the administration may succeed in conducting our affairs with every power, to the happiest result. My retirement, which had been long desired, and delayed only by the arduous and very important duties in which I was engaged, had become necessary as a relief to my mind, after much fatigue, and to the interest of my family, which had been neglected and greaty injured by my absence in the public service. It is still my desire to cherish retirement. Should it, however, be our unfortunate destiny, which I most earnestly hope will not be the case, to be involved in foreign war or domestic trouble, and should my services be deemed useful, I will not hesitate, at the desire of the administration, to repair again to the standard of my country.

I have the honor to be,
With great coniderations & esteem,
Your very obedient servant,
JAMES MONROE.

CONGRESS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

DEBATE

On the Resolution offered by Mr. G. W. Campbell for authorising the President to SUSPEND THE EMBARGO under certain contingencies.

TUESDAY, APRIL 12.

In committee of the whole, *Mr. DESHA* in the chair—

The following resolution being under consideration—

Resolved, That in the event of such peace or suspension of hostilities between the belligerent powers of Europe, or of such changes in their measures affecting neutral commerce, as may render that of the United States sufficiently safe, in the judgement of the President of the United States, he ought to be authorised by law to suspend the act "laying an embargo on all ships and vessels in the ports and harbors of the United States" and the several acts supplementary thereto, under such exceptions and restrictions, as the public interest and circumstances of the case may require: *Provided*, That such suspension shall not extend beyond days after the commencement of the next session of Congress.

MR. G. W. CAMPBELL said he would state to the House in a very brief manner, some of the reasons which induced him to bring forward this resolution.

It will be recollected, said he, that the causes which induced the passage of the law, imposing an embargo, were, the orders of council by Great Britain, and the decrees by France, which went in a great degree to cut off & destroy the whole commerce of the United States. In case those causes should be removed I presume it will be thought necessary that there should be a power vested somewhere to withdraw the embargo occasioned by those orders and decrees. As therefore it is believed that we shall not be much longer in session, and it is at least possible that these orders and decrees may be removed, that G. Britain may revoke her orders of council or change them so as not to affect our commerce, and that France may revoke her decrees or change them so as to render our commerce secure, it is all important that a power should be vested somewhere to give the people such relief as would be justified by this state of things. Suppose it were the case that any alteration should take place when Congress were not in session, some weeks, nay some months must pass before Congress could be in session & a law pass for removing the embargo: the consequence of which would be that the country would suffer the pressure of the embargo for weeks or months longer than would be necessary; and I presume no member of the House will say that it would be proper to continue longer than necessary the pressure which the embargo must make upon them. There is I presume at least some reason to believe that the belligerent powers themselves are beginning to see their own interests injured. We see by the latest accounts from Great Britain that propositions are made in Parliament for revoking her orders. Should this take place, it is presumable that we also should revoke our regulations. This measure would also have a good effect in turning the attention of the people to the real source whence their present inconveniences flow; they will be taught to look to those circumstances which produced the embargo, a change of which would justify its removal. This would be a consideration of some importance. The mind of the public would to kept alive by the expectation that every day may bring the news which would induce the government to revoke the embargo, which no doubt bears hard upon the agricultural as well as commercial interests of the country.

