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FOR THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

THOUGHTS on the subject of NAVAL POWER in the UNITED STATES of AMERICA; and on certain means of encouraging and protecting their Commerce & Manufactures.

No. IV.

Besides the complete justification of our measures for the peaceable defence and protection of our suffering trade and seamen, and of our endangered agriculture and manufactures, which rises from this cursory review of the British conduct, another important impression will be made on our minds. The friends of public economy and peace, and the enemies of expense, disorder, and war, will clearly perceive that the mere possession of a great navy has enabled Great Britain to be extremely unjust, and to depart from that political morality, which she owes to herself, to the neutrals, and to the world. We have no reason to suppose that men on the western will be better than their brethren on the eastern coasts of the Atlantic, and we have therefore reason to apprehend, that, with an equal navy, we might have returned war upon England, or placed ourselves perhaps upon the list of the oppressors of our innocent rivals, or less potent neighbors. The possession of eight hundred fighting ships is to be under eight hundred influences to foreign war and neutral oppression.

Permanent navies, quite as much as standing armies, lead a government to beguile their citizens into immense and fatal credits to the public. By the new year the creditors of Great Britain will have, in Europe and the colonies, claims upon that government to an amount little short of three thousand millions of American dollars, at their proper valuation. It is said *familiarly* there, that this debt can never be paid; and a political writer, who was much approved and employed by members of their late expensive ministry, has openly advocated the use of *the sponge*, and excited against their public creditors, without discrimination, the extremes of resentment and odium. Regardless of the many persons of all conditions, sexes, and ages, foreign and British, whom the *immoral* spunging of three thousand millions would reduce to dependance, wretchedness, and beggary, and *totally insensible to the rights of property*, that dreadful catastrophe to their *war system* is openly proposed, in a leading newspaper of the city of London. America, it is hoped, will not hastily consent to exchange the political morality of her civil course for such a compound of human blood, fatal expence, and stupendous fraud.

It would not be fair to avoid the objection to our recent course with England,—*that it applied too particularly to her*. It may be observed, in cursory reply, that since we are much greater customers to that country than to any, and indeed to every other, we had a right to receive kindness and justice, or *like private customers, we were free to go to other shops, and to make goods for ourselves*. The manufacturers of the continent had done us little injury. It was Great Britain alone, who, of the *maritime* powers, violated the rights of the neutrals in 1792 and 1793, during a time of peace. She alone, of the *neutral* powers, violated the neutral rights before the war of February, 1793, with France. She alone induced, in London, in March, 1793, a neutral state (Russia) to form a convention for destroying the whole neutral commerce, direct and indirect, with the dominions of France. She alone issued secret executive orders, in November, 1793, to stop even the trade of neutrals, accustomed in peace, with the colonies of France. She alone made known her intentions to dismember our country at the Ohio.* England alone established a press at the seat of our government, to subvert our constitutions, and to destroy, by libels, the friends of their principles, approving, in her ministry and legislature, of the service of this civil enemy, before the whole nation, before all Europe, even after his conviction. England alone seizes our vessels in the new or war trade to the colonies of her enemies, while she makes treaties with us establishing a similar war trade in both her Indies, and regularly reciprocates a like trade between her own colonies and those of enemies. She alone impresses our seamen, and forces them to raise their neutral hands, in illegitimate war, against her enemies, with whom we are at peace. She alone violates the obligations of our written and ordained contracts with foreign seamen and foreign passengers, leaving our ships, unmanned, to the mercy of the elements. Uniformly and openly the leading party to the first aggressions on neutrals by Russia, Prussia, Austria, Sweden and Spain, in peace and in war, in 1722 and 1793, it is to her fatal influence, and undeniable example, that we owe the injurious precedents of those vast wrongs, which have broken the hearts and fortunes of our neutral merchants. It is England alone, which, on paper, has blockaded empires, nay, a quarter of the globe, unblockaded in fact, and incapable of blockade, destroying the markets for neutral produce, manufactures, and property, in enemies' and neutral countries. It is England which, to draw us into a war with her enemies, carried seduction into our national Senate, and attempted to commit this nation in the partition of an enemy's noblest colony. More might be truly said, but suffice it to observe, that a course of such circumstances, commencing in 1792, and continued to the last season of our public business, may well account for the measures we took to support a few of our own manufactures, by the exclusion of some of those of a nation so perseveringly unfriendly, and so extensively injurious, in spirit and in deed.

The conduct of Great Britain herself, in previously discriminating against us, may be forgotten by her government, but they will admit the facts on a statement of some, which occur.

