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From a Paris Paper.

THIRD ADDRESS TO THE BRITISH NATION

A Pamphlet has lately appeared from one of your presses, said to be written under the sanction of your Ministry, and which from the notice taken of it in the journals voted to your Administration, must at least be countenanced by them.

The history of the political relations of all Nations had taught us, that interest considerations too often entered into the discussions of Cabinets, and decided the fate of Empires. Still there had been always reserved some regard for those moral principles which ought to form the basis of the intercourse of Nations.

The most bitter aspersions your enemies have been mild, compared to the infamous confessions of your friends. No Nation had conceived against your Ministry opinions so unfavourable.

Leaving as untenable ground the question of right, knowing, as he well did, that Neutrals had already submitted to more than he could maintain on this point, he enters into a cool and infamous calculation of interest, and treats of the rights and privileges of Neutrals and independent Nations, as he would of a speculation in Sugar or Coffee.

The only argument of a moment advanced to show that it is the interest of Great-Britain to shake off the shackles of justice, public faith and morality, is that the Neutrals (that is, the Americans; they alone are intended) bring the produce of their enemy's Colonies to market so much cheaper, that they undersell the West-India merchants of Great-Britain, and thus ruin the Planters in their Caribbee Islands.

As to the preservation of the Caribbee Islands from destruction, that Great-Britain will force America into a war. And have our Ministry so soon forgotten, the distress which prevailed in the Caribbee Islands a year, when the American trade was on for one moment suspended?

they could strike a deep blow your commerce, could supply themselves with all the articles of foreign produce at a cheaper rate than you had them yourselves. At could they now do, with an increased capital 5 times greater than at that period, in 80,000 seamen, with a small but excellent marine, and with the capacity to equip 100 ships of the line in one year for the defence of their sea coast.

Massachusetts alone bring into the field in three days 35,000 disciplined Militia, armed and equipped, capable of doing service equal to the Volunteers of St. James's, but hardy Yeomen, accustomed to labour and hardships, such as the Duke of Northumberland saw at Bunkershill, and such heroes as surrounded Burgoyne at Saratoga.

But we are said to be divided!—We are so, as to internal politics, but as to resistance to foreign insults we are but one sentiment.—Mr. Jefferson bears the national sword, and if it be once drawn in defence of our commercial rights, his internal political enemies will be the first to support him.—Besides, a man we should notice our internal divisions an obstacle to a contest with Great-Britain knows nothing of your internal politics.

We are then united on this question, and Great-Britain will soon see, that a Nation who as feeble Colonies dared (about for 3 years) to brave her powers, will not long hesitate to avenge their injured rights against a Government, who indulgence of every sacred principle, should openly attack them.

But it is said we have not much revenue.—To be sure we are not so burdened and crushed with taxes as the people of Great-Britain; but a Nation is not rich in proportion to her revenues, but in proportion to her capacity to raise them. Let us examine our comparative strength. First, Great-Britain has 14,000,000 of subjects. We have 7,000,000 of citizens. Her national debt is 2,200,000,000 of Dollars, ours is 80,000,000, or in other words hers is 14 times greater than ours in proportion to numbers.

AN AMERICAN.

(1) The English Government has in the same manner, ever calculated upon reducing France by means of her intestine divisions and the exhaustion of her revenue. In March 1795, LORD AUCKLAND declared in the House of Lords, that the Committee of Public Safety in France had expended more in two months than the whole amount of the NATIONAL DEBT OF ENGLAND!

(2) We apprehend the Author may be mistaken here: the American coast may be easily blockaded as any other, by a Proclamation. (Idem.)

FOURTH ADDRESS TO THE BRITISH NATION.

"America will not go to war with us"

says your ministerial writer.—Have you so soon forgotten the origin of her last war with you? It was not to vindicate wrongs and injuries which she had received—it was simply to ward off those with which she was threatened.—It was not to get rid of obnoxious taxes, which you had already repealed, but to oblige you to renounce for ever your claim to impose them.—If then 1,500,000 poor, divided colonists, with unexampled courage braved alone for some years your rage, for the sake of maintaining an abstract principle of right, when the remaining sentiments of loyalty and dread of your power were in the scale against them, what will 7,000,000 of free citizens, inflamed by the most atrocious violations of their national rights, decide? Will they tamely submit without a struggle to laws as humiliating as, if vanquished, the conqueror could impose?

At the commencement of the American war, we fought you alone, single-handed, when you had no other enemy to contend with; and it was not until after we had vanquished and captured one of your armies that France even promised us succour. Yet it is pretended, that at a moment when every maritime Nation of Europe is against you, we dare not enter the field with you. No! People of Great-Britain, your ministry themselves do not believe this nonsense.

The real question then, is reduced to this, is a war with the United States preferable to an honest neutrality? to an indulgence to this Neutral Nation, to exercise its lawful rights, the rights which God and Nature have assured to all Nations? What benefit could G. Britain derive from a war which will balance the eternal infamy attached to its injustice?

America is not the country most congenial to British laurels. The climate is too warm, and however verdant they may be at the moment of transplantation, they always fade.—Scarcely an heroic in your armies, who gathered laurels in your plains or on our mountains, who did not see them wither at Saratoga, or within the walls of Yorktown.

It is to be presumed therefore we shall hear no more of landed expeditions.

I much doubt whether your maritime advantages, for which alone you undertake the war will be much greater.—It is a fact, perhaps not generally known to you, that the State of Massachusetts alone took 1100 of your ships during the colonial war.

Massachusetts then possessed but 300,000 inhabitants and about 100,000 tons of shipping. She now possesses 500,000 inhabitants, and 350,000 tons of shipping.

