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THE PAST—THE PRESENT—FOR THE FUTURE.

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To prevent a break in the report concluded in this sheet, the miscellaneous matter is thrown back to page 167.

(Report on Commerce—concluded.)

or display their strength on the ocean. The employment of shipping and seamen, is a branch of national industry so peculiar in its character, and so important in its consequences, that it is worthy to be known with all possible distinctness, even if the exports and imports were not stated. Navigation must, therefore, be traced distinctly from exports and imports. The employment of shipping in foreign trade may be ascertained and shown by a very convenient method. The national characters of the vessels employed, their tonnage, their departures for foreign countries, and their arrivals from foreign countries, may be all easily ascertained. These particular facts, when combined, show sufficiently the actual state of the navigation employed in foreign trade, and its division among different nations. They do not express the value of navigation in sums of money; but they show the several proportions of all the navigations employed, which are held by each nation whose vessels participate in the trade. The whole tonnage employed, and the several proportions of the whole, which belong to different nations, afford a sufficient knowledge of the subject for public purposes.

We have annual statements of the tonnage of the United States. These statements exhibit the amount of all the tonnage held by our own citizens. The principal division of this tonnage is into that which is authorised by law to be employed in foreign trade, and that which is authorised to be employed in the coasting trade and fisheries. The respective amounts of both kinds of tonnage are stated. The registered tonnage is that which may be legally employed in foreign trade. But these statements do not show how the registered tonnage is really employed. Coasting vessels are not allowed to engage in foreign trade; but registered vessels are entitled to engage not only in foreign trade, but also in the coasting trade. A very considerable part of our registered tonnage is actually employed in the coasting trade; but how much of it is so employed is not stated by the treasury. These statements afford no information of the actual pursuits of our registered vessels, or that they are employed at all. From this source, therefore, we learn the amount of our tonnage which has the legal character requisite for engaging either in the coasting trade or in foreign commerce; but we do not learn how much of this tonnage is employed either in the coasting trade or in foreign commerce.

We have also annual statements of the tonnage of all vessels arriving in the United States from foreign ports. These statements show the amount of tonnage of our own vessels arriving, and the amount of tonnage of foreign vessels arriving in each year. This information has been usually communicated to congress in statements, annexed to the statements of the customs. The tonnage arriving is ascertained for the purpose of levying the duties imposed on the tonnage of all vessels entering the United States from foreign ports. Those duties are charged upon the whole tonnage of the vessel, as often as it ar-

rives from a foreign port. When the same vessel arrives twice or thrice in the same year, the tonnage of that vessel is repeated twice or thrice in the total amount of tonnage arriving stated for that year. The tonnage employed in trade with the West Indies, appears in the tonnage arriving three, and frequently four times in the same year. The tonnage engaged in trade with Europe, enters into the tonnage arriving generally twice and sometimes thrice in a year. The tonnage employed in our trade with the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, is generally included in the tonnage arriving once in each year. In some cases the tonnage does not appear in the statements of tonnage arriving until the first, second, or third year succeeding the departures of the vessels from the United States. These statements, therefore, show the amount of tonnage upon which duties are levied; and they comprehend, in most cases, the tonnage of the same vessel more than once in the same year.

Such is at present our official information concerning the employment of navigation in our foreign trade. This information is considerable and important; but it does not present all the facts which are sufficiently important to be known.

The true amount of our tonnage, actually employed in foreign trade, is not exhibited by either of the statements which have been mentioned. It is not exhibited by the statements of registered tonnage, not only because the registered tonnage may be unemployed, but also because much of that tonnage is constantly employed in the coasting trade. It is not exhibited by the statements of registered tonnage arriving from foreign ports, because, in most cases, the registered tonnage is included in these statements more than once in each year, as the same vessel arrives more than once in the same year. The total amount of tonnage registered, and the total amount of registered tonnage arriving, upon which duties are paid, are the facts which are now stated. Neither of these facts shows how much of our tonnage is really employed in foreign commerce at any time.

We have the amount of our own tonnage arriving, and the amount of our foreign tonnage arriving, which are considered as the tonnage employed in introducing the imports. But we have no statement of the amount or national character of the tonnage departing, which is considered as that employed in taking away the exports.

In the absence of any account of vessels departing, this defect seems to have been considered as supplied by the accounts of vessels arriving. Every voyage of importation has been supposed to imply a corresponding voyage of exportation; and every arrival to indicate a corresponding departure. The same vessels are, in general, employed both in importation and exportation. As we have the tonnage of all vessels which enter the United States from other countries, the amount of that tonnage has been considered as the amount of the tonnage of all vessels which leave the United States for other countries: and as the amount of tonnage arriving, is divided in the statements into the amount of our own tonnage and the amount of foreign tonnage, it has been supposed that the tonnage of our own vessels and the tonnage of foreign vessels bear the

same proportion to each other in the case of departures as in the case of arrivals. The tonnage departing is thus deducted from the tonnage arriving; and the conclusion is, that they are both of the same amount. In pursuance of this conclusion, the tonnage arriving has been described in many statements, which are before the public, as the amount of our own tonnage and of foreign tonnage, employed in our foreign trade; an expression which comprehends exportations and departures as well as importations and arrivals.

The supposition that the tonnage departing and the tonnage arriving are of the same amount, may be, in general, nearly correct, when it is applied to a considerable period of time. But it is by no means true, that the tonnage departing and the tonnage arriving, during any short period, are equal to each other. In such periods as six months or a year, there may be a great difference between the tonnage departing and that which arrives during the same period. The tonnage engaged in foreign trade varies greatly in amount from time to time. The proportion of our own tonnage to foreign tonnage, also varies greatly from one time to another. As commerce fluctuates, so fluctuates the navigation which it employs. When the imports are much increased at any particular time, a quantity of tonnage may arrive greater than that which departs. When the exports increase, without a like increase of the imports, a quantity of tonnage departs greater than that which arrives. When we engage in a war, which interrupts the ordinary pursuits of our navigation and commerce, the difference between the tonnage arriving and the tonnage departing may, in the first year of the war, be very great. In the first year of peace succeeding such a war, the tonnage departing may be much greater than the tonnage arriving. When wars between other countries open to our navigation new scenes of employment, much of our tonnage which is abroad may not return for a long time, or much of it which is at home may depart; and the tonnage arriving, may, for some time, be much less than the tonnage departing. When such wars cease, our tonnage arriving may, for some time, much exceed our tonnage departing. When new regulations, affecting commerce and navigation, are established, they may, for some time, produce a great disparity between the tonnage arriving and the tonnage departing; or, they may, for some time, produce a proportion between our own tonnage and foreign tonnage very different in the case of vessels arriving, from the proportion which may exist in the case of vessels departing. These inequalities, by whatever causes they may be produced, are, indeed, not of long duration; and the general equilibrium between the tonnage arriving and the tonnage departing, is, in the sequel, restored. But when such disparities between the tonnage arriving and the tonnage departing occur, they should be known without delay; since they always denote the operation of some new cause which must deserve attention. The tonnage arriving is stated for each year; and, without doubt, the tonnage departing during a year, is frequently much more and frequently much less than the tonnage arriving during the same year. The proportion between our own tonnage and foreign tonnage, is often very different in the case of vessels departing, from the proportion which appears between the two kinds of tonnage, during the same year, in the case of vessels arriving.

Our own vessels engaged in foreign trade, are not comprehended in the tonnage arriving, until

they have left the United States and return from a foreign port. Much of our tonnage departing returns in the same year; but a considerable part of it does not return until the first, second, or third year succeeding the departures of the vessels. We have, therefore, no account, in these statements, of that part of our tonnage departing which never returns; and of that which returns, a considerable portion does not appear in the tonnage arriving until some year subsequent to its departure. When our navigation employed in foreign trade is in a course of rapid increase, as it has generally been since 1789, the fact would first appear in the tonnage departing, if that tonnage were known. The foreign tonnage appears in these statements in the year in which it arrives. If the tonnage departing were stated, much of the foreign tonnage would appear as departing in the year subsequent to its arrival.

The tonnage necessary for the conveyance of our exports, is far greater than that which is necessary for the conveyance of our imports. A great portion of our imports consists of articles of small bulk. Much the greater part of our exports of our own production, are articles of great bulk. Our foreign trade, therefore, employs, not only so much tonnage as is requisite to introduce our imports, but also the much greater quantity of tonnage which is requisite for the transportation of our exports. If we ask how much tonnage is necessary for the transportation of our exports, the enquiry cannot be answered with any certainty. The quantity of tonnage actually employed in taking away our exports, in any particular year, has never been ascertained. It is still a problem how much tonnage has been actually employed at any time in the exportation of our own products, or how much tonnage is now necessary for that purpose. In the present state of our information, this question can be answered only by estimates. The conveyance of our own bulky products to other countries, is a most important part of our foreign trade, in respect to navigation. A great quantity of tonnage and great numbers of seamen are employed in this service. The freights received upon these exports are very great, both in reference to the value of the articles exported and in absolute amount. We know, in general, that much the largest share of the navigation employed in conveying our exports to other countries, is our own; but we do not know, either the whole amount of the navigation so employed, or the actual partition of that navigation between ourselves and other nations. It is highly important that we should know, with certainty, the amount of the navigation employed in taking away our exports, and the proportions of the amount which are held by ourselves and by other nations.

