

occasions with perfect unanimity of sentiment and suffrage; and, if the committee think they are so, it was the gentleman's own position that they should say so; and if they were unjust, they should be repelled, and the United States should look forward to that state of things, when it shall be necessary to repel them.

He did not think it necessary to repeat his wishes for peace. He thought it possible for this Government to pursue a line of conduct which, whilst it secured our neutral rights, would not be a departure from our neutral obligations.

He wished to take a little notice of what had fallen from the gentleman from Virginia, on the subject of sacrifice of opinion. He had already observed that he hoped that gentleman would allow the same liberty of sentiment to others which he claimed for himself. He would not stop here. After great public measures have been the object of deliberate discussion in other branches of the government, and have been carried by a majority, he thought it the duty of a minority to acquiesce in the determination. It is the chief duty of the members of a republican government—Where through the representative channel the opinions of all the citizens are communicated, it cannot be expected that on great occasions there will be a difference of sentiment; and this unavoidable difference creates the obligation of perfect acquiescence in the major opinion; for otherwise there would be a perpetual conflict between the members of the same government.

It was from this opinion that he was concerned to hear the past conduct of any branch of the government censured. Whatever legitimate acts of government were passed, they should be protected by the minority as well as the majority. They should be held as sacred and never blown upon by us. They should hold but one language in their support. Whatever difference of opinion might exist amongst themselves, this difference ought not to appear in their acts to foreign nations.—We should speak, said he, in these cases, and as one people. Therefore, if the answer to the President's address, be an instrument of which the French Republic may take notice, it should not appear to them that we have been at any time, or are now, divided in the sentiments which it contains: the acts of the government are the acts of the country, and not a whisper should escape from us in opposition to them, when they have been concluded and carried into effect.

He wished the gentleman from Virginia had omitted his observations with respect to factions which may exist in this country, as there was no necessary connection between that subject and the one under consideration. It was one which ought to be kept out of view within those walls. It was to be regretted that the press was contaminated with this kind of rubbish; but when the gentleman had expressed his contempt for charges of this sort, he should have extended it to both sides of the house. For if French faction was tried out on one side British faction on the other, had for these last four years been run from New Hampshire to Georgia. He should have spared the committee these remarks, if the gentleman had not, perhaps unwillingly, in some degree added to the odium which was cast upon one side of the house, by saying that when he first came into the government he found a general disposition against the French cause, and even against Republican government. (Mr. Nicholas denied having used this expression.) Mr. S. said he understood him. However, when he spoke of the existence of parties, he wished he had looked on both sides of the question.

But, said he, let us on this occasion confine ourselves to the real question before us. We have been informed, said he, by the President, in his speech to both houses, of the conduct of the French towards this government, and have since received the documents upon which this report was founded. He had not heard any gentleman justify the conduct of the French. He had heard, indeed, some attempts to palliate or apologize for it, but none to vindicate it. His ideas of these things were, that the French had not only injured us, but added insult to injury; and whilst he retained this belief he could not help feeling indignation and resentment. Our actions, better than our words show our desires for peace. It was a desire in which we were too much interested, to render its sincerity at all questionable; yet it was proper that this desire should be accompanied with expressions of our feelings on the occasion—What objections could there be to this? If we were sunk below, if our fears of the French republic are so great, that we dare not express what we feel, our situation was really deplorable. He hoped this was not, nor ever would be the case. He hoped we should cultivate peace with sincerity, but with firmness. For if the French republic is so terrible to us, that we must crouch and sink before her; if we hold our rights at her nod, let gentlemen say so. And if we are to give ourselves up to her, let it be an act of the government, founded on our sense of weakness; do not let us crouch, under the appearance of spirit, actual submission. Nations, it was true, might be brought into such a situation as to be obliged to surrender some of their rights to other nations; but, when this is done, it should be done with some degree of character. Let it not be done as a confession of guilt. Let us find, however, one thing sooner than the fair fame of our country. He was not a military man, nor did he know how he should act upon such an occasion; but he knew what we ought to do. We ought, rather to die in the last ditch. Why insinuate that the government had been wrong? Was it not enough to submit to injury; shall we not only receive the stripes, but kiss the rod that inflicts them?

