rishable nature there is a positive loss, and this is the case with his shipping; though it remains to be seen, whether at the raising of the embargo the enhanced prices paid for the articles exported will not amply remunerate his present losses.

Estimating the commercial capital of the United States at 100 millions, and the mercantile profit at ten per cent. his loss, from not continuing his trade, cannot exceed ten millions. If to this be added five millions on account of the perishable property of the shipping, and an equal loss for the injury on other perishable articles, we have an aggregate of twenty millions.

As an offset to this, it is but fair to put down the increased price of foreign goods which, estimated at ten per cent. on fifty millions amount to 5,000,000

The increased price had in foreign markets for his goods, stored previously to the embargo, which may be confidently computed at* 5,000,000

And the increased cheapness of living during the continuance of the Embargo, which may be estimated at 2,000,000

Making altogether, 12,000,000

This leaves a deficit of 8,000,000 which will in a great measure be met by the new employment given by him to that portion of his capital disengaged from trade.

It follows that the injuries sustained by the merchant will be inconsiderable. Those indeed acquainted with principles of political economy know how difficult it is materially to injure this class of men, who, drawing all their profits from the consumption of the other classes of society, likewise saddle them, with very few exceptions, with their losses.

On the farmer and planter the injury will principally fall. They will be either kept out of the value of their surplus produce for a considerable time, or be obliged to sell it at a reduced price. Happily, however, they are generally in such circumstances, that unless the embargo be of unlooked for duration, they will have the means of retaining their produce for sale until a more propitious season shall arrive. In the mean time it is difficult, if not impossible, to estimate with any precision the amount of pecuniary loss. But it will be manifest to any man, who reflects on the subject that it will fall far short of 50 or 60 millions, which we have seen would be the increased annual expence of war. This is evident from the whole amount of our domestic exports falling considerably short of fifty millions, and from the loss actually sustained being limited to the value of the articles which shall perish before the embargo is raised, and to the eventual diminution of the foreign demand for the residue. The actual loss cannot surpass the amount of these two items, which itself will in all probability form but an inconsiderable part of the whole; as the tobacco, the cotton, the rice usually exported, may be kept uninjured for several years, and as these articles constitute the larger portion of our exports.

2. The second view, worthy of notice, is that the embargo, though the cause of much individual distress will produce little national loss of wealth; while war would most extensively produce both.

The degree in which war would produce a loss of property almost defies calculation. Our whole commerce might be swept into the possession of our enemy at a blow, thereby enriching her at our expence by taking its full value from the national stock.

The embargo has the advantage of securing the whole mass of national property; of concentrating our means; and of preparing us for the day of danger.

3. The embargo will necessarily produce an economical expenditure of the public monies; war would not fail to produce a lavish disbursement of them. All that can be required under the former is a moderate preparation for defence; while under the latter, a more extensive preparation for defence would be indispensable and the infinitely more expensive means of offensive operations might be called for. At present, under the embargo, an extraordinary expenditure of three or four millions has been thought sufficient; once engaged in war, the extraordinary expences would not fall short of twenty millions. If these were drawn from loans they would not fail to clog our future growth; and if from present taxes to operate most oppressively.

4. The embargo withdraws us altogether from a political association with foreign nations; war would bind together our common destinies. Is there any thing in the condition of the foreign world generally, or in that of any one state in particular that ought to tempt us, at any price whatever, to embark our interests with theirs? If there be not, if this is the decided conviction of our countrymen, they ought to consider war as among the greatest curses that could befal us, and not to murmur at any lesser evil that saves them from it.

5. The embargo protects not only our trade, but likewise our political institutions, from injury or ruin, by withdrawing us from all collisions with foreign powers. War would expose our political institutions to hazard, not only by the direct effect of those collisions; but still more so by the interior system which would require adoption. Large armies, heavy taxes, vast and almost unlimited powers, a patronage extended and ramified through the whole community would expose our system to one of the most severe trials to which it could be subjected.

6. Finally, the embargo may be temporary; war would, in all probability, be of long duration. This point is of sufficient importance to be treated separately, and shall be reserved for the next number.

AN AMERICAN WHIG.

* *A profit nearly equal to this has been made on the single article of tobacco.*

NEW-YORK, June 20.

