HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

DECEMBER 1.

DEBATE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS.

[CONTINUED.]

(Mr. Burwell's speech concluded.)

But, sir, gentlemen may attach some stability to this indulgence, from the exception of the Spanish and French colonies, in the orders of council. They have often adverted to the fact; and the British government itself has not failed to press it upon you as a proof of her favor, and a new claim upon your gratitude. The truth is, she was pursuing her own interest; she was more concerned in the trade to the colonies than you were yourself, for which your merchants exported only four or five millions in native products. They became factors of the British, and circulated nearly twenty millions of English goods, which could not otherways find entrance into these ports. Is it not easy to discover what was the policy of the permission to trade to these islands? It was that her special interests, not yours, were promoted by it. No, she would not even permit you to seek a market for your indemnification after serving her. Now she can go there directly and sell her goods without your assistance—what follows? Does she consult your interest by permitting you to carry on the trade open to her own merchants? No, sir, and if any doubts remain, let me call your attention to the late proclamation, blockading the French West India islands. We have dispatches from England down to the 25th of September; at that time there was no intimation to your minister, and not a whisper in the political circles of this thing—and suddenly when it was supposed in England, (in the language of the gentleman from Massachusetts) "that we *must* take off the embargo," you see a proclamation dated *only* fifteen days later than the latest dates from England, declaring that every vessel going to the French West India islands, shall be liable to seizure and condemnation. What language does it speak? What policy does it evince? To my mind it presents a train of reflections, to which I am unwilling to give utterance, and apply the appellation which the transaction deserves. It is insidious and hostile to its utmost extent. Suppose the gentleman had moved to take off the embargo the first of the session, and had succeeded by the tempting promise of this trade. You well know the *French Islands* have been literally ruined by the embargo. They have not been (like the islands of his majesty) supplied by the infractors of the law, (principally British agents), through Canada and Nova Scotia, with provisions. Every vessel laden with flour and provisions would have shaped her course to these islands, where there was the greatest scarcity, and the greatest probability of profit—and by this "*unfortunate concurrence*" between the removal of the embargo, (as was expected in England), and the proclamation of blockade, all your commerce in that direction would have been swept off and destroyed. This blockade is of old standing, at least as old as the petitions of the last summer—it is dated the 14th of October—delayed six days, and sent by express for our notification about ten days after the meeting of Congress, at which time it was supposed the embargo would be raised. It is said this express vessel met British vessels going into Barbadoes as she came out, from whom the instructions were received. But it is reduced to certainty, these vessels arrived on the 20th, and the proclamation issued on the 14th. Yes, sir, the nets were artfully spread, the sportsmen stationed, and the whole flock would have been entangled and taken, but for the embargo. Will gentlemen not take warning.