The important principle, that free ships make free goods, was conceded by Great Britain to France, though her privy council, recognising that fact, decided that we should not be equally favored. This important and intentional discrimination against us is worth much more than all the discriminations we have made against England, and all we yet contemplate.

In making a treaty with France and other states, Great Britain established a much shorter, simpler, and more favorable list of contraband of war than was extended to us.

The British government and navy, it is believed, have not been in the practice of perverting the right of search to the impressment of sailors on the high seas out of any vessels, but those of the U. States.

The admission of other foreign ships, with their own foreign produce, into the British colonial free ports, and the exclusion of the ships of the U. States with our produce from the same ports, is another very serious discrimination against our agriculture and trade.

The exclusion of our ships from the carrying trade, between the ports of which their East India company have possessed themselves and China and other eastern countries, is a restriction not believed to be imposed on some other foreign vessels.

The pickled beef and pork of the United States are prohibited in Great Britain, but those of some other countries are received there.

The manufactures of the U. States have been prohibited in Great Britain, while many of those of Russia, Turkey, Germany, and the independent states of India have been admitted.

But let us make a pause.——Let us discontinue the further prosecution of this examination, lest the numerous evidences of rigor and injury from England may produce a resentment we do not desire, or be mistaken for a design to censure and offend her. Far different motives indeed have really excited to this publication:—the peaceable maintenance of the rights and interests of the U. States, and the exemption of human nature from the evils of discord and the crimes and miseries of war. The weeping voice of bleeding Europe seemed to cry to the distant Americans, *Preserve your peace*.—Under circumstances so affecting, it appeared wise, and lawful, and right worthy to appeal to the friends of humanity and truth in the two nations, on such matters as concern both; and respectfully to offer to our own country the weighty considerations, which seem to dissuade from the hasty establishment of *a powerful navy*.

* *This is acknowledged in the late general Hamilton's Pacificus.*

Twenty Dollars Reward.

WILL be given for apprehending and securing in jail a young Mulatto man slave named ANDREW. He was hired by me last year to Mr. Joseph Thomas who keeps the middle ferry to Alexandria, and absconded from that place about the latter end of August last. He is about 23 years of age, 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high, lusty and well made, has short curly hair, and is frequently subject to have several large pimples on his face. He is reckoned to be a sensible fellow, of an easy agreeable address for a man in his low sphere of life. As he has not been heard of by me since his elopement, I suspect he has had the address to ship himself as a freeman on board some vessel either at Alexandria or Baltimore. Whoever takes him up and secures him in jail shall receive from me the above reward, or as soon due information thereof is given to me or to Dr. N. P. Causin at Port Tobacco.

O. B. CAUSIN.

Maryland Charles County,
January 29—wtf

WASHINGTON CITY.

THE Subscriber takes this method to inform the public, that he has enlarged his tavern considerably for the accommodation of Travellers and Boarders; his stand being on F street opposite the Bank and very near the public offices. He flatters himself from the advantage of his situation and the reasonableness of his charges, with the strict attention to business, to give general satisfaction.

THOMAS THORPE,

June 20—wtf

FROM THE TRENTON TRUE AMERICAN.

Many of my party, and with shame I confess it, are so ignorant of the true ground of our opposition to the present administration, that if they are asked why they dislike Mr. Jefferson, they can give no explicit answer—they will even confess that they know nothing against the man, and acknowledge they like his measures far better than they liked Mr. Adams's. They, to be sure, oppose him, but it is only for opposition's sake; and they join in the clamour against him, merely because the leaders of their party first raise the cry——

——"Like village curs,
"That bark because their fellows do."

A fig for such politicians!—Their votes will, it is true, count at elections, as long as we leave things to the caprice of the people; but otherwise we were better without than with them. Give me the staunch, the tough-going man, who loves king George, and is not ashamed to own it—who wishes a royal government, and is not afraid to avow it—who hates democracy, and will leave no stone unturned to work its destruction. If we had had such men at the head of affairs in '98, '99, and 1800, we should not have had all our prospects blighted—but might before this have been reaping the harvest of our hopes, the reward of our faithful attachment to Britain and British government. But, alas! Adams was little better than an old woman—and, as soon as he found the people were aware of his plan to overturn Republicanism, he began to retrace his steps, instead of acting with redoubled energy, and sweeping with the besom of destruction all who stood in his way to the establishment of a monarchy.

Thus threw us again into the back ground, and here we shall always remain while we are ashamed of our principles and afraid to avow them.

So far from having nothing against Mr. Jefferson, almost every act of his public life is hateful to me.

I hate Jefferson—for having, from his youth, discovered a brilliant genius, an ardent desire to improve it, and a firm determination to devote it to the support of the cause of freedom.

