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[No. 17.]

"—I wish no other herald,
"No other speaker of my living actions,
"To keep mine honor from corruption
"But such an honest chronicler."

Shakspeare—HENRY VIII.

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Virginia Legislature.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

Tuesday, December 17, 1811.—A motion was made by Mr. Robertson that the house adopt the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas this assembly is deeply impressed with the importance of the present crisis touching our foreign relations, and sensible of the encroachments which the great belligerent powers of Europe have been gradually and regularly making upon the rights of the people of the United States, until their persons and their property have been swept from the ocean, which, we believe, to have been made by the God of nature for the free and common use of all nations, who might be pursuing a lawful trade; and whereas most of these injuries have been produced by the operation of the orders in council, adopted by the British government, and attempted to be justified upon principles not less vicious, than in their consequences they are injurious and oppressive; and whereas the forbearance which has been manifested by the general government, arising from an earnest desire to preserve to our country the blessings of peace, has been mistakingly construed into a want of spirit and firmness in both the government and the people; and whereas all hopes of obtaining from Great Britain, by honorable negotiation, redress for past, or security against future wrongs, ought now to be abandoned, and other means resorted to, for the purpose of securing to the United States the just and natural rights which belong to them by the well established principles of national law, and which peaceable and repeated remonstrances have hitherto failed to ensure; and whereas the congress of the United States by certain resolutions recently reported to the house of representatives, by their committee on foreign relations, seems about to assume an attitude, which in the opinion of this assembly, calls for an expression of sentiment by the people, whose representatives we are, and on whom the burdens and bloodshed of war must fall—Therefore,

Resolved, That this Assembly, speaking, as they believe they do, the voice of the people of this Commonwealth, have viewed with approbation, the uniform zeal, and just remonstrances, pursued and adopted by the general government for the purpose of obtaining from Great Britain by honorable negotiation, a redress of the many wrongs inflicted upon us by her orders in council, and other measures equally hostile to the interests of the United States.

Resolved, As the opinion of this Assembly, that however highly we value the blessings of peace, and however we may deprecate the evils of war, the period has now arrived when peace, as we now have it, is disgraceful, and war is honorable.

Resolved, That this Assembly will support the general government in all constitutional and legiti-

mate measures which may be adopted in vindication of the rights and interests of the people of the United States, and in support of the character and dignity of the government thereof; and for these purposes we pledge "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

Kentucky Legislature.

In the house of representatives, December, 1811.

Impressed with the belief that national feeling and gratitude are the best security to the endurance of our republic, and giving life and energy to the body politic, renders us firm in our union and formidable to our enemies—That it is a country's gratitude that compensates the soldier for his scars, perpetuates grateful recollection of his services, and induces the living to emulate the heroic deeds of the dead—That it is a country's gratitude that softens the rugged pangs of those left to mourn husbands, fathers and friends lost in avenging a country's wrongs; with a view to the proper expression of this gratitude—

Resolved, by the general assembly of Kentucky—That the brave deeds of our officers and soldiers in the late battle on the Wabash, deserve not encomiums only, but unfading fame in the hearts of their countrymen.

Resolved, That the members of this body and their officers, will, for the space of thirty days, wear sashes on their left arms, in testimony of their deep regret for the loss of the brave and meritorious cols. Davies and Owen, and the other volunteers from Kentucky, who fell in the battle.

And as a further tribute to the memory, *Resolved*—that Messrs. J. H. Hawkins, Moore, and D. Trimble be, and they are hereby appointed a committee to wait on JOHN ROWAN, Esq. and solicit his attendance at the capitol on some day which he shall appoint for the purpose of delivering a funeral oration on the death of the late colonels DAVIES and OWEN, and the other heroes who fell in the late battle on the Wabash.

Extract, &c. Att.

THOMAS DOUGHERTY, c. h. s.

Legislature of Pennsylvania.

LANCASTER, DEC. 5, 1811.

This day Mr. Gremml, the newly elected senator from the district of Chester and Delaware, occupied the floor for a short time, while making some very excellent observations on a preamble and resolutions which he has submitted to the consideration of the senate. Mr. Gremml was heard with that attention and respect to which both his matter and his manner entitled him. His talents and principles make him an acquisition to the legislative councils of the state. Believing that even an outline of his speech would be acceptable to your readers, toge-

YEAS—Messrs. Bayard, Bibb, Bradley, Campbell of Ohio, Campbell of Ten. Crawford, Cutts, German, Giles, Howell, Hunter, Leib, Pope, Robinson, Smith, of N. Y. Taylor, Turner, Varnum, Worthington—19.

NAYS—Messrs. Anderson, Condit, Dana, Franklin, Gaillard, Gilman, Goodrich, Gregg, Horsey, Lambert, Lloyd, Reed, Smith of Md. Tait—14.

Several amendments were made to the bill, on which no divisions of the house took place.

The further consideration of the bill was postponed till to-morrow.

Mr. Pope submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to enquire into the expediency of making provision for the widows and representatives of the militia volunteers who fell in the late engagement with the Indians on the Wabash, under the command of governor Harrison; and also of making compensation for the horses and other property lost or destroyed; and that the committee have leave to report by bill or otherwise.

Wednesday, December 18.—The senate resumed the consideration of the bill to raise for a limited time, an additional military force, and the motion of Mr. Anderson being under consideration—

After debate thereon, the senate adjourned without coming to a decision.

Thursday, December 19.—The president communicated to the senate a resolution of the legislature of Vermont, confirming, on the part of that state, the resolution for an amendment to the constitution respecting titles of nobility; which was read.

The senate resumed the consideration of the bill to raise for a limited time an additional military force, and some time being spent thereon, it was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time.

The bill appropriating a sum of money for procuring munitions of war, and the bill for the establishment of a quarter-master's department, were each ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

Friday, December 20.—The bill to raise for a limited time an additional military force, was this day read the third time, and on the question "shall this bill pass" being taken, it was determined in the affirmative, Yeas 26, nays 4.

Those who voted in the affirmative were,

Messrs. Anderson, Bibb, Bradley, Campbell, (Ohio) Campbell of Ten. Condit, Crawford, Cutts, Franklin, Gaillard, German, Gilman, Gregg, Horsey, Howell, Leib, Lloyd, Pope, Reed, Robinson, Smith of N. Y. Tait, Taylor, Turner, Varnum and Worthington—26.

Those in the negative were,

Messrs. Dana, Goodrich, Hunter and Lambert—4.

The bill for providing munitions of war was read the third time, and, on motion of Mr. Crawford, the further consideration of it was postponed till Monday next.

The bill for the establishment of a quarter-master's department, was read the third time; which was also postponed till Monday next.

The bill authorising the president of the United States to raise companies of spies or rangers, after being amended, was passed to a third reading.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, December 19.—The speaker laid before the house, a resolution of the legislature of the state of Vermont, ratifying and confirming an amendment proposed by congress to the constitution of the United States, concerning the acceptance of titles of nobility from foreign powers by citizens of the United States.

Judge Toulmin.—A motion was made by Mr. Poindexter and seconded, that the house do come to the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to enquire into the conduct of Harry Toulmin, judge of the district of Washington, in the Mississippi territory, and report whether in their opinion, he hath so acted in his official capacity as to require the interposition of the constitutional powers of the house; and that said committee have power to read for persons and papers. Ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Rhea presented a resolution of the legislature of the state of Tennessee, *disapproving* of the amendment proposed by Massachusetts to the constitution of the United States limiting the duration of any future embargo acts; *disapproving* of the amendment proposed by Virginia to the said constitution respecting a removal from office of the senators of the United States; *disapproving* of the amendment proposed by Pennsylvania for the creation of a tribunal to determine controversies, between the general and state governments; and approving the amendment proposed by Virginia to said constitution concerning the acceptance of titles of nobility by the citizens of the United States from foreign powers.

The house proceeded to consider the report of the committee of public lands which concludes with the following resolutions:

Resolved, That provision ought to be made by law for the appointment of commissioners, on the part of the United States, to act with such commissioners as the commonwealth of Virginia may appoint, to ascertain and finally determine and fix the western boundary line of the Virginia military tract, according to the true intent and meaning of the condition of the deed of cession from Virginia to the United States, touching the military reservation between the rivers Scioto and Little Miami.

Resolved, That provision ought to be made by law to prevent the issuing of patents on surveys executed in virtue of Virginia military warrants, west of the boundary line designated by the act of congress of the 23d of March, 1804.

Resolved, That in the event of the said existing boundary line being found by the said commissioners to exclude lands belonging to the Virginia military tract, the said commissioners shall ascertain the quantity and quality of the land so excluded, and shall have power to locate other unappropriated lands equal in quantity and quality; which lands shall be liable to location under Virginia military land warrants, from and after day of

These resolutions were concurred in by the house, and the committee of public lands were directed to bring in a bill accordingly.

Battle on the Wabash.

The following message from the president of the United States, enclosing governor Harrison's two letters to the secretary of war, on the subject of the late engagement with the Indians on the Wabash, was received and referred to a select committee:

To the senate and house of representatives of the United States.

I lay before congress two letters received from governor Harrison of the Indiana Territory, reporting the particulars and the issue of the expedition under his command, notice of which was taken in my communication of November 5.

While it is deeply lamented that so many valuable lives have been lost in the action which took

place on the 9th ultimo, congress will see with satisfaction the dauntless spirit and fortitude victoriously displayed by every description of the troops engaged, as well as the collected firmness which distinguished their commander on an occasion requiring the utmost exertions of valor and discipline.

It may reasonably be expected that the good effects of this critical defeat and dispersion of a combination of savages which appears to have been spreading to a greater extent, will be experienced not only in a cessation of the murders and depredations committed on our frontier, but in the prevention of any hostile incursions other wise to have been apprehended.

The families of those brave and patriotic citizens who have fallen in this severe conflict, will doubtless engage the favorable attention of congress.

JAMES MADISON.

Washington, December 18, 1811.

Vincennes, 18th November, 1811.

Sir—In my letter of the 8th instant, I did myself the honor to communicate the result of an action between the troops under my command and the confederation of Indians under the control of the Shawnee prophet. I had previously informed you in a letter of the 2nd instant, of my proceedings previously to my arrival at the Vermillion river, where I had erected a block house for the protection of the boats which I was obliged to leave, and as a depositary for our heavy baggage and such part of our provisions as we were unable to transport in wagons. On the morning of the 3d instant, I commenced my march from the block house. The Wabash above this turning considerably to the eastward—I was obliged in order to avoid the broken and woody country which borders upon it to change my course to the westward of north to gain the prairies which lie to the back of these woods. At the end of one day's march, I was enabled to take the proper direction (N. E.) which brought me on the evening of the 5th to a small creek at about eleven miles from the prophet's town. I had on the preceding day avoided the dangerous pass of Pine creek by inclining a few miles to the left where the troops and wagons were crossed with expedition and safety. Our route on the 6th for about six miles lay through prairies separated by small points of woods.

My order of march hitherto had been similar to that used by general Wayne; that is, the infantry were in two columns of files on either side of the road, and the mounted riflemen and cavalry in front, in the rear and on the flanks. Where the ground was unfavorable for the action of cavalry they were placed in the rear, but where it was otherwise they were made to exchange positions with one of the mounted rifle corps. Understanding that the last four miles were open woods and the probability being greater that we should be attacked in front than on either flank, I halted at that distance from the town and formed the army in order of battle. The United States infantry placed in the centre, two companies of infantry and one of mounted riflemen on each flank formed the front line. In the rear of this line was placed the baggage drawn up as compactly as possible, and immediately behind it a reserve of three companies of militia infantry. The cavalry formed a second line at the distance of three hundred yards in the rear of the front line, and a company of mounted riflemen the advanced guard at that distance in front. To facilitate the march, the whole were then broken off in short columns of companies, a situation the most favorable

for forming in order of battle with facility and precision. Our march was slow and cautious and much delayed by the examination of every place which seemed calculated for an ambuscade. Indeed the ground was for some time so unfavorable that I was obliged to change the position of the several corps, three times in the distance of a mile. At half past two o'clock we passed a small creek at the distance of one mile and a half from the town, and entered an open wood when the army was halted and again drawn up in order of battle. During the whole of the last day's march parties of Indians were constantly about us and every effort was made by the interpreters to speak to them, but in vain—new attempts of the kind were now made, but proving equally ineffectual, a captain Dubois, of the spies and guides, offering to go with a flag to the town, I dispatched him with an interpreter to request a conference with the prophet—in a few moments a message was sent by captain Dubois to inform me that in his attempts to advance, the Indians appeared in both his flanks, and although he had spoken to them in the most friendly manner they refused to answer but beckoned to him to go forward and constantly endeavored to cut him off from the army. Upon this information I recalled the captain, and determined to encamp for the night and take some other measures for opening a conference with the prophet. Whilst I was engaged in tracing the lines for the encampment, major Davies, who commanded the dragoons, came up to inform me that he had penetrated to the Indian fields, that the ground was entirely open and favorable—that the Indians in front had manifested nothing but hostility and had answered every attempt to bring them to a parly with contempt and insolence. It was immediately advised by all the officers around me to move forward. A similar wish indeed pervaded all the army—it was drawn up in excellent order and every man appeared eager to decide the contest immediately. Being informed that a good encampment might be had upon the Wabash, I yielded to what appeared the general wish, and directed the troops to advance, taking care however, to place the interpreters in front with directions to invite a conference with any Indians they might meet with. We had not advanced above four hundred yards, when I was informed that three Indians had approached the advanced guards and had expressed a wish to speak to me. I found upon their arrival that one of them was a man in great estimation with the prophet.—He informed me that the chiefs were much surprised at my advancing upon them so rapidly—that they were given to understand by the Delawares and Miamies whom I had sent to them a few days before, that I would not advance to their town, until I had received an answer to my demands made through them. That this answer had been dispatched by the Patawatimie chief, Winemac, who had accompanied the Miamies and Delawares on their return; that they had left the prophet's town two days before with a design to meet me, but unfortunately taken the road on the south side of the Wabash. I answered that I had no intention of attacking them until I discovered that they would not comply with the demands which I had made—that I would go on and encamp at the Wabash, and in the morning would have an interview with the prophet and his chiefs, and explain to them the determination of the president—that in the mean time no hostilities should be committed.—He seemed much pleased with this, and promised that it should be observed on their part. I then

