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PRESIDENT JEFFERSON'S ANSWER

To the dissent of the republicans from the proceedings of the town of Boston, relative to the Embargo.

I have duly received the address of that portion of the citizens of *Boston*, who have declared their *approbation* of the present suspension of our commerce, and their dissent from the representation of those of the same place who wished its removal. A division of sentiment was not unexpected. On no question can a perfect unanimity be hoped, or certainly it would have been on that *between war and embargo, the only alternatives presented to our choice*; for the *general capture of our vessels* would have been *war on one side*, which reason and interest would repel *by war and reprisal on our part.*

Of the several interests composing those of the United States, that our *manufactures* would of course *prefer to war*, a state of non-intercourse so favorable to their rapid growth and prosperity. *Agriculture*, although sensibly feeling the loss of market, for its produce would find many aggravations in a state of war. *Commerce* and navigation, or that portion which is foreign, in the inactivity to which they are reduced by the present state of things, certainly experience their full share in the general inconvenience:—but whether *war* would to them be a *preferable alternative*, is a question their patriotism would never hastily propose. It is to be regretted, however, that overlooking the *real sources of their sufferings*, the *British* and *French edicts*, which constitute the *actual blockade of our foreign commerce and navigation*, with too little reflection, *imputed them to laws which have saved them from greater*, and have preserved for our own use our vessels, property and seamen, instead of adding them to the strength of those with whom we might eventually have to contend.

The embargo, giving time to the belligerent powers to revise their unjust proceedings, and to listen to the dictates of justice, of interest and reputation, which equally urge the correction of their wrongs, has availed our country of the only honorable expedient of avoiding war; and should a repeal of these edicts supercede the cause for it, our commercial brethren will become sensible that it has consulted their interests, however against their own will.—*It will be unfortunate for their country, if in the mean time, these their expressions of impatience, should have the effect of prolonging the very sufferings which have produced them, by exciting a fallacious hope that we may, under any pressure, relinquish our equal right of navigating the ocean, go to such ports only as others may prescribe, and there pay the tributary exactions they may impose; an abandonment of national independence and essential rights, revolting to every manly sentiment.*—WHILE THESE EDICTS ARE IN FORCE, NO AMERICAN CAN EVER CONSENT TO A RETURN OF PEACEABLE INTERCOURSE WITH THOSE WHO MAINTAIN THEM.

I am happy in the approach of the period, when the feelings and the wisdom of the nation will be collected in their representatives assembled together. *To them are committed our rights, to them our wrongs are known*, and they will pronounce *the remedy they call for*: and I hear with pleasure from all, as well those who approve, as who disapprove of the present measures, assurances of an implicit acquiescence in their enunciation of the general will.

I beg leave through you, to communicate this answer to the address on which your signature held the first place, and to add the assurances of my respect.

TH: JEFFERSON.

Col. EDWARD PROCTER.

FROM THE AURORA.

THE RIGHTS OF NEUTRALS.

The enemies of our freedom and independence, dare not come foreward and openly avow it, the declaration would deprive them of all hopes of success to reduce the United States (as they wish) to a state of dependence on Great Britain—they, therefore, make their attack on Mr. Jefferson, and on the political principles of the government, and the policy of its administration—not honestly and openly, but by *misrepresentations* and daring groundless assertions. Mr. Jefferson is the friend of the internal happiness of his country, therefore he is for domestic manufactures, and industry of every kind—he knows that economy is as necessary for the advancement of the prosperity of a state as of the individuals who compose it—he has, therefore, recommended economy, industry, and domestic manufactures, and for this he is abused and called an enemy to commerce, although they who are the boldest in those assertions know that he wishes to see commerce, as the handmaid of agriculture, flourish and thrive, and that we may be able, free, and unmolested, to transport the produce of our soil and our waters to every clime and every country.

