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From the Salem Gazette.

LETTER 1.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

Having it in contemplation publicly to express my sentiments on the enormous LOANS called for by our rulers, to enable them to prosecute the war against Great Britain; it seems proper first to make some observations on the war itself; for if it be just and necessary, the best efforts of every citizen should be used for its effectual support, and its speedy and successful issue: but if it be unjust and unnecessary; if it derives its origin from the malevolent and selfish passions, veiled in the garb of honour and patriotism—it cannot be too strongly marked with terms of reprobation.

MR. MADISON'S WAR

Has been already examined, and its character delineated by one of the ablest writers and best citizens of our country. It would be alike unnecessary and improper to travel over his ground.

I have long entertained the opinion that the few men who for the last twelve years have moved all the springs of public action—directed all the public measures—and aimed to fix the destinies of our country—intended to involve it in a war with Great Britain;—to indulge their inveterate hatred of that country; to subvert the views of France; and to secure themselves in the possession of power.—For to the passions and prejudices of the people, in favor of the French and against the English, which those men have zealously and perseveringly excited and cherished, they are deeply indebted for the power now in their hands. This is so true, that for many years past, their partisans have deemed it sufficient, to ruin any man in the eyes of the People, to pronounce him a friend to G. Britain; or, in their language of vulgar abuse, a *British Tory*. And this is the lot of every independent citizen who expresses his abhorrence of the abominable acts of the French and condemns the mischievous and unwarrantable measures of his own government.

While France assumed and bore the name of a Republic, professing the broadest principles of liberty; and unformed as were most men (myself among the number) as to the nature of *French Liberty and French Republicanism*, the American friends of France had an apology for their French partialities—partialities for a "sister republic." But a few years were sufficient to show, that in the name of Liberty the rulers of Republican France put in practice the most horrible and merciless tyranny at home, and the most ambitious and unprincipled projects of conquest, in relation to all the neighbouring nations; among them, overturning every government and state which bore the name of a republic. But this display of the most detestable tyranny and ambition by France abated nothing in the zeal of a certain portion of her American partisans for her cause; not even when the government of that country, seized by a single tyrant, exhibited the most ferocious and bloody despotism that ever afflicted the Christian world:—A demonstration that the professions of liberty and republicanism, with which those French partisans filled the public ear, were all false and hollow. The real lover of justice and liberty, the friend to the rights of mankind must instinctively hate tyranny, under every form, and however exercised, whether by many, by a few, or by one. Why the same men hate England, and with a passion probably surpassing their love to France, may be accounted for: but the investigation would require more detail & illustration than time permits or the occasion requires. Suffice it to say, that this hatred on one hand, and love and subserviency on the other, while they contributed to preserve the public power in their hands, effectually barred a settlement of our differences with G. Britain. I should speak more correctly if I said, that the scope and indulgence given to those passions, combined with the love of power, originated some, and have aggravated and maintained all those differences.—I say

further, that the course of their proceedings and their own official documents, are sufficient to satisfy discerning, candid and unprejudiced inquirers after truth, that it has been the inveterate determination of the presidents JEFFERSON and MADISON, not to make a general treaty, comprehending all the subjects in question with Great Britain, on any terms compatible with her safety and Independence. I go still further, to add on my responsibility at the bar of Truth, and if Mr. Jefferson please at the bar of Justice, that amidst a profusion of amicable professions towards G. B. & multiplied declarations of a sincere desire to adjust all differences between that country & the United States; and when he had been long carrying on negotiations for a general treaty of amity and commerce with that nation, by his ministers in London, to whom, by his secretary of state, Mr. Madison, these multiplied professions of friendship and conciliation were communicated; Mr. Jefferson avowed to one of his friends (in these words or words of the same import) "THAT IN TRUTH HE DID NOT WISH FOR ANY TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN!!!" The shameless avowal of his Machiavelian policy appears to have been made about the time when he rejected the treaty which his own favorite ministers, Monroe and Pinkney, had negotiated with the British government, and will account for the rejection, without his laying it before the Senate for their advice. For notwithstanding the ill placed confidence of some, and the devotion of others to his system of administration, it was possible the Senate might have advised its ratification.

