

aid attention.—We have reflected upon it.—Our imaginations have carried us over its long and desolating track; desolate and long, even beyond imagination, will it prove, if we do not cut it short, before its corruptions, its passions and violence, shall have fixed it upon our land beyond remedy or control. It is in its beginnings we must make our law stand; before it spread and strikes deep in its roots. If long permitted to flourish over peace and social habits, all history proves that war becomes the predominant passion, and civil liberty too often yields up its blessing to the lust of military ambition, pride and oppression.

We perceive this measure of the administration, big with unutterable mischiefs.—IF PERSISTED in, when will it end? What is it to gain for us? Are we sure, or even is there a shadow of probability, that we shall conquer England—compelling her by force of arms, to yield what she maintains to be her right, and refuses absolutely to relinquish in any other way than by agreement and mutual concessions? If war is resorted to, and while the war law continues, no further room is left for treaty, we must force our demands, and succeed in them by the sword—by bringing our enemy to submission.

And shall we, fellow citizens, at this time, and in our circumstances, on account of these disputable points of trade with France, and abuse of impressment, incur so many immediate losses and subject ourselves to so many certain future evils as this war must produce. You have seen what these immediate and certain losses will be in our agriculture, foreign and coasting trade, revenue, and internal blessings of peace and neutrality; losses, any one of them a hundred fold more to our injury than all that has accrued or can accrue from the occasional injuries we complain of at sea. If we go to war for commerce and seamen, is it not evident that we sacrifice them both and entirely? But what we must lose and suffer in the outset, great as it is, sinks into nothing compared with what will follow. Surely these dreadful consequences have escaped the notice of the advocates of war in their full extent, or they have preferred to encounter them rather than forego their resentments and retreat from imprudent resolutions.

How unfortunate when men prefer the honor of preserving in error to the honor of retracting it; and which their country too is at stake. Besides the decay of agriculture, commerce and revenue, war will vitiate the morals of our people, particularly the rising generation. Is it nothing to bring on a general decline of virtue, order and regard for life, property and private rights? Will not war necessarily produce this, with a decline also of industry and the evils, of a wide spreading insolvency? Perhaps even all these might by some be viewed without alarm; but what will the people say to, or how endure for a great length of time, other necessary commitments of a state of war? In a contest, such as we must go through, with such a power, to force it into submission standing armies, the bane and destroyers of liberty in every country, must be introduced, continued, and swelled to a dangerous magnitude. No matter what we call them, volunteers, select corps, &c. if they are not militia, under our own state officers and government, they are standing troops in the pay and under the direction of military chiefs, who may become ambitious, insolent and over whom we can have little control. In the train of war also follows, wastefulness and insatiable demands upon the people's labor and substance, to support its never ceasing and growing expenses. Great armies must be raised, clothed, equipped and paid—and thus year after year, in addition to the ordinary expenses of government and the support of the militia establishment, it is computed the additional annual war expense will not be short of 20 millions; how many years of war uncertain. The burthens on every man in the country will increase four fold, under war taxes, levied on his land and occupation, whilst his capacity to pay is diminished in the same proportion by the privations of war. Those so eager to make or to encourage the war, will share fewest of its dangers or burthens, they will fall on the eastern states, on their capital, industry, and citizens. Is it possible for the reflecting citizen to look even on this consequence alone, and its magnitude—we mean taxes, personal services and loss of business, and not shudder with apprehension. Public credit, or a capacity to borrow, will, in all likelihood, suffer particularly if the war is unsuccessful; and paper money follow: we believe this must be resorted to.—The old debt will remain unpaid, and a new one of vast extent be incurred. And is it nothing—or is it not the most awful of all, that torrents of blood must flow and private distresses of all kinds be multiplied in this unnatural and disastrous contest. Where too, are our experienced captains and what Washington is set to inspire and conduct us?

