our trade, than we shall the loss of your custom. This, sir, is not submission. It is a firm and manly resistance though not of a hostile nature, and the only measure that could at the time have been adopted consistent with the honor and interest of the nation. We do not pretend to have as many ships of war as Great Britain, to protect our commerce on the ocean; we do not wish to have them; such establishment would be inconsistent with the genius of our government; but we do know that our produce being the necessaries of life, is much more important to her than her gaudy fabrics are to us; that the balance of her trade with us is nearly twenty millions annually in her favor, that we receive of her manufactures annually, about twelve millions sterling, nearly equal to sixty millions of dollars, being about one third of her whole exports; and knowing those facts, we must know, that by a suspension of our commerce with her, she must be loser in proportion to the advantages she usually derived from it. We have a right fairly to conclude that a nation will do what is best for her own interest, and what will most promote the benefit of her people. If Great Britain is blind to, and regardless of the best interests of her people, it is no proof that our measures are not correct, or that they were not the best for this country, that could at the time have been adopted.

It is, however said, sir, that this measure is an abandonment of commerce. I do not profess to have any practical knowledge in commercial matters—but I apprehend it will not be difficult to shew, without much of such knowledge, that this assertion is totally fallacious and unfounded. That on the contrary the measures pursued by government have been taken in support of the commercial rights of this country, and are persevered in to maintain the same unimpaired. What occasioned the passage of the non-importation act? The numerous petitions of your merchants, complaining of aggressions committed on your trade by G. Britain and violations of your neutral rights on the ocean. They alone complained in this case—and they were principally interested. The government attended to their complaints—a stand was made in favor of commerce—a step was taken to maintain and vindicate the mercantile interest of the nation. The measure taken pledged the government at once to support those commercial and neutral rights which we claimed as an independent nation. Was this abandoning commerce? It was not, sir. Again, who were likely to suffer most by the orders of G. Britain and the decrees of France? Certainly the merchants, whose property was exposed to them, almost inevitable. It is true the other classes of society would feel the effects of those foreign aggressions sensibly; but it would only be through the merchants, who would suffer first and most materially. This produced the embargo in order to save the property of your merchants, and maintain unimpaired the commercial rights of the country. In this instance the nation gave another pledge not to suffer those rights to be encroached upon—and hazarded all the consequences of throwing back as it were on the hands of the farmers their produce, to remain dormant, or be sold for very low prices—of having the sources from which their revenue was chiefly derived, in a great degree dried up, rather than see those rights trampled upon and the vital principles of the mercantile interest openly violated—and yet we are told that in all this we are abandoning commerce. It is scarcely possible to believe, that gentlemen who have any tolerable knowledge of the substantial and real interests of commerce in a national point of view can be serious in making those assertions—or if they are, they must be blinded by prejudice or deluded by mistaken views of the subject. What would be the consequences of pursuing your trade under the restrictions imposed upon it by foreign powers? It would be acknowledging the right those powers had to regulate and circumscribe your commerce at pleasure—to cut it up by piece meal, until you were stripped of the whole of it. I say, sir, this would be abandoning commerce, and they must be totally ignorant of the great principles of national commerce, or inimical to them, who wish to pursue this course. Yet, sir, it is the course insisted upon by those who pretend to be the advocates of commerce. They say, although G. Britain has cut off your trade with France and the continent, and France has interdicted your trade to G. Britain, there is still some trade left, which you might enjoy. This would be submitting to the right which G. Britain and France claim, to fix the precise places to which we shall be permitted to go. You agree not to go to France because G. Britain has so required. You do not go to G. Britain because France has so directed—but you go to some of the islands because both have permitted it. This would be submission to both those powers, and that of the meanest kind—and it would also be surrendering at once the vital principles of the great commercial interests of this country. If you relinquish your commerce by piece-meal, as the belligerents choose alternately to interdict it, will it not soon be wholly destroyed? For they have as good a right to cut off our trade with the whole world, as with that part of it from which they have already interdicted it. There can be no difference. The government of this country has considered our commercial rights as forming one whole or aggregate system, which as a free nation we had a right to enjoy—and have determined not to surrender any part of these rights—not to suffer any encroachment upon them—to rally round, and maintain them unimpaired—to enjoy the whole as a free people, or not enjoy them at all. For there is no ground upon which you could surrender any part of those rights that would not equally justify the surrender of the whole. In this view I understand this subject—and those who oppose the present measures, must be considered as willing to surrender a portion of those rights—to submit to foreign aggressions, in order to be permitted to pursue the scanty trade that may be left them at the pleasure of those powers. This ought to be known. The people should be informed that in this way a portion of their best rights is proposed to be surrendered, and probably forever abandoned. I am not, sir, for giving up any portion of our rights—I am not for abandoning commerce—I consider the measures we have adopted a stand made in support of commerce. I am not for retracing our steps; if we must move, I am for advancing. So far as commerce is consistent with the great interests of agriculture, so far I am willing to go in support of it—but when it is attempted to oppress or sacrifice the agricultural interest of the country, in order to extend commerce beyond its natural bounds, or when those two interests come in collision, the one with the other, I shall consider it my duty to support the interest of agriculture in opposition to that of commerce. It may be proper here to remark, that there is not the slightest pretext for the allegation that we are about to pursue a Chinese policy, or that the embargo is to be perpetual. These are the mere chimeras of a feverish imagination, or the alarm-cries of those whose constant endeavor has been to misrepresent in order to mislead the public mind. The committee have presented to the House two alternatives, the one is a continuation of the suspension of commerce for a season, the other is war. If the time has not yet arrived to resort to the last alternative to obtain justice, persevere for a time in the embargo, but if you do, strengthen its ties, and execute its provisions, and do not permit a few of the most corrupt and degenerate individuals in society to enrich themselves at the expence not only of the honest part of the community, but of the dearest and best rights of the nation.

