

systems among those tribes. It is also well known that on all such occasions, abundant supplies of the ordinary munitions of war have been afforded by the agents of British commercial companies, and even from British garrisons, where with they were enabled to commence that system of sapon our frontiers, which has been at all times wage warfare indiscriminate in its effect, on all ages, sexes and conditions, and so revolting to humanity.

Your committee would be much gratified if they could close here the detail of British wrongs; but it is their duty to recite another act of still greater malignity, than any of those which have been already brought to your view. The attempt to dismember our Union and overthrow our excellent constitution, by a secret mission, the object of which was to foment discontents and excite insurrection against the constituted authorities and laws of the nation, as lately disclosed by the agent employed in it, affords full proof that there is no bound to the hostility of the British government towards the United States—no act, however unjustifiable, which it would not commit to accomplish their ruin. This attempt excites the greater horror from the consideration that it was made while the United States and Great Britain were at peace, and an amicable negotiation was depending between them for the accommodation of their differences through public ministers regularly authorized for the purpose.

The United States have beheld, with unexampled forbearance, this continued series of hostile encroachments on their rights and interests, in the hope, that yielding to the force of friendly remonstrances, often repeated, the British government might adopt a more just policy towards them; but that hope no longer exists. They have also weighed impartially the reasons which have been urged by the British government in vindication of these encroachments, and found in them neither justification or apology.

The British government has alleged in vindication of the orders in council that they were resorted to as a retaliation on France, for similar aggressions committed by her on our neutral trade with the British dominions. But how has this plea been supported? The duties of British and French aggressions are well known to the world. Their origin and progress have been marked with too wide and destructive a wast of the property of our fellow citizens, to have been forgotten. The decree of Berlin of Nov. 21st 1806, was the first aggression of France in the present war. Eighteen months had then elapsed, after the attack made by Great-Britain on our neutral trade, with the colonies of France and her allies, and six months from the date of the proclamation of May 1806. Even on the 7th Jan. 1807; the date of the first British order in council, so short a term had elapsed, after the Berlin decree, that it was hardly possible that the intelligence of it should have reached the United States. A retaliation, which is to produce its effect, by operating on a neutral power, ought not to be resorted to, till the neutral had justified it by a culpable acquiescence in the unlawful act of the other belligerent. It ought to be delayed until after sufficient time had been allowed to the neutral to remonstrate against the measure complained of, to receive an answer, and to act on it, which had not been done in the present instance; and when the order of Nov. 11th was issued, it is well known that a minister of France had declared to the minister plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, that it was not intended that the decree of Berlin should apply to the United States. It is equally well known that no American vessel had then been condemned under it, or seizure been made, with which the British government was acquainted. The facts prove incontrovertibly, that the measures of France, however unjustifiable in themselves, were nothing more than a pretext for those of England. And of the insufficiency of that pretext, ample proof has already been afforded by the British government itself and in the most impressive form. Although it was declared that the orders in council were retaliatory on France for her decrees, it was also declared, and in the orders themselves, that owing to the superiority of the British navy, by which the fleets of France and her allies were confined within their own ports, the French decrees were considered only as empty threats.

It is no justification of the wrongs of one power, that the like were committed by another; nor ought the fact, if true, to have been urged by either, as it could afford no proof of its love of justice, of its magnanimity, or even of its courage. It is more worthy the government of a great nation, to relieve than to assail the injured. Nor can a repetition of the wrongs by another power repair the violated rights, or wounded honor, of the injured party. An utter inability alone to resist, would justify a quiet surrender of our rights, and degrading submission to the will of others.

To that condition the United States are not reduced, nor do they fear it. That they ever consented to discuss with either power the misconduct of the other, is a proof of their love of peace, of their moderation, and of the hope which they still indulged that friendly appeals to just and generous sentiments would not be made to them in vain. But the motive was mistaken, if their forbearance was imputed, either to the want of a just sensibility to their wrongs, or of a determination, if suitable redress was not obtained, to resent them. The time has now arrived when this system of reasoning must cease. It would be insulting to repeat it. It would be degrading to hear it. The United States must act as an independent nation, and assert their rights and avenge their wrongs, according to their own estimate of them, with the party who commits them, holding it responsible for its own misdeeds unmitigated by those of another.

