bers which compose it, are the industry, intelligence and enterprize of the individual proprietors, strengthened as they always are by knowledge of business and quickened by that which gives the keenest edge to human ingenuity—self interest. When all the property of a multitude is at hazard, the simpiest and the surest way of securing the greatest portion, is not to limit individual exertion, but to stimulate it; not to conceal the nature of the exposure, but, by giving a full knowledge of the state of things, to leave the wit of every proprietor free, to work out the salvation of his property, according to the opportunities he may discern. Notwithstanding the decrees of the belligerents, there appeared to me a field wide enough to occupy and reward mercantile enterprize. If we left commerce at liberty, we might, according to the fable, lose some of her golden eggs, but if we crushed commerce, the parent which produced them, and with her, our future hopes perished. Without entering into the particular details, whence these conclusions resulted, it is enough that they were such as satisfied my mind as to the duty of opposition to the system, in its incipient state, and in all the restrictions which have grown out of it. But the system is adopted. May it be successful! It is not to diminish, but to increase the chance of that success, I urge that a discretion, unlimited by events, should be vested in the Executive. I shall rejoice if this great miracle be worked. I shall congratulate my country, if the experiment shall prove, that the old world can be controlled by the fear of being excluded from the commerce of the new. Happy shall I be, if on the other side of this dark valley of the shadow of death, through which our commercial hopes are passing, shall be found regions of future safety and felicity.

Among all the propositions offered to this House, no man has suggested, that we ought to rise and leave this embargo until our return, pressing upon the people, without some power of suspension vested in the executive. Why this uniformity of opinion? The reason is obvious: the greatness of the comparison. If the people were left six months without hope, no man could anticipate the consequences. All agree that such an experiment would be unwise and dangerous. Now precisely the same reasons which induce the majority not to go away without making some provision for its removal, on which to feed popular expectation, is conclusive in my mind, that the discretion proposed to be invested, should not be limited by contingencies.

The embargo power, which now holds in its palsying gripe all the hopes of this nation, is distinguished by two characteristics of material import, in deciding what control shall be left over it during our recess. I allude to its greatness and its novelty.

As to its greatness, nothing is like it. Every class of men feels it. Every interest in the nation is affected by it. The merchant, the farmer, the planter, the mechanic, the laboring poor; all, all are sinking under its weight. But there is this peculiar in it; that there is no equality in its nature. It is not like taxation, which raises revenue according to the average of wealth; burthening the rich and letting the poor go free. But it presses upon the particular classes of society, in an inverse ratio to the capacity of each to bear it. From those who have much it takes, indeed, something. But from those who have little, *it takes all.* For what hope is left to the industrious poor, when enterprize, activity and capital are proscribed their legitimate exercise? This power resembles the mild influences of an intelligent mind, balancing the interests and conditions of men, and so conducting a complicated machine as to make inevitable pressure bear upon its strongest parts. But it is like one of the blind agitations of nature; a tornado or a whirlwind. It sweeps away the weak: It only strips the strong. The humble plant, uprooted, is overwhelmed by the tempest. The oak escapes with the loss of nothing except its annual honors. It is true the sheriff does not enter any man's house to collect a tax from his property. But want knocks at his door and poverty thrusts his face into the window. And what relief can the rich extend? They sit upon their heaps and feel them mouldering into ruins under them. The regulations of society forbid what was once property, to be so any longer. For property depends on circulation; on exchange; on ideal value. The power of property is all relative. It depends not merely upon opinion here, but upon opinion in other countries. If it be cut off from its destined market, much of it is worth nothing, and all of it is worth infinitely less than when circulation is unobstructed. This embargo power is therefore of all powers the most enormous; in the manner in which it affects the hopes and interests of a nation. But its magnitude is not more remarkable than its novelty. An experiment, such as is now making, was never before—I will not say tried—it never before entered into the human imagination. There is nothing like it in the narrations of history or in the tales of fiction. All the habits of a mighty nation are at once counteracted. All their property depreciated. All their external connexions violated. Five millions of people are encaged. They cannot go beyond the limits of that once free country; now they are not even permitted to thrust their own property through the grates. I am not now questioning its policy, its wisdom, or its practicability, I am merely stating the fact. And I ask if such a power as this, thus great, thus novel, thus interfering with all the great passions and interests of a whole people, ought to be left for six months, in operation without any power of control, except upon the occurrence of certain specified and arbitrary contingencies? Who can foretel when the spirit of endurance will cease? Who, when the strength of nature shall outgrow the strength of your bonds? Or if they do, who can give a pledge that the patience of the people will not first be exhausted? I make a supposition Mr. Chairman—you are a great physicisn; you take a hearty, hale man, in the very pride of health; his young blood all active in his veins, and you outstretch him on a bed, you stop up all his natural orifices, you hermetically seal down his pores; so that nothing shall escape outwards, and that all his functions and all his humors shall be turned inward upon his system. While your patient is laboring, in the very crisis of this course of treatment, you, his physician, take a journey into a far country, and you say to his attendant, "I have a great experiment here in process, and a new one. It is all for the good of the young man, so do not fail to adhere to it. These are my directions, and the power with which invest you. No attention is to be paid to any internal symptom which may occur. Let the patient be convulsed as much as he will, you are to remove none of my bandages. But, in case something external should happen; if the sky should fall, and larks should begin to appear, if three birds of Paradise should fly into the window, the great purpose of all these suffering is answered. Then, and then only, have you my authority to administer relief."