Foreign summary.—The London Courier of the evening of the 27th April, states—that at Plymouth all was hurry and bustle, in consequence of a telegraphic dispatch arriving to the port admiral, and an admiralty messenger with dispatches, which were put on board three schooners lying in the Sound, which sailed directly, one off Ushant, one for Cadiz and the Straits, and a third for the West Indies. The dispatches were said to relate to the Rochefort squadron, of whose destination government had received authentic advices. In consequence of this telegraphic message, the Phœnix, 44 guns, captain Mudge, which sailed the 26th, was recalled by signal, and waited in the Sound for orders. Orders were also sent to the victualling office, to victual and store up to six months sir John Duckworth's fleet, which was again to sail in quest of this redoutable Rochefort squadron, which the French papers say had been off Corfu and returned to Toulon. A cartel which was sent to Morlaix with Frenchmen, returned to Plymouth with the Frenchmen; they were ordered not to land at Morlaix. Mr. Mildmay and several other gentlemen had lately returned from Russia—they received their passports from that government without any difficulty; the only persons detained in Russia were those concerned in mercantile pursuits. 700 Portuguese who had escaped on board sir Charles Cotton's fleet, had arrived in England; and about the same number were on their way from off Lisbon. Individuals were flying from Portugal daily in great numbers; and so eager were they to escape from the clutches of the French, that none remained behind, except those who dare not attempt to remove their families, for fear of detection. Parliament assembled on the 26th—the further consideration of the petitions against the orders in council were deferred for a few days. A petition of the East India company was laid before the commons—they request a loan of parliament to pay dividends to the holders of their stock, and to support their credit. This petition caused a warm debate—one of the members said, that the India trade was continually declining, and in danger of a total overthrow, from the prosperous increase of American establishments—another replied if America particularly flourished in this trade, it was because she was in a state of neutrality. The petition was referred to a committee.—Troops were continually embarking in the out ports, bound on secret expeditions. In one expedition gen. sir John Moore was to have the chief command; major general Mackenzie Frazer second; and major general Gower to be on the staff; Mr. Kennedy as commissary general, colonel Murry as quarter master general, with the honorable captain Blaquiere as his assistant.

WASHINGTON, June 20.

General Turreau, the French Minister arrived here on Friday from Baltimore.

We understand, that dispatches have been received from Gen. Armstrong of a late date in April. Gen. Armstrong was then in Paris. The Osage had not been detained by the French government. She was soon to return to England, whence she would soon sail for the United States, without returning to France. We do not learn that any extraordinary circumstances had occurred.

We have seen a letter dated Richmond, June 13, which states the recent sale *there* of one hundred barrels of flour belonging to Mr. Jefferson, which probably gave rise to the story in the Evening Post. It follows that a part of Mr. Jefferson's crop of wheat had been manufactured before that. Although this circumstance is altogether unimportant, and does not affect the general character of the libel, it is but just to state it in correction of a part of the article in the National Intelligencer of the 15th instant.

An article in the *Globe* (a London newspaper,) is interesting, which says, "*letters of marque and reprisal will be issued against the United States in a few days.*" We do not know the complexion of this print, and cannot therefore say what weight is to be attached to the intimation. Although not probable, it is far from *impossible*. For the ministry that could issue the orders of Nov. 11th, 1807, and persist in them after the luminious exposure of their folly may, from the same motives, take the more desperate step of war. *Energy* seems to be the watch word in that devoted kingdom, and we ought not to be surprised at any excesses to which it leads.

Because the Osage stopped first at France, the Courier, a ministerial print, infers that the president has applied in the first instance to France for a revocation of her decrees, and those of England are declared to be strictly countervailing. "It remains, therefore, first to bring the French government to a sense of right, and America will be sure of justice from Great Britain." If this is the only ground on which we are to look for a revocation of the British orders, the hope, we fear, of such an event is very faint. The stoppage of the Osage at France is no evidence of the sentiment ascribed to the president, and if it were, it is not easy to perceive what effect it would have upon the French emperor. The suggestion can then be looked upon in no other light than that of a subterfuge, an effort to make the people of England believe that their government is anxious for peace with this country, but France will not permit it.

Nat. Intel.

At a crisis so momentous as the present, when a material alteration in our affairs must occur, the public mind looks forward with an anxious solicitude for news. If we are not very much mistaken, not many days will elapse before something of importance is communicated from our executive—for it is a fact, that dispatches in answer to those first sent by the Osage, have been received from France, and probably from England.—A cabinet council is now sitting at Washington. [*N. Y. Gaz.*

General Turreau has had recently conferences with Mr. Madison, some of which continued three hours. This would look as if something of unusual interest engaged the attention of the two governments.

Voluminous dispatches have been, at different times, received from both France and England, since the adjournment of congress; but no part of their contents have been suffered to transpire.

Wash. Fed.

