right when the people are well informed. They have seen all the official communications which have been published, and are competent to judge whether the orders in council justified the embargo, and whether if the embargo had not been laid, they would have wrought that effect which we now so sensibly feel. Instead of being deluded, sir, their eyes are opened, and the film removed; and they see that the embargo was not justified by necessity, and as far as their opinion has been expressed, that it was impolitic and unwise.

The gentleman seems to think that the country cannot feel much because it feeds well; but we may feel and feed at the same time. It is plenty that we complain of. Our surplus is touched by this torpedo, the embargo, and is thereby rendered useless. But gentlemen say that if the embargo were now taken off, we could not trade; and a calculation has been entered into by the gentlemen from Tennessee in opposition to one made by me at the last session. I have not seen my calculation for months, sir; it is before the public—the gentleman's statement will go to the same tribunal, and I am willing to commit my slender reputation to the country for the accuracy of mine—and the people judge between us. The gentleman tells you that we have no commerce to resort to which would be either safe or profitable. It is strange, that we cannot confide the decision of this question to commercial men—for what commercial man would undertake a voyage which shall be attended with certain ruin? I had thought that men of great experience and information, and whose knowledge was sharpened by interest, might be safely confided in. But merchants, whose habits of life have led them to calculate, whose information extends to every part of the world, are not to be trusted with the prosecution of their own interest, but we must kindly take it in hand for them. Sir, I contend that commerce had better be left free for merchants to find a market, which every one knows they would do, from their eagerness now to ship. If they could not export with safety or profit, they would lay a voluntary embargo ten thousand times better than a coercive one—the very necessity of coercion shews that our merchants would sail, were it not for the embargo. I contend that the embargo is ruinous and oppressive. Need I say any thing further on the subject? Look at the country. The courts of justice shut in one of the southern states—executions suspended in a state contiguous to this—and Maryland reduced to the same necessity, from the circumstance of there being no market for our produce. So great is the pressure that the people have it not in their power to pay their ordinary debts—and how eloquent is the fact that in a moment of peace (for certainly there is not war) we are compelled to arrest the current of justice. These legislative acts depict the situation of our country more strikingly than volumes of argument. The state legislatures know the inability of their citizens to pay, and hold out a kind hand to assist them.

In point of revenue how does it work? The honorable chairman of the committee (Mr. Campbell) in a speech of great learning and investigation, told us that the treasury was never more full. I wish the documents were before the House to convince us of it. But did an atom of it flow in from the operation of the embargo? If there be such a surplus, it only shews the beneficial operation of the system pursued anterior to the embargo. What is to fill your treasury now, if the people cannot sell their produce? What will in this case become of your source of wealth in the western country? The people can neither buy lands, nor buying pay for them. Where is the impost duty which has supported the government, and sunk to a considerable degree the national debt? The moment you prevent all importation, there is an utter extinction of impost revenue; and at home a physical inability to produce any from the people at large. We are a rich country, abounding in the necessaries of life; we have money's worth, but no money. Nor can our people by any practical means raise money to defray the expences of the state governments, much more of that of the U. S. I am in the country, sir; I cannot collect my rents, my neighbors cannot sell wheat or tobacco. All is stopped. I ask then what physical ability we have to discharge the state taxes, or any other? We have no other way of getting money but through the sale of our produce. Gentlemen say that our revenue would fall just as short, supposing the embargo to be raised. That is begging the question, sir. They assume that for a truth which they ought to prove in the first instance. Leave commerce open, and you will soon have money in return for our produce, or that which will procure it. Revenue is the life of [illegible] and let me suppose gentlemen to be sitting here thirteen months hence, on the 1st of January, 1810. Where is your then revenue to [illegible]? You have dried up every source of the national wealth.

