Admitting this, however, I deny the position.—The tax here alluded to, is *paid* principally. Now sir, how is it to appear, that three fourths of this has been paid by the nine northern states!—I consider a *tax* as a contribution levied on the citizen for the support of government, and for which he receives no other remuneration than *protection*. Now who *pays our impost tax?* Surely not the collector. Why! Because he receives it from the merchant, and is consequently *remunerated*. Surely not the merchant, for the same reason. He receives it of the buyer, with profits thereon, and often has credit on his bond, until he can sell the impost articles and collect the tax. Who, then, pays it? The consumer. When that gentleman has shewn us that the nine northern states consume articles which pay three fourths of the *impost*, then, and not till then, is his proposition proved. I did not think it was a new doctrine, that the consumer pays. I did expect that it was a well settled principle. Smith, Blackstone and Montesquieu, all agree in the principle.—Hamilton lays it down more cautiously, but the reason is, because he was then writing in proof of an *excise*. I know there are instances, in which, by a sudden depression of the market, or by systematic smuggling, that this tax is thrown on the seller, but such cases are rare.—The people of Massachusetts never violate the laws, you know, sir. They seldom resolve that the laws must and will be resisted.——Their merchants never smuggle, more especially their federal merchants. I think then, if the consumer pays the tax, none of us should be over ambitious, or think yourselves very meritorious, by having been distinguished consumers. If we proved that we had consumed more brandy than our neighbors, it would be proof of our patriotism at the expence of our temperance. You will perhaps say that this tax was acquired by our industry. But who furnished the means of export? The man who raised the article.

We are told, sir, that this is a war waged upon the people of New England.—What motive could induce the majority of the nation to make war upon *us?* We are not their rivals in any thing. To suppose that they would oppress us to make us *love* them, and induce us to live among them, is a very childish supposition. I do not know for what they could envy us. Surely not for our union or patriotism. Are they offended at our uninterrupted abuse? No.—During all the insults of our politicians, and the billingsgate of our newspapers, have they shewn no tokens of resentment, but viewed them with pity or contempt.

You need apprehend nothing from the army of 60,000 men. If you conduct as you ought, and as we believe you will, the troops will never disturb your peace, and should you attempt any resistance, the friends of the government are amply competent to put you down. But, if you are really alarmed, pass one of two more such resolves as these, and be assured the government of the United States will take no pains to dragoon you into submission. Nor are these troops, as you intimate, intended to make Mr. Madison President for life. As to choosing him by *intrigue*, I should have thought gentlemen would have had more prudence than to say one word on that subject.—Never was a more infamous system of intrigue practised in any country, or on any occasion, than was put in operation by opposers of Mr. Madison's election. But we can choose Mr. Madison every year during life, without troops or intrigue, and all your arts and opposition will not prevent it.

The committee state, that tho' they postpone redress for these intolerable grievances, yet they do not believe that peace will take place.—Among the causes of unbelief, that of want of evidence is not the *only* one. There is frequently what the *faculty* would call a "predisposition of the patient," which prevents belief. This, together with the morbid state of the political atmosphere, probably has much effect on the case.—The opposition do not wish an honorable peace; it would destroy all their hopes, and blast their expectations.

Should the present administration be able, notwithstanding our opposition, to effect a peace on any tolerable terms, the opposers of the government must inevitably *go down*. Now, mark well, if peace is effected on any terms by the present administration, the "Peace Party" in Massachusetts will be first to find fault. And, sir, why do the southern & western states continue this war? Suppose they should take you at your word, and yield up to G. Britain, what *you* say we ought, how would this injure them, or satisfy you! They have no interest which clashes with that of G. Britain. In case your projected dissolution should be accomplished, the southern and western states could make peace in twenty four hours. You say let us have trade, let us have cargoes, and we will consent to lose the men. They reply, are you the travellers, the carriers, and we wish to clear the highway of robbers and banditti, that you may travel with safety. But if *you* are satisfied, and are willing to sacrifice your men for the sake of the property, to sell their liberties and pocket the money, very well. Make your own bargain and go your own way. Be separate if you choose. G. Britain will be our carriers on as good terms as you will.—But what sort of a treaty can *you* make with England? Have you any thing that she wants, or will she consent that you shall be the carriers of her manufactures? No, sir, could we have our wishes gratified, we should be the most miserable people in the world.