The Osage has been detained at L'Orient, not by the French government but by our minister, general Armstrong. She would proceed thence for England about the 18th of April. This intelligence has been conveyed in letters from Paris, dated the 12th of April, at which time lieutenant Lewis was to have left that city for L'Orient.

The Osage will return direct to the United States from England; the permission to go to England not including a permission to repair from thence to France. The emperor and secretary for foreign affairs had gone to Bordeaux. The Osage, from this account, may be soon expected with dispatches from both countries. [*Monitor.*

The Chesapeake Frigate on the 11th inst. went down to Crany Island. We understand that she will sail on a cruise during the present week.

Norfolk Ledger.

Extract of a letter from St. Mary's dated 27th May.

"We expect a large English armed vessel to load by force. If she does, we shall have warm work. The day before yesterday, sixty four barrels of provisions were taken out of a store on Cumberland island, belonging to Josiah Smith, and carried to St. Mary's."

Charleston paper.

We are pleased to find one solitary instance in the legislature of an "honest federalist," who would not go all lengths with the ESSEX *alias* PICKEROON JUNTO. The editor of the Continental expresses his surprize, that the republicans voted for Mr. GRAY, whom he calls an "honest federalist," notwithstanding he is in favor of the Embargo. You need not be surprized, Major! for an *honest federalists* is such a *political phenomenon*, that the republicans, when they find one, wish to encourage him.

Bost. Chron.

Massachusetts Legislature.

On the 11th inst. the legislature adjourned.

The minority of the House of Representatives on Mr. Wheaton's anti-embargo resolutions, to the number of 168 members, have entered a solemn protest against them, which shall appear in our next.

We are authorised to state, that satisfactory proof was produced to the Collector of this district, that the Schooner La Superieure, which sailed from this port a short time since, was a public armed vessel, possessing a commission from the Emperor of France, and as such was exempted from the operation of the Embargo act as will appear by the following extract from the second section of said act, viz. "armed vessels possessing public commissions from any foreign power, are not to be considered as liable to the Embargo laid by this act."

Phil. Amer. Adv.

Boston, June 10.

Mr. Sheriff Chandler, of Kennebec, has informed the Governor, in a letter dated the 4th inst. that the article inserted in the Kennebec Gazette of the 3d inst. and copied into other papers, of his having called out the militia to quell the insurgents, is a base falsehood —"and that he has not had occasion, since being Sheriff, to call out any one company of militia, or any part thereof."

The following is from an answer of Mr. JEFFERSON to the TAMMANY SOCIETY of the city of New-York.

"I have received your address, fellow citizens, and thankful for the expressions so personally gratifying to myself, I contemplate with high satisfaction, the ardent spirit it breathes of love to our country and of devotion to its liberty and independence.—The crisis in which it is placed cannot but be unwelcome to those who love peace, yet spurn at a tame submission to wrong. So fortunately remote from the theatre of European contests, and carefully avoiding to implicate ourselves in them, we had a right to hope for an exemption from the calamities which have afflicted the contending nations, and to be permitted unoffendingly to pursue the paths of industry and peace. But the ocean which like the air, is the common birthright of mankind, is arbitrarily wrested from us, and maxims consecrated by time, by usage, and by an universal sense of right, are trampled on by superior force.

"To give time for the demoralising tempest to pass over, *one measure only remained* which might cover our beloved country from its overwhelming fury —an appeal to the deliberate understanding of our fellow citizens in a cessation of all intercourse with the belligerent nations, until it can be resumed under the protection of a returning sense of the moral obligations, which constitute a law for nations as well as individuals— There can be no question, in a mind truly American, whether it is best to send our citizens and property into certain captivity and then wage war for their recovery, or to keep them at home, and to turn seriously to that policy which plants the manufacturer and the husbandman side by side, and establishes at the door of every one that exchange of mutual labors and comforts which we have hitherto sought in distant regions and under perpetual risk of broils with them.

"Between these alternatives your address has soundly decided; and I doubt not your aid, and that of every real and faithful citizen towards carrying into effect the measures of your country, and enforcing the sound principle, that in opposing foreign wrong there must be but one mind."

Who shall be our next vice president?

The question which has been so long and so frequently agitated, "who shall be our next *president?*" seems to be now pretty well settled; and the only enquiry at present, is "who shall be our next vice president?"

The answer to this question is easy, if gov. Clinton, listening to the dictates of his own honest judgment, and turning a deaf ear to the seggestions of evil counsellors, shall declare his willingness to sacrifice what are denominated "*his* CLAIMS to the next presidency," to the wishes and the unity of the republican party. In that event *he* will with the unanimous suffrage of the republican electors be no doubt, again invested with the second honor in his country's gift.

