

Address To Congress 1809

1904-1926

47

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ADDRESS

TO

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

ON THE UTILITY AND JUSTICE OF RESTRICTIONS ON
FOREIGN COMMERCE

WITH

REFLECTIONS ON FOREIGN TRADE

IN GENERAL, AND THE FUTURE PROSPECTS OF AMERICA

PUBLISHED BY E. & A. CONRAD & CO. CHICAGO, ILL.

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(Illustration to be placed

to face page 1504

BROWN'S EMBARGO PAMPHLET

1809

Brown's last political pamphlet was entitled An Address to the Congress of the United States, on the utility and justice of restrictions upon foreign commerce, with reflections on foreign trade in general, and the future prospects of America. ~~For his American Register review of literature in the~~ catalogue of domestic political publications ¹ ~~for 1808~~ ^{was read} the title ~~is given as~~ An Address to the Congress of the United States, on the foreign relations of the state, and on foreign commerce in general. ^{which was a} ~~Apparently that was a hasty~~ prospective title ~~that~~ he found too limited when the pamphlet came to be written. ~~at least the subject like a tree grown by magic expanded in his hands.~~ As in three former ^{pamphlets} ~~instances~~ the Conrads of Philadelphia were the publishers.

The title-page is dated 1809, ~~and it appears the pamphlet was issued about the opening of the year.~~ The Select Reviews by E. Bronson and others, Philadelphia 1809, listed it in the February number. The Boston Anthology Society had a copy of it at a meeting held February seventh. Poulson's American Daily Advertiser for February third contains a communication, dated 30 January, which shows its ^{been} author had ~~already read it.~~ The same newspaper of 19 January has a notice of it as "just published". Brown's preface is dated 3 January. Thus ^{this} ~~all the~~ evidence ~~we have~~ found carries it back to ^{January} ~~early in the year~~ but cannot carry it further ^{to 1806.} ~~in spite of the curious fact already noticed~~ that Brown lists it in the Register catalogue of American

1 Vol. IV, p. 123. Listed as An Address to the Congress of the United States, on the foreign relations of the state, and on foreign commerce in general, not the actual title and probably the one contemplated.

^{probably}
~~publications for 1808. It undoubtedly~~ [^] was ~~issued on some date~~ from
 the third to the nineteenth of January 1809.

The authorship is unquestioned because of ~~Brown's~~ ^{the} initials
~~as signed~~ ^{of} the dated advertisement or preface.

Brown's preparation for ~~this work~~ ^{it} ~~may be found~~ ^{was} not only in his
 former political pamphlets especially in the study of the ^a Chesapeake-
 Leopard affair of the British Treaty but also in his American Register
 articles. With no reference to ~~this~~ ^a pamphlet which he may have had in
 mind but which he had not ~~yet~~ written, he had fully ~~considered the pro-~~
^{argued} ¹ ^{gave}
~~and con- of the subject, he had given to his periodical readers~~ a copy
²
 of the Embargo law, he ~~had~~ published the report of the House of Repre-
 sentatives on the memorial addressed to it by certain merchants of
³
 Philadelphia which ~~report~~ stamped the claims of the memorialists as
 unreasonable, and ~~probably contemporaneous with the pamphlet's~~
⁴
~~publication~~ he concluded his account with no rancor against the House
 and no love for violence ⁽with a statement that there was ⁾ but one alter-
 native from embargo and that was war.

1 Vol. III, p. 72 ff.

2 Vol. III, p. 97 ff.

3 Vol. III, p. 133 ff.

4 Vol. V, chapter I.

The avowed motive ~~for the composition and publication of~~
~~this work~~ was to call attention to what had formerly been a
 secret discussion with the object of influencing legislation,
 but beneath ~~this ostensible one~~ the reader cannot but become
 conscious that, ~~just as in the case of the pamphlet on the~~
~~British Treaty of 1807~~, the interest of ^{his} ~~Brown's~~ relatives in
 mercantile pursuits ~~probably~~ had its influence. ~~In fact~~ ^{Two}
 instances ¹ ~~might be cited to show that possibly~~ some of the family
 ships may have been concerned in ~~evasions of the law by~~ blockade
 running, ^{it} but ~~this~~ is not to be unduly exaggerated into ~~such a~~ ^{the}
 claim ~~as Brown makes~~ of pages two and three ^{of} against some of the
 congressmen. Brown's patriotism is unquestioned. He believed
 what he advocated and ^{he} would have ~~preferred to~~ sacrifice ^{it} not only
 the family commercial interests but even the clothes on his own
 back rather than advocate what he did not believe

