had stated only some of its great outlines, and must submit a farther elucidation of it to any gentleman better prepared who may think proper to do it. He said he considered the resolution under consideration all important, at this particular time more peculiarly so, and that it would have his support.

Mr. Rhea said he did not wish to make a text of any observation of any gentleman, but as the word tribute had been mentioned, and some gentleman had said that, that word ought to be discarded & dismissed from the debate, it was not his inclination to dismiss or discard that word. He thought the term appropriate—that the word tribute was nearly synonimous with the word tax or toll—that if a man is authorised by law to fix a turnpike on a highway or great road, and to collect from travellers a certain sum of money that is called tax or toll. If a man is possessed of force and power sufficient to enable him arbitrarily or despotically to establish a turnpike gate on a highway, and to compel every passenger to pay to him a sum of money, say one dollar, for liberty to travel on the road to pass through that gate—that dollar, in that case may properly be called tribute.

Mr. Rhea said, he conceived that the ocean was a highway of nations, and if any one nation, for instance G. Britain, was possessed of maritime power & force sufficient to compel any other nation engaged in commerce to land its produce and pay tax or duty for it, to have liberty to convey it on the ocean to any third nation—that tax or duty may be properly denominated tribute; because the nation, paying it, is by superior force and power compelled to pay it to that nation who by force hath arbitrarily & despotically, and contrary to public reason, erected an imaginary turnpike on the ocean to the compleat destruction of all neutral commerce, and to effect and establish a perfect system of universal commercial monopoly. Mr. Rhea said he admitted that the maritime power of G. Britain was superior—that it extended over the ocean from the rising to the setting sun, and from the frozen ocean in the South to the frozen ocean in the North; but that notwithstanding this, he never would agree that the U. States shall submit to the edicts of Great Britain. He said he also admitted that the power of France on the continent of Europe was superior; notwithstanding that, he would never agree that the United States shall submit to the edicts of France. He said it was his opinion, and he firmly believed, that the sovereignty and independence of the U. States were placed on a firm and immoveable foundation, and could not be overturned, and that they would be rising in virtue, honor, in greatness, in power, and in national happiness and felicity; when some of the nations who now oppress them, would be sinking into corruption, mouldering into ruin and blotted out, except in remembrance. Nations, in respect to existence, he said, are as trees in the forest; the loftiest, proudest oak, that hath stood firm against the storms of ages, originating from an acorn, vegetating to greatness and lifting its high head to the Heavens, at length attains its utmost—decay begins, corruption progresses, it tumbles down from its height and lays prostrate on parent earth, there it dissolves and returns to its pristine indiscriminate condition.

NOVEMBER 30.

Mr. Johnson said that in discussing this subject he should consider the whole subject of foreign relations before the committee. The first resolution he considered of primary importance as containing a solemn declaration that the edicts of the two mighty belligerents of Europe were violations of our honor, our independence and our sovereignty. An unanimous expression of this sentiment (said he) would give us confidence in each other; it will be a sacred pledge of all parties to resist these degrading encroachments; difference of opinion would then be manifested but as the means of saving this nation from the impending calamity. The whole nation would understand this declaration that he who is not for us is against us—no neutrals. There can be no middle ground. The line should be drawn, that the friends and enemies of this country should be known; that the persecuted foreigner who left his native home to escape the iron yoke of despotism, may be distinguished from foreign agents and emissaries settled among us for the purposes of disaffection; and that American news-papers differing only as to the means of national security may be known from the seditious hirelings of foreign gold, whose daily avocation is the abuse of our government, and the justification of foreign aggression.

To prove the great design of the French Emperor we refer to the execution of the Berlin decree, unfriendly vexations of our trade in the Mediterranean and the English channel; the destruction of our merchant vessels upon the high seas by fire; the Milan and Bayonne decrees, under which our vessels have been detained and their cargoes confiscated.

To prove the deliberate hostility of the British cabinet towards the U. States, we refer to a catalogue of outrages of still deeper dye, and, as to the quantum of ten fold magnitude—a hostility coeval with the birth of this nation. Without magnanimity in prosperity, unadmonished by adversity, her conduct has been the same. Talk not of her conflict for existence. In the year 1791, 2, 3, 4, when she led to battle the combined powers of Europe against France, haughty and imperious, our commerce fell a sacrifice to the cupidity of her cruizers, and our seamen were dragged into slavery upon British ships of war. And since the scene has been changed and Napoleon leads the same continental confederacy against England, her conduct has been the same; our seamen still impressed, and our commerce put under tribute.

I am more than astonished to see this House therefore inundated by every mail with publications from the East, declaring that we have no cause of complaint against G. Britain; that we should rescind the proclamation of interdict against British armed vessels; that we should repeal the non-importation law; that the embargo should be taken off as to G. Britain; that we should go to war with France; that punctilio prevents a settlement of our differences with G. Britain; inviting the people to violate and disregard the embargo, to put the laws and the constitution at defiance, and rise in rebellion.

