whether, when I was ſo ſtrenuous againſt the impoſition of that tax, either he or his friends offered to commute the whole internal taxes for it. I am ready, whenever circumſtances ſhall admit, to diminiſh that duty, but not with the views of gentlemen, who are not ſo much in favor of reducing the public burthens, as for throwing an odium upon other meaſures equally neceſſary, and for caſting a ſhade of unpopularity upon this act. Why do I ſay ſo? Becauſe when power was in their hands, they were not for reducing them an iota. On the contrary their ſyſtem was to get all they could, and to keep all they got. They would not commute even the ſedition law for any duty or tax. As it had been well ſaid by a gentleman from Kentucky, now power has parted from gentlemen, they are willing to reduce the taxes, to take them entirely out of our hands, and inſtead of letting us apply them, they ſay let us do it, and let us uſe your power to do that, which is diſagreeable to us, in the way that is moſt diſagreeable to you. This, and nothing more nor leſs, is the amount of the remarks of gentlemen.

After having experienced the benefits of the ſyſtem of theſe gentlemen, we are now told they have made a great diſcovery in the mode of reducing the public expences. Pity it was not made while thoſe gentlemen were in power. So long as they enjoyed the power, the idea of reducing the public burthens never entered into their minds; at any rate we heard nothing of it if it did. But ſo ſoon as the nation had diſmiſſed them from power, ſo ſoon as any diſpoſition to that effect became inefficient, we hear the gentlemen loudly contending for a reduction.

When gentlemen ſay, they are not anxious for extending a ſyſtem of executive patronage, we are willing to give them credit for what they ſay. But let us ſee what credit we are entitled to when we ſay the ſame thing. We ſhew on this occaſion, as I truſt we ſhall on all occaſions, that we do not take up their principles with their power; that on the contrary, we advance the ſame principles now, when in poſſeſſion of power, that we did, when we had ſcarcely any proſpect of getting into power.

Of all the articles of internal revenue, if any were retained, no doubt that upon ſtamps ſhould be retained, as it is at once the moſt productive, and the leaſt expenſive in collection: And yet what do gentlemen propoſe? To retain the tax upon carriages, that only yields the inconſiderable ſum of 80 000 dolls. and give up that on ſtamps, which produces 240,000 dollars. Why? Becauſe the latter falls on the merchants; and yet gentlemen ſay, in the ſame breath, the external duties fall on the conſumer, and not on the merchant.

For my part, I am not to be deterred, by any attempt to render this meaſure unpopular, from purſuing ſteadily that ſyſtem which is congenial to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, viz. to throw back the internal taxes into the hands of the ſtates, only to be uſed by this government on a national emergency. When this government was eſtabliſhed, we were informed that theſe taxes were never to be laid but on ſuch emergency. Yet the government had not been in operation more than two years, when they were ſeized, to rear that ſyſtem of patronage, which, from the commencement of the government, has been ſo favourite a meaſure. It is not my purpoſe here to trace that ſyſtem of patronage through its various modifications, which has been more happily done by my colleague on a late occaſion. But it is my object to reſtore the conſtitution to its healthful ſtate, by doing away theſe taxes; of which ſhould we retain a part, however ſmall, we might, on a mere change of men, ſee it ſoon ramified to the greateſt extent.

Gentlemen tell us no ſaving has been ſhewn to be made; but I think it has been clearly ſhewn that a ſaving has already been made more than commenſurate to the whole amount of theſe internal taxes. In addition to this ſum, is the difference between the amount received and that which is payable, which is more than 100,000 dollars, for which the committee of Ways and Means have made no allowance. This fact will ſhew the diſpoſition of the committee not to inſiſt upon items of ſmall amount, though in the aggregate theſe items amount to near 200,000 dollars, which is one fifth of the whole ſum of theſe taxes.

We are told this act is unwiſe, as the ſtate of things abroad is perilous, and that we ought not to part with the ſum of 650,000 dollars, becauſe the revenue from imports may fail. Do gentlemen mean to ſay, that in ſuch event we can rely on the ſum of 650,000 dollars, for a defalcation in a revenue of 11 millions? If this argument means any thing, it would dictate the organization of the ſyſtem of internal taxation commenſurate to the meeting of any defalcation that may accrue. Let us give them all they want. That defalcation may be 30, 60, or 100 per cent; and it follows that we ought to raiſe from theſe taxes 3, 5, or 10 millions. It is from the fact that this ſource is unequal to the ſupply of any great defalcation, that we are for giving it up.