The United States could then equip, during the whole war, but three or four frigates. Their present establishment consists of ten stout frigates, and they have the means of equipping and manning in 4 months 50 more, if exigencies should require it.

The plan of blockading 1600 miles of sea coast by frigates, would become impossible, and the American commerce would still rival yours notwithstanding your hostility.

But the loss sustained by your Manufacturers enters for nothing with you in your estimate of the consequences. What! then if all the ports of Europe and America are shut to you, your productions will still find their way without injury to you, into every country of the Globe! Admitting for a moment this absurd doctrine, do you count for nothing, the shock which will be given to your manufacturing towns by the first effects of the stoppage? Do you estimate as of no moment the bankruptcies of Capitalists, and the groans of the poor, deprived of their daily bread?—Do you consider as of little importance the suspension of all remittances from the United States? Will 30,000,000 of dollars suddenly withdrawn from the usual supplies of your manufacturing shops produce no sensation? If the Americans have not patriotism enough to forego wholly the use of your manufactures, which, I insist, are not necessary to them, it is to be hoped they have sufficient to suspend importations, till the existing two years stock which they always keep, be consumed.

But you miscalculate grossly the spirit of the American People in supposing they cannot forego the luxuries you send them.—There is not one article which America imports from you which she cannot manufacture.—Nay, there is not one which she does not, or has not at some period or other, manufactured. The two great staple articles necessary in America are woollen and cotton goods.—Possessing these, she can forego all others. America can raise wool enough for her own consumption any year she pleases. And you know, that her cotton has become a drug in your market. She has already established woollen and cotton manufactories, and she is in possession of all your mechanism necessary to render them profitable.

All your reasoning in favour of your manufactures, is predicated upon the idea that you can undersell other Nations, and therefore that they will buy of you—but you forget, that a war, forcing a circuitous trade, and in-

creased risques, enhances the price of your manufactures, and offers a premium to domestic industry. In the late war, British Goods in America sold at three for one upon the cost; and are you foolish enough to believe that we cannot manufacture at a cheaper rate than that?

We have now three times the number of inhabitants and five times the capital we had in that war; and how can these objects be more profitably employed than in manufacturing woollen cloths, when yours will cost us three hundred per cent above the manufacturing price?

Besides, do you reckon for nothing the supplies we can draw from Europe? France now furnishes us many articles, and among others not a few woollen cloths. Germany supplies us with many linen goods—and Italy with silks. The commerce of these Countries will flourish by the increased demand which we should make upon them, and, I repeat it, it is not in the power of Great-Britain, though her ships cover the Ocean, to prevent the enterprising sailors of America from navigating the Atlantic.

If immense fleets have been able to elude the vigilance of your squadrons, and traverse the Ocean for months without encountering your fleets, how easy is it for single, detached, fast-sailing vessels to carry on a sure and profitable commerce? Recollect once for all, that America lies on the only road to the Antilles and Caribbees, and that your commerce is a thousand times more exposed to her strokes than hers is to yours.

But this ministerial writer has the effrontery to say, that America would have too much honor to confiscate the British property, existing in private credits and public contracts.

What! a Nation sets up the claims of honor who avowedly makes war on a calculation of profit. Who, acknowledging implicitly that she has no cause even of discontent with the other Nation, avows that she must fight her, because it is more for her pecuniary interest than to be at peace. Can such a Nation pretend to claim protection from the honor, the sense of justice of the other? Away with such ridiculous appeals to principles which you have been the first to despise. America, jealous of her good faith, would have been the last to enter into so shameful a contest? but she will also be the first to follow an example which your perfidy will have rendered necessary to her safety.

To all your future losses in trade—to the loss of your national character, you must therefore add the total loss of 30,000,000 of dollars due from citizens of the United States, and 45,000,000 due from the Government of the U. States to your subjects.

The appeal is now about to be made to Europe, to the world. If by a timely dismissal of those who have given these pernicious counsels, you prove that you are not the partakers in their unjustifiable and perfidious views, it is possible that you may preserve your station in the opinions of other Nations—but if, setting at defiance every principle hitherto held sacred, if avowing that you know no other rule but your interest—no other law but your power, you make a wanton attack on the commerce of the United States, you will soon learn that what I have predicted is more than mere prophecy.

You will reap in the distress of your manufactures, the ruin of your commerce, and in the execration of both hemispheres the rewards which such unprincipled conduct will in such a case most richly merit.

AN AMERICAN.

NEW-YORK, June 25.

Messrs. Long & Turner.—The enterprise of Gen. Miranda in my ship Leander, having excited considerable interest and attention in the public mind, which has for some time past been deceived by various ridiculous and unfounded rumours, I think it proper to give publicity to the following extract of a letter I have just received from a gentleman of respectability on board the Leander, the correctness of which may be relied on.

Your very humble servant, SAMUEL G. OGDEN.

Extract of a letter dated Grenada, 27th May, from a gentleman on board the Leander, to Samuel G. Ogden.

"We left Jacquemel on the 27th of March, arrived at the Island of Aruba on the 9th of April, where, after taking in sufficient water, we sailed on the 15th of April, and being off the Main on the 27th near Porto Cavallo, we fell in with a Spanish brig of 20 guns and a schooner of 16; by both of which we were attacked, and had an action of half an hour, but no apparent damage done on either side. However, during the contest, we were so unfortunate as to lose two schooners we had chartered at Jacquemel, on board of which vessels were about 60 men. This circumstance was occasioned by these schooners falling to leeward, and our not being able to separate the brig from the schooner, in which case we certainly should have saved our little convoy.

"However, to remedy this evil, we immediately determined to go to Trinidad, to

* The Leander's force is 17 nine pounders.