We enquire also, when all our prepara-

tions shall be complete, if they ever can be what are we to gain by war in any degree adequate to the evils it brings upon ourselves? Where shall we strike for the redress we seek on account of the orders in council and impressment? The British navy is out of our reach, and superior to our own. Her armies do not invade us—no triumph over them can then probably be obtained. Her possessions in the north might probably be over-run at an immense sacrifice of blood and treasure; but do we want extension of territory?—Are they worth the cost? And will we consent to garrison and maintain large armies in those regions of cold and barrenness, to secure them during the war? and can we hope at the end of it that they will be relinquished to us by England? Will privateering and our patriotic volunteers, and even our courage avail us, when there is no point to which we can effectually direct our attack? Is it not evident, fellow-citizens, that after all these immense preparations and expenditures, and which year after year must be repeated, that we shall be put on our defence, and instead of attack and injury to our enemy, and satisfaction obtained for wrongs, our armies, and all our efforts be exhausted in barely protecting our territory from sudden irruptions, and securing our cities and towns from destruction? Will this be satisfaction for wrongs, or obtain our rights? On the other hand, will our enemy be idle, or is she incapable of doing us harm? and especially if our troops are marched to Canada. We, having declared and commenced war upon her, is it not to be presumed that all her powers of injuring us, will be exerted? Do we not expect it, and can we justly complain if war with all its horrors is retaliated upon us—seeing we openly wage it by a public law?—We should betray our duty and be unworthy of confidence, were we to suffer our feelings and our resentments to blind us to these considerations—a prudent nation not wasteful of its own blood and heedless of consequences, will weigh their means and their dangers. They who decide on war and rashly plunge into the gulph it opens upon their country, without counting its cost, its length, its uncertainty and inevitable miseries, we may respect their motives and their spirit, but it is our banded duty to warn our countrymen against such counsellors—if warning in so plain a case is requisite. It is wrong to inflame our minds to vengeance & rush into greater evils, even in a just quarrel for particularly offences, where our country is the stake, and there is danger, nay almost a certainty, that our loss will be infinitely greater than our gain. We are instigated, however, to fight for honor—to venture so many blessings, actually possessed, and to undergo so many certain distresses, in order to evince our courage. But, fellow-citizens, who doubts the courage of Americans? The world will witness for them that it is not fear but prudence, and a love of country that restrains them from war—in the pursuit, of which so many nations have lost their liberties, after glorious struggles in their just establishment. Do not therefore let us be hurried into it, for what mankind call honor! Let us rather think of the honour of securing Peace and Union let us prefer the honor which discretion and humanity dictate—that of saving and preserving the blood and treasure, and virtue, and religion, and happiness of our dear country. Let it be our honor to prevent the introduction of standing armies—the increase of taxes and public debt—the distresses of private—fathers, sons, and brethren—our friends and fellow-citizens—our patriots torn from their homes—bleeding year after year, in this perhaps hopeless contest about orders in council and impressment.—And what must embitter all, dying on the side of the tyrant of France and Destroyer of republics. And who shall say that ours will not fall by the same hand which has laid every other low, when by our aid he has accomplished his designs on England.—Has he not thus weakened and ruined every People who have joined in his wars or trusted to his promises?

(To be concluded in our next.)

Foreign.

NEW-YORK, August 3.
LATEST FROM ENGLAND.

Salem, July 31.—Last evening arrived here a cartel, 2 days from Halifax, with 14 or 15 American prisoners, among whom were Mr. John Gardner, late supercargo, and Captain Thomas Moriarty, late Master of the ship Marquis Somerselos, of this port; Capt. Norton, late of the ship Maria, of New-York, and Captain Young, of bring enterprize, of Newburyport. The Marquis was from Civita Vecchia, (27th May) with a most valuable cargo, worth to the owners (Messrs John & Richard Gardner) at least \$ 150,000. But on the 10 of July, in lat. 32. 30, long. 65, in a thick fog, fell in with the British sloop of war Atalanta, which captured her into Halifax. Mr. Gardner, informs us, that they had received at Halifax, late intelligence from