But, said he, are we in this situation? Must we surrender any of our rights?—He knew if we submitted to injury and insult, this would be the unavoidable consequence. He disclaimed any reliance on the generous magnanimity of the French Republic. He thought her conduct towards this country justified no such reliance.

He was of opinion we ought to take a firm and decided attitude on this occasion, and at any rate, before we make a surrender of our rights we ought to make a struggle to retain them.

Mr. S. said he had made these observations more with a desire to prevent any false representations of the views of the house from going abroad, than from a desire to throw much additional light on the subject. For his own part, he saw nothing in the reported answer that could either irritate, or offend against decorum. We assert that we have not injured the French Republic, but if we will injure us, we will defend ourselves. Thinking that he should be in favor of the original report, and against the amendment.

Mr. Otis observed, that he was so little accustomed to the mode of conducting a debate in that honorable house, that he hardly knew in what manner to apply his remarks to the subject before the committee. A specific motion had been laid on the table by the gentleman from Virginia, which reduced the true question before them to a narrow compass; but the mover in discussing his own proposition, had enlarged upon subjects clear to his mind, and familiar to his recollection.

In this circuit he had been ably followed by the gentleman from South Carolina, and others; so that the whole subject of the address of the President, and the reply of the committee, was brought into view, with many considerations that did not belong to it. It was his design to have remained silent until the subject had been exhausted by other gentlemen, and if any remark of an important nature had been omitted, which was not likely to be the case, he would have suggested such ideas as might have presented themselves to his mind; but a motion having been made for the committee to rise, he would then offer a few observations, not so much for the sake of illustrating the question, which had been done so much more successfully, but in order to declare his sentiments upon this important occasion. He so far agreed with the gentleman from Georgia, that he believed, upon ordinary occasions, an answer to the President's address should be calculated to preserve an harmonious intercourse between the different departments of government, rather than to pledge either branch of the legislature collaterally, upon subjects that would come regularly under their consideration. But the present was not an ordinary occasion, and the situation of the country required that the answer should not be a spiritless expression of civility, but a new edition of the declaration of independence. He expressed his regret that upon this question gentleman should have wandered into a review of measures and subjects, so frequently examined, so deliberately settled, and which had a tendency to re-kindle party animosity. If they would never acquiesce in the deliberate acts of the government, because their personal sentiments had been avowed to them in the season of their discussion, there could be no end to controversy—for his part he conceived that all party distinctions ought now to cease; and that the House was now called on by a warning voice, to destroy the idea of geographical division of sentiment and interest existing among the people. His constituents, and himself, were disposed to regard the inhabitants of the southern states as brothers, whose feelings were cast in the same mould, and who had waded through the same troubled waters to the shore of liberty and independence.—He hoped that gentlemen would, in their turn, think the other part of the union entitled to some consideration.

The address of the President disclosed, for the contemplation of the committee, a narrative of facts, and of the existing causes of controversy between the French republic and ourselves; the overtures for reconciliation, which were to be repeated by attempts to negotiate, and the measures of defence that might be proper, in case negotiation should fail. The injuries sustained by us were of a high and atrocious nature, consisting in the capture of our vessels, depredations upon the property and persons of our citizens, the indignity offered to our minister; but what was more aggravating than the rest, was, the professed determination not to receive our minister until the complaints of the French should be redressed, without explanation and without exception—until we should violate treaties, repeal laws, and do what the constitution would not authorize, vacate solemn judgments of our courts of law. These injuries should not be concealed; he did not wish, however, to indulge the unnecessary expressions of indignation, but to state in plain and unequivocal terms the remonstrances of injured friendship. If any man doubted of the pernicious effects of the measures of the French nation, and of the actual state of our commerce, let him enquire of the ruined and unfortunate merchant, harrowed with prosecutions on account of the revenue, which he so long and patiently toiled to support.—If any doubted of its effects upon agriculture, let him enquire of the farmer, whose produce is falling and will be exposed to perish in his barns.—Where, said he, are your sailors? Listen to the pining gale of the ocean and you will hear their groans issuing from French prison ships.—Such were the injuries, and such the requisitions of the French nation; and he defied the ingenuity of any gentleman to draw a comparison between the Directory and the British Parliament, in favor of the former; and insisted that the demands of Charles de la Croix were upon a parallel with those of Lord North. He enlarged upon the analogy of the circumstances attending the pretensions of the British government to bind us, when we were colonies, and of the French to subjugate us, now we are free and independent states; he thought it expedient to cultivate the same spirit of union, and to use the same firm and decided language. He regretted that questions should be agitated upon this occasion, which had been formerly the cause of party spirit and dissensions; and did not believe that the immortal men who framed the noted instrument which dissolved the chain of allegiance and shivered the fetters of tyranny, condescended to differ about verbal criticisms and nice expressions, thro' fear of giving offence; nor that it was incumbent upon the members of the committee to repress the assertions of their rights, or smother a just and dignified expression of their susceptibility of insult, because the French had been once our friends, or because the commencement of their revolution was a struggle for liberty. There was a time when he was animated with enthusiasm in favor of the French revolution, and he cherished it, while civil liberty appeared to be the object—but he now considered that revolution as completely etched, and that the war was continued, not for liberty, but for conquest and aggrandizement, to which he did not believe it was the interest of this country to contribute. The only precise objection which he recollected to a full declaration of our sense of injury, was the difference of the system, which, it was suggested, had been adopted by government, towards the British, under similar circumstances of unjust aggression. But if it were true that this difference existed, it did not become those who thought the measures of government wrong upon that occasion, to advocate a repetition of error. In his opinion however a difference of measures would be justifiable by a reflection upon the causes which induced

