THE RALEIGH N

THREE DOLLARS PER TEAR,

RALEIGH, N. C .- PUBLISHED (WEEKLY) BY LUCAS A

VOL. 16.

FRIDAY, JUNE 28, 181

Political.

Ma. PICKERING's ADDRESS

IN my fast number I mentioned the declarahe four papers communicated by Mr. Jefferson, then he recommended the embargo, did not fursh sufficient ground for its adoption by Con-For the British orders in council, and the tiso decree and the corresponding decree of min furnished the only reasons for his acquiesing in the continuance of the embargo. Now as incly as when he communicated them, and yet be could have furnished no reason for original suposing it. For recollect that it was "the and merchandize" shewn in those papers on mich Mr. Jefferson professed to recommend the bargo. And those dangers, whatever they

ere, continued the same. But to return to the British Orders in council. as Mr. Adams has asserted, they stood " in out of the real causes of the embargo," who hat has witnessed the promptitude and eager ess, with which Mr. Jefferson has always seized nevery fact and circumstance to awaken and ag ravate the public irritations, against Great Bri n, will believe that he would have been silent ressting those orders? But, says Mr. Adams they have not been officially received": and his he offers as a reason why Mr. Jefferson die mention them I ask, then, why he commuicated the British king's proclamation of Oct. 16, 7? Had that been officially received?-No. Ir. Jefferson had seen it-in the common newspers-from which he cut two copies, and sent to each house of Congress, with his other langerous nature of those orders, though resting ly on newspaper report; if the apprehension of then really influenced his mind as Mr. Adams systhey influence his, more than all the commu-nicated causes of the embargo: why should he by his sil-nce, withhold their influence from Conress? Was it unlawful or improper that their ninds should be influenced by a consideration which powerfully impressed his own? If the orders in suncil were at all in his contemplation, and really constituted a motive for the embargo, what objection could exist to his informing Congress. that such were the intimations in newspapers, and expressing his opinion that they furnished an ad duonal reason for laying an embargo !- The truhis, those newspaper intimations if they had been seen by the President, were entirely disre garded when he recommended the embargodisattention was arrested by the communications ke had received four days before from France; and his thoughts were busily employed in preparing for the adoption of an embargo—an embargo upon a novel principle—to change a temforary detention of our vessels at home which was the universal understanding of the nature of membargo, t-into an unlimited suspension, or inderdict of all foreign commerce ! in reality a ermanent embargo! a thing never before heard gerous extent of executive influence? but which under the simple name of embarof contributed to deceive the people into a bebinduce their acquiescence. Even Mr. Adams dmits that to have been the impression on is own mind. In his letter to Mr. Ous he bys ... I have indeed been myself of opinion that he embargo must in its nature be a temporary exedient." Yes: and only twenty days, from the ssing of the embargo law had elapsed, when Mr. adams offered a resolution for the appointment of committee to enquire at what period the embar might, consistently with the public interest, be lemoved. " But (says he) my resolution met no incouragement." No: a new convert, and still his noviciate, he was not let into all the setres of the cabinet, from whose views nothing was more remote than a simple embargo, a emporary suspension of commerce .- And as voting for the embargo he reposed himself. with entire confidence, on the recommendation and so perior into mation of the president; so af erwards, when his proposition in the senate for

egatived by a majority of nearly two to one.

