law prescribes, we perceive not how, amidst the collisions of national interests, any neutral commerce can exist, even in our native productions.

If it be intimated, that neutrals should be confined to a commerce with such places, and in such articles only, as were allowed in peace, by the municipal regulations of the countries engaged in war; the doctrine may be repelled by the notorious fact, that no such principle has governed the conduct of nations, during any wars in which they have been engaged; all were free to vary, and all in fact have varied, their commercial systems: whatever theoretical opinions may therefore have been advanced, there has existed no such practical rule, and to set up such a rule, under the unparralleled circumstances of the present war, must infallibly destroy the commerce of this country.

It is a well-known fact, that the people of the United States export to foreign countries a greater proportion of the aggregate annual value of the products of their industry, than any other people of the globe; they are consequently most deeply interested in the security and freedom of their trade: in short, being almost exclusively an agricultural and commercial people, those parts of our country, which, from recent settlement, or from other circumstances, are wholly agricultural, are more immediately interested than any other, as they are in a greater degree dependent on foreign supplies, and consequently most liable to be affected, by any vibrations of the commercial system.

As our manufactures do not flourish in proportion to the progress of our population, wealth, and luxury, the necessity of extending our commerce is constantly increasing.

The basis of all our trade is the aggregate value of our native productions, exceeding what are consumed in the United States: these are exported to various countries, from which we receive supplies for domestic use, or other articles for exportation. A very great proportion of all the results of our commerce with the world, centre in the dominions of Great-Britain, and we receive almost exclusively from that country, our clothing, and other necessary manufactures.

By the events of the late and present war, many countries with which we prosecuted an increasing trade, have been either diverted from manufacturing pursuits, or have been greatly impoverished, or conquered and subjected to the colonial system of Great Britain.

With these preliminary facts in view, we request permission to detail some of the most important consequences of the assumed rule, *that neutrals may be restrained, in time of war, to their accustomed trade in time of peace.* The injustice of such a rule, in relation to the United States, will be more manifest: the individuals employed in commerce, would not alone be affected: all the internal relations of our country would be disturbed: the interests of those districts which are most remote from our principal ports, would, in proportion to their dependence on foreign supplies, be most severely depressed.

The effects of war cannot be confined to the countries engaged in war. The value of money; the price of labor; the rates of freight and insurance, are by war enhanced throughout the world; all articles of merchandize, both of export and import, are variously affected, in their quantities and value, by new wants; by the relinquishment of former pursuits, and by the new direction which is thereby given to the industry of different nations. Other consequences result from the effects of war; as the impoverishment of some, and the aggrandizement of other countries; also, from the acknowledged right of belligerent nations to interdict commerce in contraband articles, and to institute blockades. This last right is highly injurious to neutrals, as it frequently restrains them from proceeding to the best markets. It is obviously impossible, therefore, to confine the United States, in time of war, amidst all these changes and disadvantages, to their *accustomed trade in time of peace, without destroying all trade.*

If, in consequence of the war, certain articles usually exported from the United States to countries from which we received necessary supplies, cease to be demanded in those countries, may we not export other articles, and thereby obtain the supplies we need?

If articles usually imported into the United States in time of peace, cease to be demanded by us in time of war, in consequence of our ability to obtain substitutes which we prefer, shall we be required to renounce our export trade, by being forbid to import other articles for consumption or for commerce? or shall we be compelled to receive in exchange, articles which we do not require?

If, in consequence of an increased demand for our exports to particular countries, we obtain in exchange, articles of commerce exceeding our domestic wants, shall it be required that the surplus perish on our hands?

If Great-Britain permits commerce between her subjects and the colonies of her enemies, may we not, with the consent of those colonies, participate in the same commerce?

If our commerce with the enemies of Great-Britain may now be confined to the system established in time of peace, may we not apprehend that the principle will be retaliated, in respect to our commerce with the colonies of Great Britain? In that case, what can ensue but war, pillage, and devastation?

These are not imaginary suppositions: they illustrate the most important principles of our commerce; they evince the necessity of a circuitous trade, to enable us to realize the great value of exports in our native productions, by which alone we acquire the power toliquidate the balance against us, in our commerce with Great Britain: they demonstrate, that the position against which we contend, is not a rule of the law of nations; the law of nations ordains no rule which is unequal and unjust.

But still we have other and more forcible objections; the concession which is required, would deprive us of many advantages, connected with our local situation, our enterprize, our wealth, and our fortune; it would require us to divert much of our capital and industry to new employments; it would amount to an abandonment of views, as a commercial people, and might involve us in dangerous controversies, by the virtual admission, that any essential articles of supply may, at the pleasure of a belligerent nation, be placed in a state of inhibition, equivalent to being declared contraband of war.