1 Pp. 72 and 79.

~~In this connection,~~ A very striking thing is the accuracy of his vision, ~~of the future.~~ ~~Though~~ ^{In} the preface he made no pretense of being a prophet; ~~he~~ ^{still} had something of the seer in his nature, not only in regard to the expansion and development of our country but also in regard to the fall of France as the supreme European power. So far as the ~~coming~~ War of 1812 was concerned he was not far from ~~one~~ ^{warning its coming} ¹.

~~He says:~~

"When we think on our helpless dependence, for the comforts and decencies of life, upon nations three thousand miles off, we may, without a crime, be disposed to wish that all intercourse of this kind, were at an end; that we should sit, quiet spectators of the storms that shake the rest of the world, secure in our solitude and in the waste that rolls between them and us; employing all our vigor in building up an empire here in the West; and in cementing the members of our vast and growing nation, into one body.

There is something charming too in the picture of a world within ourselves; of bringing within our limits, all the sources of comfort and subsistence; of supplying all our wants with our own hands; of gaining all the functions, occupations and relations of a polished nation; of being a potent political body, complete in all its members and organs, and in which no chasm or defect can be found. We catch likewise an imperfect notion that we should be richer and more populous by this means. We should go on multiplying persons and towns and cottages faster; and thus become much greater and more wealthy, if all our surplus products were consumed by mouths at home, and not abroad. If the millions who now weave and sow and hammer and file for us, were members of our own body, swelling by their gains and their expenses, the tide of circulation in our own community.

We cannot be blamed if we ponder with pleasure on such splendid images, if we are reluctant to pursue any path of reflection, which appears to lead us away from them. They charm us, because they are visions of national

felicity. They doubly charm us, because the nation around which they hover, is our own."

One could hardly wish for a stronger expression of patriotism than that final paragraph. ~~But~~ later he goes on in the same strain.

"But we shall not stop here. We shall become the manufacturers of other nations. Such, we are, even now to a certain degree, but our manufactures will multiply in a larger proportion than our husbandmen." 1

This leads up to his American vision of Mirza.

"Barring deluges, almost general, and pestilences that extinguish mankind; or the untimely destruction of the globe itself, this, and, indeed, a great deal more than this, must happen, because the present limits of our territory are not immutable. They must stretch with our wants. The South sea only can bound us on one side; the Mexican gulph on the other; the polar ices on the third; but time, instead of diminishing our intercourse and dissolving our connection with foreigners, will only augment and strengthen them. The other states in the Western hemisphere, we shall, of course, approach more nearly, and mix with them more intimately. The gaps of unpeopled waste, which now sever them and us will disappear. Our limits will touch." 2

Earlier ~~in the pamphlet~~ he had spoken of an army. ~~He says:~~

"If you had forty thousand troops, well instructed and equipped, this dominion, if you please, might extend to Panama, Nootka, and Hudson's Bay by land." 3

It is clear ~~that~~ the debates in Congress had been read and put to use ~~by Brown in the preparation of this work~~; in truth he makes several statements which are only to be understood as ~~an~~ acknowledging ^{ing} ~~ment of~~ this fact, and he probably ^{found the} ~~got his~~ ideas of the law of nations from his old book-friend Blackstone. It is questionable

1 P.84. 2 P.89. 3 P.73. ~~This, of course, represents only about one tenth of what would be wise to say.~~

if he got anything from Kent's Commentaries, part one of which

is ~~entitled~~ the Law of Nations, for they were not published until

~~I~~ ^{in 1827.} ^{the date} after Brown's death. However, ~~this~~ is not as conclusive as it

appears, for he could have gotten ^{as much as} ~~all~~ he used from his personal

~~though slight~~ acquaintance with Kent, ~~in the early days of his~~

~~New York club life.~~ ^{consulted} Possibly he ~~took from~~ Vattel's Droit des gens.

