National Intelligencer.

& WASHINGTON ADVERTISER.

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NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

The following may be considered a correct index of the political sentiments of South Carolina. It confirms, what indeed scarcely required confirmation, the certainty, that all the electoral votes of that state will be for Mr. Madison.

Charleston, Oct. 4.

[The following address was read and agreed to at the meeting held on Saturday evening last, by the Delegates from all the Wards in this city, and from Charleston Neck, appointed to frame a Republican Ticket, and was ordered by their unanimous vote to be published.]

To the Republican Electors of the city of Charleston and upper part of St. Philip's Parish.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens,

You all know that an important election is near at hand, and that the men to be chosen at it, are not only to attend to the passing laws for regulating our domestic affairs, but are also to vote for men who are to choose the Chief Magistrate of the union.—This all important circumstance, connected with the perilous situation our beloved country now stands in, in relation to foreign nations, has already made a deep impression on you, and you have made a progress towards the success of your cause, by endeavoring to fix unanimity among us.

It is in consequence of your will, that we are met together this evening as delegates from all the wards of the city, and from the upper part of St. Philip's Parish, to deliberate upon the choice of the men to represent you, whom you have thought proper to name to us as possessing your confidence. We have obeyed your commands with alacrity, and trust our proceedings will meet your approbation. As you have furnished to us more names than the number of representatives this city is entitled to send to the House of Representatives, we have necessarily been obliged to leave the names of some very respectable citizens off the ticket; but as this was done after a free communication of sentiments was had amongst us, we are confident that those who are not selected will believe that no disrespect was intended, and that they and their friends will support the ticket with the same cheerfulness as if they were named, knowing that it is the first article in the creed of a republican, that the will of the majority should govern.

Fellow-Citizens—Before we proceed to lay before you the names of the persons we have selected to be proposed to you for your consideration and support, we think it will not be taken amiss by you, if we offer you a few sentiments which the present situation of our affairs seems to call for.

It is well known to you, that a desperate struggle is now making by the party in the United States, who style themselves federalists, to obtain possession of the government once more.—Though to reasonable men, who recollect well what a dreadful situation they drew the country into when they had the power, and which they could not hold in their feeble hands, this effort appears to be the height of temerity; yet, the fact is nevertheless so—every art is made use of—every engine is at work to change the measures which have been pursued for eight years past by our government, and with you, perhaps, it rests to say whether they shall succeed. The most powerful machine they make use of for this purpose, is the embargo, which now exists on our commerce. You are all well acquainted with the causes which gave rise to that measure, and you must be satisfied, that if it had not been laid at the time it was, that war inevitably would have taken place, which would have deprived your country of upwards of one hundred millions of property, *then afloat*, and many thousands of hardy seamen, all of whom are now safe in your ports. You know that a dreadful war has raged in Europe for many years past, and that by the wise measures of our present administration, we have been preserved, in a great degree, from its evils, though we have had many injuries and insults to complain of. You well know, that for the 16 years past, one of the belligerents has constantly made it a practice to take our seamen by force out of our peaceable vessels, to fight their battles; and that there are at this time several thousands of them detained in their ships. You know that our vessels have been grossly insulted; that a fellow citizen, employed in your peaceful coasting trade, was killed by a ruffian officer, who is yet unpunished, and that your seamen, employed in one of our national vessels, have been slaughtered on her decks; and that that flag which our heroes of a former day first raised to the view of an astonished world, has been insulted by a nation, whose squadrons were, at the very moment, receiving in our ports every mark of friendship and hospitality. You know that our commerce has been oppressed in every sea by the same nation. Blockades have been established on grounds unknown to the law of nations—your ships have been carried into their ports, under the most frivolous pretences, and those which were not condemned by their arbitrary laws, have suffered every extortion and vexation that venal courts could inflict, or unprincipled lawyers invent. Another nation, conceiving, perhaps, that we too tamely bore these insults and injuries, issued decrees which destroyed our neutality, seized on many of our vessels in her ports, and captured and destroyed others at sea.—You also know that, to this hour neither of the powers which have oppressed us, have ever exhibited the shadow of a charge against the good faith of the United States—in all things they have acted honestly.—In this situation your government sought, very properly, for redress by negociation, but instead of redress, nothing but evasion and subterfuge was offered, and there was scarcely a port in the known world, to which your vessels could sail in safety. Thus placed in the midst of difficulties, the supreme council of your nation, almost unanimously, imposed the embargo on our commerce, with a view, first, to call home our seamen and property, and secondly, to try if the unexampled moderation shewn would not induce our oppressors to harken to reason. That the embargo bears with considerable weight on us, we will not attempt to deny; but when freemen consider that by bearing it, their liberties are secured, the heavy expences of war and the loss of many valuable lives are avoided, they will support their inconveniences with cheerfulness. This is confidently looked for from republicans, but the federal party, we are sorry to say it, instead of being obedient to the laws they were bound to support, are actively endeavoring to sow dissensions amongst our citizens, and make the embargo their main plea, when in their consciences, they must know that it was the best measure that could at that time be resorted to. The party which now agitates our country, it is known to you, is composed of a majority of federalists, and those who were our enemies during the war of the revolution, the first are anxious to rise to power and places, the latter disappointed in tying us to the chariot wheels of George the Third when we resisted him, vainly flatter themselves they will now succeed (by our divisions) in restoring to him this immense continent, the loss of which is in fact, the true sources of all the indignities we have suffered from that nation since obtaining our independence.

