States, but of a part only substitute for the militia, but for the protection of our frontiers, where there were no militia, and to which there could not be carried either great force or extensive or permanent fortifications, for which the militia are lifted, neither by their disposition or habits.

Mr. Rawson then moved a postponement until the day week, and proceeded to adduce reasons why this course should be pursued. He was fully convinced that if the bill could be postponed for a short time, in order to enable the House to review the subject, the result would be very different from what it would be were the question taken to-day or to-morrow. He regretted very much, that the introduction of the bill into the House, because said bill was absent to vote against it and shut down upon it, "forever and forever" from my thoughts. I never had a vote with greater pleasure in my life than that which I shall give, I wish the House and the nation to pause, to reflect calmly and coolly, on only what is contained in what have given rise to this bill, but upon later events which, if viewed in a proper light, ought to bring, than considered as enforcing the measure, cause the deemed a strong reason, also from the attempt attached especially to the late communication from the British envoy here and to the French minister of exterior relations (or whatever be his title—for their style is so unknown, they be had a right to forbid us to speak and from person to christian, that it was not easy to know when you have to do with them) were it in my power he arresting the present disposition to arm (not the nation but rather some thing like a standing military force, or a standing naval force. I the expression might be used—and I was about saying the bad a standing force, not standing at this time. As had been justly observed on Monday, the United States North Carolina (Mr Stanton) we had both a navy and regular or standing militia. Now was the effect of it? To protect commerce the avowed purpose for which it was raised New Jersey. We had just very enough to bait the wasp, to bring us into difficulties, and to carry us through them—but enough to give rise to the disgusting speech of the New Department" which had divided down to a department of cut-throts, since instead of protecting our commerce, covered with it, and unfairly cut up ships of war we were building gun boats to protect them, and forts to protect the boats. We had formerly raised a vast military force, as far at least as officers were in form—and we had a regiment of them—of four. For what use? As has been forcibly expressed by a gentleman from North Carolina, to build money upon—as a cause for laying taxes which raised more in public opinion who imposed them. For these reasons, he wished the subject to be put off to allow the House to review the bill. If it were only for a few days. The time might come when it would come? Some gentlemen might be thankful and look back with pleasure at having acted themselves, time for reflection.

Mr. Randolph did not dread this force of 5000 men as sufficient to overturn the constitution, but objected to it in principle. The constitution was founded upon the idea of its alleged object. The bill and the arguments in support of it, did not seem to be forcibly to one gentleman, who had taken leave on the ground of a peace establishment, but one gentleman upon bill been assigned main force. The gentleman from Rockingham, Quincy, was a gentleman of great talent, eloquence and although his doctrine was in doubt perfectly satisfactory to himself, Mr. Q. was a democrat, and that school, hoped to be pardoned for not concurring with him. It is enough for that school to know that this establishment is asked for—he is one of those political believers who say, ask not, it shall be given—knock not, it shall be opened unto you. Mr. R. was not of that sect in politics. He would pay no apology. It would only appear he would not open the door of the treasury, the public money, to every demand, no, even from the highest authority, coordinate with that House.

In adopting a course why the bill should be postponed it was difficult, if not impossible, to refrain from argument on the merits of the bill itself; and for this reason. The bill was predicated (to use a fashionable high-blown phrase) on an urgent public necessity, which is incompatible with preparation and delay: he hoped therefore to be indulged, if in attempting to show that the question ought to be postponed, he should go into a cursory discussion of the merits, the arguments in favor of the bill. His excellent friend from Georgia (Mr. Troup), to whose good opinion he should feel himself yet more indebted if he were not conscious that his commendation ought to pardon to be remembered to another quarter; for in point of argument it belonged more properly to his friend from N. Carolina (Mr. Stanford) whose speech that day for weight of matter for solid bottom stood unrivalled; and the palm of eloquence might more justly be claimed for the speech of his friend from Virginia (Mr. D. R. Williams), or the gentleman from Georgia himself. He would (friend from Georgia who had given him this gratuitous compliment which although not unmixed with alloy, he received in like manner, because he was sure it flowed from a sincere heart—had not followed a sincere friend, the intention he had mistaken some of his predecessors; for that gentleman was because he was a gentleman, incapable of intentional wrong. Towards the other nestep was taken the more cautious.

