

# THE RALEIGH MINERVA.

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From the Federal Republican.

St. Domingo.

The Proclamation of Petion, containing his manifesto against Rigaud, may be looked upon as a signal for another civil war in that devoted island. The reader will recollect that Rigaud had lately taken measures for rendering himself independent of Petion, and that the command of civil and military, of a district about Aux Cayes, was conferred upon him by a popular meeting.

Communicated and translated for the Federal Republican.

ALEXANDER PETION,

PRESIDENT OF HAYTI.

To the People and the Army,

I have thought it expedient to enlighten my fellow citizens and the army, respecting my proceedings during the recent events that have occurred in the southern part of the republic; and I have delayed it until this moment, my motive was to recal men's minds to a point of conciliation and justice. Mildness, and a desire to spare the blood of my brethren have always formed the basis of my conduct; these are the reasons, operating so powerfully on my mind, that have particularly guided my steps, and have prevented me from arriving at the cruel extremity of shedding blood.

In the midst of the agitations by which we have been environed, occupied with the army on the expedition to the North under the orders of the brave Lamatre, disquieted by the movements of Goman in the South, having to fortify ourselves against the projects of invasion by Christophe, frequently disturbed by factions in the interior, exasperated by turbulent and unquiet minds, I have experienced the felicity of governing the vessel of the state without any violent commotions, of applying the enormous expences that the state requires, and of causing the authority of the government to be respected, at the head of which I was placed by the confidence of the people, without however having ever solicited it.

The arrival of General Rigaud in his native country was signalized by all the evidences of satisfaction that the idea of the misfortunes from which he had just escaped could inspire, and of holding amongst us a new defender of our rights; I employed him as a general of division against the insurgents of Grand Anse; and I calculated on his zeal to subdue them; tranquilized on that account, I exerted all my efforts to put the capital of the republic in a situation of security from insult, and to prepare the means of repulsing the army of Christophe, in the event of an attack.

All the citizens of the republic have been equal the object of my most lively solicitude; I have always exerted myself to make them happy, and to distinguish and reward merit amongst them. The army has never been considered otherwise by me, than as forming one; that of the south had been paid and clothed in the same manner, and at the same time with that of the west; the service and marches have not more directly weighed on the one than on the other portion; the civil administration, the inhabitants of the south have in every way the utmost facility provided for the promotion and security of their interests, and they have enjoyed particular advantages arising from their peculiar situation of being farther removed from the seat of war. They ought necessarily to concur in the public and general expences for the maintenance of the government; and it was strictly just that they should cooperate, and conform themselves to the vicissitudes of events.

It was under these circumstances, and at the moment when the grand crisis was approaching, by the fall of the Mole, when consequently all minds ought to have been united for the defence of the common cause, that certain individuals of the town of Aux Cayes were labouring to change the form of the government and to establish a primary and tumultuous assembly, the result of which has been the deposing of several public functionaries, and the declaration of a separation from the existing government. The principal object of my attention being the declared enemy of the government (Christophe) I refrained from using the forces against the authors of this first movement; I calculated that the presence of general Rigaud at Aux Cayes, would have recalled the people to tranquillity, and I was besides informed the arrondissement of Nippes had not participated therein. It was not until ascertaining with certainty that the schism was becoming organized and observing generals Bonnet and Lys abandon their posts to go to Aux Cayes, that I entered troops to march to the bridge of Miragoane, to concur in preserving the arrondissement of Nippes, and to prevent the effects of a fresh convocation, which was about to meet at Aquin; I even consented to the sending of a deputation of several notable citizens of Port-au Prince, who preceded the army, in order to expose to the chiefs of this new assembly into what an abyss they were about to precipitate us if they should persist in a proceeding as incomprehensible as this.