the British depredations, and those to which the measures of the French may be assigned; and yet there was not in fact the variance between the plans recommended by the supporters of the late Executive, and adopted towards the British, and in fact which have been pursued, and are now defended, with respect to the French, which gentlemen were ready to imagine. He was contented to rest the first of these positions upon the facts, that the British were stimulated to annoy our commerce, through an apprehension that we were united against them, and the French, by a belief that we were divided in their favor.—To deceive them in these opposite prejudices might have required or at least justified dissimilar modes of speaking and acting. Yet the language adopted, and the measures advocated, were nearly alike.—To say nothing of the late instructions to Mr. Pinckney, the famous memorial of Mr. Jay to Lord Grenville, which has been the subject of so much calumny, was not couched in more conciliatory or unassuming terms, than the answer of the House of Representatives to the President's speech at the last session.—(he read here the answer)—and yet it is intimated by our minister Mr. Pinckney (a man who, he hoped, was not meant to be included by the gentleman from Massachusetts in the description of British influence; a man of high and untarnished reputation and known attachment to his country) that this very answer was probably among the causes of the conduct of the Directory.—He then added some further observations, to prove, that when the country was menaced with British hostilities, measures of defence had been proposed by the friends to the administration, comprising the equipment of a navy, fortifying the ports and organizing the militia.

Having thus, as he contended, demonstrated the right and propriety of stating our complaints, he adverted to the next important subject contained in the speech:—"the resolution of the Executive still to persist in pacific means of negotiation," and what thus led to analyze the motion for a amendment submitted to the committee. He sincerely approved of this intention of the Executive, and most earnestly wished that it might be attended with success: No man could more anxiously deprecate a war, than himself, or was more impressed with a persuasion of its calamities; and he knew that his constituents were solicitous to avoid it by all honorable means. The preamble of this motion was not in his view objectionable;—but to express the sentiment "that the French merely intended to suspend the ordinary, and bring into use the extraordinary means of intercourse with foreign nations," was decidedly against his judgement. Was it possible for any man of veracity to make this declaration? If this was really the sole object of the Directory it would have justified the dismissal of Mr. Monroe, equally with a refusal to receive Mr. Pinckney. A wish to suspend the ordinary intercourse would have been displayed in their conduct to the resident minister; yet Mr. Monroe was not only permitted to reside in France in his public capacity for many months subsequent to the pretended grievances, but was told by the Directory, "that he parted with their regret." It was therefore a most absurd and humiliating apology which gentlemen were disposed to furnish to the French Directory; he believed they would smile at it and disavow it. He thought it degrading to make, in their behalf, timid excuses, which they would disdain to accept. The only chance for a propitious issue by negotiation, depended upon permitting the executive the constitutional depository of this right, to exercise a free agency, and the subsequent clause of the motion, which dictated terms to the executive in the removal of the inequalities of our treaties, was equally impolitic and injudicious. It was probable that the executive would make the concession alluded to by the gentleman, if an equivalent could be obtained, by a compensation for our losses, and the security of our peace; but of this he must be the judge, and we should leave him free to grant it as a sacrifice made to the desire of peace, and not authorize the French to claim it as a right.—If it was known beforehand, that the executive was bound, and that the minister was instructed, to remove a pretended cause of grievance, without any stipulation for an equivalent, he would commence his overtures under manifest disadvantage. The Directory, secure of one pretension, would probably urge others. In the present case, there was no reason to conclude that the grievance arising from "the inequality of existing treaties," which was the only one mentioned by the mover, was the principal source of our disagreement with the French, or that removing that alone would affect our object. Did he therefore mean to pioin the executive down to that single concession? Or would he enlarge his motion, and direct the executive to say that our laws should be repealed, and the judgments of our courts vacated? Was it wise or politic to publish to the world, at the outlet of an Embassy, the ultimate terms that were to be offered, and to send an envoy with open orders to accede to every demand of the French Nation? If he was to be dispatched under these auspices, let him be decorated not with the cap of liberty, upon which our former motto, was "liberty or death," but substitute in its place "humiliation and submission to your will." He may then perhaps be admitted to the honors of a fitting.