But, fellow citizens, it is our duty to say, that all the federalists are not opposed to us; on the contrary, many of them with that candor which will do them eternal honor, have come forward and avowed that the administration of the venerable Mr. Jefferson is correct in the measures lately pursued, and have unequivocally approved of the embargo. Amongst them it gives us pleasure that we can name the best informed and most opulent merchant in the United States, William Gray, of Massachusetts, and two amongst the ablest statesmen our country has produced, John Quincy Adams, of Boston, and Wm. Loughton Smith, of our own city and state. When such highly informed men as these tell us that the embargo was conceived in wisdom, who will believe the idle tales of men, who seem ready like Esau, of old, to sell their birth right for a mess of pottage, (or rather for a few Birmingham trinkets) who to obtain four cents more in the price of a pound of cotton, than it now brings, would barter our national honor and the liberties of us and our posterity.

We know fellow-citizens, that we are intruding on your patience in recapitulating to you things that are already so well impressed in your minds. We therefore shall only add that in our opinion the roads to political happiness and misery are before you. If you wish for a renewal of the melancholy scenes which passed under the federal administration, when you were borne down by stamp acts, excises, direct taxes, & 8 per cent. loans, when the freedom of the press & of speech were withheld from you by sedition laws, when our ministers abroad were empowered to prevent the distressed natives of Ireland from seeking an asylum on our hospitable shores, and if they did get here were to be apprehended and banished by an alien law; when an unfortunate and friendless American seaman, who by his bravery had escaped from one of the floating dungeons of England, and thought himself in safety in his native land, was arrested and delivered up to his persecutors without a shadow of trial, and put to death on a gibbet; when your treasury and war offices were seen in flames; when your state was made a blank in the union; we say, if you wish for a renewal of those and many other transactions of the same cast which we know took place, you will vote for the federal ticket. But if you wish for a continuance of the many blessings we have enjoyed, under the protecting hand of the illustrious Jefferson, then will you fly to the polls the instant they are opened and put in the republican ticket which will ensure you the election of the long tried, wise, honest and unequalled *James Madison*, a man whom the real voice of the United States says is the man deserving of their highest honors.

The following, fellow-citizens, is the ticket agreed upon to be recommended to your consideration:

For Congress.

ROBERT MARION.

State Senator.

JOHN DRAYTON.

Representatives.

