In Senate of the United States.

FEBRUARY 16, 1803.

MR. MORRIS---IN CONTINUATION.

As to the depredations on our commerce, they are numerous and of great importance, but my honorable colleague told us our merchants are in a fair way of getting redreſs. I own, ſir, I am ſurprized at this information, which is, I preſume, a ſtate ſecret communicated from the executive department. My honorable colleague who is the pattern of diſcretion, who was the monitor, and threatened to be the caſtigator of thoſe who from treachery or weakneſs might betray or divulge the ſecrets of the ſenate, cannot poſſibly allude to any thing on our files. He has therefore received this information from ſome other quarter, and I feel myſelf much obliged by his kind communication. But he muſt pardon me, ſir, that until it come forward in ſome body, ſhape, or condition which I can graſp, I am compelled to withhold my faith.

Having thus examined the exiſtent ſtate of things, I proceed to conſider the conſequence to the United States reſulting from the poſſeſſion of that country by France. To this effect I ſhall ſuppoſe the Floridas to be incluced in her newly-acquired dominion, and ſhall ſtate what I conceive to be the conduct which ſhe will purſue. She will, I preſume, conſider herſelf as not bound by our treaty with Spain. Declaring this to the inhabitants of the Weſtern country, and repelling the claim of right, ſhe will (as matter of favor) give them unlimited freedom of trade to and from New-Orleans. At that place ſhe will eventually raiſe a conſiderable duty on exports to pay the expence of her garriſons and of the civil adminiſtration. But to compenſate this, ſhe will probably give an excluſive privilege of commerce to her colonies, and obtain from Spain and Holland ſingular privileges. Under theſe circumſtances let us examine the general and particular conſequences to this our country.

The general conſequences are thoſe which affect our commerce, our revenue, our defence, and what is of more importance even than theſe, our union. Your commerce will ſuffer becauſe you will no longer hold the means of ſupplying the Weſt-India iſlands ſubject to your ſingle control, and becauſe all the export from New-Orleans, being of courſe, in French bottoms, your navigation will be proportionately diminiſhed. Your revenue will ſuffer as much as your commerce. The extenſive boundary of more than two thouſand miles will be ſtocked with goods for the purpoſe of contraband trade. The inhabitants will naturally take their ſupplies in that way. You muſt therefore multiply your revenue officers and their aſſiſtants, and while your receipt diminiſhes, the expence of collection will be encreaſed. As to what regards your defence, it is evident that the decreaſe of your navigation and revenue muſt narrow your means of defence. You cannot provide the ſame force either by land or by ſea; but the evil does not ſtop there—With this country in your poſſeſſion you have means of defence more ample, more important, more eaſy than any nation on earth. In a ſhort time all the Weſt-India iſlands, fed from your granaries, muſt depend on your will. And in conſequence, all the powers of Europe who have colonies there, muſt court your friendſhip.—Thoſe rich ſources of commercial importance will be as it were in your hands. They will be pledges for the amity of others in ſeas and dominions far remote. It is a defence which, though it coſts you nothing, is ſuperior to fleets and armies. But let the reſources of America be divided, (which muſt happen when the French are maſters of New-Orleans) and all this power and influence are gone. One half your reſources will be in their hands, and they will laugh at your feeble attempts with the other half. It is the intereſt of this country that the poſſeſſions of European powers in the Weſt-Indies ſhould be ſecured to them. And in this view of the ſubject, it is important that the iſland of St. Domingo ſhould be ſubjected by France, it would therefore have been wiſe to have aided in that ſubjugation. There is indeed a ſpecial reaſon for it beyond the conſiderations of exterior policy. That event will give to your ſlaves the conviction that it is impoſſible for them to become free. Men in their unhappy condition muſt be impelled by fear and diſcouraged by deſpair.—Yes. The impulſion of fear muſt be ſtrengthened by the hand of deſpair. Conſider, moreover, your condition in the wars which are moſt likely to happen. Theſe muſt be either with France or England. If with France your interior is ruined; if with England the commerce of the Atlantic ſtates will be diſtreſſed, and that of the weſtern country too, though not perhaps in ſo great a degree, Thus let the war be with which ſoever of thoſe nations it may, one half of the United States muſt be peculiarly injured; and in all caſes it will be difficult for them to aſſiſt each other. The interior has no ſeamen for naval defence, the ſeaboard can ſend few if any troops beyond the mountains. This powerful influence of one nation on one great diviſion of our country, and of another nation on the remainder, will tend to diſunite us. The ridge of mountains will mark the line of diſtinct intereſts. The effect of thoſe differing intereſts will be felt in your councils. It will be evidenced on this floor. This muſt be the caſe ſo long as man is man. Look, I pray, at thoſe nations. The enmity of France and England can terminate only by the ſubjection of one to the dominion of the other. It muſt be by the complete exertion of force and the utter impoſſibility of reſiſtance. They are the Rome and Carthage of modern times. Their implacable ſpirit will ſtimulate them to attempt a diviſion of this country by ſentiments of hatred, deadly as their own. Theſe efforts will, I hope, be vain: but with ſuch powerful engines to operate on the intereſt and the will, is there not danger to that union ſo eſſential to our proſperity? There will be a conſtant ſtruggle in congreſs as to the kind of public force which ought to be maintained. The one part will deſire an army, the other a navy. The unyielding ſpirit of party will perhaps prevent the ſupport of either; leaving the nation completely defenceleſs, and thereby increaſing the power of thoſe who may influence or command our deſtinies. For let it be remembered that a nation without public force is not an independent nation. In a greater or ſmaller degree ſhe will receive the law from others.

