

strength, would yield a principle threatening the destruction of its maritime power? No war, of any duration, or however disastrous, will ever extort this concession—she may as well fall with arms in her hands, as to seal quietly the bond of her ruin.

He did not know that our government had ever required the unqualified abandonment of the right to impress. Our complaints were chiefly of the abuses committed in the exercise of the right. It was a practice frequently attended with violence insult, and gross injustice. Americans were often from design or mistake seized as British subjects, and we have abundant evidence of the fact, that many of our native seamen have been forced into British service.—He had always understood, however, that such acts were not justified by the British government. The government have never claimed the right of holding an American seaman against his will.—The pretensions of the two governments upon this subject, admitted of adjustment. The chief embarrassment arose from the difficulty of distinguishing the sailors of the two countries. But he had no doubt that this, and all other difficulties on the subject, might be vanquished without having recourse to war.

This subject deserves to be viewed in every light. The orders in council were not at this time, in truth, supported upon their original ground. The ex-minister Mr. Canning, had publicly and candidly confessed the fact. They were adopted as measures of retaliation, tho' they never deserved that character. He had always considered the Berlin and Milan decrees used as a mere pretext. Those decrees were vain and empty denunciations in relation to England. The plain design of the British government was to deprive France of the benefits of external commerce unless the profits of it were divided with herself.—This was fully proved by the licence trade. Britain carries on the very trade she denies to neutrals, and having engrossed the whole to herself, he excludes neutrals from participation. No man was more disposed than himself to reprobate the wrong and injustice of the British government upon this subject. They resort to the French decrees to justify themselves, and though he consider them as no justification, yet our government in their conduct had admitted that the decrees placed us upon the same footing as to France as the orders did as to England, and required equal measures to both nations.

(To be concluded in our next.)

NEW-YORK, July 9.

CHARGE

OF HIS HONOR DE WIT CLINTON, MAYOR,
TO THE
GRAND JURY.

We have the satisfaction to present our readers this evening, with the copy of a charge which has been much the subject of conversation in our city, ever since it has been delivered; as well it might be, for it relates to a topic in which we all are concerned, and in which most of us feel a deep interest. The attention of every man is particularly invited to that part which treats of the rights of the press, together with its limitations in time of war. That what is here laid down is sound law, will not be disputed by any man of respectable standing in the profession. Its excellent remarks on mobs and riots is earnestly recommended to the notice of the timid police of Baltimore.—*N. Y. Herald.*

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

Since the last term of this Court, a new state of things has occurred, which has placed us in a belligerent position with one of the great powers of Europe. This event imposes new obligations on our citizens, the observance of which it becomes the duty of our courts and magistrates to enforce. The former freedom of communion and intercourse, with a nation lately in amity with us, is now abridged; and acts heretofore not only lawful but commendable, may now expose the agent to the charge of *Treason, Misprison of Treason, or a High Misdemeanor.* "Treason against the United States," says the Constitution, "shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort." Treason against this state is committed by levying war against the people of this state, within this state, or by being adherent to the enemies of the people of this state, giving to them aid and comfort in this state, or elsewhere. Misprison of Treason is the concealment or keeping secret any treason.

Any offences against the laws of the state connected with aid, comfort or intercourse with the enemy, or with levying war against the people of this state, within this state, are proper subjects for your cognizance; and if since the promulgation of the declaration of war, any offences of this kind have been perpetrated, it is your duty to present them for punishment. Considering the exposed situation of our maritime frontier and the very critical situation of this port, it is peculiarly important to shut out from the enemy all means of intelligence; and that citizen must be lost indeed to every

sentiment of virtue, who would embark his feelings and efforts against his own country; who would give intelligence to the enemy; and expose the vulnerable points of a place in which are deposited the bones of his ancestors, and where reside his wife and children, his friends and fellow citizens; and vile and ungrateful must be the alien who would so far abuse our local and national hospitality, as to turn our indulgence to our injury, and return curses for blessings and evil for good. Our extensive Atlantic frontier, and our position with respect to the Canadas, not only expose us to the inroads and attacks of an enemy, but are peculiarly calculated to favor spies, and to encourage intelligence & communication adverse to the interests of the country, and repugnant to the laws of the land.—Vigilance, determination, and courage, are, therefore, necessary, to meet this exposure.

