

accommodation of the trifling nature I have alluded to. But, even of this, I have no direct information or personal knowledge. This bill then wants the fundamental fact on which it has been recommended to us. If this ostensible cause furnished the real motive for this procedure, it is enough to induce us to vote against it, that we have neither evidence, knowledge or well founded belief of the existence of that cause as a fact. But suppose that we do assume the fact that our people do trade largely and continually with the enemy, furnishing him with provisions for his fleet and army. Is embargoes the proper remedy. Is the trait to be expected from it worth the mighty sacrifice which will attend it. Will it, as is asserted, "shorten the war?"

The proper reward of guilt is punishment—but it is the guilty man only who should be punished. If your laws are inefficient, revise and amend them. If your officers are careless, remove them and appoint those who are vigilant. But do not punish a whole people because of a few sinners. In regard to its operation on the war—there is no foundation for the supposition that the enemy cannot sustain it without the aid they receive from our citizens? What great warfare nation armed at all points, was ever starved to peace? It is true that it might be put to additional trouble and expense—but that this war will be carried on against us as extensively and actually, after the passage of this bill as before, until we abandon the system, a few months will I fear abundantly evince. A history as well as our own observation must convince us that such projects produce effects directly the reverse of what their authors intend. Such an attempt was made on France by Britain, in an early stage of the French revolution. Then a great scarcity prevailed in France, and the British minister attempted to coerce her into submission by cutting off her foreign supplies. But what was the consequence—did it "shorten the war" and bring France to terms?—the very reverse actually happened—the spirit of the nation was roused—every foot of the ground was cultivated—plenty returned—the plan was rendered abortive, and has been justly considered the weakest that was ever attempted by the minister who conceived it. The British is the last nation to be materially affected by this scheme, and it is vanity itself to imagine that she will yield to such a pressure. The time also that we have selected, is the most unfortunate that could have been chosen for the experiment. Britain is now allied against France with all other great continental powers—her fleets still command the ocean—the granaries of Europe are open to her—through the Baltic she may command the wheat of the North—the Isles and countries bordering on the Mediterranean, offer an abundant supply, upon as good terms as those at which it could be obtained here—her own harvests have been for the last year most abundant—and can we reasonably expect to "shorten a war" begun by ourselves, with such a nation, by such means. No! it is mere delusion—distress our own people we may, & certainly will, by such expedients—but if we do not end this war until Embargo gives us peace, we shall wage it *ad Græcas Colendas*. We shall not even take our enemy by surprise—he is not only apprized of our disposition to starve him, but has already felt what our restrictive energies can perform, and past experience should have taught us, how worthless and destructive such a policy is. We began this sort of warfare in 1806, then we prohibited the importation of certain articles, selected very wisely, expecting to distress her great manufactures, but it produced nothing. In 1808 we called to our aid Embargo—that was to starve her Islanders; we kept it up until we were tired of it, then abandoned it, and were laughed at by the British minister. We next resorted to non-intercourse, both with England and France. This neither coerced England, nor satisfied France—and finally we were obliged to declare war. Let us no longer be deceived. If we mean to conquer peace, (as the fashionable phrase is)—if we mean to attempt to "shorten the war" by any efforts of our own, let them be noble & manly. Let us cherish (as far as we get any) our commerce—to replenish our treasury—to enable our citizens to support the burthens imposed, and to be imposed upon them—unrestrained by too much regulation it will take care of itself. Let us sacredly obey the constitution and laws, in war as well as in peace, whatever we may think of their justice or policy.—Let us face the enemy like men!

Meet an invading foe on the shore of our coast, and let us wait for the field of battle. Let those who made this war—their who delight in a war of invasion and conquest—those who aspire to the honour of being founders of the great western commercial empire, which will reach from Halifax through the Canadas and Lakes to New-Orleans—let these men shorten the war on the ramparts of Quebec. Thither let the brave western militia (who have covered themselves with unfading glory) resort. Happily on their route, they may fall in with their brethren of the standing army—be able to inspire its generals with wisdom and concord; and infuse into the men a portion of their own martial spirit—then may our people forget the errors which have attended our career—this army redeem itself from disgrace, and the American name be as famous for deeds of valor on the land, as it is already for those performed on the ocean.