For the difference made between Great Britain and France, by the application of the non-importation act against England only, the motive has been already too often explained, and is too well known to require further illustration. In the commercial restrictions to which the United States resorted as an evidence of their sensibility, and a mild retaliation of their wrongs, they invariably placed both powers on the same footing, holding to each in respect to itself, the same accommodation, in case it accepted the condition offered, and in respect to the other, the same restraint, if it refused. Had the British government confirmed the arrangement, which was entered into with the British Minister, in 1809, and France maintained her decrees, with France would the United States have to resist, with the firmness belonging to their character, the continued violation of their rights. The committee do not hesitate to declare, that France has greatly injured the United States, and that satisfactory reparation has not yet been made for many of those injuries. But, that is a concern which the United States will look to and settle for themselves. The high character of the American people, is a sufficient pledge to the world, that they will not fail to settle it, on conditions which they have a right to claim.

More recently, the true policy of the British government towards the United States has been completely unfolded. It has been publicly declared by those in power, that the orders in council should not be repealed, until the French government had revoked all its internal restraints on the British commerce, and that the trade of the United States with France and her allies, should be prohibited until Great-Britain was also allowed to trade with them. By this declaration, it appears, that to satisfy the pretensions of the British government, the United States must join Great Britain in the war with France and prosecute the war, until France should be subdued, for without her subjugation, it were in vain to presume on such a concession. The hostility of the British government to these states has been still further disclosed.—It has been made manifest that the United States are considered by it as the commercial rival of Great Britain, and that their prosperity and growth are incompatible with her welfare. When all these circumstances are taken into consideration, it is impossible for your committee to doubt the motives which have governed the British Ministry in all its measures towards the United States since the year 1806. Equally is it impossible to doubt, longer, the course which the United States ought to pursue towards Great-Britain.

From this view of the multiplied wrongs of the British government since the commencement of the present war, it must be evident to the impartial world, that the contest which is now forced on the United States, is radically a contest for their sovereignty and independence. Your committee will not enlarge on any of the injuries, however great, which have had a transitory effect. They wish to call the attention of the House to those of a permanent nature only, which trench so deeply on our most important rights, and would so extensively and vitally our best interests, as could not fail to deprive the United States of the principal advantages of their revolution, if submitted to. One control of our commerce by Great Britain, in regulating at pleasure, and expelling it almost from the ocean; the oppressive manner in which these regulations have been carried into effect, by seizing and confiscating such of our vessels, with their cargoes, as were said to have violated her edicts, often without previous warning of their danger; the impressment of our citizens from on board our own vessels, on the high seas, and elsewhere, and holding them in bondage until it suited the convenience of their oppressors to deliver them up, are encroachments of that high and dangerous tendency which could not fail to produce that pernicious effect, nor would those be the only consequences that would result from it.

The British government might, for a while be satisfied with the ascendancy thus gained over us, but its pretensions would soon increase. The proof, which so complete and disgraceful a submission to its authority, would afford of our degeneracy, could not fail to inspire confidence that there was no limit to which its usurpations, and our degradation might no be carried.

Your committee, believing that the free-born sons of America are worthy to enjoy the liberty which their fathers purchased at the price of so much blood and treasure, and seeing, in the measures adopted by Great Britain, a course commenced and persisted in which might lead to a loss of national character and independence, feel no hesitation in advising resistance by force, in which the Americans of the present day will prove to the enemy and to the world, that we have not only inherited that liberty which our fathers gave us, but also the will and power to maintain it. Relying on the patriotism of the nation, and confidently trusting that the Lord of Hosts will go with us to battle in a righteous cause, and crown our efforts with success—your committee recommend AN IMMEDIATE APPEAL TO ARMS.

From the United States Gazette

THE TIME FOR DECISION.

