

her own occasions. "Millions for our defence, but not a cent for tribute."

4th Reason.—I cannot unite in supporting this administration, with Mr. Madison at its head, because he has always shown a settled & determined spirit of hostility against the enterprise, the commerce, the rights, and above all, the patriots of New-England. In confirmation of this, with mingled sensations of pride and disdain, I descend to notice the mean, dastardly connexion between this government and one John Henry. Where your president gave to that scoundrel and traitor 50,000 dollars, of the people's money, to purchase up as he fondly hoped, calumny and detraction against the first patriots in New-England. That he was disappointed in his malicious and revengeful hopes and designs, was not his fault. The traitor received his fifty thousand dollars from the hand of your president, who sent him in one of our public ships, out of the reach of justice, even to the imperial Buonaparte. Sir, this impotent attempt by your president to sully the character of N. England, will never be forgotten: it will be forgiven, for our holy religion commands us to forgive our greatest enemies, persecutors and slanderers. Thank God, New-England is covered with the Heavenly canopy of integrity and patriotism; the arrows of malice will fall harmless at her feet.

But this government have since 1805 constantly manifested a deadly hostility against the commerce and rights of New-England, by their embargoes, non-intercourse and non-impairments; some of the provisions of which were infinitely more unjust and oppressive than the writs of assistance, so justly complained of at the commencement of the revolution. These writs gave to the custom-house officers and the deputies, powers to enter any private houses, &c. "that they would say they suspected." Now, sir, some of the provisions of your laws authorized them to do this without saying any thing—without writ or right. I have before asserted on this floor, & now, after the most deliberate consideration, I repeat, that this administration have brought upon this nation a ray of the evils which produced the revolution; that they are in fact, adding over the tyranny of Britain against New-England with increased aggravation. What, let me ask, was a Boston Port Bill, compared with a general Embargo? What, a duty on a few unimportant articles compared with the taxes and oppressions which this administration have brought upon this people? As much as I detest and abhor the tyranny and oppression of a Grafton, a North or a Bute, and their hireling associates in different ministries in England, against this country, I would not do them the injustice to compare them with a set of men and measures, which would disgrace them. If a simple King of England, by his corrupt servants, chastised New-England with whips—this administration have chastised her with scorpions. A repetition of the same grievances will remind us of the remedy. I very well know the apology that is offered by gentlemen on this occasion:—That our situation is changed—that New-England is represented on this floor, but was not in parliament. Is she indeed represented here? What influence has New-England in this Congress, more than she had in the Parliament of England? She has members here to state her grievances, and demand redress; she had friends there, able and distinguished, to do the same. Has the interest of New-England been at all consulted for these eight years past? Have her grievances been redressed?—Let her impoverished ruined citizens, answer the question. We complain of grievances—and we are told that we are represented here; we complain of the oppression of the administration, and are told, they are the choice of the people. The people do not choose rulers to oppress and tyrannize. The moment they thus act, they forfeit their character of rulers, and ought to be deposed. What, sir, shall we be told that a hereditary sovereign in Europe may for his crimes, be deposed and brought to the block—while a petty tyrant, of four years standing, "strong enough to oppress, but unable to protect," shall, in this free country, live out his political life.—No, sir—the same crime which would bring one to the block, ought to bring the other to the block.

What influence, I repeat, has New-Eng. and in the administration, or in congress—When the whole of

the administration, and a majority of both houses of congress, live south & west of the Delaware? Will you appeal to their measures as the evidence? In them we see nothing but ruin and oppression. Will honorable gentlemen come nearer home, and examine the journals of this house: here we see a rank majority ranged against New-England. Look at your committees; even the least important: Do you find a majority of New-England interest, or of federal republicans (to speak plain) in either.—No, sir, New-England influence is carefully excluded from the walls of this house and was excluded from the palace (before Mr. Madison permitted the enemy to burn it) least the pure slave-spirit should be contaminated. Yes, sir, I consider this administration as alien to us. So much so, that New-England would be justified in declaring them like all foreign nations, "enemies in war, in peace friends."—The states of New-England, sir, can never be satellites in any system; but, like primary planets, they will revolve round the sun of federalism, until the Almighty hand which created, shall dash them from their orbits forever.