He said, Mr. R. the state of things he understood from Georgia and from other quarters, was such, that if offensive war waged by either of the belligerents upon us or by us upon them, there was no alternative but dismantling weapons. You have been warned that Georgia would be overrun by the British, "we have been alarmed by the fate of Copenhagen, and the attempt on Sweden, Denmark, Russia, and Prussia, and the Baltic seas." As for the events which his friend and colleague (Mr. Burwell) had adduced, he was sorry it was possible, when that gentleman's grandchildren might come of age, they could not come to the same conclusion. In proportion to the equal pressure of the two great belligerents, we are in our equity removed from danger of attack or invasion by either. The conduct of France towards us now is that G. Britain is endeavoring to seduce you by very course caressed to wrong the nation, indeed, to induce France to intimidate you into the war—such is anxious to bend you to her purposes, and use all fair means, (and but little in them) by which to accomplish the object. Now in proportion as G. Britain perceives you are on a hostile footing with the other, will she, if they possess one iota of the feelings of a gentleman from begrudgeness? He would rather stand in the predicament to be kept back from the war than stand in the same predicament to either, being on a footing with the other, whose conduct he feared the influence of human passions even on the wisdom of a gentleman, and the feelings of a gentleman, would be the same as the outrages of G. Britain, if we had no cause of complaint against France, since I am sure, sooner than drag ourselves into the arena of France, and that if we had nothing to complain of on the part of Great Britain, yet at a time when her great naval power stand between us and immediate attack, we should be fearful of war and desert from our neutrality in favor of England, which when we do it, we have to depend on the generosity of liberty along with it. He therefore drew conclusions from the two reports of the committee of Messrs. Champagny and Erskine, however great an evil each might be, yet, if the pressure of either of the belligerents was separately of sufficient weight perhaps to induce the government precipitately upon us like the surrounding atmosphere in every direction within equal distance, it would be safer to receive its specific gravity, but more with perfect freedom in our hearts and minds, than if we had been forced in it might be false, but it had appeared to him that such was the impression of the committee. Another reason the House's and as charges of hostilities very hot been urged and repelled from the seas. Sydney Smith the big gun of the principle in the session of 1809—10. He was sorry that should be so forward—he was a democrat—that the question of passing the alien bill became in a laughably considered like the present it must have and all effects if any, on the minds of the House, and the people. He might have traced many of our present difficulties to their origin in that bill, if he had thought fit from a wish not to prejudice his cause. They had been brought into the House and the belligerents had vindicate his own consistency. In 1809—he was of opinion that we ought to have made common cause with both the powers with whom we had come into collision—that Spain being in a state of war with France, in proportion as England saw that we were not disposed to resist from her aggression, in proportion we would stop convinced that we meant to maintain our neutrality, as it respected her, or yielding herself to with her enemy. In proportion also as France and Spain saw we would not take part on the side of our common G. Britain, if they did not yield to embrace us with England, they would be convinced that we meant to hold the scales of neutrality not only with a steady and impartial, but with a high hand. When however he had proposed to raise troops for the defence of Natchitoches and New-Orleans, for the Sabine, and Natchez too, no treaty was pending between the U. S. and Spain, the negotiation had been broken off, and the President had told us, that the crisis required the interposition of force. The negotiation was broken off in a manner offensive and disgraceful to us, and we had to choose between two evils, of two millions for the purpose of recommencing it (sound that House, Mr. R. said which he took—but unfortunately we had not—he was the same which he took then—but unfortunately we had not—he was the same which he took in opinion, when we adopted a measure of coercion) the non-importation of a war the very point on which we had a negotiation actually pending. Towards the other nestep was taken the more cautious.

