

her dependent states...when, according to the gentleman from Virginia, that temptation to plunder would fill the ocean with French privateers ! I will recite the gentleman's words..." The reason of the low insurance, is, that the French have no inducement to send out privateers, to depredate upon our commerce, as long as the embargo restrains it within our ports...raise the embargo, and the temptation to plunder would fill the ocean with privateers. The commerce would stand little chance to escape the plunderers." And yet the President, who professes so much solicitude for American seamen and American commerce, was willing, we have just seen, to suspend the embargo, and thereby expose our seamen, our vessels and merchandize, " these essential resources," and " with little chance to escape," to the plunder of French privateers, which would then fill the ocean !—Into such contradictions will mankind be plunged, when the real object in view does not admit of a fair and candid disclosure.

To recur to the question, what good will the embargo do? How will it promote the public welfare? That it is not necessary to preserve our seamen, our vessels and our merchandize, has been conclusively proved. Yet it is said that it must be continued, and if continued, that it must be enforced with all the arbitrary regulations and powers contained in the bill before us; and which have been so strikingly described by the gentlemen who have spoken before me, *in order to preserve our honour—" our national character, and national independence."*—In my apprehension this is incorrect. I see, sir, a constant effort to identify our administration with the nation, but they are essentially distinguishable. The errors of an administration may bring mischief upon and hazard the ruin of a nation. Witness, at this moment, the brave and generous Spaniards, who after suffering an age of depression, have been regenerated in a moment, as with an electric stroke, and nobly rising, are now breaking the chains forged for them, upon the head of their oppressor. Who that has a heart, who that has any sympathy for human sufferings... who that respects the rights of self-government, inherent in every nation—will not bid them God's speed? I would say, go on, noble and gallant Spaniards, and be the instruments of heaven to stay the ravages of the most ruthless tyrant that has scourged the European world, since the Roman Empire fell!

I was saying, sir, that a nation and its administration are essentially distinguishable. It is necessary now to distinguish them in our own country. How has it been brought into its present state of embarrassment? Has it been without the agency of its administration?... For a series of years, sir, illusions have been industriously spread among the people. To dissipate those illusions, so far as was in my power, I have exposed myself to the slanders and reproaches of the ignorant, the base, and the unprincipled. But I am not by such means to be discouraged. Hitherto my attention has been confined to the embargo. It is that which immediately brought the nation into its present deplorable situation; and the only way to escape from it is, by making the distinction to which I have alluded. And I say, sir, that while in the nature of things it is impossible for the