North-Carolina State Gazette.

Ours are the plans of fair delightful Peace, Unwarp'd by party rage, to live like Brothers.

THURSDAY, MARCH 8, 1810.

No. 546

Mr. MACO.V's SPEECH,

COMMERCIAL IN PERCOURSE BILL.

Mr. Macon s.id, a was no question now, whether the nation be in a worse situation than it has been ; if it be in, a porse situation, that situation has been produced by the unjust acts of G eat-British and France, neither of which can with truth charge the nation or its retenment with partiality for the other France pays no regard to her treaty with us, and Great-Britain at acked the Ingate Chesapeake, and impresses our seamen; put these out of the list of wongs done us by them, and there is no difference in their conduct towards us : the true que sti in then for us to decide, is what ough to be done in the present state of the country, and of the two great beligerents of Europe; if we mean to con more at peace with both, there can be no doubt but we ought honestly to e leavor to do that, which shall be right 4 it relates to both. This House has heat for formally resolved, and I beleve every member who has addressed 111. his declared that he would not submoether othe decrees of France or Orders in Council of G. Britain .-Dispothing, and what follows-I will pol say; but the nation will surely denie. The bill before you has never kee's considered by me a very strong masure; though not a v. ry strong meanire, it is certainly very far from sub mission, and such a measure as can in this nation be carried into complite execution , to say the least of it, it is a for protest against the acts of both G. Botair and France; and can you do more at this time and preserve peace? If wen war be preferred, there is cause

so gh against both.

If the bill be rejected, what pacifi-

wstem will you adopt? None has been

men ioned during the long time this

bil nas been debated, it would seem therefore to follow, that no better had been yet thought of. The first objectoo made to the bill, was, that it would or rate solely on England, but very latehat has been discovered, that it will scarcely be felt in England, and that it would operate solely on France. Can to argument more strongly demonstate the impar jality of the bill, than lesse contradictory objections? If howeter it be time, that it will operate hatter on one of them than the other; that is not owing to the bill, but to their dilke at conditions, with which we have timing to do; it is their acts and not to ancommon situation in which they a now stand, that have injured us the nili declares to both, that their puband private ships shall not enter our * : s, and that their produce and maafficures shall not be brought here. treept in the manner prescribed in it and either of them may at any time bi with frawing their unjust edicts, prethat the operation of this bill as to the fall a withdrawing; and really it tems a lit le strange, that no one has attempted to amend the bill, so as to Dake it p rate importially, according I has opinion, when it has been objectet hy some, that it would operate p rtaly ag inst E. gland, and by others. I it will operate partially against free. The truth is, sir, that a fair tx-mination of it will convince any man. that the system will oper, 'e as equally on both nations as any that can be detod. in their present situation; and In lete mining what we ought to do. to h not for a moment to forget power which the one has on the land, and the power which the other has on sea, nor ought we to expect that I are will regard the freedom of the " . When she does not regard the freeof the land; nor ought we to ex-That Great-Britain will regard the bresom of the land when she does not he and the fee dom of the seas. In ext aming our foreign relations, especial-" h respect to a legislative act, we the always to have in view the situa-The of the two great beiligerents, withthis it will be difficult indeed to P serve our neutrality and peace, and there who think it unwise to preserve the any longer, will undoubtedly vote against the bal. But bef re they do this, I hope they will look at the goments which have at one time or of of taken part in the wars and strugtheref Europe for the last 20 years -Many of the governments destroyed, no matter whether republies or monarchies, il shired the s m: fate, and n w gomunts have sprung up in their pla- result, we must have energetic mea-

th-m. I ask gentlemen to tell me, what must have been the condition of the p-ople during all these wars and revolutions? To those who talk so much about war I address myself, and it is a little strange, that notwithstanding we have so many war speeches we have no war motions.