To show the wonderful consistency of the men in power, they have not only acted over the tyranny of England against this country, but are now actually acting over, what, in times past, they affected to call the tyranny and oppression of Washington, and Adams; in excise laws and internal taxes. It honorable gentlemen acted on principle in their opposition then, they are unprincipled now—if they did not act on principle, then they were and have continued unprincipled. If it be retorted that we ought to support these laws, we answer that we do not deem them necessary, that our support is not necessary to their passage. Sir, allegiance and protection are reciprocal—the people of the U. States organized the constitution, among other important provisions, "to provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessing of liberty to ourselves and our posterity. This defence, this welfare, and these blessings, it was the duty of this administration to provide for the people. How they have done it, our defenceless country will show. Nay, sir, we have ocular demonstration within sight of this hall—Nay, more; this hall itself is demonstration; driven as we have been by the enemy, and the neglect of the government, from our splendid capitol, to the places of mere patent machines.—And that we have the honor even of occupying the places of patent machines, we owe to the charity of the enemy, heaped by Dr. Thornton, of the patent office, that he might have where to bestow these models of the arts and of taste. Yes, sir, every part of your city exhibits vestiges of the enemy, and of the criminal neglect of your government. Yes, sir, the proud banner of that enemy has waved over the capitol, and all your public edifices are in ruins. Add to this—your government, with the president at their head, pale with fear, flying before a few thousand British troops. The patriot turns from this scene with horror and disgust. Is this the man whom the people have chosen to go in and out before them, and to lead their armies to battle and to conquest? Is this the kind of protection which he affords to this bleeding country? From such protection and such protectors, O Lord deliver my country!

It may be demanded of me, if I am willing to abandon our navy and army, without pay without reward, far, very far from it. My sentiments on this subject cannot be unknown or mistaken. The steady bravery and perfect discipline of our gallant seamen, evinced by their repeated and splendid victories, the heroism lately displayed by some of our generals, their officers and troops, in many sanguinary and successful battles, flash like lightning upon the surrounding darkness, rendering it more palpable.

New-England will not give up the ship, nor the seamen either! She is prepared to swim or sink, conquer or die with them. But, sir, this administration has not the ability to reward them; they have lost the confidence of the people and cannot command the resources of the nation. It will devolve on the first, fast friends of the navy to reward our brave tars, when the "troubled night" of this administration departs.—

"And the star of peace return." In relation to the subject more immediately before the committee, as to the increase of taxes, for the

reasons which I have given, and as to the scheme of a national bank, reported by Mr. Dallas, for reasons which I may assign when that subject shall be taken up—I shall vote against the whole. In relation to the detail of this business, as it respects a proper selection of articles or of equalizing them through the states, I shall endeavour correctly to do my duty.

Before I conclude, sir, there is one subject upon which I wish correctly to be understood, and upon which some of the gentlemen on this side of the house have been misrepresented. I allude to the motives and views of the gentlemen in and out of this house, opposed to the administration of Mr. Madison.—Could I for a moment believe that a base and corrupt desire of office, or emolument, or power, influenced them, that moment would I abandon them, and esteem them as base as those they oppose. Could I believe, that any other desire actuated them, than to relieve the people from distress and our country from ruin—I should consider them unworthy the name of patriots, unworthy the name of Americans, unworthy the air and light of Heaven. Let honorable gentlemen consult their own breasts upon this subject, they will find the charge of corrupt motive impossible. Do they find the taste of power so sweet, the couch so soft that they are to be courted for enjoyment, and not the elevated object of rendering happy a whole people? If they have discharged their duty towards their country and to their God, they will have no difficulty in answering the question.