The conduct of such a physician, in such a case, would not be more extraordinary than that of this House, in the present, should it adjourn and limit the discretion of the Executive, to certain specified events, arbitrarily anticipated; leaving him destitute of the power to grant relief should internal symtoms indicate that nothing else would prevent convulsions. If the events you specify do not happen, then the embargo is absolutely fixed until our return. Is there one among us that has such an enlarged view of the nature and necessities of this people as to warrant that such a system can continue six months longer? it is a presumption, which no known facts substantiate, and which the strength and the universality of the passions such a pressure will set at work in the community, render, to say the least, of very dubious credit. My argument, in this part, has this prudential truth for its basis. If a great power is put in motion affecting great interests, the power which is left to manage it should be adequate to its control. If the power be not only great in its nature, but novel in its mode of operation, the superintending power should be permitted to exercise a wise discretion. For if you limit him by contingencies, the experiment may fail, or its results be unexpected. In either case, nothing but shame, or ruin, would be our portion.

But I ask the House to view this subject in relation to the success of this measure, which the majority have justly so much at heart. Which position of invested power, is the most auspicious to a happy issue?

As soon as this House has risen, what think you will be the first question every man in this nation will put to his neighbor? Will it not be—"*What has Congress done with the embargo?*" Suppose the reply should be—"They have made no provision. This corroding cancer is to be left absolutely on the vitals six months longer." Is there a man who doubts but that such a reply would sink the heart of every owner of property, and of every laborer in the community? No man can hesitate. The magnitude of the evil, the certain prospect of so terrible a calamity thus long protracted, would itself tend to counteract the continuance of the measure by the discontent and despair it could not fail to produce in the great body of the people. But suppose in reply to such a question, it should be said —"The removal of the embargo depend upon events. France must retrace her steps. England must apolgize and atone for her insolence. Two of the proudest and most powerful nations on the globe must truckle for our favor, or we shall persist in maintaining our dignified retirement." What then would be the consequence? Would every reflecting man in the nation set himself at work to calculate the probability of the occurrence of these events? If they were little likely to happen, the distress and discontent would be scarcely less than in the case of absolute certainty for six months perpetuation of it. For if the events do not happen, the embargo is absolute. Such a state of popular mind all agree is little favorable either to perseverance in the measure, or to its ultimate success. But suppose that the people should find a discretionary power was invested in the Executive, to act as in his judgement according to circumstances, the public good should require. Would not such a state of things have a direct tendency to allay fear, to tranquillize discontent, and encourage endurance of suffering? Should experience prove, that it is absolutely insupportable, there is a constitutional way of relief. The way of escape is not wholly closed. The knowledge of this fact would be alone a support to the people. They would endure it longer. They would endure it better. We should be secure of a more cordial co-operation in the measure, as the people would see they were not wholly hopeless, in case the experiment was oppressive. Surely nothing can be more favorable to its success than producing such a state of public sentiment.