I come now to shew in the third place, that any other course which could have been pursued when the embargo was laid, would be war or submission. If you attempted to trade to those places from which you were prohibited by the edicts of the belligerents, you came in direct collision with them; your vessels were of course captured and condemned, and this must produce war. If you traded to those places only to which you were permitted to go by those edicts, (the only remaining course that could be pursued) it was submission to both those powers. Many of the remarks already made in shewing that the embargo was not submission, are applicable to this point and sufficiently support it; a few additional observations only will be made. Suppose you were to pursue such trade as was left unrestricted by those edicts—what would be its extent, and what its character? You were totally excluded from Europe, as already shewn, except that you might possibly carry your own produce, but that of no other country to Sweden, amounting as already stated only to about fifty-six thousand dollars, and this very doubtful. But suppose you were suffered to go there unmolested, what would—what ought the world to say of your conduct? That you were the submissive, humble slave of Great Britain and France; that you obeyed their edicts, and submitted to trade to the precise country to which they permitted you, and surrendered up all the rest of your commerce at their pleasure. Each of those powers may, with equal justice, prevent you from exercising any other of your rights appertaining to a free people, as to say, that you shall not trade with certain ports or places not under its controul. In going to that precise place to which they permit you, and to no other, you submit to both, and you acknowledge their right to give you laws. Yet this is the only course proposed to be pursued by those gentleman, and it would reduce the nation to a state of foreign vassalage. Gentlemen have said that the West-India Islands are not included in those edicts, and that you might carry on a commerce with them. This trade, sir, falls under all the objections just stated, and would be pursuing as humble a course as trading to Sweden alone. But what is the situation of this trade to the islands? G. Britain does not permit any regular trade with her West India colonies—you are never suffered to go there, except when she is forced by necessity, by scarcity, to open her ports for your produce, and then it is under such restrictions that her own merchants derive the greater part of the benefits from the trade. The British orders according to their general tenor include the other West India islands, but his majesty as a matter of favor is graciously pleased to permit you for the present to carry on your trade with them. This is announced officially to your government by Mr. Erskine, in the same note by which he communicated those orders. There it is stated expressly that his majesty might justly exclude you from all the colonies of France and her allies, but that through favor as a matter of mere grace, your trade to them was left open. He would not press too severely on you at once, lest the spirit of the nation might be roused into indignation, and they should determine to avenge at once those aggressions and insults—(and it is hoped the day of retribution may not be far distant). He chose in order to soften the measure, to suffer this small portion of your trade, not exceeding seven millions of dollars, as shall be shewn hereafter, to be carried on, but under his express permission, which he might withdraw at pleasure. This is the trade which the nation has been told might still be pursued—and these are the terms on which it would be enjoyed. Is there, sir, a soul that warms an American breast so degraded, as to be willing to accept of such a boon upon such conditions? I had supposed there was not? I had supposed that every American would recoil with indignation from such a proposition; but in this I was mistaken. A proposition made by a gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Livermore) during the last session, had for its object expressly to pursue such part of your commerce as Great Britain had assigned you, by her orders, and no more, and to relinquish all she had prohibited.

A gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Key) in a long speech recommended, and strongly advocated the same measure in substance. He told you, your fish would be carried to one market, and your produce to another, to a considerable amount, without being exposed to danger from those edicts; and how did this appear? Because Great Britain had permitted you to go to those places, he would therefore carry on so much commerce as she was pleased to permit, and by which she might conceive herself likely to benefited, and abandon the rest. If his majesty George the III. had an advocate on this floor, whose business it was to carry into effect his orders in council, he could have proposed no measure more effectual for that purpose than this would have been. Nothing could more completely execute those orders, than confining your trade to those ports, and within the precise circle which these orders prescribe. It is acknowledging, what I am told, some British agents and advocates in this country avow, that Great Britain has conquered the ocean, and has therefore a right to regulate commerce upon it as she pleases. We have been told something about pursuing a Chinese policy; but I venture to affirm that this would be the most effectual mode to destroy your foreign commerce, and establish this kind of policy. If you acknowledge the supremacy of Great Britain, the right she has to limit, circumscribe and regulate your commerce, when, and how she pleases, you at once sap the vital principles of foreign commerce, and necessarily lay the foundation for a Chinese policy. If to day she cuts off all your trade except to the West-India islands, in a few days, months, or years, she may on the same principle cut you off from them also. This might probably open the eyes of those who are most deeply interested in commerce; and I cannot help feeling the strongest conviction, that if the merchants, in the eastern states, saw this subject in its true light, they would be among the first to support at every hazard the measures already adopted and proposed. They are deeply interested in preserving unimpaired, foreign commerce in its full extent. In the bold and daring violations of it by those orders and decrees, they must see a fatal blow aimed at its vital principles; which if submitted to may be repeated, and finally complete its total destruction. They are therefore now seriously called upon to determine, whether in order to avoid this catastrophe, and maintain unimpaired the great principles of national commerce, they will not rally round their government, who have put every thing to hazard for this important object, and support, not only the embargo and non-intercourse, so long as the same are thought proper and necessary, but also war with all its calamities, should that be the result. If they do not act thus, through whatever delusion it may be, they will most certainly repent when they are undeceived, for they must and will be convinced, in a short time, that the real objects of those measures, and of the government in adopting them were, and still are, the protection of national commerce; and that the effects of the course proposed by the opposition party would be to sap its very foundations to endanger its existence—to surrender the fairest portions of it to G. Britain, and fritter it away to a mere skeleton, a name without substance. If gentlemen interested in commerce will persevere in this course, let them beware of and be prepared to abide by the consequences.

I come now to shew, as I proposed, in the 4th place, that if you even submitted to carry on the miserable pittance of commerce that was left you, and which could be enjoyed if the embargo had not been laid, it would only amount to a mere trifle, not sufficient to merit any serious notice, and could not be considered as any compensation for national degradation and dishonor. You were shut out from the continent of Europe. I will not mention again your trade to Sweden—she is now a mere speck in the political horizon and scarcely known in the commercial world. The conditions upon which you would obtain permission to trade to any other place on the continent, are too degrading to be passed in review here. I will not go through the odious task, for the purpose of exciting your indignation, of repeating the tribute or tax imposed on your commerce, and even on your own produce in British ports, in order to obtain a licence to carry it elsewhere—I will not rouse indignant feelings, by telling the people of this country, that they may send their cotton to the continent, by carrying it first to G. Britain and there paying a duty of 17 cents per lb. on it and receiving a licence (as a badge of vassalage to George the 3rd) which would certainly procure its condemnation at any port on the continent to which it could go. Nor will I enter into a calculation of the duty to be paid on that portion of your produce consumed in G. Britain after it is forced into her ports; neither shall I pursue the regulations by which you are compelled to take your cotton and other articles out of the warehouses for the purpose of home consumption on payment of duties, unless exported within 15 months after you have been compelled to carry them there by their cruisers; and in case your cotton will not sell for a sufficient price to pay the charges and duties, you are graciously permitted to burn or otherwise destroy it in order to avoid paying duties. These odious impositions need not be announced to the American people, to rouse resentment already sufficiently excited—But in order to shew what trade you could pursue, subject to those humiliating restrictions of the belligerents already mentioned, I have made out, (though with some reluctance, as I do not conceive the question before you to depend on calculations,) a brief statement of your commerce with those countries and places to which you were permitted to go. This statement taken from official documents will present the House with the amount of trade during the last year, ending the 30th Sept. 1807, to the respective countries and places to which we were permitted to go by the orders of G. Britain, and were not prevented from going by the decrees of France.

