

(Continued from the first page.)

we now, or did, export more than fourteen million of dollars worth annually, and principally supplied the British manufactories with this article; but it is well known that the soil and climate of the Brazils is equally congenial to the growth of this crop with our own, and with due attention to the cultivation of it, is capable of supplying abundantly all the manufactories of England—Surely then I shall be correct in stating, that the embargo is a premium sufficient to stimulate them to this exertion, and to enable them ultimately to supplant us in the sale of this very valuable staple of some of our southern states. And the intimate connexion known, at present to exist between the British government and the regency of that country, will greatly aid in producing this result.

Now sir, let me enquire during the existence of the present state of things, whence we are to derive our revenue? A consideration certainly of no small importance to a government depending entirely for her revenue upon commerce. Our commerce is now completely at an end, and of course our revenue; by the way, another loss to the nation of at least fifteen millions of dollars annually by the embargo? This I know cannot be felt during the present year, because our treasury is now overflowing with the proceeds of the last. But from what source are you to obtain money next year, for the support of government, and the payment of the national debt? Are gentlemen ready to resort to a direct tax? No sir, they love peace and power too well. That was once done for the purpose of raising money, I believe to defend commerce, and the people of this country on that occasion, taught their servants a lesson that I presume will not be shortly forgotten. The President I know in his late message, has given a favorable account of the present state of the treasury; and most kindly indeed expresses much concern as to the best use to be made of the surplus revenue of the next year. Sir, among all the cares and troubles of his successor, I venture to predict that this will not be one of them; he will not be plagued with surplus revenue next year. Mr. Jefferson's overweening anxiety for the public good must have blinded him to the obvious fact, that before he can be well warm at his seat at Monticello, the revenue now bonded for will be collected, and as in consequence of the present abandonment of commerce, there will certainly be no other bonds to become due, it follows necessarily, in the course of your annual expenditures, that by the next meeting of congress your treasury must be empty; so that instead of being troubled with surplus revenue it will require all the fiscal talents of the next incumbent of the palace, be he whom he may, to provide the sum essential for the support of government.

The gentlemen who advocate this, I don't know what to call it, terrapin policy—I beg pardon sir—when driven from every other hold, invariably launch into futurity, and tells us that if we dare to put our heads in any part of this wide world, we shall get them broke, or in other words, if we take off the embargo we shall have war. Laying out of view any comparison between the probable expense of war, and the actual loss annually sustained by the embargo, the former bearing no comparison with the latter, let us examine for a moment what foundation there is for this assertion; and whether we might not at this time, even admitting the British orders of council to have their full operation, carry on safely a most extensive and valuable commerce with at least three-fourths of the commercial world. I have before me those orders of council; the only restricting clause is in the following words: "His majesty is therefore pleased by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that all the ports and places of France and her allies, or of any other country at war with his majesty, and all other ports and places in Europe, from which, although not at war with his majesty, the British flag is excluded, and all ports or places in the colonies belonging to his majesty's enemies, shall from henceforth be subject to the same restrictions in point of trade and navigation, with the exceptions hereafter mentioned, as if the same were actually blockaded by his majesty's naval forces in the most strict and rigorous manner." As much as I condemn and feel disposed to resist these arbitrary regulations, they certainly do not interfere with, or in any respect embarrass our trade to Indostan, China, Java, Sweden, Gibraltar, England, Scotland, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Sicily, the whole extent of the Mediterranean and Atlantic coast of Africa, Arabia, the Western Isles, and Madeira, Nova-Scotia, Canada, the Spanish, Swedish and British West-Indies, the Floridas, the Brazils, and all the rest of South-America except Cayenne, as likewise the N. W. Coast of America. These countries too, as will appear by the last report of the secretary of the treasury, receive annually nearly four-fifths of the whole native exports of the U. States; and are certainly none of them, notwithstanding what has been said by the gentleman from Maryland (Gen. Smith) within the purview of the British orders in council. That gentleman, when on this part of the subject, I will do him the justice to acknowledge, told us he had risen in great haste and was unprepared; and indeed, sir, it would re-