There has been one observation made on which I will make a few remarks, and but few; but they are necessary to a fair and candid discussion. It has been said that we ought to have resisted the Berlin decree; that if we had done that, we should have been saved from our present disagreeable situation, and have taken from Great Britain a pretext for enforcing her orders in council. The gentleman from Massachusetts defines submission to be the doing that which you are commanded to do, and resistance in the doing that which you are commanded not to do. I thank him, he is perfectly correct. I will use his definition, and apply his own principles to this case. What said the Berlin decree? You shall not go to Great Britain, if you do France will seize and confiscate your property. What was our conduct? we did go to Great Britain, and our shipments were nevertheless as great as before the decree, we did carry on the forbidden trade; and therefore by the gentleman's own definition, resisted. Let us take another view of this subject. In the note of Lords Holland and Auckland, attached to the rejected British treaty—they tell us among other things, that if the enemy should carry these threats *into execution*, and the United States should acquiesce, they should probably be compelled to retaliate in the same way; but disclaim the right to retaliate if the French government, formally abandons, or *tacitly relinquishes* them. What is tacit relinquishment? was there a single case in which it was executed, and known to us previous to the orders in council? Not one, and does not the fact, that American vessels went from England to France as before, prove a tacit relinquishment? Certainly. Indeed so far from its being a *tacit* relinquishment, it was a *formal* abandonment, amounting to a positive and express acknowledgment, that the decree was not in force against the commerce of the United States. I have already shewn, England received no injury from the operation of that decree, because we traded with her as we had done before, and the retaliating orders, admitting the right of Great Britain to retaliate on her enemy through neutral trade, could not exist until we had received an injury and acquiesced in it. But so far from its being known we had acquiesced, the execution of the Berlin decree, and the orders of 11th of November, reached this country nearly at the same time. If our commerce had been vitally assailed by this monstrous decree, and we had not effectually resisted, I am not prepared to say how far it would have been a departure from our neutrality, and would have justified the measures adopted. Sir, I never would have submitted to it. You must remember I declared I would vote against a *general* embargo, but that I anticipated from the British measures quite similar to those of France. We did our duty, resisted when attacked by it, and I scout all idea that the people would have submitted, or that any man would have proposed such submission. You hear no apology for France—you hear no palliation of her outrages, or disguise of her views, and you see every man ready to exert the energies of the nation to avenge the wrongs of the country. Take the orders of council in another point of view: they *profess* to retaliate on France through us, because we have permitted her to attack our rights. Why then were they not confined in their operation to France; why did they comprehend nations with whom we were in amity, and from whom we had received no injury? Will any person say we ought to have gone to war with Russia, Denmark, and Sweden? You are bound to consider these nations independent, and treat them as such; while they manifest no disposition to change the subsisting relations between us, and refrain from hostile acts. The unlimited scope given to the orders in council, manifestly shews the retaliation on France, was a mere pretext. But if the object of Great Britain was *really* retaliation on France, how could she get over the proposition made by the government of the United States to continue the embargo as to France, and remove it as to England, provided she would withdraw her orders in council? This would have been a compliance with her requisition for resistance to the *Berlin decree*, and destroyed all ground for the continuance of the orders. But here we are told that our government has offered to comply with that, which if they had done in the first instance, would have saved us from difficulties. This is indeed a strange inference; that England would have acceded to the proposition formerly, because she now rejects it. Sir, the United States can never consent to give authority to that unlimited right of retaliation which she claims. And so far from this offer being a compliance with that demand, it was an honest and fair avowal of the conduct which the government would pursue towards France, if left to itself. It was honorable, sir, and the rejection of that favorable proposition, connected with the obvious causes of that rejection, convinces my mind she does not want to be on good terms with us. She thinks more may be made in another way.

It has been urged in the course of this debate that the embargo destroys all our revenue, and that if we remove it our Treasury would be again filled. What is the fact on this subject, taking it upon their own ground? You inevitably lose upwards of a million of dollars collected by way of drawback, on articles re-exported from the U. S. for consumption in foreign markets; the obstacles interposed by the orders, and the imposition of a transit duty by act of Parliament equivalent to the duties remitted in this country, cut off at once this amount—it is pocketed elsewhere. Again, we have heretofore derived a revenue from all that part of our importations which is from the continent of Europe & every other part of the world not included in the orders of council; the impost derived from this trade, and the means which it afforded of paying revenue into the Treasury are at an end; nor could it be resumed by raising the embargo. I will venture to assert these losses constitute one half of the revenue; they are irretrievably lost while Europe continues in its present state. Again—suppose you continue to trade with England, how would your revenue derived from the consumption of her manufactures stand affected? Grant that one half of our revenue is now collected from the commerce with G. Britain—If the produce of this country is reduced to a mere drug by being restricted to her ports (and I have shewn that would be the case) could you continue to consume her goods? It is an established axiom in trade that the exports and imports must always bear an exact proportion, and it is ridiculous to suppose the use of foreign goods would continue after the means of payment ceased to exist; in other words, the exchange of labor between the two countries would be too unequal to last. In a short time even that branch of revenue would dwindle into insignificance; it would not replenish the Treasury. Thus, sir, take these edicts and orders in council in any possible point of view, their operation upon your commerce is exclusion from the continental market, the destruction of your revenue, the lessened value of the produce of your soil, and the prostration of your fisheries and navigation. Enterprise cannot continue when every avenue of commerce is cut off—in short they produce the very evils which gentlemen wish to charge on the embargo. I have endeavored to consider this question as a question of pecuniary calculation altogether, and it is so clear to my mind, that there does not exist a temptation to sacrifice the honor and independence of the U. S. that, I am astonished gentlemen can take any other view of the subject than that I have taken. To take off the embargo at this time, while the decrees of France, and the orders of England remain in force, without adopting some other measure equally efficient would be to submit to the meanest degradation. It would be sending your property to certain ruin, exposing it to the lawless spoliation of every pirate with which the ocean is infested, without the means of resistance or the hope of justice. If you do not now take a stand for your rights, when will you? Can the occasion ever be more urgent? It would be vain hereafter when you have yielded, and the nation is habituated to foreign domination. Do you flatter yourself that your grievances will close here? You will be mistaken—it is not the nature of power intoxicated with success to retract its encroachments, or commercial avarice to relax its pretensions. The little you now have will soon be claimed, & what you have already yielded, will furnish the pretext to enforce your compliance—you will not even be remunerated by profit for your disgrace. It is not a time when submission is entitled to moderation, or concessions ensure forbearance. Our agriculture must continue as it now is until some new direction be given to the destructive tempest, which renders it almost impossible to navigate the ocean. I know that the operation of our measures is strong, that every man must feel them more or less, and the plainest calculations cannot quiet the restlessness of pecuniary embarrassment. But sir, while I candidly believe the members of this House feel their full share of the public pressure, (that at least is my case) and are honestly governed by what they believe the interest of the country, I cannot but rely upon the patriotism of the people. Let gentlemen therefore, who disapprove of this system, come forward and say what they think best to be done. They owe it to themselves, and their constituents, and they cannot withhold their councils without violating a sacred duty, they are pledged to perform. Let them do this instead of dividing and distracting the government and weakening the nation—they are Americans and ought not to sacrifice the national rights to the pride of party. As to the embargo, shew me something better and I will retract like an honest man, and adopt it. I do not consider myself precluded from a choice of measures because I once voted for it. There is no object to which I stand pledged but the safety of the nation, and no system but that which will most certainly promote it.