Having thus conſidered the effect of this ceſſion upon the United States, in a general point of view, let us now examine it more particularly, as regards the greater diviſions of our country, the weſtern, the ſouthern, the middle, and the eaſtern ſtates. I fear, ſir, I ſhall detain you longer than I intended, certainly longer than the light of day will laſt, notwithſtanding my effort to comprize what I have to ſay in the ſmalleſt compaſs. As to the weſtern ſtates, the effects will be remote and immediate.—Thoſe more remote may be examined under the two-fold aſpect of peace and war. In peace they will ſuffer the diminution of price for their produce. The advantage of ſupplying the French, Dutch, and Spaniſh colonies may at firſt ſight lead to a different opinion; but when the port of New-Orleans is ſhut to all but French ſhips, there will no longer be that competition which now exiſts, and which always reſults in the higheſt price that commodities can bear. The French merchants have neither the large capital nor have they the ſteady temper and perſevering induſtry which foſter commerce. Their invariable object in trade is to acquire ſudden wealth by large profit; and if that cannot be done, they abandon the purſuit for ſome new project. Certain of the market, and certain of the increaſing ſupply, they will preſcribe the price both to thoſe who cultivate and to thoſe who conſume. Such will be the effect in peace. In a war with England the attention of her fleets to cut off ſupplies from her enemies muſt neceſſarily affect the price of produce in a ſtill greater degree; and in a war with France it will bear no price at all, until N. Orleans ſhall be wreſted from their graſp. Add to this the danger and the devaſtation from the troops of that country, aided by innumerable hoſts of ſavages from the weſtern wilds. Such being the evident effects to be produced in times not far remote, the preſent evil follows from the anticipation of them. The price of land muſt be reduced from the certainty that its produce will become leſs valuable. The flood of emigration to thoſe fertile regions muſt ceaſe to flow. The debts incurred in the hope of advantageous ſales muſt remain unpaid. The diſtreſs of the debtor muſt then recoil on his creditor, and, from the common relations of ſociety, become general.