These considerations induced me to examine this matter, and to prove to every honest American, what we all believe in this place, that the object of one power is to destroy our neutrality and involve us in the convulsing wars of Europe; and the object of the other a monopoly of our commerce, and the destruction of our freedom and independence. Let evidence as conclusive as holy writ put the enemies of this insulted country to shame. We are informed by our minister in London (Mr. Monroe) in a communication dated August 1807, that a war party of powerful combination and influence existed in G. Britain, who wanted to extend their ravages to this country; that we could not make calculations upon the justice of G. Britain; that in her many assumptions of power and principle, she would yield but from absolute necessity. Who is this war party? The British navy, to whom we have opened our ports, and extended all the hospitalities of a generous nation; while in the enjoyment of which that very navy waged war against our unoffending citizens. The ship owners, the East and West India merchants, and what cause have they for war? The enterprizing citizens of the U. States have been their rivals and superiors in a lawful and profitable commerce; and lastly, political characters of high consideration. These compose this war party. In January, 1804, in an official communication of Mr. Madison, Mr. Monroe is charged with the suppression of impressment as his primary object; 2, the definition of blockade; 3d, the reduction of the list of contraband; 4th, the enlargement of our trade with hostile colonies. The negociation opens, and what is done? With industry and exertion our minister was unable to bring the British cabinet to any amicable arrangement. Lords Hawksbury, Harrowby, Mulgrave and Mr. Fox succeeded each other, and every attempt to negociate was in vain. Each of them brings expressions of good will, and good disposition towards the U. States, and a wish for amicable arrangement. But these professions & dispositions evaporate in invitations to the country and the city—in promises and procrastinations. To-day we are amused with a conversation at the foreign office, which animates with a lively hope—to-morrow hope is swallowed up in despair, and the third day announces some new injury—affairs on the continent now call the attention of the British ministry, and with every disposition of *good will* there must be a *pause*. In this amicable pause business required that our minister should go to old Spain; but upon his return to England, what astonishment seized his mind at the sad spectacle the changing scenes presented. Under the old rule of '56 and other interpolations upon public law, our merchant vessels are swept from the bosom of the ocean without notice, by British cruizers, and carried into British ports for condemnation. But why this change? A coalition had been formed in the North against France. British gold effected it. Russia and Austria had combined against France, and here the hopes of England rested.

But we all know her hopes were blasted. This is the reason why the blow was aimed, and your commerce sacrificed. The remonstrances of our minister could not keep pace with new aggressions. This temporising policy of England and the destruction of our commerce buried party spirit in America for the moment, and produced an indignant protest against her conduct from the great commercial cities in the union, in which their lives and their property were pledged to support the government in measures of just retaliation. And on this occasion the merchants of Boston requested the President to send a special envoy to England, to give greater solemnity to our claims of indemnity and future security. The cause of the merchants became a common cause; and the non-importation law was enacted; and Mr. Pinkney sent as a special minister, agreeably to request. Let the commercial interest cease to complain. It is for them principally that we now suffer. These deeply inflicted wounds upon the commerce of America, engulphed for a moment the consideration of the primary object of Mr. Monroe's mission—the impressment of seamen—and it would seem that when our minister pressed one great subject of complaint, some greater outrage was committed to draw our attention from the former injury. Thus the unavailing exertions of our minister for upwards of two years at the court of St. James's, eventuated in an extraordinary mission, and the non-importation law; a measure of retaliation, and which rendered us less dependent upon a foreign government for such articles as can be manufactured at home. To bring further evidence of British hostility, let us attend a little to the administration of Mr. Fox. He came into office about the 1st of Feb. On the 31st of May, information was received in London of the extra mission of Mr. Pinkney. Mr. Monroe, therefore, had an opportunity of about four months with Mr. Fox to settle our differences, without any interruption, not even the ideal one which has been suggested, as giving a temporary stay to the negociation, viz. the waiting the arrival of Mr. Pinkney. The United States had a right to expect something like justice from this able minister; because he entertained a sincere desire to conciliate the friendship of this nation by acts of justice.

But in this just expectation we were disappointed. The hostility of other members of the cabinet with whom he was associated, was the real cause of difficulty, joined perhaps with his sudden indisposition and death. Mr. Fox acknowledged our right to the colonial trade—he promised to stop the capture and condemnation of our merchant vessels—but when pressed to answer our complaints in writing, he promised, but broke that promise, and ultimately refused to give any orders with respect to the capture and condemnation of our vessels. Thus the golden apple was presented to our grasp and then snatched for ever from our sight.