My colleague has said, we are called on by every sense of duty we owe to ourselves and country to unite & annoy our enemies, & make the strongest possible impression upon them. I agree with him. It is time to retaliate the aggressions and injuries of which we have been so long the victims. This is the only way to change their temper by retorting the evils of their own injustice—some foreign magic must have withered his brain, and that man must be under the influence of foreign governments who will not go all lengths to support the honor of the nation. It is to be regretted our harmony has been disturbed by the introduction of subjects not connected with the existing state of things, or calculated to meet future difficulties. Union would be more promoted by looking prospectively. As to those measures alluded to by gentlemen, as the causes of our present difficulties, they passed before I had a seat on this floor, and without any participation of mine. Can there exist a doubt that the crisis has arrived when we must take care of ourselves, and keep to ourselves? Every mode of insult to the nation has been tried, and even your public ministers have come in for their full share of neglect. As to keeping them any longer in Europe to be writing notes and papers, it is out of the question—for one I am prepared to go along with my country and share its fate. I shall vote for the first and third resolutions, because we cannot without dishonor submit to the flagrant violation of our neutral rights, and because we should be prepared to defend them. The second, excluding armed vessels, shall also have my approbation—I am willing to place the English and French upon the same ground. Their conduct has forfeited all claim upon us, to the hospitality and protection of our waters. I am disposed to exclude the productions of both and cut off all intercourse until they are disposed to renew it upon terms of equality. As for this measure injuring England more than France we cannot help that; but it ought to be recollected that it has not been long since we were told by the British themselves, all their efforts to injure France were vain, while she enjoyed the benefit of the American commerce.

(Debate to be continued.)

PROPOSALS for carrying Mails of the United States, on the following post roads, will be received at the General Post-Office in Washington, until the 16th day of January next inclusive.

(Continued.)

84. From Halifax, by Tate's store, Enfield, Tarboro', Greenville and Washington to Newbern, twice a week. Leave Halifax every Wednesday and Sunday at 6 a m and arrive at Newbern on Saturday and Wednesday at 10 a m.—*Returning.* Leave Newbern every Wednesday and Saturday at 2 p m and arrive at Halifax on Saturday and Tuesday by 6 p m.

85. From Scotland Neck, by Norfleet's ferry, Grandberry cross roads and Cashieville to Windsor once a week. Leave Scotland Neck, every Tuesday at 6 *a m* and arrive at Windsor by 4 *p m*. Leave Windsor every Friday at 6 *a m* and arrive at Scotland Neck by 6 *p m*.