What will be the effect on the ſouthern ſtates? Georgia, Carolina, and the Miſſiſippi Territory are expoſed to invaſion from the Floridas and New-Orleans. There are circumſtances in that portion of America which render the invaſion eaſy, and the defence difficult. Penſacola, though the climate be warm, is among the healthieſt ſpots on earth. Not only a large garriſon, but an army may remain there without hazard. At Penſacola and St. Auguſtine forces may be aſſembled to operate in that ſeaſon of the year when the moraſſes which ſeparate them from our ſouthern frontier no longer breathe peſtilence. By what are thoſe armies to be oppoſed? Will you call the militia from the north to aſſiſt their ſouthern brethren? They are too remote. Will you to ſecure their ſeaſonable aid, bring them early to the field they are ordered to defend? They muſt periſh. The climate more fatal than the ſword will deſtroy them before they ſee the foe. The country adjoining to our ſouthern frontier is now in poſſeſſion of the moſt numerous tribes of ſavages we are acquainted with. The acceſs to it from New Orleans and the Floridas is eaſy and immediate. The toys and gewgaws manufactured in France will be ſcattered in abundance to win their affections and ſeduce them from their preſent connection. The talents of the French to gain the good will of the ſavages is well known, and the diſpoſition of thoſe uncultured men for war is equally notorious. Here then is a powerful inſtrument of deſtruction which may be uſed againſt you with ruinous effect. Beſides, what is the population of the ſouthern ſtates? Do you not tremble when you look at it? Have we not within theſe few days paſſed a law to prevent the importation of certain dangerous characters? What will hinder them from arriving in the Floridas and what can guard the approach from thence to the ſouthern frontier? Theſe pernicious emiſſaries may ſtimulate with the proſpect of freedom the miſerable men who now toil without hope. They may excite them to imitate a fatal example, and to act over thoſe ſcenes which fill our minds with horror. When the train ſhall be laid; when the conſpiracy ſhall be ripe; when the armies of France ſhall have reached your frontier, the firing of the firſt muſket will be a ſignal for general carnage and conflagration. If you will not ſee your danger now, the time muſt ſoon arrive when you ſhall feel it. The ſouthern ſtates being expoſed to ſuch imminent danger, their repreſentatives may be made to know that a vote given in congreſs ſhall realize the worſt apprehenſions. You will then feel their danger even on this floor.

Such being the probable reſult, as to the ſouthern, what will it be to the middle ſtates? Their trade to the Weſt-India Iſlands is gone the moment that country is in poſſeſſion of the French. England, to whoſe dominions alone they can have recourſe for the vent of their produce and the purchaſe of their ſupplies, will confine that commerce to her own ſhips. I ſay the moment the French are in poſſeſſion of New-Orleans your Weſt-India trade is gone. I do not mean that this effect will be ſudden as a flaſh of lightning, but it will be gone in a few years, which may be conſidered as a moment when compared with national exiſtence. You will then be dependent for that trade on the good will of England, and, as your navigation decreaſes, your dependence will be ſtill greater, becauſe you will rely on her navy for your protection. I again repeat that when it ſhall be a queſtion in your councils whether you will have a navy, the increaſing weight of the weſtern country will be thrown into the ſcale of oppoſition. They will inſiſt on an army for their protection. My honorable colleague has expreſſed his fears from a ſtanding army. Sir, your preſent negligence will put you under the neceſſity of having ſuch an army, and expoſe you to all the conſequences to be apprehended from it. You may indeed remain united in a body as one nation, but with ſuch contrarient intereſts and opinions, with ſentiments and views ſo different, it will be a large and languiſhing body without a ſoul.

To the eaſtern ſtates, when ſeparately conſidered this may appear a matter of leſs moment than to the other great diviſions of our country. But they will perceive in it the loſs of their navigation; they will ſee the theatre of their induſtrious exertions contracted; they will feel the loſs of the productions of that weſtern world in the maſs of their commercial operations; and above all they will feel the loſs of an ample reſource for their children. Theſe weſtern regions are peculiarly their heritage. It is the property of the fathers of America which they hold in truſt for their children. The exuberant population of the eaſtern ſtates flows in a ſteady ſtream to the weſtern world, and if that be rendered uſeleſs, or paſs under the dominion of a foreign power, the faireſt hope of poſterity is deſtroyed. The time may come, and I fear it will come, when thoſe who croſs the mountains will croſs the line of juriſdiction. Whether we conſider therefore this objection in its relations to our general policy, or examine its bearings on the greater diviſions of our country, we find ample reaſon to agree with the gentleman near me, that New-Orleans and the Floridas muſt not be ſeparated from the United States.