The Commissioners of Peace don't please you.—This is a favorable symptom. Had Mr. Madison appointed opposition men, it would be giving up all the point in controversy. They would have made a treaty conformable to your view of the subject, which would be yielding them all they ask. And if such a surrender of our rights had been rejected by the treaty making peace, you would again complain of the rejection of a treaty, made on the purpose to be rejected.—But your predictions on the subject of ministers of peace are not entitled to the fullest confidence. We were told that the appointment of Mr. Gallatin, a *Frenchman!* to Russia, was an insult to that government. But it turned out, that this commission has been deemed very flattering to Russia, and these "distinguished citizens" have been treated with as much respect as any ministers in Europe, and much to your mortification, this "*unauthorized*" mediation and mission are very likely to produce what *we* wish, an honorable peace. Whether any, or what effect, your opposition *would* have had, or since this tapering off *will* have, on the pending negociation, remains to be seen.——But I believe it will prove as harmless and inefficient there, as it is here.

But, sir, before I close my remarks, which have already been protracted longer than I intended, I would enquire of gentlemen whether they are aware of the consequence of repeatedly expressing an opinion that the "compact is dissolved." What, sir, on the passing of any law, which we may please to call unconstitutional, is the compact dissolved and we absolved from all allegiance to the general government? This doctrine is pernicious and abominable. An awful responsibility rests on those who promulgate sentiments of this description. With what pleasure can we review these doctrines in the calm & sunshine of peace? Will Britain or the U. States respect us more for the course we are pursuing?—Suppose some unfortunate man, giving credit to your declarations, should reduce your precepts to practice, and resist those laws which you have declared no longer binding, and being prosecuted and convicted you should desert him, as you unquestionably would. He might address you in language somewhat like this—"Gentlemen, I believed the speech of his Excellency and the answer to be true, and the oppressions and dangers to be correctly described—I saw the miseries to which my country was doomed.—You sent me an order to get up a town meeting, that we might pledge ourselves to support the principles you advance, *and I obeyed.* To redeem the pledge, I resisted the laws of the United States, was prosecuted, condemned, and am *sentenced to die;* and *where is your protection?* Now I find that each of my instigators takes care of himself. I am abandoned, betrayed, and must suffer the penalties of violated laws. I die the victim of your rashness and my own credulity."—Sir, I apprehend that the blood of this man, would, at another day, be required at our hands.

I would now appeal to the deliberate candor and good sense of the majority.—I ask them to look at the effects of these threatening, blustering proceedings.—Our government is established on & supported by public opinion; this opinion is very much under the control of men who possess the confidence of the people of the State. It is in your power to excite and continue distrust, jealousy, confusion and rebellion.

But you may, if you choose, promote the Union, increase the strength, establish the honor, and perpetuate the liberties of the U. States.——*This* course is plain, but *that* is hazardous. You may *clamor*, but you must not act. You may indulge in "anger insignificantly fierce," you may pour out your "sound and fury signifying nothing," but if you cause to be shed one drop of American blood, that moment you commence a very serious business. You may experience some scenes which will be far from amusing—you may witness flames, blood & groans, and see the tenderest ties dissolved by savage barbarity, and brutal violence.—But I trust no attempt at prostrating the government will succeed.—Before the dagger shall reach the vitals of our country, it must pierce thro' the hearts of many here, whose blood is pure and honorable as any that runs in the veins of the best opposers of administration. Sir, I believe there is yet virtue in the people, and that few indeed would be induced by the example even of this Legislature, to proceed to extremities.

I hope and trust, that some great and good man, disdaining party distinctions, will again arise and extinguish the flames of sedition—and like the archangel of liberty, stand in the threshold of her temple, and his eloquence, like a flaming sword, will turn every way to defend the sanctuary.

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FROM THE NATIONAL ADVOCATE.