But union it seems is now the watchword. Does the administration desire it? Do the majority in this house desire it? Have either made the least advance or concession for it? Tho' urged by the nation, has Mr. Madison called round him the wise and the good without distinction of party? Let his cabinet answer. One important office vacant, and a continual fluctuation and succession of officers, at a time when he ought to have the constant and best advice of the wisest men of the nation. Another office sold in fee to a foreigner by birth, or held by him for another naturalized citizen, now abroad on an important mission, and who qualified himself in the school of insurrection for his distinction. Is our treasury always to be a prey to foreigners & traitors—Henry and others? The American people will correct this procedure, or not complain of an empty treasury. But what advances have the majority in this house made towards a coalition? Do they not upon every important subject of debate, unsheath the sword of contention and cast away the scabbard? And how were even the advances of the honorable gentleman from New-York received yesterday? With coldness—No, sir, they were rejected with contempt. Conscious of their strength, they do not want our assistance; they fear that some on this side of the house may stand between them and office. They do not want our assistance to pass their laws, and God forbid they should have it, for some of these laws are impressed the image and superscription of oppression. I will not by my vote give currency to such base coin.

If, sir, this administration will abandon the evil course and evil advice which they have pursued so long, will return to a sense of duty to themselves, and justice to their country. If Mr. Madison will cease to hearken to evil counsellors, and will give up his inefficient and corrupt agents; will form a cabinet of the most experienced and wisest statesmen of our country, and will surrender the conduct of affairs wholly to them—I will be among the first with heart and hand to support them. Until Mr. Madison does this, I can only advise him in the words of an experienced statesman, "to retract his odious exertions of authority; and to remember that the first step towards making New-England contribute to his wants, is to reconcile her to his government."

LOAN. Mr. Eppes from the Committee of Ways and Means reported a bill to authorize a loan—(The bill is in blank)—It was twice read and committed and made the order of the day for Tuesday next.

HONOR TO THE BRAVE. Mr. Troup from the Military Committee, reported the disagreement of that Committee to the amendments of the Senate concerning honorary rewards on Generals Brown,

Scott, Miller, Gaines, Porter, Ripley, &c. The report was concurred in by the House and the amendments returned to the Senate for reconsideration.

WAYS AND MEANS. The House then went into Committee of the whole, Mr. Nelson in the chair, on the report of the Committee of Ways and Means, devising a system of revenue, &c.—After further discussion, the Committee rose and reported their agreement to the first resolution, which proposes an increase of the Direct Tax, amended so as to make its increase 100 per cent, instead of 50 as recommended by the Committee of Ways and Means.

The Committee also reported their agreement to the second Resolution proposed by the Committee of Ways and Means, amended so as to make the duties fifteen cents per gallon on spirits distilled instead of 12, as recommended in the report of the Committee of Ways and Means.

The Committee of the whole reported progress on the remainder of the report.

And the House adjourned.

Monday, Oct. 24.

THE WAYS AND MEANS. The House took up the report of the committee of the whole of Saturday last on the report of committee of Ways and Means devising a system of revenue—and the question was stated by the speaker to concur in the amendments to the first and second resolution recommended in the report of the Committee of Ways and Means; When

On motion of Mr. Eppes, the said first and second resolutions were ordered to lie on the table, and leave was given for the committee of the whole to set again on the residue of the report.

LOSS OF DOCUMENTS. Mr. Snybert, offered the following resolve, which was adopted.

Resolved, That the Secretaries of State, Treasury, War and Navy Departments and the Post-Master General, be directed to communicate to this House such information as may be in their power in relation to the destruction of official books and papers in their respective departments in consequence of the incursion of the enemy in the month of August last, designating particularly what description of books and papers has been lost thereby, and what the probable effect of such loss will be in the adjustment of unsettled accounts of the U. States.

