ed to give a silent vote against the bill. I wish, by my vote, to oppose it in all its stages to the last. I will not therefore by voting for the present motion with a view to render it less exceptionable, become accessary to any amendments which may induce others ultimately to vote for it. My colleague (Mr. Smilie) has observed that though my constituents might be hostile to this bill, yet that his are not. I congratulate him on the confidence his constituents have in him; a confidence which induced them in 1799 to agree with him in voting against an increase of these salaries, and which the last year made them concur with him in voting for an increase.

Mr. Smilie explained. He had not, he said, the honor of a seat in that House in the year 1799, when the salaries were raised. He had nothing to do with the business.

Mr. J. CLAY. I beg my colleague's pardon. I was mistaken. But there are strong reasons to shew that the salaries are too high. If I am not mistaken a gentleman, who now holds an honorable situation in the government, did in the year 1799 vote against the augmentation of these salaries. I know, likewise, that in the place where I live, the people are extremely opposed to this measure. The honorable gentleman from Massachusetts (Dr. Eustis) has stated reasons for an increase of salaries, which I trust will have no weight with this House. He states that in other countries public men are rewarded with a peerage and a pension; and that this is the cheapest government on earth. As long ago as the year 1740 we were told that the trappings of monarchy could furnish out many a commonwealth. I presume, however, the gentleman did not introduce this remark to infer from it that it is proper for public servants to batten on the spoils of the people. If these are the sentiments of the gentleman and are correct, these salaries, if raised five times as high as they now are, will be infinitely too low.

Dr. EUSTIS. It is due to myself and to the House to do away the imputation of the gentleman last speaking. I never said that these salaries were incompetent because they were not accompanied with a peerage or a pension. But I predicated their incompetency on the fact that they were barely adequate to defray the necessary expences of living. I said, secondly, that the compensations were barely such as enabled the Executive to obtain men of talents, and I said further that they were lower than those granted by any other government on earth; because other governments had other means of remunerating their officers than this government possesses. This is a fact known to the honorable gentleman and to every man in the nation. It is known that under monarchies there is first a splendid establishment provided for the officers while in place, and afterwards other remuneration.—No—I do not desire in this country to see either monarchy, peerage, or pensions; and without pretending to any particular knowledge of the sentiments of the gentleman's constituents, I may say that mine are as averse as his can be to any thing that wears the appearance of monarchy, and as unwilling to give away a shilling of the public treasure unnecessarily. But I do know, at the same time, that they feel a pride in paying for public services. They knew from fatal experience, from having paid their own officers too low, the necessity of an adequate compensation. In my part of the union, there exists the same jealousy over the public expenditure; it is salutary, and I rejoice to see it. But like the liberty of the press, to which we are indebted for the security of our rights, it may be carried too far. We are not able, if the ideas of the gentleman prevail, to ascertain what will be the effects. For if we suffer a dereliction of the government by men of talents and virtue we cannot calculate the evil. It is such an evil that no price can be too great to avert it.

Mr. SANDFORD asked a moment's indulgence. He was opposed to the recommitment, because the object of the gentleman who introduced the motion was to give a limitation to the bill; as though it were not without such limitation, subject to the control of Congress. The fact was that Congress could at any time increase or diminish these salaries. Though in favor of them as they at present were, if good reasons should at any time be offered for their diminution, he should vote for a repeal of this act, though he was ready to declare that he did not expect such reasons could be offered. Why then limit the bill, when its sole effect would be a waste of time in renewing this discussion at a subsequent day? As to the argument derived from lowness of state compensations, Mr. S. said no comparison could be drawn between the duties of the state and federal officers. He added that not a murmur of discontent among the people on this point had reached his ears. He was ready, therefore, with the gentleman from Pennsylvania to vote according to the dictates of his conscience.

DR. MITCHILL observed that he had almost laid himself under an injunction to remain silent during the whole of this debate about salaries. But as the subject had not as yet been displayed by any of the gentlemen who had spoken upon it in the manner that it appeared to him most worthy of being stated to the House, he should before the question was called, briefly offer his sentiments. I am opposed, said Dr. M. to high salaries and extravagant allowances of all sorts to men in office. But I am at the same time desirous that the citizens who are called from private life to stations of eminent honor and confidence, should have a sufficient compensation. A man who barters away the sweets of domestic enjoyment for the toil and envy incidental to most of the offices provided for in the bill, ought to receive from those whom he serves something more than merely his daily bread.