The U. States are now the only neural nation in the civilised world, to them is committed the sacred trust of preserving neutral rights, and to no action ere they more valuable; and to those who talk so much about war, permit me, sir, to enquire, whether they can seriously believe we shall be so likely to lo this by war, against those who do not respect them either on land or waker, as by other means; if they do s. riously believe that we can compel France and England in any reasonable time to do this, I am willing to confess they have rather more faith on this point than I have; but if we cannot easily compel England and France to observe our neutral rights; does it follow that we should not keep up a protest against their violati ns of them ?to me it seems not; but on the con rary. that it is our duty to do so, that whenever the time shall ar ive, when the governments of civilized nations shall incline to respect the public law and in wality, that then there may be a sundard to appeal to, and then if not before, we shall find the advantage of the plan now proposed over that if war, and then we shall reap a real any intage from the course which this nation has so honorably pursued, and which it is still her interest to pursue, I mean impartial neutrality, and while Europe continues in her present state, no consideration, unless we are actually attacked, ought to induce us to go in o the war, either on the side of England or France. They have both been anxious that we should engage in it on their side, and would no doubt make fair promises to persuade us to engage; but when once engaged, you would be considered as bound to them at least for the war, and he fair promises all forgote Those who complain so much of our presen situation, and those who speak so often and so much about war, for they both oppose the bill, ought to cast their eyes over the nations of Europe who have been plunged into the war, either to better their condition or vindicate what they su posed to be the honor of their e vernment, and compare our situation with that of the nation which they may think his suffered least, and they will n id cause to replice, that their lot has been cast to live under a governmen! and in a nation, both of which has had discretion enough to keep out of the war which has nearly ruined all that engaged in it.

I should like to be informed, whether the g ntlemen who tack so much about war have turned their attention to the existing state of our commerce? Have they ascertained the number of sulprs now in foreign ports and on the high seas? Have they calculated the value of the ships and cargoes now out of the limi.s of the U. States, so that they can inform the House the number of seamen and the amount of capitol, which may be jeopardised by the adoption of war measures? Have they as a preparatory measure, alvised that messengers should be immediately sent to Europe, and to the ports of Asia frequested by our merchantships to inform our countrymen of their danger and adan embargo, to prevent the sailors, the ships and cargoes now at home from leaving the country? And whatever may be said at this day about an embargo, I agree to the tru h of an observation, yes erday made by a gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Taylor) that no administration, who act wisely, ever will go to war, withour first laying one to get the sailors, vessels and capital whi h may be in foreign countries a home, before a declaration of war shall be made. We have been told that we could take the Canadas; this is not doubted, but while we are taking them, Great-Britain may take as many of our vessels and as much property now without our limis as w uld be four times their real value. We hout considering the unfortunate situation of the seaman who is made a prisoner, probably before he knows the coun'ry is in war Conside ations like these seem to have no weight; no matter what consequences

ces, without a single republic among it sures war pell-mell, to get clear of means we have, with the end to be obthis bill, which is said to be downright submission. This seems to me, especially in the present state of our affairs, to be a new sort of submission. Is it submission, open'y to tell the two most powerful nations in the world, you shall not come here? No it is not. The very prohibition is an act of sovereignty. While one declares it to be submission to France, another declares it to be submission to England; though both agree that it is submission, they disagree as to the power to which it submits .-Nay, sir, it has been said, that this is entirely a mercantile question, and that farmers and planters have nothing to do with it. Then farmers and planters ought not to pay any part of the expence, which may grow out of the present state of our affairs. The fact, however, is, that the nation is made up of farmers, planters, mer hints, mechanics and professional m n, and all have an interest in the question, and it surely aff cis the pecuniary interest of the planter and farmer, more than it does that of the others. Double freight does not affect the merchant. He makes his profit, and the agricultural people pay it .- From every expence attending his trade he lays an additional alvance on his goods, and the agricultural people make all good to him. Besides, sir, the President in his first message told the House, that he had an horised our minister at London, to nform the British government, that another minister would be received, undoubtedly with a view to adjust our ifferences by negociation. What would be thought of our government, if after making this communication to a foreign power, we were to do that which some gentlemen have told us we ought to do-mike open and minly, war? Nay, sir, suppose Great Britain should send another minister, and instead of his finding the ad ninistratiin ready to receive him, and to treat with him as he expected, he is met by a declaration of war, and told to return home. This would not be like the dis niss and the late minis er for in-I cent expressions in his letters; to me it seems there would be nothing candid, I nothing hotorable in transacting our national affairs in this way, it would be a departure from the principles which have always governed the nation.

