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From the Boston Chronicle.

THE EXAMINER.

It is a treaty

"More honored in the breach than the observance."

"KNOW THYSELF," is an important maxim, not only as it relates to individuals but to nations. The want of this knowledge has been the principal cause of all the troubles and difficulties we experienced during the former administration. The measures they adopted have made impressions which cannot easily be effaced; and lessened our character in the eyes of the commercial nations of Europe. What must those powers have thought of us, when they found us so generally inclined to submit to the impositions contained in the treaty, by so outrageously wronging its adoption?

To estimate our European connections, let us attend to the following statement, as submitted to the Senate in 1793.

Our trade with Spain, 46 do. —
North America, 922,635 do. —
Great Britain, 5,000,000 do. —
Denmark, 126,000 do. —

Not only, then, the advantages position we stand with respect to Britain will be in their favor of six millions, yet we possess the rights of neutrality, and submit to the most humiliating degradation. Our carrying trade we laid prostrate at the feet of Britain; and, as to British factories, we have courted them to our embraces. We have placed our own citizens at the foot-stool of aliens, and suffered our young men to become dependent on their clemency. When we talked of a non-intercourse with England, the federalists exclaimed that it would lead to war, but when a proposition was made to annihilate our trade with France, these same men acceded to the measure with the most fervent complacency. That is, they were anxious to continue in connection with a nation the balance of whose trade was six millions against us, and break off every intercourse with those whose balance was upwards of two millions in our favor. This strange, unaccountable, preposterous, disgraceful temper and disposition, which actuated the former administration was "The Demon that palsied the energies of the United States."

The federalists now bluster about exercising their resentment and talk about a powerful navy, but such nonsense is about equal to their former folly. If we had taken the same precaution that Russia did in her treaty with Britain, we should have stood as respectable as they do now with the belligerent powers. Both sides now court them, whereas we have become the dupes of each party. France feels a resentment because of our former vindictive conduct towards her, and England despises us for our disgraceful pusillanimity in crouching to their impositions. That something must be done to give security and stability to our commerce, is allowed both by federalists and republicans. The former call for ships of war, but the latter propose a more formidable and sure weapon. We should only exhaust our wealth by the one without any prospect of success, but we should see millions by the other, with the certainty of complete triumph. Our commerce is more powerful than a navy, and a non-intercourse with England and her islands would be more effectual to place us in the respectable attitude of neutrals, than a fleet of 50 sail of the line.

As the subject of our commerce has been fully considered in a former publication, together with a comparison of Jay's treaty, and that of Russia, between England, I must beg the indulgence of my fellow citizens to a re-perusal of it, under the well known signature of "OLD SOUTH."

The Omnipotence of the British nation has been so long a subject of exultation, and from political motives so generally admitted, that an attempt to place America in an attitude of opposition to her marine mandates, is considered by some, as the height of arrogance if not of madness. But no country has been more over-rated in its real commercial strength, provided other nations would exercise those natural advantages which they possess. The U. States, by exaggerating the power of Britain, and lessening their own energies, have originated the errors they have committed, and substantiated the benefits obtained by England in our commercial negotiations. The fears, excited by the friends of the British treaty, that war would be the consequence of refusing it, were derogatory to our national character, as it exhibited a pusillanimity on our part, which stimulated Britain to further excesses. The declaration of our apprehensions of her resentment, and the dread we displayed at her prowess, led the government to pursue a system of degradation, unawed by any measures of retaliation from the American administration. Our language on that occasion was that of timidity; we became supplicants to their clemency; we openly crouched to the treaty though we secretly detested its principles; and thus

governed by fear, we unfortunately surrendered every neutral right to the unprincipled management of an expensive and unprofitable war.

So far from considering us as an omnipotent either in her marine or in her manufacturing power, she has no power in our hands, and is dependent as they are on the will of the British marine and her commerce. The principal articles of our commerce are principally imported from the British States, together with the raw materials of manufactures from the British States, together with the raw materials of our staple articles to the West Indies and within her own dominions, and the balance of trade, in the various departments of her commerce, as would (if a blockade stopped) strike a fatal blow to the revenue and mercantile transactions of that country. The benefits, arising from our commerce with England, are allowed by all the authors who have written on the subject, and the dread excited during the short period of our embargo, proves the propriety of its estimation in the American scale. Our embargo threw the whole exchange of London into consternation.

This principle was strongly urged in the State Conventions on the question of the constitution; it was ever considered the palladium of our national importance. Mr. John Adams (the late president) when in England, asserted, in my hearing, that the commerce of America was the most powerful weapon to attack Britain; and further declared, that if the United States would unite in a navigation act, that we could force the ministry to our own terms. These are sentiments which that gentleman articulated when residing at the court of St. James; he regretted that no commercial system was adopted by the American States, and often spoke with a degree of enthusiastic confidence on the power of this country to control the influence of Britain.