resumed my march, we struck the cultivated grounds about five hundred yards below the town, but as these extended to the bank of the Wabash there was no possibility of getting an encampment which was provided with both wood and water.—My guards and interpreters being still with the advanced guard, and taking the direction of the town, the army followed and had advanced within about 150 yards when 50 or 60 Indians sallied out and with loud exclamations, called to the cavalry and to the militia infantry, which were on our right flank, to halt. I immediately advanced to the front, caused the army to halt, and directed an interpreter to request some of the chiefs to come to me. In a few moments the man that had been with me before made his appearance. I informed him that my object for the present was to procure a good piece of ground to encamp on, where we could get wood and water—he informed me that there was a creek to the north-west which he thought would suit our purpose. I immediately dispatched two officers to examine it, and they reported that the situation was excellent. I then took leave of the chief and a mutual promise was again made for a suspension of hostilities until we could have an interview on the following day. I found the ground destined for the encampment not altogether such as I could wish it—it was indeed admirably calculated for the encampment of regular troops that were opposed to regulars, but it afforded great facility to the approach of savages. It was a piece of dry oak land, rising about ten feet above the level of the marshy prairie in front (towards the Indian town) and nearly twice that height above a similar prairie in the rear, through which and near to this bank ran a small stream clothed with willows and other brush wood. Towards the left flank this bench of highland widened considerably, but became gradually narrower in the opposite direction, and at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards from the right flank, terminated in the abrupt point. The two columns of infantry occupied the front and rear of this ground at the distance of about one hundred and fifty yards from each other on the left, and something more than half that distance on the right flank—these flanks were filled up, the first by two companies of mounted riflemen amounting to about one hundred and twenty men, under the command of major general Wells of the Kentucky militia, who served as a major; the other by Spencer's company of mounted riflemen which amounted to eighty men. The front line was composed of one battalion of United States' infantry under the command of major Floyd, flanked on the right by two companies of militia, and on the left by one company.—The rear line was composed of a battalion of United States' troops under the command of captain Baen, acting as major, and four companies of militia infantry under lieutenant colonel Decker. The regular troops of the line joined the mounted riflemen under general Wells on the left flank, and colonel Decker's battalion formed an angle with Spencer's company on the left.

Two troops of dragoons, amounting in the aggregate to about sixty men, were encamped in the rear of the left flank, and captain Puke's troop, which was larger than the other two, in the rear of the front line. Our order of encampment varied little from that above described, excepting when some peculiarity of the ground made it necessary. For a night attack the order of encampment was the order of battle, and each man slept immediately opposite to his post in the line. In the forma-

tion of my troops I used a single rank, or what is called Indian file—because in Indian warfare, where there is no shock to resist, one rank is nearly as good as two, and in that kind of warfare the extension of line is a matter of the first importance.—Raw troops also manœuvre with much more facility in single than in double ranks. It was my constant custom to assemble all the field officers at my tent every evening by signal, to give them the watch word and their instructions for the night—those given for the night of the 6th were, that each corps which formed a part of the exterior line of the encampment, should hold its own ground until relieved. The dragoons were directed to parade dismounted in case of a night attack, with their pistols in their belts, and to act as a corps de reserve. The camp was defended by two captains guards, consisting each of four non-commissioned officers and 42 privates—and two subalterns guards of twenty non-commissioned officers and privates. The whole under the command of a field officer of the day.—The troops were regularly called up an hour before day, and made to continue under arms until it was quite light. On the morning of the 7th I had risen at a quarter after four o'clock, and the signal for calling out the men would have been given in two minutes, when the attack commenced. It began on our left flank—but a single gun was fired by the centinels or by the guard in that direction, which made not the least resistance, but abandoned their officer and fled into the camp, and the first notice which the troops of that flank had of the danger, was from the yells of the savages within a short distance of the line—but even under those circumstances the men were not wanting to themselves or to the occasion. Such of them as were awake, or were easily awakened, seized their arms and took their stations; others which were more tardy, had to contend with the enemy in the doors of their tents. The storm first fell upon captain Barton's company of the 4th United States regiment, and captain Geiger's company of mounted riflemen, which formed the left angle of the rear line. The fire upon these was excessively severe and they suffered considerably before relief could be brought to them; some few Indians passed into the encampment near the angle, and one or two penetrated to some distance before they were killed. I believe all the other companies were under arms and tolerably formed before they were fired on. The morning was dark and cloudy—our fires afforded a partial light, which if it gave us some opportunity of taking our positions, was still more advantageous to the enemy, affording them the means of taking a surer aim—they were therefore extinguished as soon as possible. Under all these discouraging circumstances, the troops (nineteen twentieths of whom had never been in action before) behaved in a manner that never can be too much applauded. They took their places without noise and with less confusion than could have been expected from veterans placed in a similar situation. As soon as I could mount my horse, I rode to the angle that was attacked—I found that Barton's company had suffered severely and the left of Geiger's entirely broken. I immediately ordered Cook's company and the late captain Wentworth's under lieutenant Peters, to be brought up from the centre of the rear line, where the ground was much more defensible, and formed across the angle in support of Barton's and Geiger's. My intention was then engaged by a heavy firing upon the left of the front line, where were stationed the small company of United States riflemen (then however armed with muskets) and

the companies of Baen, Snelling, and Prescott of the 4th regiment. I found major Davies forming the dragoons in the rear of those companies, and understanding that the heaviest part of the enemy's fire proceeded from some trees about fifteen or twenty paces in front of those companies, I directed the major to dislodge them with a part of the dragoons. Unfortunately the major's gallantry determined him to execute the order with a smaller force than was sufficient, which enabled the enemy to avoid him in front, and attack his flanks. The major was mortally wounded and his party driven back. The Indians were however immediately and gallantly dislodged from their advantageous position, by captain Snelling at the head of his company. In the course of a few minutes after the commencement of the attack, the fire extended along the left flank, the whole of the front, the right flank, and part of the rear line. Upon Spencer's mounted riflemen, and the right of Warwick's company, which was posted on the right of the rear line, it was excessively severe; captain Spencer and his first and second lieutenants were killed, and captain Warwick was mortally wounded—those companies however still bravely maintained their posts, but Spencer had suffered so severely, and having originally too much ground to occupy, I reinforced them with Robb's company of riflemen, which had been driven, or by mistake ordered from their position on the left flank towards the centre of the camp, and filled the vacancy that had been occupied by Robb with Prescott's company of the 4th United States regiment. My great object was to keep the lines entire, to prevent the enemy from breaking into the camp until day light, which should enable me to make a general and effectual charge. With this view I had reinforced every part of the line that had suffered much; and as soon as the approach of morning discovered itself, I withdrew from the front line Snelling's, Posey's (under lieutenant Albright) and Scott's, and from the rear line, Wilson's companies, and drew them up upon the left flank, and at the same time I ordered Cook's and Baen's companies, the former from the rear and the latter from the front line, to reinforce the right flank; foreseeing that at these points the enemy would make their last efforts. Major Wells, who commanded on the left flank, not knowing my intentions precisely, had taken the command of these companies, and charged the enemy before I had formed the body of dragoons with which I meant to support the infantry; a small detachment of these were however ready and proved amply sufficient for the purpose. The Indians were driven by the infantry at the point of the bayonet, and the dragoons pursued and forced them into a marsh, where they could not be followed. Captain Cook and lieutenant Larebee had, agreeably to my order, marched their companies to the right flank, had formed them under the fire of the enemy, and being then joined by the riflemen of that flank, had charged the Indians, killed a number, and put the rest to a precipitate flight. A favorable opportunity was here offered to pursue the enemy with dragoons, but being engaged at that time on the other flank, I did not observe it until it was too late.

I have thus, sir, given you the particulars of an action which was certainly maintained with the greatest obstinacy and perseverance by both parties. The Indians manifested a ferocity uncommon even with them—to their savage fury our troops opposed that cool and deliberate valor which is characteristic of the christian soldier.

The most pleasing part of my duty, (that of

naming to you the corps and individuals who particularly distinguished themselves) is yet to be performed. There is, however, considerable difficulty in it—where merit was so common it is almost impossible to discriminate.

The whole of the infantry formed a small brigade under the immediate orders of colonel Boyd. The colonel throughout the action manifested equal zeal and bravery in carrying into execution my orders, in keeping the men to their posts and exhorting them to fight with valor. His brigademajor Clark, and his aid-de-camp George Croghan, Esq. were also very serviceably employed. Colonel Joseph Bartholomew, a very valuable officer, commanded under colonel Boyd the militia infantry; he was wounded early in the action, and his services lost to me. Major G. R. C. Floyd, the senior of the fourth United States regiment, commanded immediately the battalion of that regiment, which was in the front line; his conduct during the action was entirely to my satisfaction. Lieutenant colonel Decker, who commanded the battalion of militia on the right of the rear line, preserved his command in good order; he was, however, but partially attacked. I have before mentioned to you that major general Wells, of the 4th division of Kentucky militia, acted under my command as a major at the head of two companies of mounted volunteers; the general maintained the fame which he had already acquired in almost every campaign and in almost every battle which has been fought with the Indians since the settlement of Kentucky. Of the several corps, the 4th United States' regiment and two small companies attached to it, were certainly the most conspicuous for undaunted valor. The companies commanded by captains Cook, Snelling and Barton, lieutenants Larebee, Peters and Hawkins, were placed in situations where they could render most service and encounter most danger, and those officers eminently distinguished themselves. Captains Prescott and Brown performed their duty also entirely to my satisfaction, as did Posey's company of the 7th regiment, headed by lieutenant Albright. In short, sir, they supported the fame of American regulars, and I have never heard that a single individual was found out of the line of his duty. Several of the militia companies were in no wise inferior to the regulars. Spencer's, Geiger's and Warwick's maintained their posts amidst a monstrous carnage, as indeed did Robb's after it was posted on the left flank; its loss of men (17 killed and wounded) and keeping its ground is sufficient proof of its firmness. Wilson's and Scott's companies charged with the regular troops and proved themselves worthy of doing so. Norris's company also behaved well; Hargrove's and Wilkin's companies were placed in a situation where they had no opportunity of distinguishing themselves or I am satisfied they would have done it. This was the case with the squadron of dragoons also. After major Davies had received his wound, knowing it to be mortal, I promoted captain Parke to the majority, than whom there is no better officer.

My two aids-de-camp, majors Hurst and Taylor, with lieutenant Adams of the 4th regiment, the adjutant of the troops, afforded me the most essential aid, as well in the action as throughout the campaign.

The arrangements of captain Pratt in the quartermaster's department were highly judicious, and his exertions on all occasions, particularly in bringing off the wounded, deserve my warmest thanks. But in giving merited praise to the living let me not forget the gallant dead. Colonel Abraham Owen,

commandant of the 15th Kentucky regiment, joined me a few days before the action as a private in captain Geiger's company; he accepted the appointment as volunteer aid de camp to me; he fell early in the action. The representatives of his state, will inform you that she possessed not a better citizen nor a braver man. Major J. H. Davies was known as an able lawyer and a great orator; he joined me as a private volunteer and on the recommendation of the officers of that corps, was appointed to command the 3d troop of dragoons. His conduct in that capacity justified their choice; never was there an officer possessed of more ardor and zeal to discharge his duty with propriety, and never one who would have encountered greater danger to purchase military fame. Captain Baen of the 4th United States' regiment, was killed early in the action; he was unquestionably a good officer and valiant soldier. Captains Spencer and Warwick and lieutenants McMahan and Berry; were all my particular friends; I have ever had the utmost confidence in their valor, and I was not deceived. Spencer was wounded in the head—he exhorted his men to fight valiantly—he was shot through both thighs, and fell, still continuing to encourage them—he was raised up and received a ball through his body, which put an immediate end to his existence! Warwick was shot immediately through the body; being taken to the surgery to be dressed, as soon as it was over (being a man of great bodily vigor and still able to walk) he insisted upon going back to head his company, although it was evident that he had but a few hours to live.

All these gentlemen, sir, captain Baen excepted, have left wives and five of them large families of children; this is the case too with many of the privates among the militia who fell in the action or who have died since of their wounds. Will the bounty of their country be withheld from their helpless orphans, many of whom will be in the most destitute condition and perhaps want even the necessities of life? With respect to the number of Indians that were engaged against us, I am possessed of no data by which I can form a correct statement. It must, however, have been considerable and perhaps not much inferior to our own; which deducting the dragoons, who were unable to do us much service, was very little above seven hundred, non-commissioned officers and privates; I am convinced there were at least six hundred. The prophet had three weeks before 450 of his own proper followers. I am induced to believe that he was joined by a number of the lawless vagabonds who live on the Illinois river, as large trails were seen coming from that direction. Indeed, I shall not be surprised to find that some of those who professed the warmest friendship for us were arrayed against us—'tis certain that one of this description came out from the town and spoke to me the night before the action. The Potawatmie chief whom I mentioned to have been wounded and taken prisoner in my letter of the 8th inst. I left on the battle ground, after having taken all the care of him in my power. I requested him to inform those of his own tribe who had joined the prophet and Kickapous and Winebagos that if they would immediately abandon the prophet and return to their own tribes their past conduct would be forgiven and that we would treat them as we formerly had done. He assured me that he would do so, and there was no doubt of their compliance. Indeed, he said, that he was certain that they would put the prophet to death. I think upon the whole that there will be no further hostilities; but of this I

shall be enabled to give you some more certain information in a few days.

The troops left the battle ground on the 9th inst. it took every waggon to transport the wounded.—We managed, however, to bring off the public property, although almost all the private baggage of the officers was necessarily destroyed.

It may perhaps be imagined, sir, that some means might have been adopted to have made a more earlier discovery of the approach of the enemy to our camp the morning of the 7th instant, but if I had employed two-thirds of the army as out posts it would have been ineffectual; the Indians in such a night would have found means to have passed between them—placed in the situation that we were, there is no other mode of avoiding a surprise, than by a chain of centinels so close together that the enemy cannot pass between without discovery. And having the army in such readiness that they can get to their alarm posts at a moment's warning. Our troops could not have been better prepared than they were, unless they had been kept under arms the whole night, as they lay with their accoutrements on, and their arms by their sides and the moment they were up they were at their posts. If the centinels and the guard had done their duty, even the troops on the left flank would have been prepared to receive the Indians.