It is proper to remark, however, gentlemen, that there is but one justifiable mode of animadverting upon all aberrations from civil duty and upon infractions of law; and that is through the medium of magistrates and courts. A state of war does not destroy or diminish the rights of the citizen to examine the conduct of public men, and the tendency of public measures. And if, in the exercise of this right, he should deviate into slander or sedition, he is liable to punishment in the ordinary channels of justice. But there can be no state of things more deplorable, no conditions of society more horrible, than to subject him to the jury of a mob, or to the vengeance of frantic and unprincipled incendiaries. It has reached the ears of the magistrates, but in the shape of rumor only, that menaces have been thrown out with a view to destroy that freedom of investigation which is the birth right and the boast of every American citizen; and that abominable attempts would be made to invade the dwellings of individuals with the ruffian hand of violence; and to break down those barriers and asylums which the laws have erected to secure the tranquillity of domestic life, and liberties of the people. It was impossible to remain insensible to the magnitude of the considerations involved in this state of things. The triumph of a mob over the majesty of the laws, would inflict a deadly wound upon the character and interests of the city—it would render the property and the person of every man insecure; and it would degrade our republican form of government in the eyes of mankind. We have therefore prepared ourselves for the crisis: and, with the blessing of heaven, we shall not only suppress tumultuous and riotous assemblies, but we shall bring the authors and abettors to condign punishment. And as long as we occupy these seats, be assured, that we shall put down and punish, in the most exemplary manner, all attempts to invade the public peace, to destroy the lives and property of individuals, and to impair the freedom of opinion and inquiry.

It gives us pleasure to observe, and we mention it as a tribute due to justice, that the sentiments and habits of our fellow-citizens are favorable to the supremacy of law and good order; and that those incendiaries who would disturb the tranquility of society and assail the majesty of the laws, compose but a contemptible and insignificant number.

The late attempts by some sailors, frequently and audaciously repeated, to pull down a house in James street, were promptly repelled, and several of the offenders are now in prison for trial and punishment. If this riotous proceeding had been crowned with success, there can be no doubt but that the mischief would have increased to an incalculable and dreadful extent. And from this small flame, might have arisen a mighty conflagration, which would have spread over this city with volcanic fury. The perpetrators of this offence are without excuse.—They deserve punishment; and the future tranquillity of the community requires, that they should be held up as examples to deter.

At this warm and unhealthy season of the year, it is necessary to devote particular attention to the health laws. If, in addition to the calamities which grow out of war, and to the distresses which now bear with such peculiar and general severity upon our poor, we should be visited by pestilence, then our condition would be deplorable indeed, and it would require all our fortitude to sustain the shock. But, whatever may be our situation, whether adverse or prosperous, let us act well the parts assigned to us, humbly relying upon the All-Wise and All-Benevolent Father of the Universe, that His visitations of calamity, or dispensations of prosperity, will redound to our ultimate good.

It is peculiarly desirable, in every point of view, that our sessions should be as much abridged as is consistent with the due dispensation of criminal justice, and on inspecting the calendar you will find that there is nothing which ought to detain you long. And in performing the duties assigned to you gentlemen, you may rely upon the cordial aid and advice of this court.

We have as little temptation to engage in a controversy with Mr. Watson, no doubt the *real efficient* Editor of the True Republican as that Gentleman can have to engage with us. Yet, let it be understood that a fear of being found the most vulnerable in such contest, is among the least of our reasons for this aversion. Giving due credit to Mr. Watson for his assertion "that he has refused insertion to communications respecting us, from a respect towards us," we cannot consent to accept this assurance as a matter of *favor* or *obligation*, or as authorising the menace with which it is accompanied. As to the insertion or rejection of any future communications respecting Mr. Hall, Mr. H. will be satisfied if Mr. Watson will be governed by a suitable and due respect for himself.—Neither Mr. Watson or such of his readers as may feel themselves aggrieved by any publication in the Federal Republican, need give themselves any uneasiness about the question of responsibility—for as it has been, so it shall continue to be the invariable rule with the Editors of this paper to assume the responsibility upon themselves, or to point to the author.

Mr. Blackledge's Circular alias the President's War Message.

We care not how many, nor how often, nor by what number these Circulars, Messages, or Manifestoes are read, provided we can be gratified in one request, that is, that all who read such Circulars, Messages or Manifestoes, would with equal patience and candor, read the Address of the minority in Congress on the same subject.—Let no man give his suffrage on this momentous question until he has done this. Let a plain understanding, braced by no prejudice, be brought to the discussion, and we have no fears of the result.

Mr. HALL,

Though a Federalist, and a high toned one too, and though attached to a degree of bigotry to the interests espoused by your Paper, and the lubrications to which it occasionally gives birth, I cannot but acknowledge the justice and reasonableness of Mr. Watson's wailings and lamentations, at the late scourging so unsparingly inflicted upon him by "CORRECTOR."

