

I now recur to Mr. Champagny's letter of October 7, to general Armstrong, in answer to his inquiry, "whether (in executing the Berlin decree) it was his majesty's intention to infract the obligations of the treaty now subsisting between the United States and the French empire?" The answer to which has been already recited.

Allow me to repeat, that this letter of Champagny was one of the four papers communicated by the president with his message recommending the embargo, and one of the two which, after being read, was not then suffered to remain on the files of the senate, but was returned to the president, together with general Armstrong's letter to which it was an answer, agreeably to his request. Subsequent events drew it from the cabinet. Gentlemen will also recollect, that the concluding paragraph of the president's message, in which he desired a return of those two letters, was ordered by the senate to be omitted; so that no evidence of the existence of those letters could appear on the senate's journal, or in the printed copy. In this letter of Champagny, the views of the French emperor were but two clearly indicated. To render his degree of blockade "more effectual" (that is in destroying the commerce of England) "its execution must be complete." But as it could not be complete while the vessels of the United States (then with those of England carrying on, almost exclusively, the commerce of the world) continued their extensive trade with England; we were, in language sufficiently intelligible, invited to fall into the imperial ranks, with the maritime powers of Europe, whom the French emperor had marshalled against England, and "to unite in support of the same cause;" that is, to destroy the commerce of England. But the people of the United States would have been shocked at an open proposition to shut their ports against the English commerce, at the command, or invitation of the French emperor; they would not have endured it. The measure could be accomplished only by an EMBARGO, and that wrapped up in the mystery which I have endeavoured to unfold.

This letter of Champagny must have arrived in the *Revenge*; and general Armstrong's dispatches by her, reached Washington, as Mr. Madison informs us, on the 14th of December; and on the 18th the embargo was proposed and recommended! Four days gave little enough time to digest and mature SUCH A PLAN!

These, sir, are my views of the origin of the embargo; the result of a careful, and I trust, an impartial investigation. The material facts are on record. Of my reasonings and conclusions gentlemen will judge. If these be correct, the course to be pursued must be obvious. The *nation's honour* is compatible with the repeal of the embargo. The welfare of our country is not to be sacrificed to the views or feelings of those who have brought it into its present situation.

Let then, the resolution before us be adopted, and the embargo removed. As the British orders in council were not the *cause* of the embargo, the *honour* of the United States is not pledged for their *previous repeal*.