

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

The view taken of the subject of our differences with the belligerent powers of Europe, in a national point of light, has demonstrated the impossibility of submission on our part as a nation to their oppressions. To resist a similar, though less aggravated oppression, we engaged in all the perils of war, and through its accumulated horrors established our independence. To maintain this independence we established a system of government, under which the successive administrations have all considered it a duty to protect, as well as they could, the just trade of our citizens. It is this arduous object, which has given rise to all our serious collisions with European powers, and which has likewise given birth to almost every cause of interior division. Whether it was wise to have attempted, in the infancy of our power, to protect an object, without possessing the means, is one thing; that we have invariably and strenuously made the attempt is certain. This effort has not been manifested merely on paper; but it has induced us under one administration, to annul a solemn treaty with one power and to authorize the capture of its public armed vessels, and under another to pass a law prohibiting the importation of several important fabrics of a different power. On this point, as a nation, we stand committed; we have taken ground, which, however disputable at first, must be maintained until the solemn sense of the nation shall renounce it; but which cannot, at this moment, be renounced without forfeiting every pretension to sovereignty or spirit. It is the day of danger that tests the spirit of a nation as well as that of an individual; and when, on such an occasion, this inestimable jewel is found wanting in the former, it operates with tenfold injury, from the extent of the field, and from the distance of time to which its influence may extend. Timidity is as infectious as courage, and, once felt by a government, it rapidly pervades the whole nation, and becomes the miserable inheritance of remote generations. To avoid, therefore, so great a curse, no sacrifice of present interests can be too great. It would be far better that every tenth man should be led to slaughter, than that our commerce be exposed to outrage, to violation, to license, to capture and confiscation, at the will of lawless powers, the government would have been compelled to have resorted to war.

Such is the political view of this question. It ought to be sufficient to satisfy every mind, that we owe our exemption from war to the Embargo. But we proceed to take what we have denominated the pecuniary view of the subject.

In taking this view, all notice of national character and national rights will be waived. It will, for the sake of argument, and for that only, be assumed as possible that under a certain state of things, individual interest ought to be permitted unobscuredly to pursue its own course, however invasive such pursuit may be of national character and national rights. Even in this view, it will be seen that, but for the Embargo, war would have been inevitable.

It is admitted, that the effect of the British orders would be to seize and confiscate every vessel bound to any other than an English European port; and the effect of those of the French to seize and confiscate all vessels, carrying English fabrics, or bound to an English port. Between the two descriptions of orders, therefore, the whole American trade, except that conducted directly with the West-India islands belonging to France and her allies, is interdicted, under penalty of confiscation. Of the fury with which these orders would have been enforced, we have some specimens; notwithstanding the precaution adopted by the embargo. The French seize and burn our ships, because unable to conduct them safely into their ports; and the British seize and condemn them. The effect, in both instances, is precisely the same; except, that in the former our loss does not add to the absolute gain of France, as it does, in the latter, to that of England.

Had then our merchants pursued their trade through its ordinary channels, all that sent to countries, other than England and the West-Indies, would have been subject to capture, and nine-tenths of it, would have equally been seized and condemned. This would have been absolute unqualified war. War is a violation, by force, of the interests of another nation; and England would in this way have committed this violation in the most flagrant manner. She would, however, have committed it, in that respect, which was her duty to commit, to promote her own interests by injuring ours. Leaving nothing to gain by invading the only ground for war left her, it is on the ground, and this she would have waged with the most deliberate fury had our trade gone on in its usual

course. France, on the other hand, would not have failed to injure us to the extent of her power; and if she found herself unable to obtain on the ocean, an indemnity for the aggressions of her enemy, she would have sought it elsewhere; she would have excited the Spaniards on their frontiers to acts of hostility. Under such circumstances she would have had no inducements of interest (and as to the obligations of justice the less that is said of them the better), to have remained on friendly terms with us. Flashed with the irresistible power of her arms, she would, it is but too likely, have dreamed of limiting our growing, if not of shewing our present power; not so much with the view of injuring us as of striking through us a blow at her enemy. It is not in the nature of Napoleon to remain passive under the pressure of injuries; a blow would have been struck; abortive, it is admitted, as to the result, but dreadful and sanguinary, probably, in its present effects.

But, say the opponents of the Embargo, the power of France on the ocean is great. Our trade to England will pass securely over the ocean. Without conceiving this allegation, which is not by a very great misapprehension, let us briefly look at the effects of a state of things which would open all the English ports to us, and shut all the rest.