The extent of Mr. Watson's offence was, that he filled his columns of the preceding week, with the crude ravings of a vagrant, whose utter ignorance of his subject, was only excelled by the consummate audacity and unprovoked scurrility with which he assailed by name a respectable Citizen and an honorable man.—Now it is requiring too much of Mr. Watson to expect that he should be able to discriminate between productions, which for their stupidity and blunders disgrace, or for their truth and argument do credit to a paper, or to expect that he should find any criterion, borrowed or at home, of the kind of style and language admissible among gentlemen in fair controversy.—Because he labours under these disadvantages he is to be held responsible for the nonsense, and absurdities, the impudence or scurrility of every low-lived dolt who can blot paper, and ask a niche in the pure sheets of the True Republican? No, sir, it ought to be, and it shall be, the inviolable privilege of Mr. Watson in all times to come, to stuff his paper with sense or nonsense, truth or falsehood indifferently; to attack you and your correspondents or friends, for their writings or opinions, written or spoken, in language and terms, of the propriety and decency of which he shall be sole arbiter; to ascribe motives and principles to you and your patrons, of the infamy and baseness of which, the rancor and malignity of himself, and his pandemonium of the apes of modern infidels and illuminati: shall be the sole measure. It is not to be permitted, that any character however respectable, shall avail himself of your paper to defend himself against the abuse, or vindicate his opinions against the misrepresentation of any writer in the True Republican—if he do, a crying appeal shall be immediately made, to the compassion of the people, you shall be deemed the aggressor, and suffer the pains, penalties and forfeitures of federal abuse of innocent, persecuted True Republican Editors, who as they are generally Irishmen, are the safest depositories and best guardians of the American rights and liberties, and as they have the emoluments of printing the Laws &c. of Congress, and occupy Post Offices and other convenient offices under Government, are bound to consider every expression of disapprobation of the course of measures pursued by the Administration, a "turpitude of conduct for which it becomes necessary to expose individual politicians who render themselves fit subjects for investigation."

FAIR PLAY.

A few remarks upon the late review of the Address of the minority in the House of Representatives, to their constituents.

In the *National Intelligencer* of the 10th inst. we find a review of the Address of the minority in Congress to their Constituents, which coming under the auspices of that Paper, the Editor justly should be considered as a particeps criminis, by the sanction which he thereby holds out to it, and so share with the writer the contempt and disgust it falls heir to. Before I take notice of this production however, I would intrude this apology upon my readers, that it would have passed unheeded by, had not the author committed himself by expressions which evince a spirit of unblushing treachery to the Constitution, and gross deception of the people. His arguments are as weak as they are insolent, and spoken with such an artful tongue that "they blend honeyed sweets with the poison they intend to infuse." The writers of this able and dignified address we trust, will never consider these bickerings of the Government Editor and his Reviewer, other than the whizzing of grasshoppers or the petulance of a goaded spider, but will receive with complacency, "the insolence, which patient merit of the unworthy takes."

Our Reviewer begins by asserting "that the address of the minority sets out with certain naked propositions unsupported by argument and partly unfounded in truth such for example is the first sentence of the address." "A Republic has for its basis the capacity and right of the people to govern themselves."—He then as he proceeds in the refutation of this proposition, allows the right of the people to govern themselves, but denies they have the capacity, for (says he) "if the people were capable of governing themselves there would be no parties in this Country, every one knowing the right from the wrong would act accordingly." Now I deny the premises and conclusions of this author's proposition. The first, because our Republican form of Government, allows the capacity of the people to govern themselves; and the second, because if the people were capable they would not judge alike of the right & the wrong. The basis of this author's argument rests upon a principle which supposes human nature to be equally perfect, by allowing all men to be equally enlightened, unprejudiced, and disinterested. Suppose the people are capable of governing themselves, does that imply they all must be of the same opinion about political measures? If we were to repose our liberties under the dynasty of a limited monarchy as most competent to secure them, does that imply a unanimity of Legislative deliberation?—that they who govern us do the right and not the wrong? certainly not; men will always differ about the right and wrong, as long as some are more enlightened than others, or more uninfluenced by prejudices and selfish considerations. If we all know the right and the wrong in religion it is not a *sequitur* that we all act the right and shun the wrong; but in Politics it is different, men do not pursue that line of rectitude which perhaps under other circumstances they might do, because some are more ignorant than others or more corrupt, and in a more special manner it must depend upon the constituents principles of the government under which they live, whether it is a republican form where all classes of people receive information through the medium of the Press; or under a despotism where that blessing is unknown.

It is absurd therefore to say that if the people were capable of governing themselves, they should all agree about the right and the wrong; as long as men are unequal in understanding, possess unequal sources of information or are more or less influenced by selfish passions they will differ in opinions—this is the case in morals and physics as well as politics; in Religion we have Pagans, Mahometans and Christians; in Physics Philosophers have and do differ to this day about the cause of Magnetic influence; in Politics we have Monarchies, Despotisms and Republics, all which instances do not imply that it is a want of capacity that causes this difference of opinion, but some paramount influence arising from one or the other of the above mentioned circumstances. The basis of this writer's argument therefore falling, the superstructure must tumble with it. But, my fellow-citizens, mark his treachery as well as his ignorance—he tells you, you are not capable of governing yourselves, that the people of the United States who live under a government administered by themselves, are unfit to do so. What treason to your Constitution! what outrage to your liberties! that a writer should so step forth in the Government paper under the Executive control, and utter opinions in vindication of the Republicans in Congress, which term with the most monarchic principles that were ever acted from a throne, and tend to excite dissatisfactions and cabals subversive of your liberties. If a Price was viewed with suspicion in England for pre-