It is worthy the grave attention of this committee to consider what will be the operation of this measure upon our trade—for if its tendency is to injure us more than the enemy, we ought not to adopt it. By this measure, we shall give a more severe blow to the farming interest from Carolina to New-England—Yes, the interest of that large and valuable portion of our community—the bone and nerve of the body politic—is sacrificed by this bill. The wheat and corn market will be destroyed. Wheat now commands from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty cents a bushel. At or this low price, it will not be in operation a few months, the price will be merely nominal. The crops of the next season will find no market. All our trade, internal as well as external, is by this act placed under the presidential ban. Even one part of our country in want, will not be able to obtain its supplies from another, where the article may be sitting in the warehouses.

The member from Louisiana informed us yesterday, that this would probably be the condition of the people in the neighbourhood of Mobile. But he was gravely answered by the hon. Speaker, that if such cases occurred, the people must remove to a more plentiful country. What I have said of wheat, and of the middle states, applies to every other article of country produce, and to every farmer in the U. States. We shall take from him the fair price of his labor, which has enabled him hitherto to maintain and educate his children—You take it from him too, at a time when he is tired almost of the air which he breathes. But the mischief is still greater in particular states. By this restrictive measure you unite with the enemy in depriving many in the eastern states, of their living, of their employments, without which they can scarcely exist. A large portion of that community live by commerce—their land is cold and sterile, but their minds and bodies active and strong—they live by the ocean—Is it an object of this bill to take from them their all, because the enemy have not yet done so? By this bill we shall reduce them from affluence to poverty—we place before them the sad alternative of breaking through the restraints of this law or starving—and are we not about to incur a most fearful risk? It appears to me, that this measure leads to consequences the most alarming; and of which I will not permit myself to speak. But I do conjure the gentlemen of the majority to pause for one moment and reflect—I conjure all who, with me, consider the union of these states as the ark of our political safety, and therefore to be cherished beyond all other objects—I conjure every patriotic man to take care how he adopts so rash an expedient. There is a point beyond which freemen will not be compelled to go—but I forbear.

This fatal measure will not only destroy the whole of the export trade, which the enemy may leave us, but also our import trade. We impoverish the treasury, & tax most enormously every citizen in his consumption of foreign articles of the first necessity. What neutral will come to our ports when he cannot take away a return either in specie or produce? None—he will desert these inhospitable shores, and betake himself to other markets. The current of trade will be essentially, and perhaps permanently changed. Our already exhausted treasury will be deprived of millions of dollars now so much wanted for the public exigencies. And articles, by long habits, become necessities of life, such as sugar, tea, &c. will, like your penalties, be quadrupled in price. Let us then abandon the suicidal policy. Let us not destroy our own children, that we may inflict a light stroke upon the enemy.

What I have said in regard to the alleged trade with the enemy, and its probable operation on the war, has no reference to the provision trade carried on through neutral ports, and which may ultimately be applied to the use of the armies serving against the French in the Peninsula. By prohibiting this trade (as this bill does) we may perhaps distress the allied army, and for a short time paralyze its efforts. But let me ask gentlemen whether this is the real object, marked under a charge against our citizens of illegally trading with the enemy? Have we indeed been conducted by the invisible hand to be the open aiders and abettors of the Iron King in his wicked war against Portugal and Spain? Do we really desire to throw our arms, our little spiteful mite, into the scale of the tyrant, against nations fighting for their native land to repel an usurping invader? I hope not sir—This is not the sentiment of the nation, yet this bill will effect all that can be covertly done by this government in aid of the French. But even this effort, unwise as it is, will be ineffectual—The cause of Spain and Portugal will succeed—we may embarrass their operations for a moment, but other nations will gladly supply what we shall withdraw.—And is this the time to unite our efforts with those of the French? The cause of the tyrant is on the wane—Europe has arisen from her slumbers, & is in arms. Whilst we are adding another knot to the "magic cord" with which he has encircled us—which was to have been cut but has not been cut by the sword of war. Whilst we are adding our empty rattling cannon to the tail of the east, the hunters are in sight—the extended spear may reach him—he dies or he dies to devour us. Mistaken disastrous policy! Thus to throw the weight of a free people into the scale of the oppressor of the world, who has forever returned our carcases by injustice and insult. It does really appear to me, that the passage of this bill connected with other matters recommended for adoption, in the President's confidential message, (for this is only the first act of the drama) we are to be made principal actors in the great continental plan of conquering England by destroying her commerce—and shall we meanly come in at the expiring end of this abortive scheme, to receive and to merit the chastisement of a world. This embargo is only a part of the executive plan; this bill was brought into the house by the committee of foreign relations as a report in part. The President has advised us to prohibit the importations from neutral ports, of such fabrics as are usually made in England.—When this recommendation shall also become a law, he need only add a power in the Collectors, to burn all goods which they suspect to be of English manufacture, and we have the French system in its very essence.

