

declaration of war at this time. Should however, the legitimate authorities of our government decide on it, I hold myself bound, and I pledge myself to contribute everything in my power towards a favorable and successful termination of the contest. In addressing you now perhaps for the last time, I cannot forbear to express the unfeigned sense of gratitude I feel to those who have for fourteen years reposed their confidence in me; the impression on my heart will remain to the end of my life. I have said that I would continue to serve them as long as they should think proper to elect me, and I will not retract that promise, but I have no wish to be re-elected; I sincerely hope that the people of the district may elect some other person more capable.

The communication made by Mr. Madison to Congress in relation to a certain John Henry, an agent of the British government, has excited some interest in the public mind, principally on account of the sum of fifty thousand dollars paid to him by Mr. Madison. The payment of that sum to Henry being doubted by many, I deem it proper, in justice to all honest men who may entertain a doubt on the subject, to assert that it is a positive fact, which could not be denied by the Secretary of State, when lately examined by a committee of the Senate. It appears to be perfectly republican, now a days, to condemn whole classes of men in mass, without pretending to charge any specific facts, and not only without producing the witness, but stipulating with him, that he shall not be summoned to appear, and in fact giving him money to go off, and providing an national armed vessel to carry him to France at the public expense. That the administration should affect to have detected a plot in which our own citizens are vaguely implicated; should by their own act bring into question the fidelity to the nation, of a large proportion of a very large and most important section of the empire; should then, by pre-concert with the spy they have sought the information from, take measures to prevent any investigation of the matter; should deliberately and wilfully expose one part of the nation to the odium and suspicion of the rest, and take away at the same time all chance of detecting guilt or establishing innocence; should at the very eve of a contest which they profess a design to commence, exasperate immeasurably and incurably those very heart burnings, which it should be most their interest and their wish to allay; all this demonstrates a degree of folly so monstrous, that I can conceive nothing more grievous or alarming. As far as the English government is concerned, its conduct is on exactly a similar principle with that of our own administration in regard to East Florida; where we have had two agents, who appear to have succeeded much better than John Henry in the Eastern States. The ninth section of the constitution provides that no money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law. There is no law which by any forced construction, can sanction the payment of the fifty thousand dollars given to John Henry.

For my friends, who have so generously supported me in times of difficulty, against the denunciations, proscriptions and persecutions of certain persons (styling themselves Republicans, but whose actions pollute the name) I shall ever entertain the warmest affection and regard.

I remain, your friend, &c.  
EDWIN GRAY.

To the Editor of the Evening Post.  
WAR!

At this critical period I conceive it to be the duty of every citizen to avow by every means in his power the calamities and horrors of war; as an influential individual, perhaps I cannot do better than send you *Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Peace*. That Monroe, Monroe, Q. Heintz and Barlow, acting in their capacity of *French Citizens*, what they all are, and alive to their allegiance to the Emperor and King, should endeavor to compel this country to become partners to the Corsican Monster's schemes of ambition is no great matter of surprise; but that there should exist Americans (who unlike the before mentioned parties are not French Citizens) who wish this country to embark on the tempestuous sea of European politics, (which was laid the most powerful nations prostrate in the dust) by declaring war against G. Britain, and that for a mere matter of moonshine, which not one in a thousand understands, and which the country, as Mr. Jefferson says, will never obtain, must excite the astonishment of every well informed man in the community, but of none more than your constant reader,

OLIVER MARVELL.

Declaration of Peace by Thomas Jefferson late President of the United States. Citizen of France Member of Bonaparte's Legion of Honor, Idol of Democracy, &c. &c.

(From the American Philosophical Transactions.)  
Extract of a letter from Mr. Jefferson to Sir John Sinclair, President of the Board of Agriculture at London.

When I contemplate the extensive good which the proceedings under your direction are calculated to produce, I cannot but deplore every possibility of interruption. I am fixed in awe at the mighty conflict to which two great nations are advancing, and recoil with horror at the ferociousness of man. Will nations ever devise a more rational manner of difference than force? Are there no means of coercing justice more gratifying to our nature than a waste of the blood of thousands, and the labor of millions of our fellow creatures? We see numerous societies of men (the aborigines of this country) living together without the acknowledgment of other laws or magistracy. Yet they live in peace among themselves, and acts of violence and injury are as rare in their societies as in nations which keep the sword of the law in perpetual activity. Public reproach, a refusal of common offices, interdiction of the commerce and comforts of society, are found as essential as the coarser instrument of force. Nations, like these individuals, stand towards each other, only in the relations of natural right. Might they not, like them, be peaceably punished for violence and wrong? Wonderful has been the progress of human improvement in other times. Let us hope, then that the law of nature, which makes a virtuous conduct produce benefits and vice loss to the agent in the long run, which has sanctioned the

