we were situated in our foreign relations, and although he professed to know as little about them as any other member on that floor.

As to the argument used by a gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. Lyon) that it was politic and expedient to pass the resolution before us in order to prevent misrepresentations of our conduct and our views, and that it would therefore be as he expressed it "an economy of lies."—Mr. B. would only remark that the crops of that commodity which were every day springing up around them and in every quarter of the country were so vastly beyond what was necessary for their ordinary consumption, that it would be a desirable object to discourage them if they could do it effectually; but that they sprang from such a great variety of sources, & branched out into such innumerable ramifications, that the attempt was fruitless and in vain; and to cut off one root of the evil, even if it was in our power to do it, would be of very little consequence, while a thousand others remained and would be daily springing up, so long as a disposition for misrepresentation and calumny prevailed in the country. He therefore hoped that if that gentleman had no better reasons than that for voting in favor of the resolution before the House, that he would upon more serious consideration relinquish it.

Mr. Quincy said that the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Dawson) and his colleague (Mr. Bacon) called for confidence not only in what the President does, but in what he thinks. The latter gentleman observed Mr. Q. says that if we neglect the doing of an act because we were not informed of the necessity for it, the omission rests with the President of the United States. But we ourselves are now called upon to act. Great duties are required of us. What are they? To raise an army of 12 or 15,000 men. We ask for information, to know what number are necessary, and where our exposed points are. I have no objection to give all the force which may be requisite for the public good; but I wish to know what particular points require force, and whether this force is to the extent which it becomes our duty to give.

The House now adjourned—53 to 52.

On the next day this business being called up the House refused to consider it, 70 to 27.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20.

The bill in addition to the act supplementary to the act laying an embargo being under consideration, and

Mr. Bacon having moved that the bill be re-committed to the committee of Commerce and Manufactures,

Mr. Gardenier made a lively representation of the sufferings of the country and the privations of individuals in consequence of the embargo law. Supposing that not to be sufficiently binding or preventative of all intercourse they had passed a second bill on the subject and were now going on with a third forging of fetters on the commerce of the country. He represented the House as carried on by an unseen hand—carrying into effect a complete non-intercourse law under color of embargo. He thought he should ill do his duty to his constituents if he did not protest against this species of legislation, and oppose the bill. His principal objection to this bill went to the fourth section prohibiting exportation of produce by land or in any manner whatever. Here was a prohibition to land communication in a bill amendatory to a law laying an embargo on ships and vessels. This was going even further than was recommended by the message of the President of the United States which produced the embargo. The minority on that question to their eternal honor had opposed the destruction of the country, had set day and night, and day and night again before they would consent to this measure; but not content with obtaining this, the House were now, by a sort of magic influence, aiding each other to rivet closer the chains which bound them down.

This bill contemplated a measure essentially different from the original embargo law; it was a non-intercourse bill. This measure was indeed at first called an embargo; but it would be found that it was a sly and cunning deception, a prelude to a complete non-intercourse. Mr. G. asked if the nation was prepared for this? If they were determined to pass the bill, call it by its proper name, call it a non-intercourse law. If they were determined thus to take part with the Gallic Emperor, thus to forge chains to bind them to the triumphal car of Napoleon—[Mr. G. was here called to order by several gentleman. Mr. Montgomery hoped that he would be permitted to go on that his sentiments might be known. The Speaker declared him to be out of order.]

Mr. G. said as gentlemen appeared unwilling to hear a little more of what seemed to vex them, he would observe that the President had professed his intention to be merely that the nation should retire within itself. This bill then was not only in direct hostility to the interests of the country, but what is worse, in direct hostility to the President's professed wish, which appeared to be merely that our vessels and seamen should be retained in our harbors. Instead of these repeated attempts to fetter the country more completely, and thus putting ingenuity to the rack to stiffen commerce, he should have wished that since our ships were to be kept in their harbors, as much commerce could be enjoyed by the citizens of the country as could, at the same time that our vessels were kept in port. But instead of this, they had been going on to make it worse and worse. Suppose the people of Vermont traded with the people of Canada, or those of Georgia with their neighbors in Florida. Why should they not? Why not permit some of their produce to find a vent? It seemed to be the intention of the House that there should be no corner of the country which this thing should not reach. Gentlemen seemed at least to have a method in their madness. This restriction after restriction might be for the good of their country; but if it was he could not see it. He begged this august body, the honorable Representatives of the nation to sheath the flaming sword, to give up the idea of sacrificing the best interests of the country to insure a complete non-intercourse; he adjured them by their suffering country to stop. It could not come to good.