I must own I am not one of those who can, with the calculating powers which some gentlemen profess, exactly adapt the pecuniary reward to these great and responsible offices. I cannot put integrity, talents and industry in one scale of the balance, and throw dollars and cents into the other until it descends to an equipoize. It surpasses my skill to weigh the rare endowments of the head, and the excellent qualities of the heart, which mingle in the character of an officer of state, against the copper, the silver, or even the gold, of which our coin is made. When I attempt to reduce patriotism, honesty and intelligence to a price, and to cypher out by rules of arithmetic what they are worth in money, I abandon the task as above my powers. And I am not ashamed to confess my inability to appraize the inestimable, I will say incalculable, value of genius, capacity and virtue, in any denomination of paper, current among men. I cannot guage the human understanding, nor take the dimensions of moral fitness, with such exactness as to satisfy me in giving my vote, that the sums in the bill are exactly what they ought to be, without varying in any degree from the true amount of compensation. Employments of high trust and dignity have no tariff or market price to rate them. There is a somewhat in a great and noble mind, that is far above comparison, or equivalent with any thing the mint affords.

But, although the task, just mentioned, surpasses my ability, I do not quit in despair the subject out of which it grows. The problem by which *professional* men and *official* men ought to be paid, can be solved only by the aid of political arithmetic: Or it can be made to approximate near enough to certainty, to answer all the purposes of ordinary conduct. If a boy is destined to a profession, he is an object of expence through the whole course of his scholastic, collegiate and professional studies. Whether he receives premiums, earns diplomas, or private licenses to practice, he is a constant drain upon the purse of his father. This expenditure must be made, although under the most favorable circumstances of health, capacity, and diligence in the pupil. If he is idle, sickly, and perverse, the cost is usually greater. Frequently a young man after acquiring a profession, cannot gain a living by it, but must be maintained out of other funds than those which the exercise of his profession can raise. Now, in the progress of such a person's life, every dollar laid out upon him is to be considered as so much capital consolidated in his person. This capital is exposed to great risque, and without insurance. For the whole adventure is hazarded upon the life and health of the individual. A young man, therefore, upon whose education five thousand dollars have been expended, ought not only to support himself by the profession he has learned, but to reimburse with interest the capital which has been laid out upon him. This reimbursement ought to take place within the few years to which his life may be calculated to reach. For if he dies, there is a total loss of principal, interest and prospects. But in the case of lengthened days, a professional man ought to do more than pay his board and recover his capital in a moderate period of time. He ought to accumulate enough to maintain a family, to pay his assessments, and have a decent surplus for old age, and for descendants. All this, a man who has undergone an expensive preparation for a profession, ought to be able to do before his activity fails him, by the observance of industry and economy. If he does not do this, he has but a poor bargain of his profession. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that all professions are full of such hard bargains. The lottery of a profession has many blanks to a prize, and the prizes which are within the wheel are for the principal part of but moderate value. Though a few draw rich prizes, by far the majority, are allotted blanks, or small prizes. This is so much the case, that it has been questioned, whether the profession of the law, deemed the most lucrative, upon the great scale actually supports itself.

I think, therefore, that the individual practisers may grow very wealthy in a profession, yet professional talents are upon the average, not compensated to their full amount *in money*. The reason is obvious; as man devoting himself to a profession expects honor and reputation from his calling: He courts the smiles of fame, and listens to the echoes of renown. And if he has a mind of that happy constitution which seeks its due proportion of glory, while it provides against want and accidents by an efficient system of ways and means, his reward is rich and ample. It is true, he commutes pelf for celebrity; in leaving off a part of the selfishness of his nature, he becomes more a citizen of the world; and though he disposes of less property by his testament, he leaves to his family the precious inheritance of a great and a good name.

Generally speaking then, men who betake themselves to professions run an extraordinary risque for their profits, and these profits, after all, are not received in cash alone, but in a compound ratio of money and fame. It follows from this view of the subject, and it is indisputably the just one, that professional men, as such, receive a smaller return of profit on their personal stock or capital vested in their persons, than any other species of adventurers in trade on equal capital and hazard.

Suppose then, sir, a *professional* man becomes an *official* character. Does he acquire a "pecuniary" reward equal to the amount that might be found due to him, by a calculation on the principles which have been laid down? Certainly not.—Speaking in gross, such official men as are contemplated in the bill now depending, are not so well paid as professional men are. If the latter are under-rated in their compensations, the same *a fortiori* must happen to the former. Take the career of one of these officers about whom there has been so much discussion among us. He possesses little or no chance of obtaining one of these distinguished appointments before the sun of his life has passed its zenith, and he is declining in the afternoon of age. Time must first have furrowed his face with wrinkles, and planted gray hairs on his temples, under this preparatory course, and with such preliminary steps for preferment, what chance has the successful competitor to hold his possession long? Though his constitution should remain vigorous; though he should have husbanded his powers by temperance; tho' like an evergreen tree, he shall have carried his juvenile verdure far into the winter of years; the incumbent on one of these benefices, deceives himself if he calculates upon a protracted tenure.—Though he should be favoured with health, and have both the will and capacity to perform the duties of his station, he must expect at the close of every lustrum or sooner, that an harsh decree from the mouth of POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY will supercede his commission and oust him from his place. In the mean time, the constant wear and tear of his animated machinery is going on, and he quits his office with a diminished ability to betake himself once more to the employment he may have relinquished.