The important point of all this is that his equipment was adequate,

he was a trained lawyer, quite capable of able discussion of the

matter at issue, and though not ^{he} a diplomatist, had, as we shall see,

a remarkable scholarly command of ~~not only~~ the facts involved in

this ~~one~~ matter but also of the whole of the international relat-

ions. ~~of the time.~~

To understand the matter of discussion appears a ~~great~~ task

~~especially~~ when ^{we} ~~one~~ goes to the usual historians. The Embargo

and all its surrounding details if properly studied assumes the

proportions of a large book and there is no doubt a wide course

of reading would throw various pleasing hues upon it, ^{but actually} ~~nevertheless~~

~~less, for our purpose,~~ only a few details are ^{necessary.} ~~essential~~

First, it should be known ~~that~~ there is some doubt whether the

~~1-1827.~~

2 Cf. in the Government archives the letter of Canning to Pinckney dated 23 Sept., 1808.

orders in council of England were the cause of the ~~laying of the~~
embargo. Second, the embargo was not a new idea in America; it had
been tried before though not so broadly, ¹ ~~as new~~. Third, it was laid
22 December 1807 and repealed 4 March 1809. Fourth, previous to
~~the time~~ ~~of~~ Brown's pamphlet ~~was issued~~ the Force Act had been made
law, and at ^{the time of the} ~~its~~ ^{of the pamphlet} publication the law was in force. Secession was
not only talked of by most of the New England states but actual
steps had been taken.

^{The} ~~Brown's~~ pamphlet was nothing new for the times. The press was
working day and night turning out all ^{sides} ~~sorts~~ ^{the argument} of pamphlets ~~pro and~~
² ~~con~~ and the humorous side was ~~equally~~ as well presented as the
serious. Two of all the instances will be considered by us in
the course of the present study.

Not quite so superficially as in other instances Dunlap gives
³ some critical comment, ~~on this pamphlet. he says~~ ³

"In this work, as in the Register, Mr. Brown is very
happy in stating the arguments for and against political
opinions and measures. This felicity proceeded from the
acuteness of his perceptions and the clearness of his
mind from all foreign or party bias."

Further on he speaks of "this felicity," he says "the author

- 1 For the details Cf. McMaster: History of the People of the U.S.,
Vol. III, p. 280 ff.
- 2 McMaster: op. cit., III, pp. 291-2.
- 3 Vol. II, p. 75.

ridicules," "justly decides", "takes an able view," and he calls the pamphlet excellent. ^{However} ~~But~~ this is spoiled by dragging himself in:

"I believe no writer on the subject, or inquirer into it, ever failed to see that the advantages which domestic commerce gives, are far greater than those derived from foreign. Mr. Brown's conclusions may be expected to be the same." I

Would that Dunlap had ~~omitted his own beliefs and have~~ given more attention to Brown's. Later he says: ²

"This was the last publication of Charles Brockden Brown, and evinces a vigour of intellect, and an accumulation of knowledge, combined with such rare patriotism, and true benevolence as seldom fall to the lot of one man."

All this of course only touches the surface of things.

Poulson's American Daily Advertiser ³ for 19 January had a notice ⁸⁶ ~~extended to~~ considerable length, ~~by~~ including Brown's preface. ~~It~~ ~~is opened thus:~~

"Suspended Intercourse"

"A pamphlet has just been published by Messrs. Conrads of this city, in which a well known writer has discussed the present critical and interesting state of our public affairs, in a manner recommended by its novelty at least to the curiosity of the public. He has explained his principles and views in a short preface of which the following is a transcript...."

1 Vol. II, p. 82.

2 Vol. II, p. 85.

3 This article was copied in his 1808-9 copy-book by Brown's father.

Here follows the whole of Brown's preface.

Such a notice seems less satisfactory than Dunlap, and it is to be considered only as introductory to a communication to the

¹
same newspaper for 3 February which reads:

"For the American Daily Advertiser.

"I have read a Pamphlet lately published in this City on the present state of our public affairs with some degree of approbation, but with more inclination I must own to censure than to praise. The writer appears to be a well meaning man, but he does not know how to accomodate himself to the Spirit of the times. --He is an enemy to war, and to all restraint upon trade, and is especially averse to what our present rulers seem to be in love with; a war with England. He has certainly reasoned very forcibly on the grounds of our present controversy with Great Britain, and has shown that neither honor nor right nor policy countenance this war. All this is very well; but he should have confined himself to this point. --It was not necessary to declare a polemical war against the friends of peace as well as its enemies; against all parties, and all nations. All political points are to be gained by the strength of a party: and those who have such points to gain must join the party that agrees with them in this, though they may differ very widely in other things. He must not be punctilious about their means, if their end is the same with his own...

