At the same time, let it be remembered, that in the letter on the *same* point, to our minister in France; BOTH cases were stated, and war against England absolutely promised if any meaning and sincerity can be placed in *words*—This we discussed in our last number.

It may be further remarked, on this *first* letter, and no other was written until the 18th July, no direct promise was made of *even taking off the embargo*. A language of doubt and subterfuge was adopted, and the British government were only to be told, that if they would rescind *not the orders* of November only, but all their decrees on the same subject, Mr. Pinkney "MIGHT AUTHORIZE an EXPECTATION that the president would, "within a REASONABLE time, *give* "*effect* to the authority vested in him on "the subject of the Embargo."

In this shamefully loose and insincere manner was this important subject treated; and we ask those who have seen the art and duplicity, the chicane and Machiavellianism of our present cabinet, whether if Great-Britain had acceded to our offers, they could not have devised a thousand ways of getting rid of the above, mentioned equivocal and uncertain expressions. With infinitely more honour could they have done it than have rejected the solemn treaty made by Mr. Monroe, and the still more solemn embassy of Mr. Rose. Could Great-Britain be censured after such proofs of our duplicity, and our desire to avoid a friendly settlement if she distrusted the very vague and ridiculously loose expressions of the foregoing instructions.

Nor is this all:—The despatch of Mr. Madison, of April 30th must be considered as having been qualified and restrained by the general and positive terms of that minister's letter of the 4th of April, in the same year, in which he tells Mr. Pinkney, that if Great-Britain should, without *conditions*, revoke her orders, still while the affair of the Chesapeake remained *unexplained* he was not to "pledge our government to "consider the repeal of the orders as a "ground on which a removal *of the existing restrictions* on the commerce of the "United States with Great-Britain would "be justly expected."

If then this letter, written only twenty four days before, be considered as a part of the instructions, and it was never countermanded, it must be so considered, that even the illusory and trifling offer made to Great-Britain, was accompanied with a condition which it was known would never be, and indeed *could never* be accepted.

"The removal of our restrictions, of which the Embargo was one, was to depend on G. [illegible] a *due* explanation to Mr. Chesapeake. This could never be done, & Mr. Jefferson knew it, and therefore knew that his offer could never be accepted. Because, *First*—No terms which G. Britain could offer, would ever be acceptable to the President of the United States, so long as they would not be acceptable to *France*.

Secondly,—Our government, by violating the law and that decorum hitherto preserved among nations, in taking its own revenge into its own hands, had rendered it impossible that Great-Britain could ever give us satisfaction, until those measures of self-satisfaction and revenge were repealed.

Thirdly,—Our government by absolutely refusing to repeal those measures, and thus to receive the offers of reparation tendered by a solemn embassy, had rendered the settlement of the affair of the Chesapeake impossible, until Great-Britain should be actually conquered by our arms or restrictive energies, an event improbable, so long as the whole power of Bonaparte is inadequate to that object.

Lastly,—Mr. Jefferson, knowing all these facts, was assured that he might safely make any offer to Great-Britain, so long as he coupled it with his inadmissible pretensions, and his diplomatick quibbles in the affair of the Chesapeake.

The subject of the offers to Great-Britain, might be rested on this simple, but, we think, unanswerable view. Still, however, as it is all important to shew the false and insidious policy of our cabinet—a policy which is the *sole cause* of all our troubles, I shall devote to it one other number.

Congress

Tuesday, January 24.

Mr. Nicholas said, that there never was a period in any country which more required the union and exertion of all its citizens to extricate it from its difficulties, than the situation of this country required at the present time. The two most powerful nations of the world (said he) are in a state of war against this country. Their aggressions against us have been continued for twelve months; whilst we have used every honourable means in our power to avoid war. I have repeatedly declared the determination never to submit to the wrongs received; that when the embargo failed we must resort to the valor and patriotism of our citizens. Sir, we have too much reason to believe that the moment is at hand when nothing else can extricate us from our difficulties. My attention has been particularly called to the necessity of a measure of the sort I am about to propose, from the opposition made to the preparation for war by gentlemen who rely wholly upon the embargo as a coercive measure, and declare that as long as it continues, no preparation should be made with a view to a state of war. If the country remains in a situation unprepared to meet war until the period when every man would be satisfied that the embargo ought to be raised, we shall be compelled to continue it six, eight, or ten months longer, till we can prepare for actual war. But, sir, in our preparations, mere defence should not be the sole object. We are the injured party in the contest. This state of things imposes upon us the necessity of being prepared to prosecute the war; because if we seek redress for injury, the mere *defence* of the country will not answer the purpose—and therefore there is the greater necessity for extensive preparation. After these observations, Mr. N. offered the following resolutions, which he moved to refer to a committee of the whole:

Resolved, As the opinion of this House that the U. S. ought not to delay beyond the day of to repeal the embargo laws, & to resume, maintain and defend the navigation of the high seas against any nation or nations having in force edicts, orders or decrees, violating the lawful commerce and neutral rights of the United States.

After a few observations from Mr. Dana, expressive of a wish to see a whole system, and the object of the preparation for war precisely defined, expressing at the same time a desire to give the subject an early consideration, the resolution was made the order of the day for Monday next, in preference to to-day, 53 to 45.

For the Carolina Federal Republican.

The reports which each post brings, of the increasing commotions which the new embargo act has stirred up in the northern quarter of the union, fills the mind with the most awful apprehensions.

It is devoutly to be hoped, that our brethren will not proceed to the last extremity; that they will stop short of direct opposition to the laws, by force. Every thing that appears like rending the ligaments of the union asunder, is felt like the approaches of death, or signs of it, in a dear connection or friend; as if our beloved and peaceful country, was about to be changed into a land of bloodshed and slaughter, and existence in it, into a fearful, troubled, anxious state, without the promise of security or enjoyment, sufficient to make it worthy of a moment's care, or of the most trifling value.

Every one feels how hard and difficult it is, to endure the privations to which the country is reduced, by the operation of the embargo laws—How sickening, and full of deadly sorrow, the prospect is, to those who find nothing assured in the continuance of it; but the tears and wailing of an affectionate wife, and the cries of the tender offspring of her affection, for bread. Condemned to feel and to bear all this too, without the flattering prospect, or participating [illegible] satisfaction, in any way whatsoever. May the God of our fathers endow us with patience and strength to sustain our situation a few months or years longer. The time of changing the members of the supreme power will soon come round again. Then, if we are faithful to ourselves, relief from the grievous burdens imposed upon us, and revenge for the injuries we have received will be within our grasp. Let us then spurn our present proud, haughty, unfeeling rulers aside, and elect more worthy, intelligent and scrupulous men in their places; and withdraw forever, all political confidence, and our national concerns, from men who have proved themselves scandalously to be incapable, by having driven you by their pernicious, absurd and fantastical direction of them, to the very verge of rebellion. It is now given up on all sides, that a non-intercourse so far from preventing war is a measure leading directly into it: not with France, but Great-Britain.—The emperor Napoleon applauds it, and it would be base and ungrateful, as well as uncourtly and clownish, to break his head for bestowing, in no niggardly manner, his praises and approbation on your measures.

In the mean time, let us endeavor to buoy up our spirits by the hope, that although we do not perceive one single immediate benefit to spring out of all our privations and sufferings, yet, it is possible posterity may, from the experiment now making.

The principle of the non-intercourse has so entirely failed, in the trial of all its promised coercive effects, and as many great projectors, in our land, entertained the most thorough & implicit confidence and faith in its complete efficacy, the experiment was to be made at some time. The broad discovery of its folly, and intrinsic profligacy and worthlessness may prevent any other set of silly, opinionated, fanatic Philosophers, who might hereafter surprise the confidence of the people, and arrive at power, from afflicting or wounding the commercial and planting interests of the nation, with further trial of the efficacy of any one of the tribe of non-intercourse or non-importation projects, or speculate against war or recipes to destroy the kingdom of Great-Britain.