The constituted authorities of these United States have passed a law declaring that war exists between the United States and Great Britain, and nobody can doubt that this law places the two countries in a state of war. But this act of the government, certainly lawful and therefore obligatory on us, however unwise, has been followed, and was indeed preceded, by dispositions, in some of its partisans, that are equally unlawful and abominable. Menaces of the most intemperate kind are thrown out, in the very spirit and language of French proscription, against those who shall now presume to express a disapprobation of this momentous measure, and expose its consummate folly and injustice. It is even more strange that some of those who have most conscientiously opposed this war, and still hold it in abhorrence, doubt, or affect to doubt, the propriety of uttering their sentiments; and indulge in an unmeaning cant about the necessity of "supporting the government now we are at war."—I say unmeaning cant, as now used. I would ask the gentlemen, both those who threaten and those who shrink, what there is in a law declaring war, I would say creating war, which prohibits or suspends the right held (and held to be enjoyed) by every citizen of the United States, of investigating freely the policy of every law imposed upon him; of endeavouring to prevent the completion of any proposed measure by all the means of argument and eloquence in his power, if he deems it injurious to the honour and interests of his country; and to labour to obtain the repeal of any such measure by a bold and unequivocal exposure of its mischiefs, injustice, or impolicy? The right to discuss the merits of a law does not terminate with the passing of the act; nor is there any power here to tie up the tongue to truth, or seal down the spirit of investigation.—Such a tyranny can obtain only where laws once sanctioned are immutable, and where of course inquiry might stir up discontent, but could furnish no remedy for the evils it discovers. I thought no doctrine was better understood or established in this country than the absolute rights of canvassing the measures of government; sure I am that no right has been more freely exercised, even by those who now find it convenient to limit and restrain it. Did the men now in power ever imagine that after the alien and sedition laws; the direct tax; the system of internal taxation—had received the sanction, of the constituted authorities of the government, they were no longer to be subjects of discussion and opposition; and that those who had opposed them were at once to close their lips, lay down their pens, and speak and write no more against them, "since they were the laws of the country?"—Mr. Gallatin will exceedingly oblige us by answering this question. Look at the democratic journals of those days; turn to the speeches made on the floor of congress by some of our present rulers, pursue the resolutions passed at public meetings, instigated and headed by public men—and it will be distinctly seen that the fury of opposition and reproach increased after the laws were enacted; and even armed associations are formed to prevent their execution. Is this not true Mr. Gallatin? The same observation applies to the short and honourable war we carried on in the year 1798 against our present right respected and loving friend and approaching ally, France. The opposition at that day had no scruple to inveigh most bitterly against that unkind assault upon their dear friends, and their rights to do so was never questioned or impeded.

During the war of our revolution how much did we applaud and admire those people of Great Britain who boldly denounced their administration for

making that war unjust! They pronounced it a crime and out of it, by writing, by speaking, and by every means of publishing their sentiments, to be cruel, oppressive, and unjust. Yet they were not considered or treated then, in that land of kings and tyranny, as either traitors or rebels. And even as to the war now raging between England and France, there has, from its commencement, been a party in England which has never ceased to contend with the utmost determination and violence, both the war itself and all who have been concerned in beginning or continuing it. Are we ready to admit that there is less liberty of thought and speech in the United States than in Great Britain; and that the subjects of a professed monarchy may canvass the proceedings of their rulers; & arraign both the soundness of their wisdom and the purity of their motives with a freedom and safety denied to the citizens of "the only republic on earth?"—I trust in God, while our constitution gives and guarantees to us the right (without which liberty is a mere mockery) of declaring our opinions of laws proposed and enacted; to prevent the one and obtain the repeal of the other, by showing them to the people, with whom the remedy lies, in all their motives and consequences, no citizen will be so base, such a traitor to himself, his children and his country, as to refrain from exercising this right in its utmost latitude, by the pitiable suggestions of fear, or the more pitiable calculations of avarice or private advantage.