For these reasons it is proposed to ascertain and state the tonnage and national characters of all vessels departing from the United States for foreign countries. When we have the tonnage and national characters of vessels departing, as well as of those arriving, we shall possess the amount of all tonnage employed in our foreign trade, and the amount of our own tonnage employed in foreign trade, so far as they can be conveniently presented by annual statements, and as nearly as will be useful for ordinary purposes. We can then compare the tonnage arriving and the tonnage departing with each other; and we can see the actual share of navigation which we possess, and that which foreigners enjoy, in the transportation of both our exports and our imports. We can then observe the increase or decline of the tonnage employed, either in exportation or impor-

tation, and how far such changes may be favorable to ourselves or to foreigners; and we shall be able to trace fluctuations in the employment of navigation as they occur in each year.

The statements of tonnage arriving, distinguish it merely into that of the United States, and that which is foreign, or not of the States. The amount of each of the two kinds of tonnage is stated. We, therefore, learn from these statements nothing more than the amount of all tonnage arriving, and the respective parts of the amount which belong to the United States, on the one side, and to the rest of the world, on the other. These statements do not show how much tonnage is employed in any particular branch of our foreign trade, as, for example, the trade with France; they do not show how much of the tonnage employed in any branch of trade, as that with France, is our own, or how much is foreign; and they do not show to what foreign nation any part of the foreign tonnage belongs. We do not learn from these statements either the amount of our own tonnage engaged in commerce with any nation or country, or the amount of British tonnage, or that of any other foreign nation which enters or leaves our ports.

The returns of the collectors to the treasury, state the tonnage of every vessel arriving from a foreign port, and the country from which the vessel comes, and they also specify the national characters of the different foreign vessels arriving. The materials for stating how much of the tonnage arriving from any particular country is our own, and how much of it is foreign, are, therefore, already provided. Some statements of these facts, in certain branches of trade, have been laid before congress, upon particular occasions; but the annual statements show nothing concerning the tonnage arriving from any particular country.

When the particular country from which tonnage arrives is stated, that fact indicates, in some degree, that the same tonnage, when it departs, returns to the country from which it came; because such is the most general course of foreign trade. But this is never a necessary inference; and in a multitude of cases, the vessel does not depart directly for the foreign country from which it came. While our trade with the British West Indies was carried on in British vessels, much British tonnage arriving from Great Britain departed hence for the British West Indies. This tonnage appeared as tonnage employed in our trade with Great Britain. It was truly so employed in the voyages of importation, but in the voyages of exportation, it was employed in trade with the West Indies. Yet this tonnage never entered into any statement of tonnage employed in our trade with the West Indies. When one of our own ships exports a cargo to Spain, it may, in return, import a cargo from England. Its tonnage now appears only as so much tonnage engaged in trade with England. The same ship may, after its arrival from England, be sent to Russia; and there is no account of this tonnage departing. If the same ship should return directly from Russia, its tonnage will appear in the tonnage employed in trade with Russia. But if the ship should proceed from Russia to Holland, and should enter here from Holland, its tonnage will appear as engaged in trade with Holland, and there will be no account of this tonnage as engaged in trade with Russia. The practice is to enter the vessel as arriving from the foreign port from which the imported cargo is brought. Much of our own tonnage which departs for particular countries, returns with cargoes from other countries. All this tonnage now appears at

the custom houses, and at the treasury, as tonnage employed in the trade with the countries from which the vessels arrive with cargoes; and nothing appears respecting the tonnage or employment of the same vessels, in their outward voyages to other countries. When the tonnage departing, and the countries for which it departs, shall be ascertained, and the tonnage arriving, and the countries from which it arrives, the tonnage employed in our trade with each foreign country will appear.

Our trade with China is carried on in our own vessels, but the amount of tonnage employed in that trade is unknown.

Our trade with most parts of the world is carried on partly in our own vessels and partly in foreign vessels; but we know not either the whole amount of tonnage employed in our trade with any particular country, or what part of the amount is our own, and what part is foreign. In all those branches of our foreign commerce, in which the conveyance of our exports or imports takes place, partly in our own vessels and partly in foreign vessels, it is of great importance that we should know how much of our own navigation and how much foreign navigation are employed in the transportation. The cases in which the navigation is divided between ourselves and foreigners, embrace far the greater part of all our foreign commerce. It would, at all times, be useful to know the true share of navigation which we enjoy in trade with particular countries. Yet this knowledge was, perhaps, less important while our system of discriminating duties was applied equally to all foreign countries. That system is now relaxed. We have relinquished it, in respect to the British dominions in Europe, the Netherlands, Sweden, Prussia, Hamburg, and Bremen. The vessels of those countries are now admitted into our ports upon the same terms as our own vessels. We should know how much of our tonnage is now employed in trade with those countries, respectively; and how much of their tonnage now passes through our ports. These facts are not known. Without them we cannot estimate the effects of the present system of equal duties between ourselves and those countries, nor can we compare the effects of this system with the effects of the system of discriminating duties. The experiment of discriminating duties, operating equally upon all foreign countries, has been made; and with great effect, in favor of our own navigation. We are now in a course of opposite experiments. We have relinquished our discriminating duties in respect to Great Britain and certain other countries, which concede to us advantages supposed to be equivalent, while we retain those duties in respect to all other foreign countries. The effects of both measures fall directly upon navigation. It is in the actual state of navigation, as it may exist from time to time, and there only, that the effects of these different measures can be traced and seen. The experiment of open and common navigation, unfettered by preference or restriction, between some of the principal navigating countries of the world, is an interesting spectacle. To us, as one of the parties to this experiment, and possessing, as we do, a great navigation and ample resources for its extension, it is a subject of peculiar concern. It is, therefore, specially important that we should possess the true state of navigation, as it may exist between ourselves and those countries with which commerce is now equally open to the navigation of both parties.

When the tonnage of all shipping employed in our trade with particular countries shall be stated,

we may estimate the value of the navigation employed in each branch of trade in reference to the length of the voyages performed. The benefits of navigation are in proportion, not only to the tonnage and seamen employed, but also to the time during which they are employed. The value of our trade with India and China depends much upon the great length of the voyages to and from those distant countries: The facts which are proposed to be stated, will afford a view of the relative importance of the employments of navigation, in the different branches of our foreign trade, in this respect.

The returns of the collectors to the treasury, will specify the names, tonnage, and national characters of all vessels arriving and departing; and they will state the several foreign countries, from which all vessels arrive, and for which all vessels depart. There will then be in the treasury, sufficient materials to show how many voyages are made by the vessels engaged in each branch of trade, in one year, and how many times the tonnage of the same vessels enters into the statements of tonnage, either arriving or departing, in the same year. These facts are too minute to be inserted in the annual statements; but they are interesting, and they will be collected and preserved in the treasury, from which they may be drawn, upon special occasions. From these facts, the exact amount of our tonnage actually engaged at any time, in all foreign trade, or in our trade with any country, may be deduced; and from the same facts, the number of seamen employed in all our foreign trade, or in our trade with any particular country, both in our own and in foreign vessels, may be sufficiently ascertained. The number of seamen usually employed in our vessels, engaged in foreign trade, has been estimated to be six men, for one hundred tons of shipping. In this manner, we may compute the number of seamen employed in any branch of our foreign trade, when we know the quantity of tonnage engaged in that trade. But such a computation must be founded upon the true quantity of tonnage actually employed in the trade. The annual statements of tonnage departing and arriving, will in most cases, comprehend the tonnage of the same vessels more than once in the same year; and, in some cases, the tonnage, either departing or arriving, will not enter into the statements of that year. The number of voyages made by the same vessels, in the course of a year, must, therefore, be known in order to determine the true quantity of tonnage actually employed at any particular time, and the number of seamen requisite for that quantity of tonnage.

It is not meant, that all the navigation which may pass between the United States and every foreign country, should be stated separately, in all cases. Where the intercourse between this country and any other, is casual or inconsiderable, a distinct statement of the navigation employed in such intercourse, would be of little use. Where the commerce between this country and any other is regular and considerable, a distinct statement of the navigation employed in it, should be given. Our commerce with Great Britain, and that with France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Russia, China, the British East Indies, Brazil, and the British West Indies, are, at present, cases of this character. The propriety of stating the navigation separately, in other branches of our foreign trade, may be left to the officers who compile the statements. They will discern, what branches of foreign commerce, are of such importance, as, to render it useful, to

furnish separate statements of the navigation employed in those branches.

One peculiar case demands present attention.—We have closed our ports against British vessels arriving from British ports, which are closed against our vessels. This regulation relates particularly to the British West Indies. It is a measure which was due to ourselves, and to a just sense of our own rights; and it should be so enforced, as to give it complete effect. The British government have opened the island of Bermuda to our vessels. This act of the British government, defeats, in a great degree, the intended effect of our law. A great trade hitherto unknown, now takes place between the United States and Bermuda, partly in our vessels, and partly in British vessels; and between Bermuda and the British West Indies, wholly in British vessels. Thus the intercourse, which we intended to suppress, takes place between the United States and the British West Indies, through Bermuda; the longest part of the transit, is performed exclusively by British vessels, and even a part of the intercourse between the United States and Bermuda, is carried on by British vessels. It is our duty to pursue our own measure to its full effect, and to adopt such further provisions as may be necessary for that purpose. But, while this intercourse with Bermuda is allowed to exist, the extent to which it takes place should be stated and known.

