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Mr. Randolph's Speech.—In the speeches of no gentleman in Congress does the speaker himself so distinctly appear as in those of Mr. Randolph. We hear and see while we read. This imparts to his addresses a peculiar interest, and an irresistible charm. *New York Herald.*

MR. RANDOLPH'S SPEECH.
On the New Army Bill.

REPORTED FOR THE UNITED STATES GAZETTE.
MR. RANDOLPH said it had been his intention if his health would have permitted him, to have submitted his opinions upon the bill at some length, but being very weak and rather indisposed, he should confine his observations pretty much to the change which had taken place since the declaration of war, in our relations with the powers of Europe—not with England only, but with France. The manner of conducting the debate, he said, imposed it upon him as a duty, in giving his opinions to recur to what he would gladly overlook. Every one however felt that self defence was the first law of nature—the worm would writh when trodden upon—nor was the force of the blow lessened, but more heavily felt when given under the guise of friendship. It was his misfortune, he said, to have taken a share in most of the transactions which brought about the civil revolution which took place in this country.—He called it a misfortune—he thought it so.—Why he did, would be perfectly well understood by all wise and good men of the country, of whose good opinion alone he felt the least ambition. He indeed, ambition any longer dwelt in his breast.

He called upon the house to recollect the state of parties about that period, when he had the unhappy lot to enter into political life, and that sentence, the justice of which was now acknowledged, by which one administration was rejected from power and the other got in. It was hardly necessary to say to make a declaration of true republicanism—and it would be idle to hope that it would appear orthodox now, that he was excluded from that church. The principles, however, were on record, and would be while printing existed. It was in vain for any man to hope to change them to suit his change of practice, or he who once professed them, to conceal his apostasy—they were recorded to perpetuity—they were there in the books never to be erased. He then recapitulated the great leading principles to which he alluded—*love of peace—abhorrence of war—jealousy of the power of the general government—a dread almost supernatural of a standing army—a dread of an overgrown executive—and a jealousy of the patronage of the President.*

The last question, that of yesterday evening, Mr. Randolph pronounced to be the test and touchstone of true republicanism, and of the portion of the principles of 1793 which existed in that house—And of those who voted for it, there was not one who would, nor would the present President himself, had it been brought forward during the administration of Mr. Adams, have voted for increasing executive patronage, and above all, military patronage. That vote, therefore, he considered as a test of the principles of parties, which did not exist in a name. And it was not a question of doubt that slavish partiality for the executive, and a love of war, an ambitious spirit, and a desire for standing armies and patronage was alike pernicious, and ought to be crushed, whether it were entitled federalism, or by a most abominable misnomer called republicanism. In opposing those with whom he formerly acted, and who had since changed their maxims for those of the opposite party of that day, he was true to his principles.

Let any man, (he exclaimed) I say let any man search out among all the transactions of my political life, since I first had the honor of a seat in this house (if indeed a seat in it be an honor) and lay his finger upon a vote of mine, different from those principles, but the search would be vain.—So strenuous was the contest between the parties upon those principles, so hot

was the spirit excited by them, that after the revolution of 1801, a spectacle presented itself to the eyes of the world more curious than had ever before witnessed, or ever will again. The party which had fallen from power actually maintained the same character which had tumbled them from it; the world saw with astonishment a minority forcing on the administration on a system of patronage and power.—So completely were the federalists imbued with those principles, that they rejected, and did from time to time oppose every effort to diminish the patronage of the executive and the disbanding of any part of the army which were brought forward by government.

In a little time the sweets of power had not less effect upon one of the parties than the frowns of adversity had on the other—they changed principles—and with their principles they changed their tone. Meantime peace was negotiated in France—and the treaty of Amiens gave a short respite to Europe, and placed this country in the happiest of all positions. One moiety of the proceeds of the direct tax came into the treasury. All was prosperity, felicity and opulence, uninterrupted by a breath, except the Yazoo breeze. A surplussage lingered in the treasury, a system of economy prevailed throughout all classes of the government—the whole expense of the army did not amount to one million. The navy was scarcely more—the expenses of the whole institution were not more than three millions. This was the first four years of Jefferson's administration.

The last four years of that administration it rose to sixteen millions, rivalling the whole expenses of Adam's administration—amounting to as much as the sum expended by the man justly called the father of his country, Washington, in eight years, during which he maintained the character of his country in dignity abroad—her privileges inviolate—her rights and independence entire, and her honor, pure, spotless and sacred, besides carrying on an expensive Indian war.