quire great haste, and great want of preparation, to justify some of the statements made by the gentleman to the senate. Among other things equally extravagant, he told us, in the face of the British orders of council I have just read, that we were now interdicted by those orders from any trade with Spain or Portugal; and after referring to Mr. Canning's reply to the committee of merchants, viz. "That neutrals were not now excluded from the ports of Portugal and Spain by those orders;" triumphantly asked us to tell him as lawyers, whether if a vessel engaged in that trade was carried into a British court of admiralty, she would be tried by Mr. Canning's conversation with the merchants, or according to the law of the land. I answer the gentleman, not as a lawyer, but as a man of common sense, that she would be tried according to the law of the land. And I wonder it had not occurred to that gentleman, as a man of common sense, that according to the law of the land she must be acquitted. Sir, the express language of these orders is, "that all the ports and places of France and her allies, or of any other country at war with his majesty, and all other ports or places in Europe, from which, although not at war with his majesty, the British flag is excluded, &c." And will the gentleman undertake to say here, that Spain, and Portugal are now allies of France?—that the British flag is now excluded from their ports?—No sir. The gentleman knows they are, at this moment, waging a most exterminating war with France, in defence of their very existence; and that they derive their principal support and subsistence under the British flag. There is no man who can read and understand plain English, and shall examine these orders, but will tell you in a moment that the ports of Spain and Portugal, so far from being within the spirit, are not now even within the letter of them. But independent of this, there was a special proclamation of the king dated on the 4th of July last, notifying to the world, that the blockade no longer existed as to the ports of Spain. The advice the gentleman has been pleased to detail to us, as received in private letters from Europe, I shall take no notice of; they are entitled to none, unless he will first submit those letters to the Senate, and then we shall give to the information they contain, that weight to which the characters of his correspondents, and their means of acquiring correct information may entitle them.

Gentlemen, by turning to the last report of the secretary to which I have before referred, and I wish them to examine for themselves, will find that of the 48,699,592 dollars worth of produce and other merchandize, the actual growth and manufacture of our own country, exported from the United States in 1807, we sent,

To England, and her dependencies in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America,	Dolls. 27,917,077
To Spain and her dependencies in Europe and America,	3,998,575
To Portugal and her dependencies in Europe and America,	1,399,616
To Sweden, and British West-Indies,	472,666
To China, the East and West-Indies generally, (not included above) Africa, and the N. West coast of America,	1,919,908

Making in the whole, Dolls. 35,707,842

Almost four-fifths of the whole native exports of the United States for that year which we might export nearly as safely now as then, but for the embargo; for it cannot, it certainly will not, be now contended, that any part of this commerce is embraced by the British orders in council, and the French decrees in relation to it, from a total inability to execute them, are a mere nullity. It is not therefore as has been said, the decrees and orders of foreign powers, that have reduced our country to its present distressed and embarrassed condition. It is our own folly, the embargo, that now palsies the labor, the energies and enterprizes of our citizens, and locks up more than thirty-five millions of dollars the native produce of our country, to perish and sink upon our hands. I want to hear sir, for I have not heard yet, how this enormous, this unnecessary and ruinous sacrifice of national and individual wealth, can be justified to the public. There is no man who holds more indignantly than I do those French decrees and British orders; but before my God, I do most religiously believe that the embargo is a thousand times more injurious to our country than they both could be rendered.

Instead of availing ourselves of the immensely extensive and valuable commerce now open to us with at least three-fourths of the commercial world; it has now become a great favor; if we can be permitted by the President and his gun-boats, to sneak along shore from one of our own ports, to another, with as much flour and pork as we can eat on the passage. Sir, this is the next commercial country in the world to England; we are in fact, in this respect, their only competitors, and whilst, as at present, they have an opportunity of monopolizing all the commerce of the world, do you believe they will ever ask you to take off the embargo? No, sir. This would be an act of madness in them, equal almost to our continuing it. They do not wish to meet upon the ocean again their industrious and enterprising rivals. They are no doubt pleased to see us shackling and crippling ourselves.

