

the capital of the form... instead of six millions. I will not bring into view any unpleasant comparisons, but when gentlemen wonder at our complaints, they ought rightly to appreciate their causes. The pressure resulting from the embarrassments from this immense capital is the more sensibly felt, inasmuch as it is not divided in great masses among rich individuals, but in moderate portions among the middling classes of our citizens, who have many of them the earnings of a whole life, invested in single articles destined for a foreign market, from which your embargo alone prohibits them.

It is in vain to say that if the embargo was raised there would be no market. The merchants understand that subject better than you, and the eagerness with which preparations to load were carried on previous to the commencement of this session, speaks in a language not to be mistaken, their opinion of the foreign markets. But it has been asked in debate, "will not Massachusetts, the cradle of liberty submit to such privations?" An embargo liberty was never cradled in Massachusetts. Our liberty was not so much a mountain, as a sea nymph. She was free as air. She could swim, or she could run. The ocean was her cradle. Our fathers met her as she came, like the goddess of beauty, from the waves. They caught her as she was sporting on the beach. They courted her whilst she was spreading her nets upon the rocks. But an embargo liberty;—a hand-cuffed liberty; a liberty in fetters; a liberty travelling between the four sides of a prison and beating her head against the walls, is none of our offspring. We abjure the monster. Its parentage is all inland.

The gentleman from North Carolina, (Mr. Macon) exclaimed the other day, "where is the spirit of '76?" Aye sir. Where is it? Would to Heaven, that at our invocation, it would condescend to alight on this floor. But let gentlemen remember, that the spirit of '76, was not a spirit of empty declamation, or of abstract propositions. It did not content itself with Non-Importation acts, or Non-Inter-course laws. It was a spirit of active preparation; of dignified energy. It studied both to know our rights and to devise the effectual means of maintaining them. In all the annals of '76, you will find no such degrading doctrine, as that maintained in this report. It never pretended to the people of the United States, the alternative of war or a suspension of our rights, and recommended the latter, rather than to incur the risk of the former. What was the language of that period, in one of the addresses of Congress to Great-Britain? "You attempt to reduce us, by the sword to base and abject submission. On the sword, therefore, we rely for protection." In that day there were no alternatives presented to dishearten;—no abandonment of our rights under the pretence of maintaining them;—no gaining the battle by running away. In the whole history of that period there are no such terms as "Embargo—dignified retirement—trying who can do each other the most harm." At that time we had a navy; that name so odious to the influences of the present day. Yes, sir, in 1776, though but in our infancy, we had a navy scouring our coasts, and defending our commerce, which was never for one moment wholly suspended. In 1776, we had an army also; and a glorious army it was—not composed of men halting from the flews or swept from the jails, but of the best blood, the real yeomanry of the country, noble cavaliers, men without fear and without reproach. WE HAD SUCH AN ARMY IN 1776, AND WASHINGTON AT ITS HEAD. WE HAVE AN ARMY IN 1808, AND A HEAD TO IT.

I will not humiliate those who lead the fortunes of the nation at the present day, by any comparison with the great men of that period. But I recommend the advocates of the present system of public measures to study well the true spirit of 1776, before they venture to call it in aid of their purposes. It may bring in its train, some recollections, not suited to give ease, or hope to their bosoms. I beg gentlemen, who are so frequent in their recurrence to that period, to remember, that among the causes, which led to a separation from Great-Britain, the following are enumerated—unnecessary restrictions upon trade—cutting off commercial intercourse between the colonies—embarrassing our fisheries—wantonly depriving our citizens of necessaries—invasion of private property by government edicts—the authority of the Commander in Chief, and under him, of the Brigadier General being rendered supreme in the civil government—the Commander in Chief of the army made Governor of a colony—citizens transferred from their native country for trial—Let gentlemen beware how they appeal to the spirit of '76; lest it come with the aspect, not of a friend, but of a tormentor—lest they find a warning, when they look for support, and instead of encouragement they are presented with an awful lesson.

