original honest and independent sale but personal liberty against the attacks of European tyrants. G. B.

[After Farmer, with comments, written in the margin for the more interesting matter, we shall follow.]

CONGRESS.

IN SENATE

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 21.

Mr. Hillhouse, &c.

Talks before the day fixed for the discussion of the following resolution, offered by Mr. Hillhouse,

Resolved That it is expedient that the act, entitled "An act to lay an embargo on all ships and vessels in the ports and harbors of the United States," should be with supplementary thereto, be repealed, and that it ought to be repealed at the present session of the present congress.

The first thing, with the subject,

Mr. *Hillhouse* opened the debate. When the register entered the senate chamber, Mr. Hillhouse had been speaking from a few minutes, and was then discussing the effect which the embargo had had upon France, and the aids to which it was viewed, by her rulers. He intended to have declaration of satisfaction at this measure, conceived from the foundation, that it was not made, obedient, to the wish that it was not a sincere act of hostility—or aversion, as appears from the sequel.

On England it had little effect—for effect, from experience, instructions, it deprecated—a sense of evil, which the could shelter itself elsewhere. The British navies, aware of the hostile France and at peace with England, who might transport goods where in any quantity the planet. Great Britain, he said, was a nation with the whole world before her; her commerce, spread over every sea, and had and access to almost every port and clime. Could America expect to stave this nation? It was a force, an idol to her. As to her West India islands they should be cut off—that the sugar plantations could be converted into corn fields, and would any man say that they would starve—because they could not get sugar for flour? Was this necessary of life without which they could not subsist? Was it, in contrary a great proportion of the American people subsisted on it, but employed in small quantities, or, at nothing but the finest of wheat flour. The moment people understood this they would not get their corn, their supplies from a customary source, they would look, and find, a cheaper quarter, and simple time had been given to them to make arrangement for this purpose. A man, of the first respectability in the town in which Mr. H. lived had been there during this embargo, under the President's commission. What accounts did he bring? Why, that the trade in corn prevailed and the entire activity of people export from Connecticut, and comprizing not only the product of that state, but parts of the neighbouring states, would be entirely defeated; that where they had formerly sent "five hundred hogsheads of meal they would not now find sent for less; and that from South America, where, in the last in times past been filled merely for their hides and tallow, cattle in abundance could be procured. Were these people to be starved out, when they could actually gain cause enough for joy from their ease, than they had formerly done from such Mr. The only consequence would be, and that too severely felt, that they should lose our markets; the embargo thus producing not only present privation and misery, but permanent mischief. The U. S. would have lost the chance of obtaining these supplies, they would have lost their markets, and ten or twenty years would place them on the same footing as before. Mr. H. said the W. Indians would have learnt that they can do without it; that they can raise their cotton, cheaper on their own plantations than we can sell them; and in money which they would pay over to us. Though we might retain a part of this commerce, the loss part would be lost forever. The trade would be worth pursuing; thought this might appear an empty triumph intended by embargo, and which was not expected.

Having considered the article of provisions as important to various parts of the union, Mr. H. said he would now turn to another and a great nation. It had been very triumphantly said that the want of this article would distress the manufactures of Great Britain, produce a clamor among them, and consequently accelerate the repeal of the orders in council. Mr. H. said he would examine this a little, and see if it had the consequences which opened on him at the time of the passage of the act by which the embargo was to be repealed. He had hinted at some of them at that time, but the bill had gone from the Senate before he had of finishing giving no time for examination; once, twice, and a third time in one day, affording no time for the development of all its consequences. This article of cotton was not only by British manufacturers, but also other nations on the continent. Cotton, not being grown in Europe, must be imported by water carriage. This being the case who would now be most likely to be supplied with? Not the continental powers who have no little commerce affoat nor any resources to convey it to them; for the U. States were the only neutral which of this trade in Europe, and now the embargo was laid, she had no chance of getting it except by the precarious navigation made by her privateers. To Great Britain then was left the only resource, and that, and her merchants were the only carriers. Would not these carriers supply their own manufactories? Would they suffer cotton to go elsewhere till they themselves were supplied? American cotton, at the time, was worth 20 cents a pound; for he had seen an account of a whole cargo bought for sixteen cents. The cotton was then exported to Holland, with a good profit. Cotton was also imported from Africa, as well as elsewhere; and this very nation, Great Britain, conceiving that the U. States might be too implicitly as to keep on the embargo, had carried whole cargoes of the best cotton ever seen, to the port of raising cotton for her use. Great Britain had possessions in every climate, in every quarter of the globe, and, if the steady rule, for years, to receive a tribute, from the Spanish provinces, produce a plentiful supply in great quantities. Then, when the British could find American cotton, necessity to such means to procure her, she had then cause to look out for supplies from her colonies, and, in the command of all the cotton on the globe which went to market, could be expected to be supplied by the bidding corn? Mr. H. said no; all the inconvenience which she could feel from our tyranny had already been borne; and O. Britain was nothing in comparison to a party, and, if she had to obtain those supplies which she was wont to get from us, that she might not be in a worse, or a degrading condition of asking concession to enforce us to repeal our own law, and produce an embargo, which, he said, was that we had a weapon which we could wield to her annoyance. Mr. H. wished to show the opinion that we had not experience enough to know that G. Britain was not to be the cause of the repeal of the act of exercise? Let us examine our resources (say he) for if we trust generosity, we shall find that we deceived from them, were they to use us thus. Mr. H. said he was sorry that would stop to them? I hope not; and neither will that nation from England, if we have time to receive from their position, however crooked, G. B. by threats.