Much has been said by the gentleman from Maryland (General Smith) on the subject of tribute, and

in a manner I do not well understand, unless it be, to retort upon the gentleman his own language *ad captandum*. I wish however to be distinctly understood, that no part of the commerce I have undertaken to show the United States might now carry on, would be subject to any tribute. I wish it to be further understood, sir, that I would not only see this country clad in homespun, but covered in sackcloth and ashes, rather than she should consent to pay tribute. I would see every commercial city upon our shores, and every rag of canvass we hold, in flames. I would see our soil smoking with the best blood of its inhabitants, and the bones of our citizens mingled with the ashes of their dwellings, rather than see this people submit to pay tribute to any nation on earth. I trust there is not in either house a member, who would not sooner risk his life, and spill his blood, than give a vote that should reduce his country to a condition so slavish and degrading. And I hope Mr. President that no insinuation has, or will be made here, calculated even to intimate an idea, that the gentlemen of this body who may vote for the repeal of the embargo laws, would subject this nation to tribute. Such an insinuation would not only be unfounded, illiberal, and derogatory of this floor but in other respects highly unjustifiable.

It has been asked by the gentleman from Kentucky, why do not these who oppose the embargo propose some substitute? Certainly it cannot be expected of us to offer ourselves as the pioneers of this administration; but a reply to the question, I will refer gentlemen to the confidential letter submitted to the senate a few days past: gentlemen need not be alarmed, I am not going to tell what that letter contains. If any substitute be necessary, in that is pointed out the one I would adopt; there is marked a safe, a high and an honorable course that it pursued, without I believe endangering our peace would add alike to our national character and our national wealth.

It has been well observed by the gentleman from Virginia before me (Mr. Giles) that it is time we were nationalized. The sentiment was worthy of that gentleman, and one to which I entirely subscribed. But is the system of which this measure is apprehended by many to be but the commencement, calculated to nationalize? No, sir, much better calculated, I fear to estrange the extremes of the union from each other, and to familiarize our ideas to an event, that I deem it almost treason to think of; and that every honorable and patriotic American must view as the most calamitous curse that could be forced upon this country. I beseech gentlemen therefore, to beware how they press this measure too far. There is a section, a very respectable and powerful section of this country, that with commerce is rich and happy: deprived of that commerce a large portion of its population must starve. That population expect and as a portion of the community have a right to expect that their only means of subsistence will be fostered and defended, and not sacrificed to manufacturing whims, or local prejudices. I do not mean to intimate that the embargo grew out of either of these causes; but the continuance of it at present, under existing circumstances, after the galling experience we have had, and when it can obviously produce nothing but distress and embarrassment to ourselves, may engender and nurture jealousies that perhaps time will not allay.—I believe the people of this country would submit to any privations for the public good, but first they must be convinced that the public good requires the sacrifice. It must, it will astonish every unprejudiced and reflecting man in the community, if this ruinous measure is persisted in, after the experience we have received, and when we have before us the most conclusive and irresistible evidence to show, that it is utterly inadequate to the accomplishment of any of the objects for which it was said to be intended. And conduct that cannot be accounted for on any reasonable ground, is apt, however unjustly, to be attributed to unworthy motives. I trust, therefore, that gentlemen on their own accounts will not reject this resolution; that they will, at least, first deliberate and look to consequences; that they will feel well the public pulse, before by this rash prescription, they stagnate the national blood.

CAUTION.

THE Subscriber having on former occasions experienced much trouble and loss of money, in consequence of Accounts being presented against the Crew of the *Caladonia*, when on the point of sailing, he not having leisure at that late period to examine said Accounts, the Seamen have afterwards in several instances disputed them: in order to prevent like trouble in future, no accounts will be paid for Seamen of said Ship. THOMAS BOAG, Master.
St. JOHN, DECEMBER 12, 1808.

For Sale by the Subscriber,

A good FARM of about 500 Acres at the upper part of what is commonly called the *Village*, on *Hammond River*, at the distance of only 18 miles from the City. He will take several head of Cattle to Winter at *Brookville Farm*, the *Village*, at the moderate prices of 15 dollars for a Horse and 8 dollars for a Cow, and other Stock in proportion.
CALEB WETMORE,
Carlston, 5th Novemb'r, 1808.