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THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17.

AGRICOLA-No. V.

The last and most important object of the " address" is the reasoning upon the subject of the orders in council, as cause of war with G. Britain. We all know the alleged ground of those orders to have been retuliation for the French decrees of Berlin and Milan -When the Beilin decree was first passed, G. Britain, by a note annexed to the treaty made by Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney, declared, unless the American government would assert its neutral rights, in opposition to it, she should be compelled to retaliate, and the stipulations of that treaty would of course be of no effect. In consequence of this, Mr. Jefferson at once rejected it, without even submitting it to the Senate for their consideration, as he was bound to do. When a false promise on the part of the French minister, that the decrees should not be considered as contravening our rights made sacred by the stipulations of a treaty, was done away by a subsequent declaration made shortly after, by the Grand Minister Reignier, that the intentions of the Emperor were, that by virtue of the decree, French armed vessels might seize in neutral vessels, either English property or merchandize proceeding from the English manufactories; and that he had reserved for future decision, whether they might not possess hemselves of neutral vessels going to or from England, although they had no English manufactures on board ; G. Britain passed her orders in council. Had Mr. Jefferson, instead of rejecting, in the manner he did, the treaty of Messrs Monroe and Pinkney, recommended the passage of a law interdicting all trade with France, unless the Berlin decree had been declared of no effect as to us ; a thing which we had a right, in consequence of an existing treaty to demand-it is evident the orders in council never would have applied to us; and most probably we should never have experienced the evils we have since endured. The very request in the rejected note, after trying embargoes and commercial restrictions, Congress at last adopted But upon what principle did they do it then, which would not have made it proper to have done it, when the Emperor first commenced his system of commercial interdict against his enemy? I have snewn that the blockade of 1806 was considered by us, rather as advantageous than otherwise, but at all events, France had no right to punish us for the injuries G Britain had inflicted upon her, without our consent. The only possible answer is, that Mr. Jefferson saw in the rejection of the treaty the commencement of commercial controversy, which would end, as it has done, with the aid of diplomatic management, in war with England; for by a strange jumble of things, we have come at last to act with more violence against Great-Britain, on account of her orders in council, than she wished us to act against France, to avoid the application of those very orders-in plain dealing, we have refused to assert our neutral rights against France, and have said to Great-Britain, if you take offence at this, and dare to molest us for it, we will make war upon you, and aid your enemy, all in our power, to destroy you. To Mr. Jefferson therefore, principally, are to be attributed the evils we now endure, and on his head will rest the blood that shall be shed, and the mischief that shall befal our country in this unhappy contest. His successor has fatally followed up his measures, to their ultimate object, and has indeed matured the system his predecessor had planned. Whether the American people will continue to uphold the views of Jefferson, Madison and Bonaparte, their ensuing elections must de-

The "address" states, "that after the passage of the orders in council, each of the belligerents encreased their depredations on the ground of retaliation against its enemies;" but they say, " as the field of commercial enterprize, after allowing to the decrees and orders their full practical effect, is still rich and extensive, there seemed as little wisdom as obligation to yield solid and certain realities, for unattainable pretensions. Every consideration of moral duty and political expediency, seems to concur in warning the United States not to mingle in this hopeless and, to human eye, interminable European contest. The nature and extent of the injuries accumulated by the mutual efforts of the belligerents, seemed to teach the American Statesman this important lesson, not to attach the cause of his country to one or the other of them, but by systematic and solid provisions, for sea-coast and maritime defence, and arming and disciplining the militia, to place its interests as far as its situation and resources permit, beyond the reach or rapacity of any European power." A different policy, however, governed our administration, and the long cherished opinion of Messrs. Jefferson and Madison, that England might soon be made to yield her pretensions, by commercial interdicts on our part, brought on the system of embargo, non-importion, and non-intercourse laws, in which France was implicated, more to avoid the administration accessary to this deception.