For myself I connot see what objections can be made to this measure. It is not vesting a power in the President to oppress or embarrass the commercial interest; it only vests in him a power under certain restrictions to remove the presure which our fellow citizens feel from the measure we have been compelled to adopt. I know no objection which can be made to giving a power to remove, though with great reluctance I should empower the Executive to impose, a burthen. I do not intend at this time to enter largely into the subject, not knowing what objections may be made to the proposition; but will observe that similar measures have frequently been adopted. It is no new case. The Executive has been on a former occasion not only authorized to remove an embargo; but to impose one; and that gentlemen may see the course which was pursued, I will turn to the laws which have vested in the President powers not only equal but greater than that which this resolution proposes to give. The first law to which I shall have reference passed in 1794 to authorise the President to lay and revoke an embargo. Another act passed it 1799 which authorised the President to suspend the law for prohibiting intercourse with the French nation. The sixth section of an act "further to suspend the commercial intercouse between the United States and France, and the dependences thereof," says "That at any time after the passing of this act, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, if he shall deem it expedient and consistent with the interest of the U. S. by his order, to remit & discontinue, for the time being, the restraints and prohibitions aforesaid, either with respect to the French Republic, or to any island, port or place belonging to the said Republic, with which a commercial intercourse may safely be renewed; and also to revoke such order, whenever, in his opinion, the interest of the United States shall require; and he shall be, and hereby is authorised to make proclamation thereof accordingly." An authority similar to this was again given in the year 1800, in a bill of the same title, in the 6th sec. "That at any time after the the passing of this act, it shall be lawful for the President of the U. States by his order to remit and discontinue for the time being, whenever he shall deem it expedient, and for the interest of the U States, all or any of the restraints and prohibitions imposed by this act, in respect to the territories of the French Republic, or to any island, port or place belonging to the said Republic, with which in his opinion a commercial intercourse may be safely renewed; and also it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, whenever he shall afterwards deem it expedient, to revoke such order, and hereby to re-establish such restraints and prohibitions: And the President of the United States shall be, and he is hereby authorised, to make proclamation thereof accordingly." These three several acts were passed then; and, whatever objections may have been made to the laws in general, no objection was made to that part authorising the President to suspend those laws: and it is difficult to point out any reasonable objection to such a power. An objection cannot be fairly inferred from the constitution, which vests in Congress the power of regulating commerce, but does not prevent them from vesting in the President a power to suspend any regulations which they make: and it would seem strange that it should be thought an infringement of the constitution to direct the President to suspend the operation of a particular measure on the happening of certain events pointed out in the law, when in the laws which I have read, a general power and discretion unlimited have been given to the Executive "to lay, regulate, and revoke embargoes;" "to revoke such order (non-intercourse) whenever in his opinion the interest of the U. S. shall require it;" and "whenever he shall afterwards deem it expedient, to revoke (such orders and hereby to *re-establish* such restraints and prohibitions (of intercourse)." Certainly this resolution does not propose to vest a power so unlimited as this. It is only intended to vest in the President a power under certain events to suspend the embargo till such a number of days after the commencement of the next session as will enable Congress to act on the subject.

I will mention another instance, and I believe no man objected to it, in which a power was given in substance precisely the same—the power to suspend the non-importation act. This was a law similar in its nature to the embargo law: it prohibited the importation of certain articles; and the President was authorised by law to suspend the operation of that law, if he should suppose the interest of the country to require it. The law passed almost unanimously I believe.

The resolution as it now stands seems to me to embrace the principal grounds upon which we ought to authorise the Executive to suspend the operation of the law in question. If a general peace or suspension of hostilities take place in Europe, it would seem that there would be no danger from a suspension of the interdiction of our own vessels from sailing: but if no such event takes place, in the event of such alterations as shall exclude American commerce from the operation of the orders and decrees of the belligerents, it will be proper that the embargo should be suspended, they being the grounds on which the measure was adopted. You must vest a power somewhere to ascertain whether such change take place or not. You cannot precisely determine the fact which shall authorise suspension; for were you to say that in case of a revocation of the decrees of France or England the embargo shall cease, you give a vast advantage to those nations—for they may revoke them to-day and re-instate them to-morrow, as their interest may dictate. It is therefore necessary to vest a power somewhere to ascertain not only the revocation, but a reasonable assurance that they will not be renewed. For this purpose it is essentially necessary that the President should be authorised to determine the changes which shall render our commerce safe, by the assurances which may be given that they will not again resort to similar measures. This I mention only as my general object: as to the expressions in the resolution I am not tenacious of them; and in any modification of them which shall promote the public good I shall certainly acquiesce. I have no object but one: that the public may see that we have not left our posts till we had done every thing in our power to relieve them from the distress of measures adopted by us and rendered necessary by the conduct of other nations.

I conceive this to be more important to the people on the sea coasts than to the people in the western country. To the western country a few weeks or months protraction of the interdiction in the fall of the year, could not be of much importance; yet it would seem to me that in the commercial cities, and towns in the Atlantic states, a few days or weeks, much more so a few months, which might occur before Congress could convene, would be very important; and they would feel much uneasiness, if, knowing such changes had taken place as would warrant the removal of the embargo, they were compelled to lie under its pressure until Congress could meet to revoke it. It cannot be expected, after the President shall determine to call Congress, that they can be convened here in less than three months. Such a resolution as this therefore would be beneficial to the commercial interest.