The great objects contemplated by the President, said he, are completely answered. Let us leave a little opening for the exertion of enterprizing men. Bring not distress on every body. I doubt very much whether our experience hitherto is calculated to impress us with the good resulting from the embargo itself. We were told it was necessary that we should retain our ships and vessels within our own ports to preserve them from capture; but hitherto we have seen that our ships and vessels might have navigated the seas with perfect safety. Being a thing of experiment, was it not enough when we passed the embargo law, to have secured its effectual operation? Was it not enough to have lain by, and seen what would be its effect? If good, it would have produced sufficient effect to have satisfied the most zealous patriot; if bad it is already too strong. I hope therefore repressing many observations which I feel a desire to make, that this bill will not pass. I appeal to the House, I entreat them to believe me when I say that I have no view nor any object but the good of my country, that my feelings are the same with theirs, to look candidly and see whether it is necessary to extend further this measure. I ask whether it is essential as a preparatory step to that state of war into which we may be hurried? In the anticipation of any other event than this can the bill be justified? If it cannot on that ground be justified, why should we go on increasing this evil to its utmost point of perfection, without knowing what is the object of all this unnecessary legislation on the subject. It is time to stop; we have embargo enough already. Leave a little circulation in the political body; do not stagnate every thing; at least leave sufficient to enable the country to support the shock. If it be true, that we must make all suffer as much as we can from this embargo, there may be some consistency in this bill. I wish gentlemen would tell me instead of bursting out in this way, instead of bolting out upon me while I am speaking—I implore gentlemen to enlighten my understanding. Do tell me how this measure is to make us better prepared for war—how this distress on every creeping thing in the country is to enable the country to make a great effort in the day of trial. If gentlemen can do this I might yield my assent to what I conceive to be a most pernicious measure. More than this I protest against it, because there is no end to it. No sooner is a little hole, no larger than a wheat straw, discovered than the whole energies of the government are ready to stop it up, while the produce of the farmer is rotting on their hands. We tell them you shall not travel with it at all; you shall not enrich your individuals. I cannot understand it. I know it is wrong, substantially pernicious; but I am at a loss, astonished and amazed at the object of all this. I am afraid there is something in this which will not bear the light—some unseen hand in it, unseen, because it would be dangerous to discover it. The Representatives of the people alone can snatch the nation from the course which it is made to march. We have gone on in this way too long.—Not only in this measure, but in every measure, darkness, secrecy, and impenetrable mystery overshadow us. We are mere automatons—mere moving figures, not set in motion by an impulse of our own, but by an extraneous motion. We are not permitted to know what is the state of the nation. We know nothing about it; but we are told what we are to do, and the council of five hundred vote it. I want to know why we are forced along: I want to be relieved from this cloud of political darkness, to know how we are set in motion, and where we are going. I wish to be dealt fairly with; and when the time comes at which we shall be permitted to know why we are called upon to act, we will then support the government and the interests of this country with a zeal and fervor not to be exceeded by any. We love our country, and would support it with the last drop of our blood. And abused as we have been by our country, to her we would cling to the last moment; but we have no idea of being kept in the dark and then villified because we oppose measures, the object of which we do not know, but are called upon to submit, to believe. These things won't do in this country; every portion of it should be enlightened. The people ought to be permitted to know what is the state of the public affairs, and from what impulse we act.

Mr. Bacon. I hope the House will do me the justice to believe that there was no concurrence of views or unity of design in the simple motion which I had the honor to submit to the House for the commitment of the present bill, & the most extraordinary rhapsody of "melancholy madness," (for I can call it by no other name) which we have just heard from the gentleman from New York. In order however to prevent any more of those undue advantages being taken to insult the House, by the means of that motion, and in order that I may not be deemed accessory to any more of those effusions of the pride, which the gentleman says he cherishes, in relation to his public character and his conduct on this occasion, (and for which, if he does in reality entertain them, I most sincerely pity him) I rise to withdraw the motion which I had submitted for a very different purpose than that for which it has been improved. If that gentleman or his friends are ambitious that he should have any further opportunity for displaying himself in that way before the public, either he or they are welcome to renew it. I wash my hands of any further participation in it.