A message was received from the Senate notifying that they insist on their amendments to the resolution bestowing honorary rewards on Generals Brown, Scott, Gaines, Maccomb, Ripley, Porter and Miller, and their companions in arms, and asking a conference upon the same.

WAYS AND MEANS AGAIN. The house in committee of the whole, Mr. Pitkin in the chair, on the report of the committee of ways and means, devising a system of revenue.

After considerable discussion, the committee rose and reported the third resolution without, and the fourth and fifth with amendments.

The committee also reported the three following resolutions by way of amendment to the report of the committee of ways and means, that report closing with the 5th resolution.

On motion of Mr. Eppes, the report of the committee of the whole, was laid on the table for the purpose of taking up the 1st and 2d resolutions reported by the committee of the whole on Saturday last.

The first resolution as reported by the committee of ways & means, is as follows: Resolved, That it is expedient to continue the direct tax, and to increase the same fifty per cent.

And the amendment of the committee of the whole, is to strike out the word "fifty," and insert "one hundred." On agreeing to which the question was stated from the chair, when

A motion was made by Mr. Oakly, to add fifty per cent to the amendment, so that the increase shall be "one hundred and fifty per cent." Upon this motion the yeas and nays were taken.—For the amendment, 20, against it 116.

The yeas and nays were then taken to concur with the committee of the whole on striking out 50 and inserting 100—Against it 36.

The question then recurred on agreeing to the resolution in its amended form.

Upon which an animated debate arose.

And the house adjourned without taking the question.

Thursday, Oct. 27.
FILLING UP THE ARMY. Mr. Troup from the military committee, reported a bill making further provision for the filling the ranks of the regular army, by claiming the free male population of the U. States. This bill received its first and second reading, and was made the order of the day for Monday.

VOLUNTEERS. Mr. Troup from the same committee, also reported a bill to accept the service of volunteers who may associate and organize themselves, and offer their services to the government—This bill also received its first and second reading, and was made the order of the day for Tuesday.

DEFENCE OF THE FRONTIERS.

Mr. Troup also reported a bill for the further defence of the frontiers of the U. States, by authorizing the President to raise forty regiments of 1000 men each, in addition to the present military establishment. This bill received its first and second reading, and was made the order of the day for Wednesday.

Accompanying these bills, is a letter from the Secretary of War to the Military Committee, of which the following is a copy:—

War Department, Oct. 17 1814.
SIR,

The great importance of the subject, and the other duties of the department, which could not fail to be very sensibly felt at so interesting a period by a person who had just taken charge of it, are my apology for not answering your letter of the 24th of September at an earlier day on the defects of the present military establishment.

Due consideration has been bestowed on the subject matter of that letter, and I have now the honor to submit to the committee, the following report:—

1st. That the present military establishment, amounting to 62,448 men be preserved and made complete and that the most efficient means authorized by the constitution and consistent with equal rights of our fellow citizens, be adopted to fill the ranks, and with the least possible delay.

2d. That a permanent force consisting of at least 40,000 men in addition to the present military establishment, be raised for the defence of our cities, & frontiers, under engagement by the executive with such corps, that it shall be employed in that service within certain specified limits, and that a proportional augmentation of general officers of each grade, and other staff be provided for.

3d. That the corps of engineers be enlarged.

4th. That the ordnance department be amended.

Respecting the enlargement of the corps of engineers, I shall submit hereafter a more detailed communication.

For the proposed amendment of the ordnance department, I submit a report from the senior officer in that department now in this city, which is approved.

I shall be ready and happy to communicate such further remarks and details on these subjects, as the committee may desire, and shall request permission to suggest hereafter the result of further attention to, and reflection on, our military establishment generally, should any thing occur which may be deemed worthy its attention.

I have the honor, &c.
JAMES MONROE.
Hon. G. M. Troup,
Chairman, &c.