He said, Mr. R. the state of things he understood from Georgia and from other quarters, was such, that if offensive war waged by either of the belligerents upon us or by us upon them, there was no alternative but dismantling weapons. You have been warned that Georgia would be overrun by the British, "we have been alarmed by the fate of Copenhagen, and the attempt on Sweden, Denmark, Russia, and Prussia, and the Baltic seas." As for the events which his friend and colleague (Mr. Burwell) had adduced, he was sorry it was possible, when that gentleman's grandchildren might come of age, they could not come to the same conclusion. In proportion to the equal pressure of the two great belligerents we are in our equity removed from danger of attack or invasion by either. The conduct of France towards us now is that G. Britain is endeavoring to seduce you by very course caressed to wrong the nation, indeed, to induce France to intimidate you into the war—such is anxious to bend you to her purposes, and use all fair means, (and but little in them) by which to accomplish the object. Now in proportion as G. Britain perceives you are on a hostile footing with the other, will she, if they possess one iota of the feelings of a gentleman from begrudgeness? He would rather stand in the predicament to be kept back from the war than stand in the same predicament to either, being on a footing with the other, whose conduct he feared the influence of human passions even on the wisdom of a gentleman, and the feelings of a gentleman, would be the same as the outrages of G. Britain, if we had no cause of complaint against France and Spain, since I am sure, sooner than drag ourselves into the arena of France and that if we had nothing to complain of on the part of Great Britain, yet at a time when her great naval power stand between us and immediate attack, we should be fearful of war and desert from our neutrality in favor of England, which when we do it, we have to depend on the generosity of liberty along with it. He therefore drew conclusions from the two reports of the committee of Messrs. Champagny and Erskine, however great an evil each might be, yet, if the pressure of either of the belligerents was separately of sufficient weight perhaps to induce the government precipitately upon us like the surrounding atmosphere in every direction within equal distance, it would be safer to receive its specific gravity, but more with perfect freedom in our hearts and minds, than if we had been forced in it might be false, but it had appeared to him that such was the impression of the committee. Another reason the House's and as charges of hostilities very hot been urged and repelled from the seas. Sydney Smith the big gun of the principle in the session of 1809—10. He was sorry that should be so forward—he was a democrat—that the question of passing the alien bill became in a laughably considered like the present it must have and all effects if any, on the minds of the House, and the people. He might have traced many of our present difficulties to their origin in that bill, if he had thought fit from a wish not to prejudice his cause. They had been brought into the House and the belligerents had vindicate his own consistency. In 1809—he was of opinion that we ought to have made common cause with both the powers with whom we had come into collision—that Spain being in a state of war with France, in proportion as England saw that we were not disposed to resist from her aggression, in proportion we would stop convinced that we meant to maintain our neutrality, as it respected her, or yielding herself to with her enemy. In proportion also as France and Spain saw we would not take part on the side of our common G. Britain, if they did not yield to embrace us with England, they would be convinced that we meant to hold the scales of neutrality not only with a steady and

can revolution—catch it as you can. The two courses are incompatible; the treasury was built to be used, but in the wases and the expence of this army alone will soon completely empty it.

My worthy friend from Georgia has said that the Tyrges prowling for food for her young, may steal upon you in the night. I would as soon attempt to fence a Tyger out of my house with a four-inch board, as to fence out the British navy with this force. It is because she can come in the night and choose her point of attack, that this force is incompetent; for that very reason, she will not be impeded, by one or with six thousand men, but with every man at every point. The gentleman from Georgia, that the militia system is so defective that we must resort to this force—this is a reason for checking the force for arming them, and not for raising a standing military force; for if it be true, (and I say, that we have not shall have an efficient militia, I know with my colleague (Mr. Burwell) that it is no mere a cuirass of paper, the one we have, but it too and two months, (a truth sometimes prevents opinions be questioned) is an addition to it. A standing army after all will be fully equal to the expectations urged with so much force against the militia—it will be composed of a class of different ages and habits, the young and active must wait the motions of the old and slow, and that which happened with Prussia, will happen to you; you will find that old men cannot cope with young. Whilst the British navy, and the British army, the French conscripts by their superior activity marched from Jena to Prussian Berlin and the Prussian army, and the battle of Jena terminated the campaign. It was decided, (a choice of movement as well as superiority of numbers. I do trust If the Rochefort squadron should land 2000 men or a British squadron, or either, that no one man of them would get back to tell the tale, the fate of their destruction. I hope that on the subject of foreign invasion the American nation will be as good as verbal as the lion's den in the fable—that no retracting steps from our ground, but that, if we do, for the sake of actual war, the country would act as one man, would bring a force into the field, against which the British army could stand, whatever superiority it might possess in the artificial tactics of warfare.