But it is objected that a power like this, is too great to be invested in the Executive. In my opinion, as I have urged, it has less than that which you are about to confer. But what is this great discretion, so dangerous and alarming? It is simply a power to remove a prohibition, when the public good, in his judgment, requires. It is merely a power to do good; without the possibility of doing harm. If the specified events do not happen, then it is absolutely a six months embargo. Worse than this it cannot be, should he have the discretion, and fail to exercise it. But, suppose the events do not happen, and the state of the country require, that the embargo should be raised; then discretion becomes only an instrument of good; a mean of escape from ruin. There is only one apprehension, which is in opposition to this reasoning; and that is, that the Executive might raise the embargo before a fair experiment of its efficacy. Can there be, possibly, any just ground for such a fear? Is not the Executive, in a manner pledged for its success? Is it not eminently his measure? It is not too much to say that he is, and that he ought to be the last man in the nation who can be convinced of its inefficacy.

But there is another objection. It would expose the President to frequent solicitation for its removal. The preparing such solicitation would be a work of time, and while pending, by keeping hope alive, would tend to tranquilize the people. Should such solicitations spring from party spirit, would not its rival party counteract and defeat their efforts? But suppose the real sufferings, previous to the next session, should break down party distinction; suppose that men of all political sects should unite in judgment concerning the wisdon of abandoning the measure, are we prepared to say, that in such a state of things, it shall not be removed.

But I confess there are other reasons which have great weight in my mind, against this limitation of Executive discretion by events. First, it is altogether doubtful whether the contingencies will happen; and if they do, and thereupon the embargo should be raised, there is no possible security can be given that, as soon as our property is again upon the sea, the obnoxious policy will not be renewed. The fear of commissioned piracy, when it is combined with a pre-determination not to protect commerce against it, furnishes quite as sound a reason for a perpetual, as for a temporary abandonment of the ocean. But a more powerful argument, in my mind, against this specification of events, on the occurrence of which alone, the embargo shall be raised, is that, reasoning according to the known principles of human conduct, it seems full as likely to prevent as to promote that change of European policy at which we aim. I think it is clearly to be seen, from the nature of the British decrees, which, in a manner carry their own antidote with them, and by their operation defeat their own object, that a change of measures will be produced from the evils inevitably resulting, independent of any act of ours, not to neutrals merely, but to the English themselves. From the perpetually shifting administration of that government, resulting partly from its nature and partly from the characters of the men now the rivals for power in it, there can be but little doubt that a change will soon be wrought, and a wiser course towards neutrals be pursued. The ready way to prevent such a change is to unite the pride of the whole nation in opposition to our pretensions. Let us once declare to the world, that before our embargo policy be abandoned, the French orders and the British decrees must be revoked, and we league whatever honorable spirit exist in both those nations against us. Not to do that, under a threat, which we could do either from a sense of justice or from a sense of interest, is a common and a necessary principle of national, as well as personal dignity. No nation will easily be brought to acknowledge that it is so dependent upon another, that by its withholding intercourse an abandonment has been necessarily effected of a settled plan of policy. The admission sinks the nation making it, from the rank of an equal to that of a dependant. Again, by proclaiming to the world the terms on which our Executive may raise the embargo, we compromise our own honor. This weapon has two edges. It not merely pledges us to raise it, when those events occur, but what is worse it pledges us to keep it on, until they happen. We solemnly avow our purpose: can we recede from it afterwards but with disgrace? It is infinitely wiser to leave the reasons for the embargo in that obscure and mystical light, which has yet characterized the whole course of its existence. Let us not commit ourselves as to its object. Let it continue to be as it has yet been, sometimes intended to save our seamen, and sometimes to save our property. Now to constrain France, and now to take vengeance on Great-Britain. At one time let its end be to protect commerce; at another to encourage manufacturers. To day let it be an attempt to preserve our neutrality. To morrow a trial, "who shall do one another most harm." Thus we leave ground enough to retreat upon, "in the undefined field of contingencies."

But there is another most weighty objection to this restriction of Executive discretion by events. Such a course places the whole commerce of the United States at the mercy of foreign nations. The language of this policy is—"rescind your decrees and your orders, or we will, in our wrath, abandon the ocean." Now suppose that Great Britain, governed by a spirit of mercantile calculation, should reply—"Is this your mode of vengeance? Take the whole benefit of it. It is the very thing we wish. You are our only rivals. By driving you out of the market, we gain more than we lose by your retirement." Are gentlemen prepared to prove that such will not be her interest; or are they quite certain, if it be not, that she may not mistake her interest, under the influence of some stronger passion? What then will be our situation? Why, the melancholy alternative will alone be left us of abandoning forever the highway of nations; or retracting with shame, a policy to which we had pledged ourselves without sufficient caution. I do indeed believe that the commerce of the United States is important enough to France and Great Britain, to incline both those nations to grant us for its continuance many and great commercial privileges. But that it is so consequential to either, as that for its enjoyment, the one could be tempted to forego a policy, which has for its object to crush the only obstacle in its way to universal empire, or the other induced to abandon a system, adopted as the only means for the preservation of its national existence, now in peril, on all sides, I confess I am very far from believing.

