report of the Secretary, to which I have referred, and I wish them to examine for themselves, will find that of the 46,599,592 dollars sent of produce and other merchandise the actual growth and manufacture of the new country, exclusive of the U. S. in 1807, we send,

To England, and her dependencies in Europe, Asia, Africa, & America,	$ 27,917,077
To Spain, and her dependencies in Europe and America,	3,998,871
To Portugal & her dependencies in Europe and America,	1,399,416
To Sweden & Swedish West Indies,	472,666
To China, the East and West Indies generally (into Boston alone) Africa, and N. West coast of America,	1,319,208
Making in the whole,	$ 35,707,842

Almost four-fifths of the whole native exports of the U. S. for that year, which we might export needy as soldiers of fortune, but for other purposes for a century, certainly will not be now considered, any part of the commerce which belongs to the British orders of council, and the French decrees in relation to it, from a mere inability to escape them, are a mere nullity. It is not therefore, as has been said, the decrees and orders of foreign powers, that have reduced our exports to so immense diminution and embarrassed commerce. It is our own folly, the embargo, that now pinches us, lowers the energies and enhances the price of our citizens, and locks up more than twenty-five millions of our dollars, the native produce of our country, to perish and rot upon our hands. It was to be seen, sir, but I have not heard yet, how this enormous, this unnecessary and ruinous sacrifice of national and individual wealth can be justified to the public. There is no man who calls more loudly for justification. I do, these French decrees and British orders; but believe my God I do most sincerely believe, that the embargo is a thousand times more injurious to our country than they both could be rendered.

Instead of settling ourselves of the immediate extensive and lucrative commerce offer open to us with so least three-fourths of the commercial world, it has now become a great fact, that we can be permitted by the Presidential Bullyism, to navigate along shore, from one of our own ports to another, with as much fear & pain as we can get on the passage, yet this is the act of commercial country In the world in England we are, in fact, In this respect, their only competitors and which, at present, they have an opportunity of monopolizing all the commerce of the world, do you believe they will ever ask you to take off the embargo? No sir. This would be an act of madness in them, equal almost to an act of madness in us. They do not wish to meet upon the ocean again their industrious and enterprising rivals. They are not so blind, not so to see us shackling and crippling ourselves.

Much has been said by the gentleman from Maryland (gen. Smith) on the subject of tribute, and it is a matter I do not well understand, unless it be, to retort upon the gentlemen with two languages, *ad-nauseam*. I wish it however to be distinctly understood, that no part of the commerce I have undertaked to shew the U. States might now carry on, would be subject to any tribute. I wish it could be further understood, sir, that I would not only see this country and its resources, but covered in sackcloth and ashes, rather than that she should consent to pay tribute. I would see the commercial city upon our shores, and every ray of carrying on, fled, famed. I would see our soil smoking with the best blood of its hardy sons, and the bones of our fathers mingled with the ashes of their dwellings, rather than see this people submit to pay tribute to any power on earth. I trust there is not in either House a member, who would not sooner risk his life, and spill his blood, than give a vote that should reduce this country to a condition so degrading and degrading. And I hope, Mr. President, that no insinuation has, or will be made here, which shall wound intimate an idea, that the gentlemen of this body who may vote for the repeal of the embargo laws, would subject this nation to tribute. Such an insinuation would be illiberal, ill-founded, libelous and derogatory of this from out in other respects highly unpalatable.

It has been asked by the gentleman from Kentucky, why should those who expose the embargo propose some substitute? Certainly I cannot be expected of me to offer advice as to the planters of this administration; but in reply to the question, I will refer gentlemen to a confidential letter submitted to the Senate a few days ago; I presume need not be libeled. I am not going to tell what that letter contains. If any substitute be necessary, in that is pointed out the one I would adopt; there is marked a safe, a high, and an honorable course that if pursued, without, I believed, endangering our peace, would add alike to our wealth and our character and power in war.

It has been well observed by the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Giles) that it was time we had become acquainted with the subject. The gentleman was worthy of that gentleman, and of his station I entirely, unreserved. But is the system of which this measure is approbrated to say to be long, the concomitant, and calculated to annihilate? No sir, much better calculated. I fear, to estrange the minds of the citizens from each other, and to familiarize our ideas to an event, and to blind us to the consequences which will, and that very honorable and patriotic American must view as the most calamitous event that could be forced upon this country. I hope, Mr. President, that we shall beware how the process this system too far. There is a section, a very important and powerful section of this country that with connexion is now, and always, deprived of that commerce a large portion of its population must starve. That population expect, and have a right to expect, that their only resource, in the present, and in future, shall not be sacrificed to manufacturing whim, or speculation. I believe the people of this country would submit to any privations for the public good, but they will not, they ought not, they believe the big good requires the sacrifice. It must, it will sensibly every unprejudiced and reflecting man, the country. If this ruinous measure is persisted in, it will be the first measure I have received, and when we have before us the most conclusive and irresistible evidence, that it is utterly inadequate to the accomplishment of such of the objects for which it was said to be intended. And indeed that cannot be encounted for on any grounds, but that it is, in fact, ever unpopularity, to be attributed to unworthy motives. I trust, therefore, that gentlemen on their own account will not reject this resolution; that they will, at least, give it a fair trial, look to consequences; that they will feel well the public pulse, before, by a fatal precipitancy, they stagnate the national blood.

