

the different administrations of our government. It is by an examination of their several systems of policy, and their relative effects upon the country. If under the federal administration our agricultural and commercial pursuits were encouraged and protected, our public credit was unimpaired, and our national character was respected; and if the peace of the country was preserved without sacrificing its honor; then we may fairly attribute to that administration wisdom, integrity and patriotism; while we must ascribe weakness and folly, at least to the present administration, which has abandoned commerce, paralyzed the industry of the husbandman, the mechanic and the artist, dried up the source of public revenue, hazarded the peace of the country, and degraded the national character, by subjecting the government to the imputation of having sacrificed its independence, to the influence of a foreign power.

CAMILLUS.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

WASHINGTON CITY, Nov. 8.

This Day, at 12 o'clock, the President of the United States communicated, by Mr. Coles, his Secretary, the following MESSAGE to both Houses of Congress:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

It would have been a source, fellow-citizens, of much gratification, if our last communications from Europe had enabled me to inform you, that the belligerent nations, whose disregard of neutral rights has been so destructive to our commerce, had become awakened to the duty and true policy of revoking their unrighteous edicts. That no means might be omitted to produce this salutary effect, I just now in availing myself of the act authorizing a suspension, in whole or in part, of the several embargo laws. Our ministers at London and Paris, were entrusted to explain to the respective governments there, our disposition to exercise the authority in such manner as would withdraw the pretext on which the aggressions were originally founded, and open the way for a renewal of that commercial intercourse which, it was alleged on all sides, had been reluctantly obstructed. As each of those governments had pledged a readiness to concur in renouncing a measure which reached its adversary through the incontestable rights of neutrals only, and as the measure had been assumed by each as a retaliation for an asserted acquiescence in the aggressions of the other, it was reasonably expected that the occasion would have been seized by both for evincing the sincerity of their professions, and for restoring to the commerce of the United States its legitimate freedom. The instructions to our ministers with respect to the different belligerents, were necessarily modified with a reference to their different circumstances, and to the condition annexed by law to the executive power of suspension, requiring a degree of security to our commerce, which would not result from a repeal of the decrees of France. Instead of a pledge therefore of a suspension of the embargo as to her in case of such repeal, it was presumed that a sufficient inducement might be found in other considerations, and particularly in the change produced by a compliance with our just demands by one belligerent, and a refusal by the other, in the relations between this other and the United States. To Great Britain, whose power on the ocean is so ascendant, it was deemed not inconsistent with that condition, to state explicitly, that on her rescinding her orders in relation to the United States, their trade would be opened to her, and remain shut to her enemy, in case of his failure to rescind his decrees also. From France no answer has been received, nor any indication that the requisite change in her decrees is contemplated. The favorable reception of the proposition to Great Britain was the less to be doubted, as her orders of council had not only been referred for their vindication to an acquiescence on the part of the United States no longer to be pretended, but as the arrangement proposed, whilst it resisted the illegal decrees of France, involved moreover substantially, the precise advantages professedly aimed at by the British orders. The arrangement has nevertheless been rejected.

This candid and liberal experiment having thus failed, and no other event having occurred on which a suspension of the embargo by the Executive was authorized, it necessarily remains in the extent originally given to it. We have the satisfaction, however, to reflect, that in return for the privations imposed by the measure, and which our fellow-citizens in general have borne with patriotism, it has had the important effects of saving our mariners and our vast mercantile property, as well as of affording time for prosecuting the defensive and provisional measures called for by the occasion. It has demonstrated to foreign nations the moderation and firmness which govern our councils, and to our citizens the necessity of uniting in support of the laws and the rights of their country; and has thus long frustrated those usurpations and spoliation, which, if resisted, involved war, if submitted to, sacrificed a vital principle of our national independence.