Assuredly the desolation spread over our land at this moment; miserable sufferers now stretched on their beds of straw—their tongues cleaving to the roofs of their mouths—their parched lips sticking together for want of food; mothers shivering in their wretched abodes, "the big tears coursing down their wan cheeks" while tucking the tattered clothes close about their little ones, famishing for bread, and perishing from cold; deprived too of the consolation and succour of a tender husband, and they of the last resources of a father, driven from his country, and his home, by the want of bread, to seek it in a foreign land among strangers; every rank and condition of life from the highest to the lowest, whatever may be the degree of distress and misery which the several embargo laws may have brought upon them; All! all! may surely find the origin and cause of their present calamity and sufferings in the report of Mr. Secretary Jefferson, made to Congress, early in the session of 1793, in relation to the commerce of the United States, and in Mr. Madison's Resolutions founded on that Report and brought into the House of Representatives by him, in January 1794; where they underwent a luminous and critical examination during several days discussion: but were finally rejected, or rather postponed, until the session of 1806; when they were revived and passed in the shape of a non-importation law; and now, like the poisonous shirt, enclose our country, in the form of an embargo and non-intercourse.

These resolutions were designed to operate in favor of France and against the commercial interests of Great-Britain—in the same fashion that concert of non-importation, non-intercourse and embargo acts do now. In reading the arguments of the members opposed to these resolutions, one is most forcibly struck, by the exactness with which they predicted the present effect of them as a measure of coercion against Great-Britain; and as a terrible engine of self destruction in their bearing upon ourselves. This remark is eminently applicable to the speeches of Mr. Ames and Mr. Tracy. The spirits, which have since mounted up into heaven; but which, thought in these illustrious men then, penetrated the design and motives which produced the report and resolutions, foretold, that if ever they should be passed into a law, in the shape they then had, or in the form of a non-importation or non-intercourse; the measure would become an object of scorn and derision, with the British Government—it would so intimately resemble the viper's biting the file, in its comparatively harmless operation upon them, with its serious, ruinous consequences to the trade and the best interests of our country—Throughout the whole of the debate, the report of the Secretary (Mr. Jefferson) and the resolutions founded upon it, introduced in the house by Mr. Madison, were considered as promoting the interests of France, and not the interests of the United States.

This position, tho' most strenuously combatted by those who advocated the resolutions, appears to be very clearly made out, by the speakers opposed to them. But suppose it had been left doubtful then, the experiment now has set the question at rest, by demonstrating and establishing the fact; yet Mr. Jefferson & his party from that day to the hour of recommending and passing the embargo, have blindly and obstinately persisted in considering them as a mortal scourge for the injustice, the arrogance and pride of Great-Britain. A mighty machine which in its destructive course was to lay her towns and cities in ruins, annihilate her power and strength, and bring her an humble suppliant for mercy at the feet of Mr. Jefferson and his party. But the British Government, has seen to look away at the present administration—it was threatened these formidable resolutions, or non-intercourse. How often have the present party in power been heard to exclaim, in a blustering tone to [illegible] "We know how to reach your vitals—we can wherever we please produce insurrection and rebellion in your government—we can let loose three hundred thousand of your manufacturers against you." Not the Great Philosopher Perkins was ever more eager to try the effect of his TRACTORS on the jaws of some poor wretch, afflicted with tooth ache, than Mr. Jefferson, to make an experiment of these same resolutions on the existence of the British Government. Nothing short of this would satisfy him. Compromise, or adjustment of differences in any other manner would not answer.—To secure this great point, Mr. Monroe was so strait laced and tightly laced up in his instructions, that he could hardly breathe. In struggling for his country, he thought some of the bandages stretched, so as to give him room to adjust all our differences with Great-Britain in the form of a treaty—this scheme was sent to Mr. Jefferson and returned by him to the British Court in the most sullen, offensive & haughty manner, that our quarrel might stand open, and the Great NOSE VERVAC go into experiment. All other considerations fell before the burning desire of humbling, injuring, and destroying G. Britain. But as in every case of excessive malice, it seems to be the wisdom, or the order of providence, that in its attempts to injure others, it should destroy itself—so in this instance, the blow aimed at Great-Britain by Mr. Jefferson and his party, has fallen on their own heads. The non-importation—embargo—and non-intercourse were designed by them to produce insurrection, rebellion, & overthrow that government in six months; but behold the sad reverse—they have driven the most respectable and brink of rebellion. Great-Britain remains tranquil, increasing every day, through their destructive operation on the commerce of their own Country, in wealth, strength, power and dominion.