His objections to the Embargo system, because it did not argue a philanthropic spirit; his distinctions between the french Emperor and his subjects and allies, are a great deal too refined and abstracted for common readers. --They smell of the solitary lamp; they savour of the closet; should the writer mix more with the world, he would be a much more useful politician, --he would learn what topics to urge; and what to suppress on occasions like this --he would suit himself to the actual state of things and go a great deal further in affecting his own ends.

I throw out these hints with a sincere view to the benefit of this writer, whose talents are too well known to need my panegyrick. These talents never perhaps shone with more lustre than in this pamphlet, and more acuteness, more eloquence, and more well digested learning will not easily be found collected in the

1. This article also was copied by Brown's father.

same number of pages. He must not be surprised, however, if he finds that something more than all this is necessary to insure popularity, at least to a political writer at a time like this, when all the furious passions are in arms, and the rival parties do not seem very far from that point when their quarrels must be decided by weapons less harmless than goosequills...

No man admires a bold and independent spirit more than I do, and though I think this writer has not managed with the utmost prudence either for his own success, or that of the cause he espouses, yet his manliness, his courage, is highly praiseworthy--He tells a great number of weighty truths, which have never been heard from any other pen, and cannot fail to benefit those who will impartially attend to him." L.D.

Jan 30, 1809."

It seems unnecessary to consider the details of this comment.

The author, who is unknown but may be ~~the same as~~ the author of

¹
What is Love in the Monthly Magazine, avows himself to be a party man and therefore Brown's position is of course to be ^{condemned} ~~criticised~~

~~for that reason~~. It is true ~~that~~ the "solitary lamp smell" and the

"closet" apply to Brown ^{but} ~~and~~ it would be interesting to know if

~~this~~ L.D. were not some one well acquainted with ^{him} ~~Brown~~. He may

have been one of those offended by being refused a public hearing

in one of Brown's magazines. Be that as it may, the fact that

^{the} ~~Brown's~~ pamphlet is not addressed to "common readers" seems to

be ~~entirely~~ missed by him.

The importance of ^{L.D.} ~~the whole matter~~ ^{his} is in ~~the~~ closing where we find Brown given credit for "a great number of weighty truths,

which have never been heard from any other pen." That is no mean praise, though it may be considered offset by the ^{earlier} ~~forerunning~~ charges. To us it justifies ~~not only~~ the matter ~~of the work, but~~ the non-partisan position of its author and the publication of the pamphlet. At the same time it distinguishes Brown's work from ~~that of~~ all the others of the day.

The Boston Anthology society records ~~under date of~~ 7 February 1809 read:

"An address to the Congress of the United States, supposed to be Brown's was assigned to Mr. Tudor."

This assignment is more important than ~~that of~~ the British Treaty pamphlet to John Lowell, not because of the ability displayed, for of the two men Lowell was intellectually ^{the} superior, but because of the ^{prominence} ~~conspicuousness~~ of the author. William Tudor, Junior, was an original member of the society and the first editor of the North American Review. His essay ¹kin, to borrow Thackeray's coinage, was read and accepted at a meeting held March seventh. It might better have been refused. It is clever but puerile; it shows ~~very~~ poor taste, and is not ~~to be called~~ criticism. At least it

1 And published in the Anthology, Vol. VI, pp. 187-8.

should have been subjected to improvement by discussion, a method supposed to be the idea of the society though it gives little evidence of having practised it. Were it not for its author as editor of a magazine which has become notable we should ~~gladly~~ leave it in ~~its deserved~~ obscurity. It is short and may be interesting as another example of the reception ~~of~~ Brown's work met with. ~~It reads:~~

"This pamphlet may be considered ingenious, though it contains some of the philosophical puerility that is the fashion of the day. The author professes to belong to no party, but to be what is vulgarly called, a wet quaker. He likes the administration, and dislikes their measures. His work contains an elaborate exposition of the injustice, and absurdity of the embargo system. How certain statesmen must have secretly smiled, when they found the honest, blundering credulity of the country completely caught, and gravely occupied in discussing the injury the embargo would be to the great belligerents, its wisdom as a measure of precaution, its impartial operation, and the "virtuous posture" of our "dignified retirement." They must have begun to flatter themselves, that its origin and causes would never be investigated.