We are but a young nation. The U. States are scarcely yet hardened into the bone of manhood. The whole period of our national existence has been nothing else than a continued series of prosperity. The miseries of the revolutionary war were but as the pangs of parturition. The experience of that period was of a nature not to be very useful after our nation had acquired an individual form and a manly constitutional stamina. It is to be feared we have grown giddy with good fortune; attributing the greatness of our prosperity to our own wisdom, rather than to a course of events, and a guidance over which we had no influence. It is to be feared that we are now entering that school of adversity, the first blessing of which, is to chastise an over-weaning conceit of ourselves. A nation mistakes its relative consequence, when it thinks its countenance, or its intercourse, or its existence, all-important to the rest of the world. There is scarcely any people, and none of any weight in the society of nations, which does not possess within its own sphere, all that is essential to its existence. An individual who should retire from conversation with the world for the purpose of taking vengeance on it for some real or imaginary wrong, would soon find himself grievously mistaken. Notwithstanding the delusions of self flattery, he would certainly be taught that the world was moving along just as well, after his dignified retirement, as it did while he intermeddled with its concerns. The case of a nation which should make a similar trial of its consequence to other nations, would not be very different from that of such an individual The intercourse of human life has its basis in a natural reciprocity, which always exists, although the vanity of nations, as well as of individuals, will often suggest to inflated fancies, that they give, more than they gain in the interchange of friendship, of civilities or of business. I conjure gentlemen not to commit the nation upon the objects of this embargo measure, but by leaving a wise discretion, during our absence, with the Executive, neither to admit nor deny by the terms of our law that its object was to coerce foreign nations. Such a state of things is safest for our own honor and the wisest to secure success for this system of policy.

(DEBATE TO BE CONTINUED.)

WASHINGTON CITY.

MONDAY, JUNE 27.

At a Meeting of Citizens held at Stelle's hotel on Friday, agreeably to public notice—

Resolved, That the ensuing Anniversary of American Independence be celebrated by a Dinner at Stelle's hotel, and that the following gentlemen be a committee to make the necessary arrangements.

Robert Brent,
Gabriel Duvall,
Thomas Tingey,
Samuel H. Smith,
John P. Van Ness,
Elias B. Caldwell,
Franklin Wharton.

⁂ The Committee are requested to meet at at Stelle's hotel on Monday evening at 8 o'clock.

The period is probably not distant, when we shall be enabled to form some judgment of the effect produced on the disposition of foreign governments by the Embargo. It is manifest, from the intelligence received from England, that hitherto it has been considered in that country as likely to be but of fugitive duration. Having themselves frequently resorted to a similar measure from motives totally different from those which produced it in this country, they have superficially given it both as to its nature and duration a like character with their ordinary embargoes. They do not appear at all to have realised the probability, or even possibility of its protraction to an equal period with their own orders. The rise of Congress, with the passage of the enforcing supplementary acts, and the act vesting in the President the power to remove it, will alone present the measure to their minds in its true colors. Congress rose on the 25th of April, and information of this event may be expected to have reached England about the 1st of June. Allowing a fortnight for deliberation, and six weeks for a passage across the ocean, we may calculate upon obtaining some interesting information about the beginning of August.

Will this information be such as we wish? Will it restore the amicable relations of the United States with foreign powers?

We confess that we are not sanguine on this point. We have hopes that it may be so; but our disappointment will not be excessive, if a different effect shall be produced.

That the *ultimate* sense of the British nation, provided we do not shrink from the duties imposed upon us, will overturn the prevailing system, and will do us justice, we entertain no doubt; but it is absolutely impossible to decide when this will take place. Such is the extreme pressure of the enemies of Britain upon her, so singular and unprecedented is her situation, and so unavailing have all her previous arrangements been in producing the benefits calculated from them, that we ought not to be surprised at the excitement of a spirit of desperate infatuation in that country, a spirit resolved on trying a completely new plan, and on stretching vigor to its utmost extent. Who knows, says the advocate of this system, what-