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FROM THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

NO. III.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

The most important measure of the last session of Congress is the EMBARGO. As the same considerations which dictated it led likewise to most of the other steps taken, if it shall appear to have been the result of correct views, there can be little dispute with regard to them.

Against this measure the collected artillery of the opposition has been bro't to bear. It has inspired new hopes, and has given new life blood to party.—The shattered fragments of federalism are industriously collected together, and we are exultingly told that the proud column, which once marked its triumphs, is again to rise on the ruins of the principles of the present administration.

Montesquieu and other distinguished political writers have laid it down as an axiom, that the duration of a republican government is dependent upon the virtue of the people. Our political adversaries, let it be remembered, have invariably treated the existence of this sentiment as chimerical; and hence, probably, their uniform ridicule of the feasibility of the principle of self-government, and their confidence that we must, eventually, perhaps in their own day, go the way of all other nations.

It is to this belief that their aspiring hopes are at this crisis to be traced. The ignorant, unruly and factious body, whose whole history, in their view, is that of a succession of storms and vices, is once more under a different sky, but still under the same baleful star, to be wrought upon by those means which have heretofore always proved successful. Their mistaken interests, their momentary gratifications, the fickleness of their feelings, their sudden hatred of those whom they lately respected, their pleasure in exercising despotic power by tumbling down one system and building up another, is to mark, in unerring characters, their total inability to govern themselves, and to prove to the world, and even to themselves, the policy of bending their necks to a regal usurper.

Fantastic as this picture may, in some of its features, appear, let us not too lightly treat it with contempt. It is only necessary to establish one fact, to reconcile all its apparent contradictions, and to soften down its discordances into one harmonious hue. Once establish the fact, that the people cannot command their own feelings, and it irresistibly follows that they must be commanded by others; the republican system vanishes; and liberty is entombed.

The discussion of this topic is, therefore, of awful magnitude; it involves, not merely the fugitive interests of the present generation; but that of ages; that of a people, whose number and power are hereafter to guide the civilized world.

To establish the wisdom of the Embargo seems to my mind a very simple process. Few premises are required to supply the materials of a perfect demonstration.

Had not the embargo been laid, or some measure equally prohibitory of commerce been adopted, war would have been inevitable.

The effects of war would have been more injurious than those of the Embargo.

Hence the imposition of the Embargo was called for from a provident government, by that *principle which required it to adopt the best measure which existing circumstances admitted.*

Of deity only it is the prerogative to do absolute, unqualified good, because such an act implies infinite wisdom.—To the limited capacity of man, it belongs to do the best he can, which in its most intelligent exercise blends evil with good. It is, however enough for the purest virtue and highest wisdom of man, that he does his best, and that the condition of those, who are the subject of his power, is rendered as happy as circumstances warrant.

As the inferences here drawn are plain and indisputable, the whole of this discussion must consist in examining the soundness of the premises. To do this, it will be requisite.

In the first place, to shew that, but for the imposition of the Embargo, war would have been inevitable.

Secondly, to shew that the Embargo is the lesser evil; in doing which a contrasted view will be taken of the effects of war and of the Embargo.

To carry me successfully through this discussion, it is necessary to require one thing from my countrymen. In pronouncing judgment they must *think* as well as *feel*. While they realize the extent of the evil they suffer, they must not shut their minds to the evils they would suffer, but for the existence of that which they feel. They must exercise their *rational* as well as *animal* faculties. They must look to their permanent and ultimate, no less than to their fleeting and present interests; and they must not forget that their whole welfare, present as well as future, is inseparable from that of the nation.

I proceed, then, in the *first place*, to shew, that but for the imposition of the Embargo war would have been inevitable.

The French decree declares the British Isles in a state of blockade, prohibits the British goods, and confiscates as lawful prize the neutral vessel and cargo which have submitted to British search on the high seas, touched at her ports or received her license. While the British orders authorize the forcible capture of all British subjects found on board American vessels, making subordinate British officers the judges of the fact; and, under the form of a blockade of all the ports of the continent of Europe, interdicts all trade with it, except thro' England, and under such fiscal and political restrictions as she may think fit to impose.