When Mr. Jefferson so proudly and arrogantly returned Mr. Monroe's treaty, which really contained the elements of a continuance of peace, and increase of wealth, power and grandeur to the United States, many thought they read in his haughty self sufficient conduct, the denunciation of the prophetic spirit of that maxim of ancient wisdom, which affirms, "that pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall." They thought they saw in it, his condemnation and the foreboding of the fall of his popularity; and so indeed they did. The contempt and detestation, in which the conduct and proceedings of the administration and of the whole party that supports it, are now beginning to be held by the people, is full and shining evidence of the fact. They have been precipitated into this course of pernicious and fatal measures which will work a total destruction of their popularity, by a just judgment of heaven upon them for the base and scandalous means they employed to acquire it. By virulent slander of every sort and stamp, by the most wicked and atrocious calumnies, uttered in every shape and form, and repeated a thousand times over and over, did they attack and destroy the peace of mind, the honor and reputation, the hard earned character and fair fame, of some of the most just and righteous men in the nation, to get into place and power.

Without the supposition of a decree of providence against them—how can their blind, infatuated, stupid management of the affairs of the nation be accounted for, or explained. They go on to disgust and incense the people against them, on whose approbation their places and power depend, to which they cling with the convulsive force of a death hold; advancing from one silly, blind, provoking and oppressive act, to another still more grievous, offensive and absurd. All this, without any foundation in reason, on which their genius or their talents have been able to bestow even a plausible colour. Such silly absurd conduct is not to be reconciled with the dullest sense of self preservation, or the lowest degree of human foresight.

Yet fellow citizens, it is our place, at present, to bear with all these frantic acts. No matter by what fraud and dishonorable practices on a generous credulity, they prevailed on a majority of us, to place them in authority over us, and to entrust the management of our national concerns to them. We must not fly in the face of the constitution to rid ourselves of them, or, to recover our affairs from the hands of such blundering, incapable and worthless managers.—No, my countrymen, this would be one duty inconsistent, and utterly repugnant to every principle of the condition upon which we accepted the boon from the wisdom & efforts of our illustrious ancestors. The terms of this condition enjoin us, sh we value every domestic comfort; the inviolable security of our houses, freedom of will, thought and opinion; safety and protection for our persons and property; to suffer every extremity of the sort of distress of which we now complain, sooner than violate, or disturb a single fold or form of our excellent constitution. Nor need we to do it, in the present instance. A little while and a little patience will remove all our grievances. The time will soon arrive when we shall have an opportunity to change the present majority in the house of Representatives, and the Administration must of course change with it. Let us at all hazards preserve inviolate the constitution and the integrity of the union, as the rock of our political salvation—from which the lofty arch of our wealth, grandeur & power may in other times continue to ascend, enlarge & strengthen. For proceed the step against the arbitrary, vexatious, unjustifiable doings of the present Administration and majority in Congress, further than the laws will fully and clearly warrant. Our inestimable constitution, thanks to the wisdom and foresight of its experienced and able founders, has left us without any excuse for rising in actual rebellion against our rulers, or any laws made by them. Another and safer mode is provided by which to get rid of them, & their unconstitutional, tyrannical, oppressive projects, by elections, and by Judicial decisions; and it were gross treachery to ourselves to resort to any other. In the mean time every legal course may be pursued to gain redress. Petitions or remonstrances may be presented to the Administration and Congress, imploring them to change their measures, with little hope of success, it must be confessed, unless you could ennoble their natures, and make them more reasonable, more just, more honest, and more wise. Whatever may be the issue, Fellow-Citizens, let us not offer the least resistance to the execution of the laws of our country, by force or violence. Let them be held sacred; let them have full and complete operation while they are laws, followed by a heaping measure of execration and abhorrence of the man who recommended, and the majority who enacted such laws, as the supplemental and new embargo act: taking especial care, that they shall not cajole and wheedle you out of a chance to oppose and embarrass you with arbitrary, capricious [illegible] in future, for no better reason, than to save some faint appearance of wisdom for their very silly, trifling conduct.

DUDITH.

LEVITY.

For the Carolina Federal Republican.

PROPOSITIONS FOR A NEW EMBARGO.