common principle, that honesty is the best policy, will in time influence the proceedings of nations as well as of individuals; and that we shall at length, be sensible that war is an instrument entirely inefficient towards redressing wrong; that it multiplies, instead of indemnifying losses. Had the money which has been spent in the present war been employed in making roads and conducting canals, of navigation and irrigation through the country, not a hovel in the remotest corner of the highlands of Scotland, or the mountains of Auvergne, would have been without a boat at its door, a rill of water in every field, and a road to its market town. Had the money we have lost by the lawless depredations of all the belligerent powers been employed in the same way, what would have been opened of roads and waters! Yet were we to go to war for redress, instead of redress, we would plunge deeper into loss, and disable ourselves for half a century more from attaining the same end. A war would cost us more than would cut through the Isthmus of Darien; and that of Suez might have been opened with what in a single year has been thrown away on the rock of Gibraltar. These truths are palpable, and must in the progress of time have their influence on the minds and conduct of nations. An evidence that we are advancing towards a better state of things, may be gathered from the public patronage of your labours, which tend evidently to ameliorate the condition of man. That they may meet the success they merit, I sincerely pray, and that you yourself may meet the patriot's best reward, the applauding voice of present and future time. Accept, I beseech you, mine, with assurances of the sentiments of great and sincere respect and esteem, with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.  
Charleston, December 11.

The Legislature of this State have adopted the Amendment to the Constitution, recommended by Congress to the several states, expatriating any citizen of the United States who shall receive or retain any title of nobility or honor, and accept or retain any present, pension, office or emolument of any kind whatever, from any emperor, king, prince or foreign power, without the consent of Congress.

Has Mr. Jefferson obtained leave from Congress to retain the title of Member of Bonaparte's Legion of Honor, and some of the members of the general government to certain presents which it is usual in French ministers to present to those influential persons in office with whom they have to transact important diplomatic business.

On Mr. Monroe being recalled from France in 1796, the Directory expressed their personal regard for him for the interest which during his residence in Paris he had shown for the welfare of the Republic—he as the Directory observed, not being implicated in the acts of George Washington—Honorable distinction!!!

Barlow was member of the French National Convention.

## Raleigh!

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1812.

### RALEIGH ACADEMY.

The half yearly examination of the students of this academy ended yesterday, having occupied a week. Expecting that the report of the Trustees will appear in our next, we shall now only observe that the number of students has never been so great, nor the situation of the institution so flourishing as at the present time.

That our readers may have an opportunity of examining the grounds on which the advocates for war in other states maintain their opinions, we this week insert the address to the public of a number of the democratic citizens of Philadelphia. This address presents, in a favorable light, the chief arguments yet advanced in support of actual hostilities. But very few will be convinced by them. The signers go back to the times of Columbus to seek for causes of incitement to noble daring and a brave contempt of danger. Most unfortunate example! All men know that the reward of the great adventurer's toil was a dungeon, and the gratitude of the power to which he had added immense wealth and dazzling splendor, ignominious fetters and bondage. This should be a warning to be careful how we rush forth to fight the battles of a despot, who for the services rendered him, may require us with the yoke of slavery.

One expression in the address seems peculiarly apropos. The terms "desert ocean," are used—Alas! it is too true, that the ocean, once a fertile plain and an exhaustless mine to us, has by the wretched folly of our rulers, become a barren desert.

More Work for the mill and republican Governor Tompkins!

The Legislature of New-York assembled on the day to which it was prorogued by the Governor. It was determined to take up the business remaining unfinished when they were prorogued, and proceed with it as though they had continued in session. We now learn by letters from Albany that the Six Million Bank law has passed the Senate. It will be recollected that it had passed the other house before the prorogation.

Wm. P. Van Ness, Esq. is appointed by the President and Senate a District Judge of the State of New-York, under the law lately passed authorizing the appointment of an additional Judge.