There are two obviously distinct views of which this point is susceptible; the one, political; the other pecuniary.

Individual interest out of the question, would it comport with the character of an independent nation to permit its merchants to carry on a traffic under such restrictions? Would not such a permission betray a destitution of spirit inconsistent with independence; and would not our nominal independence but clumsily cover our actual vassalage? Our spirits have risen indignant at Algerine tribute, although in rendering it we only trod in the steps of the most powerful nations; and at a recent period, the universal cry of the country has been "millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute." Are these feelings dead? Is the generous spirit that excited them fled forever? Has the magnitude of the present evil deprived us of the power of estimating it, and made us insensible of its effects upon our national character? Has the record of our valor, traced in the blood of our heroes, become defaced and obliterated? Is the proud monument of our triumph annihilated? Can we think of what we did when a trifling, a disconnected, a poor nation; and not sink, in abasement, at the idea of now, when we are a numerous, a united, a rich people, doing less, nay undoing what we then did? For the cases are in principle the most strikingly analogous. The only difference is in the degree in which it is applied. Then, although a colony, we denied the right of Britain to lay a tax even of a cent on a pound of tea; we appealed to arms to resist the exercise of the right, and we triumphed. Now, although an independent nation, acknowledged as such by herself, she does not hesitate to impose taxes a thousand fold as onerous. *Then* the tax attempted to be rivetted was on a foreign commodity; *now* it is imposed on our own domestic products. She tells you shall bring all these products into my ports, you shall pay such duties on their importation as I prescribe, and, then, you shall, as I please, as my interest dictates, either not export them at all, or pay such taxes on their exportation as I shall fix. So fully does this view of the subject present itself to an unprejudiced mind, that we find it has not escaped the intelligent and independent writers in England. Mr. Baring, in his celebrated tract, on the conduct of Britain towards this country, says, "The American patriot will probably see with pleasure, that if he must have war, the provocation (by England) is of a nature to unite every prejudice, and every real interest of his country. By attempting to confine the European trade of America to G. Britain, and by the avowal of an intention to tax that trade on its passage to the continent, we are returning to those principles to which, even as a colony, she would not submit. It is immaterial whether it be a tax on stamps or on cotton: this question has already been the subject of a long and bloody war, and it can hardly be supposed that America will now submit to a direct attack on her sovereign and independent rights."

Attend on this same point to the language of Mr. Rathbone, an eminent merchant of Liverpool, which place has been electrified by the effect of the British orders—"Can we expect," says he, "she (America) will ever consent that we shall dictate the terms on which her commerce shall traverse the ocean; or that her ships shall be forcibly compelled to enter our ports, and to be subject to taxation, in return for which she obtains no advantage? On the subject of foreign taxation, America may naturally be expected to be jealous in the extreme. Will she who voluntarily encountered all dangers, struggled under all difficulties, enduring all privations, submitted to all sacrifices, and largely expended both her treasure and blood, rather than submit to taxation by a foreign state; will she, now that her independence has been acknowledged and established, submit to be taxed by us?"

Such are sentiments imbibed by intelligent men on the other side of the Atlantic, of our character, and of the conduct which a maintenance of the character must produce. They consider submission on our part as out of the question. Contemplating the principles which we owe our political birth, the success with which they were asserted, and the vast accessions of strength which have since crowned our adherence to them, they do not dream of the possibility of our submitting as a nation to the exercise of a power as unjust in itself as injurious to us. They consider the exertion of this power as an act of war, as a forcible invasion of our essential rights of sovereignty.

And can it be coceived that our regard for our own country is less ardent than their regard for it; or that our perception of our interests is less clear than theirs? Is the spirit of liberty dead: Are we insensible to the wide spread prosperity with which it has covered our whole country; and that its absence for any length of time would turn our cultivated fields into deserts, and our populous towns into neglected ruins? Are we ready, for the enjoyment of a commerce, without profit, to pay tributary millions into the coffers of our rival and our enemy?—More millions than feed our own treasury? The thing is impossible.—Throwing aside altogether its effects on individual interest, submission is impossible. It would sink us deeper in disgrace than any people has hitherto ever sunk. The thought of what we were, contrasted with the feeling of our degradation, would be intolerable; and the government that should be base enough to submit would be instantly despoiled by an incensed people of its blighted honors.