Mr. Otis then proceeded to the last division of his subject, the means of defence recommended in the speech. It was, he said, unfair to connect with an approbation of such measures a disposition for hostilities with the French. War was the greatest of all possible calamities into which the pride of kings, or the ambition of rulers, could plunge and provoke an unoffending and neutral nation. He did not presume that any member in that house could derive a benefit from so deplorable a condition of society. But a small portion of them would probably go into the army; and of that portion, few could expect to make fortunes by their commissions. A desire of war, was therefore entirely out of the question. He never understood that

when controversies of a threatening aspect fulfilled between nations preparatory and defensive measures were collected into acts of hostility, or into a determination to make war. On the contrary, the usage of all nations sanctioned such a conduct. He would not however, refer to monarchies, or to great and formidable nations, for examples; but to the little republican canton of Basle: That independent territory, was exposed like our own country to the unfounded imitations, and unnumbered outrages, of hostile and belligerent nations. But in reply to the requisitions of the French; it bravely insisted upon the right of remaining neutral, and notwithstanding its design of augmenting its military establishments, for the protection and maintenance of its neutrality. Perhaps this canton may be compelled to depart from this system. Possibly it has no longer the power of exercising its own will; but it will not be pretended that this defensive conduct evinced on their part, a willingness to be engaged in war. It was then a simple enquiry, whether under the present aspect of our affairs, war might not be brought home to our doors, contrary to our wishes, and prior to a state of preparation. Gentlemen were willing to say, that if negotiation failed, there would be an end to every friendly relation between the two countries. Our posture then would be unfriendly: and who can say it will not fail? If a war with this country makes any part of the system of French aggrandizement, we should probably have it without the forms of consultation. Do gentlemen suppose that when negotiation shall have absolutely failed, the French will give us time to equip our vessels, fortify our ports, and burnish our arms, in order to shew us fair play. Let gentlemen consider our defenceless situation in such circumstances.—Let them not pause until it should be too late.—The tide of conquest has deluged Europe; it might swell the great Atlantic, and roll towards our shores, bringing upon its troubled surface the spirit of revolution, which might spread like a pestilence, possibly in the Southern States, and excite a war of the most dreadful kind—of slaves against their masters; and thereby endanger the existence of that union so dear to his constituents, and the separation of which would be painful as the agonies of death. He concluded with many other observations, having for their object, the preservation of the Union, the necessity of forming and displaying a national character, and a demonstration of the absurdity of supposing that the President of the United States, at this period of his life and reputation, could feel an interest in promoting a rupture between France and this country, by any measures he might adopt.

By an advertisement from the Post Office, New-York, it appears that an Extra Mail for Boston, will be made up every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday; and depart with the Rhode Island Mail at 9 o'clock, A. M.

#### GAZETTE MARINE LIST.

##### PORT OF PHILADELPHIA.

The mate of a vessel belonging to this port, who was landed at the Capes, has just reached the city; and informs that he was taken, together with four other outward-bound vessels, by a French privateer of 14 guns, in the mouth of the Delaware.

