

an exchange requested - the balance will be paid.

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[12TH YEAR.]

Address to the Editor of the Wilmington Gazette
(Continued from our last.)

Was he and Mr. Jefferson, not aware that his friend and ally, Bonaparte, would not bear of a good understanding, any more than he would of a commercial treaty between America and England?

Granted, that the Embargo in the "then existing state of our foreign relations, was not only the most provident, the most moderate, but absolutely the only measure, except immediate war." It must have had objects in view; those objects attained, the act should cease. Two objects were prominent—

The 1st. To preserve our resources, viz. our shipping and seamen within ourselves.

The 2d. To prepare for war should it ultimately become unavoidable. To the first I shall only refer, to the first Supplementary Act which grants permission to vessels, to go to Foreign Ports and bring home property due to America. This may be a cunning, a wise measure, to endeavour to recover a few thousand dollars due America, when we owed millions to England, of which we refused to allow them to come and take away every part in surplus produce! But it at once exposed our resources, (viz. our shipping and seamen) on the wide ocean, to that piratical power who seizes every vessel that comes within her grasp. Our seamen are so nicely preserved, (we presume in some latent dry dock) that very few are to be found in any sea port town of America.

The 2nd object, viz. preparation for war—is answered by the defenceless situation of every port, and the puny protection to be expected from gun-boats. Fellow-Citizens, were you to see a foreign ship of war hoisting a gun-boat on her deck, would it not remind you of the Princess of Brodignag, lifting up and seating Gulliver in the palm of her hand?

The wisdom and efficiency of the measure, to compel England to relinquish her unjust encroachments on the neutral flag, (after the rejection of the commercial treaty) was, in the then existing state of our Foreign relations, very questionable.—Now we must acknowledge the prophecies of the Philosopher, and his Democratic Academy have proved false, and our expectations completely disappointed. I much fear that the measure has only degraded our country in the estimation of Europe, exposed the pusillanimity of our executive, and published to the world our dread of the burthen of war, and our alarm at the expenses incident to the preparations for that disagreeable alternative.

As to the CONSTITUTIONALITY of the embargo law, I must confess it never entered my head; but I must acknowledge since the doubt has been circulated, and Mr. John Quincy Adams is mentioned by the committee "as a gentleman universally admitted of the first talents" the words he uttered at the introduction of the bill "that there was no time for deliberation, that we must act," have frequently arrested my attention. I will leave the public to draw their own inferences now, for the hurry, secrecy, and rapidity with which this obnoxious measure was passed.

What has the embargo, and the rejection of the commercial treaty with England effected, or likely to effect?

A total stagnation of all our trade.
A permanent diminution of the extensive and advantageous commerce of this great country.

A total loss of the profitable carrying trade by our own shipping, and

A certain curtailment in future of our colonial intercourse.

The enterprising and rich merchants of England soon discover new channels for their capital and industry. This is the moment that they will induce the government to enforce their navigation act, (the relaxation of which has so much benefited America and lessened the British shipping.)

I solemnly declare I consider the Embargo fraught with so much immediate and permanent injury to the agricultural, commercial & shipping interest of the country, that I dread the consequences. From the various supplementary acts to the embargo law, prohibiting all exchange of produce, even by land, with the British continental colonies; prohibiting British or neutral vessels from coming to this country, to purchase and carry away our surplus produce, I draw my inference of the intent and meaning of the act, viz. an injury to Great-Britain, because she has shipping and could take our surplus articles; and partiality towards France, because she cannot reap equal advantages with her inveterate enemy.

THE ADDITIONAL DUTIES to be paid on articles entered in England, with an intent of exporting to the continent of Europe under the influence of Buonaparte being called a TAX, I do not think it necessary to reply to. The TAX is made use of, because it answers party purposes, imposes upon the ignorant, and aggravates the hatred towards England; The infuriated and intemperate Corvican, declares every neutral vessel, allowing herself to be boarded by a British ship of war a

LAWFUL PRIZE; how is an unarmed merchantman to prevent it? In one of his moments of Delirium I expect he will decree, "that the sun shall only shine in America, on his two favorite French citizens and MEMBERS OF THE LEGATION OF MONA."