Mr. Randolph said it was a curious, but nevertheless a notorious fact, that in the years 1808 and 1809, the public expenditures were such as to stagger all belief, when compared with their objects. What had become of those enormous expenditures he knew not—Nor knew he any other person that did know. In fact he believed no one knew, and he called God to witness that he firmly believed no one would ever know.

[Here Mr. Randolph said, that just as he had anticipated, he found his body, & indeed his mind also, so enfeebled, that he feared he should find it difficult to bring the house along with him, and asked their indulgence. Having rested for a moment or two he thus proceeded.] Meantime the war in Europe was renewed, and brought upon us a whole crop of evils about neutrality and the neutral flag, aided and urged on by the merchants, who saw the golden harvest—and were jealous of any other putting their sickles into it.—Then it was that he and others publicly foretold all that which is now in history—that while more than any other people we were favored by God, we were about to be tempted away from it, by a cupidty which would lead the country into war under the guise of peace, and so it had. We have been disturbed by restrictions, goaden, vexed, harrassed, fretted, till, as a man who had long been withheld from his family, would be glad of any thing rather than exile—we were glad of any thing for change, and accepted war! And what now? any thing but change. At that time certain circumstances occurred, said Mr. Randolph, which rendered it incumbent upon me, to oppose the projects of the executive with respect to foreign powers, with most of whom he saw they were endeavouring to entangle us, for he considered peace with France as bad as war with England. At that time, nothing the Spanish government could do—no injury it could heap upon us—no insult it could offer us—not even the stopping of our commerce, entering our territory with force and arms, and even carrying away our citizens in captivity, could raise the executive or this honorable house to a sense of what was due to honor; to assert our rights over our own soil.—Instead of that, money was voted to propitiate at Paris.—But whom—the court of Madrid? No; but Napoleon, who moved the Madrid puppet. From that day the black cloud that hung over us, every day thickened and became more dense, and we periodically departed

from those councils which induced the people to give that party the power. From that time government has continually subverted—I say, sir, subverted, as far as it could, the purposes of France; we cut off from our citizens their accustomed sources of livelihood to subserve the purposes of France. To New-York, to Philadelphia, to Boston, we virtually held the same language, which Bonaparte holds to Ostend, Antwerp, and Rotterdam. "I see your ships dropping into pieces and rotting. I see your houses tumbling about your ears—but what is that to my continental system? I see your people ragged, poor, wretched, without means, without help or home—but what is that to my continental system?" And what, said Mr. R. is that to our continental system in effect but a subservient counterpart to the tyrant's—a league with Bonaparte? This, he said was as demonstrable as any moral, almost any mathematical proposition whatever.

When the message came on which the embargo was enacted, for the purpose of fostering, as was said, the essential resources of the country, tho' the president used in it the term "belligerents," there was not one document—not one scrap of manuscript accompanying it—nothing but a bit of a newspaper, of about the square of a column, stuck with a wafer to the message. A pleasant species of evidence no doubt. Nor did there exist at the time the slightest shadow of knowledge of the British orders in council. Of this, he said, the fact itself bore internal evidence—for if there had been any knowledge of the orders in council, would he have had recourse to the pitiful expedient of pasting a scrap of newspaper paragraphical surmise to his message by way of document?—Would he not have inserted it in the National Intelligencer; the court paper as, it is called. Let the National Intelligencer's records be brought forth and reviewed and not a word of England on the occasion will be found. He would even allow the authority of a newspaper, if it could be produced, to show that the embargo was occasioned by, or intended to obviate the orders in council, which were not known; but gentlemen were so much in the habit of transposing cause and effect for their own purposes, that it costs them little trouble.