## THE BRITISH NAVY.

We have just read an interesting work, entitled "*Precursor to an Exposé*," *&c.* "with an *Appendix*, containing an outline of the *dimensions, force,* and *condition* of the *British Navy*, compared with *that of the enemy*," published in London last year. This book was written under the eye of the government, by Capt. LAYMAN of the Navy, and embraces, 1—A statement of the home supply of timber, which is shown to have been, in the year 1812, equal only to 18 years' consumption of the Navy from that period; supplied from *private property*, and that the quantity furnished by the *royal forests* has not, for 37 years past, been equal to the building of a 38 gun frigate annually. 2—The consumption of timber in the public dock yards from the year 1793 to 1801, averaged 35,086 loads, and is prodigiously encreased by the circumstance of the vast variety of rates and classes of ships and vessels in the Navy, which is also attended with much inconvenience.—This injudicious variety includes upwards of a hundred rates and classes of English built ships and vessels, that require either different masts, sails, anchors, cables, and guns, creating confusion, delay and expense, and also a frittering away of strength, as *naval power depends more upon force than numbers.* This truth the author illustrates, 3dly—by an estimate of the comparative force of English and American ships of war. On this head, the author's remarks are so striking, that we prefer giving them in his own words than to abridge them:

"I have been induced to make this comparative statement from a notion having gone abroad, that such ships should be, and indeed actually are employed against the Americans; but exclusively of the humble state to which, in the opinion of other nations, we will appear to be reduced, in sending *line of battle* ships against *frigates*—these line of battle ships, with a great quantity of ballast, to counteract the weight of the top, sides, poop, &c. which, with provisions, water and stores, drew 23 feet water in midships, where the ports are within 4 feet 3 inches of the water, and the displacement of the body is about equal to 300 tons, cannot, even in moderate weather, be expected to sail as the American frigates; and should it blow so hard, with a heavy sea, as to prevent the lower deck ports from being opened, they would be rendered *hors de combat*, notwithstanding their superiority in the *number* of guns and men. Thus it appears, that out of 538 ships, &c. in the British navy, now actually at sea, there are only 69 which are, in reality, superior in the discharge of metal, or force of blows, but inferior in sailing to some of the American frigates; and there are but 18, which, except in smooth water, are equal to contend with the frigate United States——leaving 451 out of 538, which are admitted to be incompetent to engage, single handed, with an American frigate. Disastrous as these facts are, they may be productive of good in future—for, as lenitives have not operated, this strong medicine of the Czar Peter (of being beaten till you learn to beat) may remove the film from the public eye, and excite an enquiry," &c.

The author proceeds, 4thly, to *American warfare*, under which head he observes:

"It is to be regretted that so much time has been lost; as, long ere the fir frigates are built, & on that coast, which may be somewhat less than two years from the time the United States declared war, there may be a squadron of line of battle ships, manned with anglo-Americans upon that coast, or in the West Indies, (which, without wise measures & great exertions, the Americans will get possession of.")

After this he states—

"I am happy to see that the extraordinary demand made by the American government, for the English to relinquish their rights to their own seamen is firmly resisted by the Prince Regent and his Ministers; and may the hand perish that ever relinquishes, or would not support such a right; and unfortunately as matters have been suffered to be carried so far that English frigates have been captured by American frigates, they must now be carried farther to produce a remedy, which can only be effected on the Nelsonian principle, "Of beating the enemy first and negociating afterwards." To establish any thing like a secure peace with America, we must first take her squadron *with ships of the same size*, or our naval superiority is in jeopardy."

But the most remarkable passage in this book is the following, in a note, under the same head. The author is speaking of the seaman's bill, passed at the last session of Congress.

"We should not be deluded by any pretended act of the United States not to employ foreign seamen when they are so readily naturalized in that country. The Secretary of the United Kingdom requires that America should be told, as observed by an honorable member (Mr. Ponsonby) in the House of Commons, "That Great Britain will never abandon the right of search, and claiming native born British subjects wherever they can be found."

We think this passage must stagger those, who are so sanguine that peace will result from the negociations that are about to take place.—Indeed unless the negociators have the faculty of splitting haire, we do not see how the pretensions of the two countries can be reconciled—One, or the other, must consequently give way. The U. States cannot, and we are persuaded will not, abandon the rights of those sea-faring citizens, who have maintained the interest of their country with such unrivalled intrepidity. By the *Seaman's Bill*, they have deprived the British government of every pretext upon which they can support their claim to exercise a search for persons on board the vessels of this country on the high seas. To go farther than this, would be to recognize the pretended right of impressment, which the British would afterwards exercise according to their pleasure. We conclude that G. Britain must be *beaten out* of her pretensions, before she will relinquish them.