The writer supports a very simple proposition, that force by sea is like force by land; that the English command the one, and the French the other; and that we have no right to move on either, except in the manner laid down by the ruling power. This doctrine is not new, though few men have had the boldness to publish it. There is something whimsical as well as distressing in the present position of the great commercial interest of the country. Without possessing any influence, they see themselves sacrificed, by those who legislate for them insisting upon much more than they want, and which they know cannot be obtained; while another set of philosophers are for abandoning them altogether.

Towards the close of this pamphlet, some pages are occupied with admiration of the Chinese, and a comparison between them and us. Notwithstanding the absurdity of all this, we confess we felt a little startled, because this is the second work, in which we have recently seen this policy proposed for our adoption. On looking

about, however, and finding our ladies' feet as large as ever, and that none of the propagandists have yet appeared with their heads shaved, we recovered our tranquillity. For a century to come we shall be drained of what we do not want, and kept sweet by emigration; we cannot therefore attain to the standard of Chinese population, the drowning of our superfluous children. Wars are, therefore, to be deprecated now, but when emigration can no longer take place, then we must have them. We confess we would as soon be confined in an unventilated room of a hospital, as we would inhabit a populous country unpurified by war."

~~This work of Tudor's is hardly to be seriously considered, but~~
make there
~~it has at least~~ ^{one} point ~~that~~ should be noticed.

~~With all due respect to the first editor of a noted periodical,~~
~~the truth is~~ Brown does not propose ^o the Chinese as ~~an example~~ to be imitated. He draws a comparison with our isolated independent position, he says that except for the Christian countries China's civilization is ahead, that the realm is the wonder of the world. ~~Evidently~~ Tudor was so pleased at the prospect of a joke about the ladies' feet and ^{the} shaved heads and some sarcasm over a Spartan infanticide ~~that~~ he forgot ~~just~~ what Brown did say.

~~Evidently~~ ^{this} such a statement ^{might} ~~could~~ go unchallenged in a meeting of the Anthologists but it is not to be tolerated in ^{any other place.} ~~our day.~~

Though few the faults that should have appeared to these critics have for the most part been missed. The most obvious is the length. ~~of the work.~~ It appears to be too finely spun out and a good deal

of part three ^{should} ~~could~~ have ~~undoubtedly~~ been ^{omitted.} ~~given up.~~ The points he makes he ~~had~~ already made or could easily make by the insertion of a few sentences, ~~and thereby the bulk could have been reduced.~~

However its length is not to be considered ~~an~~ important, ~~fact.~~

Brown knew ^{his} ~~who he~~ was addressing and he evidently looked for no other audience. Legislative bodies ~~like Congress~~ are quite accustomed to lengthy debates and what appears ^{too} ~~as~~ long to the layman would ~~probably~~ for them lose none of its force by its length.

Though written with more care than ^{he} ~~Brown~~ was accustomed to spend ~~on his publications~~ it was rushed through the press too hurriedly. ^{may have} ~~Probably~~ Brown's health interfered with the proof-reading, if he was ~~supposed~~ to do it, and it ~~fairly~~ bristles with typographical errors which would be inexcusable at any other time of his life.

The good points are ~~quite~~ of another character; they raise themselves to the plane of important details, and ~~quite~~ overshadow the flaws found by ^{us} ~~ourselves~~ as well as the critics noticed.

This work is not only the last ~~of his pamphlets~~ but it is a fitting culmination of his political pamphleteering. What he

had for years struggled for, non-partisanship, he achieved almost to perfection in this work. His logic is almost always irresistible, both in favor and against government action, for and against war, and against the extreme measure of embargoing, and ~~if the time~~ ^{ever} ~~ever comes again~~ when a general embargo is contemplated Brown's pamphlet will be an ~~available~~ ^{ever} arsenal for the opposition.