The official statements of exports, give no information of the vessels in which the goods are exported. Those statements do not show whether the goods are exported in vessels of the United States, or in foreign vessels.

The official statements of imports, divide the imports subject to duty, into those which are imported in our own vessels, and those which are imported in foreign vessels. Three distinct tables are given; first, a statement of goods imported in our own vessels; next, a statement of goods imported in foreign vessels; and thirdly, a statement, called a general aggregate of all goods imported in our own and in foreign vessels. The kinds and amounts of the imports are stated in each table; the countries from which the imports come, are stated alike, in the first and second tables; and in the third table, instead of particular countries, each foreign nation and its dependencies are stated. These three tables are of great length. One table, with some alterations in form, would be sufficient; and would better exhibit the facts which are now separated from each other in distinct statements. A single table, with three suitable columns, would show all the facts to the eye, upon the same lines. The first column might show the amount imported in our own vessels; the second column might show the amount imported in foreign vessels; and the third column would exhibit the total amount of the two preceding columns. Such an alteration will be proper, if the imports are to be hereafter stated, with this discrimination of the vessels in which they are brought. But this discrimination in the statements, is of very little use, when accurate accounts of the tonnage arriving are taken. The object of stating the imports, with this discrimination, is to show how far the navigation, which introduces them, is our own, and how far it belongs to foreign nations. These facts are indeed shown, in some degree, in this manner. Where the imports are free from duty, these statements show nothing concerning the navigation which introduces them. When the imports, subject to duty, are brought from a particular country, wholly in our own ves-

vessels, or wholly in foreign vessels, those facts appear by these statements. But the same facts will also appear from the tonnage arriving; and with the additional advantage of showing the quantity of tonnage employed in the importation. In most cases, where the imports come, partly in our own vessels, and partly in foreign vessels, these statements afford nothing certain, in respect to the shares of national proportion of the navigation enjoyed by ourselves, or by foreigners, in the importations. A great variety of imports is presented, some of which are stated only by values; and others, by kinds and quantities. These facts furnish very little information concerning the navigation employed in introducing these imports; and they form a very imperfect foundation for any calculation respecting the tonnage employed, or the freights earned. The tonnage and freights depend upon the bulk of the articles transported. Where values only are given, we know nothing of the kinds or quantities of the articles; and of course nothing of the tonnage requisite for their transportation. Where the kinds and quantities of articles are given, we may indeed, estimate the quantity of the navigation, if we know the amount of tonnage requisite for the conveyance of the various articles in question. But every such calculation must be very complex; and all such estimates, must be, at last, less certain and satisfactory, than the plain proportions of the navigation, held by ourselves, and by foreigners respectively, as these facts are found in the tonnage arriving. If it were useful to know the particular goods which are actually conveyed in our own vessels, and those actually conveyed in foreign vessels, such a knowledge would be more important in respect to our exports, than in respect to our imports. But no such discrimination is made, or will appear in the exports. It is conceived, that this threefold statement of the imports subject to duty, is not of sufficient use to be continued, and it is proposed, that the imports shall be, in future, stated without this discrimination. This retrenchment, will probably diminish the annual statements as much, in point of volume, as they will be increased, by the addition of all the new matters, which are now proposed to be stated.

CONCLUSION.

No general system for statistical accounts of our foreign commerce, has ever been established by law. No officer of the government, is required by law, to compile, to communicate to congress, or to publish any thing, upon this subject. All the statements of our foreign commerce, which have been here mentioned, have been rendered by the officers of the treasury, either in compliance with resolutions of one or the other branch of the legislature, or without any requisition whatever. The senate and house of representative have each, separately, adopted such resolutions as they thought fit, calling upon the secretary of the treasury for statements of exports and imports: and all the statements which the treasury could furnish, have been given. Some of these resolutions are permanent and require annual statements. The permanent resolutions of the senate, are of the 10th of February, 1796, and the 16th of March, 1796. Those of the house of representatives, are of the 3d of March, 1797, and the 29th of May, 1798. The special requisitions which have been made upon the executive officers, on the part of each of the two houses of congress, for information concerning our foreign commerce, have been very numerous. If any proof were necessary to show, either the importance of complete statistical accounts of our foreign com-

merce, or the poverty of our present information on this subject, that proof would be abundantly found, in these unceasing calls for information, concerning matters connected with our foreign commerce, which do not appear in the annual statements. At almost every session of congress, measures relating to our foreign commerce are agitated. Many of these questions are of the highest importance; and some of them are difficult, even with the clearest light of facts. If any facts are wanted, which do not appear in the annual statements, a call is made upon the executive officers, and generally upon the secretary of the treasury for information. The officer returns the best answer which he is able to give. Many of these answers have, at different times, been given with great ability; and they have served, in some degree, to supply the want of ascertained facts, by general views and judicious estimates. But if all the material facts, which compose our foreign commerce, were ascertained and presented to congress, in annual statements, the estimates of executive officers would not be wanted. Every legislator would then have before him, the whole subject, in authentic facts.

The annual statements of the treasury have been here examined, as statistical accounts of foreign commerce. Imperfect as they are in this view, their imperfections are not to be imputed to the officers of the treasury. Those officers have faithfully given the materials which they possessed; and they could do no more. They have performed the duty which was imposed upon them by the resolutions under which they acted. In some respects, they have done much more. They have, at different times, without any requisition from superior authority, made several very useful improvements in the forms of stating the exports. The materials concerning the exports, are arranged and stated in the best manner, in which they can be presented, as they are now returned to the treasury. The annual statements concerning navigation, are arranged and rendered in the best form, which the present state of the materials in the treasury will permit. All the annual statements concerning tonnage, have been rendered by the officers of the treasury, without any requisition for that purpose. To this time, there is neither law nor resolution, requiring annual statements of the navigation employed in our foreign trade. The principal defects which have been here detailed, are defects of law. The executive officers have no power to obtain the facts which are requisite to supply these defects. Such a power can only be conferred by law. It is the province of the legislature, to establish such a system as will supply the present defects, and bring forth all the desired information.

At present, the duty of preparing and rendering the annual statements of the exports and imports, depends merely upon the separate resolutions of the senate and house of representatives, which have been mentioned. It is only in those resolutions, that any account of the matters required to be stated, concerning the exports and imports, can be found; and those resolutions are very general and loose, in their description of the facts which they require. The subjects which are proper to be stated, should be defined by law; and the duty of compiling and rendering the annual statements, should be imposed upon proper officers, by law.—A suitable and permanent system, adequate to the objects proposed, should be established. When this shall be done, a complete report of facts, showing the state of our commerce with every foreign

country, and with all the world, in each year, may be annually laid before congress.

The statements of exports, the statements of imports, and the statements of tonnage arriving from foreign countries, have hitherto been laid before congress annually, but detached from each other, and at different times. It will be proper that the statements of exports, those of imports, and those of navigation employed in our foreign trade, should be laid before congress in one body, and at the commencement of each annual session.

The present state of this subject, will account for the method of this discussion. An existing system, sufficient in some points, but also defective in many respects, was to be examined. So far as it is sufficient, it required no comment. The proper course, therefore, seemed to be, to point out and examine its defects. But this course of examination is deprived of the advantage of clear order. As many of the defects of the existing system are topics little connected with each other, so must be the parts of the discussion which examines them.

If we have statements of our foreign commerce at all, they should be both comprehensive and accurate. They should comprehend all facts which are really material for public uses; and they should be true in all matters stated as facts. Partial statements mislead, and erroneous statements deceive. The nature of the subject forbids us to expect entire accuracy in such statements. Perfect accuracy in these subjects is the shadow, which may be imagined but cannot be touched. Reasonably accuracy is the substance, which may be seized and presented in its just dimensions. Minute precision is not attainable; and were it attainable, it would be without practical use. But reasonable accuracy is sufficient for all practical uses; and reasonable accuracy is both necessary and attainable. Official statements will be taken for correct statements, and will be the foundation, both of private reasonings and of public measures. It may be better to have no official statements of foreign commerce, than to have statements which are, in a great degree, defective or erroneous.

According to the preceding views, a complete system for statistical accounts of foreign commerce, should embrace statements of these facts:

1. All our exports.
2. All our imports.
3. All the navigation employed in our trade with the rest of the world.

And these general heads should be stated with such details and divisions, as to exhibit the following facts:

1. The kinds, quantities, and values of exports and imports.
2. The exports to every particular country.
3. The imports from every particular country.
4. All the navigation employed in our trade with each foreign country, distinguishing our own navigation from that of foreign nations.

The actual state of our trade with every particular foreign country, would then appear distinctly; and the state of all our foreign commerce, would result from the several parts of the whole subject. Such statements would exhibit each branch of our foreign trade as one entire subject, both in respect to commerce and navigation; and the aggregate of all the particular branches of trade, would exhibit the true state of our intercourse with all the world.

But, as much of this information is now afforded by the existing system, the particular amendments

which are requisite to supply the defects of the present system, are these:

1. That the accounts of exports furnished at the time of exportation, and the destinations of the exports, should be stated and verified, not only by the master of the vessel, but also by the owner or exporter of the articles.

2. That imports, free from duty, should be ascertained and valued.

3. That imports subject to specific duties, should be valued.

4. That certain of the most considerable parts of the imports which pay duty on the value, should be stated by their kinds and quantities, as well as by their values.

5. That all the imports should be valued at their foreign cost.

6. That the national characters and tonnage of all vessels departing from the United States, should be ascertained and stated.