But sir, it is not merely to the general principles and policy of this bill that I object, its details also, present to my mind most serious grounds of complaint. They are strange and alarming, overturning principles fundamental to our free institutions, and exposing the persons and property of the citizens to arbitrary sway.—Having had no opportunity to examine this bill (the house refusing yesterday to print it) my recollection of its particular provisions may not be precisely correct. I can therefore only present to the view of the committee a few general objections to the form which has been given to it. In the first place, the penalties appear to me to be unreasonably severe, and disproportionate—making no discrimination between different degrees of guilt—taking from the courts the common power to graduate the degrees of punishment, and apportion them to the circumstances of each case—involving all who transgress one "title" of the law in indiscriminate ruin. Every law should have a proper sanction to secure its execution—every crime should be punished so as to reclaim the offender, or deter others from doing the like. All beyond this is abuse of power. The American people have shown much concern on this important point. They have expressed their disapprobation of severe punishment by generally ameliorating their criminal codes. This bill confiscates the vessel and cargo—the carriage and goods of every one who infringes its provisions—and superadds a penalty of four fold the value of the whole! This is the rule even in cases where the vessel or carriage and goods, are seized and confiscated—this is enormous, and beyond all bounds of justice, and reason. Besides, there is no discrimi-

nation between the case of him who shall break this law with the criminal intent to aid the enemy, and him who may attempt to send away his goods to a neutral port, to save himself from ruin. And yet no one can pretend that the grade of criminality is the same. This bill also invests the President, and through him the custom house officers, with powers of vast extent, affecting the personal rights and property of our citizens contrary to the spirit and letter of our constitutions and laws.—Custom house officers may enter houses and seize the property of any man whom they shall see fit to suspect. They may even interrupt the transportation by land, of the produce of the country from one place to another, within the U. States, (a branch of business now of the utmost importance) under pretence that a wagon in going towards a port from which the goods might be exported—or towards a place in the possession of the enemy. The President's orders constitute the law of the land, going as far as a law of congress can give full and entire protection to the person executing such orders.

The good old rule which we received from our ancestors, and to be found in magna charta, that no freeman shall be passed upon either in person or property but by due course of law, is lost sight of, and the American people are placed under the dominion of a single man. But this is not the most deformed picture of the bill—the means by which these formidable powers are to be executed, are still more dangerous and alarming. The collectors and custom house officers (tamons in history for acts of oppression) may call to their aid military forces, whenever they see fit, with out control or responsibility. This prostrates at once the liberty of the people; it is executing civil process by military power, where no actual resistance has been made to the civil authority.—There is no shield interposed between the breast of the citizen and the bayonet of the soldier; all depends on the discretion of a custom house officer—a host of petty tyrants will despoil the land and woe be to him who shall incur their resentment—they have only to point out an individual as an object of suspicion, and the military force raised to defend his rights, may assault his castle and seize his person. This strikes at the root of our free institutions, it is proclaiming martial law, it is repugnant to the constitution & laws of this nation. The constitution invests congress with power to call forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union. Military force cannot be resorted to originally not even the militia force; much less can a mercenary army be at once called in. Within this section a military force can only be used when the civil power has been found to be incompetent. The act of Congress passed during the first administration, to give effect to this constitutional provision, expressly requires a judicial certificate from a Judge of the U. States that the civil authority is incompetent, before the militia can be "called forth."—But the bill before us contains no such provision—military force may be resorted to in all cases at the discretion of the collectors.—And let me ask, if it has been reserved for these gentlemen formerly so watchful of the liberty of the people, so alarmed at every extension of executive power, to do more to destroy the one and extend the other, than they have ever accused their opponents of intending?—I move, sir, that this bill be amended, by striking out its first section.