Hitherto we have regarded it as a peculiar felicity incident to our neutral situation, that it was equally beneficial to ourselves, and to all the parties with whom we are connected: the articles exported by us to the enemies of Great Britain, being convenient supplies, promised to secure to our ships in their ports a welcome reception and hospitable treatment. As the direct returns for these exports were inconsiderable, and as the products were almost exclusively remitted to Great Britain, and thereby applied in payment for manufactures purchased on our account, we considered ourselves sure of receiving from them, atleast, that degree of protection, which was recommended by a regard to mutual interests.

It is however with much surprize that we have recently discovered, that the very circumstances upon which our hopes of security were reposed, have been urged as arguments to justify an invasion of our rights, and that, having totally suppressed the external commerce of her enemies, Great Britain is now counselled to appropriate to herself that of her friends. If it be true that, as exporters of certain articles to the ultimate markets, our interests are in collision with hers; yet it ought to be recollected, that it is a particular and minor interest only which suffers, and that the disadvantage is a necessary consequence of her colonial system; that the general results of our commerce are greatly in her favor: that they invigorate her manufacturing interests, which are the great basis of her wealth; and that these interests can never be promoted by the impoverishment of her best customers. Surely the security of neutral rights ought not to diminish, as their value is augmented: surely a maritime preponderancy, which enables its possessor to blockade any of the ports of its enemies, conveys no just title to a monopoly of the commerce of the world!

In the list of our complaints, we cannot forbear to enumerate the humiliating and oppressive conduct of ships of war, in the vicinity of our coasts and harbors. We respect the principle, and emulate the conduct of Great-Britain, in regard to her own jurisdiction, and we wish merely to claim for ourselves the same measure of justice which she exacts from others.

But while we contend that we ought not to be exposed to humiliating inquisitions in the verge of our port, which by means of secret connexions with our city, may be rendered conducive to indulgence or partiality, favor or malice, we disavow every wish to divest the belligerent nations of their rights. If, in particular instances, the American flag, and the character of an American merchant have been prostituted to unworthy purposes, we declare the individuals thus guilty to be our enemies, and we wish not to screen them from the just consequences of their misconduct. We also assert, that a comprehensive view of our commerce affords conclusive evidence that of the property circulated through this port, the proportion which can possibly belong to the enemies of Great Britain, is an object unworthy the attention of a great power; especially, if in a rigorous pursuit of its strict rights, it incurs the hazard of forfeiting the esteem of its friends.

If, therefore, the mode in which the American commerce is prosecuted, is allowed by the law of nations; if irrefragable evidence arises from our situation, wants and necessary connexions with the rest of the world, that it is almost exclusively grounded on American capital; if the suggestions that we are the mere agents of foreigners, are ungenerous insults contrived as apologies for injuries; if frauds in relation to foreign trusts, are not more frequent in this country than in Great Britain; and if no government is able wholly to prevent them: then our conclusion in the present, as in all other cases, ought to be deduced from general facts, and not from particular exceptions. This conclusion is, that the American commerce is one of the great links which connect those interests of civilized nations, which wars ought not to disturb: that to break this link, will be to destroy all commerce; and therefore, that a serious misunderstanding with Great Britain would prove fatal to the most important interests of both countries.

This view of the subject, while it excites our anxiety, furnishes also a resource for our hopes. We wish only for justice: and believing that a commercial nation which disregards justice, thereby undermines the citadel of her power, we rely on the effect of mutual interests and wishes in promoting a cordial explanation, and fair adjustment of every cause of misunderstanding: in particular we rely on the government of our country, that our rights will not be abandoned, and that no argument in favor of an usurpation will ever be derived from our acquiescence.

If our personal interests and local attachments have not greatly mis-directed our opinions, the defenceless situation of the port of New-York ought to excite the anxious solicitude of every friend of his country. Our river is the only commercial avenue to a fertile and populous country, which is rapidly rising into importance. It is here that *one-third* of the revenue of the union is collected; and this proportion is understood to be relatively increasing. But while we are grateful for these distinguished advantages of nature, our satisfaction is diminished, by reflecting on their insecurity; for in proportion as the resources of our country accumulate to this point, is the hazard that they may present a temptation to rapacity, and become a prize to violence. Without recurring to the experience of past times for proofs, that no nation can long maintain an extensive commerce, without well defended sea-ports, and an efficient military marine, we are admonished by the new and portentous aspect of Europe, and the alarming prevalence of piracy in the W. Indies, that energetic measures of defence have become indispensibly necessary.

We presume not to express any opinion respecting the degree of force of which the permanent navy ought to consist; and being sensible that delays must attend the construction of suitable defences for our port, we shall rest satisfied when we perceive that these measures are commenced, in a manner, and upon a scale, which will assure to us an efficient completion.