I have the honor to enclose you a correct return of the killed and wounded. The wounded suffered very much before their arrival here, but they are now comfortably fixed and every attention has been and shall continue to be paid to them. Doctor Foster is not only possessed of great professional merit, but is moreover a man of feeling and honor.

I am convinced, sir, that the Indians lost many more men than we did—they left from thirty-six to forty on the field. They were seen to take off not only the wounded but the dead. An Indian that was killed and scalped in the beginning of the action by one of our men, was found in a house in the town; several others were also found in the houses, and many graves which were fresh dug: one of them was opened and found to contain three dead bodies.

Our infantry used principally cartridges containing twelve buck shot which were admirably calculated for a night action.

I have before informed you, sir, that colonel Miller was prevented by illness from going on the expedition—he rendered essential service in the command of fort Harrison; he is an officer of great merit.

There are so many circumstances which it is important for you to know, respecting the situation of this country that I have thought it best to commit this despatch to my aid de-camp, major Taylor, who will have the honor of delivering it to you, and who will be able to give you more satisfaction than I could do by writing. Major Taylor (who is also one of our supreme judges) is a man of integrity and honor, and you may rely upon any statements he may make.

With the highest respect, I have the honor to be, sir, your humble servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

P. S. Not a man of ours was taken prisoner, and of three scalps which were taken two of them were recovered.

The honorable W. Eustis, Secretary of War.
A general return of the killed and wounded of the army under the command of his excellency William Henry Harrison, governor and commander in chief of the Indiana Territory, in the action

with the Indians near Prophet's town, November 7, 1811.

Killed—One aid de camp, one captain, two subalterns, one sergeant, two corporals, thirty privates.
Wounded, since dead—One major, two captains, twenty-two privates.

Wounded—Two lieutenant-colonels, one adjutant, one surgeon's mate, two captains, three subalterns, nine sergeants, five corporals, one musician, one hundred and two privates.

Total of killed and wounded—188.

Names of officers killed and wounded, as per general return.

General Staff.

Killed—Colonel Abraham Owens, aid-de-camp to the commander in chief.

Field and Staff.

Wounded—Lieutenant-colonel Joseph Bartholomew, commanding Indiana militia infantry; lieutenant-colonel Luke Decker, of do.; major Joseph H. Daviess, since dead, commanding a squadron of dragoons; doctor Edward Scull, of the Indiana militia; adjutant James Hunter, of mounted rifle men.

United States Infantry, including the late captain Whitney's rifle company.

Wounded—Captain W. C. Bean, acting major, since dead; lieutenant George P. Peters; lieutenant Gooding; ensign Henry Barchstead.

Colonel Decker's detachment of Indiana militia.

Wounded—Captain Jacob Warwick, since dead.

Major Redman's detachment of Indiana militia.

Wounded—Captain John Norris.

Major Well's detachment of mounted riflemen.

Wounded—Captain Frederick Guiger.

Captain Spencer's company, including lieutenant Berry's detachment of mounted riflemen.

Killed—Captain Spier Spencer; first lieutenant Richard M'Mahan; lieutenant Thomas Berry.

NATHL. F. ADAMS,

Adjt. of the army.

To his Excellency the Commander in Chief.

Vincennes, 4th Dec. 1811.

Sir—I have the honor to inform you that two principal chiefs of the Kickapoos of the Prairie arrived here bearing a flag on the evening before last. They informed me that they came in consequence of a message from the chief of that part of the Kickapoos which had joined the Prophet, requiring them to do so, and that the said chief is to be here himself in a day or two. The account which they give of the late confederacy under the Prophet is as follows:

The Prophet with his Shawanoes is at a small Haron village about twelve miles from his former residence, on this side of the Wabash, where also are twelve or fifteen Harons. The Kickapoos are encamped near the Tippicanoe. The Potawatimies have scattered and gone to different villages of that tribe. The Winnebagoes had all set out on their return to their own country excepting one chief and nine men who remained at their former village. The latter had attended Tecumseh in his tour to the southward, and had only returned to the Prophet's town the day before the action. The Prophet had sent a message to the Kickapoos of the Prairie, to request that he might be permitted to retire to their town—this was positively refused, and a warning sent to him not to come there. He then sent to request that four of his men might attend the Kickapoo chief here—this was also refused. These chiefs say on the whole, that all the tribes who lost warriors in the late action, attribute their misfortune to the Pro-

phet alone. That they constantly reproach him with their misfortunes, and threaten him with death—that they are all desirous of making their peace with the United States, and will send deputations to me for that purpose, as soon as they are informed that they will be well received. The two chiefs further say, that they were sent by gov. Howard and general Clarke, sometime before the action to endeavor to bring off the Kickapoos from the Prophet's town—that they used their best endeavors to effect it but unsuccessfully—that the Prophet's followers were fully impressed with a belief, that they could defeat us with ease—that it was their intention to have attacked us at Fort Harrison if we had gone no higher—that Racoon creek was then fixed on and finally Pine creek, and that the latter would probably have been the place, if the usual route had not been abandoned and a crossing made higher up—that the attack made at Fort Harrison was intended to shut the door against accommodation—that the Winnebagoes had 40 warriors killed in the action, and the Kickapoos eleven and ten wounded—they have never heard how many Potawatimies and other tribes were killed—that the Potawatimie chief left by me on the battle ground is since dead of his wounds, but that he faithfully delivered my speech to the different tribes and warmly urged them to abandon the Prophet and submit to my terms.

I cannot say, sir, how much of the above may be depended on. I believe, however, that the statement made by the chief is generally correct, particularly with regard to the present disposition of the Indians. It is certain that our frontiers have never enjoyed more profound tranquility than at this time.

No injury of any kind that I can hear of has been done either to the persons or property of our citizens. Before the expedition, not a fortnight passed over without some vexatious depredation being committed. The Kickapoo chiefs certainly tell an untruth, when they say there were but eleven of this tribe killed and ten wounded. It is impossible to believe that fewer were wounded than killed. They acknowledge, however, that the Indians have never sustained so severe a defeat since their acquaintance with the white people.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, your humble servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

P. S. The chief of the Vermilion Kickapoos has this moment arrived.

Hon. Wm. Eustis, Secretary of War.

Foreign Relations.—The house resumed the consideration of the 6th resolution reported by the committee of foreign relations, in the following words:

6. That it is expedient to permit our merchant vessels, owned exclusively by resident citizens, and commanded and navigated solely by citizens, to arm under proper regulations to be prescribed by law; in self defence against all unlawful proceedings towards them on the high seas.

Mr. Findley withdrew his motion to postpone the same to the first Monday in March.

Mr. Wright withdrew the amendment he had proposed, and moved to strike out these words: "in self defence to all unlawful proceedings against them on the high seas."

This question was decided as follows:—Yeas 46 Nays 77.

A motion was made by Mr. McKim, to amend the said resolution by striking out these words; "permit our merchant vessels, owned exclusively by resident citizens, and commanded and navigated sole-

ly by citizens to arm under proper regulations, to be prescribed by law in self defence, against all unlawful proceedings against them on the high seas," for the purpose of inserting the following: "authorise the merchant vessels of the United States to arm under proper regulations to be prescribed by law."

This question was decided in the negative.

The question was then taken on the resolution as above, and determined as follows.

YEAS.—Messrs. Alston, Anderson, Avery, Bacon, Baker, Bassett, Bibb, Bigelow, Blackledge, Blecker, Breckenridge, Brigham, Butler, Calhoun, Champion, Cheves, Chittenden, Clopton, Cooke, Condit, Crawford, Davenport, Davis, Dawson, Desha, Dinsmoor, Ely, Findley, Fitch, Franklin, Gholson, Gold, Goldsborough, Goodwyn, Green, Grundy, B. Hall, O. Hall, Harper, Hawes, Hyman, Jackson, Johnson, King, Lacock, Law, Lefever, Little, Livingston, Lytle, Maxwell, Moore, M'Bryde, M'Coy, Metcalf, Milnor, Morgan, Mose, Nelson, Newbold, Newton, Ormsby, Paulding, Pearson, Pickens, Piper, Pitkin, Pleasants, Pond, Porter, Potter, Quincy, Reed, Ridgely, Ringgold, Rhea, Roane, Sage, Simmons, Seaver, Sevier, Shaw, Smilie, J. Smith, Stacy, Sturges, Taggart, Tallmadge, Tallman, Tracy, Truemp, Turner, Van Cortlandt, Wheaton, White, Widgery, Wilson.—97.

NAYS.—Messrs. Archer, Bard, Blount, Boyd, Brown, Cochran, Huffy, Kent, Lowndes, Macon, M'Kee, M'Kim, Mitchell, Morrow, Roberts, Rodman, Sheffield, Stanford, Stuart, Whitehill, Williams, Wright.—22.

The resolution was then referred to the committee of foreign relations, with directions to report a bill.

INDIAN AFFAIRS.

On motion of Mr. Burwell,

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to cause to be laid before this house by the proper officers, a statement of the capital employed in the Indian trade; the amount of annual purchases, sales, and articles received in payment together with the number, names, and salaries of agents employed, the places where stationed, and specifying as far as practicable, the state of the trade at each place for the last four years.

Mr. Burwell and Mr. Blecker were appointed a committee to present the above resolve to the president.

Friday, December 20.—The bill for completing the existing military establishment was read the third time in committee of the whole and passed.

YEAS.—110.

NAYS.—Messrs. Bigelow, Boyd, Champion, Davenport, Ely, Law, Lewis, Potter, Stanford, Sturges, Wheaton.—11.

The bill to raise an additional military establishment was read the first and second times and referred to the committee on foreign relations.

The house resumed as in committee of the whole, the bill to prevent the exportation from the United States or territories, of merchandise under the authority of permits or licenses derived from any foreign power; when Mr. Nelson reported that the committee (to whom it was referred) had the bill under consideration and made some progress therein, it was ordered that the house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to sit again on the same to-morrow.

Saturday, December 21.—On motion of Mr. Poindexter,

The house proceeded to consider the resolution submitted by him on the 19th inst. which Mr. Poindexter withdrew, and moved that the letter of Cowles Mead, with the presentment of the Grand Jury

of Washington, in the Mississippi territory, against Harry Toumin, judge of said district, be referred to a select committee to consider and report thereon to the house; which was agreed to, and Messrs. Poindexter, Bibb, Rhea, Calhoun, Talliaferro, Bigelow and Champion were appointed said committee.

Monday, Dec. 23.—Mr. Porter presented the petition of the commissioners of the state of New York appointed to promote the opening "a canal navigation between the great lakes and Hudson's river," praying the co-operation of congress therein; which was referred to the same committee as the petition of the president and -directors of the Union Canal Company of Pennsylvania, appointed on the 7th instant.

On motion of Mr. Pickin, it was

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to lay before the house a statement of the several banks in which the public money is deposited, and the amount which is designated to each bank, together with the greatest amount that has been deposited in each bank at any one period since the 4th day of March, A. D. 1811, and also the amount deposited in each bank on the 30th September A. D. 1811; and he is also directed to inform this house, on what terms, under what authority, and on what security such deposits are made.

The same gentleman moved the following resolutions:

1st. That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to lay before the house a statement of the amount, in value, of the imports and exports of the United States for each year from the 4th of March, A. D. 1789 to the close of the year A. D. 1810, as far as practicable, distinguishing the imports and exports of each state and territory, also distinguishing the value of the exports of domestic productions from those of foreign.

2d. *Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to lay before the house a statement of the district tonnage of the United States within each state and territory, for each year from the 4th of March A. D. 1789, to the close of the year 1810, distinguishing as far as practicable, the amount employed in foreign trade, the coasting trade, and in the fisheries—also a statement of the foreign tonnage employed in the trade of the United States for each year during the same period.

3d. *Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to lay before this house a statement of the gross and nett amount of duties on exports and tonnage within each state and territory in each year from the 4th of March, A. D. 1789, to the close of the year A. D. 1810, with the charges of collection together with the amount of drawbacks for each year, in each state, during the same period.

Which several resolutions were read, the first concurred in, and the second and third ordered to lie on the table.

The following message was then received from the president of the United States, by Mr. Coles his secretary.

To the senate and

House of Representatives of the United States.

I communicate to congress copies of an act of the legislature of New York relating to a canal from the Great Lakes to Hudson River. In making the communication I consult the respect due to that state in whose behalf the commissioners appointed by the act have placed it in my hands for the purpose.

The utility of canal navigation is universally admitted. It is not less certain that scarcely any

country offers more extensive opportunities for that branch of improvement than the United States; and none, perhaps, inducements equally persuasive, to make the most of them. The particular undertaking contemplated by the state of New York, which marks an honorable spirit of enterprise, and comprises objects of national as well as more limited importance, will recal the attention of congress to the signal advantages to be derived to the United States, from a general system of internal communication and conveyance; and suggest to their consideration, whatever steps may be proper on their part towards its introduction and accomplishment. As some of those advantages have an intimate connection with arrangements and exertions for the general security, it is at a period calling for these that the merits of such a system will be seen in the strongest lights.

JAMES MADISON.

Washington, December 23, 1811.

December 24.—On motion of Mr. Kent,

Ordered that the petition of the president and directors of the Chesapeake and Delaware canal company, presented the 28th January, 1806, and the 13th of February, 1807, be severally referred to the committee appointed on the 6th inst. on the memorial of the Union Canal Company of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Morrow presented the petition of sundry inhabitants of Champaign Company, Ohio, praying that additional duties may be laid on hemp imported into the U. States: which was ordered to be referred to the committee of commerce and manufactures.

WEST FLORIDA.

Mr. Poindexter moved that the house do come to the following resolution:

Resolved, That the president of the United States, be requested to inform the house whether any negotiation is now pending between the United States and Spain, or any other power, respecting the claim of the United States to that tract of country of which possession was taken by virtue of the president's proclamation, bearing date the 27th day of October, 1810; and also whether he is possessed of any information which in his opinion requires that the legislative authority of congress over said country should be suspended with a view to future negotiation on that subject.

This resolution was ordered to lie on the table.

INDIANA TERRITORY.

Mr. Jennings moved that the house do come to the following resolution:

Resolved, That the president of the United States be requested to cause to be laid before the house any additional information, verbal or otherwise, which he may have received relative and important to the public situation of the Indiana territory, which may not be improper to be communicated.