7. That the national characters and tonnage of vessels, both departing and arriving, in the trade with each of the foreign countries, with which our commerce is considerable, should be separately stated.

8. That all these facts should be properly combined with those which are now ascertained; and that the whole should be digested in suitable forms, into annual statements: and.

9. That a general and permanent system, providing for the attainment of the objects here proposed, should be established by law.

A bill, embracing the provisions which are here recommended, is now submitted.

Statistical accounts of foreign commerce are important, from the peculiar nature of intercourse between independent nations. Commerce between nations depends upon both parties; upon compacta between both; upon regulations which either or both may establish; and upon all the measures which the policy, the pleasure, or the passions of rulers, may lead them to adopt, in respect to intercourse with other nations. Though the interests of all nations would be best promoted, by allowing to commerce between them the full freedom which is allowed to the commerce of persons in the same society, it is vain to expect, that this theory will ever be generally adopted and carried into practice. While governments, seeking to obtain superior or exclusive advantages, will regulate and restrain foreign commerce, the governments of other nations, affected by such measures, even if they feel not the like motives, must assert their equal rights, and protect their own interest. If there were no other cause of obstruction, the necessity of revenue, and the facility of obtaining revenue, by taxes levied through the medium of foreign commerce, will always be a great impediment to the natural freedom of trade between nations. Our system is, to a great extent, that of open and free commerce with all the world. But, in some of the most important branches of our foreign commerce, we are met by foreign prohibitions, restrictions and regulations, which deprive us of our just share of the benefits of mutual intercourse. We are, therefore, compelled to seek relief, from the effects of such foreign systems, by treaties, or to counteract them by our own regulations. Hence, a knowledge of the actual state of our trade, with particular countries, is exceedingly important. It is with particular governments, and concerning particular branches of trade, that these collisions take place. The commercial regulations of any country may be known; but such regulations afford no information

of the state and extent of the trade to which they are applicable. The effects of such regulations cannot be justly comprehended, without a knowledge of the facts upon which those regulations operate.

Our foreign commerce is the means of vending our surplus products, which are great and valuable, and the means of procuring the products of other countries, which we desire for our consumption. It is a great source of wealth, from the profits of trade and the employment of navigation; and it affords the means of great naval power. It is the principal source of our revenue. It is, at the same time, a great impediment to the progress of our own manufactures; and it holds us in a certain degree of dependence upon foreign nations, for the supply of our own wants. Shall our foreign commerce be cherished, for the sake of wealth, naval power, and revenue? Or, shall it be restrained, to promote domestic manufactures; to render ourselves essentially independent of the rest of the world for the supply of our own wants, and to avoid the collisions to which foreign commerce is exposed, from the ambition, rapacity, and wars of other nations? These are all great questions of national policy; and they present to a certain extent, a conflict of opposing considerations. It is not the purpose of this report to discuss these questions. Whatever views may be taken of them by some, and whatever may be the opinions entertained concerning them by others, the knowledge of the facts from which these questions arise, is equally necessary and important to all. The facts which compose our foreign commerce, must be the foundation of all reasonings and all conclusions, concerning these questions. The present purpose is, to provide authentic information of these facts. As our foreign commerce produces, directly or indirectly, most important effects upon all interests and classes of the nation, all are interested in that commerce. All are entitled to speculate and form opinions upon these questions; and every interest is entitled to a just protection from the government of the whole. The government has not only to judge, but to decide. Its decisions produce effects which are felt in every branch of public and private concerns. It is the common interest of all, that our foreign commerce should be thoroughly known and understood. If our foreign commerce were, and could continue to be, perfectly free, it would still fluctuate with all the varying circumstances of the world; and information of its actual state, from time to time, would be highly interesting. But, our foreign commerce will always be the subject of much legislation, and many practical measures. The great questions and interests which are involved in our foreign commerce, must always be a principal subject of the deliberations and measures of the national government. The first requisite to wise legislation and judicious measures upon this subject, must be, the knowledge of the facts which constitute the subject itself.

Our foreign commerce is very great; and greater than that of any other nation, excepting one. This is not the place to discuss the importance of our external commerce, or to trace its connection with our internal concerns. It exists, and it is closely interwoven with all the great interests of the nation. In whatever view it is considered, it is a subject of the highest moment. That the facts, which compose this great subject, should be known, will hardly be disputed. Without them, the subject itself cannot be understood; nor can the interests of the nation receive a judicious care. The power to re-

gulate and protect our commerce with foreign nations, is confided to this government. It belongs to the same government to provide authentic information of the state of that commerce. Let the facts, as they take place, be ascertained and made public to all. They deserve the attention of all; but, more especially, the constant and watchful attention of legislators and statesmen.

PROSPECTS A-HEAD. It is most probable that both houses of congress will form a quorum on Monday next, and the business of the session be opened by a message from the president on the succeeding day.

The financial concerns of the nation are greatly embarrassed, and a consideration of the means by which the requisite amount of revenue can be most conveniently drawn from the people, must be seriously thought of. Besides using the surplus of the sinking fund, which had been pledged for the redemption of the public debt, we borrowed two millions of dollars for the service of the year 1820; the deficiency for 1821 will be much larger, and that also, must be made good by borrowing. But it is impossible to believe that congress will rely upon loans to meet the *current* expenditures of government in a time of peace—and a system must be adopted by which the annual receipts shall be at least equal to the annual demands upon the treasury, to say nothing about a reduction of the public debt.

It appears to be almost impracticable, in the present way of thinking, to lessen the expenditures and fit their amount to the state of the times. But we earnestly look for the annual report of the secretary of the treasury, to see what plans have been devised in respect to this matter. The plain English of the whole affair, however, is—that unless something is done to give profitable employment to the people, they will not, they cannot, bear an increase of their burthens.

The agriculture of the United States, except as applied to the product of cotton, tobacco, sugar, and a few other articles, may be said to yield no profit to its laborers; the commerce of the country is carried on at an absolute loss; and manufactures are not encouraged: hence there are few persons of the great productive classes who have any thing to spare—and, let a person be as rich as Cræsus, he cannot brook the idea of lessening his capital by ordinary expenditures. So the means of payment being forbidden, fewer taxed articles are purchased and the revenue fails; and a direct tax to aid it could hardly be collected just now, because of the sluggish circulation of money, though there is an abundance of it in the republic.

Our desire to encourage domestic industry is well known—yet we have expressed ourselves as not being altogether dissatisfied with the failure of the tariff bill at the last session, and especially because all the evils of the present times would have been imputed to it, not only by the inconsiderate million, but by grave legislators, who would have told us that they were the consequences of not "letting things alone." When people will not see truth, they must feel it. A "notion" has been advanced at Boston, that, instead of increasing the duties on good imported, it would be much better to reduce them—that they would yield a greater amount from an increased consumption, &c. But—foreign goods were never cheaper (as to their nominal prices) than they are now, and it would seem that a reduction of the duty would have but little effect on the amount of the consumption:—

however, we are almost willing to try the experiment, on the principle of ascertaining how much the people *can* bear of their own folly, in the belief that, when they have tortured themselves *enough*, they will become wise. It is sometimes best to leave the punishment of a man to himself. The knowledge thus obtained is not easily forgotten.

We have already noticed the proceedings of several meetings of merchants and others to petition congress against an increase of the duties on goods imported, and give below the resolutions adopted by the general convention which recently met at Philadelphia for this purpose. We shall not now make any remarks upon certain of these resolutions, though their assumption is at variance with facts derived from the experience of all countries—yet we are really at a loss to conceive how the export of our agricultural products can be *much* diminished, seeing that foreign nations now receive from us nothing which they can dispense with, and knowing that there “is no friendship in trade.” But, taking up the general argument, the resolutions have an apparent accordance with the doctrines advanced at Boston; and it results, that if an increase of the duties will diminish the revenue, it is reasonable to suppose that a diminution of those duties would increase the amount of receipts at the treasury. Let the experiment be made!!!

At a convention of delegates from the principal Atlantic states, representing the merchants and others interested in commerce, assembled at Philadelphia, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, and ordered to be published:

1. *Resolved*, As the opinion of this convention, that a system of commercial restrictions is unfavorable to industry, and that sound policy dictates the least practicable restraint upon individual enterprise and exertion.

2. *Resolved*, That the greatest possible revenue, required by the national interests, should be collected from commerce, on account of the ease, economy, and certainty of its collection; but that this cannot be effected but by the imposition of such a rate of duties as will not be a restraint upon importations, nor furnish an inducement to smuggling.

3. *Resolved*, That by every important change of the tariff, the nation sustains an immense loss of productive labor. A well digested tariff, therefore, should never be changed, except for the purpose of equal protection to the different interests of the country, or to provide for the public wants.

4. *Resolved*, That we consider the production of public revenue, the legitimate object of legislation on the subject of duties.

5. *Resolved*, That the operation of the proposed tariff would be greatly to diminish our exports of agricultural products; greatly to reduce the value of those remaining in the country; greatly to lessen importations, by reducing our means of purchasing both at home and abroad; almost to destroy the revenue arising from commerce; to lower the price of labor, and to increase the profits of the rich manufacturer, while it lessens the profits and wages of every other individual in the community.

6. *Resolved*, That the adoption of the proposed tariff would produce very extensive smuggling, and the consequent necessary imposition of internal duties, and heavy direct taxes, which would eventually cause a re-action throughout the whole community; and involve, in one common ruin, all the manufactories in the country.