of Representatives, were rejected or passed by Mr. Adams at their with eilent contempt, he, with becoming hu- pressions, if they emility, acquiesced; reposing himself now on the in council? The ord uperior wisdom of the majorities of the two on news-paper repo houses of Congress. Yes : when he saw that the ments; yet Mr. Ad embargo had changed its nature; that what had them were of all the been enacted under the name of an embargo was and impartial exam of all commerce with foreign nations-still not one word was ut of the John Quincy Adams, while a senator of all commerce with foreign nations....still not one word was utter-Congress, that the British orders in council, of his randid and elevated mind would not descend to serve, moreover, that the pal cause, of the embargo. His words are, that ecutive and his leaders in the two honses; The council as grounds is a stand in front of the seal causes of the men who had uniformly opposed all the measures that he entertain suspicious of simular views in the ex. offering the reports co of state of the facts of the decimed by his own father to be necessary for the facts other than the subsequent retaining durings of France decimed by his own father to be necessary for the facts other than the facts of the fac Spain, [Bonaparte's Milan decree of Dec. 17, during Washington's administration as his own; commendations the the of and that of Spain, its echo, bearing date and a series of artifices perseveringly, practised, Mr. Adams suggested, the president might pos and that of Spain, its cond, bearing date by which the people were deceived, had finally sess.—The invitable conclusion from these details the reasons upon which I have acquiesced in its overturned the federal administration of our gov, is, that the British orders in council were not enment; these men, it seems, had exhibited so even in the contemplation of Mr. Adams himself, much wisdom, so much patriotism, and had when he gave his zealous account to the shewn themselves so unambitious, so pure so dis. And without imputing to him a palpable violation luded, and of which he could not have been igno tives for advocating and voting for the embargo.

of the haste with which the embargo bill was pas- on the acts of the President. The sentiment ex- authors of these injuries and insults receive by law little more time was repeatedly asked, to obtain ness of legislation into the will of the Executive. supreme wisdom may pause, while independent pedient for the welfare of the state. I still enmen will be shocked at the answer of my col- tertain this opinion; and that an implicit reliance league to those requests. "The president (said on the Executive-a blind adoption of his meahe) " has recommended the measure on his high sures, would be a relinquishment of my indepen-

ng advancing such sentiments: when they see a support his measures. man of his knowledge of the nature of all governments, and of his intimate acquaintance with our own free republican government, and of the rights and duties of the legislature; especially too of their right and duty to consider, to deliberate, and according to their own judgment, independently of executive pleasure to decide on every public measure :-- When, I say, the people of Massaleading the public mind, by its blind confidence, expressions of the executive. to public ruin ?"

Such were my reflections in April 1808. The subject now requires some additional observa-

Universal experience, as well as the highest authority, assures us, that "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." If as Mr. oxing the time at which the embargo should Adams represents, the rumoured British orders lave an end, and similar attempts in the house

interested in their opposition, that to suspect them, of truth, his contrary assertion may be accounted and a commerce once profitable and flourishing. now, of sinister unfair views, would be improper for, by the subsequent actual appearance of the and dishonorable! Yet Mr. Adams admits "that orders in council, which the administration and vigilant observation is at all times and suspicion its partizans artfully blended with the original premay occusionally become necessary, upon the con- tences for imposing the embargo: and the warrath duct of men in power." And of all men suspicion of Mr. Adams's passions, and his prejudices, reshould have attached to those who ascended to sentments and hatred towards Great Britain, led power by the, steps to which I have so often al. him also to confound them with his original mo-But I must again recur to the extraordinary