The resolution was read and also ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Stow moved that the house do come to the following resolution:

Resolved, That should a war ensue between the United States and Great Britain, it would be expedient to provide by law a bounty to impressed American seamen and their associates for each British ship of war which they may capture and bring into an American port.

This resolution was read and referred to a committee of the whole house on the 1st Monday in February next.

The house resolved itself into a committee of the whole on the bill to continue in force for a further time, the first section of an act entitled "An act

further to protect the commerce and seamen of the United States against the Barbary powers;" and after some time spent therein, Mr. Speaker resumed the chair, and Mr. Bassett reported that the committee had, according to order, had the said bill under consideration and made no amendment thereto. The bill was ordered to be read the third time on Friday next.

Mr. Poindexter moved that the house do come to the following resolution:

Resolved, That the committee of ways and means be instructed to enquire into the expediency of prohibiting by law the corporation of the city of New Orleans from exacting any tax or duty on vessels, boats, or other craft, descending the river Mississippi, having on board articles the growth or manufacture of the United States, or such articles of foreign growth or manufacture as have been regularly imported into the United States.

This resolution was read, and the further consideration thereof postponed until the first Monday in February next.

The speaker presented the petition of the legislature of the Indiana territory, praying that a grant of land may be made to every officer and soldier who served in the late expedition under governor Harrison against the hostile Indians; and that a similar grant may be made to the heirs of those who were killed in the action of the 7th ultimo.

The speaker also presented the petition of a committee appointed for that purpose at a meeting of the officers and privates of the several militia corps of Knox county, Indiana territory, who served in the campaign under governor Harrison, "praying that grants of land may be made to the heirs of such officers and soldiers as fell in the action of the 7th ult. and that compensation may be made for horses and other property unavoidably lost or destroyed in said action;" which two petitions were referred to the committee appointed on the 19th inst. on the message from the president of the United States transmitting letters from governor Harrison relative to that action.

The bill from the senate authorising the president of the United States to raise certain companies of Rangers for the protection of the frontiers of the United States, was read the first time, and on motion was read the second time, and referred to the committee appointed on that part of the president's message which relates to filling the ranks and prolonging the enlistment of the regular troops and to an auxiliary military force.

And the house adjourned over to Thursday. See page 312.

Miscellaneous.

Two societies of *rural and domestic economy* have been formed in Norway, one at Christiansia, the other at Asker. Each of them proposes premiums and publishes essays on subjects analogous to the purpose of their institution. The typographical society of Christiansia, has lately been re-organised, and has resumed its labors. The former number of 93 members is increased by 24 in Norway and 25 in Denmark.

GREECE.—The Ionian Academy, established at Corfu, has offered a prize of 600 francs, for the best dissertation on the means of rendering the potatoe abundant in that island, in the shortest possible time, and also of producing an increase of grain. The memoirs may be written in Italian, Latin, Greek or French.

State of North-Carolina.

COUNTIES.	In 1790.			In 1800.			In 1810.		
	Free whites.	Slaves.	Total.	Free whites.	Slaves.	Total.	Free whites.	Slaves.	Total.
Chowan	2,382	2,588	5,011	2,592	2,473	5,132	2,409	2,789	5,297
Perquimons	3,525	1,878	5,440	3,622	2,020	5,708	4,916	2,017	6,052
Pasquotank	3,795	1,623	5,496	3,390	1,755	5,379	4,829	2,295	7,674
Camden	2,965	1,038	4,033	2,965	1,170	4,191	3,888	1,411	5,347
Currituck	4,001	1,103	5,219	5,284	1,530	6,928	5,234	1,631	6,965
Gates	3,080	2,219	5,392	3,111	2,688	5,881	3,062	2,790	5,965
Hertford	3,170	2,442	5,822	3,400	2,864	6,701	2,943	2,805	6,059
Bertie	7,117	5,141	12,606	5,534	5,512	11,249	5,145	6,059	11,218
Fyrrrell	3,543	1,166	4,741	2,523	859	3,395	2,420	910	3,364
Cravan	6,474	3,658	10,469	4,489	4,161	10,245	6,501	5,050	12,076
Jones	3,071	1,681	4,822	2,326	1,949	4,339	2,502	2,375	4,968
Johnston	4,241	1,329	5,634	4,504	1,763	6,301	4,509	2,330	6,867
Dobbs*	4,933	1,915	6,893						
Wayne	4,439	1,557	6,133	4,700	1,988	6,772	5,890	2,756	8,687
Pitt	5,883	2,367	8,275	6,167	2,885	9,084	5,550	3,589	9,169
Beaufort	3,701	1,632	5,162	2,234	2,044	6,242	4,369	2,568	7,203
Hyde	3,041	1,048	4,121	3,379	1,404	4,829	4,087	1,852	6,029
Carteret	2,927	713	3,732	3,373	818	5,399	3,545	1,172	4,823
New Hanover	2,024	3,738	6,831	2,908	4,058	7,060	4,891	6,442	11,465
Brunswic	2,557	1,511	3,071	2,333	1,614	4,110	2,314	2,254	4,778
Bladen	3,350	1,676	5,084	4,577	2,299	7,028	3,573	1,985	5,671
Duplin	4,276	1,383	5,661	4,877	1,864	6,790	5,418	2,416	7,863
Onslow	3,555	1,748	5,387	3,809	1,814	5,623	4,339	2,299	6,669
Cumberland	6,407	2,181	8,671	6,422	2,723	9,264	6,491	2,796	9,282
Moore	3,387	371	3,771	4,118	608	4,767	3,367	944	6,367
Richmond	4,417	583	5,055	4,723	875	5,623	5,372	1,301	6,695
Robeson	4,516	533	5,320	5,508	998	6,839	1,683	1,340	7,528
Sampson	4,742	1,183	6,065	4,870	1,712	6,719	4,562	2,049	6,620
Anson	4,264	828	5,132	6,725	1,290	8,146	6,418	2,325	8,831
Halifax	7,016	6,506	13,965	6,071	7,239	13,945	7,760	6,624	15,620
No. thampton	5,110	4,409	9,981	5,605	6,209	12,335	5,244	7,258	13,082
Warren	4,609	4,720	9,397	5,136	6,012	11,284	4,491	6,282	11,004
Franklin	4,805	2,717	7,589	4,831	3,698	8,529	4,665	5,330	10,166
Nash	5,196	2,009	7,393	4,236	2,596	6,975	4,244	2,897	7,268
Edgecombe	7,033	3,152	10,255	6,410	3,905	10,421	7,079	5,107	12,423
Martin	4,095	1,889	6,080	3,660	1,786	5,629	3,515	2,357	5,987
Orange	10,055	2,060	12,216	12,681	3,565	16,362	15,102	4,701	20,135
Granville	6,504	4,163	10,982	7,588	6,106	14,015	7,363	7,746	15,576
Caswell	7,288	2,736	10,096	6,205	3,123	9,370	7,508	4,209	11,757
Wake	7,549	2,463	10,192	8,556	3,906	12,765	10,689	5,878	17,086
Chatham	7,580	1,632	9,221	8,974	2,809	11,861	9,100	3,635	12,977
Randolph	6,800	452	7,276	8,425	607	9,234	9,109	798	10,112
Rowan	13,989	1,742	15,828	17,186	2,835	20,060	17,697	3,757	21,543
Mecklenburg	9,722	1,003	11,395	8,436	1,988	10,439	10,744	3,494	14,272
Iredell	4,574	856	5,435	7,331	1,508	8,856	8,535	2,432	10,972
Montgomery	3,786	834	4,725	6,284	1,373	7,677	6,700	1,696	8,430
Guilford	2,645	516	3,191	8,497	905	9,442	9,950	1,467	11,420
Rockingham	5,077	1,100	6,187	6,528	1,633	8,277	8,159	2,114	10,516
Surry	6,476	698	7,191	8,479	1,005	9,505	8,813	1,469	10,566
Stokes	7,728	787	8,528	9,524	1,439	11,026	9,777	1,746	11,645
Burke	7,512	595	8,118	9,051	826	9,929	9,514	1,433	11,007
Wilkes	7,592	549	8,143	6,393	790	7,247	7,772	1,194	9,054
Cabarras				4,393	699	5,094	4,921	1,234	6,158
Person				4,197	2,082	6,402	3,987	2,573	6,642
Washington				1,598	761	2,422	2,114	1,287	3,464
Greene				2,695	1,496	4,218	2,970	1,842	4,867
Lenoir				2,421	1,526	4,005	3,019	2,440	5,572
Beaufort				5,431	347	5,812	8,564	695	9,277
Lincoln	8,289	935	9,224	11,119	1,523	12,650	13,862	2,489	16,359
Rutherford	7,192	614	7,808	9,668	1,072	10,753	12,184	979	13,202
Ash					85	2,783	3,541	147	3,691
HARWOOD							2,602	171	2,789
COLUMBUS							2,292	703	3,022
TOTALS,	268,405	100,571	373,951	337,764	133,296	478,105	376,310	168,824	555,500

*Dobbs county is not mentioned in the last enumerations.

NOTE—See note to page 264—counties formed since 1790 in *Italics*—since 1800 in *small capitals*.

South-Carolina.

COUNTIES.	In 1790.			In 1800.			In 1810.		
	Free whites.	Slaves.	Total.	Free whites.	Slaves.	Total.	Free whites.	Slaves.	Total.
Charleston city	8,089	7,684	16,359	9,630	9,819	20,473	12,628	11,671	24,711
Ditto district	3,712	26,387	30,388	4,744	32,126	37,007	5,443	23,714	28,468
Colleton	3,601	16,562	20,355	4,394	20,471	24,903	4,290	21,858	26,359
Georgetown	8,878	13,131	22,122	6,275	16,568	22,938	1,710	13,867	15,679
Beaufort	4,364	14,236	18,753	4,199	16,031	20,428	4,792	20,914	25,887
Orangeburgh	12,412	5,931	18,513	10,315	5,356	15,766	6,639	6,564	13,229
Sampson				6,239	6,563	13,103	7,126	11,638	19,054
Marion				4,621	2,155	6,914	6,019	2,771	8,884
Barnwell				5,575	1,690	7,376	7,969	4,153	12,280
York	5,652	923	6,604	8,417	1,804	10,248	7,828	3,161	10,032
Chester	5,881	938	6,860	7,019	1,164	8,185	8,722	2,743	11,479
Fairfield	6,138	1,485	7,623	8,096	1,968	10,087	7,866	4,034	11,857
Laurens	8,270	1,120	9,397	10,870	1,919	12,809	11,645	3,308	14,982
Pendleton	8,731	824	9,568	17,760	2,224	20,054	19,363	3,485	22,897
Greenville	5,888	606	6,503	10,029	1,439	11,504	10,739	2,353	13,133
Spartanburgh	7,907	866	8,800	10,609	1,467	12,122	11,835	2,391	14,259
Union	6,430	1,215	7,693	8,472	1,697	10,237	8,081	2,846	10,995
Edgefield	9,605	3,619	13,289	13,063	5,006	18,130	14,433	8,576	23,160
Abbeville	7,505	1,605	9,197	10,548	2,964	13,553	14,396	6,672	21,156
Richland	2,479	1,437	3,930	2,929	3,033	6,097	3,468	5,238	9,027
Lancaster	4,864	1,370	6,702	4,898	1,076	6,012	4,300	1,646	6,318
Kershaw				4,706	2,530	7,340	4,942	4,847	9,867
Newberry	8,186	1,144	9,342	9,707	2,204	12,006	9,848	4,806	13,964
Cheraw*	7,418	3,229	10,706	13,138		18,299			
Clarendon*	1,790	602	2,392						
Charlottesville*	2,438	2,110	4,548						
MALBOROUGH							3,173	1,709	4,966
LEXINGTON							4,713	1,911	6,641
WILLIAMSBURG							2,306	4,518	6,871
DARLINGTON							6,259	2,731	9,047
CHESTERFIELD							3,867	1,639	5,564
Horry							2,943	1,398	4,349
TOTALS	140,078	107,094	249,073	296,245	146,151	345,591	214,190	196,365	415,115

Georgia.

Camden county	234	70	305	936	735	1,681	1,207	2,687	3,941
Glynn	193	215	413	779	1,092	1,874	664	2,845	3,417
Liberty	1,303	4,025	5,355	1,346	3,940	5,315	1,352	4,808	6,228
Chatham	2,456	8,201	10,769	3,673	9,049	12,946	3,214	9,748	13,540
Effingham	1,674	750	2,424	1,310	762	2,072	1,575	1,010	2,586
Richmond	7,162	4,116	11,317	2,728	2,691	5,473	2,681	3,436	6,189
Burke	7,064	2,392	9,467	6,523	2,967	9,506	6,091	4,691	10,858
Washington	3,856	694	4,552	7,181	2,668	10,300	6,423	3,513	9,940
Wilkes	24,052	7,268	31,500	8,032	5,008	13,103	7,602	7,284	14,887
Franklin	885	156	1,041	5,892	959	6,859	9,143	1,656	10,815
Green	4,020	1,377	5,405	7,097	3,657	10,761	6,398	5,236	11,679
Lincoln				3,326	1,433	4,766	2,331	2,212	4,555
Oglethorpe				6,686	3,089	9,780	6,857	5,435	12,297
Jackson				6,328	1,400	7,736	8,742	1,816	10,569
Jefferson				4,008	1,642	5,684	3,746	2,336	6,111
Warren				6,252	2,058	8,329	5,659	3,048	8,725
Macintosh				731	1,819	2,660	761	2,957	3,739
Hancock				9,605	4,835	14,456	6,849	6,456	13,350
Montgomery				2,742	435	3,180	2,190	747	2,954
Elbert				7,255	2,816	10,094	7,532	4,574	12,156
Bulloch				1,629	269	1,913	1,861	426	2,305
Screen				2,253	766	3,019	2,657	1,816	4,477
Bryan				528	2,306	2,836	557	2,264	2,827
WAYNE							421	254	676
Columbia				5,321	3,008	8,345	5,229	5,980	11,242
WALTON							964	60	1,026
CLARKE							5,000	2,594	7,628
TATNAL							1,600	542	2,206
TELFAR							525	218	744
PULASKI							1,553	528	2,093

* These districts are extinct.

Georgia—Continued.