7. *Resolved*, That the abolition of drawbacks would destroy the carrying trade in foreign com-

modities, hitherto a source of great enterprise and wealth to our citizens; occasion immense losses to the commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural interests; and deeply affect the public revenue.

8. *Resolved*, That a law requiring cash payments of duties would materially affect the enterprise of our citizens, by limiting the operations of the active merchants, increasing the price of foreign commodities to the consumer, and favoring a monopoly to the rich, contrary to the best interests of the country.

9. *Resolved*, That if congress should not consider it expedient to repeal the duties heretofore laid for any other purpose than the production of public revenue, it cannot be either politic or just to impose other and higher duties, the probable effects of which would be to benefit manufacturers at the expense of every other class of the citizens.

10. *Resolved*, That the project of rendering ourselves independent of foreign nations, is founded in mistaken views of national independence. Manufacturing nations must always be more dependent on their customers, than those cultivating the soil on the purchasers of their produce.

The convention also unanimously adopted a memorial to congress, which memorial it was decided, as a matter of decorum, should not be published until it has been presented.

Philadelphia, 4th Nov. 1820.

WILLIAM BAYARD,

President of the convention.

JOHN VAUGHAN, Sec'y

TENNESSEE BANKING. A writer in the “East Tennessee Patriot” seems considerably offended at me, for having expressed my disapprobation of the specie-less bank recently established in that state.

It is impossible that, for the people of Tennessee, I should have a wish opposed to their prosperity. Their public services have claimed the gratitude of the nation, and there are many gentlemen in that state who are near and dear to me as personal friends. I protested against the litter of banks in Pennsylvania, and foretold that Kentucky was erecting a “pyramid of miseries” upon herself, when she incorporated the “independent” banks, and have predicted the accumulated sufferings of the citizens of Tennessee from the late favorite measure of her political economists; who have forgotten that, just as certainly as water seeks its level, so will a paper currency approximate its value as a commodity for commerce. It is thus in Russia, Germany, England and Spain,—and will be so every where. First principles are not to be violated in favor of a particular state. Like causes must produce like effects in every country. Yet against probability, out of the sincere regard which I have for the people of Tennessee, I should be glad to find an exception in their favor; and receive the proof that a paper currency, based as that of the new bank is, can preserve its *nominal* value compared with the *specie* worth of other commodities—the price of labor and its products.

The writer holds out as threat that the citizens of Tennessee will cease to purchase foreign goods of the merchants of the Atlantic states. I sincerely hope that they may enter into such a resolution and abide by it, for a few years: it will do more to relieve the pecuniary pressure upon them than the establishment of half a million of banks can do. It is a dependence upon that which alone can make a people really happy and prosperous—a reliance upon their own means and an application of them

to their own wants—the beginning and the ending of a sound political economy; which will supercede the necessity of every sort of *speculation*, and cause the people to become rich in the old fashioned way—which, say what they will, is the best way yet discovered,

ANOTHER REVOLUTION! By refering to the foreign articles, under the head of Hayti, it will appear that king Henry's troops had revolted, on which he shot himself, and that president Boyer was about to become sole chief of all that part of the island which formerly belonged to France, &c.

Here is another subject of discussion for the "legitimists" of Europe, about to assemble to deliberate on the revolutionary spirit which so alarmingly prevails in sundry places, brought about, too, by the *military*—the power got up and sustained to support the "sacred cause of kings." May we not expect a "note" from Russia or Austria upon it? We should suppose so,—for Henry was just as much entitled to his throne and the allegiance of his subjects, as the best of them—and maintained both as long as he could by the same means. We ought, therefore, to expect that his melancholy fate will excite the sympathies of the "Holy Alliance," and that Boyer will be directed to retire within his own proper territories, leaving that which lately belonged to Henry to be governed by his "illustrious son," the "prince royal."

But to be serious,—this event may become very important to the United States, and to those nations who have colonies in the West Indies, and have an interesting effect on neighboring places in South America. Boyer is a considerable politician as well as a warrior; and, by concentrating the whole black population of the island to the accomplishment of his purposes, may become a very powerful chieftain, and easily possess himself of the whole island; one of the richest and most luxuriant that is known, and capable of sustaining some millions of people. The advantages which he can extend to foreigners through the commerce which the island is competent to afford, will secure him the secret protection, if not the open friendship, of some of the trading nations; and, such are the various productions of his territories, that his people can live without it, provided it is necessary to their independence to do so. If he establishes a mild system of government, which, from his character, it is probable that he will attempt, a considerable emigration of blacks to the island may be expected; and it is proved by fatal experience, that the nature of their climate is a sure protection to them from foreign invasion. By strong fleets, their means of annoyance may be somewhat limited; but if they resolve on war, and to make depredations on the vessels of any power navigating the West India seas, it will be no easy matter to keep them harmless, from their numerous ports and special means of offence—nor would their flag want adventurers to sail under it, for the sake of the plunder which it might furnish. While the power of the blacks was divided between the rival chiefs, the fear of each other kept them both within bounds; but that cause of fear being removed, there may be just reason to apprehend the force of this people, so well located to annoy those whom they please to strike at. There is a greater degree of intelligence in Hayti than many believe—the major part of the people, it is true, are hardly a remove more enlightened than our slaves, except as to certain notions about liberty and independence—but many of their chiefs are well informed men; and we learn that they have numerous

schools for the education of their children—which, probably, has caused the remark to be made, that the youth of both sexes are greatly in advance of their parents in knowledge; and, when intelligence shall be added to the numerous advantages which they possess, this island will acquire a power which must cause its government to be respected by others. In this view, those who look a-head a few years, will consider the revolution in Hayti far more important to us, than that of Naples or Portugal.

AFRICAN COLONIZATION. We learn that the surviving colonists, under the charge of Daniel Coker, have obtained land and were about to remove to it. He has desired that his family may be sent out in the next vessel; and we understand that one will sail for the colony in about a month, on board of which free blacks wishing to embark may have a passage.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. No serious opposition to the re-election of Messrs. Monroe and Tompkins having been contemplated in any of the states, the late attempt made at Philadelphia could not have been expected "to amount to much." It is probable that the ticket favorable to the re-election of these gentlemen, will receive not less than four-fifths of the votes recently given in Pennsylvania. In Kentucky, some of the candidates for electors have given us to understand that they would not support Mr. Tompkins; but he will, like Mr. Monroe, have nearly an unanimous vote.

POLAND. The speech of the emperor Alexander to the Polish diet—see page 172, is well called a "most remarkable" one. It clearly manifests his notions about legitimacy—and shews that he is resolved to maintain his subjects in the most abject obedience. An English paper mentions this speech in the following terms:—"The Dutch mail supplies us with the speech delivered by the emperor Alexander to the Polish diet, on the 13th Sept. which, instead of affording any hope, that his majesty meditates the generous purpose which report had recently ascribed to him, of re-establishing Poland in its integrity, as an independent state, distinctly states, as the basis of any benefits which are to be conferred on its inhabitants, the perpetuity of their union with Russia. He talks, indeed, to the Poles of Christian morality, and truth and error, with all the mystical obscurity of a disciple of Madame Kru-dener. But he finishes with displaying the cloven foot. He roundly tells them of his determination to root out the seeds of destruction as soon as they appear, and that he will never negotiate about his principles, nor submit to consent to any thing that may oppose them; which, being interpreted, means that the slightest effort to recover their independence, will be visited with sudden vengeance; and that having, by outwitting the congress of Vienna, once got them within his grasp, he is firmly resolved that no future negotiation shall ever tear them from it."

"EXTRAORDINARY PHENOMENON!" We have an account in the *London papers*, and, because it appears in that great city it must be something very extraordinary, of an "extraordinary phenomenon" in a person, a native of Scotland, born without arms, and with only one leg and foot, with which he feeds himself, shaves himself, and performs sundry operations—"almost every thing that other persons are in the habit of doing, with the aid of their hands." A New York editor thinks the ac-

count almost "incredible," though the matters related are said to have happened in England!—What a deficiency in faith, what a refusal of accustomed obedience—when we know that a "Yankee" girl publicly did as *queer* things in her own country several years ago!—but she is forgotten, for she was of domestic growth and not imported! She has not received celebrity from a London newspaper!

About 13 or 14 years since, a Miss Honeywell, (if her name is rightly recollected), and, we think, a native of Vermont, was exhibited in Baltimore. She was apparently about 18 years of age—a very beautiful and most interesting girl, presenting a face and bust which most of our dashing belles would be proud of. She was also highly accomplished—well acquainted with many of the best authors in the English language, which she read understandingly and without assistance. She was modest and unassuming, and the delicacy of her nature revolted at the necessity which compelled her to expose herself to the public—for she had no arms, and only *one* member which seemed to be intended for a leg, to which was attached something like a foot with three toes. With her leg and toes, and by freely using her mouth, she painted, (in the presence of the editor of the REGISTER), some beautiful flowers, mixing her colors and giving them the shadings of an artist; worked at tambouring, which she executed with great nicety, and several times drew the thread out of her needle to shew us that she could re-thread it without difficulty; she also took up a book and turned over its leaves as easily and as accurately as any other person could have done it. She managed a pair of scissors so as to cut what she wished, even neat watch papers, and combed her hair, and adjusted her dress, to which she seemed very attentive. She fed herself with a fork or a spoon with apparent ease. Her limb which was for a leg and foot, was less than one fourth of the ordinary size; but it appeared as if she could give it any direction and appropriate it to any use that she pleased, more freely than most persons could use a single arm and hand. She threaded her needle by putting it in her mouth; when, with unerring certainty, having taken the thread between her toes, she put it through the eye, and with them, also, drew it as far through as she desired, &c. At her tambour frame, the work on the upper side was done with her mouth, on the lower by her foot, as rapidly as it is customary to pass and repass the needle at such work.