Mr. D. R. Williams. I do renew the motion; and I hope there is yet sobriety enough in the House, not to suffer themselves to be driven into an improper measure by any intemperance which any member may have displayed. Mr. W. then gave some reasons why the bill should be recommitted; it had been so repeatedly and variously amended that it could not be understood. As a further reason for commitment, he said that the chairman of the committee himself had offered a proviso, and upon a reconsideration of it had found it had not the operation he intended.

Mr. Dana said although not partial to the measure of laying an embargo he should endeavor to legislate effectually, to propose amendments or to object to them to any bill whatever which should be necessary to carry into effect the general object. Since an embargo had been laid he was willing to render it effectual and equalize its operation. He then gave some reasons why the bill should be recommitted.

Mr. Rhea (Ten.) moved to adjourn—Negatived, 55 to 25.

Mr. Livermore said he had seconded the motion for recommitment because he thought the bill required revision. There had been exceptions taken to several parts of it; were gentlemen ready to go into a discussion of them at this late hour and this late day in the week? He thought not, and for this reason wished them to be examined by the committee.

Mr. J. Montgomery. Now, at this late hour charges of a very serious nature against the House have been made on this floor by a gentleman from N. York. Not on this day are they made for the first time; they have been sent abroad in the public prints. It is important to know how those charges originated. At this late hour they cannot be repelled. Let us pursue this course on this awful business; let the question be carried over; let the House now adjourn. At our next meeting let us take up, and if those charges can be proven, if we are indeed so abandoned, so profligate, so destitute of patriotism, so dead to every thing which concerns the interest of our country, let us be stamped with infamy and sent home to our constituents. The crisis is serious and calls for the attentive deliberation of the House. Let the gentleman from N. York establish his charges; if he does so, I for one will say those persons under this secret influence must be immediately expelled the House, if he does not, some other course may be taken with relation to that gentleman.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 22.

The House having resumed the consideration of the bill amendatory of the embargo law and the motion for recommitment being yet before the House,

Mr. Johnson observed that it had been late in the day on Saturday when a gentleman from New-York in giving some of his reasons why this bill should be committed had made use of observations which he had at that time wished to repel, that he hoped he should be excused a few moments this morning in expressing to the House his sentiments of the course of that discussion, and what should always be his conduct so long as he held a seat in the councils of his country.

I presume, said he, that the rules which govern this House are reciprocal; and though I cannot feel myself justified in making an attack on any member without reasons by which to substantiate charges which I may make against them, yet I will abandon my seat at that moment in which I am not permitted to repel any attacks made on the House in which I am in common with the rest included. I represent a portion of the citizens of the United States. Before they sent me here they knew my sentiments; I had not concealed them. I have since I have been here on all occasions voted from a sense of duty, and upon evidence derived from sources accessible to all. I am a friend to liberal discussion and freedom of debate; but I am an enemy to insinuations unfounded and attacks unprovoked. I know that in the ardor of debate expressions may have escaped the lips of myself or any gentleman; I may have been betrayed into an hurried expression, in which perhaps upon retrospection I might not feel myself justified but from the ardor of debate. But a direct charge against any members on this floor, tending to put them in a degraded and infamous view is contrary to honorable conduct and cannot be excused, much less can it be justified. I have differed in opinion with gentlemen on this floor; and notwithstanding this difference I respect them individually, so far as I am acquainted with them and so far as they have treated me with that politeness due from one gentleman to another. I should consider myself as derogating from the dignity of a Representative, were I to level a reflection against any member because he differed from me in political sentiment. But what expressions have we heard on a subject on which they were not applicable, when every one of all parties seemed to join to render the embargo as effectual as a national measure should be. To this House and to those who vote for the measure, have been applied the observations, that an invisible hand guided us; that we were told what was wanting and that the council of five hunderd voted it; that we are governed by foreign influence; that our steps are marked by folly and madness; that we are forging chains to bind us to the triumphal car of the French Emperor; that we are mere automatons, that we wait for the word of command and we obey. Expressions of this kind I never expected to hear on this floor. Such expressions I never expected to hear from the Representative of a free people; and I pronounce them derogatory to the republican character and highly reprehensible. If by such expressions the gentleman means to charge me, or if any man shall say that I am governed by any other impulse, than duty, or influenced by any other motives than my own, I say that I consider it a base and unprincipled calumny. And what I have said I am glad that I did not say till this morning, because it is now deliberately done. A member may say what he pleases with respect to himself; that he is governed by such or such influence. But when a charge is made that I am governed by any other impulse than that of an American, and that I am a tool to the will of others, I pronounce it a slander. Under this impression I make this reply. And I would be understood that if any one considers himself injured or the resentment of any gentleman is awakened by any thing which I have said, that I do not consider myself as shielded by the splendid walls which surround me, nor by the privileges of a member. What I have said I shall not retract.