I am ſenſible of having detained the committee longer than I myſelf had intended or they may have wiſhed; but from the ſituation in which I was placed as a member of the committee of ways and means, I felt it my duty to trouble them even at this late hour. Before, however, I ſit down, I muſt ſay, that the committee have ſhewn that a ſaving, at leaſt equal to and probably much greater than the amount of the internal revenue, will be made. Eſtimating the contemplated reductions at the loweſt rate, there will be ſaved in the appropriations for the army 400,000 dollars; for the navy 200,000 dollars. Theſe will cover the internal taxes. The committee have ſaid nothing about the abolition of the mint, which will ſave 30,000 dollars; or of the judiciary; nor have they brought into view the large amount of cuſtom-houſe bonds not yet collected.

But we are told that this repeal is to take place at the expence of the navy, and that the navy is an inſtitution to which the people are attached. The people certainly have a right to decide, whether they will veſt large ſums in the building of ſeventy-four's, or ſmall ſums, that they may pay their debts.

The eſtimates on which the gentleman from South-Carolina relies, are not eſtimates made by the ſecretary of the navy for the preſent year, but for the laſt year, and the gentleman will find that the expences of the preſent year, ſuppoſing that we keep up the ſquadron in the Mediterranean, will amount to a ſum leſs by 600,000 dollars, than the expences of the laſt year. Is the gentleman prepared to ſhew the ſtatement of the ſecretary of the treaſury to be incorrect? Is he prepared to ſay, that we cannot keep up the amount for what he eſtimates it at? We have heretofore heard much of confidence in executive officers. I am not one of thoſe who are for beſtowing confidence, where it is not merited; but I have no heſitation to ſay I will, until gentlemen ſhew ſtrong reaſons for the contrary, give confidence to officers, whoſe character and whoſe offices depend on the fairneſs of their ſtatements.

Mr. Huger explained. He ſaid, he had not ſaid, that South-Carolina conſumed the whole that ſhe imported, he knew the contrary. But he contended that South-Carolina, and other ſtates on the ſea board paid a larger ſhare of the duties on imported articles than the interior parts of the union. Neither did he ſay, that the reduction in our tonnage would have any very great effect. He was aware of the difference between foreign and domeſtic tonnage. Yet certainly if the effect of a peace was the loſing a large portion of our carrying trade, the amount of tonnage muſt ſink.

[A motion was made to adjourn and loſt.]

Mr. Griswold. The queſtion is whether we ſhall ſtrike out carriages.— On this limited motion I did not expect to have heard gentlemen go into a full examination of the merits of the whole internal revenue. Having, however, indulged themſelves in the inquiry, it ſeems neceſſary to follow them, even though my remarks ſhould fail in their application to the carriage tax. It is not true, as ſtated by the gentleman from Maſſachuſetts (Mr. Bacon) that the clergy of New-England are paupers; they are not paupers.

Mr. Bacon ſaid he had ſtated no ſuch thing.

Mr. Griswold. They are not paupers, ſir. They are able and willing to pay with cheerfulneſs their portion of the public burthens. It is not true that Connecticut does not pay her proportion of the carriage tax. The document ſhews that ſhe does pay her proportion of it, though that proportion is not ſo high as that paid by Maſſachuſetts. Gentlemen have made it needful to ſtate the ſituation of the clergy of New-England, in order to remove the imputation againſt that order of men, and to ſtate the proportion of the tax paid by us to prove that we are not particularly intereſted in the continuance of this tax.

We wiſh to retain it becauſe we deem it neceſſary, becauſe we deem it a reaſonable tax; and becauſe it is one that is leſs expenſive in collection, than other taxes.

We are perſuaded, that if gentlemen will examine the documents on the table, they will find that though vaſt credit is due to the laſt adminiſtration, for the ſkill manifeſted by them in the eſtabliſhment of the revenue; yet they will ſee that there is no certainty of its amount for the eight coming years being ſo productive as they ſeem to ſuppoſe. If they refer to the document, they will find that for the three ſucceſſive years of 1790, 1791 and 1792, the average product of imports, calculated on the preſent rate of duties, was 6,153,000 dollars; they will alſo find that for the ſix ſucceeding years, the average product was 8,350,000 dollars. Now, I think it is not ſafe to eſtimate the receipts for the eight coming years higher than thoſe of theſe ſix years. It is to be obſerved that theſe ſix years included a period of war, which extended the value of our exports, rendered the conſumer better able to pay, from the high price received for the productions of his labour; and increaſed the conſumption of luxuries more than in time of peace. It will alſo be evident, that a variety of items which have gone to make up the aggregate of revenue, will, in time of peace fail. There are 86,000 dollars eſtimated on drawbacks, which aroſe from duties paid on imported articles afterwards exported from the U. S. & which will ceaſe the moment the carrying trade ceaſes. Will any gentleman ſay, that in time of peace we ſhall continue to import articles for the conſumption of Europe, the Spaniſh colonies, &c. This item from its nature is calculated to ceaſe at the end of the war. It muſt ceaſe.