One of the most noticeable excellencies is ~~to be found~~ in the attitude ~~of Brown~~ toward the party in power. Since his last pamphlet he ~~undoubtedly~~ had come to see ~~more~~ clearly the virtues ~~which~~ Jefferson and his cabinet had and now that he comes to deal with another of his measures he shows excellent taste by avoiding ~~all~~ personalities. His command of ridicule and irony is not directed toward a number of vulnerable ¹ ~~points in the armor of the~~ individuals of the administration but rather at the generality: at Congress, ~~as implied in the plural pronoun~~. His argument is fair with no vitriolic acrimony. His understanding of the matter is not insular but international.

Among the details ~~that~~ particularly ~~are~~ forceful is his argument in regard to tribute. ² Though ~~it is~~ not original it has all

1 McMaster, op. cit., calls attention to some of them in Vol. III, pp. 282, 284.

2 P. 68 ff.

the value of being so by being handled with unusual skill. When he speaks of the West Indian mercantile interests and the carrying trade he is, in view of the family interests in shipping, speaking ~~as it were~~ authoritatively and his arguments therefore have a weight ~~that~~ they would lack from other sources.

1

One of his happiest hits is directed toward the argument that the embargo was to help the sailors. There is not a spar or rope left when Brown has finished with ~~firing~~ broadsides at that, "~~painted ship upon a painted ocean.~~"

~~Here also~~ ^{we} find Brown taking the reader into his confidence more than ever before, ~~and~~ presenting his facts in a form and manner milder than others ~~were accustomed to do~~ in the press of the day. Truth is his aim and his work is an accomplishment of that aim.

He wisely avoids all statistics for ~~evidently~~ the truths they illustrate had ~~already~~ come to be abused by the orators of the day.

2

An autobiographic touch may be ~~found~~ in the third section. ~~It reads:~~

"That intercourse among men is useful is a self-evident maxim. Alone, I am helpless, forlorn, wretched, and must perish. Give me another man to assist and commune with me, my condition is greatly improved; add to the number of my associates, and you add to the common benefit."

In ^{his} ~~these~~ old days of wandering Brown learned only too well that truth ~~of this~~. As ~~may be seen~~ ^{He} ~~had~~ sought for that other man and found him and in turn had also found associates by means of clubs. The ending of this is ~~as illogical as~~ surprising. One would expect the associates to "add to my benefit", ~~instead of the "common benefit"~~. ~~But Brown's poor logic was not untruthful; in fact this instance is exceptional.~~

The structure is not at all formal save in the ~~very superficial~~ division into a preface, three numbered heads and a supplement. The preface—here called Introductory—treats of the Embargo in general and of the personal side of it ~~as~~ related to the author and his political position and ideals. Section I considers the past and present Embargo, the ^{debate} ~~pro and con~~ of the present, its evasion and non-enforcement and the division of parties on the question. Section II is mostly given up to a ^{long} ~~lengthy~~ consideration of the Law of nations. Incidentally tribute and submission, and England's sea ~~control and~~ supremacy are considered. Section III ^{touches on} ~~considers~~ human society and wages in general and as applied to the Embargo and winds up with the consideration of China and the prospects of America. The supplement calls attention to England

and her practise and possibilities ^{of} ~~in regard to~~ raising corn.

The most obvious fault of this part of ^{his} ~~Brown's~~ technique is ~~in the fact~~ that the first half of Section III would be better ~~if it were~~ added to other parts as extra sentences. The latter half is well deserving a separate section and could not be omitted. Section II is too long for ^{the} ~~the~~ part it plays in ~~Brown's argument~~ and needs condensation. The preface is ~~hardly~~ ^{hardly} necessary. Its points are repeated in various forms in other parts. The supplement is in reality an improper appendix. It would be all very well ~~as~~ ~~such~~ if the pamphlet were intended for publication in England, but it is not called for here ^{doing} ~~and does~~ nothing to strengthen the argument.