I hate Jefferson—for having been one of the first to take a stand against the encroachments of G. Britain on our rights—and for having, while yet a youth, drawn the declaration of our independence, which, while it covers with everlasting disgrace our lord and master George the third, encircles with a wreath of unfading splendor, the brows of the young sage who drew it, and led to the complete emancipation of America from the rapacious rule of Britain.

I hate Jefferson—for having so faithfully executed his important trust, and diligently discharged his various duties while governor of Virginia, that though some of our emissaries raised and propagated the most outrageous libels on his character; yet after a full and fair investigation of the charges alleged against him, the legislature of that state found themselves bound in honor and truth *completely* and *unanimously* to acquit him, and to declare that "they entertained the highest opinion of Mr. Jefferson's ability, rectitude and integrity as chief magistrate of the commonwealth," and that this declaration was intended "to obviate all future and remove all former unmerited censure."

I hate Jefferson—for having by his sagacity discovered, and by his intrepidity baffled the designs of Tarleton and his myrmidons, to seize the records of that state and to make the governor their prisoner.

I hate Jefferson—for having accepted the distinguished but arduous office of ambassador to the court of Versailles, and for having discharged his trust with so much ability and integrity that the dogs of envy could not wag their tongues against him—and malice was hushed into silence.

I hate Jefferson—for having, while yet in France, when a copy of the federal constitution was submitted to him for his opinion, pointed out a number of its monarchical tendencies, and paved the way for the amendments which have now left it more unlike that stupendous fabric, the British constitution, and more conducive to the end of republican government, the protection and welfare of the people.

I hate Jefferson—for having uniformly, since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, cherished and supported it by word and deed, in office, and out of it.

I hate Jefferson—because he was the friend and favorite of Washington, and by him selected for the first Secretary of State under the new constitution—which office he filled with the utmost usefulness to his country, and the highest honor to himself, combatting with equal and unequalled force the insidious pretensions of the British and the insolent demands of the French minister.

I hate Jefferson—for retiring from office as soon as he discovered the ascendancy the great and good Hamilton was getting over Washington—and thereby throwing all the responsibility for the measures which were pursued upon Hamilton, instead of lending his name and influence to support them.

I hate Jefferson—because the people called him to fill the second office in the government; and because in that office he persevered in those principles, which from his youth he had maintained, in despite of all the engines that could be brought to play upon him.

I hate Jefferson—most inveterately and everlastingly I will hate him, because when called to the Presidency he immediately put in practice the principles which he always avowed—lopped off useless and unproductive taxes—dismissed idle, mischievous officers—retrenched superfluous expences—set about discharging the national debt—introduced regularity and economy in financial transactions—scorned the support of a sedition law and standing army to enforce it, and appealed only to the good sense of the people, for support—cultivated peace abroad, and cherished harmony at home—superceded officers who had speculated upon the public monies, or persecuted those who differed from them in political opinion—and proved, to the confutation and confusion of monarchists, that a republican government, when rightly administered, is the cheapest, strongest, wisest and best government in the universe.

I hate Jefferson—because his measures succeeded so well, that he was re-elected by an unparalelled majority—getting 162 electoral votes, while the federal candidate got but 14! and since his re-election, has proceeded on in those measures which will render our country so powerful that no nation under Heaven can cope with it—so happy that all other nations will envy it—and fix republicanism upon so stable a foundation that all the powers of earth and hell cannot shake it.

I hate Jefferson—because he is opposed to a large navy, while the country is in its infancy. For this, above all other things, I will never, never forgive him. Would he but set about building such a navy, all our ends would be accomplished. To do this he must have uncounted millions of money—this money must either be raised by taxes on the people, or by loans—if by taxes, the people would soon turn out of office those who were heaping unprofitable burthens upon them, when our friends might again get the ascendancy—if by loans, the debt it would create would as surely bring the nation under a despotic government, as a millstone round a man's neck would sink him under water. If we had a navy, Britain would not let us be at peace with her unless we were at war with her enemies—if we were at peace with her upon these terms, we must lose all the most profitable part of our trade, our revenue would be eat up by the wars we should be engaged in, and our prosperity would as certainly be sacrificed by our connexion with Britain, as the welfare of a young man would be the victim of an intimacy with an abandoned prostitute. If we should quarrel with G. Britain, our squadrons would soon, by being captured, serve only to augment her fleets—our own guns would be continually turned upon us—and we should spend our money, means and men, to build, equip and man vessels for the navy of our Sovereign, George III. This, by exhausting rebel America and aggrandizing our lawful mistress, Britain, would soon work the fulfilment of our wishes, either by restoring us to the government from which we revolted, giving us a branch to govern us of the royal tree from which we were lopped off, or at worst establishing a king from among ourselves. Build but a navy, and things will all work together for our good—and democracy will soon, as John Adams justly observed, become as odious as witchcraft.