I presume it has been satisfactorily shown, that declaration of Mr. Adams, of the ground on which the rumoured British orders in council did not he voted for the embargo. "The President was "cutting off our trade," and that, to "established by the council did not he voted for the embargo. enter into Mr. Jefferson's views in recommending " (says he) has recommended the measure on his lish commerce" was one of the great objects prothe emuargo Perhaps it will also appear that " high responsibility; I would not consider-I they were not in the contemplation of Mr. Adams " would not deliberate; I would act. Doubtless the bring themselves to believe that in the national when he gave his zealous assent to it; although " President possesses such further information as compact, by the power " to regulare commerce" he says those orders " formed to his understand. " will justify the measure."-The French Emperor the states intended to grant a power to destroy it. ing a powerful motive for assenting to the embar- has a legislative body; but they frame no laws; go!" and in another place, as I have already re- these are prepared by his ministers, according to general legislature any but the most correct momarked, that " they stand in front of the real HIS WILL; and his legislators have the honor of tives in passing the non importation law; but the causes for the embargo." Nay, he goes further, giving their assent to them. In what does this consequences of that law, are peculiarly destrucand represents all the other causes as amounting practice of a despot and his slaves differ from the live to their interests; it places them in a state of to nothing. His words are-" To argue upon the principles or sentiments formally expressed by Mr. uncommon embarrassment, it ruins their propersubject of our disputes with Britain, or upon the Adams in the Senate? It shocked'even democra- ty; it dries up the sources of their prosperity; motives for the embargo, and keep them [the or- cy itself in that body. "However I may vote and they perceive no relief except from its reders in council] out of sight, is like laying your (said a democratic member) that is too much for peal. finger over the unit before a series of noughts, and me to say." And for my own part I view the If the operation of the non importation law then arithmetically proving that they amount to sentiment as so abhorrent to the principles of a free thus severe & oppressive not only to your petition. nothing."-Keeping in mind these various asser- government; so derogatory to the character of a ers, but to all persons concerned in foreign comtions of Mr. Adams, concerning the British or member of congress; and so disgraceful to a citi- merce, does not present one of those "extraordinders in council, and their powerful influence on zen and a man; that I am incapable of conceiving ary occasions" which authorizes the president to his mind, to induce him to vote for the embargo; of any counterbalance in official honors and emo-convene congress; your petitioners respectfully I pray every reader to go back with me to view luments. An embassy, a judgeship, the presi-suggest, that such " occasion" may be found in the original scene of passing the embargo bill in dency or a throne, to an honourable and independ the change which has taken place in our foreign the senate. This scene was represented three dent mind, would in the comparison be " as a relations. The president's proclamation, and the msy pretences for an embargo. If the mind of years ago, in my correspondence with governor drop in the bucket-and the small dust to the ba- lawin question, was founded on an engagement of a lefferson was impressed with an idea of the Sullivan; who having stated to me, that he had a lance." Upon the principle advanced by Mr. A. the French government to revoke the Berlin and letter from my colleague, Mr. Adams, " who voted dams, what becomes of " the checks and balances." Milan decrees. Those decrees, it now appears, for the embargo, and still considered it a wise which are the main pillars of his father's " great have in fact not been revoked. That power has measure and a necessary one."-I was constrain- work" on the American Constitutions? By the not ceased to violate our neutral rights. She se. ed, in my own justification, to detail his conduct constitution of the United States, the Senate and questers our property in her ports; she burns or on that occasion. I thus wrote to the governor: House of Representatives were intended as checks sinks our vessels on the ocean; and, what is still " In my first letter, I informed your excellency on the acts of each other, and both as checks more difficult to comprehend, after such acts, the

sed in the Senate. I also informed you that " a pressed by Mr. Adams resolves the whole busi- a hospitable reception in our harbours. further information, and to consider a measure of I have been simple enough to suppose it to be the the president of the U. States to convene congress such moment, of such universal concern; but that duty of every member of a legislative body, in a as speedily as his powers will constitutionally allow. these requests were denied;" and I must now free government, to deliberate upon the matters in order to enable them to take the subject of this add, by no one more zealously than by Mr. A. recommended by the Executive; to consider petition into consideration, and of granting to dams, my colleague. Hear his words. But even whether the measures proposed were supported your petitioners such relief as the nature of the your excellency's strong faith in the president's by sufficient reasons, and were necessary or exresponsibility: I would not consider - I would dence -- a violation of my duty -- and a surrender of not deliberate: I would act. Doubtless the fire- the rights of the people. But such old notions which you have addressed to me, representing the " sidem possesses such further information as will are now much out of fashion. Whoever would justify the measure!" On this extraordinary de obtain favour with the ruing power must renounce importation law, and soliciting that the National claration I made the following remarks: " Need them. " There is no getting along, or being any give to your excellency any other proof (though thing, without popularity"-was a sentiment once other proofs abound) of blind confidence in our expressed. Mr. Adams will not have forgotten rulers? Need I give further evidence of the dan- it .-- And while every thing which Mr. Jefferson did, pleased a majority of the people-the sure "When the people of Massachusetts see a man way to obtain popularity and executive favour at of Mr. Adam's acknowledged abilities and learn the same time, was to please the President, and

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

June 3, 1811.