What must you do? Either borrow or raise money by direct taxation. There is no doubt what must be resorted to; and it was touched with great ability, though slightly touched by the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Randolph) as to the consequences which must grow out of such a system as direct taxation. This species of taxation is not consonant to the genius of the country, to the habits of our people—it comes too close to the pocket of the agriculturalist, and is besides a source of revenue which ought to belong exclusively to the states. I hold it as a political truism, that upon the sovereignty and independence of each state as guaranteed by the constitution, do our liberties depend. I know that some of the ablest men in America opposed the adoption of the Federal Constitution on this ground: that the general government being raised and supported on external matters only, if the time should ever arrive at which foreign commerce should cease, and internal taxes be resorted to, that great would be the conflict between the officers of the state and general governments, which would ultimately end in the prostration of state rights. Gentlemen call the embargo in silken phrase a temporary suspension of commerce. I will call it by its own name; it is better known to the people by it. I contend that the embargo now laid is a perpetual embargo, and no member of this House can constitutionally say it is otherwise; for the immediate representatives of the people have so played the game as to leave the winning trump out of their own hands, and must now have a coincidence in opinion both of the Senate and of the President of the U. S. to effect its repeal. If the whole of this body were to consent to a repeal, and a majority of the Senate, yet the President might resist them both. Is there any limitation to the law on the statute book? No; but there is a power given to the President to suspend it in whole or in part, in the event of certain contingencies. Have those contingencies happened? Are they likely to happen? No, sir; and these are the views which I take of the subject. America anxious to get rid of this burthen has proffered to take it off, if either of the two belligerents would relax their edicts in our favor in relation to such one, keeping it on in relation to the other. What says the sarcastic British minister? Why, sir, that they have no cause of complaint; that it was laid by the President as a precautionary measure; and they were told by our minister that it was not to be considered as a hostile measure——What says France? She gives us no answer, say gentlemen. Aye, sir—and is that true? Have we indeed received no answer? I think we have one that wounds our feelings as deeply as the answer of Mr. Canning. It is the situation of our minister abroad, who says he dare not ask for an answer, because the asking it might be injurious to our cause. What, have we a minister abroad, and is he afraid or unwilling to make a proposition to the government where he is resident? Surely sir, that state of things furnishes as definitive an answer as any that could be given. We have no hopes that either will remove its edicts—sir I consider the embargo as a premium to the commerce of G. Britain. Gentlemen say that she is a great power, a jealous power and possessed of a monopolising spirit. If these views be correct, by annihilating our commerce, do we not yield the seas to her, and hold out an inducement to her forever to continue her orders in force. What prospect is there that the embargo will be removed? It cannot now be got off by a vote of this House. We are saddled with it. If we cast our eyes to proceedings elsewhere constitutionally held on the same subject, we shall find that it is to remain still farther to oppress and burthen the people of this country with increased rigor.

As a measure of finance it has laid the axe to the root. The tree is down that bore the golden fruit; and will not again grow till we ease ourselves of this measure. In a fiscal point of view I cannot then for my life think it a wise or provident measure. But as a preparation for war it is still worse; because it produces a deficiency of that out of which war alone can be sustained. Instead of having money for your surplus produce, it rots upon your hands; instead of receiving a regular revenue, we have arrested its course, and dried up the very source of the fountain. As to preparation at home, which is the only preparation contemplated to make, what or whom is it against? Against France? She cannot come here. Or against England who with the monopoly of commerce which you leave her to enjoy, has no object further to annoy you? I believe as a preparation for war the best expedient would be to get as much money as we could, to send out our surplus produce and bring back the supplies necessary for an army if to be raised at all—to arm and discipline the militia. A raising of the embargo would be a preparation for war—it would bring us articles of the first necessity for our surplus. But on a continuation of the embargo, things must progress from bad to worse.

Another thing, sir—I do not now mean to take a constitutional view of the subject—but will not gentlemen pause and reflect on the continuance of the embargo. It is well known that the general government grew out of a spirit of compromise. The great authors of that instrument were well acquainted with the term *embargo*. A *temporary* embargo for the purpose of sending out a squadron or concealing an equipment, was well understood. But I ask every one who hears me, if a question had been agitated in convention to give Congress a power to lay an embargo for one or two years, if the Eastern or commercial states would have agreed to it? Does any man believe it? No man who knows the country can believe it. With what sedulous anxiety did they say in a negative provision of the constitution, that Congress should not lay an export duty! You are prohibited the minor power of taxing exports, & yet you stop exports altogether for an indefinite term. It is utterly inconceivable, that the states interested in commerce should have given their assent to any such powers so self-destructive. If they had given them, they ought to be most clear, not by implication, but most manifest; the exercise of powers counteracting principles most dear to every part of the community, ought to be assumed with the utmost caution. Under that view, except the measure be most wise in itself, and its effects most clear, the government ought not to continue the embargo. But why is it to be continued? We have taken some view of its effects at home. Let us see what effects may be expected to be produced by it abroad. An honorable gentleman told us an hundred millions were saved by laying the embargo, a sum nearly equal to the whole exports of the United States for one year, excluding the capital employed. The first two or three seizures of our vessels, sir, would have sent an alarm abroad, and had the danger been so imminent, they would have voluntarily retired from destruction. There are no reasonable data from which to infer that 100 millions of our property could at any one time have fallen a prey. Some few vessels might have been taken, but the rest would have escaped the grasp of the power which harrassed them.