England, instead of being omnipotent, is in the power of Russia and America, who could (in alliance) enforce their demands, upon the most extensive principles. These two countries are the locks which invigorate the strength of this vindictive Sampson; a vigorous determination to maintain their neutral rights, would operate too powerfully on the funds, the manufactures, and the people at large, to be treated with levity. It would press with a ponderancy which could not easily be shaken off, and the various interests of the British nation would experience such a convulsion, as to alarm the ministry for the political and commercial existence of the government.

The treaty, lately concluded between England and Russia, sufficiently evinces the apprehensions of England on the Northern confederacy. Russia being the principal nation dreaded by Britain, the terms concluded on are highly favorable to the neutral position of that country. It is founded on liberal principles, and brings the business respecting the navigation of their respective subjects to a precise explanation; it determines without any equivocation, the specific articles of contraband; it declares in the most express manner what characterizes a blockaded port; that their vessels shall not be stopped but upon just cause, and evident fact; that the right of search shall be confined solely to ships of war, and shall never extend to privateers, or any other vessels, though armed for the purpose of war. Every precaution is taken to prevent any ill consequences by the meeting of their respective ships of war; they shall keep out of the reach of cannon shot, and the commander of the belligerent vessel shall send a boat on board the conveying ship, and the utmost order and regularity are provided in proceeding on the examination. If there appears a reasonable suspicion for search, the commander of the convoy has a privilege to nominate and appoint one or more officers to assist in searching, which shall be done in his presence, conjointly with one or more officers named by the commander of the vessel of the belligerent party. If just and sufficient reason appear for detention, the commander of the conveying ship shall have power to order an officer to remain on board during its legal investigation, which shall take place in the nearest and most convenient port, and be proceeded to with all possible dispatch. If, upon further examination it shall appear that the said vessel was detained without just and sufficient cause, the commander shall be accountable not only to the owners of the ship and cargo for all full and satisfactory compensation for all losses, charges, damages and expenses, occasioned by such detention, but shall be liable to punishment for all acts of violence or any other fault, which he may have committed.

These are the principal outlines of the Russian and British treaty. The parties are secured in their property by the most minute detail in all their procedure: the contraband articles specified; the search limited; the term blockade accurately defined; and to prevent a wanton detention, the captives are liable to cost, damages, and punishment.

Where now is the boast of the Anglo-Federalists, in the United States? In what particular has England gained an advantage over Russia? Their trade is admitted upon the most extensive principles, as it relates to the property of its own subjects, nothing is left to chance in a court of law, nor depends on vague authorities, promulgated by interested judges. The treaty stands on a permanent basis, and the subjects of both countries know how far to pursue their commerce, by an inviolable guarantee, as to the articles of condemnation.

The Anglo-Federalists, while exulting at the advantages gained by Britain over Russia, absurdly eulogize the blessings of our treaty with England. If Russia is imposed on, what must be our situation? If their negotiation has increased the power of England over the sea, what must be the extent of our surrender?—Nearly every point which is explicitly laid down in one, is omitted in the other our contraband articles are extended; the term blockade is undefined; our trade is exposed not only to a ship of war, but privateers; and to complete the whole, even if the capture is unjust, the poor American is obliged to pay costs of suit. In short to compare the Russian treaty with the American, will give us the strongest abhorrence of this instrument.

We have not only surrendered those neutral rights guaranteed to Russia, but we have exposed ourselves to innumerable difficulties, attached to other articles in this compact. We have restrained ourselves from laying any further duties on their manufactures, without countervailing ones on their part; we have subjected ourselves to heavy demands for old debts, contracted by private merchants; we have placed English factors and temporary residents on a footing with our own merchants. They have a right not only to reside, but to purchase stores, houses and shops. To remain "without limitation of time," to continue among us should we ever be "in open rupture with England"—and to complete the whole, provided their conduct should render them "suspected of being enemies to the country," have a right by treaty to remain "twelve months" before they can be removed, and during this period of their enmity, are to enjoy every commercial privilege, with our own citizens; whereas the Russian treaty explicitly declares that "travelling merchants and hawkers shall not be suffered, but considered as smugglers." We have in fact not only sacrificed our neutral commerce, but have also closed ourselves from using those means, which the commercial resources of this country abundantly furnish in case of future emergencies. The truth is, we have given up all and gained nothing; we have established a pretended legal plea, which operates just as the judges see fit to use it. The treaty is the doom's-day book, by which we are judged, and its terrors are denounced in almost every transaction since its adoption.

The subject is so mortifying, that it is wounding to the feelings of an American to contemplate it; yet as it has produced consequences so fatal, it is our duty to lament over them, even though the reflections are poignant to our bosoms. It is a curse entailed on us and our children, and posterity will execrate its remembrance. "This is the Demon, which has palsied the energies of the United States."

NEW-YORK, October 25.