(Debate to be continued.)

NEW-YORK, DEC. 24.
FROM THE NORTHERN ARMY.
By a gentleman direct from the frontiers, with whom also came captain Adair, of the army, we are enabled to contradict the report from Boston, that Gen. Wilkinson's army had been attacked in its encampments, and cut up by the enemy. The army was in comfortable quarters, well defended, and its communications with the public stores and provisions open and secure, and no danger was to be apprehended from the enemy's forces. Col. McComb had been sent to Montreal, for the purpose as is understood, of conferring with the British commander in chief, on the subject of the officers placed in close confinement as subjects of retaliation.

RIGHTLY IMPORTANT.
A letter from a very intelligent gentleman, at Canandaigua, to his friend in this city, dated the 17th inst. contains the following Part-

Several gentlemen have this day arrived from Buffalo and Lewistown, with what of their valuable effects they could bring, not feeling it safe to remain longer on the frontier. They inform that the British and Indians, about 3000 strong, are approaching, and that there is nothing to oppose them.

From the Buffalo Gazette.
On Sunday last Mr. R. M. Pumroy and son, Dr. Trowbridge and lady, crossed at Black Rock into Canada, on a visit; the party had been on shore a short time, and the ferry boat was about returning with a number of militia, which came up from Fort George, when they were hailed by a party of British militia in sleighs, but the boat paying no attention, they fired into the boat and killed Mr. Merrill, one of the ferry-men; when the boat returned to the shore, and the men in the boat were taken prisoners; among the prisoners were Richard Pumroy and Luke Draper of this village. The party were commanded by two British regular officers. Mr. Pumroy and Dr. Trowbridge obtained a boat above Fort Erie, and crossed over in safety. Mrs. Trowbridge was permitted by the officer to return.

DISTRESSING INTELLIGENCE.
Albany Register—Extra.
December 24, 1813.

A gentleman direct from Buffalo, has furnished the editor with the following alarming and melancholy intelligence.
The gentleman states, that he left Buffalo on Tuesday morning last. That on Sunday morning FORT NIAGARA was taken by STORM, by a British force consisting of about 3,000 regulars, militia and their savage allies: That there were only THREE who had the good fortune to escape from the Fort, the remainder having it believed been put to the sword.

This horrid massacre was followed up on the part of the British, by the burning of every house between Niagara & Manchester, also the entire villages of Lewistown, Manchester and Tuscarora. The extent of the massacre was not known but it was ascertained that the families of St. John Cole and Muller were among those which were massacred by the Indians. It is expected that Buffalo would momentarily share a similar fate.

Such are the outlines of our intelligence—God grant that it may not prove so disastrous as we are at present led to believe.
If this news be true, which we reiterate our prayers to Heaven, that it may not be, what a melancholy proof does it exhibit of the want of wisdom foresight and policy, on the part of our government. What military genius under similar circumstances ever had the temerity to march like Wilkinson (he obeyed orders however) through an enemy's territory, leaving fortified places, well garrisoned in the rear. To this wretched policy do we owe the massacre, which it has become our painful duty to announce to our fellow citizens.

NOTICE.
RIDGELY & PINDELL,
Present their thanks to their friends, and the public generally, for their liberal patronage since they commenced business.
As they intend dissolving partnership in the course of six or seven weeks, and wish to have their business speedily closed, they now request the favor of all persons indebted to them to call and pay their accounts, or settle the same by note.
Annapolis, Jan. 1, 1814.