But most certainly he does not wish to see the American people, such slaves to commerce, as to be ready to *barter our rights and independence* to any nation for the *privilege* of transporting our commodities to a foreign country—when we possess that right from nature, equally with themselves, and when to cede a *part* might be construed into a *cession of the whole.*

It is not the wish of Mr. Jefferson that our manfactures should interfere with our agriculture, but, on the contrary, that our agriculture should nourish and support our domestic manufactures, and so reciprocally.—Every hank of thread that is spun in a family is an actual gain to that family, and far more so, the web that is wove by them. Had the family, so honourably and industriously employed, loitered their time away in idleness, a part of the industry of the farmer, and the produce of his farm, must have been applied to produce those necessaries, and for whose benefit? That of the *British merchant*, the *British manufacturer*, and the *British revenue.* It is good, then, for the British to become rich on our industry, but it is not good that we should become rich on our own industry!

Wonder not then, Americans, that British dependants cry out against Mr. Jefferson, economy and domestic manufactures, and that they should abuse him for not implicitly submitting to the system wished to be established by the *British ministry*; and that instead of encouraging the farmer and mechanic from coming to reside among us, we should shut our doors against them.—Nay worse, quietly sacrifice even such as we had solemnly engaged to protect. For not doing this, is Mr. Jefferson and the whole administration abused?

The agents of England boldly assert, that England has made offers of accommodation as to our commerce, and security for our seamen, as well as satisfaction for insulting our flag, full and satisfactory to the citizens of the United States; but that Mr. Jefferson has refused all accommodation.

Meanly indeed must the asserters of such fables think of us, when they dare to publish falshoods so gross and base. Was it as they state it, we should have since have seen the *proffered terms in print*—none have appeared, either from Mr. *Rose*, nor the ministry who sent him, and without one or the other, those minions dare to come forward in the face of this nation. While they abuse Mr. Jefferson for not acceding to the treaty offered, (and in the face of which the orders in council were issued, that has deprived us of all commerce with the continent of Europe)—they in the same breath alledge, that England can't give up the right of impressing seamen from our vessels!

That a *British subject cannot abjure allegiance!* is not this strange language from *men we see daily among us*, who call themselves *citizens of the United States*, who enjoy all and every privilege of those native citizens who fought and secured the independence of the country, and which some of those who cry loudest endeavor to enslave—those babblers may pretend to say, it is only for commercial purposes—and for commercial *purposes it is permitted!*—by Great Britain!

Such should be satisfied then with commercial privileges, and not meddle in our politics—they should not dare to meddle in our elections, nor sit upon our juries:—has not a *common sailor* as good a right to transport himself to the United States, under that plea *(commercial purposes)* as a *merchant* or *captain*, and in the case of a captain it has been decided,* and that solemnly by *the twelve judges* of England, assembled expresssly for the purpose, that as the United States has granted him the right of citizenship, he was to be considered as such, and might command an American vessel *legally* from the United States to any port, or navigate any seas where any other American citizen could navigate. Can it be lawful for *one subject* in England to do what would be *unlawful for another?* Is it not contrary to common sense to say that it is unlawful for a *sailor* to be *found* on board a vessel where it would be lawful for him to *command.* If our flag protects our captains, it must protect our seamen, a vessel can no more navigate without *seamen* than without *captains.* The laws of the United States know no difference between a *citizen captain*, and a *citizen sailor* or *citizen merchant.*

Americans, listen with caution to those who abuse your government, and the magistrates of your choice, and who are daily singing the praises of a government *whence they come*—to *which alone they are attached*—to *whose laws and power they would bind you.* And under which, after amassing wealth at your expence, they mean again to return.

Be you as firmly attached to *your* country as they are to *theirs*—take an example even from your enemies, and cherish your country and your liberties; be attached to no country, but this which is your own, free and independent.

* The case of captain Collet—ship Argus—lost at the Cape of Good Hope—an action was brought against the underwriters in England, and the case was argued before the judges in Westminster hall.