England. A Ketch arrived there on Wednesday last from Plymouth, bound to the U. States with despatches for the British Minister, but learning from a vessel she spoke that Mr. Foster was in Halifax, put in there for advice; and it seems her despatches were of such a nature that it was determined to send her immediately to New-York, and she sailed in company with the cartel. What was considered as giving importance to them was doubtless the positive repeal of the Orders in Council which took place on the 18th of June, as the the Governor assured Mr. Howe, the publisher of the Gazette. Mr. Gardner understood this vessel brought London dates to the 21st. The publication of the paper was delayed Mr. G. came away, and he was not able to obtain one. Much good, as to a reconciliation, seemed to be expected from this act of concession in the British government. The Ketch is probably at N. York by this time.

The Maidstone frigate, which left Plymouth the 17th June, had arrived at Halifax, and sailed immediately on a cruise. Mr. Foster had sailed for England in the Atalanta.

The Indian sloop of war arrived the day the cartel sailed which with the bring Ringdove which they met going in with 3 brigs and a ship, supposed to be American Prizes, was all the naval force in the port.

An embargo was laid at Halifax for 30 days, in order to collect the coasting and merchant vessels for protection by convoy.

The Americans were treated with great kindness by Admiral Sawyer and by the inhabitants, and the crews were suffered to go at large till they learnt the depredations of our privateers, when they were confined in prison, but well treated.

[Since preparing the above, the ketch Glea near, of 10 guns, arrived within Sandy-Hook, and has anchored in the Bay. She is 35 days from England, 9 from Halifax, and has on board Mr. George Barclay, son to the late Consul, with despatches for the American government and the British charge des affairs. Mr. B. sat off immediately for Washington.

Domestic.

FROM THE FEDERAL REPUBLICAN.

Georgetown, August 3.

THE MASSACRE AT BALTIMORE.

The history of barbarians scarcely affords a parallel in perfidy and cruelty to the late transactions at Baltimore. Admonished by the manner in which our office was first destroyed, that no support to our rights was to be expected from the civil or military authorities, whose duty it was to afford it; we had no alternative but to prepare to defend ourselves, on the establishment of the paper on Monday. In our last we stated that with this view we had seasonably provided the dwelling house of one of the proprietors, with defensive means, and that we were honored with the voluntary aid of a band of heroes some of whom had imparted lustre to distinguished stations in the army of our revolution. It would be no easy task to find in an equal number engaged in a similar undertaking, so much public and private worth—so many virtues, which adorn the patriot of maturer years, and which afford to the younger the best pledges of rivalling him.

As was not unexpected, in the night of the day when the first number of the paper appeared, after five weeks suspension, occasioned by the former destruction, the mob made its appearance and soon assaulted the house with the most formidable missiles. In an instant, the windows and front door were demolished, and the mob attempted to rush in. Under these circumstances, when a moment's delay would have been destruction to those who were on the defensive, and after a cautionary notice had been afforded to the assailants, orders for firing were given to the party appointed to protect the lower story, which was done to the number of 7 or 8 muskets. Here ensued a partial suspension of hostilities by the mob. Had the party in the house continued to fire till they retreated, and pursued them till they dispersed, as might lawfully have been done, and which as most men think, ought to have been done, the persons and lives of our friends would have remained safe, the property unmolested, and a lesson given to the disorderly, which would not soon have lost its force. The laws of nature and of society, sanctioned the employment of the means which were in our hands of prostrating some hundreds of the miscreants assembled for the purpose of plunder, murder and the subversion of the most precious constitutional privileges; but the suggestions of humanity prevailed with the veterans who commanded, and they paid the price of their clemency with life itself. The mob gaining fresh spirit from the comparative impunity with which they had hitherto acted, upheld by a reinforcement of desperadoes and a further supply of arms, continued the siege du-