Public Sale.
By virtue of an order from the Ophans Court of Anne Arundel County, the subscribers will expose to Sale, on Friday the 21st January next, if fair, if not the next fair day thereafter, at the late residence of James Simmons, near Mount Pleasant Ferry.
Part of the personal property of John Ball, late of Anne Arundel County, deceased, consisting of Horses, Cattle and Sheep, Plantation Utensils, Household and Kitchen Furniture, &c. Terms of sale—for all sums over ten dollars a credit of six months, upon bond with good and sufficient security being given, with interest, from the day of sale; under that sum, cash.
Sa-ah Ball, Administrator.
December 29.

For Sale.
A LIRELY NEGRO BOY.
About 17 years old, and a slave for life. He has always been employed about a house and is a very good waiter. He acquires of the printer.
December 29.

Boston, Dec. 23.
A fire broke out in Portsmouth, N. H. Wednesday evening last, between the hours of 6 and 7 o'clock, and destroyed between 250 and 300 buildings. It was visible from the sea.

The following are all the particulars we have been able to learn of this distressing event before our papers went to press:
Extract of a letter from a gentleman dated Hampton, Dec. 23, 1813.
A. M. to the editors of the Patriot.

I have just returned from Portsmouth, which exhibits a scene from the ravages of last night's fire, the most awful description. I have only time while the stage stops to say that about TWO HUNDRED and FIFTY BUILDINGS, (some computed at 300) WERE BURNED. It swept off every building in Back-street—all Daniel's as far as Broad-street—Court-st. as far as Broad-street—one third of Broad-street—as Mark Blunt's—the stores at the Pier—Langdon's Wharf, a Seal's Wharf—Re. Shipley's Wharf—Drisco's Wharf—North side of Long Wharf—North side of Pitt-st.—Atkinson-st. as far as Green Inn—Washington-st. from School Wagon's store to widow Chas. all Ark Lane—Sheaf-st. both sides—all Penallow Square—west side of Rose-Mary's Lane, &c.—The particulars are indefinite, but you may form some idea of the extent of the calamity.

MARYLAND GAZETTE.
ANNAPOLIS, SATURDAY, JAN. 1, 1814.

CELEBRATION AT ANNAPOLIS.
The deliverance of Germany is celebrated—the emancipation of Europe secured—national independence is established. We are saved from the chains prepared for us, which the sinister views of some among us, and the infatuation of many, were ready to rivet. The auspicious events ought to fill the hearts of all true patriots and philanthropists with joy and exultation. They ought to be celebrated by the friends of our country, as the second birth of our independence; as the final coming of that which dawned in Russia.

For the performance of this equally sacred and delightful, it has been resolved by some of the friends of national independence and American Liberty, now at Annapolis, where glad tidings were first received, to assemble at that place on Tuesday, the 18th day of January next, and celebrate by a public expression of their joy and thankfulness, this signal and auspicious cause of mankind.

All who partake of the sentiments which give rise to this celebration, are invited to join in it. Suitable arrangements will be made by a committee appointed for the purpose.

Legislature of Maryland.
HOUSE OF DELEGATES.
Monday, Dec. 27.

The house having adjourned this day, a number of the members met, but not being present sufficient number to form a quorum, the members present adjourned to-morrow morning nine o'clock.

Tuesday, Dec. 28.
The speaker with a number of members attended, but a quorum not being present, adjourned to-morrow morning nine o'clock.

Wednesday, Dec. 29.
The house met. The proceedings of Thursday, Monday and Tuesday were read.

Mr. Waller delivers a paper from sundry inhabitants of Somerset county, praying the establishment of a bank in the town of Salt Head and referred.

The speaker laid before the house a report of the clerk of the county court, relative to the disbursements of the judges. Read and referred.

The clerk of the senate delivered the following communication to the Executive.
Council Chamber, Dec. 23, 1813.

In the course of the last year a number of the militia of several states volunteered their services in the defence of points of the threatened with attack. They were accepted by our officers.