Contrary to his ~~accustomed~~ staccato method the sentences are sometimes ¹ so complex ~~that~~ the whole sense is clouded though the essential part is clear. The use of similes is about as frequent as in the British Treaty but they are not so beautiful, ~~here~~. With the exception of "the stream we have turned away with our own hands" ² which recalls the fountain whose "waters were so refreshing" of the British Treaty and the "foreign ingredient in the

1 The best example is ~~on~~ page 87 near the bottom.

2 P.10.

cup¹ they are similes of risk, violence and brutality, particularly appropriate ⁱⁿ to war. A characteristic one, ^{which} might ~~anachronologically~~ have ~~been extracted from~~ ^{appeared in} the American Note-books of Hawthorne, reads

"Your precaution is of a kind practised by the Hindoos, who stab themselves on the threshold of their enemy, that their blood, falling there, may entail disaster, on the tenant of the mansion."²

Another characteristic one is a repetition of that used in Monroe's Embassy, ^{where} ~~In the former pamphlet~~³ it reads:

"malice and revenge that have ears as deaf as adders to the voice of prudence and caution."

Here, ~~it reads:~~

"to whom avarice, or revenge, ... give ears as deaf as adders to the voice of any true decision."⁴

This is ~~of course~~ an adaptation from Psalm 58, verses 4 and 5.

On page 73 we have a simile ^{of} ~~that recalls~~ Edgar Huntly ~~in that~~ jumping into rivers and leaping over precipices ^{so} ~~are~~ important ~~as~~ incidents in ~~that story.~~

The diction is notably lacking in ^{his} ~~Brown's~~ characteristic Latinisms; ~~in fact it is~~ a very fair example of his latter day development, which we shall find best shown in his American Register.

What political result Brown achieved by ^{it} ~~this pamphlet~~ is un-

Likely

certain. It is quite ~~probable that~~ there was no immediate one for the reason that non-partisan arguments are seldom attended to by political bodies. At the same time it should be noticed that the repeal of the Embargo ~~act~~ came not long after, 4 March, so ~~that~~ he may have had an influence which ^{was never} ~~has not yet been~~ acknowledged ~~by any of the members of Congress.~~

Not ~~being~~ intended for the general public; in fact, ~~as the title reads, being~~ addressed to those who are supposed to have a specialized knowledge of the matter; its reception by the critics is not surprising. Its not going into another edition may be considered against it by some, and its failure to come to the notice of historians ~~with sufficient force to be even mentioned~~ may be a fault of Brown's but is probably due to the historians attempting subjects big enough for the lives of ten octogenarians. If any one ever makes a thorough study of the Embargo pamphlets Brown's should meet its deserts and we venture to suggest it will be found ^{near} ~~not far from~~ the top of the list.

In the case of the British Treaty we found ~~that~~ Brown's work was favorably reviewed by John Lowell of Boston. At that time we

connected with our study of Lowell's criticism his pamphlet of 1810 entitled the New England Patriot, etc., which made a strong contrast to Brown's pamphlet in that it was many times more bitter.

In the present case we have a very similar circumstance in that the same John Lowell, this time anonymously, had ~~previously~~ published in 1808 another political pamphlet which deals with the Embargo and is entitled Analysis of the late correspondence between our administration and Great Britain and France with an attempt to show what are the Real causes of the failure of the negociation.¹

A ~~very~~ notable example of ~~the works of~~ the day is Bryant's Embargo which should be made accessible to and studied by all students of literary development. It is one of the strongest tirades ever written against Jefferson. The author accuses the President of all the usual moral turpitude claimed to be his by the Federalists. Though Brown had written indifferent couplets he did not write such doggerel as Bryant, who lived long enough to out-live the rubbish he had written in his youth.

In closing it is hardly necessary to call attention to the

¹ Boston, Russell and Cutler, printers, n.d., dated and ascribed by Cushing's Anonyms. There also was a supplement of twenty-eight pages. Reprinted New York 1809 with part of the supplement in all making fifty-six pages.

relation of this work to Brown's life. Our study of it has, we believe, done more than could be emphasized here. The fact that ~~the~~ ^{it} ~~work~~ is almost perfectly non-partisan, that we can here only call Brown mildly Federalistic at the most, that he expressed what he set out to write, is all in its favor and quite removes our ideas of its success from any consideration of what he may have made Congress do or what he profited in dollars and cents by its publication. After reading ~~the pamphlet~~ ^{it} we ~~cannot help but~~ believe ~~that~~ if the time had ever come for Brown to seek the suffrages of his fellow citizens, though probably not to the top, still he would have gone high up the steps to prominence. At ~~the~~ least we should expect ~~he~~ would, to appropriate an expression of Burke's, "crawl from pamphlets into counsels".