COUNTIES.	In 1790.			In 1800.				In 1810.			
	Free white.	Free Negro.	Total.	Free white.	Free Negro.	Slaves.	Total.	Free white.	Free Negro.	Slaves.	Total.
LAURENS								1,714		485	2,210
TWIGGS								2,856		632	3,405
WILKINSON								1,846		318	2,154
BALDWIN								3,790		2,550	6,336
JONES								5,571		2,587	8,597
POTNAM								6,769		3,220	10,029
MORGAN								5,949		2,418	8,369
RANDOLPH								5,743		1,821	7,573
TOTAL	52,886	29,264	82,548	101,066	59,699	162,686	323,451	145,414	105,218	252,433	503,065

Potash.

The following article was written for the REGISTER at the request of some friends in the western country; we hope it may answer all the purposes required.

The great importance which this article bears in the list of our exportations, and the immense varieties of quality to which it is liable from the fraud or carelessness of manufacturers, render it a desirable thing to understand the mode of manufacturing the largest quantities by a process which shall not injure its useful properties. The manufacturers are generally too apt to calculate their interest by the quantity they can send to market, without reflecting that the prices of all commodities are regulated by their quality, or their particular adoption to the purposes of employment. Faults of this kind have led the chemists of Europe to turn their attention to the subject, and various ingenious modes have been contrived for the purpose of procuring it among themselves; it therefore particularly behoves our manufacturers to be attentive to the quality of what they offer for sale, lest in our over-eagerness to increase its profits, we should entirely lose this lucrative branch of our commerce.

It has been observed that commercial men and practical tradesmen have more just ideas on this salt than the generality of men of science. This may be true in a limited sense. The trade man may by experience of its effect be enabled to know the pure from the impure; but we must resort to the chemist to be informed wherein those impurities consist, and how they may be avoided.

Several circumstances are found materially to influence the quality of this alkaline salt: the nature of the materials which are reduced to ashes; the mode of conducting the combustion; and the degree of heat applied in the process of evaporation. With respect to the first, the trees or other vegetable substances intended to be incinerated, should be perfectly sound and free from marks of decay or putrefaction. Particular trees and vegetables are found to yield a greater quantity and a better quality than others; thus hickory, poplar, ash and oak, are generally preferred among the trees, and of the vegetables the marine plants are best. In Russia it is the practice to let the trees remain after they are felled for twelve months or more, that they may be thoroughly dried before they are burned. But Mr Stephens, a gentleman who a short time before the revolution, obtained a grant from the parliament of England to establish a manufacture of potash in this country, and who succeeded perfectly, was in the habit of burning the wood immediately after it was felled, which is unquestionably the most proper plan, as many trees begin to decay and rot very

speedily after being cut down, a circumstance which as before observed will affect the quality of the ashes.

The trees being felled and cut into convenient lengths may be burned either in a kiln or in the open air; if in the latter way, a brick floor or hearth should be laid to prevent the earth being mixed with the ashes when they are afterwards scraped up, and the wood piled upon this by laying the logs alternately across each other, and filling the interstices with the smaller branches or brushwood; the bottom logs should then be set on fire at each end.—When the pile is completely burned, the ashes should be suffered to remain, without being stirred until nearly cold and then carried under a shed or in a house and placed in proper vessels where they should lie for a month or more, wetting them frequently and ramming them into a close heap. It is improper to burn a second pile upon the ashes of the first, as the degree of heat to which these would be thus subjected would materially affect the salt to be afterwards obtained from them.

The second and least objectionable mode of burning the wood is in a kiln made for the purpose which may be built of brick or stone and of any size. At about one third of the height of the kiln an iron grate should be fitted in, upon which the wood is placed, the apartment under the grate should be paved with brick, having a door-way communicating outwards closed with an iron lid; when the wood is set on fire, the cracks of this door-way should be completely stopped by mortar, or by banking the earth up against it. The grate or bed of the kiln should be filled with wood to the surface, and a supply constantly kept up until the ashes in the lower apartment have nearly reached the grate.—They should then be drawn out whilst red hot and in that state sprinkled with ley till they are sufficiently damp to be rammed into a heap as directed in the former case. In this state they are ready for the second process, that of forming the ley: for this purpose they should be put into vats or hoppers having false bottoms latticed and covered with two or three layers of straw to prevent the ashes from filling through along with the liquor. The vats of which there should be at least three should be filled to within four or five inches of the top, and the ashes well rammed as they are put in so as to form a solid and compact mass, taking care to heap more around the sides of the vat, that a concavity may be left in the centre. The vats being all prepared in the same manner, let the concavity or basin of the first be filled with soft water, and kept constantly supplied until the ashes will absorb no more. In about twenty four hours the ley which has soaked through into the receiver should be drawn off, and the ashes again supplied with water until

their whole strength has been extracted. With the liquor thus run off, the second vat should be filled, and the same process repeated, until the ley has acquired *proof** strength. It may then be put away in cisterns, as ready for the last process, or that of evaporation.

There are various modes of subjecting the liquor to this operation, according to the convenience of the manufacturer. By some the ley is evaporated in iron crucibles almost to dryness, and the residuum subjected to the action of an intense heat until it becomes liquified; the melted salt is then poured upon iron plates to crystallise, and the work is finished. But the evaporation of the ley and the liquification of the salt may be done at once by means of a furnace properly contrived and heated. It should be heated almost to a white heat, and preserved as nearly as possible at the same temperature during the whole continuance of the process. It is to a want of attention in this particular that many of the varieties in the quality of the potash are to be attributed. The furnace being brought to this degree of heat, the ley is poured into it from the cisterns by means of funnels, care being taken to regulate the stream, so as to prevent the flues or the funnels from being choked; an iron or brick trough should be made leading from the furnace to receive the product. In about an hour the potash will issue out in a red hot stream, and if care be taken to pack it away in close cases as soon as it is cold, without any admixture of clay, lime, gravel, &c. there can be no doubt of its being as pure as the nature of the substance will admit.

The appearances even of the best potash are so various that it is difficult to judge of its quality from that alone. It is considered impure if it have a honey-comb appearance or an acid taste. That which is white or cream colored and has crystallized in small round grains, is esteemed the best.

Besides the innumerable uses to which this important article has been applied, as well in medicine as in various trades, it has been discovered to possess the remarkable property of extinguishing flame in the most speedy and effectual manner, and for this purpose has been successfully used in some parts of England to extinguish burning houses, a quantity of it being dissolved in the water with which the fire engines are charged.

The Chronicle.

BALTIMORE, DECEMBER 28.

The ship Pacific, whose speedy passage to England was noted in our last, has returned to New York in 27 days, bringing London papers to the 19th of last month. Their contents do not appear important. The price of grain is on the advance in all parts of the united kingdom, and petitions were preparing to prevent its distillation. A considerable scarcity is apprehended. There had been some serious riots at Nottingham, occasioned by

* This is ascertained by weight in the following manner: take a vial which will exactly hold a four ounce measure of water; having first ascertained the weight of the vial, fill it with water and weigh that also: divide the weight of the water into 128 equal parts, each of which is a *carat*—thus 164 of the whole weight would be two carats, 132 & carats, &c. Ley that weighs 18 carats is sufficiently strong for evaporation. The strength may be tried also by means of a fresh egg, which will swim on the surface of strong ley, and sink in what is too weak for use.

the introduction of a new *stocking frame*, calculated to lessen the *employ* of the weavers!—The king of England still lived, but was very ill—the prince regent had strained his ankle, and was confined to his room. *It is said* the orders in council are becoming very unpopular, even with some of their warmest original advocates, and it is expected, when the prince regent receives full powers, that they will be abrogated. There is nothing of interest from the continent; a rising of the people in Dalmatia and Istria, is reported. A new ministry in England is confidently spoken of. Lords Grey, Holland, Lauderdale, and Lansdowne, are to go into the council—Mr. Tierney to be chancellor of the exchequer; lord Erskine, lord chancellor; Mr. Sheridan, paymaster of the navy, &c.—The following curious article is from a late Irish paper:

“Things still continue in ‘an unsatisfactory state,’ to use a phrase of Mr. Pitt’s, between the British Islands and their former colonies. There have been recent arrivals which speak of the most deadly animosity having been excited between the rival factions. The federalists, among whom are included the friends of England, are losing ground, and the democrats, at the head of whom is Madison, president, are described as lords of the ascendant. In the mean time nothing is done. Every arrangement waits for the meeting of congress for a legal sanction—of course we shall next have to record the enactment of a non-intercourse law.”

It is believed throughout the western country that the *British* are chiefly to blame for the conduct of the Indians. What leads to this opinion is the frequent excitements the savages have received to commit war upon us from the agents of his “*most gracious* majesty,” and a knowledge of the fact, that after the battle on the Wabash, fifty fuses and rifles, with the famous stamp of *Kelland & co.* to all appearance *new*, were picked up—and the powder taken was also pronounced to be “*fine English glazed powder*.” Further, certain deputations from the northern tribes lately visited the southern Indians to induce them to unbury the tomahawk—the deputies were armed with *new English* muskets. It appears, however, they were unsuccessful; though it is said, the *Chickasaws* have risen for the purpose of opposing the troops of the United States who are directed to cut a road through the country of the *Creeks*. In such a state of things it is consolatory to reflect, that our affairs are committed to the direction of that faithful veteran, col. Hawkins; whose active benevolence has secured the attachment of the red people as well as the admiration of the white, and on whose experience and firmness we may rely in any emergency.

The following extracts of a letter from gov. *Harrison* to col. *John M. Scott*, of Frankfort, *Kent.* as published in the Western “*Argus*” of the 11th inst. corroborates, and shews additional causes why the above opinion is entertained:

“VINCENNES, Dec. 2, 1812.

“Even in the event of a war with Great Britain, I think that the Indians will *now* remain neutral—they have witnessed the inefficacy of British assistance—for that assistance has been afforded in as ample a manner as it could have been, if war had actually prevailed between us and that power. Within the last three months, the whole of the Indians on this frontier, have been completely armed and equipped out of the king’s stores at Malden. Indeed they were much better armed than the greater part of my troops; every Indian was provided with a gun, scalping knife, tomahawk and war club, and most

of them with a spear—whilst the greater part of my riflemen had no other weapon than their rifle. The Indians, had moreover, an ample supply of the best British glazed powder—some of their guns had been sent to them so short a time before the action, that they were not divested of the list covering in which they are imported.”

“After the battle on the Wabash, (says the Kentucky Gazette,) governor Harrison buried 50 or 60 dead, upon the field—and we understand the Indians returned in a few days after his departure and took them up, scalped them and left them on the ground, and then interred their own killed in the graves.”

The destructive war, heretofore noticed, rages with additional force in many parts of Spain. The most important event that has lately occurred is the surrender of Saguntum to the French under marshal Suchet. The allies made an attempt to relieve the place, but were defeated with great loss, the French taking 4,639 prisoners. Saguntum surrendered the day after the battle, which added 2,580 prisoners; the whole, 7,211 in number, were marched into France. The loss of the French is officially stated to be only 128 killed and 596 wounded. A body of 10,000 French troops are in the neighborhood of Algerias.

That famous outcast, Aaron Burr, is in England.

American manufactures.—The following resolution passed the senate of this state, on the 30th March, 1811, and was agreed to by the assembly. It is published, in order that the members of the legislature, who are to assemble at Albany on the last Tuesday of January, may be seasonably apprised of it, and regulate themselves accordingly.

On motion of Mr. Clinton,

Resolved, (if the honorable the assembly concur therein) that it be recommended to the members of the legislature, to appear at the next session in clothes of American manufacture. *N. Y. Mer. Adv.*

The legislature of Kentucky convened on the 2d inst. John Simpson, Esq. was unanimously elected speaker of the house of representatives. The senate formed a quorum on the same day, when governor Scott delivered an excellent and highly spirited communication—to appear in its course.

By way of London we first learn the important intelligence that the yellow fever prevailed in Philadelphia a short time ago. The despatches carried to England from their minister in this country, by the messenger, Mr. Proudfman, were well fumigated!

Canal navigation.—The locks and canals from Concord to Boston now being nearly complete, we have been informed that the agent for the Middlesex canal has contracted for a steam boat, upon a plan peculiar to canal navigation. It is contemplated that this boat will propel, by the powers of steam, four other boats of forty tons each, at the rate of eight miles an hour. The boats will probably be in readiness to ply the Merrimack the ensuing spring—Such a project cannot fail to be of great importance to this town and the circumjacent country.

N. H. Patriot.

LONDON, November 15.

Ex-officio informations, those dreadful instruments of power in the hands of an attorney general, the indiscriminate use of which was lately discouraged by the English court of king's bench, appear to be the order of the day in Ireland. We announced on Saturday, that the Irish attorney-general had filed information, *ex-officio*, against the earl of Fingall, and the proprietors of two of the Dublin newspapers. To these we have this day to

add several other persons, making the following list, viz :

The earl of Fingall for presiding at an aggregate meeting at Fishamble street, on the 9th of July.”

The earl of Fingall (again) for presiding at a Catholic meeting in Navan, for the purpose of appointing delegates for the county of Meath, on the 29th of August. The honorable T. Barnewall, for assisting at said meeting; the honorable Patrick Barnewall for a like offence; the honorable Richard Barnewall; the honorable Joseph Barnewall for the same; Philip Whitefield Harvey, Esq. proprietor of the Freeman's Journal, for publishing the Catholic proceedings on the 1st of August; Thomas Townsend, Esq. barrister at law, proprietor of The Correspondent, for publishing the same proceedings.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, Dec. 26.—Mr. Reed presented two petitions of certain merchants of Salem, stating that their vessels and cargoes, sent to Naples after the issuing of the president's proclamation of November 2, 1810, were there confiscated and sold under the Berlin and Milan decrees, and praying relief.—*Referred.*

Mr. Porter, from the committee of foreign relations, reported a bill authorising the president to accept and organize certain military corps, [not exceeding 50,000.] The bill was twice read and referred to the committee of the whole for Monday next.

Mr. Bibb offered the following resolution, which was adopted: Resolved, that the secretary of the navy be directed to lay before this house a statement of the vessels belonging to the navy of the United States which have been repaired since the year 1801—specifying the time when they were repaired, and the cost.

The house went into a committee of the whole, Mr. Nelson in the chair, on a report of the committee of claims unfavorable to a certain petitioner, because barred by the statutes of limitation. The debate involved the expediency or in expediency of suspending or repealing those statutes. The committee rose without deciding, reported progress, and had leave to sit again.