Some duties muſt be reduced. Of wines the average product of the duties for the years 1790, 1791, and 1792 was 317,000 dollars; for the ſix ſucceeding years, it was 714,000 dollars. Do gentlemen think this amount will be kept up? During war your citizens are able to purchaſe. In peace the ability muſt decline.

The duty on ſugar in three years has riſen from 560,000 dollars to 903,000 dollars.

The duty on coffee has riſen almoſt in the ſame proportion; and if it is not reduced, you will loſe by its being ſmuggled; the temptation will be too ſtrong to be reſiſted.

You cannot, therefore, calculate upon more than the average of the above ſix years. Indeed you cannot with ſafety calculate ſo high. The Secretary of the Treaſury has grounded his calculations on the idea that the conſumption of foreign articles will increaſe with our population. But I totally diſagree with him. I will aſk whether you will conſume more than you can pay for? I will aſk how you will be enabled to pay for more now in a time of peace than you were able to pay for formerly? Are the European markets, or thoſe of the Weſt-Indies increaſed? If not, it will follow that the conſumers of your produce are not increaſed, though your productions are increaſed. And this ſtate of things inſtead of increaſing the conſumption of foreign goods, will only tend to increaſe your manufactures.

Other circumſtances too have ariſen that have enabled us for ſome years paſt to pay for more goods than we can expect to be able to pay for hereafter; viz. the funding the national debt, and the ſelling a large amount of ſtock abroad. I hope we ſhall have no more national debts to fund.

If it is not ſafe to rely upon a higher amount of duties than the average receipt for the above ſix years, then you cannot rely upon a higher annual receipt for duties on foreign articles than 8,350,000 dollars. But ſuppoſe you derive 8,500,000 dollars from this ſource. In addition to this fund the ſecretary of the treaſury calculates upon receiving annually 400,000 dollars for the ſale of lands. I am inclined to believe the amount will not be ſo large; but ſet it down at that. The poſtage of letters will yield 50,000 dollars; and the dividends upon bank ſtock 71,000 dollars.—And here you have the whole amount of your revenue, with the exception of a trifling ſum from patents, fines, &c. The whole, in the aggregate, amounts to 9,071,000 dollars.

I will now enquire into the expences for the eight coming years. According to the ſecretary of the treaſury, we are to pay 7,300,000 dollars on account of the debt. But I will not take his calculation. I will ſtate it at 7 millions, which we muſt pay—the civil liſt, 780,000 dollars; it will be underſtood that this is only what is abſolutely neceſſary—foreign intercourſe, &c. eſtimated at 200,000 dollars—the military eſtabliſhment, 1,420,000 dollars, as eſtimated at the opening of congreſs, and which is the eſtimate of the enſuing, and not of the paſt year, as ſtated by the honorable member from Virginia.

Mr. *Randolph* ſaid he did not ſtate it to be the old eſtimate, but an eſtimate formed on the old baſis.

Mr. *Griswold*. I took it ſo. It is not ſafe to put the expences of the military eſtabliſhment for the eight coming years lower than this eſtimate. Gentlemen ought to conſider the ſituation in which we are placed. They ought to conſider our neighbours on the frontiers, and thoſe who are likely to be our neighbours. They ought to conſider the accidents to which all nations are expoſed. They ought to conſider the neceſſity of ſending a ſtrong garriſon to the poſts on the Miſſiſſipi: And when they conſider all theſe circumſtances, they will agree with me that it is not ſafe to truſt the defence of the country to arrangements that will involve a ſmaller expence.