The conduct of this army, under the orders of the generals brigade, Delva, and Gedeon, and the most exalted eulogies for the order and discipline it displayed, and for its respect for property; for notwithstanding his privations, the army abstained from entering a single plantation on every a fowl, which is very contradictory to the design attributed, by the inhabitants of Aux Cayes, to this army, of envying them their pro-

erty. General Rigaud, who was at Aquin, dictated a written reply to the deputies from Port-au Prince, the sense of which was, that he acknowledged my authority as president of Hayti, and he engaged general Delva to retreat with his army without the limits of that arrondissement: In consequence, I determined to go myself to the bridge of Miragoane, to confer there with general Rigaud: this interview took place the 2d December; it passed, on my part, with the greatest frankness and loyalty; and I represented to him all the reasons which ought to induce an union of all minds.

I preferred this amicable method rather than to make use of the forces I had assembled; they were sufficiently imposing, and in the disposition to make my authority respected, if I had been willing to make any other use of them than what I did.—I was very soon after recalled to Port-au Prince, by the appearance of a deputation from Christophe, who, being apprized of the divisions that existed in the republic wished to embrace the opportunity of profiting thereby; this event has only tended to confirm me, that the measures of wisdom and prudence I had adopted, and which were in conformity to my principles, had preserved us from greater misfortunes.

I wrote to general Rigaud the 18th December: my letter bears the impression of the purity of my intentions and the sincere desire I have of uniting all hearts in one object, and of not losing the precious moments for our preservation, and of giving scope to the passions of men. I thought it necessary to add some explications in a second letter, dated the 4th January last, and pointed out an assembly at Leogane, of citizens distinguished for their wisdom, to labour in consolidating a mutual confidence and rendering our country happy.

I have to regret that my proceedings have encountered a determined resistance. The inhabitants of Aux Cayes met in the assembly for the department.—It will never enter into the mind of any reasonable being, to approve of principles so contrary to public and private interest. Alas, who does not see all the consequences to be feared from such obstinacy! I cannot persuade myself it obtains the general consent of the inhabitants of the South, who have too much reason to recollect the accumulated miseries to which they were so cruelly subjected in the civil war, and which they would seem desirous of drawing down afresh on their heads, by a conduct so opposed to their true interests. As the depositary of their authority, I will not cease to watch over the welfare and happiness of my fellow citizens in general; my prudence and firmness will invariably tend to preserve them from every danger and to maintain those precious advantages of liberty and equality, which constitute the unshaken basis of the state. Seconded by the concurrence of the people and the army, I will take the most proper measure to disconcert the projects of our enemies, and I will consult with pleasure the public opinion respecting every thing that can make us happy.

I have experienced on the part of the generals and the army, in these recent circumstances, proofs of their devotedness to the country, and peculiar attachments to my person, which excite my most lively acknowledgments.

The commandants of Arrondissements and Places, the Inspectors of Culture and the Gardes Nationales, have disputed in emulations of zeal to fly to the succour of the republic and the maintenance of internal peace; their conduct is worthy of the highest praise.

All the citizens have concurred in general to second the government, and have a right to claim our gratitude.

What ought I not to expect, with such means to encourage the mind against every fear of the enemy and of the future? Moreover, in recommending to each individual to hold himself ready to fly to the frontier at the first fire of the alarm gun, it is only to tell him, *I call you to Victory.*

(Signed) PETION.  
Given at the National Palace at Port au Prince, 1st Feb. 1811, 8th year of the Independence.

From the National Intelligencer of April 18.

A MISTAKE!

The American politicians in England, and the English politicians in America, have run into an error on the subject of the orders in council. They take it for granted that if France has not repealed her edicts, there is no obligation on Great Britain to rescind her orders; as if the orders themselves, without any reference to France, were not a violent outrage on neutral rights! And all they attempt to prove is, that the French emperor has not revoked his decrees; and that, they allege, justifies the continuance of the orders in council. If John is a rogue, and James proves it on him, John's friends exculpate him by proving Nick a rogue too. Such is the logick of the federal leaders!