I will mention one other circumstance, and that is this: that if no such measure as that proposed should be adopted, and such a change take place in our foreign relations as would authorise the removal of the embargo, Congress might be called here at a season of the year when it would be extremely inconvenient if not dangerous to them to leave their homes. I presume no gentlemen would wish to come here in August or even Sept. It is for these reasons, therefore added to the expence attendant on an extra session, that I wish such a measure as this to be adopted. I see many advantages which may result from it; and do not see any serious inconvenience which it can be supposed to produce.

(DEBATE TO BE CONTINUED.)

FOR NORFOLK,

The brig *Mahitable* Capt. LACOCK, will sail in SIX days. For freight or passage apply to the captain on board, at the Navy Yard wharf.

June 10—3t

District of Columbia, Washington county, to wit.

ON the petition of JOHN ALEXANDER an insolvent debtor, confined in the prison of Washington county aforesaid for debt—Notice is hereby given to the creditors of the said John Alexander, that on the 20th day of June, at the court room at Lindsey's Hotel, at the hour of 9 o'clock A. M. the oath prescribed by the act of Congress, entitled, "An act for the relief of insolvent debtors within the district of Columbia," will be administered to the said Alexander, and a trustee appointed, unless sufficient cause be then and there shewn to the contrary.

It is ordered that this notice be published in the National Intelligencer and Washington Federalist three times in each paper before said day.

By order of the honorable William Cranch, esq. chief judge of the circuit court of the district of Columbia.

W. M. BRENT, Clk.

June 10—3t

FOR THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

No. II.

In the remarks I shall offer, with the view of shewing that Mr. Madison is the individual that ought to unite the suffrages of the people of the U. S. I shall abstain altogether from any thing, calculated to derogate from the well earned characters of the other candidates. For them I solemnly declare that I feel, in common with my fellow-citizens, the highest respect. Over, therefore, any observations bearing upon them, which in the course of these papers it shall be incumbent to make, this sentiment shall preside. I trust that I too sincerely despise intolerance or detraction in others to be guilty of it myself.

The election of Mr. Madison is recommended by the following considerations:

First; because the fair and usual expression of public opinion has been decided in his favor.

Secondly; because he is the only candidate likely to insure the unanimous support of the republicans.

Thirdly; because his election will be the best fitted to the destruction of scism among the republicans.

Fourthly; because his election will have a powerful inflaence on the eventual satisfactory arrangement of our foreign affairs.

Fifthly; because his election will give us a stronger assurance than that of any other man of an adherence to the same course of measures pursued by Mr. Jefferson.

Sixthly; because his virtues and talents are equal, to say no more, to those of either of the candidates.

We have said that the election of Mr. Madison is recommended, in the first place, because the fair and usual expression of public opinion has been decided in his favor.

He has been nominated by a large majority of the republican members of the two Houses of Congress.

By a large majority of the republican members of the Virginia legislature.

By the unanimous vote of the legislature of Kentucky.

By the republican members of the legislature of Delaware,

And by numerous meetings of private citizens.

On the other hand, no representative body, besides the minority of the Virginia legislature, or meetings of citizens, have nominated any other candidate.

Such an unequivocal annunciation of public opinion ought, one should think, of itself to be decisive. Heretofore it has been invariably acquiesced in by the republicans. To that acquiescence they have been heretofore indebted for their union, and on their union depended their strength. But, the times, we are told, are changed, and we are called upon to change with them. Should it, however, be made out that they are changed, which in this respect is denied, it does not follow that we ought to change with them; it does not follow that the *principles* which governed the republican party, when a minority, or in the infancy of its power, ought to be given up. Is it not the pride of that party, if it be correct to call by such a name the great body of the people, that the same principles that animated their march to power still regulates it exercise? Is it not of the very essence of republicanism in feeling power not to forget right? To do to others as they would that others should do to them?

If these are the sacred and inalienable maxims of republicanism, they ought to be respected and observed at all times and under all circumstances; and the republicans, who having once observed them, intermit their respect for them, cease to be what they were and no longer merit the name.