Ship	Agent	Days
Ship India, Ashmead,	Madras	5
Diana, London	52	
Schooner Eliza, Stevenon, St. Bartholomew's	15	

CLEARED.

Ship	Destination
Ship Brothers, Henderfon	Amsterdam
Aurora, Suter	Hamburg
Brig Donna Cecilia, Broderick	do.
Franklin, Morris, Wilmington, D.	
Maria, Strong	Charleston
Schooner Telegraph, Devilon	Alexandria
Pomona, Gardiner	Boston
Experiment, Etherston	Baltimore
Suey Jack, Boggie	Norfolk
Friendship, Odum	Cuarcas
Two-Sisters, Carmut, North Carolina	
Sloop Nabby, Abbot	St. Thomas
Peggy, Perry	Alexandria

The Harmon left at St. Thomas, the 11th inst.

Schooner Little Pansy, Cox, of this port.

Urania, Wheeler, do. from Bantelux.

Polly, Davis, do. Philadelphia.

Ship	Days
Brig Mary, Church, London	49

Extract from a journal of a passenger on board the brig Mary.

April 29, spoke the ship Cleopatra, capt. Connor, from Baltimore, bound to Bremen, out 13 days.

April 30, at 5 P. M. saw a sail to the South and East, standing to the north, at half past 7, P. M. spoke her; she proved to be the Young William, Macey, from South Georgia, bound to London. We took on board capt. Farmer, and two of his hands, who were shipwrecked at the island of South Georgia in the South Seas, who with the whole of the ship's company, amounting to 13 hands, remained on the desert island for 8 months, surrounded by snow and ice.

For the Gazette of the United States.

MR. PENNO.

I am at a loss to understand what gentlemen mean by undertaking to justify the President in a late appointment he made. As for Mr. Bache, it has been his settled purpose for this long time to vilify every act of the Executive without distinction, and therefore we cannot wonder at his absurdity in the present instance; but I cannot see any necessity for the friends of government endeavoring to refute his assertions—it appears that he has misrepresented the matter by stating it to be a new appointment; but allowing that it was a new appointment, what honor could accrue to the President for making it? It is always the duty of the Executive to place in office those whom he deems most worthy; and to withhold it from any man of merit, merely because he was a relation, would be extremely censurable, since it would be renouncing the interests of his country for the selfish purpose of appearing to act disinterestedly.

It is to be hoped that those who are called to preside over this country will always view their own families as part of the great body of the Republic, and will neither show them any particular favor, nor be deterred from advancing them to honor when their merits and abilities recommend them.

It used to be remarked by way of encomium upon the administration of Washington, that he never appointed a relation to fill any public station. For my part, though I reverence the excellence of this great character as much as any one, I could never see any thing in this circumstance that demanded applause. It was no more than his duty. While there were any men to be found which, in his opinion, were better qualified to serve their country

than his own connections, it would have been betraying his trust to have given them the preference.

On the other hand, if he thought well of them, and declined to advance them only let his impartiality be called in question, it was equally criminal. In the one instance the public good is sacrificed to private friendship, and in the other, to popularity.

These observations are not offered as conveying any new idea upon the subject, but only made because the censures of Mr. Bache's imputation seemed to admit by their mode of reasoning that if Bache's charge had been true, it had been a reproach.

A MONITOR.

#### GUSTA, May 11.

A foreigner made his appearance in Augusta in the course of last week, to whom some gave the title of a Spanish general, others, that of a French general, and some again called him the governor of Louisiana; he his rank what it may, it is certainly understood, that his errand was to induce Americans to aid and assist the republic of France in their new dominions, the Floridas, in case of any attempt by the British in that quarter. A very delicate requisition this, on the part of either France or Spain, whilst the one insults us with the dismissal of our ambassador and seizes our property wherever it can be found; and the other refuses to surrender the posts which by solemn treaty they had yielded to the United States! It is doubtless a very natural predilection for the people of the Southern country, to prefer their Spanish neighbors to any change which the present prospect of affairs promises; but despotic as the system of the British government is, it would be found to suit us quite as well in the way of neighbourhood as the LIBERTY and EQUALITY which emanates from the terrible republic. The Saturnalia festa in ancient Rome were well enough for a little fun occasionally, but the perpetua Saturnalia, would go down—by against the grain of a Georgian or Carolinian.