Mr. Gholson submitted the following resolution: Resolved, that the committee of claims be instructed to enquire into the justice of all revolutionary claims, notwithstanding they may be barred by the statutes of limitation. *Laid on the table.*

Adjourned at 3 o'clock.

ERRATUM.—In the census of Maryland, for 4,104 free whites” in the Eastern precincts of Baltimore, read 3,102. From a supplementary return, it appears that the population of Harford county in 1800, was, *free whites*, 15,477—*slaves*, 1,344—*TOTAL*, 17,625.

Next week, by the aid of a supplement, we shall dispose of some of our stock of manuscripts.

¶ The first four numbers of the Register were forwarded a few days ago to such of our subscribers as had not been furnished with them. If any have been neglected (which we believe is not the case) a notice of it will be thankfully received.

* * * As, according to the terms of subscription, our patrons are now considered as for one year—new subscribers for a less period cannot be received. The effect would be to render our files incomplete, and do more harm than good; as well as give an imperfect work to the person so subscribing. New subscribers will be furnished from the beginning.

THE WEEKLY REGISTER.

Vol. L]

SUPPLEMENTARY TO No. 17.

"—I wish no other herald,
"No other speaker of my living actions,
"To keep mine honor from corruption
"But such an honest chronicler."

Shakespeare—HENRY VIII.

Printed and published by H. NILES, Water-street, near the Merchants' Coffee-House, at \$5 per annum.

Mr. Grundy's Speech.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ON THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Mr. Speaker, I did not expect that the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Randolph] would have made any enquiries into the motives or objects of that committee, of which he himself was a member. He, sir, attended faithfully to his duty, and witness of every step the committee took. He also saw the report before it was made to this house and must have heard the exposition of our ulterior measures, as explained by our chairman. Why, then, sir, shall he now affect not to understand us? Our object, by those who will listen, shall not be misunderstood. And, Mr. Speaker, as I have no political secrets, I feel no hesitation in declaring to you, to this house, and to the nation, the view I have taken of the subject. But before I do this, it is due to the committee that an explanation of their conduct should take place.

So soon as the committee on our foreign relations was appointed, we were forcibly impressed with the serious and highly responsible station you had assigned us; to that committee, consisting of nine members only, were not only the eyes of this house but of the nation turned, and from us, in this the most troubled season our world has ever known, was it expected, that a course of measures would be recommended, calculated to protect the interests of seven millions of people. Under this impression, Mr. Speaker, we deemed it a duty to take time for deliberation; we thought it better to encounter the charge of having acted in a tardy and dilatory way, than to take a rash step, by which this nation might be plunged into difficulties, from which it could not be easily extricated. We therefore took the necessary time to weigh the arguments both for and against the measures we have recommended; and, as far as we are able, we surveyed the consequences which were to follow from the course we proposed. We foresaw, Mr. Speaker, that our countrymen were to fall in the meditated conflict, and that American blood was to stream afresh. Nor were we unmindful of the expenditure of public treasure. And, sir, what cost me more reflection than every thing else was the new test to which we are to put this government. We are about to ascertain by actual experiment how far our republican institutions are calculated to stand the shock of war, and whether, after foreign danger has disappeared, we can again assume our peaceful attitude, without endangering the liberties of the people.

Against these considerations, weighty in themselves, your committee felt themselves constrained to decide, influenced by existing circumstances of a character too imperious to be resisted; these I will enumerate before I sit down. My business at present is to address a particular portion of the members of this house—I mean, sir, the republi-

can members—and although what I am about to say might be deemed impolitic on ordinary subjects of legislation, yet, at this time, and on this occasion, it would be criminal to conceal a single thought which might influence their determination. We should now, Mr. Speaker, forget little party animosities, we should mingle minds freely, and, as far as we are able, commune with the understandings of each other; and, the decision once made, let us become one people, and present an undivided front to the enemies of our country.

Republicans should never forget that some years ago a set of men of different policies held the reins of this government, and drove, the car of state; they were charged with being friendly to standing armies in times of peace, and favorable to expensive establishments; not for the purpose of opposing foreign enemies, but to encourage executive patronage, and to bring these forces to operate upon the people themselves. These measures alarmed the republicans; they remonstrated, they clamored, they appealed to the people, and by a national sentence, the men then in power were taken down from their high places, and republican men were put in their seats.

If your minds are resolved on war you are consistent, you are right, you are still republicans; but if you are not resolved, pause and reflect, for should this resolution pass and you then become faint hearted, remember that you have abandoned your old principles, and trod in the paths of your predecessors.

According to my view of this subject, Mr. Speaker, we now stand on the bank; one movement more, the rubicon is passed, we are in Italy, and we must march to Rome.

As a member of the committee I feel no hesitation in saying, that if there be a member here, not determined to go with us, to the extent of our measures, I prefer now to take my leave of him, rather than be deserted when the clouds darken and the storm thickens upon us.

This admonition I owed to candor—I have paid it, not because I doubted; my purpose is settled, my mind reposes upon it—I may be in an error—if I am, I hope my country will forgive me—From my God I shall never need it, because he knows the purity of my motives.

I will now state the reasons which influenced the committee, in recommending the measures now before us.

It is not the carrying trade, properly so called, about which this nation and Great Britain, are at present contending: Were this the only question now under consideration, I should feel great unwillingness (however clear our claim might be) to involve the nation in a war, for the assertion of a right in the enjoyment of which the community at large are not more deeply concerned. The true question in controversy, is of a very different cha-

acter; it involves the interest of the whole nation; it is the right of transporting the productions of our own soil and industry to foreign markets. Sir, our vessels are now captured when destined to the ports of France, and condemned by the British courts of admiralty, without even the pretext of having on board contraband of war, enemies' property, or, having in any other respect violated the laws of nations. These depredations on our lawful commerce, under whatever ostensible pretence committed, are not to be traced to any maxims or rules of public law, but to the maritime supremacy, and pride of the British nation. This hostile and unjust policy of that country towards us, is not to be wondered at, when we recollect that the United States are already the second commercial nation in the world. The rapid growth of our commercial importance, has not only awakened the jealousy of the commercial interests of Great Britain, but her statesmen, no doubt, anticipate, with deep concern, the maritime greatness of this republic.

The unjust and unprecedented demands now made by Great Britain that we shall cause the markets of the continent to be opened to her manufactures, fully justified the views I have suggested.

That we as a neutral nation should interfere between belligerents in their municipal regulations, will not be contended for by any one. From the course pursued by that nation for some years past, it evidently appears that neither public law nor justice, but power alone, is made by her the test of maritime rights.

What, Mr. Speaker are we now called on to decide? It is whether we will resist by force, this attempt made by that government to subject our maritime rights to the arbitrary and capricious rule of her will; for my part I am not prepared to say, that this country shall submit to have her commerce interdicted or regulated, by any foreign nation.—Sir, I prefer war to submission.

Over and above the unjust pretensions of the British government, for many years past they have been in the practice of impressing our seamen from merchant vessels; this unjust and lawless invasion of personal liberty, calls loudly for the interposition of this government. To those better acquainted with the facts in relation to it, I leave it to fill up the picture. My mind is irresistibly drawn to the West.

Although others may not strongly feel the bearing which the late transactions in that quarter have on this subject, upon my mind, they have great influence. It cannot be believed by any man who will reflect, that the savage tribes, uninfluenced by other powers, would think of making war on the United States. They understand too well their own weakness and our strength. They have already felt the weight of our arms: they know they hold the very soil on which they live as tenants at sufferance. How then, sir, are we to account for their late conduct? In one way only: some powerful nation must have intrigued with them and turned their peaceable disposition towards us into hostilities.—Great Britain alone, has intercourse with those northern tribes; I therefore infer, that if British gold has not been employed, their baubles and trinkets, and the promise of support and of a place of refuge if needful, have had their effect.

If I am right in this conjecture, war is not to commence by sea or land, it is already begun; and some of the richest blood in our country has already been shed; yes, Mr. Speaker, in one individual has fallen, the honest man, the orator, and the

soldier. That he loved his country none can doubt—he died to preserve its honor and its name.—I mean the late commander of the cavalry; you, sir, who have often measured your strength with his in forensic debate, can attest that he, in a good degree, was the pride of the western country, and Kentucky claimed him as a favorite son. For his loss, with those who fell by his side, the whole western country is ready to march; they only wait for our permission; and, sir, war once declared, I pledge myself for my people—they will avenge the death of their brethren.

Another consideration drawn from our past conduct demands the course we have proposed. In the year 1808, congress declared that this nation had but three alternatives left; war, embargo or submission; since that time no advantageous change has taken place in our foreign relations; we now have no embargo, we have not declared war; I then say it with humiliation, produced by the degradation of my country: we have submitted. Mr. Speaker, I derive no pleasure from speaking in this way of my country, but it is true, and however painful the truth may be it should be told.

Another reason operates on my mind; we stand pledged to the French nation to continue in force our non importation law against Great Britain; without a violation of national faith we cannot repeal it. What effects is the operation of this law producing? It is demoralising our citizens: men of commercial habits cannot easily change their course of life; those who have lived in affluence and ease cannot consent to beg for bread. No, sir, they will violate this law, they will smuggle; and, sir, in politics, as in private life, if you wish men to remain virtuous, lead them not into temptation.

This restrictive system operates unequally; some parts of the union enjoy the same advantages which they possessed when no difficulties attended our foreign relation; others suffer extremely. Ask the northern man, and he will tell you any state of things is better than the present; enquire of the western people why their crops are not equal to what they were in former years; they will answer that industry has no stimulus left, since their surplus products have no markets; notwithstanding those objections to the present restrictive system, we are bound to retain it.—This, and our pledged faith to the French government, have tied the gordian knot; we cannot untie it; we can cut it with the sword.

This war, if carried on successfully, will have its advantages.—We shall drive the British from our continent—they will no longer have an opportunity of intriguing with our Indian neighbors, and setting on the ruthless savages to tomahawk our women and children.—That nation will lose her Canadian trade and by having no resting place in this country, her means of annoying us will be diminished. The idea I am now about to advance, is at war, I know, with the sentiments of the gentlemen from Virginia; I am willing to receive the Canadians as adopted brethren; it will have beneficial political effects; it will preserve the equilibrium of the government. When Louisiana shall be fully peopled the northern states will lose their power; they will be at the discretion of others: they can be depressed at pleasure, and then this union might be endangered.—I therefore feel anxious not only to add the Floridas to the south, but the Canadas to the north of this empire.

To you, Mr. Speaker, and to the members of this house, my thanks are due, for the very patient attention you have paid to my embarrassed remarks.

Mr. Randolph's Speech

ON THE SECOND RESOLUTION REPORTED BY THE COMMITTEE OF FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Tuesday, December 10.—The order of the day being called for, the speaker observed, that the gentleman from Virginia on the right of the chair was entitled to the floor.

Mr. Randolph said that if any other gentleman had any observations to make on the question, he would feel obliged to him if he would offer them; as he was much exhausted by the fatigues of the morning, and would be glad of a little time to recruit his wasted strength and spirits—After a considerable pause no gentleman having manifested a disposition to speak,

MR. RANDOLPH rose. He expressed his sense of the motive which had induced the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Grundy) to move the adjournment yesterday, and of the politeness of the house in granting it; at the time same declaring that in point of fact he had little cause to be thankful for the favor, well intended as he knew it to have been—since he felt himself even less capable of proceeding with his argument than he had been on the preceding day.

It was a question, as it had been presented to the house, of PEACE or WAR. In that light it had been argued; in no other light could he consider it, after the declarations made by members of the committee of foreign relations. Without intending any disrespect to the chair, he must be permitted to say, that if the decision yesterday was correct, "that it was not in order to advance any arguments against the resolution, drawn from topics before other committees of the house"—the whole debate, nay the report itself on which they were acting, was disorderly; since the increase of the military force was a subject at that time in agitation by the select committee raised on that branch of the president's message. But it was impossible that the discussion of a question broad as the wide ocean of our foreign concerns—involving every consideration of interest, of right, of happiness and of safety at home—touching, in every point, all that was dear to freemen—their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor!—could be tied down by the narrow rules of technical routine. The committee of foreign relations had indeed decided that the subject of arming the militia (which he had pressed upon them as indispensable to the public security) did not come within the scope of their authority. On what ground, he had been and still was unable to see, they had felt themselves authorized (when that subject was before another committee) to recommend the raising of standing armies, with a view (as had been declared) of immediate war:—a war not of defence, but of conquest, of aggrandizement, of ambition: a war foreign to the interests of this country, to the interests of humanity itself.

He knew not how gentlemen calling themselves republicans, could advocate such a war. What was their doctrine in 1798–9, when the command of the army, that highest of all possible trusts in any government, be the form what it may—was reposed in the bosom of the father of his country!—the sanctuary of a nation's love—the only hope that never came in vain! When other worthies of the revolution! Hamilton, Pinkney, and the younger Washington, men of tried patriotism, of approved conduct and valor, of untarnished honor, held subordinate command under him. Republicans were then unwilling to trust a standing army even to his hands who had given proof that he was above all

human temptation. Where now is the revolutionary hero to whom you are about to confide this sacred trust?—to whom will you confide the charge of leading the flower of our youth to the heights of Abraham? Will you find him in the person of an acquitted felon? What! then you were unwilling to vote an army whereas such men as had been named held high command! when Washington himself was at the head—did you then shew such reluctance, feel such scruples; and are you now nothing but, fearless of every consequence! Will you say that your provocations were less then than now?—When your direct commerce was interdicted, your ambassadors hooted with derision from the French court—tribute demanded—actual war waged upon you.

Those who opposed the army then, were indeed denounced as the partizans of France; as the same men—some of them at least—are now held up as the advocates of England; those firm and undeviating republicans, who then dared and now dare, to cling to the ark of the constitution, to defend it even at the expense of their fame, rather than surrender themselves to the wild projects of mad ambition. There was a fatality attending plenitude of power. Soon or late, some mania seizes upon its possessors—they fall from the dizzy height through the giddiness of their own heads. Like a vast estate, heaped up by the labor and industry of one man, which seldom survives the third generation.—Power gained by patient assiduity, by a faithful and regular discharge of its attendant duties, soon gets above its own origin. Intoxicated with their own greatness the federal party fell. Will not the same causes produce the same effects now, as then? Sir, you may raise this army, you may build up this vast structure of patronage, this mighty apparatus of favoritism: but—"lay not the flattering unction to your souls"—you will never live to enjoy the succession. You sign your political death warrant.