It appears, that Cherys, Lowndes and Williams absented themselves from the Caucus, which nominated Madison and Langdon for President and Vice-President. There can be no doubt that this proceeded from disapprobation of the principal candidate. Another symptom of disaffection in South Carolina, is the regular appearance of every attack

made by the Aurora upon the measures and omissions of the executive, in the Charleston City-Gazette, the most established democratic paper in the state. The same paper has ushered to the world a variety of original essays, demonstrating the expediency and practicability of elevating another president into Madison's place. The late nomination does not diminish the prospect of succeeding in the undertaking, for it was made by only 82 out of 178, the whole number of which the two houses are composed. In every calculation, however, which hitherto has been exhibited upon the idea of ousting Mr. Gallatin's president, the federalists are supposed to take an active part against him, and in favor of another, not of their own party. That by this means he might with certainty be exiled from Washington, we grant. But there would be more plausibility in the speculation, if it proceeded upon the passiveness of federalists.—They never will vote for the present Chief Magistrate because they condemn both his character and conduct, as irreconcilable with an administration of affairs which would admit of the enjoyment of only a tolerable degree of happiness and security. But what inducement have they to vote for any other political opponent? If they vote for another, they render security, as it were, for his future good behavior, and make themselves responsible for the injuries he may inflict. This would be a voluntary assumption of an unnecessary burthen, and excusable in any degree only by the consideration, that they thereby made a choice of one evil to a void a much greater. It is not clear, however, that this inducement exists. Supposing a preference in point of probity, disinterestedness and wisdom in the opponent of Madison, a thing to be taken for granted, two motives exist to dissuade federal interposition.—1st. Madison is rapidly destroying the party, which gives him support, and which if affairs follow the present course, will be compelled to submit to federal supremacy, or cling to the rotten and effete carcass, which will smite them with a contagion of death; and 2d. His mischievous views must speedily be counteracted by the wholesome restraints, which an awakened jealous people will place around him. Here again danger recurs. A feeble, dishonest, incapable intriguing administration may induce a mortification of the body politic, which cannot be averted or arrested, but may be precipitated by the solicitude employed to cure it. Thus we may lose the constitution by appointing an improper guardian of it.—*Bull. Fed. Republican.*

### CONNECTICUT.

The following extracts are from Governor Griswold's message to the Legislature.

Gentlemen of the Council,

Mr. Speaker, and  
Gentlemen of the House of Representatives.

A serious indisposition, with which I have pleased Heaven to afflict me, has prevented my meeting the General Assembly at the commencement of the present session, as usual on such occasions—but as my health is now improving, I have every reason to hope, that it will still be in my power to take a part in the public council, before the close of the session.

In the mean time, I have thought it my duty to inform his honor the Lieut. Governor of my acceptance of the office conferred upon me, and to take the qualification required by law. It is, however, with satisfaction I reflect, that my absence can make no important change in the business of the session. The wisdom of the Legislature, & the talents of his honor the Lieut. Governor will direct your deliberations to their proper objects, and I have no doubt, that the public business will be accurately dispatched. Under such circumstances, it will not be expected that I should make to you a detailed communication, on our public affairs; but, feeling in common with our fellow citizens, a deep interest in the novel and critical situation of our country, you must allow me to observe—

That the last six months do not appear to have produced any important change in the hostile aggressions of foreign nations, on the commerce of the United States. Now can the conduct of the two belligerent powers of Europe towards us, be distinguished in principle; unless, indeed, the proceeding of the one, in destroying the property of our merchants on the ocean, without even the semblance of judicial proceedings, have given a deeper shade to the profligacy of their depredations. Such, however, has been the character of both, that no circumstance can be discovered, which will justify a preference in favor of either.

Still, amidst the conflicts which agitate the world, the true interests of the United States remain the same. That interest is not prompted by any project of foreign conquests, but must arise from pursuing just views towards foreign nations, by organizing the national force, and particularly, by directing our great national efforts to the increase of that which is alone adapted to the defence of our maritime rights, and, by cultivating a spirit of justice and decision, which foreign nations must honor and respect. Such a system of policy, it is confidently believed, will, under the smiles of heaven, ultimately restore the U. States to their rank among the nations; give stability to our government; and real security to every fair pursuit, in which we may be engaged.

It is also with regret I have to observe, the plan of commercial restrictions, which was formerly adopted by our government, has not been abandoned; but its rigor has been increased by a new embargo. Few events could have more effectually injured our interests. The productions of our country, which for a considerable time had composed the great bulk of our trade, although of the first necessity, in consequence of the redundancy, were useless to ourselves, but of great value in foreign markets, and had produced a commerce of great importance to all parties. But this profitable trade has been abandoned; and even if the measure was to be viewed as the precursor of war, yet it ought to have been considered, that such a precursor can only be necessary for a short period, and were no other notice of the danger can be given; and that in this case, every person concerned in foreign trade, had been long apprized of the danger, if any existed; and that the interests of our country, demanded a continuance of every branch of the export trade, down to the last moment of peace.