to her injury, for with the embargo her Emperor declared himself gratified, and although in return for the non-intercourse act, he confiscated our property to an immense amount, upon the plea of reprisal, yet he has hitherto experienced none of our anger, but has been rewarded for it by war against his enemy. But France has made amends for all her outrages, by the repeal of her decrees, and Great-Britain, we are told, *" abandoning still more, all respect for the neutral rights of the U. States and for its own consistency, now demands, as a pre-requisite to a repeal of its orders as they relate to the U. States, that a formality should be observed in the repeal of the French decrees, no wise necessary for their termination, nor exemplified by British usage, & that the French repeal, besides including that portion of the decrees which operate within a territorial jurisdiction, as well as that waich operates upon the high seas, should not be a single and special repeal in relation to the U S. but should be extended to whatever other neutral nations, unconnected with them, thay be affected by those decrees. And as an additional insult they are called upon for a formal disavowal of conditions and pretentions advanced by France, for which the United States are so far from having made themselves responsible, that in official explanations, which have been published to the world, and in a correspondence of the American minister at London with the British minister for foreign affairs, such a responsibility was explicitly and emphatically disclaimed." If the declarations above stated are correct, how came it about that our minister at the court of France was charged to obtain a more formal act of the revocation of the French decrees, than was contained in the Duc de Cadore's communication to Mr. Armstrong; and how comes it about that a formal decree has since been presented to the world, bearing date a year before its publication;† and how happens it that in express contradiction to the assertions, that we had nothing to expect from the justice of G. Britain, " who carries on the war, (as it is most bitterly asserted by Mr. Madison) against the lawful commerce of a friend, that she may the better carry on a commerce with an enemy; a commerce poluted by the forgeries and perjuries, which are, for the most part, the only passports by which it can succeed;" how comes it to pass, I say, that in contradiction to these virulent assertions, the moment the decree appears, Great Britain repeals her orders in council as to us. Can any thing more strongly prove the mad precipitancy of the war !-Why did we demand of France a more so-Jemn act of revocation? It was proper so to do, or it was not. It is decent to suppose the government would not have asked an useless act, and it is right to conclude, that they ought not to have urged a controversy to the last re sort, until having obtained what was required, the bad faith of their opponents might have been made manifest. But how do we no v appear before the tribunal of the world. After obtaining what we thought it proper to demand, a formal decree of the French emperor repealing his obnexious edicts; & which by the by, denies the truth of the proclamation passed in November, 1810, by grounding ic upon the law passed in 1811; this being all Great Britain had asked of us; she frankly and honorably repeals her orders in council as to uswithout any reserve. And this was done too, at the moment when on this side the Atlantic, the above declarations and bitter assertions were made causes of war against her.

The "Address" concludes with these strong and glowing reflections, now more than ever

applicable to our situation.

" A nattion, like the United States, happy in its great local relations; removed from the bloody theatre of Europe; with a maritime border, opening vast fields for enterprize;with territorial possessions, exceeding, every real want ;-its firesides safe ;-its altars undefiled;-from invasion nothing to fear ;from acquisition nothing to hope ;-how shall such a nation look to heaven for its smiles, while throwing away, as though they were worthless, all the blessings and joys, which peace and such a distinguished lot, include? With what prayers can it address the most high, when it prepares, to pour fourth its youthful rage, upon a neighbouring people; from whose strength, it has nothing to dread, from whose devastation it has nothing to gain?

" If our ills were of a nature, that war would remedy; if war would compensate any of our losses; or remove any of our complaints, there might be some alleviation of the suffering, in the charm of the prospect. But how will war upon the land, protect commerce upon the ocean? What balm has Canada for wounded honor? How are our mariners benefited by war, which exposes those, who are free, without promising release to those, who are impressed?