The truth is this:—The United States all along protested against the infraction of their neutral rights by the nation at war; but they were not so silly as to go a crusading against the whole world. They, nevertheless, always declared, if there were but one enemy, they would actively assert their rights against that one. In this policy and spirit the act of May 1810 was passed; presenting to Great Britain and to France an equal opportunity of escaping from the alternative of being the one nation against which the U. States would actively direct their energies. France seized the occasion, abandoned her edicts as far as

they affected real American commerce; and as the United States had uniformly declared they would (the offender being single) the president and congress commenced an active resistance, by a system of non-intercourse against the orders in council: Great Britain refusing the invitation held out in the act of May 1810. But Great Britain insists that France has not done enough; and that until the emperor does us more right, his Britannick majesty will do us more wrong. This may be kind; and it is certainly cunning; for, after having got our own right from France, if we push the point further it must be to gain something that is beneficial to England. This something is the introduction of British manufactures into France in American vessels: and this is the actual state of the question. Thus it is that Great Britain sets a price upon justice; and turns her maritime outrages into merchantable commodity! We thank God that we have a president too enlightened, a congress too firm, and a yeomanry too virtuous, to permit this nation to turn factor in so shameful a traffick. If our friendship and a free commercial intercourse with the United States, under the law of neutrality, be not sufficient to impel Great Britain to respect the rights of neutrals, in our behalf, there would be no safety for us in offering, to a government so unprincipled, any further inducement.

The above most extraordinary paragraph is copied from the National Intelligencer of the 18th instant. Upon two or three of the passages we will take the liberty of briefly remarking.

"The truth is this:—The United States all along protested against the infraction of their neutral rights by the nations at war."

No, Mr. Intelligencer, the truth is not this, nor any thing like this. The Berlin decree, that most atrocious outrage against the law of nations and an existing treaty was never protested against by our government until it had been twelve months in operation, and produced from Great Britain the retaliatory orders in council. All that was done in regard to that decree was, to inquire of some member of the French cabinet whether it would be executed in such a way as to violate the provisions of the treaty then existing between the two nations.—The Frenchman gave an evasive answer, in which he said he supposed [je pense] that the emperor did not intend to violate his treaty; but that the proper person to answer such a question was the minister of exterior relations; and there the matter rested without further inquiry, protest, or remonstrance. It is said, however, in another part of the same Intelligencer, "that the novel blockades and orders in council of the British gave birth to the French decrees." The only order of this description, which is now talked about, is that of May 1806. Has this been "all along protested against" as intruding upon our neutral rights? So far from it, that the subject does not appear to have been mentioned by our government until since the passage of the act of congress of May last. Mr. Madison never dreamt of its being an infraction of our neutral rights when he agreed to his arrangement with Mr. Erskine. Otherwise, the signing of that arrangement, without having protested against the order and stipulated for a removal of it, was a high crime and misdemeanour, deserving of impeachment and exemplary punishment. In a practical point of view, it was certainly no infraction of our rights; for the public records will shew that at no period was American commerce so prosperous and lucrative as from the issue of that order until sometime after the publication and enforcing of the Berlin decree. So that whether the Berlin decree or the order of 1806 be considered as the original aggression, it is not true that "the United States all along protested against the infraction of their neutral rights." But it is true, that our government have materially shifted their ground; that they have made new demands upon the British government as preliminary to an adjustment of differences, and have come upon terms of amity with France, without her having complied with any one of those which were originally made upon her.

"France seized the occasion; abandoned her edicts as far as they affected real American commerce," &c.—"After having got our own right from France, if we push the point further it must be to gain something that is beneficial to England."

So then, we have gained from France all that we have a right to ask on our own account; and the information is derived from the official gazette of the government! Of course, we have no right to a restitution of the millions of American property seized and confiscated under the pretended principle of reprisal; we have no right to demand a restoration of our ships and cargoes held in sequestration from the 2d of November as a pledge for our enforcing the non-importation against Great Britain after the 2d of February; and, in fine, we have no right, now that we have so enforced the law, either to a restitution of the plunder hitherto acquired, or even to a cessation of robbery in future. The French decrees had in no degree ceased to violate our neutral commerce, as late as the middle of March. Yet we have got our own right from France; and G. Britain is now the "single offender."