It will be perhaps demanded, how the officer is to be made whole under all these casualties? I reply that his worldly reward is partly of an *honorary* and partly of a *pecuniary* kind. In some places of eminent trust and delicate responsibility, the virtue which is necessary to their execution, is its own reward. Those emotions of laudable ambition which agitate the breast of man, and fill it with the desire of excellence, are in a great degree settled, I may say paid, by the very enjoyment and gratification they afford. The towering distinction, the elevated rank, and the far sounding title of the statesman, who has reached these grades of promotion, are justly considered as making an essential and important part of what he ought to receive from the public. Nothing can afford the good and faithful servant so much delight as the approbation, the respect, and the confidence of his sovereign. These are the most tasteful cordials in the cup of life. The accents of commendation and praise are so acceptable, that even the vicious part of public men procure them by venal means to be uttered in their ears. The godlike soul exults when the public voice concurs with the sentiment of self-approbation which it feels. But, as men holding offices cannot sustain life by mere applauses, whether real or fictitious, and must be nourished and cherished by substantial fare, like their fellow citizens, there must be some rule by which the amount of their salaries may be ascertained. I repeat, Sir that Congress should be moderate in all their allowances of this kind. And in order to calculate the amount of wages, to be paid to the public servants, the market price of the articles they must purchase, should be attended to. An examination of the leading objects of expence will enable a tolerable estimate to be made. The amount of salary should be such, (at least I am willing to consider it so) as to furnish payments, for the rent of a decent house; for the food and drink of a middling family; for fuel, and for clothing, in the style of frugal gentility; for the hire of needful domestics; for taxes and other contingencies; for occasional charities, and the encouragement of good works. I would make an allowance for an horse or two, in a city almost destitute of lamps and pavements, to carry the officer from his dwelling, in such a sparse settlement, a mile or two, to his place of business. To render him more capable of performing his serious functions, his mind will require seasonable amusement and recreation. He must also provide for the wants and education of his children. And after all these disbursements, he ought to be able, with prudence and economy, to lay up a little surplusage for future use.

If these several articles are charged at the existing rate, they will pretty nearly balance the sums with which it is proposed to pay the officers named in the bill. It may possibly be found by a very nice scrutiny, that they are one or two dollars higher, or two or three hundred dollars lower than the exact state of the times require. This I am not disposed to investigate with fractional minuteness. The salaries have been proved by several years experience to suit their purposes tolerably well. There is no need whatever to raise them; and I think there would be an impropriety in lowering them at this time.

Before he resumed his seat, Mr. Mitchill said he would offer a few further observations on salaries. In free, and especially in republican governments, there might be danger of reducing them too low. As a republican, he would concisely advert to the operation of *very low* salaries upon the country at large. By such a regulation, which might be mistakenly termed by some an economical one, all persons not possessing large hereditary, or acquired estates, would be excluded from offices. There would thereby be created a monied aristocracy of the most odious and alarming kind. It had been long remarked, that the most stern integrity, and the most useful talents, emerged from the middle, or humbler walks of society. He wished that compensations might be such as to promote the evolution of genius and virtue, and bring them from their modest or sequestered abodes into action. And in this way, well directed talents, would continue to rule this land of freedom, as they always had done, and of right ought to do. He thought there was a medium between too much and too little, which it was desirable to hit. This was to allow manly merit to come forth, though not attended with the recommendations of wealth. This was to apportion salaries to services, in the way the bill proposed, neither with profusion on the one part, nor parsimony on the other.

Mr. BEDINGER said his only objection was to that part of the bill which prevented an enquiry into the just apportionment of the several salaries allowed. He was in favor of the general principle of the bill, though from the circumstance he had stated he should be obliged to vote against it.

The question was then taken on recommitting the bill, and lost—Ayes 12.

(To be continued.)

Foreign Intelligence.

LONDON, OCTOBER 19.

It is with great pleasure we can state, that, notwithstanding every obstacle offered to British commerce, the trade of this country with the continent continues to flourish through many channels, which the ingenuity of foreigners has opened to us. British goods, by Tonningen, by Lubeck, Dantzick, and several other ports, get access to all the northern part of Germany, and even to France. By Trieste and Venice they reach Switzerland and the southern part of France, in disguises, which are either not detected, or winked at, by the cordon of Custom house officers. The great profit made upon the transit and sale of them induces the traders of every country to encourage their reception. The entries of goods for exportation, last week, at the Custom-house of London, were almost as great as in any week during the peace.

—

Extract of a letter dated on board the Immortalite Frigate.