MR. R. here adverted to the provocation to hostilities from shutting up the Mississippi by Spain in 1803—but more fully to the conduct of the house in 1805–6, under the strongest of all imaginable provocatives to war—the actual invasion of our country. He read various passages from the president's public message of December 3, 1805.

"Our coasts have been infested and our harbors watched by private armed vessels; some of them without commissions, some with illegal commissions, others with those of legal form, but committing acts beyond the authority of their commissions." [These Mr. R. stated to have been Spanish and French corsairs, fitted out chiefly in the western ports of Cuba—the English cruisers complained of in the same message, having regular commissions and carrying their prizes into port for adjudication.] "They have captured in the very entrance of our harbors, as well as on the high seas, not only the vessels of our friends coming to trade with us, but our own also. They have carried them off under pretence of legal adjudication, but not daring to approach a court of justice, they have plundered and sunk them by the way, or in obscure places, where no evidence could arise against them; maltreated the crews, and abandoned them in the open sea, or on desert shores, without food or covering."

"With Spain our negotiations for a settlement of differences have not had a satisfactory issue.—Spoils during the former war, for which she had formerly acknowledged herself responsible, have been refused to be compensated but on conditions affecting other claims," [those for French

spoliations carried into Spanish ports] "in no wise connected with them. Yet the same practices are renewed in the present war, and are already of great amount. On the Mobile, our commerce passing through that river, continues to be obstructed by arbitrary duties and vexatious searches. Propositions for adjusting amicably the boundaries of Louisiana have not been acceded to. While however the right is unsettled, we have avoided changing the state of things, by taking new posts or strengthening ourselves in the disputed territories, in the hope that the other power would not, by a contrary conduct, oblige us to meet their example, and endanger conflicts of authority, the issue of which may not be easily controled. But in this hope we have now reason to lessen our confidence. Inroads have been recently made in the territories of Orleans and the Mississippi"—[Bourbon county—part of the state of Georgia—of the good old thirteen states!] "Our citizens have been seized, and their property plundered, in the very ports of the former which had been actually delivered up by Spain, and this by the regular officers and soldiers of that government. I have therefore found it necessary to give orders to our troops on that frontier to be in readiness to protect our citizens, and repel by arms any similar aggressions in future."

Mr. R. said that on the 6th of December, (three days afterwards) a secret message was received from the president, which was referred to a committee of which it was his fate to be chairman. Its complexion might be gathered from the report upon it, for the message itself is not inserted in the secret journal, since ordered to be printed. He read the report.

"The committee have beheld, with just indignation, the hostile spirit manifested by the court of Madrid towards the government of the United States, in withholding the ratification of its convention with us, although signed by its own minister, under the eye of his sovereign, unless with alterations of its terms, affecting claims of the United States, which, by the express conditions of the instrument itself were reserved for future discussion; in piratical depredations upon our fair commerce; in obstructing the navigation of the Mobile; in refusing to come to any fair and amicable adjustment of the boundaries of Louisiana; and in a daring violation, by persons acting under the authority of Spain, and, no doubt apprised of her sentiments and views, of our undisputed limits, which she had so solemnly recognized by treaty.

"To a government having interests distinct from those of its people, and disregarding their welfare, there is ample cause for a formal declaration of war, on the part of the United States, and such, did they obey the impulse of their feelings alone, is the course which the committee would not hesitate to recommend: but to a government identified with its citizens, too far removed from the powerful nations of the earth for its safety to be endangered by their hostility, peace must always be desirable, so long as it is compatible with the honor and interests of the community.

"Whilst the United States continue burthened with a debt which annually absorbs two thirds of their revenue, and duties upon imports constitute the only resource from which that revenue can be raised, without resorting to systems of taxation not more ruinous and oppressive than they are uncertain and precarious, the best interests of the union cry aloud for peace. When that debt shall have been discharged, and the resources of the nation thereby liberated, then may we rationally expect to raise, even in time of war, the supplies which our

frugal institutions require, without recurring to the hateful and destructive expedient of loans; then and not till then, may we bid defiance to the world. The present moment is peculiarly auspicious for this great and desirable work. Now, if ever the national debt is to be paid by such financial arrangements as will accelerate its extinction, by reaping the rich harvest of neutrality, and thus providing for that diminution of revenue which experience teaches us to expect on the general pacification of Europe.—And the committee indulge a hope, that, in the changed aspect of affairs in that quarter, Spain will find motives for a just fulfilment of her stipulations with us, and an amicable settlement of limits, upon terms not more beneficial to the U. States than advantageous to herself, securing to her an ample barrier on the side of Mexico, and to us the countries watered by the Mississippi, and to the eastward of it. But whilst the committee perceive, in the general uproar of Europe, a state of things peculiarly favorable to the peaceable pursuit of our best interests they are neither insensible to the indignity which has been offered on the part of Spain, nor unwilling to repel similar outrage. On the subject of self-defence, when the territory of the United States is insulted, there can be but one opinion, whatever differences may exist on the question, whether that protection which a vessel finds in our harbors, shall be extended to her, by the nation, in the Indian or Chinese seas! Under this impression the committee submit the following resolution: the annexed letter from the secretary of war will explain why it is not more explicit.

"Resolved, That such number of troops (not exceeding) as the president of the United States shall deem sufficient to protect the southern frontier of the United States, from Spanish inroad and insult, and to chastise the same, be immediately raised."

Mr. R. said that the peculiar situation of the frontier, at that time insulted, had alone induced the committee to recommend the raising of regular troops. It was too remote from the population of the country for the militia to act, in repelling and chastising Spanish incursion. New Orleans, and its dependencies, were separated by a vast extent of wilderness from the settlements of the old United States; filled with a disloyal and turbulent people alien to our institutions, language and manners, and disaffected towards our government. Little reliance could be placed upon them, and it was plain, that if "it was the intention of Spain to advance on our possessions until she should be repulsed by an opposing force," that force must be a regular army, unless we were disposed to abandon all the country south of Tennessee; that if the "protection of our citizens and the spirit and the honor of our country required that force should be interposed," nothing remained but for the legislature to grant the only practicable means, or to shrink from the most sacred of all its duties—to abandon the soil and its inhabitants to the tender mercy of hostile invaders.

Yet this report, moderate as it was, had been deemed of too strong a character by the house. It was rejected: and, at the motion of a gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Bidwell) [who had since taken a great fancy also to Canada, and marched off thither, in advance of the committee of foreign relations] "2,000 000 of dollars were appropriated towards" (not in full of) "any extraordinary expense which might be incurred in the intercourse between the United States and foreign nations;" in other words, to buy off, at Paris, Spanish aggressions at home.

Was this fact given in evidence of our impartiality towards the belligerents? that to the insults and injuries and actual invasion of one of them we opposed not bullets, but dollars: that to Spanish invasion we opposed money, whilst for British aggression on the high seas we had arms—offensive war. But Spain was then shielded, as well as instigated by a greater power. Hence our respect for her. Had we at that time acted as we ought to have done in defence of our rights, of the *natale solum* itself, we should (he felt confident) have avoided that series of insult, disgrace and injury, which had been poured out upon us in long unbroken succession. We would not then raise a small regular force for a country, where the militia could not act, to defend our own territory; now, we are willing to levy a great army, for great it must be to accomplish the proposed object, for a war of conquest and ambition—and this, too, at the very entrance of the “Northern Hive” of the strongest part of the union.

An insinuation had fallen from the gentleman from Tennessee, (Mr. Grundy) that the late massacre of our brethren on the Wabash had been instigated by the British government. Has the president given any such information? has the gentleman received any such, even informally, from any officer of this government? Is it so believed by the administration? He had cause to think the contrary to be the fact; that such was not their opinion. This insinuation was of the grossest kind—a presumption of the most rash—the most unjustifiable. Shew but good ground for it, he would give up the question at the threshold—he was ready to march to Canada. It was indeed well calculated to excite the feelings of the western people particularly, who were not quite so tenderly attached to our red brethren as some modern philosophers; but it was destitute of any foundation, beyond mere surmise and suspicion.—What would be thought, if, without any proof whatsoever, a member should rise in his place and tell us, that the massacre in Savannah, a massacre perpetrated by civilized savages, with French commissions in their pockets, was excited by the French government? There was an easy and natural solution of the late transaction on the Wabash, in the well known character of the aboriginal savage of North America, without resorting to any such mere conjectural estimate. He was sorry to say that for this signal calamity and disgrace, the house was, in part, at least answerable. Session after session, their table had been piled up with Indian treaties, for which the appropriations had been voted as a matter of course, without examination. Advantages had been taken of the spirit of the Indians, broken by the war which ended in the treaty of Greenville. Under the ascendancy then acquired over them, they had been pent up by subsequent treaties into hooks, straightened in their quarters by a blind cupidity, seeking to extinguish their title to immense wildernesses—for which, (possessing as we do already, more land than we can sell or use) we shall not have occasion, for half a century to come. It was our own thirst for territory, our own want of moderation, that had driven these sons of nature to desperation, of which we felt the effects.

Mr. Randolph, although not personally acquainted with the late col. Daviess, felt, he was persuaded, as deep and serious regret for his loss as the gentleman from Tennessee himself. He knew him only through the representation of a friend of the deceased (Mr. Rowan) sometime a member of that house; a man who for native force of intellect, manliness of character, and high sense of honor, was not inferior

to any that had ever sat there. With him he sympathised in the severest calamity that could befall a man of his cast of character. Would to God! they were both then on the floor. From his personal knowledge of the one, he felt confident that he would have his support—and he believed (judging of him from the representation of their common friend) of the other also.

He could but smile at the liberality of the gentleman, in giving Canada to New York, in order to strengthen the northern balance of power, while at the same time he forewarned her that the western scale must preponderate. Mr. R. said he could almost fancy that he saw the capitol in motion towards the falls of Ohio—after a short sojourn taking its flight to the Mississippi, and finally alighting on Darien; which, when the gentleman's dreams are realised, will be a most eligible seat of government for the new republic (or empire) of the two Americas! But it seemed that “in 1808 we talked and acted foolishly,” and to give some color of consistency to that folly, we must now commit a greater. Really he could not conceive of a weaker reason offered in support of a present measure, than the justification of a former folly. He hoped we should act a wiser part—taking warning by our follies, since we had become sensible of them, and resolve to talk and act foolishly no more. It was indeed high time to give over such preposterous language and proceedings.

This war of conquest, a war for the acquisition of territory and subjects, is to be a new commentary on the doctrine that republics are destitute of ambition—they are addicted to peace, wedded to the happiness and safety of the great body of their people. But it seems this is to be a holiday campaign—there is to be no expense of blood, or treasure, on our part—Canada is to conquer herself—she is to be subdued by the principles of fraternity. The people of that country are first to be seduced from their allegiance, and converted into traitors as preparatory to the making them good citizens. Although he must acknowledge that some of our flaming patriots were thus manufactured, he did not think the process would hold good with a whole community. It was a dangerous experiment. We were to succeed in the French mode by the system of fraternization—all is French!—but how dreadfully it might be retorted on the southern and western slaveholding states. He detested this subornation of treason. No: if he must have them, let them fall by the valor of our arms, by fair legitimate conquest; not become the victims of treacherous seduction.

He was not surprised at the war spirit which was manifesting itself in gentlemen from the south. In the year 1805—6, in a struggle for the carrying trade of belligerent colonial produce, this country had been most unwisely brought into collision with the great powers of Europe. By a series of most impolitic and ruinous measures utterly incomprehensible to every rational sober-minded man, the southern planters, by their own votes, had succeeded in knocking down the price of cotton to seven cents, and of tobacco (a few choice crops excepted) to nothing—and in raising the price of blankets (of which a few would not be amiss in a Canadian campaign), coarse woollens, and every article of first necessity, three or four hundred per cent. And now that by our own acts we have brought ourselves into this unprecedented condition, we must get out of it in any way, but by an acknowledgment of our own want of wisdom and forecast. But is war the true remedy; who will profit by it? Speculators—a few lucky merchants, who draw

prizes in the lottery—commissaries and contractors. Who must suffer by it? The people. It is their blood, their taxes, that must flow to support it.

But gentlemen avowed that they would not go to war for the carrying trade—that is, for any other but the direct export and import trade—that which carries our native products abroad, and brings back the return cargo,—and yet they stickle for our commercial rights, and will go to war for them? He wished to know in point of principle, what difference gentlemen could point out between the abandonment of this or of that maritime right? Do gentlemen assume the lofty part and tone of chivalrous redressers of maritime wrongs, and declare their readiness to surrender every other maritime right, provided they may remain unmolested in the exercise of the humble privilege of carrying their own produce abroad, and bringing back a return cargo? Do you make this declaration to the enemy at the outset? Do you state the minimum with which you will be contented, and put it in her power to close with your proposals at her option: give her the basis of a treaty ruinous and disgraceful beyond example and expression? and this too after having turned up your noses in disdain at the treaties of Mr. Jay and Mr. Monroe! Will you say to England, “*end the war when you please, give us the direct trade in our own produce, we are content.*” But what will the merchants of Salem, and Boston, and New York, and Philadelphia, and Baltimore, the men of Marblehead and Cape Cod, say to this? will they join in a war professing to have for its object what they would consider (and justly too,) as the sacrifice of their maritime rights, yet alleging to be a war for the protection of commerce?

He was gratified to find gentlemen acknowledging the demoralizing and destructive consequences of the non-importation law—confessing the truth of all that its opponents foretold when it was enacted—and will you plunge yourselves in war, because you have passed a foolish and ruinous law, and are ashamed to repeal it? “But our good friend the French emperor stands in the way of its repeal,” and as we cannot go too far in making sacrifices to him, who has given such demonstration of his love for the Americans, we must, in point of fact, become parties to his war. “Who can be so cruel as to refuse him this favor?”—His imagination shrunk from the miseries of such connection. He called upon the house to reflect whether they were not about to abandon all reclamation for the unparalleled outrages, “insults and injuries” of the French government—to give up our claim for plundered millions, and asked what reparation or atonement they could expect to obtain in hours of future dalliance, after they should have made a tender of their persons to this great deflowerer of the virginity of republics. We had by our own wise (he would not say *wise-were*) measures, so increased the trade and wealth of Montreal and Quebec, that at last we began to cast a wistful eye at Canada. Having done so much towards its improvement by the exercise of “our restrictive energies,” we began to think the laborer worthy of his hire, and to put in claim for our portion. Suppose it ours—are we any nearer to our point? As his minister said to the king of Epirus “may we not as well take our bottle of wine before as after this exploit?” Go! march to Canada!—leave the broad bosom of the Chesapeake and her hundred tributary rivers—the whole line of sea coast from Machias to St. Mary’s, unprotected: You have taken Quebec—Have you conquered England? Will you seek for the deep foundations of her power in the frozen deserts of Labrador?