Legislature of Kentucky.

The legislature of this state met at Frankfort on the 16th ult. and, on the next day, received the following

MESSAGE FROM THE GOVERNOR:

Gentlemen of the senate,
and of the house of representatives—

From the short period that has elapsed since I came into office, it will not be expected that I can give you much information, that will aid you in performing your legislative duties.

Selected from every part of the state, and possessing a knowledge of the feelings, the wishes and wants of the community, it will be for you, gentlemen, to adopt and enact such measures as will contribute most to alleviate distress, to prevent useless and impolitic sacrifices of property on the one hand, whilst you steadily keep in view justice, and the general policy of the state, on the other.

It will be admitted by all, that the people of this state feel, at this time, a severe and universal pressure, in their monied transactions. To relieve them in some measure, is, I trust, the wish of all. Different views will be entertained as to the best means of effecting so desirable an object, by members from different parts of the state. A successful termination can only be hoped for, from cool, dispassionate deliberation and sound reason. A high exercise of charity and mutual forbearance towards the opinions of each other, will be found most useful in all deliberative bodies; and will most effectually lead to a favorable termination of your arduous and important duties.

Whilst we feel and lament the difficulties we labor under in our monied transactions, we have sufficient cause of gratitude to the Supreme Disposer of events, for the bountiful crops with which our state is favored, and the great degree of general health which our citizens enjoy.

Our penitentiary establishment will require your early attention. That institution, (organized and intended for the wise and humane purpose of uniting mercy with justice), from the increased and increasing number of convicts, and the decayed state of the buildings, originally too small to afford the benefits of solitary confinement and convenient room for labor, will be found, at this time, altogether insufficient. A thorough examination, by some members of your body, will be necessary to enable you to adopt such measures as you may judge most conducive to promote the public good, and realize the hopes of the state, in establishing that institution. Although many worthy industrious citizens labor under considerable individual embarrassments, arising chiefly from want of a market for their surplus produce, yet it will be found, on examination, that the funds of the state, are amply sufficient for all necessary, and some useful purposes. It is then worthy the consideration of the legislature, whether the present is not a favorable time to make valuable and lasting improvements. Labor is now low, and the state would find employment for many of her useful citizens. Should you, gentlemen, agree with me on this subject, permit me to recommend to your attention, as an object of the first importance and usefulness to the state, the navigation of the Ohio river, from Louisville to its mouth. All other and further improvements in the navigation of our waters, will derive their utility, in a great degree, from the first object. From information, acquired whilst a commissioner on the Ohio, I have no hesitation in giving it as my opinion, that a safe and certain navigation may be made for steam-boats (drawing six feet) at the lowest stage of the water. The labor may be performed during any one summer, and the expense will be more than doubly reimbursed, in every succeeding fall, to the citizens of the state. May we not reasonably hope too, that the states of Indiana, Tennessee and Ohio, will aid in an undertaking, so evidently useful to all. It will be found beneficial in this (as in most cases) to call the attention of the state, and direct her energies to a single object, until it is completed, and, once completed, its usefulness will point out more clearly than any reasoning on the subject, the necessity of farther improvements in our smaller streams.

In a government like ours, where the laws alone bear rule, and where those laws emanate from the people, the importance and even necessity of education amongst all classes of the citizens, will be universally felt and acknowledged. It remains only for the legislature, on this highly interesting subject, to select and pursue that course which will

seem to promise the greatest benefit, in the shortest period of time, and at the least expense. Former legislatures have, perhaps wisely, made considerable donations of land to the several counties, for the purpose of establishing primary schools or seminaries of learning; but little benefit has yet been produced to the community at large, from those donations. Whether this failure has arisen from a too great diffusion of the means, or from a too great difficulty of procuring teachers, well qualified to take charge of these schools, or from both causes, is not now material to enquire. Both those difficulties may be obviated by turning your attention at this time to our university, the great head or fountain from which streams will flow to fertilize and improve the human mind, in every section of the state. By aiding our university, by putting it in its power to become useful in every department of science which it is prepared to teach, you will promote the real interest of the community at home, and give dignity and weight of character to the state abroad. Thus we may reasonably hope, in a few years, to see our primary schools furnished with well qualified teachers, raised and educated amongst ourselves, possessing the morals, manners and habits of our country. Such men, too, from their connections in the state, will have a weight of character to support, not always attached to itinerants.

Permit, me, gentlemen, to call your attention likewise, to the present mode of supporting lunatics and other persons of unsound mind throughout the state. It will be found by a reference to the auditor's books, that this expense has been increasing annually for several years. It requires only a plain calculation by figures to show to the understanding of every one, that much of this expense may be saved, by preparing the hospital now established in Lexington for the reception and maintenance of those unfortunate fellow beings. There they will be better provided for, and at a less expense, than under the present mode in the different counties. They will have the best medical aid the state affords gratis—and if only one in twenty of those unfortunate beings, laboring under the most dreadful of all maladies, should be restored, will it not be a cause of gratulation to a humane and generous public!

From the resignation of the honorable William Logan, a senator of the United States from this state, it becomes your duty to fill that vacancy for the balance of the term for which he was elected, at an early period of the present session.

Accept, gentlemen, my good wishes for your health and successful labors for the good of our common country; and believe me, sincerely, your most obedient servant,

JOHN ADAIR.

Frankfort, Oct. 17, 1820.

Foreign Articles.

STATE PAPERS.

We find in a late London paper, an article dated Frankfort, Sept. 20, which says, that on the 9th of that month the Russian ambassador at Vienna, count Golowskin, communicated the following important declaration to prince Cimitili, charged by the court of Naples, with an extraordinary mission to the emperor Alexander.

"My prince—I hasten to announce to you that I have just received orders from my court, in answer to the extraordinary message which I had transmitted to it. The emperor, my master, is united with

his illustrious allies, by the faith of treaties, by the most intimate friendship, and by a confidence so much the more important, as the restoration of social order, which was the first motive for this alliance, is now become the essential object of it. His imperial majesty cannot, in any case, depart from the line which is marked out to him by his engagements. Any isolated step, any disposition which would have the slightest appearance of a liberty to choose for himself, [*apparence d'initiative*], would be a deviation from that rule which alone guides the policy of the imperial cabinet. His imperial majesty would now less than ever permit a deviation from an object so important, and of such general interest, as the present state of affairs in the kingdom of the two Sicilies. That critical state of things has too urgent claims to unanimity and general concord among the guardians of European order and government, to enable his majesty to decide by anticipation, upon the measures which may ultimately be adopted. For these reasons, which I have the honor to state to you, my prince, the emperor, my master, cannot recognize the mission with which you are charged by your government to his majesty, neither under the prescribed diplomatic forms, nor confidentially. The relations which I have had the honor to have with you, entitle you to high personal consideration. I beg your acceptance of my sentiments of esteem, &c.

(Signed) Count GOLOWSKIN."

"Vienna, Sept. 8, 1820."

Declaration of Austria relative to Naples.

The following are the contents of the confidential communications, of which several journals have spoken, and which the Austrian court caused to be delivered by its ambassadors to the different courts of Germany:

"Vienna, July 25, 1820.

"The late events in the kingdom of Naples have proved more clearly and impressively, than any other preceding occurrences of this kind, that even in a regular and well governed state, among a quiet temperate people, satisfied with their government, the poisonous influence of revolutionary sects, may cause the most violent convulsions and a sudden revolution. For it is clearly demonstrated, that the intrigues and machinations of the carbonari alone, without any external impulse, without any, even a plausible pretext, caused those seditious movements which induced his majesty the king of Naples, in a moment of embarrassment, to lay down the government, to dissolve all the existing authority, and to proclaim a constitution absolutely foreign to his country, and as yet untried, even in the country which gave it birth; in other words, anarchy as law. His majesty, the emperor, is convinced that this unexpected event will have made the most lively impression on all the German courts. It teaches, by memorable example, how dangerous it is to contemplate with contemptuous indifference, the operations of secret associations, and of conspiracies sculking in the dark, and how wisely the German princes have acted in opposing vigilance and rigor to the first symptoms of those dangerous attempts. His majesty, the emperor, is especially interested in these unhappy events, by his personal and political relations, by his near affinity to several of the Italian princes, and by the geographical position of his dominions. The political order of things established in 1815, under the guarantee of all the European powers, has made Austria the natural guardian and protector of public tranquillity in Italy. The emperor is firmly resolved to fulfil

his high vocation, to keep every advance of tumultuary movements at a distance from his frontiers and those of his neighbors; to suffer no violent infringement of the rights and relations of the Italian princes, as secured by treaties; and if legal and administrative means should not afford sufficient protection, to have recourse to the most energetic measures. Happily the present situation of the European powers, and the spirit of peace which animates them all, is a pledge that such measures will not lead to political hostilities, or to wars between the states.