I will now examine the character of this measure; for upon my word, sir, it seems a political non-descript, though we feel its effects so severely. The President tells you it is a measure of *precaution* only; and yet we are told by gentlemen that it is a species of *war*, which America can best use to coerce the two greatest powers on the earth, commanding land and sea, to truckle at our feet. I know not how gentlemen can place our connection with foreign nations in such a predicament; whilst the President officially holds out to the world that the embargo was a peaceful measure, gentlemen now say that it is a coercive one, a sort of quasi war. I recollect a gentleman at the last session making an estimate of the West Indies being worth an hundred millions to Britain, and predicting that before the measure was 90 days known in the West Indies, it would bring that nation to our feet, that it would act as a great political lever, resting its fulcrum on Jamaica, and move all Europe to our wishes—Double the number of days have elapsed, and they hold out insulting language.—How then can we trust to the future predictions of gentlemen? Their error arises from a want of knowledge of the country; a little experience is worth all the theory in the world. In the years 1774–5, an honorable feeling adopted a non-exportation and non-importation agreement more faithfully executed by patriotism than any law since made or enacted; for every family refused to use an article which was not raised within the bosom of its own country. Did it produce starvation in the West Indies? No, sir; the politicians of that day did not so calculate. They knew the resources of these islands, and told them that if they would convert a part of their sugar plantations into cornfields, they would not suffer. We are now in the habit of overvaluing ourselves and undervaluing our enemies. Come the day when it will, we shall have no ignoble foes to meet.

In the revolutionary war how did England stand—how her islands? for several years she was at war with America, with Holland, with Spain, with France, whose fleets in the East and West-Indies were often equal, sometimes superior to her own, and an armed neutrality in the north—during this period a French fleet blocked the Chesapeake, and aided in the capture of Cornwallis, and threatened the British islands—but how was this conflict with the world sustained? Were the islands starved during these years?—did they fall? No, sir; the British nation braved the storm, and was only conquered by her sons—America was victorious and independent; but Europe retired, discomfited—Sir, America can again prove victorious, but it must be by other measures than embargoes—destructive only at home and without effect abroad.

It is said that one reason why the embargo has not pressed so hard on G. B. as it might, is, that it has not been so tightly drawn as it may be; that our citizens have evaded it. And, sir, if I have any geographical knowledge of the country, tighten the cords as you may by revenue cutters and gun-boats on the sea board, and collectors and military on land, they will escape both. Interest ever alert will avail itself of our extensive coast and elude the law.

(*Mr. Key's Speech to be continued.*)

WASHINGTON CITY.

MONDAY, JANUARY 23.

SUBSCRIBERS to the NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER in arrears are respectfully informed that the prompt payment of their dues has become INDISPENSIBLE, which, it is hoped, they will discharge on this intimation.

We have perused with much pleasure a pamphlet, just issued from the press at this place, entitled "An Address to the People of New-England. By Algernon Sidney." It is ascribed to Mr. Granger, and has no inconsiderable merit, as a defence of the motives and measures of the general government against the seditious, we might perhaps justly add, traiterous machinations of a few desperate malcontents, who by the active diffusion of the most atrocious falsehoods are endeavoring to separate the people from their government. The ground, selected by the writer, is chosen with great prudence, and chiefly consists of facts, not disputed even by the federal party, and which may, consequently, be expected to have some influence in reclaiming the honest and reflecting men of that order from the errors they have imbibed. We had prepared a review of this tract, embracing a number of interesting extracts from it, fitted to present our readers with a tolerable idea of its character. But we are compelled, by the interesting proceedings of Congress to defer its insertion, as well as that of several other original articles.

Every friend to his country will be gratified with the information announced in the subjoined article.

"We are authorised to state, that JOHN W. EPPES, Esq. has consented once more, to serve the people of his district in the Congress of the United States—amidst these difficult and stormy times."