(Mr. Randolph's Speech to be continued.)

WASHINGTON CITY.

FRIDAY, APRIL 22.

The works for the battery and an upper fort on the heights at Warburton point commenced on the 14th inst. The embrasures and the upper point of Potomac are said to fully command there the narrow & deep channel, (which carries from seven to nine fathoms) and is the only fit spot on this extensive river for defence, the battery below does not fire in any way enough or trespass either upon the valuable fisheries, the river above is so far from the immediate wave, above them it the proprietor, holding a full right thereto, although yielding to the Unites States, the free egress and regress from the waters near the wharf and fort and free fishery, therefore as well as full use of the usual roads as yet reserved—the ground occupied and conveyed to the United States, and has been valued by the appraisers at nearly two thousand dollars per acre.

SENATE—APRIL 19.

A bill to authorize the President of the U. States to suspend the execution of the act prohibiting the importation of certain British goods, merchandize, and the acts supplementary thereto, was read a third time and passed.

APRIL 20.

On motion of *Mr. Giles*,

Resolved, "That it is expedient to authorize the President of the U. States, to have manned and equipped for service, all the gun boats, bombs, fire ships and other vessels of war of the U. S. to be used, as in his opinion, the circumstances of the country, and the conduct of foreign powers towards the U. States may require."

A committee was then upon appointed, leading to a bill conformably to this resolution.

The bill entitled "A bill in addition to the act, entitled "An act fixing an embargo on all ships and vessels in the ports and harbors of the United States," and the several acts supplementary thereto; and for other purposes," was read the third time & passed.

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, Anderson, Condit, Crawford, Gaillard, Gilman, Gregg, Howland, Kitchel, Mathewson, Stillidge, Pope, Reed, Robinson, Smith, (Md.) Smith, (N. Y.) Smith, (Ten.) Stumper, Thruston Tiffin, and Turner—21.

NAYS—Messrs. Goodrich, Hillhouse, Mitchill, Pickering, and White—4.

Among other provisions this bill contains the following

"During the continuance of the act laying an embargo on all ships and vessels in the ports and harbors of the U. States, no vessel of any description whatever, shall be allowed to depart, whose employment is confined to the navigation of bays, sounds, rivers, and inland waters, within the jurisdiction of the U. S. (packets, ferry boats, and vessels excepted from the operation of the act laying an embargo, excepted) shall be allowed to depart from any port of the U. S. without having previously obtained a clearance, nor shall the master or commander shall have delivered to the collector or surveyor of the port of departure a manifest of the whole cargo on board, including articles of domestic growth or manufacture, as well as foreign merchandize. And shall also be the duty of the owners, agents, or factors of every such vessel, to produce within one month after her return, to the collector of the district from which the vessel departed, a certificate of the landing of the whole of such cargo, or any part of it, U. S. within the bay, sounds, rivers or lakes adjacent to the navigation of which such vessel is confined, signed by the collector or surveyor of the port where the cargo shall have been landed.

"Every vessel thus described shall depart from a port of the U. S. without previously giving bond to the president of the cargo shall have been delivered to the collector or surveyor, in the manner prescribed, therein, or if a certificate of the landing of the cargo shall not be produced within the time aforesaid, the bond so therein provided, such vessel and cargo shall be forfeited, and the owner or owners, agents, or factors, or the master, or commander, or skipper of such vessel, shall respectively forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, not less than thousand dollars, to be recovered, shall be forfeited, and the bond so therein provided, shall be construed to mean or present the recovery of the penalty on the bond given for such vessel."