Mr. R. said, that the events subsequent to the period to which he had brought the business, had been laid so clearly, in such lucid colours, and with such forcible reasoning, by the hon. gentleman from New-York, (Mr. Emott) in a speech which would never be refuted till Euclid should be condemned as a shallow sophister, that nothing which he could say could add to the conviction that must follow it. And on the subject of the Berlin and Milan decrees, and the arts by which the tyrant & deceiver, Napoleon, had inveigled our country, an honorable friend of his from New-York (Mr. Bleeker) had been pleased to express a wish that some one more able than himself would argue it—a thing so unnecessary after that gentleman's luminous exposition of the fact would, if he was capable of attempting it, he wasting perfumes. Last session, he (Mr. R.) had attempted to do so, and to demonstrate that the repeal of those decrees, though vouched for by our chief magistrate, and believed by some and pretended to be believed by more in that house, had no evidence to support it but the president's proclamation and that the British orders in council presented no serious obstacle to negotiation; but such argument was not to be attended to. Yet it was reasonable enough to suppose that the Emperor's own evidence in his own cause might be believed, even in that house, though it was against himself. He, in his antedated decree, established the fact in the most offensive of all possible ways; for he says there, that his edicts were not repealed till our government had obeyed his orders, "caused our flag to be respected," and proceeded to hostile measures with England. Almost at the very time this question was agitated in that house, the orders in council were repealed; and Mr. Randolph put it to every honest man to say whether, if it was known at that time that England had repealed her orders in council, and Bonaparte still refused to repeal, any one would have dared to propose a war with England? or whether if the proposition which was made at the time to postpone the declaration of war till means of preparation were adopted, had been agreed to, we should not be, at the very time, safe in that sweet and desirable

hor where the best men of the country wish to moor the ship? Yet this (he observed) had been called a popular war—a war of the people; a war of the people's choice; but could it be deemed a war of the people which enabled a man of much inferior pretensions in the public eye to the present president, to stand so close a rival candidate with him as to make him tremble?

But it was in vain they hoped to persevere in the war, or to succeed in accomplishing its ostensible objects. If in the reign of Mr. Adams, Kentucky and Virginia were able to force him to a peace, government could not resist the united impulse of the eastern states and New York.—"Ours (said Mr. R.) is a government in which public opinion must have its way—it will be heard—it cannot be resisted—it is the bias of the machine—as gravitation gives law to the physical world, so this gives law to the political with us. Remember, Sir, I tell you, you will feel the effect of it in the next congress in this house."

(To be Continued)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.
Wednesday, Feb. 24.

The following Message and Documents were omitted in the sketch of Wednesday's proceedings published in our last: *To the Senate and House of Representatives of the U. States.*

I lay before Congress copies of a Proclamation of the British Lieutenant Governor of the Island of Bermuda, which has appeared under circumstances leaving no doubt of its authenticity. It recites a British Order in Council of the 26th of October last, providing for the supply of the British West Indies and other colonial possessions, by a trade under special licences; and is accompanied by a circular instruction to the colonial governors, which confines licensed importations from ports of the United States to the ports of the Eastern States exclusively.

The government of Great Britain has already introduced into her commerce, during war, a system which, at once violating the rights of other nations, and resting on a mass of forgery and perjury, unknown to other times, was making an unfortunate progress in undermining those principles of morality and religion, which are the best foundation of national happiness. The policy now proclaimed to the world introduces into her modes of warfare a system equally distinguished by the deformity of its features and the depravity of its character; having for its object to dissolve the ties of allegiance, and the sentiments of loyalty in the adversary nation, and to seduce and separate its competent parts the one from the other. The general tendency of these demoralizing & disorganizing contrivances will be reprobated by the civilized and Christian world, and the insulting attempt on the virtue, the honor, the patriotism and the fidelity of our brethren of the Eastern States, will not fail to call forth all their indignation and resentment; and to attach more and more all the states to that happy Union and Constitution, against which such insidious and malignant artifices are directed.

The better to guard, nevertheless, against the effect of individual cupidity and treachery, and to turn the corrupt projects of the enemy against himself, I recommend to the consideration of Congress the expediency of an effectual prohibition of any trade whatever by citizens or inhabitants of the United States, under special licences, whether relating to persons or ports; and, in aid thereof, a prohibition of all exportations from the United States in foreign bottoms; few of which are actually employed, whilst multiplying counterfeits of their flags and papers are covering and encouraging the navigation of the enemy.

JAMES MADISON.

February 24th, 1813.

From the Norfolk Ledger.

We are happy to state that Congress have passed a law, granting to the officers and crew of the *Constitution* Fifty Thousand Dollars in each case, for the captures of the *Guerrero* and *Java*—Never was money better bestowed. The President, very much to his credit, took occasion, in communicating captain Bambridge's brilliant victory, to recommend to Congress the expediency of providing by law, for allowing the captors the same amount for destroying an enemy's vessel, as if they had brought her into port.

The navy has fought itself into favour, it is the little gem of federal policy.