Mr. Jefferson well knowing the intrinsic difficulties attending the question of impressments, and the former unsuccessful attempts as well as the long and fruitless efforts of his own ministers, to settle it by treaty—it must have appeared to him highly probable, nay morally certain, that Great Britain would never renounce its claim of right, nor, by formal treaty stipulation absolutely relinquish the practice of impressing her own seamen from neutral merchant vessels on the high seas. Hence arises the presumption, that Mr. Jefferson made that relinquishment a *sine qua non*, an indispensable condition, in any treaty to be negotiated with that country; because it would insure the gratification of his wish "to have no treaty with England."

The British Commissioners frankly told Monroe and Pinkney, that the board of admiralty and law officers of the crown, were united in the opinion, that the right in question (of taking British seamen from neutral merchant vessels) was well founded, and ought not to be relinquished; & that under such circumstances no ministry would venture to relinquish it, however pressing the emergency might be. With this knowledge of the fact, and with the official documents in his hand, Mr. Madison might very safely renew the war on professions of his predecessor and fellow labourer, of his sincere desire to adjust all differences, and to settle the terms of a friendly and commercial intercourse with Great Britain, without the hazard of being surprized into a treaty, while he continued to insist on the relinquishment of impressments of British seamen from American merchant vessels; a renunciation which he was morally certain would never be made; a renunciation which he now continues to insist on as the condition of peace, as it is the only remaining alleged cause or pretence for persisting in the war; which therefore must continue during the four coming years of Mr. Madison's presidency—unless the People, in the exercise of their rightful and constitutional powers, compel him to make peace.

With my personal knowledge of the characters and conduct of the men who for twelve years have directed and controlled the affairs of our country, and with the evidences existing on the real origin of the war—of which the alleged causes were but pretences—I have had no hesitation in pronouncing it an unnecessary, unjust, & now especially, a wanton and profligate war. With such views of the nature and origin of the war, it will be impossible for me, as a member of the National Legislature, to give my vote for men or money to continue it.—We have seen that the men who declared the war—fearful of losing their popularity and of hazarding the reflection of Mr. Madison—last year refused to lay the taxes indispensably necessary to support it, or even to pay the interest of the monies loaned for that purpose.

—Another session has passed away, and still no taxes have been laid—although taxes alone, and those heavy beyond all example, can furnish funds equal to the redemption of the enormous public debt they have incurred and are incurring.

It is an acknowledged maxim, founded in reason and experience, that funds, actually provided for the reimbursement of public loans, are essential to the establishment and support of public credit. Those therefore who lend their money to the government without such funds, and so without any security—acting with their eyes open—will merit no consideration hereafter. Will it be said that the *faith* of the U States is pledged for the repayment of the loans? So was their *faith* pledged to redeem the Continental Money, which Congress issued, to the amount of two hundred millions of dollars, to carry on the war of our revolution—a just and necessary war: yet that *pledge* was never redeemed?

I shall resume this subject in another number: and upon the facts and observations which shall be exhibited, every one will consider whether it is probable that the loan of sixteen millions—and of the millions on millions which must follow—will ever be repaid: there are abundant reasons to believe they will not.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

March 8, 1813.

Boston March 3, 1813.

MESSEURS RUSSELL AND CUTLER,
Gentlemen—The interesting matter contained in the letter sent you herewith, and the high authority from which it is derived, make it unnecessary that I should apologise to you for asking its early insertion in your paper.

Your humble servant, T. H. P.

March 3, 1813.

Washington, Feb. 24, 1812.

DEAR SIR,
In compliance with the request contained in your letter of the 18th inst, on the subject of impressment of American seamen, I can only state my belief, that the number of cases which are alleged to have occurred, is both extremely erroneous & exaggerated.

This opinion is founded on the strongest convictions of my understanding arising as well from observation and inquiry for some years past, as from the information you give me of the testimony which has already been taken by the committee of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, and the absence within the circle of my knowledge, of any evidence in an extended degree of a decisive nature, and of a different character.

I was in active mercantile business from 1793 to 1807, and the proprietor of a navigation for those fourteen years, I believe without intermission; and to my recollection there was not a single seaman or passenger taken from any vessel belonging to me, or in which I was interested.

I have been in public life in the National Government nearly five years; during this time, while at home, I have never received an application from a parent, brother, or relative of an impressed American seaman, to engage my attention for his relief; nor have I, while at Washington, where the calls upon me from my commercial constituents have been both constant and numerous been requested to attend to or have had made known to me directly, the impressment of more than three American citizens.