Now let the committee attend to the chapter of negociation, which produced the rejected treaty. 1. The subject of blockade is proposed, and a definition demanded. We denied the doctrine of paper breast works, spurious and illegitimate blockades, to be executed in every sea by the British navy, of which our neutral rights were the victims. Such as the blockade of the coast of Europe from the Elb to Brest, of the Elb the Weiser and Ems. The whole coast of old Spain, of the Dardanelles and Smyrna, and of Curracoa. Upon this subject Great Britain would yield nothing.

2. No duty can be laid upon American exports, but Great Britain imposes a duty of four per cent upon her exports to the United States, under the name of a convoy duty; by which duty the citizens of the United States pay to Great Britain an annual amount of 1,500,000 dollars—but upon this unfriendly discrimination she will yield nothing.

3. Upon the search of merchant vessels she would yield nothing.

4. Upon the colonial trade she imposed new restrictions. She would yield nothing—a trade which produced the United States revenue to the amount of 1,300,000 dollars per annum—and furnished exports from the United States of 50,000,000 dolls. annually.

5. Upon West India trade she would yield nothing, and upon the East India trade she imposed new restrictions.

6. Upon the impressment of seamen, the subject was too delicate—she was fighting for her existence—she would yield nothing.

7. Upon the mutual navigation of the St. Lawrence, so important to the northern states, they would yield nothing; but would demand a monopoly of the fur trade, and influence over the Indians within our own limits—Thus ended the chapter of negociation.

I turn with indignation from this to a new species of injury, involving the events connected with and preceding the President's proclamation interdicting the armed vessels of Great Britain from our waters. I allude to the conduct of the officers of the British navy, and the evident connivance of the British government. I will only mention three prominent cases.

1st. The Cambrian, and other British cruizers, commanded by captain Bradley, who entered the port of New York, and in defiance of the government arrested a merchant vessel, and impressed into the ships of war a number of seamen and passengers, refused to surrender them upon demand, and resisted the officers, served with regular process of law, for the purpose of arresting the offenders.

2. The case of the Leander, capt. Whitby, with other British armed vessels, hovering about New-York, vexing the trade of that port, arresting a coasting vessel of the United States, by firing a cannon, which entered the vessel, and killed John Pierce. The murder of Pierce, a fact so notorious could not be proved in a sham trial in England, though the most unexceptionable characters are sent as witnesses from the United States; and not even an explanation is made to satisfy this country for the murder of a citizen. Call upon the citizens of New-York, who saw the body of their slaughtered countryman—ask the mourning relatives of the murdered Pierce, whether he was slain or not. But from this tragic scene we must turn to one of a deeper hue.

The attack upon the Chesapeake. This vessel had just left the shores of Virginia, leaving the British ship of war, the Leopard, enjoying the hospitalities of our laws. The Chesapeake was bound to the Mediterranean in defence of our rights. 170 American tars were on board, who had undertaken this honorable enterprise. Unsuspicious of harm, whilst their rough cheeks were bedewed with tears in parting from their friends and country, their powder horns empty, rods mislaid, wads too large, guns not primed—all was confusion. In this unhappy moment the messenger of death comes. The unfortunate Barron refuses to permit his men to be mustered by any but an American officer. His government had given the command. This is the provocation. The vessel is attacked, and without resistance eight are wounded, three killed, and four taken and carried into British service, one of whom has been hung as a malefactor in Nova Scotia. It has been said, that the Goddess of Liberty was born of the ocean. At this solemn crisis, when the blood of these American seamen mingled with the waves, then this sea nymph arose indignant from the angry billows, and like a redeeming spirit, kindled in every bosom indignation and resentment. A nation of patriots have expressed their resentment, and the sound has reached the utmost bounds of the habitable world. Let a reasoning world judge whether the President's proclamation was too strong for this state of things, and whether it should be rescinded without atonement.