" But it is said that war is demanded by honour. Is national honour a principle, which thirsts after vengeance, and is appeased, only, by blood; which, trampling on the hopes of man, and spurning the law of God, untaught by what is past and careless of what is to come precipitates itself into any folly, or madness, to gratify a selfish vanity, or to satiate some unhallowed rage? If honour demands a war with England, what opiate lulls that honour to

† It would be arguing a depravity, to which I hope we have not yet attained, to suppose our

charge of gross partiality, than with any view | sleep over the wrongs done us by France? On land, robberies, seizures, imprisonments, by French authority; at sea, pillage, sinkings, burnings, under French orders. These are notorious. Are they unfelt because they are French? Is any alleviation to be found in the correspondence and humiliations of the present Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at the French Court? In his communications to our government, as before the public, where is the cause for now selecting France, as the friend of our country and England as fate and decisive measure on our part, imperia-

licitude for elevation of place, should be permitted to misguide the public councils; if it is, indeed, honorable for the true statesman to consult the public welfare, to provide, in truth, for the public defence, and impose no yoke of bondage; with full knowledge of the wrongs inflicted by the French, ought the government of this country, to aid the French cense, by engaging in war, against the enemy of France? To supply the waste of such a war and to his majesty's plenipotentiary in Sweden, transmeet the appropriations of millions extraordi- | mitting a treaty of peace and friendship benary, for the war expenditures, must our fellow citizens, throughout the union, be doomed | Russias; and a treaty of peace and friendship to sustain the burden of war-taxes, in various | between his majesty and the king of Sweden, forms of direct and indirect imposition? For signed at Orebro, by Mr. Thornton and the official information, respecting the millions deemed requisite for charges of the war; for like information, respecting the nature and amount of taxes, deemed requisite for drawing those millions from the community, it is here sufficient to refer to estimates and reports made by the Secretary of the Treasury and the Committee of Ways and Means, and to the body of resolutions, passed in March last, in the House of Representatives.

"It would be some relief to our anxiety, if amends were likely to be made, for the weakness and wildness of the project, by the prudence of the preparation. But in no aspect of this anomalous affair can we trace the great and distinctive properties of wisdom. There is seen a headlong rushing, into difficulties, with little calculation about the means and little concern about the consequences. With a navy comparatively nominal, we are about to enter into the lists against the greatest marine on the globe. With a commerce, unprotected and spread over every ocean, we propose to make profit by privateering, and for this endanger the wealth, of which we are honest proprietors. An invasion is threatened of the colonies of a power, which, without putting a new ship into commission, or taking another soldier into pay, can spread alarm, or desolation along the extensive range of our seaboard. The resources of our country in their natural state, great beyond our wants, or our hopes are impaired by the effect of artificial restraints. Before adequate fortifications are prepared for domestic defence, before men or money are provided for a war of attack, why hasten into the midst of that awful contest which is laying waste Europe? It cannot be concealed, that to engage, in the present war against England is to place ourselves on the side of France, and exposes us to the vassalage of states, serving under the banners of the French Emperor.

"The undersigned cannot refrain from asking, what are the United States to gain by this war? Will the gratification of some privateersmen compensate the nation for that sweep of our legitimate commerce by the extended marine, of our enemy, which this desperate act invites. Will Canada compensate the middle states, for New-York; or the western states for New-Orleans; let us not be deceived. A war of invasion may invite a retort of invasion. When we visit the peaceable, and, as to us innocent, colonies of Great Britain with the horrors of war can we be assured that our own coast will not be visited with like

horrors ?" If these observations are correct, and that they are, I appeal to the breast of every friend to his country's happiness; why do we see the war continued, when the prominent causes of it have ceased to exist. If those are the real causes of the war, which Mr. Madison has declared to be so, what can we gain by protracting it, which we have not gained, and would not have gained, without entering into it. If they are not the real ones, let us know, what in truth they are, that we may at once be in- lector or other officer of the customs of the formed what it is, for which we are to risk our lives, our fortunes, our peace and union to obtain. The smiles of the Emperor we covet ! not, we fear indeed his friendship. We shall not therefore fight for it. We will not fight to make a President, or prop a sinking party! -but having obtained the end for which we armed, we will seek for rulers who value more the public good than private views, and prefer the peace of their country to the whims of speculative theorists and the violent objects of a despot.

AGRICOLA.

† I do not apply this to the republicans generally, for I know they are friends to peace, but to those leaders, who are now the friends of war, taxes, loans, public debt, and standing armies.

> LONDON, July 30. Price of Stocks this day at one.