FROM THE NEW-YORK COLUMBIAN.

## THE PRESIDENT AND PLANTAGENET.

The fact of an American frigate having (with whatever knowledge or intention) pursued a British ship of the line, offered her battle, and lain within the power of her attack for seven hours, is a circumstance of which the occurrence is so honorable to our naval reputation, and so unfavorable to that of Britain, that its corroboration by further authentic particulars will hardly be thought necessary by those who heard its first report, or have seen its modest mention in the official letter of of Commodore Rodgers.—The vessel which the Commodore pursued, to ascertain her character, is since understood to be the *Plantagenet of 74 guns*, Captain Robert Lloyd. But why she did not bring the President to action, during the seven hours they were in sight of each other, before the tide would permit the frigate to come over the bar; or why she went from the President when chased, and refused to engage, when it was in her power to bring the frigate to action, while it was impossible for the Commodore to avoid it if offered, a future developement or better information must decide. To put it in the power of every competent judge to draw his own inferences, we have obtained a copy of so much of the Log Book or journal of the frigate, as will place the whole transaction in so unequivocal a point of view, as to remove every doubt and satisfy the most inquisitive on the subject.—The direction of the wind, the distance & bearing of the two vessels, the draught of water by the President, the depth on Sandy Hook Bar, and time of high water there, were all known to the enemy as well as to Com. Rogers, and (without reference to advantage of wind or nearness of position) lead irresistably to the same conclusion. It may be proper to add, that in the latter part of the time a third strange sail was also discovered to leeward, supposed to be a frigate, the consort of the 74.

*Extract from the Log Book of the United States frigate President, Friday, February* 18, 1814.

Day light, moderate breezes from S. W. by W. and cloudy weather, made the highland of Neversink, bearing N. W. 1-4 N. distant 5 leagues; tacked ship & made sail towards it.

At 7 30 A. M. discovered a strange sail on our lee beam; reported from the mast head to be a topsail schooner, standing by the wind to the southward and westward.

At 8 A. M. moderate and pleasant weather, wind S. W.

At 8 45 A. M. sent a boat on shore to the light house for a pilot; sounding 10 fathoms.

At 9 30 A. M. discovered the second strange sail bearing S. S. E. standing directly for us; hauled up the foresail, back the main and mizen topsails; beat to quarters and made every preparation for battle.

At 10 30 A. M. hoisted an American ensign at each mast head; first strange sail bearing S. 1-2 E. and the second a large ship of war, S. by W. distant nine miles—wind S. W. by W.

Meridian, New York Light House bore N. 1-2 W. 5 miles; the strange ship of war having hauled by the wind on the larboard tack, about 5 miles from us, and we lying to, with our main & mizen topsails aback.

At 1 P. M. took a reef in our topsails and fired a gun to windward, supposing the strange sail to be an enemy.

At 1 15 strange sail bore up and stood down for us—we wore and stood to the south to meet him. Wind W. S. W.

At 1 30 strange sail, wore and stood from us.

At 2 30 discovered our boat returning from shore, wore ship and stood towards her, strange ship also wore and stood after us.

At 2 45 took the boat in tow, wore and stood for the strange ship, who also immediately wore and made sail from us. At this time within random shot distance.

At 3 15 received a pilot from the revenue cutter; he, together with the officers who came on board, declared the ship (then having made sail away from us) was an enemy's 74, we wore ship & made sail for the Bar.

At 5 came to anchor inside the bar, the light house bearing E. 1-2 S.

REMARKS, BY A LIEUTENANT.

From the position of the two ships, for seven hours, it is evident the enemy could have compelled us to action, at any hour within that interval; for he had the weather gage, and the water on the bar was too low for the President to get over till 4 o'clock.

The weather was clear, but hazy close to the horizon—this circumstance prevented us, at the time we fired the gun to the windward, from ascertaining the real force of the enemy, whom we then supposed to be a heavy frigate or razee. Nor was it until two or three hours afterwards, that our observations in clear weather enabled us to make out her true force, neither a frigate nor razee, but a complete 74.