Capt. Hammond, from St. Petersburg, informs, that the Russians were making every preparation for war; that 5 sail of the line were hauled out of the mole at Cronstadt, and ready to sail at a moment's warning; that there were in the harbour about 20 sail of the line, most of which were getting ready for sea; that one ship of the line and two frigates were launched at Petersburg the latter part of July; that three Russian frigates were cruising in the Baltic; and, that at present the Russian army consisted of 600,000 men. A war with France was considered inevitable. A number of British ships had been taken up for the conveyance of troops to Lubec.

LATE FROM FRANCE.

We mentioned in yesterday's paper, that we had received Bordeaux papers to the 12th of September. On a perusal of these papers we do not observe the official declaration of war by certain powers on the continent against France; but by the subjoined extracts we may observe that the event is not distant.

Extracts from Bordeaux papers to the 12th of September, received at the office of the New-York Gazette.

Paris, Sept. 1.—The Count de Cobentzel, ambassador from Austria, is here daily.

They write from Madrid that the king has rendered public the recipe of Doctor Lafuente against the yellow-fever; it consists of taking from eight to ten ounces of quinquina within the first 48 hours, after the attack; the disorder loses all its malignity. The doctor has given a volume of cases attested by the public authorities.

The immediate return of the Emperor

to St. Cloud is announced, but it is not believed that he will remain long there.

Paris, Sept. 2.—His excellency the minister of foreign affairs arrived at the imperial camp at Boulogne in the night between the 11th and 12th Fructidor, and on the morning of the 12th transacted business with the Emperor.

That part of the imperial guard stationed at Paris has departed for Strasburgh, the companies of chasseurs will march to-day, and the grenadiers to-morrow.

His excellency marshal Massena is gone to Italy, to take the command of the French army.

It is reported that a body of French troops has entered Naples.

Sept. 3.—Yesterday, at two o'clock, an extraordinary sitting of the conservative senate was held under the presidency of the arch-chancellor of the empire.

His majesty the emperor arrived at Mulmaison this morning.

Sept. 4.—It is generally believed that the Senate on Monday discussed the propriety of restoring the old calendar after the 1st of January next.

Paris, Sept. 5.—The division under General Oudinot, of 8000 grenadiers, composing the advanced guard, passed by forced marches on the 2d inst. through Cambria, and was followed by four other divisions of 9000 men each.

By an imperial decree of the 9th Messidor, the island of Elba is re-united to the department of Corsica.

The combined squadrons left Ferrol on the 16th Thermidor, and entered Cadiz on the 4th Fructidor. Admiral Collingwood, with four ships and a frigate, entered the roads the same morning.

On the 14th inst. (Sept. 1st) the first division of the armed body commanded by marshal Daoust, arrived at Lille, and continued on the day following their march towards the Rhine. Three regiments of horse-chasseurs and two regiments of hussars have also passed through that city on the same destination.

Boulogne, Aug. 31.—That part of the French army on the sea coast, which has departed for the Rhine, marched in columns, in the same orders which is practised in the camps; so that, when they arrive on the theatre of war, they will be found all formed and disposed for the operations of the campaign. A finer army was never seen, one more impatient for battle, or more animated with the presage of certain victory.

Strasbourg, Aug. 30.—The new organization of the Austrian troops has been successfully effected. All the regiments of infantry will be composed of five battalions and one of grenadiers. The last will have 600, and each of the other battalions 800 men.

According to the German papers the negotiations between France and Austria continue without interruption. The same papers speak continually of the great movements making by the Russian troops in dividant Poland. They state as certain that an army is forming there, but of its number, & object, or by whom it is to be commanded, they are uninformed.

Strasbourg, Sept. 1.—They write from Ratisbon that the French charge des affaires on the 25th of August, transmitted to the ministers and envoys resident in that city a note, the substance of which is, that the Emperor of the French has found it necessary to direct his attention to the movements of the troops and the re-assembling the armies in Tyrol and on the frontiers of Italy; that he wishes to preserve his confidence in the pacific sentiments of Austria, but that he cannot dispense with demanding an explanation of the movements which are in agitation; that if this explanation should be unsatisfactory, a French army shall pass the Rhine, but that the princes and states of Germany may reckon upon the friendship of France, which has been manifested upon every occasion, and of which so many proofs have been given, &c.

We are assured that the note by which these explanations have been demanded has been presented to the court of Vienna, whose answer we wait for with the utmost anxiety.

In the mean time we know generally that the Austrian army formed at Wells, near Lintz, in Upper Austria, has crossed the Inn, and taken military positions in Bavaria. We know also that the court of Munich has been officially informed of this measure.

Genoa, Aug. 24.—We have received news from Toulon of the arrival in that port of the squadron under the orders of M. Jerome Buonaparte. His progress has been retarded by tempestuous weather.

Florence, Aug. 17.—An Austrian courier arrived here from Naples brings intelligence that the court had quitted the capital, and had retired to Palermo. At the departure of the same courier a considerable fleet lay before Naples, but he was ignorant to what nation it belonged. The armed force under the orders of General Saint-Cyr is concentrated in the two Abruzzes.

We are assured that the king of the Two Sicilies, on being solicited to take a part in the differences which exist between