AN AMERICAN WHIG.

FROM THE TRENTON TRUE AMERICAN.

PLAIN TRUTHS,

For Honest Minds to digest.

Could the spirits of those departed Heroes and Sages who toiled and suffered to establish the independence of this nation, and the freedom of its citizens, be permitted to revisit the earth, and observe the present situation of their beloved country, what would be their reflections on seeing

A party, comprising many individuals of wealth and talents, and of pretended patriotism and piety, *opposing the Government* of their country, with inflexible obstinacy and inveterate hatred?—

A party employing the pulpit and the bench—the forum and the press—*to libel, calumniate, vilify and defame the constituted authorities of the nation*—to degrade them in the eyes of the People at home, and disgrace them in the view of Governments abroad—

A party, who for more than seven years have kept up this opposition and persecution without cessation or discrimination, against *all in authority* and *all the measures* those in authority pursued for the best good of their country—

A party, to vindictive and unrelenting in their enmity, that rather than see the country prosper under the men elected to administer the Governments, they would apparently *rejoice in its destruction* by imposters or apostates such as *Miranda* or *Burr*—

A party, who would so far *sacrifice all national pride and patriotic feelings*, as to countenance and encourage a foreign Government which had

Plundered our Commerce,
Impressed our seamen,
Murdered our Citizens,
Trampled on our flag,
Encrouched on our Independence,
Insulted our authority,
Encouraged traitors amongst us,
Excited the Indians against us,

And by every means in its power gratified its envy, jealousy, and hatred of us and refused any kind of satisfaction or reparation for its manifold outrages, injuries and insults—*a party*, who would *take part with such a Government*, attempt to justify and palliate its villanies, to furnish it with arguments to repel our just claims for redress, and with hopes of impunity in its iniquitous and degrading infractions of our rights and sovereignty from the efforts of its partizans here to *poison the public mind, distract our public council* and *paralize the national energy*—

Yet *such a party*, so acting, does actually exist in this country, and keeps up and carries on its opposition to Government under a name which would denote its being composed of the warmest supporters of Government—the name of *Federalists!*

For if the term *federalist* has any peculiar meaning, it means one who is attached to the *Federal Constitution*—and any one who is attached to this constitution ought certainly to support such men whoever they may be, as are *elected to administer this constitution*, in all measures that do not violate the federal compact—

Yet these men *called Federalists*, who ought therefore to *love the Federal constitution* and *support the Federal Administration* in all constitutional proceedings, seem to take a fiendlike delight in embarrassing, thwarting and defeating the legitimate measures of the Constituted Authorities, though if their success were equal to their exertions it would involve the federal constitution after which they named themselves, and to which they pretend devotion, in reproach, contempt and destruction.

I know that there are many well-meaning men among the federalists, that *do not heartily approve* of the violent conduct and virulent language of the leaders of the party—

But are these moderate men *less culpable* than others, when they still continue from year to year to give *their suffrages and support to the most violent*, and thus contribute all in their power to *strenthen the opposition to Government*, countenance conspiracies against it, to encourage the ambitious views of foreign powers upon our rights, interests and honor, and to paralize the arm of the Executive, when new vigor ought rather to be infused into it?

I know that many act *blindly and ignorantly* in their opposition to Government—

But is *ignorance* a valid excuse where *information* is so easily attained? Are not the sources of intelligence *numerous, abundant*, and *accessable* to almost every man?

The fact is, that many are *wilfully* blind and *perversely* ignorant—they *shut their eyes* against the light of truth as the bird of night closes his to the rays of the sun—and they absolutely *seek* to be led astray and *labor* to be deceived—

They have got wrong from reading *party papers and publications*, and they rely on those same party publications and papers *to set them right!*—as if when a dose of *poison* has been taken by mistake, the victim should swallow *additional doses of the same poison* as a remedy!