Enquirer.

We invite the attention of the reader to the interesting letter of LA CROSS, in the last page. It furnishes abundant reasons for the act more effectually to enforce the embargo.

Resolutions of the General Assembly of Kentucky, adopted in the House of Representatives with the single dissentient of Humphrey Marshall, and in the Senate with only three dissentients.

Resolved, That the administration of the general government, since the fourth of March eighteen hundred and one, hath been wise, dignified and patriotic, and merits the approbation of the country.

Resolved, That the embargo was a measure highly judicious, and was an honorable expedient to avoid war, whilst its direct tendency, besides annoying those who had rendered resort to it necessary, was to preserve our seamen and property, exposed to the piratical depredations of foreign vessels.

Resolved, That the general assembly of Kentucky would view with the utmost horror, a proposition in any shape to submit to the tributary exactions of Great Britain, as attempted to be imposed by her orders of council, or to acquiesce in the violation of neutral rights as menaced by the French decrees; in resisting which aggressions, they pledge themselves to the general government, for their most energetic support.

Resolved, That whether war, a total non-intercourse, or a more rigid execution of the embargo system be determined on, the general assembly, however they may regret the privations consequent on the occasion, will cordially approve and co-operate in enforcing the measure; for they are sensible that in the present crisis of the nation, the alternatives are a surrender of liberty and independence, or a bold and manly resistance.

Resolved, That Thomas Jefferson is entitled to the thanks of his country, for the ability, uprightness and intelligence which he has displayed in the management both of our foreign relations and domestic concerns.

Resolved, That a copy of the foregoing resolutions be transmitted to the President of the United States, and each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

Our readers will take the following letter, extracted from the Alexandria Daily Advertiser, for what it is worth. We are not informed even of the vessel that brings it.

Extract of a letter from Liverpool, to a gentleman of this town, dated

NOVEMBER 21, 1808.

"Some days ago dispatches arrived from Spain, advising that the French army under the command of General Ney, 25,000 men strong, attacked the Spanish army under the command of General Blake, 17,000 strong; the action lasted nine hours, during which the Spaniards retained their ground, but finding themselves so inferior in numbers, they retreated during the night to Bilboa, and two days after fell back twenty miles further, where they were joined by the troops from the Baltic, under the command of General Romana. On the 5th of this month they attacked the French, and the battle lasted four days, the French were completely defeated, Ney is killed, besides 9000 killed, wounded and prisoners; Blake is wounded. It is said the numbers of the two armies were nearly equal, but the objects for which they fought are very different."

Captain Cornwell, a passenger in the brig San-Antonia, from Cadiz, informs us, that 2 days before he sailed, intelligence was received, stating, that the Spaniards had evacuated Bilboa. No news of any recent battle having taken place, had reached Cadiz on the 18th November. *Daily Adv.*

SENATE, JANUARY 18.

Nothing of importance done.

JANUARY 19.

Mr. *Leib*, a Senator from Pennsylvania appeared and took his seat.

Mr. *Giles*, from the committee to whom was referred on the 6th inst. the message of the President of the U. S. on the subject of fortifications, reported, in part, a bill making appropriations to complete the fortifications commenced for the security of the sea-port towns and harbors of the U. S. and to defray the expences of deepening and extending to the river Mississippi the Canal of Carondelet.

JANUARY 20.

Mr. *Tiffin*, according to leave, brought in a bill to extend the time for making payment for the public lands of the U. S.

The bill, from the House of Representatives for the relief of sick, disabled and distressed seamen, was taken up.

On motion of Mr. *Hillhouse*, that part of the bill, that provides for refunding to the U. S. the sum appropriated, was struck out—Yeas 20—Nays 11.

On motion of Mr. *Pope* the word "*distressed*," was struck out—Yeas 19—Nays 1[illegible]—So amended the relief extended is limited to *sick* and *disabled* seamen.

After further consideration the bill was postponed till Monday.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Friday, Jan. 20.

EXTRA SESSION.

The House were engaged the whole of this day in warmly debating the bill to alter the time of the next meeting of Congress.

The motion pending when the House yesterday adjourned for striking out "the 4th Monday in May," was negatived by a large majority.