Interdicted by neither of the belligerents—

Countries.	*Value of Domestic produce exported.*
Turkey, Barbary, Africa, China, South seas, and North-West coast of America	$480,986
Not interdicted by France, and permitted by G. Britain—	
Spanish colonies	2,817,344
French colonies	3,046,763
Dutch East Indies	79,880
	6,424,273
If we should add to these the colonies of Sweden and Portugal, though they would most probably be considered as subject to those edicts, the amount would be	
Colonies of Sweden	416,509
Colonies of Portugal	570,303
	7,411,085
And if to this be added our exports to Sweden herself	56,187
The amount will be	$7,467,272

The whole trade therefore that could be pursued by the special permission of Great Britain, and not interdicted by France, when the embargo was laid, would be less than seven millions and a half of dollars, out of more than one hundred and eight and one-third millions, the amount of your foreign trade for the same year. This, sir, is a correct statement, and cannot be controverted by any authentic documents; and it will shew how fallacious the statements were, which a gentleman from Maryland, (Mr. Key) made at the close of last session, and which were calculated to impose on the public mind. I know, sir, we exported during the period mentioned, to the same countries, foreign produce and manufactures to the amount of about sixteen millions and a half of dollars; but this cannot be included in the commerce we could pursue; because we could not now procure the foreign articles which constituted this branch of our exports, being prohibited from going to those countries where they could be obtained. It is proper here also to remark, that your imports from the same countries are less than your exports, which can be shewn from the most correct information on the subject. But whatever they may have been, they must in such case depend entirely on your exports, as they would depend on the means you had to pay for them. We could not therefore export from those countries more than they received from us, because we would not possess the means to pay for such overplus. This leaves the estimate precisely as already stated, and confines the amount of commerce you could pursue, to the sum before stated of about seven and a half millions, out of 108 and one third millions of dollars, the amount of your lawful commerce; and this paltry, inconsiderable portion of your trade, which would be entirely confined to a few particular states of the union, you are seriously called upon to pursue, at the expense of, and to accept as the price for, national degradation and dishonor; and it has also been used as the stalking horse to divert the public mind, (which would always decide correctly, if properly informed) from the real situation in which their commerce was placed by the conduct of the belligerent powers. And we are now told, because we did not sell our honor, our independence, our birth-right, for this petty morsel of (commercial) bread, we have brought the nation to the verge of ruin.

But some gentlemen have said there are countries which have not passed any orders or decrees violating your lawful commerce, you ought to force a trade with them, notwithstanding, you are prohibited from going to them by the edicts of the belligerents. This is the only other proposition suggested of opening a trade, and at first view, possesses some plausibility. The objections to this course, however, are insurmountable. It is not pretended such trade could be pursued without arming. If you arm your merchant vessels, with authority to capture—it is immediate war with the belligerents. If you arm them only for defence, you expose them to almost certain destruction, without the chance to re-imburse the loss by retaliating on their enemies. For they would not generally be attacked except by vessels of superior force, to which their resistance would be ineffectual—and they would not be authorised to attack in their turn, and by way of retaliation, vessels of inferior force. This would therefore lead directly to a war of depredation on your own commerce, in which it would be exposed to inevitable ruin, and in which your merchants, would certainly have every thing to lose and nothing to gain.

(Mr. Campbell's Speech to be continued.)

AN ACT,

To empower the Executive to purchase arms for the use of the militia of this state, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

BE *it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland,* That for the space of five years after the first day of November next, there shall be annually provided, at the expense of this state, twelve hundred good and serviceable muskets or firelocks, with a bayonet and cartridge box to each, also two six pound iron field pieces complete, also fifty brace of horsemen's pistols, and one hundred horsemen's swords complete, for the use of the militia when occasion may require, to be deposited at such suitable and convenient places as the Executive may direct.

2. *And be it enacted,* That the Executive are hereby authorised and required to contract for and procure the aforesaid arms and accoutrements for the use of this state, and to publish for the information of the mechanics of the state of Maryland, and others willing to contract for the whole, or any part thereof; that at the time of contracting they must exhibit a pattern of the particular kind of arms or accoutrements designed to be contracted for.

3. *And be it enacted,* That the muskets or firelocks to be procured under the provision of this act, shall be of the same caliber and dimensions as those described by the act of Congress, and now made for the use of the United States.

4. *And be it enacted,* That in order to effectuate the objects of this act, the Executive are hereby authorised to draw from the treasury of the western shore annually for the space of five years after the first day of November next, any sum not exceeding fifteen thousand dollars, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Jan. 6—3t.

PROPOSALS

WILL be received by the President and Directors of the Washington Bridge Company, on or before the 14th inst. for finishing the RAILING of the BRIDGE by the running foot. A particular description will be given on application to the superintendant, Mr. Mills or his foreman Mr. [illegible]

SAWYERS wanted to saw [illegible] TIMBER by the foot—Apply as above.

By order of the President and Directors,

SAM. ELLIOT, Sec'ry.

January 6—

THIS IS TO GIVE NOTICE,

THAT I intend to petition to the next County Court of Charles, for the benefit of an act of insolvency.

GEORGE BOARMAN.

Charles County, Jan. 6—3wks