86. From Raleigh, by Chapel hill to Hillsboro' once a week. Leave Raleigh every Friday at 8 *a m* and arrive at Hillsboro' on Saturday by 8 *a m*. Leave Hillsboro' every Wednesday at 5 *p m* and arrive at Raleigh on Thursday by 5 *p m*.

87. From Hillsboro' by Mount Tirzah, Person c h, Leesburg, Caswell c h, Leanox Castle, Brunswick's and Rockingham to Germanton, once a week. Leave Hillsboro' every Saturday at 10 *a m*, arrive at Caswell c h on Sunday noon, and arrive at Germanton the next Tuesday by 8 *p m*. Leave Germanton every Wednesday at 6 *a m*, and arrive at Hillsboro' the next Saturday by 8 *a m*.

88. From Averysboro' by Haywood, Pittsburg and Jones's ferry to Hillsboro', once a week. Leave Averysboro' every Thursday at 6 *a m*, & arrive at Hillsboro' on Saturday by 8 *a m* Leave Hillsboro' every Saturday at 10 *a m* and arrive at Averysboro' on Sunday by 6 *p m*.

89. From Raleigh, by Nuttall's, to Oxford or Merrittsville, once a week. Leave Raleigh every Friday at 4 *a m* & arrive at Oxford by 6 *p m*. Leave Oxford every Saturday at 4 *a m* & arrive at Raleigh by 6 *p m*.

90. From Raleigh, by Paul's ferry, Watson's cross roads, Richardsons, Woodards, Dowsons, or Tosnat, to Tarboro' once in two weeks. Leave Raleigh every Friday, at 6 *a m*, arrive at Tarboro' on Saturday by 6 *p m*. Leave Tarboro' every other Sunday at 6 *a m* and arrive at Raleigh on Monday by 6 *p m*.

91 From Williamsboro' by Bullock's store, Brown's store, Williamsville, Starlingville & Red House, to Caswell c h once a week. Leave Williamsboro' every Saturday at 4 *a m*, arrive at Caswell c h on Sunday by noon. Leave Caswell c h every Sunday by 2 *p m* and arrive at Williamsboro' on Friday by 4 *p m*.

92. From Warrenton, by Williamsboro', Oxford, Hillsboro', Allemance, Martinville, New Garden, Salem and Lexington, to Salisbury, once a week. Leave Warrenton every Friday at 2 *a m* and arrive at Hillsboro' on Saturday by 8 *a m*. Leave Hillsboro' at 9 *a m*, & arrive at Salem on Sunday by 3 *p m*. Leave Salem at 4 *p m* and arrive at Salisbury on Monday by 11 *a m*.—*Returning.* Leave Salisbury every Monday at 1 *p m*, & arrive at Salem on Tuesday by 8 *a m*. Leave Salem at 9 *a m*, & arrive at Hillsboro' on Wednesday by 3 *p m*. Leave Hillsboro' at 5 *p m* and arrive at Warrenton on Thursday by 5 p m.

93 From Salem, by Bethania, Huntsville, Rockford and Wilkes to Morganton, and thence by Island Ford, Statesville, Houstonville and Huntsville to Salem once a week. Leave Salem every Tuesday, at 10 *a m*, and arrive at Morganton the next Thursday by 5 *p m*. Leave Morganton every Friday at 8 *a m*, & arrive at Salem the next Monday by 8 *a m*

94 From Salisbury, by Concord, Alexandria, Charlotte, Huntersville, Lincolnton & Morganton, to Ashville, to return by Morganton, Lincolnton, Catawba springs & Mount Morne to Salisbury once a week. Leave Salisbury every Monday at 2 *p m*, and arrive at Charlotte on Tuesday by 8 *p m* & arrive at Ashville on Thursday by 6 *p m*. Leave Ashville every Friday at 6 *a m*, & arrive at Salisbury on Monday by 10 *a m*.

95. From Ashville, by the Warm Springs, Newport T. & Sevierville to Knoxville T. once a week. Leave Ashville every Friday at 6 *a m*, & arrive at Knoxville on Monday by 10 *a m*. Leave Knoxville every Monday at 2 *p m* & arrive at Ashville the next Thursday by 6 *p m*.