The President has been 332 days at sea, since the declaration of war, and traversed a vast extent of ocean, notwithstanding the enemy has almost every sea covered with his cruizers, in the proportion of nearly fifty to one against our little marine. Yet has the Commodore returned in safety, after approaching every sail he made until her force could be ascertained, and suffering no single vessel less than a ship of the line to escape him. His last manœuvre with a 74, is the most remarkable event, in the history of his frigate. Two British gentlemen were among the prisoners on board at the time—and they both then, and since expressed their astonishment and mortification at the conduct of the seventy four, in refusing battle, in the strongest terms, and with remarks which a respect to their situation in this country forbids us to repeat.

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WASHINGTON, MARCH 16.

Copy of a letter from Com. Lewis, commanding at New York, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated

*New York, March* 8, 1814.

SIR,

I have the honor to inform you, that on Saturday last the enemy drove a sch'r. on shore loaded with coals, and dispatched his Barges to take possession of her, a detachment of men from the Flotilla, with a small field piece, drove them off, and took possession and launched the vessel and brought her safe into port.)

I have the honour, &c.

J. LEWIS.

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Extract of a letter from Midshipman T. H. Aulick, prize master of the British privateer schooner Mars, captured by the United States' brigs Rattlesnake & Enterprize, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated

"*Wilmington, N. C. March* 7, 1814.

"I have the honor to inform you that I arrived at this place last evening, in the prize schooner Mars, late an English privateer of Nassau, N. P. captured on the 22d ult. by the U. States brigs Rattlesnake and Enterprize. The Mars is an American built vessel, copper bottomed and copper fastened, sails remarkably well. About the 20th spoke an American privateer, which gave us information of a large English convoy seen lying too off the Havanna 8 days previous. We made all sail in pursuit of the convoy, when on the 22d fell in with the Mars, and the same day captured a small English sch'r. from Nassau, N. P. loaded with salt, which we were about to destroy, when the signal to chase was made. It had however not been done when I lost sight of them."

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*March* 17.

Extract of a letter from Captain Charles Gordon, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated

*Constellation off Crany Island, March* 10, 1814.

"I have to report to you the loss of one of my Midshipmen (Mr. Wm. C. Hall.) He was quite young, and the smallest on board; but a youth of great promise, who had so much interested himself with the officers and crew, that his loss has spread a momentary gloom over the ship. He fell from the mizen topmast head to the quarter deck yesterday evening, while we were in the act of sending down top gallant yards, and expired instantly.

He had been much accustomed to going aloft, and had gone up to the mast head, on that occasion, (as he said to the captain of the top) to observe how they unrigged the yard; having hold of the top gallant shroud, the yard must have struck him in canting.

He will be buried in the Church Yard at Norfolk this day at noon, with the ceremonies due to his grade. He is from Queen Ann's county, Eastern Shore of Maryland; no parents, and an only sister living. His family is known to Governor Wright, the Representative in Congress from that District."

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FROM THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

*Representatives Chamber, Washington, March* 14, 1814.

Messrs. Gales & Seaton,

In your paper of the 3d inst. in which you published my motion "That a committee be appointed to enquire into the expediency of suspending the Embargo Law, during the impending negociation for peace at Gottenburgh," and my remarks prefatory to that motion, you also published an editorial paragraph, in which you ascribe to me "a confidence in the sincerity of Great Britain, in the negociation for peace." This, Sirs, my remarks did not justify; I have not, and never shall have any confidence in her sincerity, or disposition to do us justice, until she shall test them by something more substantial than professions. I therefore hope you will, in justice to my real opinion, on this subject, correct such impression, which your remarks were calculated to make, & by the public prints I discover have made.

I am yours, &c.

ROBERT WRIGHT.

[*As Mr. Wright's meaning appears to have been misconceived, we cheerfully give a place in our columns to his note. Our remark, to which he objects, was merely an inference deduced from the ground of the probability of an armistice on which he placed his motion.*]

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RALEIGH, (N. C.) MARCH 11.

On Friday last, marched into this City, between 40 and 50 fine looking recruits belonging to the 43d regiment of Infantry, from Buncombe county, in this State, where they were enlisted by Capt. Love. Colonel Long having made this City his head quarters, the men enlisted for this regiment, at the several recruiting stations, will be sent hither to be trained.

We understand that our detached Militia, which have been waiting at Salisbury some time for supplies, have marched.

*Register*