"No ship or vessel having sailed or departed from any port of the U. S. before the passing of the act laying an embargo on all ships and vessels in the ports and harbors of the U. S. be allowed to depart from any port of the U. S. to any other port or district of the U. S. or to any of the territories, colonies, or provinces of a foreign nation; nor shall any clearance be granted to any such vessel, but shall be detained, without vessels permission of the President of the U. S. And if any such vessel shall, contrary to the provisions of this act, proceed to any port or district subjected to the provisions of this act, or to any foreign nation, such vessel, her tackle, apparel, and furniture shall be wholly forfeited; and if the same shall not be seized, the owner or owners, agents, or factors, or the employers of such ship or vessel, shall in every such offence forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding, and the master and commander of such ship or vessel, as well as all other persons, shall be liable to be imprisoned in such prohibited voyages, shall each respectively forfeit and pay

"Provided, that nothing in this act shall be construed to prevent the recovery of the whole vessel be seized or not."

Yeas and Nays on the passage of the bill to authorize the President of the U. States to have manned equipped for service, the gun boats, &c. &c. &c. in the act laying an embargo.

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, Anderson, Condit, Crawford, Gaillard, Giles, Gilman, Gregg, Howland, Kitchel, Mackey, Mathewson, Mitchill, Pickering, Pope, Reed, Robinson, Smith, (Md.) Smith, (N. Y.) Smith (Ohio) Stillidge, (Ten.) Thruston, Tiffin, Turner, and White—22.

NAYS—Messrs. Goodrich, Hillhouse, Hillhouse, Gaillard, Turner—4.

Yeas and Nays on the passage of the bill in addition to the act, entitled "An act fixing an embargo on all ships and vessels in the ports and harbors of the United States," and the several acts supplementary thereto; and for other purposes.

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, Anderson, Condit, Crawford, Gaillard, Giles, Gilman, Gregg, Howland, Kitchel, Mathewson, Stillidge, Pope, Reed, Robinson, Smith, (Md.) Smith, (N. Y.) Smith, (Ten.) Stumper, Thruston Tiffin, and Turner—21.

NAYS—Messrs. Goodrich, Hillhouse, Mitchill, Pickering, and White—4.

Among other provisions this bill contains the following

"During the continuance of the act laying an embargo on all ships and vessels in the ports and harbors of the U. States, no vessel of any description whatever, shall be allowed to depart, whose employment is confined to the navigation of bays, sounds, rivers, and inland waters, within the jurisdiction of the U. S. (packets, ferry boats, and vessels excepted from the operation of the act laying an embargo, excepted) shall be allowed to depart from any port of the U. S. without having previously obtained a clearance, nor shall the master or commander shall have delivered to the collector or surveyor of the port of departure a manifest of the whole cargo on board, including articles of domestic growth or manufacture, as well as foreign merchandize. And shall also be the duty of the owners, agents, or factors of every such vessel, to produce within one month after her return, to the collector of the district from which the vessel departed, a certificate of the landing of the whole of such cargo, or any part of it U. S. within the bay, sounds, rivers or lakes adjacent to the navigation of which such vessel is confined, signed by the collector or surveyor of the port where the cargo shall have been landed.

"Every vessel thus described shall depart from a port of the U. S. without previously giving bond to the president of the cargo shall have been delivered to the collector or surveyor, in the manner prescribed, therein, or if a certificate of the landing of the cargo shall not be produced within the time aforesaid, the bond so therein provided, such vessel and cargo shall be forfeited, and the owner or owners, agents, or factors, or the master, or commander, or skipper of such vessel, shall respectively forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, not less than thousand dollars, to be recovered, shall be forfeited, and the bond so therein provided, shall be construed to mean or present the recovery of the penalty on the bond given for such vessel."

"No ship or vessel having sailed or departed from any port of the U. S. before the passing of the act laying an embargo on all ships and vessels in the ports and harbors of the U. S. be allowed to depart from any port of the U. S. to any other port or district