96. From Morganton, by Rutherfordton and Gowen's store to Greenville c h S. C. once a week. Leave Morganton every Friday at 6 a m and arrive at Greenville c h on Sunday by 6 p m —*Returning.* Leave Greenville c h every Monday at 6 *a m*, & arrive at Morganton on Wednesday by 6 *p m*.

97. From Charlotte, by Biggar's ferry, and Hill's Iron works, to York c h S. C. once a week. Leave Charlotte every Wednesday at 9 *a m* and arrive at York c h by 8 *p m*. RETURNING. Leave York c h every Tuesday at 6 *a m* & arrive at Charlotte by 6 *p m*.

98. From Raleigh, by Smithfield, Waynesboro', Greene c h and Kingston, to Newbern once a week. Leave Raleigh every Friday at 9 *a m* and arrive at Newbern the next Monday by 10 *a m*. Leave Newbern every Monday at 2 *p m* and arrive at Raleigh the next Thursday by 4 *p m*.

99. From Charlotte, by Lancaster, Cairo, and Providence, to Camden, once a week. Leave Charlotte every Wednesday at 6 *a m* and arrive at Camden on Thursday by 5 *p m*. Leave Camden on Friday at 6 *a m* and arrive at Charlotte on Saturday by 6 *p m*.

100. From Fayetteville by Elizabethtown to Wilmington, and thence by South Washington and Sampson c h to Fayetteville once a week. Leave Fayetteville every Monday at 4 *a m*, and arrive at Wilmington on Thursday by 10 *a m*. Leave Wilmington every Thursday at 2 *p m* and arrive at Fayetteville on Sunday by 6 *p m*.

101. From Fayetteville, by Andersville to Wilmington, once a week. Leave Fayetteville every Saturday at 6 A M and arrive at Wilmington on Sunday by 9 *p m*. LEAVE Wilmington every Wednesday at 6 *a m* and arrive at Fayetteville on Thursday by 7 *p m*.

102. From Fayetteville, by Laurel Hill, Winfieldville, & Chesterfield c h to Camden S C once a week. Leave Fayetteville every Tuesday at 5 *a m* & arrive at Camden on Thursday by 8 p m. LEAVE Camden every Friday at 6 *a m* & arrive at Fayetteville on Sunday by 8 *p m*.

103. From Fayetteville by Moore c h, Carthage & Randolph c h to Salisbury, and thence by Tinsallsville, Henderson, Wadesboro' Springville, Sneedsborough and Richmond c h to Fayetteville, once a week. Leave Fayetteville every Friday at 8 A M and arrive at Salisbury the next Monday by 10 A M. LEAVE Salisbury at 2 *p m* arrive at Richmond c h on Wednesday by 6 *p m* and at Fayetteville on Thursday by 5 *p m*.

104. From Wilkes' c h to Ashe c h once in two weeks. LEAVE Wilkes' c h every other Thursday at 6 *a m* arrive at Ashe c h same day by 7 *p m*. LEAVE Ashe c h every other Friday at 6 *a m* & arrive at Wilkes' c h the same day by 7 *p m*.

105. From Newbern to Swansboro' once a week. LEAVE Newbern every Tuesday at 4 A M arrive at Swansboro' same day by 11 *a m*. LEAVE Swansboro' every Tuesday at 1 *p m* arrive at Newbern on same day by 7 *p m*.

IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

106. From Sneedsboro' by Parker's ferry, Chatham, Cheraw c h, Brownsville, Darlington c h, Pauleyville, Jeffrays and the Clay House, to Port's ferry once a week. Leave Sneedsboro' every Thursday at 4 *a m* & arrive at Port's ferry on Friday by 6 *p m*. Leave Port's ferry on Saturday at 4 A M and arrive at Sneedsboro' on Sunday by 8 *p m*.

107. From Camden, by Statesburg and Jamesville, to Nelson's ferry and Monk's Corner, to Charleston, twice a week. LEAVE Camden every Thursday and Saturday at 4 A M arrive at Statesburg by 10 *a m* and at Charleston on Tuesday & Saturday by 10 *a m*. LEAVE Charleston every Tuesday and Saturday at 2 p m and arrive at Camden on Thursday and Monday by 8 p m.