The respectable house of Rathbone Hughes & Duncan, would have appeared more liberal, had they, in a note to their computation said "the additional duties alluded to, are the natural consequence of submission to the French Decrees, and are levied by the British Government; that they may ultimately fall on the consumer on the continent of Europe."

The voluminous calculations to ascertain what trade we might still enjoy independent of the French European Continental ports, is futile and never can be correct.

Whether a few millions more or less signifies little in my mind.

The whole shipping of the country is rotting in our harbours.

Our surplus produce perishing in our hands.

Our agricultural & commercial enterprise paralyzed.

Our growing prosperity checked.—Our carrying trade relinquished perhaps never to be recovered again.

The British, French, and Spanish West-Indies.

India and China, the Brazils, Spanish and Portuguese South America, Spain Portugal and England!!

Do not ALL THESE COUNTRIES present an immense field for our produce, our shipping, our capitals? To all these places you may trade WITHOUT paying the additional duties, called a tax. As I am already fatigued, Mr. Editor, with wading through the tedious and verbose composition before me, I shall pass very cursorily over the prosaic hymns sung to the praises of the "Philosopher of Monticello." Again I ought to examine calculations for the amount of the TAX due HIM, imposed by the committee on the GRATITUDE of his fellow-citizens. I again unfortunately differ with the able arithmetician who has preceded me.

POLITICAL ECONOMY is too frequently PRUDENTIAL EXTRAVAGANCE, and I believe in no instance more easily exemplified than in the savings of Mr. Jefferson.

How much more noble would it have been instead of purchasing popularity by an affected diminution of taxes; to have applied the surplus revenue; to fortify our sea port towns; to have commenced a respectable

manufactory; to have placed the country from one end of the continent to the other in a situation to command respect from the most powerful belligerent. Such deeds "would have done well in history." The purchase of Louisiana I consider a mill stone round our eagle's neck—it will perpetually involve us in collisions with Spain and England; it was a sale made from compulsion, and I fear the contract never will be considered binding by Spain. France wanted money—and, also, refused to pay what the committee delicately term "claims of a certain description," but which, in the GOOD DAYS OF WASHINGTON AND ADAMS, and "in the then existing state of our foreign relations," were in the vulgar tongue called FRENCH SPOLIATIONS to the amount of three millions, seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

To extort a proof of honesty from our well beloved, good friend and ally NAPOLEON, Mr. Jefferson purchased Louisiana of undefined extent, for fifteen millions of dollars, out of which we promised to pay our own citizens the above-mentioned sum. This was with a vengeance, ROBBING PETER TO PAY PAUL.

As HE is about to retire I will leave him to the suggestions of his own conscience and the scrutiny of posterity.

I am glad to see the address of Mr. Gaston, noticed with that respect due to his talents, his penetration, his knowledge, and his discernment. The committee have fixed only on one point, to disprove his accuracy, as if sensible, how likely they would be, to expose the fallacy of their own arguments, the disingenuousness of their own statements, and the partiality of their own sentiments; had they attempted to make the same number of extracts from his works that they have done from the elegant compositions of the "intoxicated and infuriated Buonaparte."