On this point there has been and still is much misrepresentation of facts blended with inconclusive reasoning.

The number and description of those who attended the Congressional caucus that nominated Mr. Madison have been mistated, and an unjust ascription of sentiments, subsequently entertained, attributed to them, which ought to be corrected.

It is not a little singular that this point is insisted on by those who *affect* to attach no kind of importance to the caucus as an expression of national sentiment. If no such importance does attach to it, then surely these little incidents are of no kind of consequence, as it is altogether immaterial what the opinions of those who composed it were or are.

On this point, however, we have, fortunately, the most conclusive proof the case admits. An official publication under the signature of the Secretary, has been made, in which the names of those who voted for Mr. Madison, and of those who would, if present, have voted for him are given. From this document it appears that eighty-three members actually voted for Mr. Madison, and that ten members besides would have voted for him had they been present; and that in addition to these he received the vote of one delegate of a territory. All these gentlemen, except one, it is allowed, are republicans; and this one, Mr. Adams, there is every reason to consider such. If to maintain the violated rights of his country, at a time when they are exposed to the greatest peril; if to support every national measure of the administration with zeal and talents; if to appear at the bar of the public, and invite the lightening of federal vengeance on his head, and actually to receive it, constitute just claims to the distinction of republicanism, there is no man can perhaps urge them with greater force.

The whole number of republican members in Congress, even counting as such Mr. Randolph and his political associates, is 146; of which it appears that Mr. Madison had the decided majority of ninety-three. The whole New-York delegation but one, amounting to 19, declined attending. From their moving all together, and from the almost certainty that some of them are friendly to Mr. Madison's election, there is the best reason to ascribe their declension to attend the caucus altogether to local considerations. At any rate Mr. Madison commands a large and decided majority; while no nomination whatever has been made of any other candidate. Had such a nomination been made, there is every reason to believe that the remaining votes would have been divided between Mr. Clinton and Mr. Monroe, after deducting a considerable number who would altogether have declined voting for either of the three candidates. This would have more strikingly shewed the decided preponderance in favor of Mr. Madison, and have demonstrated the necessity of abandoning the other candidates.

There is one fact, which it may be well to notice on this head, peculiarly applicable to the friends of Mr. Clinton; viz. that at the Congressional caucus which nominated him in 1804 he had but 67 out of 110 republican votes, the whole number given on that occasion.

But it is said that since the caucus there has been a most unfortunate change for Mr. Madison in the opinions of those who composed it. But how is this proved? Is it proved by the official publication, to which we have already alluded, made 8 weeks after the period of the caucus, when the Secretary of the meeting invited a correction of any error which might have crept into the statement? What has occurred to bring such a change about? Much has occurred to strengthen the public confidence in Mr. Madison; but nothing to diminish that before entertained. No new facts have been brought to light calculated to have the latter effect; but many have been brought to light fitted to have the former. His powerful talents as a negociator, his firmness as a patriot, the justice of the ground taken with foreign nations, and his anxious desire to heal our differences with all of them, and to preserve peace, without a sacrifice of honor, have all fixed him more deeply in the confidence of his country. Who are the members of Congress, who have thus most unfortunately for themselves changed their opinion? But one has had the rash ingenuousness to avow himself, and who is he? James Sloan; and why? Because, forsooth, he fears that Mr. Madison, if President, would prevent the removal of the seat of government. This is the real reason, whatever other motives may be assigned. Let the public appreciate the worthiness of such a motive. For my part the influence of such a name is too little the subject of my apprehension for me to care any thing about the course it recommends. It is said to be the misfortune of most minds to have some strange hobby, and in the name of common sense let James Sloan ride his hobby in his own way, particularly when he chuses a path so excentric that he is not in the least danger of meeting in it a single human being; let him, therefore, trot along undisturbed, surrounded by the leige subjects of his own power and the happy children of his own imagination.

But, although it is admitted that the vote of the Caucus was that of a majority of the republican members, and that the same sentiments that produced that vote remain unchanged, we are told that the Caucus itself is unconstitutional and dangerous, and ought to have no weight with the people.

This is really so strange an allegation, as scarcely to merit attention. That which I shall bestow upon it shall be brief, but I trust decisive.