I hate Jefferson—because he is hostile to *a standing army* in time of peace. An army the most powerful weapon you can put into the hands of a ruler—Adams knew this; and had gen. Hamilton's army been large enough, America might ere this have boasted a king like unto the nations of the earth—but with the skeleton which was raised, he could frighten refractory persons and punish seditious printers, but could do nothing effective. Had he commanded an army like Bonaparte's we might before now have been blest with a government as energetic and dignified as the Emperor of France administers.——But even were we, by intrigue, falsehood and fraud to get a royalist at the head of government, he could not manage the nation—foolishly infatuated as they are with the ideas of liberty and independence. Our militia may protect the country—no one will dispute this—but to give energy and dignity to government, we must have a standing army—and this we never can have while Jefferson has any sway in our councils.

I hate Jefferson—because he is opposed to war. Peace enriches the common people, and renders them proud and saucy. War, by impoverishing the people, makes them humble and submissive. If he had war, we must have money—and for this, must tax or borrow—must burthen the people, or run them in debt. In war, too, we must have a great number of offices—to fill these, our young nobility would be brought forward. We must have an energetic government, and what government is so energetic as a monarchy? War begets corruption—and amid corruption republicanism would soon wither like Jonah's gourd. War would demand a standing army—and when that army was once on foot, we might not have a Washington at its head to disband it as soon as peace was restored. War would require a Navy, which our pride would prevent us from dismantling, and with which we might form alliances, provoke hostilities, and undertake whatever our ambition might prompt us to.

In short, *I hate Jefferson* for what he has always been, now is, and is likely forever to remain, a determined enemy of all arbitrary governments and measures, and a decided friend of republicanism. Such are the reasons for the hatred to Jefferson, of one who is proud to call himself

AN OLD TORY.

FROM THE WESTERN WORLD.

THE KENTUCKY SPANISH ASSOCIATION, BLOUNT'S CONSPIRACY, AND GENERAL MIRANDA'S EXPEDITION.

(CONTINUED.)

WE shall divert the attention of our readers a little in this number from general Wilkinson and John Brown, to his honor judge Sebastian. It has been related that Sebastian after a two year's residence in New Orleans, while, a judge of the Kentucky court, returned in 1799. Soon after his return, he formed a project in company with Dr. John Watkins, the present mayor of New Orleans, to draw a number of the Kentucky settlers into Louisiana, doubtless, in our opinion, with the design of rendering the connexion between this state and the Spanish provinces more intimate, and thus paving the way for his friend Wilkinson more easily to effect the desired junction. The following is a verbatim copy of the original plan drafted for this purpose, which has been afforded us by one of the members of the company, for the purpose of publication. This member unwaringly had subscribed his name to the proposals, along with many others, without reflecting on the evil consequences which must have flowed to the state of Kentucky, from the treasonable scheme if it had succeeded. With regard to Dr. Watkins, it is proper to observe that at this period he was a young man just returned from his studies at the University of Edinburgh, and therefore, may be supposed to have entered upon this embassy from his honor judge Sebastian, to His Catholic Majesty, in a great measure from motives of curiosity. But what possible apology can be made, for a judge of the Kentucky Court of Appeals, setting on foot a plan for "the encouragement and accommodation of adventurers" in Louisiana when subject to Spain.

"We the subscribers impressed with a belief that one of the navigable rivers in the Upper Louisiana, is extremely desirable on account of the temperature of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and convenience of its situation for commerce, have determined to make an application to his Catholic Majesty for a grant of three millions of acres of land in that country, under the following regulations, viz.

"1st. That the grant when obtained, shall be divided into forty-two shares, and that one-third of the whole grant be reserved for the encouragement and accommodation of adventurers.

"2d. That no person subscribe for less than six shares, at one hundred dollars per share, with the liberty of disposing of as many of the shares as he may chuse, provided he does not dispose of the whole of his interest; and provided also, he be responsible to the other subscribers for the amount of his subscription, payable at such time as they, or a majority of them, may hereafter determine.

"3d. As the shares will be disposed of by the subscribers, whom they personally know, and have confidence in; and as the transferrence of the shares to strangers may be productive of confusion and inconvenience, and will also have the appearance of speculation, which should be studiously avoided, no sharer shall be permitted to sell, or in any manner dispose of his share, without the consent and approbation of the company, or a majority of them, given in a corporate capacity—and to the end, that every sharer may be known to the company, each subscriber shall on or before the 15th of July, return to Dr. John Watkins, a list of sharers claiming under him.