3 per ct. Cons. 56 1-2 1-4 3-8; 3 per cent Red. 56 5-8 3-4; 4 per cts. 73 72 7-8; 5 per cent. 88 1-4 3-8; Omnium 3 1-2 3-4 pm.; Consols for Acet. 86 3-4 7-5 3-4.

DECLARATION OF WAR BY AMERICA. The official intelligence of war having been | Emperor Alexander to his troops on the com-

declared by America against this country, arrived last night by the Julia, the hon. captain Gardner from Halilax. The President's approval of the act of Congress declaring war was signed on the 18th of last month. The account of our revocation of the orders in council had not reached America.

A cabinet council was held this morning on the dispatches, and was sitting when our paper' was put to press. The receipt of the officia! intelligence, renders of course, some immeditive. It remains for America to say whether "If no illusions of personal feeling, & no so- our revocation of the orders will satisfy her: if it does not, we have a pledge from the opposition, recorded in parliament, that they will give their utmost support to the war.

JULY 31.

Foreign Office, Downing street. Viscount Castlereagh has this day received. by lieut. Dobree, of his majesty's ship Victorv. dispatches from Edward Thornton, Esqr. tween his majesty and the emperor of all the

ORDERS IN COUNCIL.

respective plenipotentiaries of the two powers.

on the 18th inst.

At the Court at Carlton House, 31st July, 1812; present, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in Council.

It is this day ordered by his royal highness the prince regent, in the name, and on the behalf of his majesty, and by and with the advice of his majesty's privy council, that no ships or vessels belonging to his majesty's subjects be permitted to enter and clear out for any of the ports within the territories of the U. States of America, until further orders: and his royal highness is further! pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, and by and with the advice aforesaid, to order, that a general embargo or stop be made of all ships and ressels whatsoever, belonging to the citizens of the United States of America, now within, or which shall hereafter come into any of the ports, harbors or roads, within any part of his majesty's dominions, together with all persons and effects on board of all such ships and vessels; and that the commanders of his majesty's ships of war and privateers, do detain and bring into port, all ships and vessels belonging to citizens of the U. States of America, or bearing the flag of the said U. States, except such as may be furnished with British licences, which vessels are allowed to proceed according to the tenor of said licenses; but the utmost care be taken for the preservation of all and every part of the cargoes on board any of the said ships or vessels, so that no damage or embezziement whatever, be sustained -and the commanders of his majesty's ships of war and privateers are hereby instructed to detain and bring into port every such ship and vessel accordingly, except such as are above enospted; and the Right Honorable, the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and Lord Warden of the Cinque ports, are to give the necessary directions herein, as to them may respectively appertain.

CHETWYND.

By the Commis ioners, for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

WHEREAS, by an act passed in the forty third year of the reign of his present majesty for the better protection of the trade of the United Kingdom during the present hostilities with France; a power is vested in Us to grant licences to vessels to sail without convoy, and We have, in pursuance of the said act, granted sundry licences accordingly; and whereas, we see fit to revoke certain of these licences, as hereinafter specified, We do hereby revoke and declare null and void, and of no effect, all licences granted by us to any ship or vessel to sail without convoy to any port or place of North America, Newfoundland, the West Indies or the Gulph of Mexico, which ship or vessel shall not have cleared out before this revocation shall be known to the colport at which such ship or vessel shall be.

Given under our hands and the scal of the Office of Admiralty, 31st of July, 1812. MELVILLE, (Signed)

WM. DOMETT, GEO. J. HOPE. To all whom it may concern.

By command of their Lordships, J. W. CROKER.

An order in council of 17th July, continues the O. in C. prohibiting the exportation of "Gunpowder, Saltpetre, or any kind of arms or ammunition."

Another O. in C. same date, continues a former order, permitting the importation of Hides, Horns, Tallow, Wool (except Cotton Wool) in foreign vessels, from ports from which the British flag is excluded.

The O. in C. is continued, which prohibits the importation of Iron, Naval Stores, &c.

The Prince Regent on the 29th July, authorised Marquis Wellesley to wear the insignia of the Royal Persian Order, of the Sun and Lion, conferred by the King of Persia.

THE WAR IN THE NORTH.

The subjoined address was issued by the

^{*} See Mr. Madison's War Message.