Such, however, is the present organized force of the U. S. that we should consider it inconsistent with the honor, interests, or security of our country, to parley with the pirates of the W. Indies, whose conduct being inconsistent with any known rules of lawful warfare, cannot have been authorised by any civilized nation towards another nation in a state of peace. Our vessels, while pursuing a lawful trade, have been piratically seized, their cargoes have been forcibly taken away and distributed, without even the form of a trial; the vessels in many instances sunk and destroyed, and the crews stripped of all their property; all these outrages have been exercised upon innocent and defenceless men, aggravated by unprecedented circumstances of insult, oppression and barbarity. Some of these violences have been committed on vessels which were captured within sight of our harbors; and the great scene of these unparalleled enormities is the island of Cuba, which commands the only avenue by which we preserve a commercial connexion with our brethren of the western states; a connexion which we cherish with ardor, as a bond of permanent union.

But it is not on account of our pecuniary losses that we alone complain.— The constancy and valor of the seamen of the U. S. are justly themes of patriotic exultation. From their connexion with us we consider their cause as our cause, their rights as our rights, and their interests as our interests; our feelings are indignant at the recital of their wrongs; and we request, in addition to the protection of a naval force, that at least in the American seas, our brave countrymen may be permitted to display their energy in their own defence.

Your memorialists conclude with remarking, that they deem the present situation of public affairs to be peculiarly critical and perilous, and such as requires all the prudence, the wisdom, and energy of government, supported by the co-operation of all good citizens. By mutual exertions, under the benign influence of Providence upon this hitherto favored nation, we hope the clouds which threaten to obscure its prosperity, may be dispelled; and we pledge our united support in favor of all measures adopted to vindicate and secure the just rights of our country.

And your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

Signed by the unanimous order, and on behalf of a general meeting of the merchants of New-York, on the 26th December, 1805.

JOHN BROOME, *Chairman,*

Oliver Wolcot, John Franklin, William Edgar, Isaac Lawrence, Thomas Carpenter, Henry I. Wyckoff, John Taylor, Thomas Farmer, Geo. M. Woolsey, David M. Clarkson, Robert Lenox, Goold Hoyt, Elisha Coit, J. B. Murray, L. Lefferts, Samuel A. Lawrence, Samuel Russell, Joseph Blackwell, John Murray, M. Clarkson, John B. Coles, Archibald Gracie, Wm W. Woolsey, Benjamin Minturn, Wm. Bayard, Gulian Ludlow, Ebenezer Stevens, Rensselaer Havens, Wm. Lovett, George Griswold, Henry Post, jun. John R. Livingston, Daniel Ludlow, Wm. Henderson, Jas. Arden, John P. Mumford, Benjamin Bailey, Wynant Van Zant, jun. John De Peyster, Isaac Clason, Edmund Seaman, P. Schermerhorne, James Scott, Charles M'Evers, jun. John Kane, John Clendining, William Coleman——

*Committee.*


## NOTICE

THE Subscribers to the Washington Public school institution are hereby informed that the second instalment of their subscription is this day due. Those who will make it convenient to call at the city treasurer's office and pay up their instalments will much oblige the subscriber, and those who will not make it convenient to call will also much oblige by not permitting the subscriber to call on them the second time.

WASHINGTON BOYD, Treasurer of Public School Institution.

Jan 8—2aw4t


## PROPOSALS.

*For carrying mails of the United State on the following post roads will be received at the General Post Office until the 8th day of February next, inclusive.*

1st. From Washington city by Upper Marlboro and Queen Ann to Annapolis twice a week. Leave Washington every Wednesday and Saturday at 5 A. M. arrive at Upper Marlboro' by 10 A. M. and at Annapolis same days by 6 P M. Returning—Leave Annapolis every Monday and Thursday at 5 A M and arrive at Washington the same days by 6 P M.

2nd. From Annapolis by Rock Hall to Chestertown once a week. Leave Annapolis every Wednesday at 6 A. M and arrive at Chestertown by 6 4 P M. Returning Leave Chestertown every Tuesday at 6 A. M and arrive at annapolis by 6 P. M.

3rd. From Chestertown by Church Hill and Centerville to Easton twice a week. Leave Chestertown every Wednesday and Saturday at 4 A M and arrive at Easton by 6 P M—— Leave Easton every Tuesday and Friday at 6 A M and arrive at Centerville by 6 P M.

4 From Chestertown by Georgetown X Roads, Sassafras, Warwick, Middletown and Christian to Wilmington twice a week. Leave Wilmington every Tuesday and Friday at A M and arrive at Chestertown by 8 P M. Leave Chestertown every Wednesday and Saturday at 5 A M and arrive at Wilmington by 8 P M.

5. From Camden by Statesburg, Jamesville, Nelsons ferry and Monks Corner to Charleston twice a week. Leave Camden every Thursday and Sunday at 4 A M and arrive at Charleston on Saturday and Tuesday by 10 A M. Leave Charleston every Saturday and Tuesday at 2 P M and arrive at Camden on Monday and Thursday by 8 P M.