(Debate to be continued.)

NOVEMBER 28.

On motion of Mr. Gray, ordered that the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, respecting roads and canals, made 4th April last, together with the memorials of the President and Directors of the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal Company, of 1st December, 1803, and 10th January, 1807, be referred to Messrs. White, Reed, Mitchill, Anderson and Pope.

The Senate then resumed the consideration of the motion of Mr. Hillhouse to repeal the acts laying an embargo.

General Smith of Maryland delivered a speech which occupied the whole day.

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Mr. *Anderson* moved his motion to reconsider the vote of the 25th last. for receiving and reading the memorials of the legislature of Massachusetts to their Senators on the subject of the Embargo, which were then read.

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Mr. Hillhouse made a speech, which continued until past 4 o'clock, in the support of the repeal of the embargo, without any decision on the motion.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 26.

Mr. Bacon from the committee of Claims reported a bill for the relief of the persons therein mentioned, (certain officers of Revolutionary Virginia,) which was read and referred to a committee of the whole.

DISABLED SOLDIERS.

Mr. Adams moved to bring on his resolutions for allowing to the House the following subjects, to wit, on a subject which required no delicacy, and with which the people of the United States would not, in any perfect unanimity.

Resolved, That it is expedient to appoint a committee to inquire into the expediency of making provision by law for the relief of pensioners, disabled and superannuated officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary war, and of the present war of the U. States; and that the committee have leave to report by bill or otherwise.

Thereupon the question was put whether the resolution should be received, and it was decided in the negative.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

On motion of Mr. *Campbell*, the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole, Mr. Stevens in the Chair, on the report of the committee of the subject of our foreign relations.

The first resolution in the following words was read, viz.

Resolved, That the United States cannot without a sacrifice of their rights, honor and independence, submit to the decrees of foreign nations, or to the edicts of their own Chief Magistrate.

Mr. *Campbell* opened the debate. He said that he should have thrown himself into the chair, for the purpose of delivering his sentiments on this subject, but that he felt the difficulty of the subject which the all-important crisis would seem to require; it was however his duty to bring the subject before the House. He regretted that having in their report presented to the House the opinions which they considered the subject referred to them, and the reasons generally which induced them to recommend these resolutions to the House, he said it was not his intention this time to enter into a discussion of their merits. Those reasons had been deemed satisfactory by the committee, and they them in recommending a continuance of the embargo; and as the opinions to this, if it were worse, could not be forseen, he would not pretend to give a general notice of this country that with connexion is now, and always, deprived of that commerce a large portion of its population must starve. That population expect, and have a right to expect, that their only resource, shall not be sacrificed to manufacturing whim, or speculation. I believe the people of this country would submit to any privations for the public good, but they will not, they ought not, they believe the big good requires the sacrifice. It must, it will sensibly every unprejudiced and reflecting man, the country. If this ruinous measure is persisted in, it will be the first measure I have received, and when we have before us the most conclusive and irresistible evidence, that it is utterly inadequate to the accomplishment of such of the objects for which it was said to be intended. And indeed that cannot be encounted for on any grounds, but that it is, in fact, ever unpopularity, to be attributed to unworthy motives. I trust, therefore, that gentlemen on their own account will not reject this resolution; that they will, at least, give it a fair trial, look to consequences; that they will feel well the public pulse, before, by a fatal precipitancy, they stagnate the national blood.

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He considered them both alike. He wished to see the country placed in complete posture of defence; but he could not see any good reason why we should not trade with those nations who were willing to receive us on friendly terms, and to trade with us on the principles of reciprocity and mutual interests. This would only compromit the honor of the nation. Even limiting that it might possibly be in his power to do, he should be convinced that the citizens of this country would rise en masse. In support of that opinion which nations France now England had any right to interdict. He did presume will alike, zeal of some gentlemen for raising measures, it was not seriously contemplated by the committee to make making; he was for having at least a few friends in case of needs. What was our situation? The Prime Minister of the United States had told us, that after peace of France and England, that "our relations with the other powers of Europe had undergone no material change since the last session." This being the case, he presumed we must go on with them all except France and Great Britain and their dependencies. Mr. Mumford said he was well aware, that it should be told if we permitted this commerce to those countries who were disposed to receive us on friendly terms, Great Britain and France would indifferent to the fate of supplies. He acknowledged this in a certain degree; but his primary object was to relieve the distressed. Where is the patriotic breast that did not beat to hear of the brave, generous, and valorous sons of Spain? Shall we refuse them a load of bread merely because we are afraid of Great Britain and France might possibly cut a little? Sir, I cannot, I will not, let us take a view of their whole conduct to the United States since their revolution, which had been uniform in their offices; they had immediately relieved our vessels which had been sequestered in the ports of Spain on the iron hand of the *so-dissent* Emperor of the West. Let us look to our own new world. What has been the conduct of that government received by the friends of the patriots of Buenos Ayres? More than fifty vessels had been sequestered in pursuance of the President for the purpose of collecting debts due to them in that island; they have compelled their citizens to pay these debts, and the vessels have returned loaded to the United States, and contributed essentially to the revenue of the United States. Is this not truly characteristic of Castilian honor and generosity?