In the first place, all that portion of our importation from the West-India islands which exceeds our own consumption, would be in effect cut off; for it is acknowledged to be a fact that England imports more of all these articles than the consumers, and the transportation of the residue from England to France and her allies is prohibited and can be enforced without any naval force on the ocean. By the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, it will be seen that for the year ending September 30, 1807, there were exported from the United States 143 millions of pounds of sugar, and 24 millions of pounds of coffee, which, with other smaller articles constitute this portion of trade, and may be estimated at eighteen millions of dollars. To this amount, therefore, would our importation, and to the same amount our exportation, be cut off.

By the same report it appears that for the same period our exports to Russia, Sweden, Denmark and Norway, Holland, Hamburg, Bremen, and other Hanse towns, French European ports, Spanish European ports, Portugal and Italy, amounted to above forty-four millions of dollars. This portion of trade, like the former, is unconnected with a supply of British wants, our direct trade to that nation fully supplying her wants.

Adding these sums together, we have an aggregate sum of sixty-two millions of dollars.

By the same document, it appears that our whole exportations for the same period, amounted to one hundred and eight millions.

It follows that the British orders completely enforced, inhibit the carrying on of sixty-two millions of our usual trade; as well our importations as our exportations.

This will appear from two considerations. If we are prohibited from exporting our goods, the means of importing foreign goods to a like amount are taken from us. One is the effect of the other.

These sixty-two millions of exports may now go to England. But for what purpose? For her consumption? She does not want them to the value of a cent. For the supply of the Continent? The Continent refuses to receive them through England; and Mr. Baring, the most intelligent foreign writer drawn forth by the crisis, laughs at the idea of being able to force these commodities into the continental market, and asserts that smuggling, carried to its most flagitious lengths, would not be successful in any case to do it.

Further; our exports to Great-Britain and her dependencies amount to 54 millions of dollars. What portion of these are again exported from England? For this extent, would the demand of Britain be diminished for our exports, when herself prohibits from exporting the surplus to the Continent. Of this, some idea may be formed by the relation which the amount of our export of domestic articles in Britain bear to the whole amount exported, and by a view of the principal articles exported. The whole amount of those exported is forty-eight millions, of which twenty-eight go to England.

The principal articles exported are—

Fish in value	3.
Wool and naval stores	5.
Provisions	17.
Tobacco	5.
Cotton	18.

Without entering into minute details there can be not a doubt but that of the twenty-eight millions exported to G. Britain ten millions at least are re-exported.

These ten millions, added to the foregoing sixty-two, make a total of seventy-two millions, amounting to just two thirds of the whole usual trade of the U. States.

our trade, and subjected the residue to a capricious regulation, would have been submitted to individually by our merchants? Would they not have claimed the privilege of arming their vessels, and of pushing their enterprise wherever their power could have opened to them a market? They most assuredly would; and this arming would have been war.

It appears, therefore, that whatever view is taken of this subject; whether national honor or individual interest is made the arbiter—war would have ensued, but for the Embargo.

AN AMERICAN WHIG.

Massachusetts Legislature.

The following letter was read on Thursday last in the Senate and house of Representatives of that state.

To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

GENTLEMEN—It has been my endeavor as I have conceived it was my duty, while holding a seat in the Senate of the Union, to support the administration of the General Government, in all necessary measures within its competency, the object of which was to preserve from seizure and depredation the persons and property of our citizens, and to vindicate the rights essential to the Independence of our Country, against the unjust pretensions and aggressions of all foreign powers.

Certain Resolutions recently passed by you, have expressed your disapprobation of measures, to which, under the influence of these motives, I gave my assent. As far as the opinion of a majority in the legislature can operate, I cannot but consider these Resolutions as enjoining upon the representation of the State in Congress, a sort of opposition to the National Administration, in which I cannot, consistently with my principles, concur.

To give you however the opportunity of placing in the Senate of the United States a member who may devise and enforce the means of relieving our fellow-citizens from their present sufferings, without sacrificing the peace of the nation, the personal liberties of our Seamen, the neutral rights of our Commerce, I now restore to you the trust committed to my charge, and resign my seat as a Senator of the United States, on the part of this Commonwealth.

I am, with perfect respect, &c.

JOHN Q. ADAMS.

Boston, 24th June, 1808.

Sunday, in the House of Representatives, the Committee on the Speech of his Excellency the Governor reported an answer, which, after debate, was accepted by a considerable majority.

In consequence of the resignation of Mr. Adams, the Senate proceeded to the election of a person to fill the vacancy thus occasioned in the present Congress; when the Hon. James Lloyd had nineteen votes, and the Hon. William Gray fourteen. The House concurred in the Senate; Mr. Lloyd had 140 and Mr. Gray 112.