Let us now conſider the conſequence of the ceſſion we complain of to other nations, and this we may do generally and then more eſpecially as to thoſe who have a direct and immediate intereſt in the tranſaction. In a general view the firſt prominent feature is the coloſſal power of France. Dangerous to Europe and to the world, what will be the effect of a great increaſe of that power! Look at Europe. One half of it is blotted from the liſt of empire. Auſtria, Ruſſia, Pruſſia, and Britain are the only powers remaining, except Sweden and Denmark, and they are paralized. Where is Italy, Switzerland, Flanders, and all Germany weſt of the Rhine? Gone, ſwallowed up in the empire of the Gauls. Holland, Spain, Portugal, reduced to a ſtate of ſubmiſſion and dependence.--What is the ſituation of the powers that remain? Auſtria is cut off from Italy, the great object of her ambition for more than three centuries; long the rival of France, long balancing with the Bourbons the fate of Europe, ſhe muſt now ſubmit, and tacitly acknowledge to the world the ſuperiority of her foe, and her own humiliation. Pruſſia under the auſpices of the great Frederick was at the head of a Germanic league to balance the imperial power. Though united with Auſtria for a moment in the hollow league of the coalition, ſhe has, like Auſtria, been actuated by a blind jealouſy, and favoring the operations of France for the ruin of her rival, expected to ſhare largely in the general ſpoil. In this fond hope ſhe is diſappointed; ſhe now ſees the power of France at her door.—There is not a fortreſs from the Rhine to the Baltic, except Magdeburg, which the firſt conſul may leave on his left. The fertile plains near Leipſic contain the magazines for his armies, when he ſhall think proper to march to Berlin. Weſtphalia & Lower Saxony are open, on the ſide of Flanders and Holland. The Main preſents him a military road to the borders of Bohemia. By the Necker he appproaches Ulm, and eſtabliſhes himſelf on the Danube. Theſe rivers enable him to take the vaſt reſources of his wide domain to the point where he may wiſh to employ them.—Menacing at pleaſure his neighbors, he is himſelf ſecured by a line of fortreſſes along his whole frontier. Switzerland, which was the only feeble point of his defence, and which ſeparated his Gallic and Italian dominions, has lately been ſubjected. The voice you now hear warned the Swiſs of their fate more than eight years ago. The idea ſeemed then extravagant; but realized, it appears but as a neceſſary incident. Ruſſia is deprived of her influence in Germany, and thereby of a principal inſtrument by which her policy might operate on the great powers of the ſouth. The Germanic body is indeed in the hand of of the firſt conſul. Three new electors along the Rhine are under the mouths of his cannon. They dare not ſpeak—Speak! None dare ſpeak—*They* dare not *think* any thing inconſiſtent with his wiſhes. Even at their courtly feaſts they ſit like Damocles, deſtruction ſuſpended over their heads by a ſingle hair. Would you know the ſentiment of England? Look at the debates. In the two houſes of parliament, tney ſpeak their fears. Such being the general ſentiment of Europe, can it be ſuppoſed that they will view without anxiety a new extenſion of that power and dominion, the object of their hatred and apprehenſion?

Will it be ſaid that there is a ſecurity to the freedom of mankind from the moderation with which this enormous power is to be exerciſed? Vain deluſion! This power is not the reſult of accident. At the moment when France dethroned her ſovereign, it was eaſy to foreſee, that a conteſt muſt enſue, in which her exiſtence would be ſtaked againſt the empire of the world. If not conquered by ſurrounding princes (and the hope of ſuch conqueſt unleſs by the aid of her own citizens was idle) her numerous armies acquiring diſcipline muſt eventually conquer. She had the advantages of ſituation, and thoſe which reſult from union oppoſed to councils uncertain and ſelfiſh. It was eaſy alſo to foreſee, that in the ſame progreſs of events, ſome fortunate ſoldier would ſeat himſelf on the vacant throne: for the idea of a French republic was always a ridiculous chimera. Bonaparte has placed himſelf at the head of that nation by deeds which caſt a luſtre on his name. In his ſplendid career he muſt proceed. When he ceaſes to act, he will ceaſe to reign. Whenever in any plan he fails, that moment he falls. He is condemned to magnificence. To him are forbidden the harmonies and the charities of ſocial life. He commands a noble and gallant nation paſſionately fond of glory. That nation ſtimulates him to glorious enterprize, and becauſe they are generous and brave, they enſure his ſucceſs. Thus the ſame principle preſents at once the object and the means. Impelled by imperious circumſtances he rules in Europe, and he will rule here alſo, unleſs by vigorous exertion you ſet a bound to his power.