(To be continued.)

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 24.

Mr. Newton from the committee of Commerce and Manufactures, reported the bill to them committed for the amendment of the embargo law, with amendments, which was ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.

Mr. Whitehill presented a resolution of the general assembly of Pennsylvania, instructing their Senators and requesting their Representatives in the Congress of the U. States to use their endeavors to have an amendment made to the constitution of the U. States that the federal judges should hold their offices for a term of years, be removable on the joint address of a majority of both Houses of Congress, and in cases of impeachment, that a majority should be sufficient for conviction.

Mr. Whitehill moved that they be committed to a committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to which had been referred the resolution before the House on the subject.

A considerable discussion on this motion ensued, in the course of which Mr. Whitehill withdrew the motion that the resolutions might lie on the table, and Mr. J. Clay renewed the motion.

The opponents to commitment argued that this was not a resolution of the legislature of the state in form, as it was a distinct resolution of the two houses, the signature of the governor not being affixed to it, and the constitution requiring his signature to every act of the legislature. That this was merely a recommendation to the representatives of that state, and could not be considered an official instruction.

The advocates of reference contended that this was the expression of the opinion of the legislature of that state, as such tendered to the House, and not considered as a legislative act which required the signature of the governor. The reason why this method was adopted was, that it was well known that the signature of the governor of the state would be refused to any resolution in favor of such an amendment to the constitution; and this was the only manner in which the sense of the legislature could have been expressed.

The speakers in favor of commitment were Messrs. Smilie, J. Clay, Marion, Holland, Macon, Southard, and Findley; against it, Messrs. Milner, Kelly, Barker, Dana, Goldsborough, Lyon, Cook and Tallmadge.

The resolution was finally committed, 82 to 23.

Mr. Smilie laid upon the table for consideration the following order as a part of the rules of the House.

If any member in speaking shall violate decorum and order, he shall be called to order by the Speaker, or may be called to order by any member, in either of which cases he shall immediately sit down: the objectionable words may then be repeated by the member calling to order, and if required, be taken down in writing by the clerk and read: Whereupon the member called to order, may either deny, retract, explain or apologize for the words spoken. If the House be satisfied therewith, no farther proceedings shall be had, but if otherwise, he shall be subject to the censure of the House, at its discretion, according to the constitutional provisions in that respect.

Mr. Newton reported a bill to permit John L. Gardner, and John Prince, junior, to dispatch a vessel to Sierra Leone on the coast of Africa, which was twice read and referred to a committee of the whole.

The engrossed bills to extend credit on revenue bonds, and appropriating money for the support of the military establishment, were read the third time and passed.

The House went into a committee of the whole, Mr. Pitkin in the chair, on the bill to remit the duties on the importation of the monument to be erected to the memory of the officers who fell in the attack on Tripoli.

Mr. Milner's motion for adding a section to the bill for covering and railing the monument being under consideration,

A considerable debate arose on it, in which Messrs. Milner, Rowan, Cook, Nicholas, Van Dyke, Campbell and Lyon supported the motion; and Messrs. Macon, Smilie, Stanford, D. R. Williams, Taylor and Alexander opposed it.

When the question on the amendment was at length taken, and negatived, 50 to 42.

The committee then rose and reported the bill without amendment.

The bill being under consideration,

Mr. Milner renewed the amendment which he offered to the bill in committee of the whole.

The House adjourned, near five o'clock.