At the beginning of the ſeſſion the expence of the navy was eſtimated at 1,100,000 dollars; we ſince find it reduced to 900,000 dollars. On this eſtimate I have two remarks to make. I aſk whether gentlemen are content to take this eſtimate for the eight coming years. How is it made out? By ſtriking off 150,000 dollars appropriated to progreſſing in the building of the ſeventy fours, and 50,000 dollars for making navy yards. What is meant by this? May not gentlemen as well lay down the navy at once. You have not at preſent a ſingle dock where a large veſſel can be commodiouſly repaired; and to make ſuch a dock will coſt at leaſt 50,000 dollars. It is eaſy to make this reduction on paper; but we may as well burn our ſhips of war or give them as a preſent to our ſiſter republic. I truſt, however, the country is not prepared to give up the protection of commerce; and if not prepared, we muſt devote annually 1,100,000 dollars; which, indeed, is ſhort of what will be required.

Taking the old eſtimates, which are the only correct ones, Government muſt expend annually 10,500,000 dollars. But make a reduction for the military and naval eſtabliſhments of 500,000 dollars, which the neceſſary meaſures of the government will not warrant—and the annual expenditure will be 10,000,000—compare with this your revenue, which only amount to 9,071,000 dollars.

And in this eſtimate I have made no allowance for that infinite variety of contingent events that under every government are conſtantly ariſing. I aſk, then, if it is ſafe or proper, to give up the carriage tax, and all the other internal taxes, when they will probably be wanted for the expences of the government.

I am perfectly aware that our finances are in ſuch a ſtate, owing to the great ſkill with which they were managed under the old adminiſtration, that we have now three millions of ſurplus revenue in our Treaſury; and that gentlemen, by applying this ſum to the wants of the two or three coming years may meet the expences of the government, and perhaps go on till another Preſidential election. But I truſt we ſhall not act upon this narrow ſyſtem. I truſt we ſhall not look forward only to another Preſidential election. But that taking into our view the eight enſuing years at the expiration of which time in conſequence of the reduction of the debt which will then have been accompliſhed a large ſum can be diſpenſed with, we will wait till that period arrives, before we diſpenſe with theſe branches of revenue or any other.

[Mr. Griswold's Speech to be concluded in our next.]

WASHINGTON CITY.

WEDNESDAY, *March* 31, 1802.

House of Representatives, U. S.

Monday, March 29, 1802.

An engroſſed bill, making a partial appropriation for the ſupport of government, during the year 1802, was read a third time and paſſed.

Previous to its paſſage, a converſation took place reſpecting an alleged looſeneſs of appropriation. This objection was made by Mr. Griſwold, and ſupported by Mr. Dana, who were of opinion that the ſum in the bill ſhould be more ſpecifically appropriated.

The objection was repelled by Meſſrs. Milledge, Giles, Elmendorf, Randolph, and Alſton, who contended that the objection did not apply, and that no inconvenience could ariſe from a partial appropriation made in the bill and contemplated for a definitive object.

A motion made to recommit the bill was loſt; when the bill paſſed—Yeas 45.

An engroſſed bill for the relief of Iſaac Zane, was, after a ſhort diſcuſſion, paſſed—Yeas 45.

An engroſſed bill to amend an act, intitled, "An act to retain a further ſum on drawbacks for the expences incident to the allowance, and payment thereof and in lieu of ſtamp duties on debentures," was read a third time.

M. Stanley moved to recommit the bill to the committee of commerce and manufactures; loſt—Yeas 27—Nays 31.

The queſtion on the paſſage of the bill was then taken by Yeas and Nays, and carried—Yeas 38—Nays 37.

A meſſage was received from the Preſident, with accompanying communications from the marſhal for the diſtrict of Columbia, ſtating the great defects attending the exiſting ſtate of the jail in the diſtrict, &c.

Referred to the committee of whole houſe on Territorial bill.

Mr. Nicholson preſented two petitions from citizens of Waſhington, praying that an Internal Government may be eſtabliſhed for the diſtrict of Columbia, by Congreſs.

Referred to ſame committee.

The order of the day was called for on the bill reſpecting the government for the diſtrict of Columbia.

Mr. T. Morris moved to poſtpone the conſideration of the bill till the 4th Monday of November next.

Mr. Morris made this motion from a conviction that the proviſions of the bill were diſagreeable to a great majority of the inhabitants. From this circumſtance it had been his opinion that the bill would have been ſuffered to ſleep.

Mr. Nicholson ſeconded the motion.

Mr. Bacon aſked gentlemen to aſſign ſome ſpecific reaſons for the motion.

M. Nicholson ſaid his ſpecific reaſon for a poſtponement was his diſlike to the ſyſtem laid down in the bill. He believed that ſyſtem, if eſtabliſhed, would prove very oppreſſive, from the great expence attending it. Another reaſon with him was that the inhabitants of the diſtrict are very generally averſe to it.— Should the houſe go into committee, he had no doubt, but that after conſuming days, the bill would be finally rejected. The queſtion of poſtponement would determine the ſenſe of the houſe reſpecting a territorial legiſlature.