But repealing the Embargo will be submission to tribute. The popular ear is fretted with this word tribute—And an odium is attempted to be thrown upon those, who are indignant at this abandonment of their rights, by representing them as the advocates of tribute. Sir, who advocates it? No man, in this country, I believe. This outcry about tribute is the veriest bugbear that was ever raised, in order to persuade men to quit rights, which God and nature had given them. In the first place, it is scarce possible that, if left to himself, the interests of the merchant could ever permit him to pay the British re-exportation duty, denominated tribute. France, under penalty of confiscation prohibits our vessels from receiving a visit from an English ship, or touching at an English port. In this state of things, England pretends to permit us to export to France certain articles, paying her a duty. The very statement of the case, shews the futility of the attempt. Who will pay a duty to England for permission to go to France to be confiscated? But suppose, there is a mistake in this, and that it may be the interest of the merchant to pay such a duty, for the purpose of going to certain destruction, have not you full powers over this matter? Cannot you, by pains and penalties, prohibit the merchant from the payment of such a duty? No man will oblige you. There is not, as I believe, but one opinion upon this subject. I hope, therefore, that gentlemen will cease this outcry about tribute.

However, suppose that the payment of this duty is inevi-

table, which it certainly is not, let me ask—Is Embargo Independence? Deceive not yourselves. It is palpable submission.—Gentlemen exclaim Great-Britain "finies us on one cheek"—And what does administration? "It turns the other also." Gentlemen say, Great-Britain is a robber, she "takes our cloak."—And what say administration? "Let her take our coat also." France and Great-Britain requires you to relinquish a part of your commerce, and you yield it entirely. Sir, this conduct may be the way to dignity and honour, in another world, but it will never secure safety and independence in this.

At every corner of this great city we meet some gentlemen of the majority, wringing their hands and exclaiming, "What shall we do? Nothing but Embargo will save us. Remove it and what shall we do?" Sir, it is not for me, an humble and unimportant individual, at an awful distance from the predominant influences, to suggest plans of government. But to my eye, the path of our duty is as distinct as the milky way; all studded with living sapphires; glowing with accumulating light. It is the path of active preparation; of dignified energy. It is the path of 1776.—It consists not in abandoning our rights, but in supporting them, as they exist—and where they exist; on the ocean, as well as on the land. It consists, in taking the nature of things, as the measure of the rights of your citizens, not the orders and decrees of imperious foreigners. Give what protection you can. Take no council of fear. Your strength will increase with the trial, and prove greater than you are, now, aware.

But I shall be told "this may lead to war." I ask, "Are we now at Peace?" Certainly not, unless retiring from insult be peace. The surest way to prevent war is not to fear it. The idea that nothing on earth is so dreadful as war, is inculcated too studiously among us.—Disgrace is worse. Abandonment of essential rights is worse.

Sir, I could not refrain from seizing the first opportunity of spreading before this house the sufferings and exigencies of New-England, under this Embargo. Some gentlemen may deem it not strictly before us. In my opinion, it is necessarily. For, if the idea of the committee be correct, and Embargo is resistance, then this resolution sanctions its continuance. If on the contrary, as I contend, Embargo is submission, then this resolution is a pledge of its repeal.

BARBADOES.

BRIDGE-TOWN, SEPTEMBER 13.
GALLANT NAVAL ACTION.