If your friend were accused of any crime or offence, you would not condemn or cast him off until you took the trouble of enquiring *whether the accusation was true or false*—and to make this enquiry you would not go to his inveterate enemies who perhaps for malicious purposes had set the report afloat, but would seek *more impartial sources of information*, you would even hear what his friends could say in his behalf—

But *you Federalists* have heard from the mouths and read from the presses of his enemies that THOMAS JEFFERSON was a bad man—and that his measures were bad—and you have at once, without seeing or hearing what could be said in his and their defence, passed judgment against them in gross!

If a Jury, in a case of life and death, were to hear *all the evidence and arguments against the accused*, and *refuse to hear* either arguments or evidence *in his vindication*, what would be thought of its impartiality, uprightness or justice?

Yet towards the Constituted Authorities of your country you act a *more unjustifiable part* than this—for here, not only the fair fame of the men in authority is at stake, and to ingenuous minds *this fame* is even dearer than life, but *the welfare of the country* is also at stake, which involves in it the happiness of many millions of People—yet you will look at, you will listen to, *only the accusations and reproaches!*—the justifications and encomiums you will neither see nor hear!

Yes, *for seven years* has this unreasonable and unrighteous opposition to Government been kept up!—although in that seven years more had been done by the Government for the happiness of the People and prosperity of the nation than ever before had been done in the same length of time.

In that time the Government had

Repealed oppressive and unconstitutional laws, as the Sedition and Alien law—

Taken off a great number of vexations and impoverishing taxes, such as the stamp-tax, the salt-tax, House and Land tax, the Carriage tax, &c.

Abolished great numbers of useless and dangerous offices, which drew vast sums from the public treasury without advancing but rather endangering the public welfare—

Collected all the incomes of the nation with care, and applied them with fidelity to their proper purposes, and by this means

Reduced the national debt nearly seventeen millions of dollars—besides purchasing and paying for the territory of Louisiana, and thus acquiring a vast and rich country, ridding ourselves of troublesome neighbors, and securing the navigation of the Mississippi to our western brethren to whom it was all-important—

Extended the freedom of our citizens, and maintained the rights of the nation—

And sought, with an eye that never slept; and pursued with feet that never wearied, whatever could promote the true glory of the nation, the real happiness of its citizens.

Yet while thus honestly and honorably employed, while rearing up everlasting monuments of their wisdom and virtue in the permanent prosperity and felicity of their People, have our rulers been pursued *with the most unrelenting vengeance* by the *leaders* of the federal party (which leaders were buoyed up in their exertions by the improper support of their *followers*) assailed by them with incessant showers of slander, ridicule, and abuse, their principles contested, their motives misrepresented, and condemned!—Yes, *in the space of seven years* those rulers have not received the general approbation of that party *for one solitary measure!* As if it were possible that in the multitude of important measures adopted, *not one* good one had been, even by chance, effected?

What spirit can produce such an uniformity of hostility to the measures of Government, such obstinate perseverance in opposition to all it does or proposes, but *the spirit of party—the spirit of faction!*

LIVINGSTON.

(Concluded in our next.)

BY AUTHORITY.

AN ACT

For the relief of Philip Turner.

BE *it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled*, That the accounting officers of the Treasury be, and they are hereby authorised and directed to liquidate and settle the account of Philip Turner late hospital physician and surgeon, and that they allow him the compensation equal to the half pay of a captain, agreeably to a resolution of Congress, passed on the seventeenth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one: *Provided*, the said Philip Turner on the receipt of the money directed to be paid him by this act, shall execute in consideration thereof a discharge to the United States, of all demands whatsoever, and deposit the same in the office of the Register of the Treasury.

J. B. VARNUM, *Speaker of the House of Representatives*,
S. SMITH,
President of the Senate, pro tempore.

APRIL 22, 1808.

APPROVED,
TH: JEFFERSON.