6 From Nashville T. by Franklin, Occachoppe, M'Intoshes, Grindstone Ford, Port Gibson, Greenville, Huntston, Washington and Natchez to Fort Adams once a week. Leave Nashville every Friday at 4 A M arrive at Natchez on Sunday by 2 P M in 9 1-2 days, and at Fort Adams on Monday by 10 A. M. Returning. Leave Fort Adams every Monday at 2 P M and arrive at Nashville T. in 10 1-2 days on Thursday by 9 P M.

The contracts for the first five routes are to be in operation on the 1st day of April next and to continue in force for one year and the contract for the route number 6 is to commence at the same time and to continue in force for six months until the 30th of September next. On the customary conditions and penalties for forfeitures and delays.

GIDEON GRANGER,
Post-master-general.

General Post Office,
Dec. 30, 1805—tawtF10

## CONGRESS.

*SENATE UNITED STATES.*

*FRIDAY, DECEMBER 20.*

*Debate on the Motion of Dr. Logan for leave to bring in a bill to suspend the commercial intercourse between the United States and St. Domingo.*

*(CONCLUDED.)*

Gen. S. SMITH—

I am not concious, MR. PRESIDENT, that I said, (as charged by the honorable mover) that the trade to St. Domingo was the only great, the only important commerce of the United States. It was an assertion that it was not possible I could have made. I did, however, consider it a branch of commerce highly important to the United States, inasmuch as that island does draw from us all its provisions of every kind, Its clothing and luxuries, that is—that half a million of people are almost exclusively supplied with all their wants by the commerce and agriculture of the United States; and that good reasons should be assigned before we ought to be induced to relinquish so important a branch. I did state that flour, salted beef and pork, fish, rice and tobacco, furnished a considerable proportion of the means, with which that commerce was pursued; and that if interdicted, it would have a serious operation on the prices of some of them. The gentleman from Georgia has supposed that there would be be a sufficient outlet for our flour in the ports between the Texel and the Baltic. Those ports, Mr. President, export wheat; I never knew a barrel of flour shipped from the United States to either of them—they are our competitors. Mr. President, we are advised by the same honorable gentleman to begin by interdicting this trade, and then proceed on to those who have oppressed our commerce. This, sir, is a curious mode, to begin to intertict the trade to those against whom the United States have no cause of complaint, that we may be justified in breaking our commercial relations with those who have oppressed our trade in every quarter of the globe.

The honorable mover has said, let us look at our commerce and see how it is affected. I wish the gentleman had done us that favor—he mentioned the East Indies, but there he stopped short, and left to each of us to look at our commerce in our own way, without the promised benefit of his instruction. I will, Mr. President, take leave to present to the Senate, a short view of some of its branches. That to the East Indies, has been conducted in two ways—the one by exporting specie, and purchasing therewith the cotton goods of the British dominions; the teas, china and nankeens of China; the sugar, coffee and pepper of the Dutch, French and native possessions; the other mode by shipping from Europe, the goods best suited for India, and vesting their proceeds in the articles already stated, with which our ships proceed to some port in Europe, or return home direct. The most beneficial part of this commerce is now interdicted by Great Britain. Her king says (and his admiralty court obeys) *that the ships of the United States shall not carry on a trade in time of war to the colony of his enemies, not permitted by such enemy in time of peace.* From this general rule, he has (as he says) as matter of favor relaxed at different times. During the last war, he relaxed so far as to permit neutrals to carry from their own country to the colony of his enemy, and return direct to the nation of the neutral ships where he insisted that the cargo must be landed, but consented that it might be reshipped in the same or any other ship for any port in Europe or elsewhere. But he absolutely forbid us to go with our cargoes from India to any other country in Europe than Great Britain.

He has, Mr. President, since the present war withdrawn a part of that high favor; and now the ships of the U. S. are interdicted by Great Britain from proceeding from Europe with goods to any part of the East Indies. Nay, It is the opinion of one of their most learned doctors of law, that it would even be dangerous for our ships to proceed from Europe to the East Indies with specie. He has interdicted us from proceeding from his enemies colony, and from the East Indies generally even to his own ports in Europe, or from one port in the East Indies to another; he denies us the liberty of exporting the articles imported into the United States from his enemies colony in the same ships in which it was imported, (although the same be landed and the duties paid,) or even in any other ship, for account of the person who was the importer. From this view it will appear, that our India trade is greatly restricted. Thus it has lost part of its importance. An important branch of our commerce was in time of peace to Cadiz with flour, part of which flour was reshipped by a company to Cuba; that trade ceased with the war. Great Britain blockades Cadiz, and condemns our ships that attempt to go in. We supply Cuba with flour, rice and salted meat; bring from thence sugar, molasses, &c. &c. This