No subject has more engrossed the public attention, than the embargo. It has greatly excited the feelings of the American people, and has sunk their purses very low. On the one hand, it has been represented as the salvation of the nation; and on the other, it is said to be a ruinous, and destructive measure. Some deem it a defence & support of our independence; others, a badge of subjection. By one party, it is thought that it will secure peace; and by the other, that it will lead to war. These are high matters, and it ill becomes me to decide where the wisest statesmen have differed so widely. Leaving these points to be determined by those who are capable, (if such there be,) I shall propose an embargo, of a quite different nature. And believing, as I do, that I have reason on my side, humbly hope for the concurrence & the assistance of all good citizens; of all lovers of order, good morals and manners. Without further introduction, I shall proceed to enumerate some of those things which ought to feel the courtion of an embargo. First then, giving preference to the ladies, let an embargo be laid on women tongues. Some will be greatly astonished at this proposition. But I, tho' not very conversant with females, think there is abundant reason for it. It has been solemnly affirmed, and piously believed by some, that women have not the power of retaining their thoughts. If this be a fact, which seems evident, seeing how much they talk, a vast deal of evil might be prevented, by putting a stop to the use of the mischievous member. By this measure, the retail trade of [illegible] and the wholesale trade of scolding and nonsense, would be so effectually crippled, and extravagance would be so restrained, that I know not whether I have any thing further to notice with regard to females. Let it be enjoined upon them, under the penalty of losing their tongues, that from the date hereof, until the expiration of one year, they cease to speak; and that they remain at home, and employ their time in the cultivation of their minds, and in storing them with useful knowledge. It should not be perpetual, for this you know would be unconstitutional. Surely every poor fellow cursed with a brawling wife, and every poor child with an ill-natured step mother, [illegible] citizens to support this measure—and I hope ladies will not complain, when they reflect, that it is intended for their advantage.

As to the other sex; there are so many things which need embargoing, that were I to mention them all, I should be in the situation of a member of the British parliament, who, when about to present a petition for a repeal of the orders in council, was obliged to hire half a dozen able bodied members to carry it into the house. Here I would first propose an embargo on patriotism; not because we have too much, but because we have too little of the right kind. Good honest people have been accustomed to think, that patriotism consisted in the love of our country, in obedience to the laws, and the promotion of good morals; (and they thought correctly too.) But it is made to consist in getting drunk on the fourth of July and at elections, in bawling and fighting about president, and representatives. This is what men of the present degenerate race call patriotism; and the less of it the better, in my humble opinion. I would also have an Embargo laid upon all kinds of nonsense; to wit. Law nonsense & Medicine nonsense, and Pulpit nonsense, and plantation and domestic nonsense, which is the worst kind of all.

Any person who has suffered as much from this pest, as I have, will readily join in support of this part of the bill. It was my intention to have included political disputes. But the necessity for this is superseded, by the foregoing clause; for if nonsense be embargoed, I will venture to assert that ninety nine out of a hundred of our wise politicians will be as dumb as the dead. I had it also in contemplation to notice profane swearing and Sabbath breaking, which are great evils, and very prevalent in our country, and which have done and will do much mischief to the souls of men. But recollecting that our treasury is likely to be very lean by reason of the embargo on commerce, I have concluded, that perhaps it might be better, to impose a heavy fine for every offence of this kind; and apply the money to the support of government. In lieu of these, let an embargo be laid on paste board (not that of which bonnets are fabricated; (if this were done, the old women might rise) but that, which is cut into small bits, and painted with red and black spots, &c. &c. and which some men, and even women sometimes use for the purpose of playing games of hazard, for money with which they ought to support their families. And further, let all men, especially those who have families, be ordered to avoid all such practices, as being injurious, and degrading to human nature.

It may be advantageous, to include stills, and whiskey waggons, and rum and brandy hogsheads, all of which are destructive, either mediately, or immediately to the peace, happiness, and prosperity of the nation. If these things which I have mentioned, and many others beside them, were made to feel the force of an embargo, we should sail over this troublesome sea much more calmly and safely, than [illegible] we shall.

In the part of the above Communication, wherein part of the line is distinguished by **, the [illegible] so defaced, as to render it illegible.—One Correspondent, perhaps, might have intended to compliment the Ladies for their gaiety, their wit, or their good humour; but it may not be incorrect to suppose that he intended to insinuate that scandal, &c. was too prevalent amusement with them.

Sugar for Sale.

SEVENTY Thousand weight of SUGAR of good quality, in hogsheads, for sale by S. SIMPSON.

February 9, 1809.