Should governor Clinton, however, *silently* continue to behold himself supported by abandoned men as their candidate for the presidency—*the republican majority* who have nominated him for vice-president, *must* consider such silence as a *virtual rejection* of *their* offer, and will of consequence be obliged to select another candidate. To this cause they will also be directed by considerations of the impropriety and folly of yielding their support to a man who shews no disposition to harmonize with them, but on the contrary permits the influence of his name to be arrayed in opposition to their proceedings and interests.

We confidently trust that the vice president will yet act in relation to this affair, in a manner worthy of himself and of his former fame; that he will listen to the voice of the republican majority, and bow to it in patriotic submission. But if our expectations should unfortunately be disappointed; and if circumstances should render it *absolutely necessary* for the republican majority to nominate another candidate for the office of vice president, we hope that their choice may fall on the virtuous and patriotic JOHN LANGDON *of New-Hampshire*; a gentleman of excellent talents, of irreproachable morals, and of inflexible political integrity.

If we were advocates for *state claims*, we would add that Langdon is from a section of the union which though very respectable and populous, has never had one of its citizens honored with the appointment of president, vice president, judge of the supreme court, foreign ambassador, or a head of either of the departments.

Pub. Adv.

The following is an extract from a speech of John Marshall, now chief justice of the United States, delivered in the Virginia convention, June 10, 1788, and may be found in the book entitled, "Virginia Debates," page 163.

Balt. Eve. Post.

"MR. CHAIRMAN,

"I conceive that the object of the discussion now before us, is whether democracy or despotism, be most eligible? I am sure that those who framed the system submitted to our investigation, and those who now support it, intend the establishment and security of the former. The supporters of the constitution claim the title of being firm friends of liberty, and the rights of mankind.—They say, that they consider it as the best means of protecting liberty. We, sir, idolize democracy. Those who oppose it have bestowed eulogiums on monarchy. We prefer this system to any monarchy, because we are convinced that it has a greater tendency to secure our liberty and promote our happiness—we admire it because we think it a well regulated democracacy. It is recommended to the good people of this country—they are, through us, to declare whether it be such a plan of government, as will establish and secure their freedom. Permit me to attend to what the honorable gentleman (Mr. Henry) has said. He has expatiated on the necessity of due attention to certain maxims—to certain fundamental principles, from which a free people ought never to depart. I concur with him in the propriety of the observance of such maxims. They are necessary in any government, but more essential to a democracy than any other. What are the favorite maxims of democracy? A strict observance of justice and public faith, and a steady adherence to virtue. Those, sir, are the principles of a good government. No mischief—no misfortune ought to deter us from a strict observance of justice and public faith."

The reign of the federalists in Massachusetts, is going on as might have been expected. They seem resolved to give the world sufficient evidence of the extravagance, absurdity and *Toryism* of their party; that every body may know what sort of an administration the *General Government* would have under a *Federal President* and a *Federal Congress*. From the sample of their principles afforded by the late Resolutions of the Massachusetts Legislature, there cannot be a question but that if the interests of the Union were at present in the power of the same party, they would submit to every thing demanded by the British, and even formally consent to their impressing our seamen, and taxing the cargoes of those few vessels of our's which they would mercifully permit to escape a total condemnation. War with France, and an alliance offensive and defensive with Great-Britain, would then be the order of the day, the consequence of which would be, in a short time, and by a regular progression, the certain destruction of the liberties of the people of the United States. The ensuing election of a President is therefore of vast importance, and requires the zealous and active co-operation of all the Republicans to defeat the machinations of their enemies and ensure a favorable result.—But let them be *vigilant, firm*, and *united*, and ALL WILL BE WELL.

Vir. Arg.

We read with sincere pleasure the following sentiments, the result of a *sound judgment*, united with correct principles, in the *Whig* of Baltimore, a paper which has already obtained the *sure praise* of merit, in the *fear* and *enmity* of the enemies of public liberty and virtue.

Aurora.

The Whig *was* opposed to Madison; and could it have *any* influence in procuring the election of Clinton, it should be so still. Yet, if there be danger in division; if *a breach* could be made in the republican ranks, at which a *tory* might enter, and grasp the reins of this new republic—it requires neither craft, nor yet the devocation of Decius, to close it, by the relinquishment of a favorite candidate. A republican *of any sort*, is preferable to a federalist, provided, he *observes* the *discriminating policy* of appointing republicans to manage the affairs of the republic.

The British government are resolved not to relax in the carrying into execution, their celebrated orders of council.

Balt. Amer.