DOWNS, Monday, Oct. 17.

On Thursday, being off Boulogne, we had a complete view of the flotilla. They saluted us with six shells; one went over us, and the second fell short; the remainder were badly directed, as they burst East and west of us nearly half a mile. We could distinctly count eighty-six gun boats, and perceive an immense hurry and bustle on shore, and in the harbour. The camps on the hills make a very formidable appearance; and from their extent, we suppose must contain 30,000 men at least. Their security, however, would be of very short duration, were it not for their batteries, which are not only numerous, but placed in every direction that can bear on an assailable point, and protect the shipping. We shall, notwithstanding, try their metal very shortly, as I have been informed this morning, an attack on the pier head at Boulogne will take place in the course of a few days. You may, therefore, expect to hear of smart work before the week elapses, and I trust, complete discomfiture of the enemy.

During our visits on the French coast, we very frequently perceive the soldiery on the shores employed in gathering muscles, or fishing; and have not been a little entertained with their manœuvres, as our ship approached the land. When they imagine we can reach them with our guns, they take to their heels *like heroes*, and either pop down behind the sand hills, or fly into the interior of the country. Along the French coast the inhabitants seem to have deserted their dwellings, especially those situated near the sea. Their fears are unnecessary, as we never molest them.

Private advices from Paris state, that the utmost distrust prevails throughout the whole of the moneyed circles there; and that no more than five banking-houses are able to answer the demands upon them.

October 20.

Intelligence is stated to have been received from Admiral Cornwallis, off Ushant, that the enemy's force in Brest amounts to 7 sail of the line, 4 frigates, 7 sloops, and smaller vessels, all ready for sea, with accommodations for a considerable land force.

We understand that intelligence has been received from our cruizers off Ostend, that an unusual bustle was observed on that part of the coast on Friday last. Large bodies of troops were seen marching towards the port, and it was supposed that an embarkation from thence would very speedily take place. The number of vessels at Ostend is believed to be greater than at any other part on the coast.

Immediately after the late attack upon Schielling, as the Antelope and the Ruby were stretching, during the night, along the Dutch coast to the westward, a flotilla of 14 sail of flat-bottomed boats were seen close in with Kykdown, a very short distance from the mouth of the Texel, skulking along shore, with the view of reaching the naval depots in the Marse or Schridt. An attack being immediately resolved upon by Sir Sidney Smith, the Antelope and Ruby stood as far in as their draught of water would, with safety admit, in order to cover the attempt. Their design, however, being discovered, the Dutch sailors ran the whole of their flotilla on the beach, and gave the alarm to a regiment of French soldiers stationed in that quarter, who instantly commenced a heavy fire upon the boats of our vessels, which were by this time approaching the shore. A few broad-sides from the Ruby and Antelope soon silenced the enemy's fire, and our seamen completed the service on which they were sent without any further interruption, and without the loss of a man, having carried off one schuyt, and destroyed thirteen. The schuyt which has been taken, is stated to be of a very light draught of water, and it is Sir Sidney Smith's intention to have her immediately fitted with three 24 pound carronades.

It is said that the Mameluke Elfi Bey has received a notification from the Right H. Mr. Secretary Yorke, that he cannot be received at the Court of St. James's.

Government have, it is said, resolved upon adopting some measures relative to the Catholic Clergy of Ireland, which without infringing the principles of toleration, are intended to prevent the influence of that powerful body of men from being prejudicial to the State. It is stated that the fact of their authority over the lower orders being indisputable and granted, they will be rendered so far responsible for the use they may make of it, as to be liable to deprivation of sacerdotal character, and, perhaps, other punishment, whenever any considerable portion of their congregation shall be detected in seditious practices.

London, October 21.

In the present state both of Spain and Portugal, government have very wisely determined not to suffer British ships to clear out for either of those kingdoms, at present, or at least, until a sufficient convoy is appointed. An order was accordingly sent yesterday to the custom house, to prohibit the clearing out of British vessels for any of the ports of Spain or Portugal, until a convoy should be appointed. A vessel which had cleared out was stopped.

Upon the stock exchange this order was magnified into an actual embargo, and the funds, which had risen upon the rumor we have mentioned above, declining about half per cent. It is evident that ministers have no longer any expectations, if indeed they had any, that France will permit Spain or Portugal to be neutral. However reluctant those powers may be to enter into the war, and reluctant they must be, for they have every thing to lose, and nothing to gain; they are yoked to the wheels of the consul's car, and must follow his fortune.

We informed our readers a few days ago, that orders had been sent to Plymouth to provide stores and provisions for four months, for 20,000 tons of shipping. It has been said that they are to bring away the persons and property of the English from Lisbon. They may be destined, however, for another service of no less importance. We decline alluding more particularly to the nature of it.