Having caſt thus a rapid glance on the general ſtate of Europe, it remains to look particularly at the condition of England and Spain, ſo far as they may be affected by the ceſſion of thoſe provinces to France. England will ſee in it an increaſe of commerce and naval force for her rival. She will ſee imminent danger to her iſlands, and particularly to Jamaica. The climate of Penſacola has already been noticed. The poſition is of incalculable moment.—During the ſickly and hurricane ſeaſon, fleets and armies may wait there in ſafety till their enemy ſhall be enfeebled and unprotected. Where will the Britiſh fleets and armies be ſtationed with equal advantage? If they aſk an aſylum in your ports you muſt refuſe; for ſhould you liſten to any ſuch propoſition, your kindneſs would be conſidered as a hoſtile aggreſſion. The influence of France on the United States (which has already been noticed) will give double weight to her repreſentations. And this very influence is among the effects which Britain muſt deprecate. I have not time to dwell on this ſubject, nor many others as fully as I ought. The condition of Spain is not leſs worthy of notice. No two nations on earth have more rooted hatred for each other than France and Spain. There are none more different in eſſential points of character. United, however, under ſovereigns of the ſame family, theſe antipathies were wearing away. But the fatal ſtroke which deſtroyed the French monarch has ſevered that band. Force has ſince produced not union, but ſubmiſſion. It is not in nature that the Spaniſh king ſhould foſter kindly ſentiments for him who has decked himſelf in the ſpoil of his houſe. The proud, the brave, and the loyal Caſtilian groans under the yoke which galls him, but which he cannot break, and ſickens at the recollection of his ancient glory. His deep reſentments are known, and it is to prevent their effects that he has been compelled to make the ceſſion of theſe provinces. France will then hold at her diſcretion the Spaniſh treaſures, and the rich provinces of the New World. At the firſt ſymptom of hoſtile ſentiment ſhe arreſts the means of aggreſſion. Thus the dependence of Spain is rendered abſolute, and her chains are riveted for ever. Does Spain behold this ſtate of things with calm indifference? No. She feels all the pangs of wounded pride, driven to the neceſſity of perpetuating its own humiliation.

A few words after what has already been ſaid will ſuffice to ſhew the importance of theſe provinces to France. This reſults from the influence on her rival, on Spain, and on the United States; by means of the poſition, the reſources and the means of aggreſſion which thoſe provinces afford. Enough has been ſaid of the poſition. The reſources are great and encreaſing. Not only cotton and indigo will be furniſhed for her manufactures, but ſupplies and ſubſiſtence for her colonies and her troops. Theſe reſources too will be at the very point moſt important both for defence and aggreſſion. The ſame force will be ready to operate either againſt England, Spain or America. Thus that force will be tripled in its moral effect, and influence alike the conduct of all againſt whom it may be directed. To what has been ſaid on the facility with which we may be aſſailed, I might add much, but it is unneceſſary. It behoves us however to conſider well the ſpirit of the French government, which in all its changes has never loſt ſight of this object. The French miniſter, monſieur De la Luzerne, when congreſs were deliberating on the ultimata for peace, obtained a reſolution that our miniſters ſhould, as to our weſtern boundary, treat under the dictation of France. Our miniſters diſdained the condition, and refuſed to obey. Their manly conduct obtained for you the countries whoſe fate is now ſuſpended on your deliberations. Never, no never has France loſt ſight of Louiſiana. Never for a moment has ſhe been blind to its importance. Thoſe who, driven from her boſom into exile, wandered about among us, have gathered and communicated the fulleſt information. While they enjoyed your hoſpitality they probed your weakneſs, and meditated the means of controling your conduct. Whatever may be the fair appearances, rely on it that every Frenchman bears with him every where a French heart, and ſo he ought. I honor him for it. O! that Americans had always an American heart!

[*Speech to be continued.*]

From the ANTI-DEMOCRAT.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE.