"If force, (to the use of which his majesty, whose love of justice and moderation are well known, will not proceed except in extreme necessity), should be unavoidable, it will never be employed against legitimate power, but only against armed rebels. Even in this case, the possibility is most unwillingly assumed. His majesty, the emperor, will make no claim to the immediate accession, or support of his German allies. The measures required to maintain peace and order in Italy, are entirely beyond the sphere of co-operation of the German confederation, as founded by the federal act; and, far from wishing to depart from the principles established in common on this head, his majesty is, on the contrary, ready to make every exertion and sacrifice, in order to avert, in the most efficacious manner, the contingency of such co-operation, and of every danger which might lead to it from the frontiers of the territories of the German confederation. On the other side, it is certainly important and desirable, that while Austria is directing its care and efforts towards so useful and wholesome an enterprise, it may rely with full confidence upon undisturbed tranquility in the interior of Germany. However the fate of Italy may engage the attention of the emperor, his majesty will, nevertheless, constantly take some lively interest in the affairs of Germany, and perform, in their full extent, his duties as a member of the confederation.

"But it inspires his majesty with inexpressible satisfaction and confidence to be able to say to himself that, so long as the German courts are guided by that lively sense of the duties imposed on them, by the present alarming situation of the political world, and by that spirit of unity, firmness, and wisdom so evidently displayed in the late negotiation at Vienna, and expressed in the most dignified manner at the close of these negotiations by some of the first German governments, nothing is to be apprehended for our common country. A great glory is reserved for Germany, if it finds in the prudence and firmness of its princes, in the inviolate maintenance of its existing constitutions, in the faithful sentiments of its people, and in the powerful guarantee of its union, the means and energy which it needs to maintain in this threatening time, its internal peace, its legal institutions, its independence, its dignity, and its ancient character. His majesty is convinced that none of his noble German allies will be insensible of such glory, and he shall esteem himself happy to be able one day to claim a share in it, in the consciousness of having spared no exertions, no sacrifices, to promote so great and glorious an end."

The emperor Alexander to the Polish Diet.

Warsaw, Sept. 16.—His majesty, the emperor of Russia, king of Poland, opened, on the 15th, the diet of the kingdom of Poland, with the following most remarkable speech:

"*Representatives of the kingdom of Poland!* It is with real satisfaction that I find myself a second

time among you, and with pleasure renew to you the assurance that I follow the impulse of my heart, and carry into execution one of my dearest wishes, when I assemble you here to co-operate in the maintenance and development of your social institutions.

"My confidence in you has been the origin of these institutions; your confidence in me will consolidate them.

"My object, when I gave them to you, was to combine the power of the sovereign with the intermediate power—with the rights and legal wants of society.

"I consider these bonds as indispensable; but to be durable, they require a support, in want of which every thing earthly decays and degenerates.

"Let us not forget that institutions of this kind are only human work. Like man himself, they want a support for their weakness, a guide against error; and like him, they can only find such a support and guide in christian morality, and its divine doctrines.

"You have remained Poles; you bear that honorable name; but I have told you once before, that only the application of the principles of beneficent morality, can restore to you so honorable a right. Follow, therefore, on your part those wholesale doctrines; draw from their source that sense of probity which they command you, both towards yourselves and others; draw from them that love of truth which aims at truth alone, which hears and speaks only her language; then you will powerfully support me in consolidating the work of your regeneration.

"I have spoken to you in the words of truth; for it is truth that I ask from you. I wish to hear it from your mouths; let me hear it with frankness, but also with composure and cordiality.

"It will appear to you in full light as soon as you seek it in reality, and not in vain abstractions—as soon as you judge of your situation according to the testimony of events, and not according to theories, which, in our days, fallen or rising ambition endeavors to bring forward.

"Lastly, truth will mark your opinions as soon as you regard only the voice of the great interests that are confided to you—as soon as you banish from your recollections all acrimony, every partial object, and thus show yourselves worthy of your honorable mission.

"Then, and not before, you will have fulfilled your obligations; I will now fulfil mine.

"My ministers will lay before you a view of all the measures of organization and administration which have been adopted within these two years. You will, doubtless, recognize with joy the good which they have effected, when you compare it with all evils, the deceptions of which were to be effaced. The wish to attain this object has, perhaps, not always followed the way which the form of administration, that I readily gave, and you prescribed. Perhaps, too urgent and simultaneous wants have caused, by their occurrence an increase in the necessary expenditure.

"My views, however, have not changed; and it is my firm will that, in future, the regulations once laid down shall be strictly adhered to, and the most scrupulous care be taken to economize the resources of the payers of the contributions.

The wishes that you have laid before me have been most seriously considered. You will hear how they have been partly satisfied already, and shall in part be fulfilled in future. You will hear why it has been necessary to delay the accomplishment of

some, to renounce that of others. Among those which the government has willingly granted, are the project of a law, which will be laid before you.

[His majesty then enumerates some of these proposed laws, which he desires they will thoroughly examine when submitted to their consideration and concludes as follows:]—

“There are countries where use and abuse are placed in one and the same line—where the spirit of evil excites the vain want of slavish habitation, and again attempts to recover its dreadful sway. Already it predominates in one part of Europe—already it heaps those crimes and convulsions on each other.

“Notwithstanding these unhappy events, my system of government will remain always the same. I have drawn its principles from the most profound sense of my duties.

“I shall always fulfil those duties scrupulously. But this would not be perfectly done, if I were blind to the great truths which experience teaches us.

“Doubtless the age in which we live requires protecting laws, as the basis and guarantee of social order. But our age also imposes upon princes the duty of preserving those laws from the mischievous influence of ever restless, ever blind passions.

“In this respect, a heavy responsibility lies on you, as well as on me. It commands you faithfully to follow the path which your judgment, your upright sense of duty prescribes to you. It commands me frankly to warn you of the dangers that might surround you, in order to defend your constitution against them; it obliges me to judge of the measures on which I am called to decide, according to their real consequences—not according to the appellations with which party spirit endeavors sometimes to blacken, sometimes to adorn them. Lastly, it obliges me, in order to prevent the production of evil, or the necessity of violent remedies, to root out the seeds of destruction as soon as they appear.

“This is my unalterable resolution. I will never negotiate about my principles, nor ever submit to consent to any thing that may oppose them.

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“We, your majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, the magistrates and town council of Forfar, in common council assembled, beg leave to approach your majesty at this juncture, with sentiments of the utmost reverence and respect. While addresses from every quarter are pouring into her majesty the queen, we beg leave to express our astonishment that no corporation within your kingdom, has presented to you an address of condolence, upon the miserable and forlorn condition in which you must necessarily be placed, by the slanderous allegations which have been heaped on your royal consort. If, during six years pilgrimage to various quarters of the globe, excluded from the bed and board of your majesty, she has forgot the dignity of her high station, it was certainly generous and noble in your majesty to lay aside personal considerations, and through the medium of your ministers, to have her brought to trial, for the sole purpose of vindicating the insulted honor and dignity of the kingdom. We know your majesty to be *pious and chaste, and not given to libidinous courses*; and, while the allegations against your royal consort must have created *sentiments of horror in your virtuous mind*, we beg leave to profess our respect for the *self command* which your majesty has shown, by laying aside all *personal considerations*, and every feeling but that of zeal for the *insulted honor of the country*. We have heard with delight of your majesty's *patient and forgiving temper*; and we have no doubt, should your royal consort be acquitted of her imputed crimes, your majesty will *wait the event as of one the most auspicious in your life; and t. at*

you will rapturously take your insulted and injured queen to your arms, and administer the balm of consolation to her wounded feelings, and bring her slanderous and treacherous foes to condign punishment.

The queen received eleven addresses on the 2d of October—among them one from the shipwrights and caulkers, who presented it in a procession, amounting to 5,000 men, with many flags and emblems. Among the mottos borne by them some were thus inscribed—"Oppressors are cowards." "The brave defend the defenceless." "Cheer up virtue."

Some of the processions bearing addresses to the queen, are got up in great style—and the number of persons engaged in them are astonishing. That on the 26th Sept. appears to have been nearly two miles long.

The journeymen printers of London held a general meeting, and appointed a deputation to know when the queen would receive their address.

The answer of the queen to the address of the common hall of London, was inserted on the journals; during the discussion about which, the (late) lord mayor, who seems unfriendly to that woman, was very severely handled.

We have a brief sketch of Mr. Williams' speech in defence of the queen. It appears to have been very caustic. He wished first to enquire "who were the parties to the proceeding." It was clear that he was opposed to "somebody," and he wanted to know who it was! He knew whom he had to defend—a "queen under a series of treatment to which he would not at present apply an epithet." He said "that the whole case was founded and bottomed on perjury—perjury as clear and distinct to every mind as that he was then addressing the house." He handled the testimony of Majocchi and Dumont in the severest manner, and referred to the cases in which they had perjured themselves.—He lectured the solicitor general at large, for making assertions in his closing speech which were not warranted by the testimony; and said that three years had been spent in making examinations to get up the accusations against the queen; that she had not had any advantage of time, having been refused a list of the witnesses against her, and an account of the things with which she was charged.

A work entitled "memoirs of Bergami," and said to be written by himself, which lately appeared at Paris, seems, by common consent, to be regarded as not genuine.

The witnesses against the queen being shipped off in a national vessel, are rescued from the danger of prosecutions for perjury. This is a most singular proceeding, and marks the character of the whole business.