This being, apparently, the decision of the government, it is not for us to gainsay. But we must once more remind our rulers that when they enforced their non-intercourse act against both the belligerents, France considered it as a hostile aggression and commenced an active and spirited retaliation. Now that Great Britain is singled

out and made the sole object of all the offensive provisions of that act, they can no longer expect that she will abstain from retaliation, and we do not expect that such retaliation will be quiesced in, as in the case of France, by our administration.—Consequently, active resistance or passive submission must be prepared for. While such prospects before us, it is high time that some provision should be making for the approaching storm. If we are to be plunged into a war, we have a right to demand that we also be placed in a posture of defence, and that the necessary resources be provided without delay. In that case, we shall make battle as well as we can, till we are completely worn out of it. But let them beware of wantonly provoking a war without preparation to sustain it with spirit and vigour. A war of mere passive suffering, for the assertion of an abstract, theoretical principle, against one belligerent power, while we are distressed by the actual robberies of the other, will never be borne by a brave and high spirited people like this, simply for the gratification of "any man, or set of men, under heaven."—U. States Gazette.

FROM THE AURORA.

Commerce with French.—We have received several files of French newspapers, and have read letters down to the 10th March from Bordeaux. The papers exhibit in the ordinary shipping news, the daily entrance and the daily departure of American vessels: and the advertisements of vessels for freight, and passengers for the United States.

Yet in the letters we find information of such restrictions on commerce, both on entrance and exit, as forms in itself an apparent contradiction of the *prima facie* evidence of the newspapers.

Some letters, however, which we have seen, attribute the course pursued by the French government to the want of confidence in the stability and good faith of the American government.

How far the French government are authorised by the actual course of our public measures, to entertain such doubts, the public is as well able to determine as we are. The following are extracts of letters from Bordeaux, of the 18th February.

Bordeaux, Feb. 18, 1811.

"Several of the American vessels in this port have got permission to dispose of that part of their cargoes composed of the produce of the United States, that part which consists in colonial produce is to be disposed in the usual manner further orders."

ANOTHER.

"All produce of the soil of the U. States, is to be admitted, but no colonial produce. The collector of the custom house has orders, that the cargoes of all vessels outward, in exchange for the produce of their soil, must consist 1-3 in brandy and wine, 1-3 in silk, and 1-3 in other articles."

Here the principle of prohibition against colonial produce is placed in a state of suspense, that is, the positive law of France against the introduction of colonial produce on any terms is suspended, and the property held in deposit for ulterior decision.

American produce *bona fide* is admitted to sales with the condition annexed, that the proceeds shall be shipped in products of France in certain proportions.

Another letter dated the 11th March, says.

"The state of commerce here is rather precarious; American vessels with American cargoes have been hitherto admitted to enter without much difficulty, but the delay which takes place is very injurious; the papers of every vessel are sent up to Paris, and accompanied by a report of the chief of the customs here to the minister of the commercial department; who investigated the case anew, and makes a report to the emperor in person, at a council of commerce which is held not less than once, often twice and thrice a week. The decision of the emperor is in a few words, and is not uniform as to all ships, some being required to take one half cargo of certain articles, others of two several commodities, and others part and part miscellaneous. The orders just received from Paris are said to be more strict, and I have heard it from good authority that an impression has been made upon the emperor, that vast quantities of goods are preparing in England; even at this time, to be shipped for America, and that our government connives at it in disregard of their pledge to hold no intercourse. I have no doubt that some of those British prisoners who are on parole in all parts of France, and particularly at Paris, render their government much service by inducing such opinions, and their effects, we are, I fear, likely to feel. Great distrust is expressed of our government, nor are we treated as we used to be. Nothing will be done till an authenticated advice is received at Paris of the non-intercourse going into operation."

These letters, and we have seen others of the like tenor, shew the nature and cause of our commercial embarrassments in France; whether they will cease upon the arrival of advice of our non-importation law, is very questionable; for it is more than probable, that the trait of avarice which that law exhibits as paramount to the principles of national-honor and rights, will only tend to disgrace and degrade the American character and policy in the eyes of a man whose success in war must naturally have produced in his mind an imperious and decided tone of thought.

In the present state of things, and with the number of American vessels lately carried into England under the orders in council, the pros-