Under a continuance of the belligerent measures, which in defiance of the laws which consecrate the rights of neutrals overspread the ocean with danger, it will rest with the wisdom of Congress to decide on the course best adapted to such a state of things; and

bringing with them, as they do from every part of the union, the sentiments of our constituents, my confidence is strengthened that in forming this decision, they will, with an unerring regard to the essential rights and interests of the nation, weigh and compare the painful alternatives out of which a choice is to be made. Nor should I do justice to the virtues which on other occasions have marked the character of our fellow-citizens, if I did not cherish an equal confidence, that the alternative chosen, whatever it may be, will be maintained with all the fortitude and patriotism which the crisis ought to inspire.

The documents, containing the correspondences on the subject of the foreign edicts against our commerce, with the instructions given to our Ministers at London and Paris, are now laid before you.

The communications made to Congress at their last session, explained the posture in which the close of the discussion relative to the attack by a British ship of war on the frigate Chosapeake, left a subject on which the nation had manifested so honorable a sensibility. Every view of what had passed authorized a belief that immediate steps would be taken by the British government for redressing a wrong, which the more it was investigated, appeared the more clearly to require what had not been provided for in the special mission. It is found that no steps have been taken for the purpose. On the contrary it will be seen, in the documents laid before you, that the inadmissible preliminary, which obstructed the adjustment, is still adhered to; and moreover that it is now brought into connection with the distinct and irrelative orders in council. The instructions which had been given to our minister at London, with a view to facilitate, if necessary, the reparation claimed by the United States, are included in the documents communicated.

Our relations with the other powers of Europe have undergone no material changes since your last session. The important negotiations with Spain, which had been alternately suspended and resumed, necessarily experience a pause, under the extraordinary and interesting crisis which distinguishes her internal situation.

With the Barbary powers we continue in harmony, with the exception of an unjustifiable proceeding of the Dey of Algiers towards our consul to that regency. Its character and circumstances are now laid before you, and will enable you to decide how far it may either now or hereafter call for any measures not within the limits of the executive authority.

With our Indian neighbors, the public peace has been steadily maintained. Some instances of individual wrong have, as at other times, taken place, but in no wise implicating the will of the nation. Beyond the Alleghany, the Alibamas, have delivered up for trial and punishment, individuals from among themselves, accused of murdering citizens of the United States. On this side of the Mississippi, the Creeks are exerting themselves to arrest offenders of the same kind, and the Choctaws have manifested their readiness and desire for amicable and just arrangements, respecting depredations committed by disorderly persons of their tribe. And generally, from a conviction that we consider them as a part of ourselves, and cherish with sincerity their rights and interests, the attachment of the Indian tribes is gaining strength daily, extending from the nearer to the more remote, and will amply requite us for the justice and friendship practised towards them. Husbandry and household manufactures, are advancing among them, more rapidly with the Southern than northern tribes, from circumstances of soil and climate, and of the two great divisions of the Cherokee nation, have now under consideration to solicit the citizenship of the United States, and to be identified with us in laws and government, in such progressive manner as we shall think best.

In consequence of the appropriations of the last session of Congress, for the security of our sea-port towns and harbours, such works of defence have been erected as seemed to be called by the situation of the several places, their relative importance, and the scale of expence indicated by the amount of the appropriation. These works will be finished in the course of the present season, except at New-York and New-Orleans, where most was to be done; and although a great proportion of the last appropriation has been expended on the former place, yet some further views will be submitted to Congress, for rendering its security entirely adequate against naval enterprise. A view of what has been done at the several places, and of what is proposed to be done, shall be communicated as soon as the several reports are received.

Of the gun-boats authorized by the act of December last, it has been thought necessary to build only one hundred and three in the present year. These, with those before possessed, are sufficient for the harbors and waters most exposed, and the residue will require little time for their construction, when it shall be deemed necessary.

Under the act of the last session for raising an additional military force, so many officers were immediately appointed as were necessary for carrying on the business of recruiting, and in proportion as it advanced others have been added. We have reason to believe their success has been satisfactory, although such returns have not yet been received as enable me to present you a statement of the numbers engaged.