His Majesty's brig Recruit, Capt. Napier, arrived in Carlisle Bay on Saturday night last, under a jury main mast, and otherwise much injured, having sustained a most gallant action with a French ship of superior force, which it is strongly to be apprehended foundered a few hours after the engagement. On the morning of the 6th instant the Recruit being about 90 leagues to windward of Antigua, discovered at sun-rise, a strange sail to the N. E. and immediately made all sail in chase; the soon observed, however, the chase to tack also and stand towards her, and that she was a ship of force; the Recruit, therefore, as they neared, fired a shot and hoisted her colours. At eight they had approached within pistol-shot, when the Enemy hoisted a French ensign and pendant; upon which an exchange of broadsides immediately ensued, the fire from the Enemy unfortunately wounded Captain Napier, and obliged him to leave the deck. Both vessels tacking together, again exchanged broadsides; but the ship wearing immediately after, the Recruit took advantage of the same manœuvre, and brought her to close action, when a heavy cannonading and fire of musketry was kept up with great spirit on both sides, during which Lieut. De Willetts, who then had the command of the Recruit, being severely wounded and carried below, the command was taken by Mr. Spencer, the Master, and the action continued with unabated energy until half past eleven; at which time the Recruit's main-mast being carried away it fell a wreck over her stern; when the Enemy called out to her to surrender; but found to his astonishment, that her fire was no way slackened, and also discovering her making preparation to board him, sheered off by backing his top-sails, and which enabling him to shoot up under her stern, he severely raked her, but in return received her whole starboard broadside. The Enemy however again bore up, and crossing the bows of the Recruit, raked her fore and aft; but at the same time falling on the larboard side of his opponent, it was repaid with such effect, that his quarter was blown in, and the boat at his stern, from which five or six men had kept up a galling fire of musketry, shot away and perished together. The effect of this well directed fire was most evident, as it compelled the Enemy to put up his helm and run before the wind for nearly an hour, when he dove to on the lee beam of the Recruit to rest. At two P. M. the Recruit having cleared the wreck of her mast, and being again prepared for action, set her courses, top-sails and top-gallant-sails, and hauled to the wind on the starboard tack, in order to close with her and again bring her to action; but the Enemy to avoid this, tacked ship at half past three; and at four, bore from the Recruit S. S. W. then about four miles distant, and apparently quite unmanageable. The Recruit having in the mean time rigged a jury mainmast, and set sail on it, continued to bear up, and at sun set had neared his antagonist within three miles, the Enemy then bearing S. by E. at which time there was a light breeze and fine weather; at seven, however, it became squally with rain, and the Enemy was observed to fire two signal guns on the larboard side, with her head to the wind, the Recruit then within two miles of her, and still closing on her; notwithstanding which, at half past seven, she suddenly disappeared, and is supposed to have foundered, as, although the Recruit continued to bear up during the night, she saw nothing of her after. The action was throughout well conducted on both sides, but unquestionably was sustained with more courage, and terminated with more honour to the British character, the Enemy evidently having the superiority both in guns and men, as well as in the class of his vessel, which appeared a large corvette of 22 guns, or frigate, with upwards of 150 men; the Recruit's force being 16 32-pound carro-

nades and two long 6's, and only 106 men. The loss of the Enemy may, in some measure, be computed from that on our part, which amounted to 6 killed and 22 wounded, viz.—killed 4 seamen and two marines; wounded, Capt. Napier, Lieut. Willetts, both severely, but the latter dangerously, 20 seamen (two of whom have since died,) and a marines, making a total of 28.

CHARLESTON, DECEMBER 17.

The brig Jane, Capt. Brown, sailed from Wilmington, (N. C.) bound to New-York, on the 9th inst. the same evening was brought to and boarded by a French armed ship, from Guadaloupe, which took out the supercargo, Mr. Archibald M'Neil, and carried him on board their vessel, and at the same time drove Captain Brown and his crew below—when they had thus got quiet possession of the brig, they brought her along side the French ship, broke open the hatches, and proceeded to take out the cargo, which consisted of the following articles, viz.—144 tierces Rice, 185 barrels Flour, 12 hogheads and 4 kegs Tobacco, 3 barrels Peas, and about 9000 Staves. The French commander stated to Capt. B. that he had orders from the Governor of Guadaloupe to take provisions wherever he could find them; but as he had no orders to take the slaves, he would only take as many as were necessary for the purpose of stowing the other part of the cargo. Capt. Brown was thus kept in their possession between two and three days, during which time himself and crew were closely confined below, and he was not even allowed an opportunity to speak to the supercargo, who was also kept in close confinement on board the French ship, from the time he was first carried on board. After they had accomplished their object in completely unloading the brig, they call her off, and bidding Captain B. farewell, they crowded all sail off the coast. When in the act of parting, Mr. N'Neil came upon deck, and hailing Captain Brown, informed him, that he was unable to find out the name of the ship, or her commander, but that he was determined to stick by his property, at all hazards, and see what they would do with it, or whether they would carry it. The Jane received very considerable injury in her hull while lying along side the Frenchman, and having been robbed of most of her sea stores, Captain Brown was compelled to make the first port he could get into. These particulars are communicated to us by Captain Brown.