There is no hag in the bill which prevents the Legislature from adopung any oh rineastre-- he bill may pass, and the House may hereafter adopt such energetic measures as may be thought

A gendeman from New-York (Mr. Root) lately told us, that which we have been told b fore, that the bill was resist ance to France and sub nission to Eng-Lind. He has completely proven that Napoleon had submitted to England, as he did that we were about to do so. H. t ld us that Napoleon by his folly was aiding England to carry her orders in council into effect. If, then, to carry her orders into execution be submission, Napoleon has sabmitted; but neither his folly nor the bill on the table are

sub:nission. My colleague, (Mr. Sawyer) who is for very strong measures, seems to think that the friends of the bill consider it a certain cure for every complaint to which the body politic may be subject. None of them have as yet said so much for it. All that hey have contended for, according to my understanding, is this, that in the present state of Europe and of the vise them to return home as soon as U. States, they have not been able to like embargo, tho' the gentleman pays possible? -H we they even thought of discover a better system, a system that me a compliment which I do not dewould operate less on ourselves, and, at the same time, have some operation on England & F. ance. My colleague said a great deal about war and energy --- I have already endeavored to shew, that war, under the existing circumstances of the action, would be injurious, I will only add that by declaring it at this moment, you would put it in o the power of G. Britain to take probably one hundred mil ions of our property and twen-

ty or thirty thousand of our sailors. I have not seen the force of the observation of my colleague, as applied to the question now before the House, that G. Britain enforces her orders on the all their bravery, could enforce our laws intercourse act, we ought to have made words; and when we talk about mari- th se war-speeches, when there is no time war, we ought to compare the war motion.

tained. He thinks this the proper time to make war on Britain, because she is on her last prop and almost ready to fall. If it be so, there is no occasion for us to give our aid to kick her down. Le B maparte have the sole credit and honor of putting her down. I understood my colleague to sav, that the friends of this bill were degrous of having a war with B itain, but were afraid to declare it - In s, s r, is not the case with me-I am not afraid to declare my sentiments upon any question, either of war or of peace. I an not desirous of war with any nation on earth, nor will I consent, in the present state of the world, to enter the war which has so long ravaged Europe -either on the side of France or England. But whenever the national government shall declare war, I shall be found as ready to adopt the necessary measures to carry it on successfully, as any man in this House or in this nation. Again, he told us that this is the very time to make the attack, because all the nations of Europe are leagued agains her - This is no reas in with me because I am most decided v against joining any European league, or having alliance with any European power. I am opposed to joining the fate of this hapov country to that of any nation in the world; nor do I wish to have a minister at the Congress, which N poleon is to call to settle mariti ne rights and secure the freed m of the sea. I have no faith that it will be done by him. Give him power on the water, and he will do as he has done on land. Give Britain power on the land, .. ' she will do as she has done on the water --- but above all, this weak bill produced the second message of the President of the U. S. If that message has any bearing on the question, according to my weak under standing, it is most decidedly in favor of the bill-indeed, it is not easy to conceive how the President with propriety could have said more in favor of any measure before the Legisla ure than Le has in favor of this; but the bill ought to be decided on its mornis, and not on the opinion of the President.

A gendeman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Ross) is good enough to allow, that those who may vote for the bill, will do it on pure mo ives. The object of the bill, and of those who support it, is to p eserve the peace of the nation, if possible. The gentleman quite astonished me, he made an inflammatory war speech, and before he sat down, said he wished for peace, if war could be avoided. He and those who support the bill agree in their wish to preserve peace; we propose the bill as the best means of doing this, which he calls submission -- he proposes nothing-if, then our plan is submission, to do nothing will be submission also--a war speech to conclude in favor of peace is a little strange to me, Were I for war, Ishould be for making the necessary preparation, to call forth the resources and the energy of the nation, to go at it tooth and nail. He also said, that a middle ground had been adopted in the bill, and that the middle ground was sob ni-sion -Without referring to Esop or to Grotius, to decide whether it be so or not, it seems to me, that common sen e would, in the present case, decide that the middle ground was neither war nor submission; but the bill contains some thing like old embargo principlesthese seem to be quite as much dreaded as the fatal submission which the bill contains. There is not any thing in it serve, when he says, that the chairman who reported the bill was an embargo man, and nothing but embargo principles was to be expected-if h - knew the committee, he would not believe that any chairm in could report a bill which they did not approve, and he would also believe that they understood embargo principles. Yes, sir, I am an embargo man, and hesitate not to say, that the day Congress gave up the embargo for the non-intercourse, it there be submission, that day it b gan; but I do not consider that submission, and the bill is undeniably a better measure than the non-intercourse; if we wished war ocean by her navy. He cannot, I am either against France or against Engsure, suppose that our little navy, with land or against both, instead of the nonon the ocean, if opposed by all the ma- a declaration of war: We then had ritine strength of he wolrd, be ause the lour sailors, our vessels and our propernavy of G. Britain is able to do this; ty at home. I cannot perceive the it is done by physical force and not by great wisdom and undaunted courage in