* Letter to H. G. Otis, Esq.

NEW HAVEN, June 13. Interesting .- The committee, appointed to prefer a petition to the president of the U. States, chusetts see this: will they wonder if a majority on the subject of the distressing and oppressive non importation has grown, the state of commerce in congress should be overwhelmed by the author- operation of the present existing non importation was no otherwise qualified than by a provision, ity of executive recommendation? And had I not law, have received Mr. Madison's answer - With reason to be alarmed at the dangerous extent of the usual avidity, we gratify the publick with the executive influence, which to me appeared to be earliest possible publication of the sentiments and

> TO JAMES MADISON, President of the United States of America, The petition of the inhabitants of the town of New Haven in Connecticut, in legal town meeting convened,

Respectfully Showeth-

That your petitioners are in general either in council were so strongly impressed on his directly engaged in mercantile pursuits or in the mind as to constitute the most powerful motive occupations connected with them; in those pur-Letter of March 31, 1808, to H. G. Otis, for the embargo, is it conceiveable—can man be suits they have embarked their fortunes, and from occasion for putting an end to treto, the expectlieve-that HE (as well as the president and every them they have not only derived a subsistence While the embargo bill was before the House other member of the Senate) vould have been for themselves and families, but have furnished Representatives, a motion was made (and by a absolutely silent concerning them? When the employment for great numbers of persons; to the and the period allowed for the 'put and the ' emocratic member) to limit the continuance of embargo-advocates in the Senate were urged to mechanick they have opened a market for the pro- clapsed, our ports became short to Envision the embargo to sixty days: but the motion was consent to a little delay for the purpose of obtain, ductions of his labour and skill; to the farmer for and merchandize. Whenever the motion was consent to a little delay for the purpose of obtain, ing " further information" how could they, with the products of his fields; and at the same time french government has been, with the products of his fields; and at the same time french government has been, with the products of his fields;

causes a large amount of property in the Brus West India Islands, which must remain there greatly to their loss and divadvantage until that law is repealed; in the mean time their vessels will be useless to them, their seamen unemployed. abandoned.

Your petitioners, while engaged in a lawful commerce, have thus suddenly without time being allowed them to escape, been overtaken by these calamities. Under such circumstances of suffering, they very naturally inquire from whence they proceeded, and whether they were inflicted by a constitutional authority. In making this inquiry they cannot forget that one important grievance complained of in the declaration of independence posed in that memorable instrument; nor can they

Your petitioners are far from imputing to the

Your petitioners, therefore, respectfully solicit case requires.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, &co

PRESIDENT'S ANSWER. To the Inhabitants of the Town of New Haven.

I have received, Fellow Citizens, the petition inconveniences experienced from the existing non-Legislature may be speedily convened.

It is known to all, that the Commerce of the U. States has, for a considerable period, been greatly abridged and annoyed, by Edicts of the belligerent powers; each professing retaliation only on the other; but both violating the clearest rights of the United States as a neutral nation. In this extraordinary state of things, the Legislature, willing to avoid a resort to war, more especially during the concurrent aggressions of two great powers themselves at war, the one with the other, and determined on the other hand against an unqualified acquiescence, have endeavoured by successive and varied regulations affecting the commerce of the parties, to make it their interest to be just.

In the act of congress out of which the existing that in case either of the belligerents should revoke its unlawful edicts, and the other should fail to do the same, our ports should be shut to the vessels and merchandise of the latter. This provision, which like all our previous offers, repelled the very pretext set up by each, that its edicts against our trade with the other, was required by an acquiescence in like edicts of the other, was equally presented to the attention of buth. In consequence of the communication, the Fremh government declared that its decraes were revoked. As the British government had expressed relicitance in issuing its orders, and repeatedly signified a wish to find in the example of its adversary, sh ation was the more confident, that the occasions would be promptly embraced. The weapor done;