NEW-YORK, DECEMBER 29.

Extract of a letter from Washington, dated Wednesday, December 21.

"This has been a day awful indeed to the freemen of America, in which the destinies of our devoted country have been decided. The sacred instrument which was intended to guard the liberties of the people, which was sealed with the blood of our fathers, has been converted into a weapon to wound and destroy every thing that is dear and sacred to an independent nation. To give efficacy to a baleful and tyrannical law, whose continuance has been marked by the most disgraceful and destructive consequences, the constitution will be prostrated and slavery entailed upon a great and gallant nation. Wither the hand that framed the tyrannical and arbitrary bill to enforce the embargo, and which has been adopted in the Senate by a majority of 13 votes.

"All opposition was fruitless, the tyrant's power has been felt, his will must prevail. In vain did the American Aristides and his patriotic friend, Mr. Hillhouse, stand forth in defence of our liberties. The voice of reason and patriotism was stifled by the rude and overbearing strength of numbers. Those faithful centinels of the people's rights warned the Senate without effect, of the danger of waging war upon the liberties of the people. A deaf ear was turned to their admonitions, and a law has been hurried through the Senate which strikes at the very vitals of civil liberty.

"The majority of the Senate were resolved not to adjourn, until they completed the chains which all their power and ingenuity have been employed in forging for the people.—An adjournment was prayed for, they were implored to grant time for deliberation, but to no purpose. The Senate continued in session until ten at night, and forced down their law with the usual majority, and forwarded it immediately to the House of Representatives."

JANUARY 2.

SUMMARY of the provisions of the Non-Intercourse Bill reported by Mr. Campbell.

SEC. 1. Excludes from the harbours and waters of the United States, and the Territories thereof, all public ships and vessels belonging to Great-Britain or France, or to any other belligerent power or powers having in force orders, decrees, edicts, or laws, violating the lawful commerce or neutral rights of the United States, excepting vessels forced in by fleets of weather, pursuit of an enemy, such as are charged with dispatches, or business from their governments, or packets having no cargo nor merchandize on board.—The President is authorized to expel by force all such vessels as contravene this regulation.

SEC. 2. Imposes a penalty not exceeding 10,000 dollars, nor less than 100 dollars, and imprisonment for not less than one month, and not more than one year, upon all persons affording assistance to vessels entering contrary to the law, excepting in case of piloting them out of the jurisdiction of the United States.

SEC. 3. Authorises the seizure and condemnation after a certain day, of all vessels and their cargoes, bearing the French or English flag, or owned in whole or in part by any citizen or subject of either, which may enter the ports, &c. of the United States, &c. excepting only vessels expressly hired to convey dispatches, such as put in through distress, or chased in by an enemy.

SEC. 4. Prohibits, after a certain day, the importation of any goods or merchandize the produce or manufacture of Great-Britain or France, or their dependencies, either directly or indirectly, from any country whatever.

SEC. 5. Ordains the forfeiture, and payment of treble value by the owners of any goods so prohibited, attempted to be introduced into the United States, on board of any ship or vessel, boat, raft or carriage.

SEC. 6. Declares the ship, vessel, boat, raft or carriage,