FROM THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

Resources of the United States.—The opposition prints, with malignant satisfaction, exult at the deranged state in which the Embargo is likely to place our finances. They looked forward with eager expectation to the period, when our expenditures shall have equalled our income, and when the support of the government, the payment of the military and the interest on the public debt, irresistibly pressing upon a government, without resource from existing revenue, will compel it either to violate its engagements, or to resort to new modes of taxation. In either event, victory is reckoned upon as certain. The effect of excises and direct taxes are remembered, and it is hoped that similar causes will, even under dissimilar circumstances, produce correspondent effects.

There is, likewise, strong reason to believe that this impression has had no inconsiderable influence on the British cabinet; that they have inferred from it our inability for any considerable length of time to continue the Embargo, or, in case of such continuance have counted upon the total prostration of our finances. Fully apprised, from their own experience, of the value of money, they have no doubt anticipated from the want of it all the hideous effects with which sanguine hopes can inspire their minds. They have no doubt anticipated a prostration of public faith; a dissatisfied and refractory army; a people ripe for rebellion, and a government without energy.

It is admitted that these would be indeed calamitous evils, and, if their occurrence could be reckoned upon with the least probability, they would constitute abundant reason, on the ground of policy, for a continuance on the part of Great Britain of that flagrant injustice which has characterised her conduct since the outrage committed on the Chesapeake. Fortunately, however, these views originate in an utter ignorance of our resources, and of our finances, and of the effects of the Embargo upon them. We shall shew this to the demonstration of every candid mind.

Let us suppose the Embargo to continue during the whole of the ensuing year, or, if the Embargo be raised, our commerce to be entirely annihilated by the robbery committed upon it by the belligerent nations, and see its effects upon our revenue. We forewarn the reader against drawing any interference as to our opinion of the continuance of the Embargo to that protracted period. Nothing of the kind is meant. That will be a subject for the exclusive decision of Congress.

But should our commerce continue paralised even to the termination of the year 1809, our revenue will continue adequate to all the purposes contemplated to be answered by it. This will appear from the following statement:

Our *resources* will be—

	Dollars.
1. Sale of public lands for two years.	1,000,000
2. Mr. Gallatin, in his report of November 5, 1807, says the amount of outstanding bonds due by importers, after deducting the debentures issued on account of re-exportation, exceeds at this time sixteen millions. Add to this sum the new bonds given, and deduct from the aggregate the duties since paid into the Treasury, and there will remain a clear sum outstanding, which may be computed at about	12,000,000
3. Duties on new importations, say	2,000,000
	15,000,000
4. Add to this, *the cash actually in the Treasury at this time*	13,500,000
Total,	28,500,000

In this estimate are included, not only the ordinary sources of revenue, but an extraordinary and important auxiliary arising from the Embargo itself. This is the amount of *drawbacks*, which the reader will recollect is a duty secured to be paid to the United States, in case the articles are not exported within a limited time. Although by an act supplementary to that imposing the Embargo, the payment of these duties is in some cases extended to the time of raising the Embargo, yet, it is manifest that, in the mean time, the necessary effect of the Embargo being to produce among ourselves a demand for them, they will be gradually consumed, and the duties as they are consumed be paid into the treasury.

Our *expenditures* will be—

For 1808, including five millions and a half for the redemption of the eight per cent. stock, about	12,500,000
For 1809— Let it be recollected that the whole of this view is founded on the suppositon of things remainig for this period on their present footing. If so, even allowing the same extraordinary expences for 1809 as for 1808, although they may not be incurred, their amount added to the ordinary expences will be	15,500,000
But from this sum will be to be deducted $4,200,000 being the difference between the sum required for the public debt in the year 1808 and the subsequent years, according to the report of the Sec. of the Treasury— 4,200,000 Leaving	11,400,000
	23,900,000
Thus it appears that the aggregate income will be,	28,500,000
And the aggregate expenditures	23,900,000
Leaving at the end of 1809 in the treasury.	4,600,000

Further—Should there be any occasion then, or in the mean time, for a greater surplus, it might be augmented to the amount of 6,600,000 dollars, either by refraining from the discharge of the principal of the public debt falling due to that amount (a measure which would be cheerfully agreed to by the public creditors) or by loaning a correspondent sum, which would have precisely the same effect. This would augment the surplus balance to 11,200,000, which is equal to the ordinary expenditures of another year.