The N.Y. Columbian says—A friend, just arrived from London, has handed us a copy of one of the numerous pamphlets now circulating among the people of England. It is entitled, "the queen's judges, or a penny peep at the peers—There is nothing like a fair, free, open trial, where the king can chose *his* judges and appoint *his* jury! A list of the jury, with the amount of corrupt influence attached to each individual peer, from places, pensions, &c."

The list embraces the names of 369 peers, in alphabetical order, who derive, if this account is to be credited, more than *twelve millions five hundred thousand dollars annually*, in places and pensions!—A few of the highest on this list are as follows:

Duke Wellington,	65,741 sterling
Msrquis Bute,	65,891
Earl Westmoreland,	51,650

Marquis Waterford,	54,365
Earl Talbot	48,356
&c. &c.	

FRANCE.

M. Cuvier, in a late discussion in the chamber of deputies, observed that elementary instruction was for the most part given gratuitously, or at a very small expense, in France. That 1,070,500 children learn at this moment to read and write in the minor schools, under the care of 28,000 masters: and that 46,000 youths are admitted into the colleges, each paying a small tax of from fifteen to twenty francs to the state.

Many people danced in the streets of Paris, when it was announced that the duchess of Berri was delivered of a son! The whole city was illuminated! One half of the *Moniteur* is filled with an official account of the little baby. Every thing is described with disgusting precision. The duchess was *suddenly taken*, and delivered before her immediate attendants could reach her—when she found that it was a male child, she exclaimed "God! what happiness—it is God that hath sent him to us!" Then the *accoucheur* was brought forward: but he did nothing until her room was filled with *men* to be eye-witnesses of her situation, the child remaining as at the moment of its birth for their examination! After which the "surgical operation" was performed.—"During this time the princess conversed freely with the people about her. Some wine of Jurancon and a clove of garlic had been sent to her from Pau. She desired that the child should taste the wine, and have its lips rubbed with the garlic, which was done. This was in commemoration of the birth day of Henry IV. when a like ceremony was performed—the flagon used on this occasion is said to have been the same. The depositions of the several persons present, occupy several columns." Alas, poor France! Alas, poor human nature!—that this child should be considered as born to be the *master* of twenty-five millions of people.

The birth of an heir to the throne of France, is thus announced to Frenchmen in the U. States, by Mr. Roth, charge d'affaires:

[TRANSLATION.]

Legation of the king of France }
in the United States, }

Washington, 3d Nov. 1820.

TO FRENCHMEN IN THE UNITED STATES.

Countrymen, in a foreign land—Let us not await the official communication of the government of his majesty, to thank God for the event which has fulfilled the wishes of France, in giving to us an offspring of the race of St. Louis, of Henry IV. and of Louis the Great.

This communication is addressed directly to a French hearts, by these words of the king himself, at the moment of the birth of the prince Henry Charles Ferdinand, duke of Bordeaux, on the 29th of September:

"A child is born to us all," said the king: "this child shall be one day your father. He will love you as I love you—as all my friends love you."

Let us repeat with tenderness and respect these words, pronounced between the cradle and the tomb bathed with our tears. Let them be reverberated in this other hemisphere, where the lilies have left so many grateful recollections, where are also French hearts, which beat for their country.

This love of family, a national virtue, these affections of father, and of children, of friends and brethren, diffused among all classes, from the sovereign to his subjects, yet more valuable than the laws of the state, which would perish without this

some, to renounce that of others. Among those which the government has willingly granted, are the project of a law, which will be laid before you.

[His majesty then enumerates some of these proposed laws, which he desires they will thoroughly examine when submitted to their consideration and concludes as follows:]—

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He was a native of France, and one of the drummers at queen Anne's coronation in England—he emigrated to the United States 80 or 90 years ago.

—, at New-York, Mrs. *Hannah R. Rivera*, aged one hundred years—a native of Port Mahon, but who came to this country when about ten years old.

President Adams has just entered his 86th year.

Impressment! A man, named *Dunham*, has lately returned to the place of his nativity in Vermont, after an absence of about thirty years, having been impressed and detained in the British service until very recently, for all which he received about 30 dollars. He was in the battles of the Nile and of Trafalgar. He found his wife married to a *third* husband. This man has *not* received "any essential injury!!!"

The *U. S. brig Enterprize* has sailed for St. Thomas', supposed to bring home some persons charged with piracy.

The *National Gazette*, at Philadelphia, has become a daily paper, at eight dollars *per annum*; and, considering the many great advantages of its reputed editor, Mr. *Walsh*, must be a most interesting medium for communicating knowledge, even to those who do not adopt some of the principles which it advocates.

A *bold eagle* was lately wounded by a lad, about 12 years old, near Schenectady, N. Y. It was injured only in one of its wings, and, on falling to the ground, attacked the boy with the fury of a tiger; but at length he procured a stake from a hedge and killed the bird. It measured seven feet and an half from the tip of one wing to the tip of the other—the talons were three inches long.

Cotton. Accounts from England say, that cotton was very scarce in India—that it cost nearly 22 cents there. This is good news, if true, for the people of the southern states, and it is well for the whole that some part of the union is in a prosperous condition.

The croup. Three children, of the name of *Gibson*, died at Philadelphia of the croup, on the 27th, 28th and 30th ult. Their ages were 11 mo. 2 years and 5 years, respectively.

The north-west. We learn that a particular account of the late tour of gov. *Cass*, and the scientific gentlemen associated with him, will speedily be published. It is said that 50 points of latitude, and a considerable number of longitude, have been ascertained, and that the collections in mineralogy, &c. are highly interesting.

Sleighting! There was good sleighting for several days, about the 20th ult. in some parts of New-Hampshire; and at Plattsburg, N. Y. the snow fell eight inches deep!

"Royal play-actress." It is now stated that the actress arrived at New-York, is not the grand daughter of the late king of England, but the daughter of Mrs. *Jordan* by a Mr. *Ford*, who had her under his "protection," before she united herself to the duke of Clarence. We notice this thing only to correct an error.

Fires. A large part of the village called *Queens-town*, in Maryland, was destroyed by fire on the 25th ult. The large brewery, back of 137 Market street, Philadelphia, between 3d and 4th streets, was consumed on the 26th ult. Between 30 and 40 buildings were destroyed by fire at New-Haven, Conn. on the same day; the loss estimated at from 150 to 200,000 dollars.

Nantucket contains a population of 6 992 white and 274 colored persons. Of the whites 2,731 are

under 16 years of age. The females are probably more numerous than the males, but their numbers are not stated. Supposing them to be equal, it appears that of 2,130 females, on the island, over 16 years of age, 399 were *widows*—nearly one in five of the whole.

Baltimore. John *Montgomery*, esq. was elected mayor of Baltimore, for the ensuing two years, by the electors chosen in Oct. last.

Savannah. A census was lately taken of the white population remaining in this city—they amounted to 693 men, 449 women and 352 children—total 1,494. The number of houses unoccupied was 343! How fearfully must the disease have raged here! To add to the calamities of Savannah, a wretch was detected in the act of setting fire to a large wooden building, not yet finished! Our last accounts afford a hope that the fever had subsided.

New-York. The legislature of this state met at Albany, on the 7th inst. The "Clintonians" and "anti Clintonians" tried their strength in the choice of a speaker of the house of assembly—the latter succeeded by a majority of 17 votes. After the organization of the house, governor *Clinton* opened the business of the session with a speech, which we shall publish.

Pennsylvania. Members elected to the 17th congress—John *Sergeant*, *Wm. Minor*, *Joseph Hephill*, *Samuel Edwards*, *William Darlington*, *Samuel Gross*, *James Buchanan*, *John Phillips*, *James S. Mitchell*, *James McSherry*, *James Duncan*, *Dr. Saml. D. Moore*, *Thomas J. Rogers*, *Ludwig Worman*, *John Tod*, *John Brown*, *George Denison*, *Wm. Cox Ellis*, *George Plumer*, *Thomas Patterson*, *Andrew Stewart*, *Henry Baldwin*, and *Patrick Farrelly*. [Those in *Italic* are not members of the present congress.]

Virginia. E. B. *Jackson*, esq. has been elected a member of congress, vice Mr. *Pindall*, resigned.

Kentucky. *Isham Talbot* has been elected a senator in congress, vice Mr. *Logan* resigned. On the 2nd ballot the votes stood thus—for Mr. *Talbot* 45; Mr. *Rowan* 31; Mr. *McKee* 21. Mr. *Desha* received 18 votes on the 1st ballot and was then withdrawn.

We have before observed that the stockholders of the bank of Kentucky were summoned to a general meeting to take into consideration the propriety of resuming specie payments, &c. This meeting was held at Frankfort on the 18th ult. but, after much debate, the whole business was postponed until the meeting, which is to take place in January next.

By an abstract of the auditor's report, it appears that the following were the receipts and expenditures of Kentucky for eleven months, ending on the 10th Oct. 1820.

Total receipts 175,714: in the treasury	
10th Nov. 1819, 53,984	\$229,699
Warrants paid during said period	159,000

In the treasury Oct. 10	70,699
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The loans to the penitentiary during same time amounted to 20,700; and the receipts therefrom were 19,181. This establishment stands indebted to the state in the sum of 21,956 dollars. The amount of debts due by it is 34,091, and of the debts due to it, for goods manufactured and sold \$64,527. The state owes only 6,736; and is estimated that at the end of the ensuing year there will remain a surplus in the treasury of about 70,000 dolls