But amidst every embarrassment, which has at

tended this system of our government, we have the consolation to observe, that it is attended with new proof of the attachment of our fellow citizens to the union, and the constitution of the U. States—an attachment which no embarrassments or privations can shake—and that the only redress which has been sought for the serious evils which we have experienced, has been pursuing measures warranted by the constitution.

Under such circumstances, it is still to be presumed that government will at last perceive the pernicious tendency of the restrictive system, and abandon every project connected with it.

An arrival at New York on Sunday last furnished to the Editors of the Mercantile Advertiser London papers to the 21st ult. The following is the most important article of information which they afford:

London, April 20.

Flag of Truce from France.—Yesterday morning a flag of truce arrived off Dover, with dispatches, which have since reached London. The receipt of this intelligence this morning had a visible effect upon the funds, which our readers will see by our list have somewhat advanced. From this it may be presumed, that the general impression was, that the dispatches might be considered as tending to lead some proposal for pacific negotiations; but of the nature of their real contents not a single word has been suffered to transpire from the government offices.

COMMUNICATED FOR THE WHIG.

Extract of a letter dated Paris, April 18, 1812.

The denouement of the mighty preparations opens every day more distinctly to one's view, and the most incredulous will now admit that the gigantic power and ambition of France are directed solely to the subjugation of the world. An army of 500,000 men and all Germany marching against Russia and to other conquests. France itself put into a new armor, which secures her internal tranquility, her frontiers from attack, and places every soldier of the line at the disposition of the emperor—add to this, the immense revenue of the empire; the most devoted & well disciplined troops, commanded by the ablest generals of the day—and you have a combination of means unparalleled even in history. New organizations are talked of, such as the reunion of Westphalia, and other confederations of the Rhine to the empire; Jerome to have either Prussia or Poland—the king of Prussia to become Duke of Silesia—and the dispossessed German princes to be equerries, chamberlains, &c. These speculations, which 15 years ago would have appeared ridiculous, are now reasonable, and require but the will of one person to verify them. France, however, is in the greatest distress, at this moment for the want of corn; in the provinces bread has more than quadrupled in price—and even in Paris (where every exertion is made to keep up the supply) the people are not able to pay the price, and it often happens, that not a loaf is to be had. Potatoes, rice, and such articles, rise in proportion. This want of bread creates serious alarms, and has already caused insurrections in several places. The discontented speak out, not withstanding the severity of the government.—It may be a question whether the emperor will think it safe to leave his empire under such circumstances.—I have no idea he will start before the campaign commences.

I have no knowledge of the state of affairs here; but I shall be very much astonished if the Hornet take out any thing other than fair promises. Mr. Barlow will, no doubt, tell his government that the *Wasp* will, without fail, carry out their accomplishment; but I would tell them, that if they were to send out swarms of Wasps and Hornets, they would all return home empty. It is not to be expected that our littleness will obtain from this omnipotence any advantage that would in the smallest degree, interfere with its system; if any thing were granted, it would be only with an object to throw us into a war with Great Britain, and when we got there, we might get along the best way we could.

I have been some late American papers filled with paragraphs about Mr. Barlow's reception, &c. To show you in what favor he is—two of Mr. Russell's messengers are now at Morlaix, and all his applications in their behalf remain unanswered. One of the messengers, Mr. Didier of Baltimore, has been there these two months—he would not give up his dispatches, but stood by them manfully—Barlow at last directed him to give them over to the police, and they came up to Paris in the Diligence!!! Since then col. Perkins has arrived at Morlaix with dispatches; he will be company to Didier—the Lord only knows how long they will remain. P's dispatches have not yet come up. I shall be happy when they arrive, as I have not letters from home later than the 24th of Dec. All letters coming from America are seized by the police, and the correspondence with England becomes daily more difficult.

### State Papers.

#### RELATIONS WITH FRANCE.

On the 26th ult. the President of the U. States communicated to congress copies and extracts from the correspondence of the Secretary of State and our Minister at Paris. We have only room for the documents which fell, leaving out the letters of instruction, and those from Mr. Barlow, mentioning his arrival, an unimportant interview with the Duke de Bassano, &c. The portion given will shew the present posture of our relations with France:

MR. BARLOW TO THE DUKE OF BASSANO.  
Extract of a letter from Mr. Barlow to the Duke of Bassano.

Paris, 10th November, 1811.

For all these considerations and others which I have had the honor to explain to your excellency in conversation, I am confident that I shall urge nothing contrary to the true interests of France, when I propose that his Majesty the Emperor and King should order a prompt and effectual execution of the arrangement of the 5th of August and 21 of November, in the true and liberal spirit in