

But from reasoning I will recur to written proofs, furnished by the president himself, and now on our tables.

In Mr. Madison's letter to Mr. Pinkney, the president's minister in London, dated December 23, 1807, the next day after the act laying an embargo was passed; and this after it had undergone three days of earnest opposition in the house of representatives....during which it behoved the father of the measure, and his friends, to furnish every possible argument to silence opposition, and to satisfy the nation of its expediency and necessity....after all this, Mr. Madison, in that letter, tells Mr. Pinkney, that "*the policy and the causes of the measure are explained in the message itself.*" The contents of the message (comprehending the papers it referred to) I have already stated: and the statement demonstrates, that *they were not the causes or motives of the embargo: for an "empty menace," a decree without the means of carrying it into effect, could be no cause, no motive for a measure, whose avowed object was "to save our vessels, our seamen, and merchandise from GREAT and INCREASING DANGERS."*

Sir, let all the documents laid on our tables by the president be examined, and you will not find one in which he hazards the assertion, that the British orders of November 11th were known to him at the time he recommended the embargo, or that an expectation of them determined his recommendation. It was not until the 2d of February, when they had been officially communicated by the British minister, that he offered them to congress "*as a farther proof of the increasing dangers to our navigation and commerce, which led to the provident measure of the act laying an embargo.*" And Mr. Madison, in his letter to Mr. Pinkney, of February 19, 1808, cautiously avoids ascribing the *origin* of the embargo to the British orders; though, he says, the probability of such decrees was among the considerations which "*enforced*" the measure; the language of the British gazettes, with other indications, having (he said) left little doubt that such orders were "*méditated.*" And he adds, that "*the appearance of these decrees (meaning the British orders) had much effect in reconciling all descriptions among us to the embargo.*"

But I must notice the change of language in Mr. Madison's last letter. In that of December 23d to Mr. Pinkney, he says, "*the policy and the causes of the embargo are explained in the president's message.*" But in his letter of February 19th, he says, "*my last (that of December 23d) inclosed a copy of the act of embargo, and explained the policy of the measure;*" leaving out "*causes,*" and introducing the *unknown British orders* as among the considerations which *enforced* it.

The president, too, in his answer to the Boston petition for suspending the embargo, says, *not* that the British orders were *known to exist* at the time when the embargo was laid; but only that *they were in existence* at the date of the law; from which the unwary reader might suppose that they were *known to exist* at that date.

From all these considerations, it appears to be demonstrated, that the British orders in council of November 11th, 1807, were