ring the night. On the ensuing morning the authorities of the city urged our friends to consult the public tranquility and spare the further effusion of blood, by evacuating the house, under pledges equally solemn with the occasion, that it should not be violated, and that the most perfect security should be extended to their persons. In an evil hour, this insidious and fatal compromise of an unequivocal right, which had been maintained for 12 hours, and which might have been further supported with undiminished effect, as assented to, after the most strenuous opposition of Mr. Hanson. The Mayor and Brigadier General of Militia were parties and the guaranties for fulfilling the engagement. The place of security assigned for the moment, was the prison, whither this brave band were marched, unarmed, under the escort of the militia.

It was not long before the slight degree of security and faith, which could attend the promises of men, through whose connivance and timidity, Baltimore had for weeks been an unresisting prey to the most unheard of enormities, was clearly unfolded. The pledge given that the house should remain unviolated, never attracted a thought from those who had made them selves its stipulated guardians. Accordingly it was soon plundered of all its contents and afterwards demolished as far as its size and strength were not proof against the patient and vigorous labor of the rabble. The other more precious pledge attracted more attention, but ultimately shared the same fate.—Through the day, demonstrations were given of a positive determination in the mob to break the prison, and massacre the gentlemen, who were placed there for safety. This occasioned a militia force to be called out for its protection, which in the evening, when most necessary, was withdrawn and dismissed by the brigadier general. Every man, we believe, will make the same comment upon this proceeding of the person upon whom alone, the best blood of the country, disarmed and rendered defenceless at his instance, depended for security from the massacre at the hands of an unbridled rabble, of whose rage and ferocity the occurrences of the last twenty four hours were a continued evidence. Left to prosecute their avowed intentions, without restraint, the issue was as horrible as the anticipation had been infallible. The prison was entered by the murderers, and all whom address, stratagem or fortune did not favor, were assassinated and thrown into a heap as dead carcasses. But when the help of man failed, and cannibal fury walked hand in hand with death, the interposition of providence was most remarkable. In the heap of apparently dead bodies, which the populace ceased to mangle and deform, from fatigue and the fullest belief, that not a lingering spark of life remained in the mass, one only was dead—the amiable, the venerable, the gallant General Lingan, of Montgomery, from his youth the defender of liberty, the soldier of the revolution, the delight of patriotism, the indispensable prop of a numerous family, and the idol of a whole county. Impressed with the certainty of death, he calmly shook hands with some of his friends, whilst the assassins were entering the room, and died under the foul repetition of *forry*, more cruel and as unmerited as the blows, which deprived him of life. He died as he lived in defending the liberty of his country.

Such in that moment, as in all the past,

Oh save my country, Heaven! shall be your last.

We have not the materials at hand today, which would enable us to depict the heart-rending scenes of that guilty night. General Henry Lee, of Virginia, was left for dead, but reviving, he was a second time assassinated, and apparently embroiled death, whilst invoking the spirit of WASHINGTON, his friend and companion in arms. He has been miraculously saved, and is in a place of safety at a distance from Baltimore, languishing under many severe wounds, from which, however, it is believed he will recover. Surrounded by his assassins he exhibited throughout, an unbroken and unyielding spirit, resisting and reproaching them in a manner which proved his soul to be free whilst they exercised their extremest tortures upon his body.

Mr. Hanson, our fellow editor, than whom their lives not a braver or more virtuous man, and whose loss would have been a rare calamity to his country, in her day of travail, happily survives, and in no danger. It is not necessary to say, that he was the most peculiar object of hatred and vengeance.—With uncommon presence of mind, whilst the doors were breaking, he advised his companions as to the best mode of saving their lives, which being followed, proved surprisingly successful. He then prepared himself calmly for his fate, was wounded, prostrated, trampled upon, and thrown into the *hell* of the slain. Hence he was seasonably extricated by his own exertions and a saving Angel. After incredible suffering, and hair-breadth escapes, he gained the hovel of a negro, at a distance from the prison, where