It also appears by a return from the Inspector General, laid before the House by the chairman of the military committee, that since the passage of the law increasing the bounty, there have been recruited for the army eight thousand seven hundred and forty men; and that the sum of one million nine hundred & forty-four thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight dollars, have been distributed among the several states and territories for the payment of bounties and premiums.

WAYS AND MEANS. The house resumed the consideration of the report of the committee of the whole, on the report of the committee of ways and means, devising a permanent system of revenue for the support of the public credit.

The fourth resolution came under consideration, and as reported to the committee of ways and means, is as follows:—

4. Resolved, That it is expedient to add 50 per cent, to the present

duty on the conveyance of papers and letters.

The committee of the whole amended the resolution, by striking out 50 per cent, and inserting 100 per cent.

On the question to concur in this amendment, the votes stood, For the amendment 95
Against it 45

The question was then taken to agree to the resolution as amended. When there appeared 96
For the resolution 47
Against it 49

The third resolution, which is to add 100 per cent, on the present duty on sales at auction, was taken up and agreed to.

The fifth resolution then came under consideration. Its great length precludes its insertion in this sketch; its objects however is to lay a tax on domestic manufactures. The committee of the whole struck out that part of it, which imposes duties on "cotton yarn spun by the aid of machinery, worked by steam or water; on shoes, and on plated harness in the hands of the owner."

Mr. Oakly moved also to exempt "tallow chandlers." The motion was also rejected by yeas 59, nays 74.

Mr. Reed moved to exempt "spermaceti candles." This motion was also rejected by yeas 50, nays 73.

Mr. Bigelow moved to exempt "leather." This motion was also disagreed to.

Mr. Wheaton moved to exempt "nails made by the aid of machinery." Disagreed to.

Mr. Gaston moved to strike out "furniture above a certain value except beds, bedding, and articles of domestic manufactures, in the hands of the owner." This motion was rejected by yeas 43, nays 72.

The question was then taken to agree to the resolution as amended. And passed in the affirmative, by yeas 76, nays 34.

The following resolutions, as new ones, was adopted by the committee of the whole, and which was agreed to by the house.

6. Resolved, That it is expedient to class the retailers of wines, spirituous liquors, and foreign merchandise, and to impose an additional duty of fifty per cent.

7. Resolved, That the carriage tax ought to be amended, and a duty on plated harness be imposed, that the two items shall produce double the amount of the present duty on carriages.

The eighth resolution was under consideration, when the house adjourned.

FOREIGN.
BOSTON, OCT. 26.
LATEST FROM ENGLAND & HALIFAX.

Ship Alexander and Mary, from Portsmouth, Eng. arrived at Halifax 14th inst. She sailed Sept. 1, in a fleet of 38 sail, (including 8 transports with troops for Quebec) under convoy of a frigate and storeship, and separated on the 22d, lat. 42, long. 45, when the fleet was dispersed in a severe gale. The fleet was hound to Nova Scotia and Quebec, but only the above ship had arrived at Halifax 16th inst. There were about 2000 troops mostly grenadiers.

A passenger in the Alexander and Mary arrived in town on Sunday evening. He left Halifax on Sunday 16th, in an English schr. for Castine, and was landed at the Fox Islands.

The passenger informs that Lord Hill's expedition was expected to include 15 or 20,000 troops, and to sail about the middle of Sept. He heard the British envoys were expected from Ghent.

The above passenger brought a few London papers to the 24th of Aug. with which we have been obliged, and have extracted from them the following articles.

The London Morning Chronicle, raves at the American sloop of war Peacock sailing round Ireland, with impunity and making captures. It says the Irish ports are in a state of blockade.

LONDON, AUG. 19.
Omnium has been on the decline these two days. Yesterday it was at half per cent, discount. The failure of two mercantile houses who were extensive holders of omnium, is assigned as the cause of the depression.

The Prince Regent of Portugal it is said, does not return to Europe till spring.

The merchants of Bourdeaux are fitting out vessels for the French colonies.