Henry Middleton, Langdon Cheves. O'Brien Smith, John Johnson, jun. John Geddes, Thomas Lehre, William Clement, Jon. Hurlbeck, jun, William Rouse, Peter Freneau, James R. Pringle. Wm. Lee, Joseph Verree, Thomas Bennett, jun.

FOR THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

The very particular situation in which the present moment finds our national foreign, and domestic affairs, renders this communication very interesting to every friend and well-wisher of the United States. It consists of criticisms on two pamphlets not long since published in London; one of which, that of Mr. Baring (whose celebrity as a merchant is well known) many of our citizens have had an opportunity of seeing; but to the great bulk of the nation, it hitherto has had no access; the other is anonymous, supposed, to be writen by a lawyer, entitled, *Orders in Council, or an Examination of the justice, legality, and policy of the new system of commercial regulations; with an appendix of state papers, statutes and authorities.*

The Editors of the Monthly Review, who have for a period of about half a century, held an unrivalled place in the republic of letters, thus notice the subject:

'We unite in one article our consideration of these important pamphlets, because by their subjects they very naturally and aptly combine: and together they present a complete view of the objection s to which our late orders of council are exposed. The anonymous writer of the first, joins to an acquaintance with the principles and operations of commerce; the knowledge of a professor of public law, and a municipal lawyer; while to a similar intimacy with the effects of commerce, the former author adds the precious advantage of experience, and practice in its concerns. From the latter of these tracts, the reader will learn the substance of the remarkable edicts in question, the qualities of their structure, their incongruity with the rules of the law of nations, and with those of our own municipal code, and will also find in it very important observations on their impolicy and inexpediency; but it is to the former of these productions that he will be most indebted on this score.

'The opposition of these orders to the law of nations has been admitted by some of their advocates: who have sought to repel the objection founded on that ground, by denying the obligations of the law of nations in the present circumstances of the world: alleging that this law owes its authority to compact, and that, the compact having been dissolved or disregared by the parties interested in it, all are now at liberty to act as they shall think proper. This doctrine is said to have been laid down in a certain great assembly, by the highest authority in these matters, (supposed to allude to the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords.) The law of nations, however, we conceive to mean the rules of justice, as regulating the conduct of nations in their intercourse with each other, and which are the same rules of justice, with these by which individuals are required to govern their conduct in society. If it be not denied that this code is less obligatory on nations than on individuals, (and we are not aware that such denial can be maintained,) it will follow from the reasoning above quoted that morality itself is dependent upon compact; and that it is not of immutable or eternal obligation, as had been universally held in this country down to the present period, and in support of which tenet, we have so many learned and ingenious productions, that are *chefs de Œuvre* of the human mind. If such a notion of the law of nations, being obligatory only to this limited extent be tenable, morality is not binding on an individual in a state of nature any longer than it continues to be observed by those among whom he lives; so that, if they commit extortions, rapes, and murders, he is justified in doing the same. This is again to set up Hobbes, and to sweep away from our shelves the Cumberlands, Cudworths, Clarks, Prices and Butlers. If such, however, be the doctrine on mere moral grounds we are at a loss to conceive how it can be justified on those of religion: an observation which has the more weight, inasmuch, as the authors and supporters of those orders claim to be christians *par eminence*, being of the class which designates itself as the *evangelical*: though, indeed, as we have recently shewn, *morality* and *good works* are too often condemned and discarded by that sect. We have lately declared ourselves sticklers for commerce; & we feel as little disposed to sacrifice *old morality*, from complaisance to the delusions of the day: for we are so old fashioned as to maintain that there never can exist a state of things, as long as empires and individuals themselves exist, in which the rules of justice will not be binding on the one and the other. Of the many grave questions which this doctrine suggests, it does not fall within our province on an occasion like the present, to attempt the elucidation.