Do the wrongs of this nation end with this outrage? No. Clouds thicken upon us—our wrongs are still encreased during the sensibility of this nation; and without atonement for the attack upon the Chesapeake, on the 16th Oct. 1807, a proclamation issues from the British cabinet respecting sea-faring persons, enlarging the principles of former encroachments upon the practice of impressment. This proclamation makes it the indispensable duty of her naval officers to enter the unarmed merchant vessels of the U. S. and impress as many of the crew as a petty and interested naval officer may without trial point out as British subjects. The pretension is not confined to the search after deserters, but extended to masters, carpenters and naturalised citizens of the U. S. Thus extending their municipal laws to our merchant vessels and this country, and denying us the right of making laws upon the subject of naturalization. The partners of British and Scotch merchants can cover their property and their merchandize from other nations under the neutral flag of the U. S. to Leghorn, Amsterdam, Hamburg, &c. But the patriotic Irishman or Englishman who has sought this protecting asylum of liberty are not secured by our flag from the ruthless fangs of a British press gang. And at this very moment our native citizens and adopted brethren, to a considerable number, are doomed to the most intolerable thraldom in the British navy by this degrading practice. There the freedom of our citizens depends upon the mercy of naval officers of G. Britain; and upon this subject every proposition for arrangement is trampled down by these unjust pretensions. Information was just received of the execution of the Berlin decree; when the papers from every quarter announced the existence of the British orders in council, making a sweeping dash at our rightful commerce. Something must be done. The events which have been retraced, all pressed upon us. The treatment of our minister and his unavailing exertions—the result of the negociation which gave birth to the rejected treaty—the memorials of the merchants—the outrageous conduct of the British naval officers upon our sea board—the connivance at their conduct by the British government—the proclamation of Oct. 16th, 1807—the execution of the Berlin decree, and the orders in Council. These considerations required the arm of government; and at this inauspicious period when the clouds which had so long threatened and darkened our political horizon, gathered to a thick and horrible tempest, which now seemed about to burst upon our devoted nation, the embargo snatched our property from the storm, and deprived the thunderbolt of its real calamities. The effects of this measure at home and abroad, notwithstanding its inconveniences, will best attest the wisdom of the measure, which will be encreased in its efficacy by a total non-importation law. As a measure of coercion upon other nations, I not only have the strongest hopes but a rational confidence in it, founded upon the most conclusive evidence. The misrepresentations in this country, the violations of the embargo, and the hope of changing the parties in the U. S. or of producing a separation of the states—these miscalculations have destroyed wholly the efficacy of this measure, and been a main cause why G. Britain has not relaxed in her injustice toward America. And if we can rigidly enforce this system my confidence is undiminished, my faith strong, that the U. S. will have reasonable terms offered to them. Yet the violators of your laws have been the great cause why the present state of things has been protracted. They are as infamous as the cow-boys in the revolution who embodied themselves to feed our enemies with the only cow of a weeping widow, or a poor soldier who was fighting for his country. The commerce of the U.S. with the West-Indies, the continent of Europe and G. Britain will present to this committee the evidence upon which this faith is bottomed. The U. S. have furnished the West-Indies with the essentials of existence, and also have afforded a market for the colonial produce of those islands. In fact they cannot live without provisions from the U. S. in the present state of the world. These islands have been reduced to wretchedness and want already, notwithstanding the violations of the embargo, and flour we learn has been as high as 20, 30, 40, 50 and 60 $ per barrel. The vast importance of these possessions alone to the mother country might have been sufficient to have produced a settlement of our differences, if other considerations had not prevented. Attend to the trade with England and the continent previous to the orders in council. The annual exports of British manufactures to the U. S. amount to twelve million pounds sterling. In exchange for these manufactured articles, G. Britain receives to the amount of four million pounds sterling in tobacco, cotton, wheat and the substantials of life. The eight millions which remain due, must be paid in money or bills. To raise this money, the American merchants carry to the continent of Europe produce of the U. S. to the amount of this eight millions, which is sold, and the amount remitted to the merchants in London, to pay the debts of our merchants. This trade is now destroyed by the orders in Council, and not the embargo; for this very measure has saved our vessels from capture, our merchandize from condemnation and our seamen from impressment.

Admit for one moment that our embargo was raised to-morrow, and the merchants were permitted to carry on their commerce, keeping out of view the disgrace of submitting to British and French edicts, and what would be the result. If the merchants directed their course to any other port than those of the British dominions and countries in alliance and friendship with her, and your property must only float upon the ocean as materials for British plunder. If they were to direct their course to the ports of the British dominions they would be subject to capture by the French privateers. But admit that our vessels would escape these privateers, what price would our merchants get for their produce in British ware-houses, when the British dominions would not consume 15 millions of our exports which have amounted altogether, foreign and domestic, to 108 millions. In this state of things our merchants would see their merchandize rotting in the British ware house with expences of carriage upon it, without a possibility of relieving it from that situation. The orders in council and not the embargo have destroyed the commerce of the world. The commerce of the U. S. is of infinite importance to G. Britain. The whole manufacturing interest, the mechanic, the laboring poor, are deeply injured by its suspension. We shall no longer furnish a market for her manufacturers, nor furnish her the raw material and other exports important to her.

Mr. J. then adverted to a statement of the exports from G. Britain to all the world, which had the stamp of authority upon it amounting to 37 million pounds sterling; and after deducting the exports to places from which G. Britain is now entirely excluded, including America, her exports would amount only to about six millions pounds sterling. Could a nation countenance a system like this, when her very existence depended upon commerce? She might brave the storm for a season, and the immense capital thrown into the island of G. Britain for want of commerce might enable the cabinet to facilitate their loans; but a change must take place, if this nation would persevere. Attend (said he) to London and Liverpool merchants and Mr. Brougham, in the House of Commons, against the orders in council, and this statement will be confirmed. It was proven that before the orders in council the

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