Mr. H. proceeding, therefore, instead of operating on those nations which had been violating our rights, was fraught with evils and privations to the people of the U. States. They were the sufferers. And how should he (adopting the monkish plan of scourging ourselves for the sins of others?) He deprecated such a system, tried in experiment and found that it had not produced its expected effect, they would minister as a remedy, and was sufficient sets the objects intended by it, and so having weakened the U. States, and we had not, Mr. H. said, from her supposed dependence on us, or our materials.

Some gentlemen appeared to build up expectations of the efficiency of the embargo in relation to a distinct interesting law. Mr. H. treated this as a little idea. They should not be so much influenced by what they like citizens thit their eyes to danger. Great Britain was not the only continental power, France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, and Italy manufactured more or less, and, if the embargo had effected the exclusive supply of whose manufactures they had heretofore received from Great Britain, he had supposed the carrying trade, we had supplied the deficiency, the navigation of those nations, if, at this moment, we had the want of it could because we stopped the carrying trade. This trade has been cut up, and perhaps it was not a trade which the energies of the nation, if left to itself, would have pursued. Who was there now to supply all these various colonies that used to be supplied by us? Spain then was England's sole mistress of the ocean. Whose products then would G. Britain carry? Would she carry the products of other nations and let her own manufacturers starve? No, and this exclusion from her colonies of other manufactures, and leaving her merchants the sole carriers of the world, produced a greater vent for her manufactures than the whole quantity consumed in the U. States.

This, however, was arguing upon the ground that the U. S. would continue to be neutral, and, consequently, a case of a non-intercourse. Mr. H. said he was young when the old nonintercourse law was made, but he remembered it well, and had then his ideas on the subject. The British army was then at their door, burning their towns and ravaging the country, and at least, as powerful as the British navy now; but British fabrics were received and consumed to almost the extent as before and in spite of prohibition. The armies could not get fresh provisions from Europe, but they got them here by paying high prices in guineas for them than was paid by our government in fraught continental paper money. When the country was in want of clothing and could get it for one-fourth price from the British, what was the consequence? Why all the zealous patriots—for this work to turning and in this long, and meeting in nooks to destroy their neighbor's property because they had not that thing which, at last as they did, which seemed to be coming in fashion now, and, in certain cases, with a great deal more—these patriots, although all intercourse was prohibited, carried on contraband trading. Supplies were home, and manufactures were received from Europe. Nor was there any, that he had placed on this patriotism? A gentleman from Vermont had told the Senate that Vermont would stop all supplies of Vermont would stop all exportation by land, without the assistance of the Navy, or the aid of the Army, artillery, cannon, rifles, and all had not stopped in and ship the British ships, and, if he stopped it on the lakes, they were absolutely at the mercy of the British on the land. And yet the gentleman had supposed their patriotism would effectually stop the trade. Now Mr. H. wished to know how a non-intercourse law was to be executed by us with a coast of 1500 miles, and land frontier, by sea, and joining her by land? Her goods would come through our coasts and land, and, if we should, by the captains, they would be brought in contraband, and then condemned, and fishermen be more scandalized, before they have been a month in the country.

Mr. H. went on at some length to show the impracticability of enforcing non-intercourse, and the demoralizing consequences on our citizens.

He had been said that the embargo should not be raised, because there was no commerce that could save, he said, the idea was absurd, and supposed that gentlemen should introduce this subject and state the grounds on which that France and England could mutually arrest our commerce with each other, and, particularly, the British merchants, who were so nice in their calculations, would not risk their property, and, if they would, they were perfect thermometers by which to calculate the degree of risk in any country. Could they not make calculations on the safe side; and it would be found that no property was lost, sought for, and, in the instances stated, and this was because the instinct of British nation was conducted by cautious merchants. A few barons, seamen individual merchants might lose, but the commerce would not, and lose all. Such men would never be controlled by law or prudent considerations. Mr. H. said he had adopted machines would always regulate the course of trade, and there was no special reason why it should not continue running too great a risk.

How had they done in times past? Laws had been made making it unlawful to trade with the Spanish possessions in S. America, and, yet, we nevertheless carried on a profitable trade there, and not all the vigilance of the navy could prevent it. Now and then a few of our citizens had been caught and imprisoned, but that had not stopped the trade, and, in fact, the power of France and England combined to do it. On this subject Mr. H. said he was sorry to see a report of what was not true. France had issued her decree, saying that no neutral should trade with the colonies of her dependencies. (What had been the result of that decree? It was, that it had not raised insurance five per centum. Had there been no good reason for this? he said it was because the whole combined navy of France was not able to meet a British fleet on the ocean. The navigation of those seas, if, at this moment, could be the want of it could because we stopped the carrying trade. This trade has been cut up, and perhaps it was not a trade which the energies of the nation, if left to itself would have pursued. Who was there now to supply all these various colonies that used to be supplied by us? Spain then was England's sole mistress of the ocean. Whose products then would G. Britain carry? Would she carry the products of other nations and let her own manufacturers starve? No, and this exclusion from her colonies of other manufactures, and leaving her merchants the sole carriers of the world, produced a greater vent for her manufactures than the whole quantity consumed in the U. States.

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