WHEN it is conſidered that on the riſing generation the exiſtence of our happy republic ſo much depends, and that principles imbibed in youth generally deſcend with their poſſeſſors to the grave, the importance of public ſeminaries of learning, muſt be obvious to the moſt ſuperficial examiner of human nature. A due portion of education is neceſſary to eradicate prejudices which things, viewed through a falſe medium, may have created, or improper inculcation, given riſe to. To give a proper bent to the tender plant, 'to teach the young idea how to ſhoot, to pour inſtruction o'er the mind,' is the nobleſt occupation that can adorn humanity. Science, like the enlivening ſun, by its genial warmth, diſpels the miſts of ignorance, which cloud the horizon of the juvenile mind, and adapts the ſoil to the growth of enobling virtues. The youth of this country, more eſpecially, require the ſalutary aid of early inſtruction. We know that in experienced minds, the external ſplendor of objects, whilſt it dazzles and delights the imagination, is too apt to vitiate and miſlead the judgment; how neceſſary, then is ſcience, to enable them to view things in a proper light, to prevent them from loſing the ſubſtance, by graſping at the ſhadow. Such then being the caſe, is it not a rational concluſion, that youthful minds, without being enlightened and refined by the expanding rays of ſcience, would have a natural propenſity to monarchical inſtitutions. The gay ſcenes of a court preſent to their minds the deluſive and faſcinating proſpects of fallacious grandeur and falſe happineſs; the ſplendors of royalty, like the Will of the Wiſp, will imperceptibly lure them to proceed till they are ſo entangled in the bogs of prejudice that a retreat is almoſt impracticable. In this enlightened and daily enlightening age, let it not be ſaid, that in Maryland, ſcience was blaſted in the germ by the deſpoiling hand of a narrow minded prejudice, or the icy touch of apathetic indifference. Let not the luxuriant weeds of vice grow up unpruned, and like the tall cypreſs, o'ertop the humble plant of virtue. Let not a narrow minded deſire of ſordid lucre, a too ſtrict attention to the computation of loſs and gain, obſtruct the mind from a ſubject ſo exalted, ſo ennobling and ſo dignified. The man who in this life is bleſſed with children, the lawful pledges of affection, and neglects to give them a proper education, is guilty of the greateſt crime to his children, his country and his God, that ſwells the catalogue of vices. He may think his time more profitably ſpent and more to the advantage of his offſpring, in amaſſing wealth and laying up that which will at leaſt ſecure their temporal eaſe, but how fatal is his deluſion, how contracted his ſentiments! The very plan which he is projecting to ſecure their welfare, will be their bane both here and hereafter—accuſtomed to indolence and inactivity, their minds as inert as their bodies will revolt at mental labor, and to remove the *ennui* the *tædium vitæ* which muſt inevitably oppreſs them, they will run into every ſpecies of faſhionable vice, and a prolongation of paternal miſery. To ſay more on the advantages reſulting from ſcience would be uſeleſs. St. John's college, now burſting into meridian glory, opens a field, fair and extenſive, to enſix the tender plant of ſcience, whoſe limbs will, at ſome future day, o'erſpread the plains of our native ſtate, and diffuſe its fragrant bloſſoms to the barren ſands of ignorance. Whilſt the other component parts of this happy republic particularly S. Carolina, Virginia, Pennſylvania, N. Jerſey & Connecticut, are making exertions in defence and ſupport of literature, ſhall Maryland remain ſilent and inactive, or ſeek in foreign climes or neighboring ſtates, that balm, ſhe can ſo eaſily obtain in her own limits. The truſtees, to whoſe care the college is committed, have recently made reiterated efforts, and evince a firm intention to place it on an equality if not to make it aſſume a ſuperiority over the boaſted ſeminaries of the weſtern world. I need not dwell upon theſe plans: their ſtatement given to the world and addreſſed particularly to Maryland, places them in a clear and perſpicious point of view; but as a friend to my own ſtate, I think it a duty which I rejoice in, to inform the public, that poſſibly the college is even now ſecond to none. At an early period of my life, I croſſed the Atlantic, agreeably to the fond wiſhes of a parent, and received my education in Great-Britain, at the famed univerſity of Cambridge. I now felicitate my fellow-citizens of Maryland, on the happy change. No longer ſhould our youths become temporary aliens from their native homes; no longer croſs the extended ocean or even travel beyond Maryland, for (if my opinion be admiſſible) St. Johns is not far behind Cambridge and perhaps ſuperior to moſt colleges in the union (all of which I have ſeen and attended to.) If we look at the profeſſors of St. Johns, we ſee men worthy of the important truſt, men who join to the ſplendor of talents, the purity of vir-