I have not thought it necessary, in the course of the last session, to call for any general detachments of militia or of volunteers,

under the laws passed for that purpose. For the ensuing season, however, they will be required to be in readiness, should their service be wanted. Some small and special detachments have been necessary to maintain the laws of the embargo, on that portion of our northern frontiers which offered peculiar facilities for evasion. But these were replaced as soon as it could be done, by bodies of new recruits. By the aid of these, and of the armed vessels called into service in other quarters, the spirit of disobedience and abuse which manifested itself early, and with sensible effect, while we were unprepared to meet it, has been considerably repressed.

Considering the extraordinary character of the times in which we live, our attention should unremittingly be fixed on the safety of our country. For a people who are free, and who mean to remain so, a well organized and armed militia is their best security. It is therefore incumbent on us, at every meeting, to revise the condition of the militia, and to ask ourselves if it is prepared to repel a powerful enemy, at every point of our territories exposed to invasion. Some of the states have paid a laudable attention to this object; but every degree of neglect is to be found among others. Congress alone having the power to produce an uniform state of preparation in this great organ of defence, the interests which they so deeply feel in their own and their country's security, will present this as among the most important objects of their deliberation.

Under the acts of March 11, and April 23, respecting arms, the difficulty of procuring them from abroad during the present situation and dispositions of Europe, induced us to direct our whole efforts to the means of internal supply. The public factories have therefore been enlarged, additional machineries erected; and in proportion as artificers can be found or formed, their effect, already more than doubled, may be increased, so as to keep pace with the yearly increase of the militia. The annual sums appropriated by the latter act, have been directed to the encouragement of private factories of arms; and contracts have been entered into with individual undertakers, to nearly the amount of the first year's appropriation.

The suspension of our foreign commerce, produced by the injustice of the belligerent powers, and the consequent losses and sacrifices of our fellow-citizens, are subjects of our just concern. The situation into which we have thus been forced, has impelled us to apply a portion of our industry and capital to internal manufactures and improvements. The extent of this conversion is daily increasing; and little doubt remains that the establishments formed and forming, will, under the auspices of cheaper materials, and facilities, the freedom of labor from taxation with us, and of proceeing duties and prohibitions, become permanent. The commerce with the Indians too, within our own boundaries, is likely to receive abundant stimulus from the same internal resource, and will secure to them peace and the progress of civilization, undisturbed by practices hostile to both.

The accounts of the receipts and expenditures during the year ending on the thirteenth day of September last, being not yet made up, a correct statement will hereafter be transmitted from the treasury. In the mean time it is ascertained that the receipts have amounted to near eighteen millions of dollars, which with the eight millions and an half in the treasury at the beginning of the year, have enabled us after meeting the current demands, and interest incurred, to pay two millions three hundred thousand dollars of the principal of our funded debt, and left us in the treasury on that day near fourteen millions of dollars. Of these, five millions three hundred and fifty thousand dollars will be necessary to pay what will be due on the first day of January next, which will complete the reimbursement of the eight per cent. stock. These payments, with those made in the six years and an half preceding, will have extinguished thirty-three millions five hundred and eighteen thousand dollars of the principal of the funded debt, being the whole which could be paid or purchased within the limits of the law and of our contracts, and the amount of principal thus discharged will have liberated the revenue from about two millions of dollars of interest, and added that sum annually to the disposable surplus. The probable accumulation of the surpluses of revenue beyond what can be applied to the payment of the public debt, whenever the freedom and safety of our commerce shall be restored, merits the consideration of Congress. Shall it be unproductive in the public vaults? Shall the revenue be reduced, or shall it not rather be appropriated to the improvements of roads, canals, rivers, education, and other great foundations of prosperity and union, under the powers which Congress may already possess, or such amendment of the constitution as may be approved by the States? While uncertain of the course of things the time may be advantageously employed in obtaining the powers necessary for a system of improvement, should that be thought best.

Availing myself of this, the last occasion which will occur of addressing the two Houses of Legislature at their meet-

ing, I cannot omit the expression of my sincere gratitude, for the repeated proofs of confidence manifested to me, by themselves and their predecessors since my call to the administration, and the many indulgencies experienced at their hands.