Mr. M. said, he considered the resolution to be made in one important era which had taken place since the commencement of this war, in his opinion would ultimately lead to securing our south western boundary on a permanent footing. Spain for the recent revolution New Orleans might even now have been in possession of France. When the question of slaves was agitated among the inhabitants of that place, it was not unusual for them to say of the U. S. we care nothing about you; we shall soon have other governors. It was no doubt within the recollection of many gentlemen of this country that a man had been lately taked up at Nagadoches. He had not at the time been notified of the peace, and was considered it but a common newspaper report, yet, as it was said, he was a disciple of the arts of able editors, but there had a fact lately come to light, which should be considered by him his bounden duty to give to the committee. It had been communicated to him in such a manner that he could not mention names, but the country was of him paramount to every other consideration, and he would state the fact for the information of the committee. A gentleman, (said Mr. M.) an Indian by birth, of a noble family, and who was recommended to our revolutionary war to Gen. Washington, a man of talents, who had been long in Spanish ties in the U. S. returned to Europe, and was taken into favor by Bonaparte. At that time it is known Spain had such a person was landed in some part of the Spanish dominions, and sent from thence through your western country. Some time in the month of June, information was given to Spain that a French officer of distinction had a conference with Governor Grand at Buenos Ayres; that he had received serious conjectures. No more was heard of him till the 4th of July, when he passed over to the Spanish lines with four thousand of the American port of Nagadoches, where he was arrested by orders from the Spanish officers. It was said, from the information of the resolution of Spain had not reached him when travelling to the westward. This, sir, which we have been threatened in the north we have been treading on a precipice for years past.

I will now proceed to some details in support of the resolution, which my motion contemplates. We find by the official report of the Secretary of the Treasury and reports of

This will greatly thankful for the production of Hill, Kentucky, Tennessee and New-Orleans, the southern states, and western states, and give the life and activity to commerce so much desired by all classes of our citizens.

Mr. M. concluded by saying, that this was the view of the subject for the present. He said we were a young nation, and although he should not shrink from the contest if necessary, yet it became us to act with prudential steps. If he differed with gentlemen on this subject, it was an honest difference of opinion, and he had no other motive than a love of country.

Mr. Quincy followed Mr. Mumford in the debate. He entered at large into the subject of the embargo in a speech of about an hour and a half. His observations, excluded from want of room, shall appear in our next.

Mr. Davis said, he considered it unfortunate, if the doubt existed in the minds of members of this House, which seemed to be implied, by the resolution under consideration. Was it really a question whether the representatives of the people of the U. S. would bow their free necks to a foreign yoke? Was it to be decided, whether they should be slaves or their independence? Once declared, Mr. Davis said, he would be ready on a given point, that our independence should be maintained, and it was not the resolution under consideration agreeing to a proposition that it was truth, in himself he had not supposed that much doubt existed on this point. Even the committee themselves appeared to have entertained this declaration as unnecessary, for they supposed, in the second resolution, and when it became a question, a declaration in words added not to the determination to carry into effect our independence. However, as the resolution had been referred to the House, it became a question how it should be decided, and another question what was the import of it. In one respect he approved the resolution, because it was concise, and yet it was so, that it admitted no application as to the terms of it. The questions contained in the preamble of the motion were questions relative to our maritime rights; he knew not that any question existed as to our maritime rights. The language of the resolution was so concise, that he wished that it might be so varied as to be more specific and appropriate. With this view, he should move the exact of the import of the resolution, he wished to insert between the words *is* and *the* words "violation of the navigation of the ocean is consequence of the Embargo." Another question on which he wished a decided expression of the opinion of the House.

Mr. Sanders said, he perfectly acquiesced in the resolution, and hoped the gentlemen from Connecticut, if one word more was added; and that was the insertion of the words, the words *war* and *submit*. He for one thought that one night, were deeply considered, that they had been abandoned too long.

Mr. Davis said, that whatever had been his opinion of the past measures of the administration, he would not hesitate to support the motion, would imply that the consolidation of the Union, that reproach on them. He presumed no man from New-Jersey he hoped would have been no objection to the adoption of this Resolution proposed. He was sorry to hear the gentleman talk that the resolution were calculated to have a tendency to shake the rights, honor and independence of the citizens of U. States and that the resolution was a declaration of opinion, discussion of the construction of the Constitution, and declaration, contained in the resolution that the U. States would not in any manner submit to such edicts. The gen-