Messrs. J. G. Jackson, Bacon, G. W. Campbell, Rhea and Gardenier supported the bill, and Messrs. Quincy, D. R. Williams and Macon opposed it. It was PASSED at near seven o'clock, by Yeas and Nays as follows—Debate in our next.

YEAS—Messrs. L. J. Alston, W. Alston, Bacon, Bibb, Blake, Boyd, Boyle, Brown, Butler, Calhoun, Champion, Clopton, Cook, Cutts, Dawson, Deane, Desha, Ely, Eppes, Findley, Fisk, Gardenier, Gardner, Gholdson, Goldsborough, Goodwyn, Green, Harris, Helms, Holmes, Howard, Isley, J. G. Jackson, Jenkins, Johnson, Jones, Kenan, Key, Kirkpatrick, Lambert, Lewis, Love, Marion, Masters, M'Creery, Milnor, D. Montgomery, J. Montgomery, N. R. Moore, T. Moore, Jer. Morrow, J. Morrow, Moseley, Mumford, Nelson, Newbold, Newton, Nicholas, Pitkin, Porter, Pugh, Rea, (P.) Rhea, (T.) J. Richards, M. Richards, Seaver, Smelt, Smilie, J. K. Smith, Southard, Sturer, Taggart, Taylor, Van Allen, Van Horn, Whitehill, Wilbour, A. Wilson, N. Wilson, Winn—80.

NAYS—Messrs. Bassett, Blackledge, Blount, Chittenden, Clay, Davenport, Franklin, Gray, R. S. Jackson, Kelly, Lyon, Macon, Quincy, Randolph, Rowan, Sloan, Sandford, Stedman, Sturges, Tallmadge, Trigg, Upham, Van Cortlandt, Van Dyke, Wharton, D. R. Williams—26.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in New York, to his friend in Richmond, dated 24th Dec. 1808.

"I have been at Passamaquoddy, where smuggling has been carried on to a vast extent. I have not a doubt but that from the small town of Eastport, 200,000 barrels of beef, pork, flour and naval stores, have been carried to the English colony of New Brunswick since the embargo laws were passed."

POSTSCRIPT.

The republicans of the City of N. York met in front of the Park, on the 13th inst. to the unprecedented number of between five and six thousand—Col. Rutgers in the chair—when a set of patriotic resolutions were unanimously adopted, from which the following are extracted. The whole shall appear in our next.

"*Resolved*, That we do continue to repose full confidence in the patriotism and talents of the President, Vice-President and the Republican majority of both Houses of Congress of the United States. That viewing without partiality and with equal indignation the hostile acts of both the belligerent powers, we entirely approve of the embargo and a rigid enforcement thereof, and believe that while it affords an opportunity to the aggressors, peaceably to discontinue their violation of our rights, its immediate tendency has been to preserve American property, to vindicate the freedom & protect the persons of our mariners, & while we lament that the violence & injustice of foreign nations have rendered it a necessary measure, we decidedly resolve that it meets our hearty approbation.

"*Resolved*, That we will support the government of the United States in its present honorable struggle to maintain the national dignity and independence together with the commercial rights of our country, for which we pledge "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

The following is extracted from the *Boston Repertory*, one of the most unprincipled prints on the continent; we therefore attach but little credit to it.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Portland, to his friend in Boston, dated

Portland, Jan. 14, 1809.

A spirit of *oppugnation* to the "O grab me" laws appears to prevail at Bath, with increasing warmth. A ship of four hundred tons, loaded with cotton, sailed from there, last Thursday. Report says, the captain went to the Custom House, and demanded a clearance for some port in the state, offering the customary bonds for the amount of vessel and cargo. The officer refused to grant him a clearance, unless he gave bonds for 90,000 dollars, thrice the amount of the cargo. This the captain refused, telling him he would proceed to sea in defiance of him, and that he might prevent him if he could.

Accordingly at the striking of the bell for one, the signal fixed upon, forty men jumped on board, loaded some cannon they had placed on the deck, and proceeded down the river. The cutter attempted to stop them, but was beaten off; and when they reached the fort, the soldiers, after discharging two heavy guns at them, *refused to obey their officers*, declaring that they would not fire upon their countrymen. The ship saluted the fort and gave three cheers as she passed.

FOR SALE,

A valuable Family of NEGROES, consisting of a Man, who is a *carpenter*, his wife and seven children; all young and healthy.

BENJ. ODEN.

Prince-Georges county, Dec. 16—tf