108. From Columbia by Orangeburg and St. George to Charleston, twice a week. LEAVE Columbia every Sunday and Wednesday at 4 A M and arrive at Charleston on Tuesday and Friday by 10 *a m* —*Returning.* LEAVE Charleston every Tuesday and Friday at 2 p m and arrive at Columbia on Thursday and Sunday by 6 *p m*.

109. From Columbia by Winsboro', Chester c h, York c h, Pinckneyville, Union, Meansville c h and Spartanburgh, to Greenville c h once a week. And return by Stonesville, Shackleford's store, Cross Anchor, the Keys, O'Neal's, Henderson's, and Hampton's to Columbia. Leave Columbia every Monday at 8 *a m*, and arrive at York c h on Tuesday by 7 *p m*. Leave it at 7 1-2 *p m* arrive at Greenville c h on Friday by 8 *a m*. Leave Greenville c h at 10 *a m* & arrive at Columbia on Sunday by 6 *p m*.

110. From Columbia by Newbury c h, Laurens c h, Belfast, Fork shoal, Greenville c h, Reedsville, Claytonsville, to Ashville. Return by Murraysville, Greenville, Tumbling Shoal, Laurens c h, Belfast, Newberry c h to Columbia once a week. Leave Columbia every Monday at 2 p m and arrive at Ashville on Thursday by 8 *p m*. Leave Ashville every Friday at 4 *a m*, and arrive at Columbia the next Monday by 10 *a m*.

111. From Columbia by Miersville, Statesburg, Sumterville, Salem, and Kingstree, to Willtown, once a week. Leave Columbia every Monday at 2 *p m* and arrive at Willtown on Wednesday by 6 p m. Leave Willtown every Thursday at 6 *a m* and arrive at Columbia on Saturday by 6 *p m*.

112. From Monks Corner, or the Black Oak on Santee Canal, Pinesville and Murray's ferry to Kingstree, once a week. Leave Monks Corner every Thursday at 6 *a m* & arrive at Kingstree by 6 p m. Leave Kingstree every Friday at 6 *a m* and arrive at Monks Corner by 6 *p m*.

113. From Orangeburg by Johnston's bridge, Barnwell c h, Roberts, Tredways and Town Creek to Campelltown, once a week. Leave Orangeburg every Friday at 6 *a m* and arrive at Campbelltown on Saturday by 6 *p m*. Leave Campbelltown every Monday at 6 *a m* and arrive at Orangeburg on Wednesday by 6 *p m*.

114. From Camden, by Columbia, Edgefield c h and Campbelltown, to Augusta, once a week. Leave Camden every Friday at 5 A M and arrive at Columbia by 4 *p m*. Leave it at 5 *p m* and arrive at Edgefield c h on Saturday by 10 *a m*. Leave there at 11 *a m* and arrive at Augusta by 6 *p m*.—*Returning.*—Leave Augusta every Tuesday at 4 *a m* arrive at Edgefield by 1 *p m*. Leave there at 2 *p m*. arrive at Columbia on Thursday by 8 *a m*. Leave there at 9 *a m* and arrive at Camden by 8 *p m*.

115. From Edgefield c h by Amos Richardsons, Cambridge, Southampton, Stoney Point Abbeville c h and Rocky river to Pendleton c h, once a week. Leave Edgefield c h every Saturday at 2 *p m* and arrive at Pendleton c h on Tuesday by 6 *p m*. Leave Pendleton c h every Wednesday by 6 *a m* and arrive at Edgefield c h the next Saturday by 10 A M.

116 From Coosawatchie, by Black Swamp, Lower three runs, and upper three runs, to Augusta once a week. Leave Augusta every Sunday at 6 *a m* and arrive at Coosawatchie on Tuesday by 4 *p m*. Leave Coosawatchie every Thursday at 4 *a m* & arrive at Augusta on Saturday by 4 *p m*.

117. From Pocotaligo to Beaufort twice a week. Leave Pocotaligo every Tuesday and Saturday at 1 *p m* & arrive at Beaufort by 7 p m. Leave Beaufort every Tuesday and Saturday at 5 *a m* & arrive at Pocotaligo by 10 *a m*.

(To be Continued.)