The same grateful acknowledgements are due to my fellow-citizens generally, whose support has been my great encouragement under all embarrassments. In the transaction of their business I cannot have escaped error. It is incident to our imperfect nature. But I may say with truth my errors have been of the understanding, not of intention, and that the advancement of their rights and interests has been the constant motive for every measure. On these considerations I solicit their indulgence. Looking forward with anxiety to their future destinies, I trust that in their steady character, unshaken by difficulties, in their love of liberty, obedience to law, and support of the public authorities, I see a sure guarantee of the permanence of our Republic—and retiring from the charge of their affairs, I carry with me the consolation of a firm persuasion that Heaven has in store for our beloved Country, long ages to come of prosperity and happiness.

TH: JEFFERSON.

November 8, 1808.

CONGRESS.

SENATE, NOVEMBER 10.

Mr. Giles offered the following resolution Resolved, That so much of the President's message as relates to the several embargo laws, be referred to a select committee, with instructions to examine and report, whether any further measures are now necessary to enforce a due observance thereof during their continuance; and also whether any further modification thereof be expedient at this time, and that such committee have leave to report by bill or otherwise.

On making this motion, Mr. Giles observed, that as the resolution he had the honor of moving, respecting the embargo laws, was intended only as an enquiry into that subject, which was deemed important by all, and if to be further acted upon, requiring immediate attention; and as it did not commit the Senate upon any point in relation to those laws, he hoped that the committee might be now appointed.

Mr. Goodrich requested that the motion might not be acted upon till to-morrow, to which Mr. Giles agreed.

Mr. Smith, of Md. submitted the following motion for consideration:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to enquire whether any, and if any, what amendments are necessary to the neutral laws of the United States.

The Senate have appointed the Rev. Mr. Elliott, chaplain.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Monday, November 8.

The following gentlemen were named by the speaker, on the committees respectively:

Ways and means. Messrs. G. W. Campbell, W. Alston, Eppes, Smilie, Tallmadge, Fish and J. Montgomery.

Commerce & Manufactures. Messrs. Newton McCreery, Catts, Dana, Marion, Mumford, and Porter.

Claims. Messrs. Holmes, Pitkin, Seaver, Johnson, Humphreys, Brown and Butler.

Public Lands. Messrs. Jere, Morrow, Goodwyn, Russell, Boyd, Ely, Bibb, and Howard.

District of Columbia. Messrs. Lewis, Van Horne, Southard, Blackledge, Rea, (Pen.) L. J. Alston and Wharton.

Revised and unfinished business.—Messrs. Clopton, Van Rensselaer and Durell.

Accounts. Messrs. N. R. Moore, Stedman and Milnor.

The Speaker laid before the house a memorial from the legislature of the Mississippi territory, praying an extension of the time of payment for public lands, &c. Referred, on motion of Mr. Poindexter, to the committee of public lands.

Wednesday, November 9.

Five thousand copies of the documents accompanying the message of the President, were ordered to be printed.

The House was then cleared and the doors closed for the purpose of reading the confidential part of the President's message.

After the doors were opened, a resolution yesterday laid on the table by Mr. Rhea, T. for appointing a committee of Post Offices and Post Roads, to consist of one member from each state, was taken up and agreed to.

Thursday, November 10.

EMBARGO.

Immediately on the meeting of the House, Mr. Chittenden said he rose with considerable diffidence to offer to the House a resolution on the subject of the embargo.—Having witnessed the feelings heretofore excited by a similar proposition at the last session, he said he would assure gentlemen that he had no object in view but to bring the subject before the House, and excite a fair and liberal discussion. He had hoped that the situation of our affairs would ere this have authorized the removal of the embargo.—Disappointed in this, he felt it a duty which he owed to his constituents and the nation, to endeavor to elicit an expression of the opinion of the House, to prevent ruinous speculations, and to relieve the nation from suspense. The measure had now been in operation ten or eleven months, and he had