#### FREDRICKSBURG, May 19,

Sporting Intelligence

Was run for, over Tappanhook ground, on the 9th inst. a Purse of Eighty Pounds; which was won with great ease by Mr. Taylor's mare Virago, in two heats; beating Mr. Butler's horse Columbus, Mr. Hodkin's mare Kitty Medley, Mr. Seldon's horse Flagiator, Mr. Alexander's horse Gloucester, and Mr. Turner's horse Planter.

On the 10th, a Purse of Forty Pounds, which was won by Mr. Taylor's mare Calypso, in two heats; beating Mr. Alexander's horse Le Boo, Mr. Seldon's horse Collector, Mr. Hodkin's mare Betsey Baker, Mr. Butler's mare Camilla, and Mr. Dunbar's horse Albarock.

And on the 11th, a cup of 20 guineas value, which was won by Mr. Taylor's mare Pittolis, in two mile heats; displacing Mr. Turner's mare Kitty Boxer, Mr. Smith's horse Barton Trenc, Mr. Alexander's mare Creeping Cate, and Mr. Young's horse Whistle Jacket.

N. B. Mr. Turner's horse Planter, and Mr. Dunbar's horse Albarock, were distanced the first heat; Mr. Alexander's horse, Gloucester, was drawn after the first heat. All the other horses are inserted as they came in the second heat.

#### LAILSON'S CIRCUS,

South Fifth-Street.

The Performances at the NEW CIRCUS  
This Evening, May 27th.

Will begin by a Grand Parade of Equestrian Performers of both sexes.  
A grand display of Horsemanship,  
By Messrs. McDonald, Herman, C. Vandeveids, Nicholas Corne, (being his first appearance in this city) Sully, (the Clown) and Lailson.

The Lofty-Tumbling Group,  
Composed of Messrs. Sully, Keano, and McDonald, the Clown, will execute several difficult exercises, on the Stages—which will be pleasantly decorated.

Mr. SULLY, in the character of Clown, will perform a variety of Comic Feats.

Mr. LAILSON will perform several curious and astounding exercises, which he will not undertake to enumerate, in order to surprize the spectator: his aim being to please—and nothing shall be neglected to render the exercises worthy the attention of the amateurs of this new art.

After which will be presented the Pantomime called  
Le Marechal de Logis;  
OR, THE TWO THIEVES.

In which Madame Douvilliers will dance several Pas seals.

The evening's entertainment will conclude with a second representation of  
HARLEQUIN'S WHIM;  
Or, The Doctor Outwitted.

Herlequin, Mr. Sully, jun.  
No. 4, (the Magician) } Mr. Sully, jun.  
with a jay in character }  
Pantalon, Mr. Trono  
Pelet, Mr. Swois  
Lover, Mr. Langley  
Clown, Mr. Vandeveld  
Co-ombine, Miss Sophie

††† In rehearsal—L'AMANT JALOUX, a French Opera in three acts, in which the same gentleman who performs in the character of Geronte, the Melomane, will perform in that of Don Lopez.

At O'Eller's Hotel.  
READINGS AND RECITATIONS,  
Moral, Critical, and Entertaining;  
On Monday Evening, May 29th, at 8 o'clock,  
Will be delivered,

The effects of Ambition and Guilt, considered, traced and exemplified in the character of  
MACBETH;

With a recitation of the whole character, and moral and critical observations on the character and the author.  
Tickets (half a dollar each) to be had of Mr. Poulton, at the Library, and at the Bar of O'Eller's Hotel.

Loit—A Gold Bracelet,  
Marked S. H. with a double Chain. Any person who may have found it, and will return it at No. 47, Penn-Street, will be handsomely rewarded.

May 27. 45

Pennsylvania Population Company.  
NOTICE is hereby given to the Share Holders, that a further assessment of NINE DOLLARS is levied on each share, payable as follows, viz.

Six Dollars immediately, and  
Three Dollars on the 1st of July next.

Which they are requested to pay to the Treasurer of the Company, at the Company's Office, No. 53, North Fourth-Street, agreeably to the times above mentioned; and they are further informed, that on their neglecting to pay the same as above directed, the several forfeitures will be enforced.

By order of the Board,  
SOL. MARACHE, Treasurer.  
May 27. 45