What are we to understand when we are told of the duty and necessity of supporting our government now the war is declared. If it means that we shall implicitly obey the law; that we shall give aid, that may be constitutionally required of us to carry it into effect, that we shall pay our taxes, without opposition by *Parliamentary* meetings or otherwise, and afford our personal services when lawfully called upon, and that we shall abstain from abetting the enemy by every possible means, or embarrassing the efforts of our country, by unauthorized combinations or proceedings of any kind; in short, that we shall submit to the law, in fidelity and truth, while it is the law, I say granted with all my heart. It is precisely the obedience we owe to every law; and nothing more or less is due to this law. But if by supporting government, we are to understand that we are no longer to doubt its wisdom or virtue, or discuss its measures, that we are to subscribe the doctrines of implicit, uninquiring faith and passive obedience; we are not to show to our abused fellow-citizens, how and by whom they are abused; to expose this war, this wanton war in all the impurities and deformities of its conception and birth; the miserable weakness of its infancy, and the inevitable wretchedness of its career, I say no, and every American citizen will also say no.

From the Charleston Courier.

Messrs Editors—I accidentally noticed, in an obscure part of this morning's papers, the interesting intelligence, that *twenty-three* sail of American vessels have been captured and destroyed by a French Fleet, and that a part of their crews have arrived at Madeira. These vessels are said to have been bound to Spain and Portugal, with provisions, and are supposed to be a part of the large number which sailed from this country immediately before the Embargo took place.—The *seizure* of American vessels by the French, has been so long and so quietly acquiesced in by the government of our country, that it now appears to be considered as a matter of course and, even you, Messrs. Editors, whose duty it is to notice such base and unprincipled attacks upon the honor, the dignity and the interests of our country, suffer them to pass by like the idle wind, merely giving them a notice under your marine head, as a common place article of shipping intelligence.—A conduct like this, in papers of a different complexion, is perfectly in character, for it appears to me to be considered as a part of their professional duty, to palliate or conceal the enormities of France.

What, my countrymen, are we to say, what are we to think, of the conduct of the present administration of the country, when they submit, without a murmur, to such a barbarous system of warfare. What, allow me to ask, would have been the conduct of the democrats of this city, if intelligence had reached us that *twenty-three* sail of Americans had been captured and burnt, without even the form of a trial, by a single British squadron? Would not our city have been in arms upon such an occasion, & meetings held to spirit on the government to immediate war against such anation of modern barbarians? It cannot be doubted that such would have been the case. Where then, must we seek for the motives which govern such men or an event like the one in question? I much fear, my countrymen, they will be found to spring from the same feelings that have reduced our once happy country to its present state of distress and degradation, to a cause foreseen and deprecated by the immortal WASHINGTON himself to an undue partiality to France.

June 3. AN AMERICAN

For the Carolina Federal Republican.

FELLOW-CITIZENS.

Claiming to be an American by my birth and parentage, born a citizen of the United States, and reared under the benign influence of its sacred and free constitution, sufficiently improved in understanding to appreciate its value—I have laid it down as an imperious rule of my conduct, to support its just dispensation by all the energies of my soul and body—by my bodily strength, by my suffrage and by my free and unrestrained opinions; and to consider those its greatest enemies who by ostensible and fastidious reasons, should attempt to restrain its free spirit and cramp its broad letter, by modifications estranged from its language, and in direct violation of its meaning. It is at this crisis then that I view the attempt to shut up the mouths of the people, and to gag their Representatives, by drawing a line of demarcation between the right of turning out unqualified Rulers, by our suffrages, and the right of animadverting on their measures through the proper Constitutional organs, as a daring infringement of the liberties of the people; one that calls upon you Fellow-Citizens, to search into your Constitution, and find out whether your wise Forefathers have allowed you the liberty of speech; and if they have to maintain the right against the threats of violence or oppression.—The right of Suffrage, and the right of Freedom of Speech, are both the Children of our Republican Constitution, the one cannot be separated from the other without giving to its Citizens the power to act, but denying them the intelligence how to act, without giving them the right of punishing their Servants, by denying