NEW YORK, JUNE 16.

Vessels bound for Guadaloupe, from the United States under permission, have received the following notification after being boarded by the British blockading squadron.

The British Majesty's ship at anchor off the Isle Deserte.

In consequence of His British Majesty's Order in council of 24 Feb. 1808, permitting Neutrals to go to the enemies colonies to recover their property, you are hereby permitted to proceed to your port of destination, notwithstanding the warning written on the back of your Register.

A letter dated Cape of good Hope, April 14, 1808, to a respectable merchant house in this city, from H. M. Baur, of the ship Martha, from Calcutta to New-York, says— "I beg leave to inform you of my safe arrival here on the 12th ult and of my anchoring, and immediately boarded and taken possession by a boat from the British ship of war Scipio, Capt. Bingham, and have been detained every since, with several other American vessels, without assigning any cause."

PHILADELPHIA, June 17.

The Philadelphia Gazette and True American, having stated, apparently upon the authority of Capt. Gidson of the ship Ocean, from Rotterdam, that the American vessels in the ports of Holland had been condemned; we are authorized by that gentleman to state that he gave no authority for such an assertion—that none of the American vessels had been condemned; but, that, being detained by the general embargo that existed in Holland, the masters of ten of the American vessels agreed to lend their masts and crews home, to save expenses; for which purpose Capt. Gidson had received special permission from the king of Holland, to depart for the United States.

The Raft Battle on Lake Champlain which first appeared in New-York and Boston, is contradicted. It is said to rank with the "Ocean" story of past years.

Baltimore papers.

We understand, that dispatches have been received from Gen. Armstrong of a late date in April. Gen. Armstrong was then in Paris. The Osage had not been detained by the French government, but by Gen. Armstrong; to take his communications for our government. She was soon to return to England, whence she would soon sail for the U. S. without returning to France. We do not learn that any extraordinary circumstances had occurred.

Nat. Int.

An intelligent American gentleman, whose vessel has been lately captured by the British under the late Orders of Council, on his way from Lisbon to New-York laden with iron and wine, writes from Plymouth (16th April) to his friends in Boston as follows:

"An immense amount of property is daily plundered and condemned. Individuals must expect to suffer in conflicts like this present. But the universal hope is, by all means, that our country will not relax in its measures, but maintain its ground to the last."

"Last Monday Evening there was a hot press, not excepting Americans—and many more of our citizens will be forced into their service."

The English prints and correspondents are very fertile sources of comfort to the English politicians in the United States—they appear on paper as potent as Bourbons on land; they ruin American thro' want of British commerce—they stave the European continent through want of coffee—one half of the American people, (that is seven eighths of the newspapers) are ready to resort to England—the other half of the people (and the remaining eighth of the newspapers) are sold to France—the American ambassador at Paris is removed, by a stroke of legerdemain, from his station, while he remains without any sort of knowledge of the fact, snug as Paris, or rambling among the curiosities which the conquest of sixteen years past have accumulated at Paris—messengers carrying dispatches, are insubordinate ministers independent—and revolts and civil wars are made to break out in three or four parts of the U. States.

PETERSBURG, June 24.

The Osage has not been condemned, nor even seized, by the French government, as had been industriously circulated by the Anglo-American party in this country—she was detained by General Armstrong, until his dispatches were ready, because the emperor will not suffer any vessel to enter the ports of France after having been in England. She was to proceed to England, about the 20th of April, and may be hourly expected.—We are happy that the wishes of a certain party have been frustrated.

The Rochfort squadron has arrived at Toulon, after having accomplished the object of its cruise, in supplying the Seven Islands, and capturing many English and Portuguese vessels.

It is not true, that American vessels have been condemned in the ports of France under the Milan Decree. Many remain sequestered. Capt. Gidson arrived at Philadelphia, from Holland, brought home the supercargoes and crews of several vessels detained under that decree.

Great preparations are making in Philadelphia, to commemorate the attack on the Chesapeake.—I believe, mourning has now begun and no satisfaction has been yet given for that monstrous deed.

The sailing of the Chesapeake has been countermanded.

John Smith of Ohio, has resigned his seat in the Senate of the U. S.

TO RENT

Two large and convenient warehouses, and two floors in an excellent situation at the bottom of Princess Street. Possession of the floors immediately and of the warehouses first of May. Apply to ANDREW SCOTT, April 19.

The subscribers to the Readers of Nature and Art, and the Geography, in this Town and its vicinity, are informed that they have to hand and are ready for delivery at the Book Store.