In this war of edicts between the French ruler and the present British ministers, it is undeniable that the former was the aggressor, and that, as acting against him, the latter are justified in proceeding to the utmost extent of retaliation; but, while they aim their blows at him, they should be careful that the injury which they inflict does not fall on themselves, or rather on their country. As opposed to him, they had an undoubted right of construing rigorously the absurd but ambiguous decree of November, 1806, but here that right ended. They however, disdained to confine themselves within any such limits; and in their scheme of retaliation, their vengeance falls lightly on the enemy, while it is principally heaped on the heads of neutrals, who were no parties to the aggression. It is contended moreover, by the authors of the orders in council, that they find in the orders of the 7th of February, 1807, issued under our late government, an ægis which completely protects them from all attacks, at least from all attacks on the part of those who framed that decree. In that order, a power was certainly reserved, which goes partially to the extent of that which has been called forth by the latter orders; and which the then ministers claimed the liberty of exerting in case that neutrals should acquiesce in the French decree according to its more unfavorable interpretation; but the question now is, had neutrals so acquiesced previously to the issue of the late orders? If this fact, of which we have seen no satisfactory proof, were established, then would ministers be justified to the extent of declaring France and the countries subject to it in a state of blockade; but what do we find in the orders of the 7th February, 1807, which justifies or in the least countenances that complicated interference in the concerns of neutrals, and the subjecting their trade to licences and taxes, which is not less *an invasion of the sovereignty of such states* than an infringment of the ancient constitutional rights of British subjects? So gross is this outrage on neutral nations, that Bonaparte, covered as he is with delinquencies of this kind, thinks that he may reproach our ministers with the act.

'If a neutral has cause for complaining of these orders, the anonymous *Examiner* of them makes it appear, as we have just observed, that they are not less derogatory to the most precious and sacred rights of British subjects. The researches of this author prove that royal proclamations can in no degree affect imports and exports. Lord Hardwicke, who was equally a constitutional and a profound lawyer, could not be induced by even the apprehensions of a famine to issue a proclamation for regulating the corn trade. These orders however, it is here abundantly proved, are not only at wide variance with our ancient fundamental laws, but are in direct violation of modern statutes and the latest practice. If we acquit their reputed framer of wilful and intentional blame in this respect, it is only bcause we are aware that he is likely to be better acquainted with the rules of the Cockpit, with the shifting maxims of Doctor's Commons, and with colonial ordinances, than with those ancient fundamental laws, which form the bulwark of our liberties. For drawing public attention to these sacred enactments, and to their late departure from them, we consider the author of the present *examination* as entitled to general acknowledgement. His able sketch of them shews, on the part of our simple ancestors, a vigilant regard to the public interests, which must put to the blush the negligence of their boastful descendants, in having permitted abuses to grow up that must both excite shame and alarm in the minds of all considerate men.

After having given the substance of the orders, and illustrated their operation by the supposed case of an American vessel, the writer adds:

"This illustration comprehends the only material features of the new system, viz. its forcing all the neutral commerce to run through the ports of the united kingdom; its giving the English government a command of the supply of cotton, and some smaller articles, as brandies, wines, European snuff and tobacco; and its stopping the exportation of all enemy's West India produce, except cotton, cochineal, and indigo, either to this country or to any restricted port of Europe. It is upon these points that the policy of the measure must be tried."

The privations to which this plan must reduce the enemy are expected by its authors to compel him to sue for peace, an idea which is here thus refuted and ridiculed:

"The French have borne every species of public and private calamity for nearly eighteen years; they have passed through all the vicissitudes of revolution, from anarchy to despotism: they have tasted only of war, with its whole train of evils, of which privations have been the smallest; they have suffered the most unsparing conscription, augmented in rigor as the service became more irksome and dangerous, to all this they have submitted in quiet, with rallying points for emigration in the neighboring nations, and for rebellion in the heart of their own country. No dangers, no calamities, no private distresses, not even the conscription itself, has ever extorted a murmur of discontent—and we now expect insurrection to break out as soon as sugars and coffee shall become scarce at Paris, or the army shall find tobacco growing dear! The conscription is at an end, or is become