Mr. Dennis ſaid he had early taken up the opinion, that it would be as well for the intereſt of the United States as for that of the diſtrict, to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of local authority. But as no perſon could be more oppoſed to the proviſions of the bill than he was; and finding almoſt the whole of the inhabitants againſt it, he ſhould vote for the poſtponement; though the principle which the houſe was in favor of adopting might perhaps be beſt ſettled by a motion to ſtrike out the firſt ſection of the bill.— Should the houſe take up the bill, he was prepared to move a number of amendments, one of which would be for incorporating a ſenatorial branch. Believing that the preſent bill would be rejected, and that it was neceſſary for Congreſs immediately to do ſomething in relation to the affairs of the territory, he would vote in favor of the motion.

The queſtion of poſtponement was put, and carried—Yeas 42.

When on motion of Mr. Dennis, the committee of the whole was diſcharged from the further conſideration of the ſeveral ſubjects connected with the territory, and reference made thereof to a ſelect committee.

The Houſe proceeded to conſider the report on the petition of James Mac Caſhen, and others; when after a very detailed ſpeech made by Mr. Davis, the following reſolution was agreed to:

Reſolved, that thoſe perſons who purchaſed land of John Cleves Symmes, prior to the firſt of January 1800, ought to have further time allowed them to pay the money, than is allowed by the act of congreſs of March 3, 1801.

Meſſrs. Davis, Hoge, and Fearing, a committee to bring in a bill.

Tuesday, March 30, 1802.

A bill was received from the ſenate, for the better ſecurity of public monies lodged in the hands of public officers.

Referred to a committee of the whole Houſe on Monday.

The Houſe then went into committee of the whole, *Mr. L. R. Morris* in the chair, on the reſolutions of a ſelect committee, reſpecting the *admiſſion of the North Weſtern territory as a ſtate into the union.*

A motion was made to agree to the firſt reſolution, which involves the principle of admiſſion, which was ſupported by Meſſrs. Nicholſon, R. Williams, and Macon, and oppoſed by Meſſrs. Fearing, Griſwold, and Goddard.

The queſtion to agree to the firſt ſection was then taken, and carried by a large majority—yeas 47.

Twenty Dollars Reward.

RANAWAY from the Subſcriber on the 16th inſt. living in Charles county, near Port Tobacco in the ſtate of Maryland, a NEGRO MAN, by the name of HENRY, 24 or 25 years old, 5 feet 9 or 10 inches high, ſpare made, and middling dark complexion, with very thick lips, and ſlow in his ſpeech. His clothing when he went away was a ſhort negro cotton upper jacket, a whitiſh marſeilles quilting under ditto, old oſnabrig ſhirt, and a pair of brown duffil overalls, patched with ſky blue cloth. He was ſeen to paſs the Eaſtern Branch Ferry on Friday the 18th inſt. and was ſeen in the City of Waſhington on Saturday the 27th. I have every reaſon to believe he is now in the City or George-Town; I will give the above Reward to any perſon that will ſecure him in any gaol, and give me information ſo that I get him again.

EDWARD HAMILTON.

March 31, 1802. 1aw3t.

NOTICE

In the matter of John Stickney Bankrupt.

WHEREAS a commiſſion of bankruptcy founded upon the act of the Congreſs of the United States, paſſed on the fourth day of April 1800, entitled, "An act to eſtabliſh an uniform ſyſtem of bankruptcy throughout the United States," has been awarded and iſſued againſt John Stickney, of the City of Waſhington in the diſtrict of Columbia, merchant, and he has been declared a bankrupt. He is hereby required to ſurrender himſelf to the commiſſioners in the ſaid commiſſion named, or the major part of them on the 10th and 24th days of April and the 15th of May next, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon of each day, at the houſe of William Rhodes, Innkeeper in the City of Waſhington; and make a full diſcovery and diſcloſure of his eſtate and effects, when and where his creditors are to come prepared to prove their debts, and at the ſecond ſitting to chooſe aſſignees, and at the laſt ſitting the ſaid bankrupt is required to finiſh his examination. All perſons indebted to the ſaid bankrupt, or who have any of his effects are not to pay or deliver the ſame, but to whom the commiſſioners ſhall appoint.

GWINN HARRIS,
Clerk to the Commiſſioners.

March 31, 1802. 1aw2w