Mr. Madison is the subject of our examination, and the two millions intended for Buonaparte, the point at issue. The simple story of A. B. C. D. E. & F. has so "enveloped in shades of darkness and obscurity, the

* I BY AFFEYED, because the amount of the Reduction of Officers, Sailors, and the diminution of taxes placed to the President's credit of economy is \$3,107,675 94

And the amount of the MEDITERRANEAN fund ingeniously and cunningly continued after the peace with Algiers when its original application became unnecessary amounts for 23 years at \$2 millions per annum

The leaving an additional amount of 7,750,000

Taxes to the use of \$4,641,304 9

Imposed during Jefferson's Administration, independent of the loss purchase of Louisiana, the waste of expenditure on gun boats, on fortifications, &c. Fort Johnson and Cape Fear is a proof within our own view, upon so thousand have been already wasted.

object" made so plain to the committee; that I only pity the blind, infatuated Federalists, who are not permitted to understand it—a calculation in Algebra, or a problem in Euclid, would surely have been equally familiar to our country farmers; but I must presume, the committee depended more on the mountainous effect of their invaluable and irresistible appendix, to overwhelm the obstinate. I shall therefore in reply, observe that the letters of Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Nourse, do not remove one iota of the imputation attached to Mr. Madison: they are palpably issued for electioneering purposes, are deceitful, informal, and a convincing proof of the contemptible shifts the party are driven to, to gain the Pennsylvania election, and impose on the ignorant.

The publication of the letters alluded to, is an alarming breach in the public duty of the Secretary and Register of the Treasury department. They are not deserving of the confidence placed in them. What authority calls on the Treasurer for his, and the Register's certificate respecting "Two millions of dollars, appropriated for defraying any extraordinary expenses attending the intercourse with foreign nations?"

A private individual demands to be acquainted with the secrets of Government; and when it answers party purposes, their officers are at liberty to divulge them with impunity. Yet the secret correspondence with General Armstrong, is refused, even to the Senate and Representatives, though demanded by the unanimous voice of the people!!

I shall most sincerely pray that the two millions alluded to, may be placed to the credit of the Surplus Fund, on the 31st Dec. next; but I suspect Mr. Jefferson will be under the necessity of applying to A. B. C. D. E. & F.'s Bank, & again rob Peter to pay Paul.

But Mr. Editor, the complaint against Mr. Madison, is not only, that the two millions have been paid; but that they were appropriated to bribe France, to bully Spain, not to insult us, under pretence of purchasing the Floridas.

AMERICANS, "listen to the language of Mr. Madison, as twice declared on the floor of Congress, and in the face of the world, by a gentleman of unquestionable veracity, Mr. John Randolph, and never CONTRADICTED, either by Mr. Madison, or by any one under his authority." Mr. Madison told me, said Mr. Randolph, "that France was indebted to us, and we must give it her, or take both a French and Spanish war."

Is this a mode to manifest our national resentment? Shall the American nation, in her infancy, commence paying tribute, to avoid either a French or Spanish war? And at the indignation of the would-be-president, sacrifice her honor, her dignity, her independence? Spain, Portugal, Switzerland and Holland, all paid tribute, and war was the re-payment. If America pays tribute to France, war with our magnanimous ally will be the result. And are we then, fellow-citizens, to look to Mr. Madison for the qualifications necessary for executing the high and arduous duties of President of the United States? No, countrymen;—look for these requisites in the happy delineation presented you by Mr. Gallatin, who, like an able artist, traces his outline from a perfect model, (if ever there was a perfection on earth,) and with a warmth of feeling, a correctness of taste, and a superiority of colouring, points out the virtues, the transcendent talents, the dignity of mind, that inhabited the original. His model was the great, the good, the independent, the disinterested patriot. It was our ever to be revered, our beloved Washington!! A blessed immortality must be his lot—and as immortal may his memory be in the heart of every American!!

"General Charles Cotelworth Pinckney is distinguished for inflexible integrity, and unfulfilled honor; zealously devoted to the interests of his country, and blessed with the intelligence to discern, and the spirit to defend it; invariably true to his principles of right, but superior to the intemperance of faction; the brave soldier, the practical statesman, and the virtuous citizen." He is the nearest resemblance in mind, character and disposition, to the father of our country, who bequeathed us in his farewell address, a legacy of ineffable value, a guide for our conduct in the days of prosperity, as well as in a time of difficulty.