The same gentleman has brought another embargo charge against me: It is this, that I mingle it with every thing I say. He certainly ought not to complain, for he has said twice as much ahout war as I have about the embargo. The fact is, a gentleman from N. York (Ir. Gold) first brought it into debate the present session; to him I replied. I have always been willing to defend it, and never ashamed to own that I approved it; and a great majority of the nation also approved it. Theembargo, as well as every other measure which h s been brought forward, in opposition to the decrees of France and the orders of England, have been opposed, while all are saying they will not submit to cir ther-to say the least of the embargo. it kept us a year out of the war, and the un-intercourse, with all its imperfections, has probably kept us out of it another, and if this bill shall preserve the beace of the country only one year more, the committee will have deserved well of the nation.

It is true, that I was willing to limit the bill to the end of the present session of Congress, under the expectation that we might by that time completely unders' and its effect. If it should prove, as I believe it will, a beneficial measure, there would be no difficulty in continung it longer, and if on experience, it should be found not to produce any advantage, the sooner it expired the beter. I have patiently attended to the objections which have been stated to the bli; but is the gen leman himself absolutely certain that he is right ?- that he cannot be mistaken; is he like the French girl, of whom Dr. Franklin told the story in the convention, who enquired of her mother, how it happened that she always found every body in the wrong and herself always to the right. - The short limitation is an objection which was not expected from those who are opposed to every part of the bill and are in favor of war; one would naturally suppose the shorter the limitation the more agreeable to them.

I understood the gendeman to say. that the friends of the bill had called on him, and others who think with him, to join and aid them in passing it. I deny it as to myself; I call on no man for aid. The bill must stand or fall on its own merits. It has never been and never will be my practice to be running about the city by day or by night, prowling after men to support any measures I may propose; if right, they ought to be adopted-if wrong, they ought to be rejected. To have solicited the aid of the men who declare the bill to be submission, and that nothing but war will save the nation, would be, in my opinion, to have insulted them. It is not only asking them to give us their opinion, but also asking them to do an act which they consider submission, and of course disgraceful at least, Not have I requested or demanded of them to come out as party men to support the bill .-No, sir, I have never asked any man to yield his judgment to party. To endeav ir to pass a bill on such principles. would be to acknowledge, that there was no reason for passing it-in fact,

that it ought not to pass. The same gentleman says the present discussion will, at the next election, put men who are for energetic measures in Congress, from the Eastern & Southern States. How this may be, I cannot tell, but it is a good while since these two portions of the Union have been coupled together before. As to the people from the East, personally, I know but little about them, having never been among them; if, however, a judgment may be formed of them, from their members here, they will be found as tenacious of their opinions as most people are of theirs. The gentleman has forgot that their representatives adhere so close to their opinions, that not very long since, he had to sit up all night to get a vote, Whatever may be the decision of those in the South, whom I represent, it will be perfectly agreeable to me; but I am yet to learn that the people in the East and South are more fickle than those of the Middle States. =

It is true, hat the people in the South to not make a practice of meeting to ass fiery resolutions, which in general mean no hing more than that the first mover of the meeting and of the resoations wants an offi e. On the day of lection they pass upon the conduct of heir representatives, and then tell them whether they have done well or not-[Concluded in the last page.]