These circumstances, connected with the knowledge that Massachusetts furnishes one third part of the tonnage of the Union and a proportionate number of its seamen, afford to my mind "confirmation strong nearly as proof from holy writ," of the correctness of the opinion expressed at the beginning of this letter—that the number of impressed native American seamen in the British service has been both extremely mis stated and exaggerated. It has been made a theme of party clamor, and party odium and has been loudly urged by those who have the least knowledge and the smallest interest in the subject.

On this topic I know not that I can better convey to you my sentiments, than by communicating some observations having a relation to it, and which are part of those I had made in a debate upon the bill to raise an additional military force of 25,000 men—We have in the Senate, no Reporter or Stenographer, and they therefore have probably never before escaped beyond the portal of the Senate Chamber,—on that occasion I remark, that:

"For the impressment of seamen, about the established principle of which no difference exists between the countries, for Great Britain expressly disclaim the right to impress into service, bona-fide American citizens, the people of the United States would not zealously support this war."

"If Great Britain did claim and exercise the right to impress into her service the real bona-fide native citizens of the United States, an interminable war with her, or with all the nations of the earth, if it could not be otherwise prevented, might be alike just, necessary and commendable. The ocean, for the use of the great family of mankind, should own no chartered privileges. In time of peace, or neutrality, while abstaining from injury to others, it should be free as air to all who navigate it, and the impressment of a native American citizen, innocent of crime, owing elsewhere no primary or paramount allegiance, and prosecuting a lawful commerce in a vessel of his own country, is, as it respects the individual, and as it regards an infringement of right, as gross a violation as if he were arrested, torn and transported into slavery from his paternal root, or domestic altar."

"But this principle, I repeat, Great-Britain does not contend for; and when a violation has been committed, she offers immediately to restore the sufferer to a point of principle, therefore, there is nothing at issue between the two governments. It is the practice only that is complained of—a practice outrageous in its character in some instances, and which ought to be arrested, and which, with fair and impartial views towards the two belligerents and an honest disposition to give them a successful effect, can be speedy accomplished, and respecting which, the present Secretary of State has already declared he could have made an arrangement both "honorable and advantageous" to the United States; but until the effort to do this be made fairly honorably, and above board, without petulance or irritation, the people of the United States will neither approve the war, nor recruit the armies. They will not subject themselves to privations and poverty to shelter renegade deserters, nor to sanctify custom house protections, frequently the evidence of nothing but falsehoods gross and palpable as those issuing from the father of lies—which extend the mantle of Nationality with equal facility over the exported Patriots of other countries as over the Native Citizens of our own—which have systematized nothing but the habit and price of perjury in the lowest walks of life and exposed the real indigenous seamen of the U. States by inviting wrongs upon them, from the openness of the frauds with which they have attempted to shield the worthless deserters from their own country in the hour of its greatest peril and distress."

"For men of this class, and for objects of this description, the people of the United States will not willingly support a war, at least not until they find their fair offers of peace are rejected, or spurned at, and that no alternative remains for them, but a tame submission to injury or a vigorous prosecution of the war, however rashly commenced, or impotently conducted."

This, my dear sir, is the information I possess, and such are the sentiments I have heretofore advanced, and still entertain, on the subject to which you have alluded.

I am always with sentiments of great regard and respect, your friend and obedient servant,

JAMES LLOYD.

Hon. T. H. PERKINS, Boston.

A Modern Patriots Faith.

Mr. Jefferson informed Congress, that our treasury was overflowing with money; a few days after Mr. Gallatin informed the same body it was so low, that the nation must borrow 3,000,000 of dollars!! On the 2d day of November, 1810, Mr. Madison informed the nation by proclamation, that Bonaparte's Berlin and Milan decrees were repealed on the first of that month, and ceased to operate on the commerce of the United States. In 1812, Bonaparte comes forward and denies the truth of Mr. Madison's proclamation: But in the mean time, a number of our vessels that sailed to France under the faith of our president's proclamation, were seized and sequestered by our ally Bonaparte, in virtue of his decrees before mentioned!—At the commencement of the present session of congress, Mr. Madison informed the body, that the money in the treasury would be sufficient to meet all the demands on