The French revolutionary mania which affected the brain of Mr. Jefferson, communicated its pernicious effects to his pupil Madison. Partiality towards France, and prejudice against England, must produce endless collisions.—What similarity is there between the national convention, which adopted Jefferson, Madison & Paine,

as their citizens, and the imperial despot? Was the fraternal hug so agreeable to their feelings, that they court a republican from a tyrant, an usurper; as well as from freemen and citizens?

The philosopher of Monticello has led us into a labyrinth of difficulties; he will continue to direct his pupil, though he may appear to retire to his cave.

Mr. Madison has committed himself on important points, and cannot possibly extricate us from our difficulties, nor can any one, who possesses the same philosophy, theories, antipathies and prejudices.

In the election of a federalist—of Gen. Pinckney, fell all our hopes. That happy event once accomplished, we shall again see agriculture, trade & commerce, spreading their benign influence among our fellow citizens; and the honor, dignity and independence of this extensive asylum of liberty, supported and preserved inviolate.

It is now time for me to make the usual excuse, viz. that "this letter having already exceeded the limits assigned it," I shall hasten to the conclusion, and only hope that the difficulty of compressing an answer to a volume of 70 pages, in a few columns, will plead my excuse.

This fir, is an awful period, the election for the chief magistracy over a free people. I shudder when I consider the poisonous effects of rancorous party spirit.—When with my neighbour, friend, or acquaintance, I cannot converse upon the measures of government—the probable cause of the obnoxious conduct of belligerents, and the apparent incapacity of our situation to command their respect; without risking his good opinion, his friendship, his intimacy: Every American citizen, native or adopted should feel proud of the appellation: their united exertions should tend to one object, viz. the preservation of their liberty, their laws, their government; their dignity, the independence of their country, and not suppose it possible, because his fellow citizen gives his vote to a different candidate from him, that he is influenced either by British or French gold; It is arrogating to himself depths sin—no less than treason against the sovereignty of the people, who consider the privilege of voting, the bulwark of their liberties. I will give my vote to General Thomas Brown, the federal candidate; and though each of the democratic republican committee, choose to give theirs individually to Governor Ashe, I will not suppose them, enemies to their country, but sincerely hope that another year's trial of the Embargo will be, "a light to enlighten their understanding," and "an illumination to the minds of those who cannot see the ERRORS of the present administration."

AMICUS.

EMBARGO OPPRESSION.

I, Isaac Smith, master of the schooner Polly, of New-Utrecht, on the 29th of Sept. last, on my passage from New-York to Brook-Haven, with about one hundred barrels of flour on board, at the distance of six or seven miles from Long-Island shore, was boarded and my boat seized by a boat calling herself the revenue boat, commanded by a Mr. Van Buren, under the pretence, as the revenue boatmen said, that I was about to break the Embargo. I was taken on board this boat, and my own boat ordered to New-York, where we arrived the 1st of October. On Monday the 3d, I was arrested by the deputy marshal, on White Hall Dock. I offered Timothy T. Cortislow as my bail, which was refused by said deputy marshal. I then offered Wm. Clarke and John Stotoff, which was also refused. I was then sent to jail, where I now remain. Since I have been here, I have been repeatedly called on by Mr. Schenck, surveyor of the port, and solicited by him to make a discovery (as he called it) of those concerned in the shipment of this flour. He promised that if I would make the discovery, he would become my friend, and that I should be set at liberty, and should not be hurt; but if I refused, he might keep me in jail. This he repeated every time he came to see me.—I sent to him for my chest of clothes which was on board the schooner, but which he would not give until he had examined it. I then sent him the key, he examined the chest, and took all my papers, books, &c. and sent me my clothes. I am in jail, without money, without friends, and have no hope of getting out without discovering to Mr. Schenck, things which I know nothing of, but which he says I do know, and must tell.—I wish to be released from my confinement, and to earn my living. Mr. Schenck told me, if I even got bail, he might put me in again; so there might be no end to it.

ISAAC SMITH.

Witness, PETER J. CORTISLOW. Oct. 6.