All this would be affected without loans or a single new tax, while Britain would be, every year, increasing her debt, by new loans to a great amount, and by correspondent new taxes for their ultimate redemption; to say nothing of the effect on her revenue produed by the defalcation in her import duties, arising from the total suspension of our exports, on many of which she axacts enormous duties.

Let then the opposition, and the advocates, and adherents of foreign powers cease to delude themselves with the hollow hope that our finances will be deranged, our resources dried up, or our energies paralized, by the measures which are now persued! The statement we have made, must convince them that these measures so far from having enfeebled our power, have husbanded it for the day of danger, and that if war shall become inevitable, we shall have ample means of waging it, without a recurrence to oppressive taxes or enormous loans. Not that there is any want of spirit in the nation cheerfully to pay taxes, or to authorize loans, to any amount, rather than surrender our rights, or relapse into a state of colonial vassallage.

NORFOLK, Sept. 15.—Arrived ship Hero, Barnard, 55 days from Liverpool, bound to City Point. Monday, Aug. 1st, at 6 P. M. in lat. 47, 24, N. long. 17, 38, W. two sail to windward bearing down for us—at 7 they fired a gun and hoisted English ensigns, upon which we hoisted up ours; in 15 minutes they fired another gun, upon this we hoisted up our courses and backed our maintop sail—at 8 a boat from each ship came on board, overhauled our papers, and behaved in a very shameful manner, after which they came on deck, saying they would give us some trouble, *for they liked to trouble Americans!* and ordered us to stand to the westward with them. (During this wanton conduct capt. B. said not a word.) They then ordered our crew to be mustered, and after overhauling them, swore that they would take two that had protections, and asked one of them what day of the month he was born on; on this our captain said, that was never put in any protection; upon which one of them turned round and struck him a blow in the face, saying, if he opened his mouth again he would give him five times as much; they then struck the mate repeatedly without any provocation, and told him if he said a word he would be taken on board and flogged! They then went on board their ships, telling us not to make sail until they gave orders; wore ship and ran down under our lee, and without hailing or saying a word, fired three shot at us, which passed over us between the main and foremast, a little above our long boat. They then made sail to the eastward, and we made sail and stood on our course.

JOHN BARNARD,
Master of the ship Hero.
WILLIAM COFFIN,
NICHOLAS MEOPLEE.

Movements Westward.

Detachments from the following corps are under orders for the north western frontier—all belonging to the new raised troops.

Five companies of the 6th regiment of infantry, commanded by colonel Jonas Simonds—to wit:

Capt. Bennett, Capt. Cherry, Capt. Gock, Capt. Cross, } Companies of the 6th reg. infantry.
Capt. Townsend, light artillery.
Capt. Rose, light cavalry.
Capt. Anderson, rifle corps.

Col. Simonds, we understand, is under orders to march in the direction of Oswego. Col. Burbeck, of artillery, is we understand, ordered for Detroit;—to which position a respectable force, it is supposed, will soon be detached from the new raised corps.

[*Aurora.*

The federalists always put the "Immortal Washington," in large capitals, in some part of every address they make to the public. This is downright piracy; or, at any rate, fighting under colors which do not belong to them.—Let us examine the subject for a moment:

Washington, in his memorable farewell address, advises his countrymen to *preserve* the *Union*:

The federalists (Essex Junto) say *divide* the Union.

Washington said, have no political alliances with Europe:

The federalists say, unite closely with England in her quarrels and wars.

Washington said, make no geographical distinctions, such as *northern* and *southern.*

The federalists preach continually about *southern influence.*

Where then, I pray you, is the resemblance between Washington and the federalists.

Monitor.