“Her march is on the mountain wave,
Her home is on the deep!”

Will you call upon her to leave your ports and harbors untouched, only just till you can return from Canada to defend them? The coast is to be left defenceless, whilst men of the interior are revelling in conquest and spoil. But grant for a moment, for mere argument’s sake, that in Canada you touched the sinews of her strength, instead of removing a clog upon her resources—an incumbrance, but one, which, from a spirit of honor, she will vigorously defend. In what situation would you then place some of the best men of the nation? A Chatham and Burke, and the whole band of her patriots prayed for her defeat in 1776, so must some of the truest friends to the country deprecate the success of our arms against the only power that holds in check the arch-enemy of mankind.

Mr. Randolph declared, that the committee had outstripped the executive. In designating the power against whom this force was to be employed; as had most unadvisedly been done in the preamble or manifesto with which the resolutions were prefaced; they had not consulted the views of the executive—that designation was equivalent to an abandonment of all our claims on the French government. No sooner was the report laid on the table, than the vultures were flocking round their prey, the carcass of a great military establishment—men of tainted reputation, of broken fortune (if they ever had any) and of battered constitutions, “choice spirits, tired of the dull pursuits of civil life” were seeking after agencies and commissions; willing to doze in gross stupidity over the public fire; to light the public candle at both ends. Honorable men undoubtedly there were, to serve their country, but what man of spirit or self respect would accept a commission in the present army?

The gentleman from Tennessee, (Mr. Grundy) had addressed himself yesterday, exclusively to the “Republicans of the House.” Mr. Randolph knew not whether he might consider himself as entitled to any part of the benefit of the honorable gentleman’s discourse. It belonged not, however to that gentleman to decide. If we must have an exposition of the doctrines of republicanism, he should receive it from the fathers of the church, and not from the junior apprentices of the law. He should appeal to his worthy friends from Carolina, (Messrs. Macon and Stanford) “men with whom he had measured his strength,” by whose side he had fought during the reign of terror, for it was indeed an hour of corruption, of oppression, of pollution. It was not at all to his taste, that sort of republicanism which was supported on this side of the Atlantic by the father of the sedition law, John Adams, and by Peter Porcupine on the other. *Republicanism! of John Adams! and William Cobbett! Parnassian fragments, now united as in 1798, whom the cruel walls of Newgate alone keep from flying into each others embrace—but whom, in sentiment, it is impossible to divide! Gallant crusaders in the holy cause of republicanism! Such “republicanism does indeed mean any thing or nothing.”*

Our people will not submit to be taxed for this war of conquest and dominion. The government of the United States was not calculated to wage offensive foreign war—it was instituted for the common defence and general welfare; and whosoever should embark it in a war of offence, would put it to a test which it was by no means calculated to endure. Make it out that Great Britain had instigated the Indians on a late occasion, and he was ready for battle; but not for dominion. He was

unwilling, however, under present circumstances, to take Canada, at the risk of the constitution; to embark in a common cause with France and be dragged at the wheels of the car of some Burr or Bonaparte. For a gentleman from Tennessee, or Genesee, or Lake Champlain, there may be some prospect of advantage. Their hemp would bear a great price by the exclusion of foreign supply. In that too the great importers were deeply interested. The upper country on the Hudson and the lakes would be enriched by the supplies for the troops, which they alone could furnish. They would have the exclusive market: to say nothing of the increased preponderance from the acquisition of Canada, and that section of the union, which the southern and western states had already felt so severely in the apportionment bill.

Mr. Randolph adverted to the defenceless state of our seaports, and particularly of the Chesapeake. A single spot only, on both shores, might be considered in tolerable security—from the nature of the port and the strength of the population—and that spot unhappily governed the whole state of Maryland. His friend, the late governor of Maryland, (Mr. Lloyd) at the very time he was bringing his warlike resolutions before the legislature of the state, was liable, on any night, to be taken out of his bed and carried off with his family, by the most contemptible picareson. Such was the situation of many a family in Maryland and lower Virginia.

Mr. Randolph dwelt on the danger arising from the black population. He said he would touch this subject as tenderly as possible—it was with reluctance that he touched it all—but in cases of great emergency, the state physician must not be deterred by a sickly, hysterical humanity, from probing the wound of his patient—he must not be withheld by a fastidious and mistaken humanity from representing his true situation to his friends, or even to the sick man himself, where the occasion called for it. What was the situation of the slave holding states? During the war of the revolution, so fixed were their habits of subordination, that while the whole country was overrun by the enemy, who invited them to desert, no fear was ever entertained of an insurrection of the slaves.—During a war of seven years, with our country in possession of the enemy, no such danger was ever apprehended. But should we therefore be unobservant spectators of the progress of society within the last twenty years—of the silent but powerful change wrought by time and chance upon its composition and temper? When the fountains of the great deep of abomination were broken up, even the poor slaves had not escaped the general deluge. The French revolution had polluted even them. Nay, there had not been wanting men in that house, witness their legislative legends, the butcher who once held a seat there, to preach upon that floor these imprescriptible rights to a crowded audience of blacks in the galleries—teaching them that they are equal to their masters; in other words, advising them to cut their throats. Similar doctrines were disseminated by pedlars from New England and elsewhere throughout the southern country—and masters had been found so infatuated, as by their lives, and conversation, by a general contempt of order, morality and religion, unthinkingly to cherish those seeds of self destruction to them and their families. What was the consequence? Within the last ten years, repeated alarms of insurrection among the slaves—some of them awful indeed. From the spreading of this infernal doctrine, the whole southern country had been

thrown into a state of insecurity. Men dead to the operation of moral causes, had taken away from the poor slave his habits of loyalty and obedience to his master, which lightened his servitude by a double operation; beguiling his own cares, and disarming his masters suspicion's and severity; and now, like true empirics in politics, you are called upon to trust to the mere physical strength of the fetter which holds him in bondage. You have deprived him of all moral restraint, you have tempted him to eat of the tree of knowledge, just enough to perfect him in wickedness; you have opened his eyes to his nakedness; you have armed his nature against the hand that has fed, that has clothed him, that has cherished him in sickness; that hand, which before he became a pupil of your school he had been accustomed to press with respectful affection. You have done all this—and then shew him the gibbet and the wheel, as incentives to a sullen, repugnant obedience. God forbid, sir, that the southern states should ever see an enemy on their shores, with these infernal principles of French fraternity in the van. While talking of taking Canada, some of us were shuddering for our own safety at home. He spoke from facts, when he said that the night bell never tolled for fire in Richmond that the mother did not hug the infant more closely to her bosom. He had been a witness of some of the alarms in the capital of Virginia.

How had we shewn our sympathy with the patriots of Spain, or with her American provinces? By seizing on one of them, the claim to which we had formerly respected, as soon as the parent country was embroiled at home. Was it thus we yielded them assistance against the arch fiend, who is grasping at the sceptre of the civilized world. The object of France is as much Spanish America as old Spain herself. Much as he hated a standing army he could almost find it in his heart to vote one, could it be sent to the assistance of the Spanish patriots.

Mr. Randolph then proceeded to notice the unjust and illiberal imputation of *British attachments*, against certain characters in this country, some times insinuated in that house, but openly avowed out of it. Against whom were these charges brought? Against men who in the war of the revolution were in the councils of the nation, or fighting the battles of your country. And by whom were they made? By run-aways, chiefly from the *British dominions*, since the breaking out of the French troubles. He indignantly said—it is insufferable. It cannot be borne. It must and ought, with severity, to be put down in this house—and out of it to meet the *lie direct*. We have no fellow feeling for the suffering and oppressed Spaniards! Yet even them we do not repudiate. Strange that we should have no objection to any other people or government, civilized or savage in the whole world.—The great autocrat of all the Russians receives the homage of our high consideration. The dey of Algiers and his divan of pirates are very civil, good sort of people with whom we find no difficulty in maintaining the relations of peace and amity—"Turks, Jews and Infidels," *McIntosh*, or the *Little Turtle*; barbarians and savages of every clime and color, are welcome to our arms. With chiefs of banditti, negro or mulatto; we can treat and can trade. Name, however, but England, and all our antipathies are up in arms against her. Against whom? Against those whose blood runs in our own veins; in common with whom we can claim Shakespeare, and Newton, and Chatham for our countrymen: whose form of government is the

freest on earth, our own only excepted; from whom every valuable principle of our own institutions have been borrowed—representation—jury trial—voting the supplies—writs of habeas corpus—our whole civil and criminal jurisprudence—against our *fellow protestants* identified in blood, in language, in religion with ourselves. In what school did the worthies of our land, the Washingtons, Henrys, Hancocks, Franklins, Rutleges of America, learn those principles of civil liberty which were so nobly asserted by their wisdom and valor? And American resistance to British usurpation had not been more warmly cherished by these great men and their compatriots; not more by Washington, Hancock and Henry, than by Chatham and his illustrious associates in the British parliament. It ought to be remembered, too, that the heart of the *English people* was with us. It was a selfish and corrupt ministry, and their servile tools, to whom we were not more opposed than they were. He trusted that none such might ever exist among us us—for *tools* will never be wanted to subserve the purposes, however ruinous or wicked, of kings and ministers of state.

He acknowledged the influence of a Shakespeare and a Milton upon his imagination, of a Locke upon his understanding, of a Sidney upon his political principles, of a Chatham upon qualities, which, would to God! he possessed in common with that illustrious man! of a Tillotson, a Sherlock and a Proteus, upon his religion. This was a British influence which he could never shake off. He allowed much to the just and honest prejudices growing out of the revolution. But by whom, had they been suppressed when they ran encounter to the interest of his country? By Washington. By whom would you listen to them, are they most keenly felt? By felons escaped from the jails of Paris, Newgate and Kilmainham, since the breaking out of the French revolution—who, in this abused and insulted country, have set up for political teachers, and whose disciples give no other proof of their progress in republicanism, except a blind devotion to the most ruthless military despotism that the world ever saw. These are the patriots who scruple not to brand with the epithet of tory, the men (looking towards the seat of col. Stuart) by whose blood your liberties have been cemented. These are they, who hold in such keen remembrance, the outrages of the British armies, from which many of them were deserters. Ask these self styled patriots where they were during the American war for they are for the most, old enough to have borne arms) and you strike them dumb—their lips are clowed in eternal silence. If it were allowable to entertain partialities, every consideration of blood, language, religion and interest would incline us towards England; and yet, shall they be alone extended to France and her ruler, whom we are bound to believe a chastening God suffers as the scourge of a guilty world! On all other nations he tramples—he holds them in contempt—England alone he hates; he would, but he cannot despise her—fear cannot despise; and shall we disparage our ancestors? shall we bastardize ourselves by placing them even below the brigands of St. Domingo? with whom Mr. Adams had negotiated a sort of treaty, for which he ought to have been and would have been impeached if the people had not previously passed sentence of disqualification for their service upon him. This antipathy to all that is English, must be French.

But the outrages and injuries of England—Bred up in the principles of the revolution, he could never

palliate, much less defend them. He well remembered flying with his mother and her newborn child from Arnold and Philips—and they had been driven by Tarleton and other British pandours from pillar to post, while her husband was fighting the battles of his country. The impression was indelible on his memory—and yet, (like his worthy old neighbor, who added seven bucks shot to every cartridge at the battle of Guilford and drew a fiesight at his man) he must be content to be called a tory by a patriot of the last importation. Let us not get rid of one evil (supposing it possible) at the expense of a greater—*malutis malandus*, suppose France in possession of the British naval power—and to her the trident must pass should England be unable to wield it—what would be your condition? What would be the situation of your seaports and their seafaring inhabitants? Ask Hamburg—Lubeck?—Ask Savannah? What! sir, when their privateers are sent up in our harbors by the British bulldogs, when they receive at our hands every rite of hospitality, from which their enemy is excluded—when they capture within our own waters, interdicted to British armed ships, American vessels; when such is their deportment towards you, under such circumstances, what could you expect if they were the uncontrolled lords of the ocean? Had those privateers at Savannah borne British commissions—or had your shipments of cotton, tobacco, ashes, and what not, to London and Liverpool been confiscated, and the process poured into the English exchequer—my life upon it! you would never have listened to any miserable wire-drawn distinctions between “orders and decrees affecting our neutral rights,” and “municipal decrees,” confiscating in mass your whole property. You would have had instant war! The whole land would have blazed out in war.

And shall republicans become the instruments of him who had effaced the title of Attila to the “scourge of God!” Yet, even Attali, in the falling fortunes of civilization, had, no doubt, his advocates, his tools, his minions, his parasites in the very countries that he overran—sons of that soil whereon his horse had trod; where grass could never after grow. If perfectly fresh, Mr. Randolph said, (instead of being as he was—his memory clouded, his intellect stupified, his strength and spirits exhausted) he could not give utterance to that strong detestation which he felt towards (above all other works of the creation) such characters as Zingis, Tamerlane, Kouli Kan or Bonaparte. His instincts involuntarily revolted at their bare idea—Malefactors of the human race, who ground down man to a mere machine of their impious and bloody ambition. Yet under all the accumulated wrongs and insults and robberies of the last of these chieftains, are we not in point of fact about to become a party to his views, a partner in his wars?

But before this miserable force of 10,000 men was raised to take Canada, he begged them to look at the state of defence at home—to count the cost of the enterprise before it was set on foot, not when it might be too late; when the best blood of the country should be spilt, and nought but empty coffers left to pay the cost. Are the bounty lands to be given in Canada? It might lessen his repugnance to that part of the system, to granting these lands, not to these miserable wretches who sell themselves to slavery for a few dollars and a glass of gin, but in fact to the clerks in our offices, some of whom, with an income of 1500 or 2000 dollars lived at the

[See No. 18, for continuation.]