

SECOND LETTER.

The following Letter is the other that I sent on Saturday. I was mistaken, I am saying that the second letter was written after the news of the arrangement between Mr. Smith and Mr. Erskine." The first of it is the new order in Council of the 11th April, which the writer singularly enough seems to have been issued in pursuance of an arrangement between the British government and Mr. Pinckney.

This letter is written with less ability and less interest than the other: could I see the third which is promised in the issue of this, but which will not probably appear at least not at present, we should be put in possession of a key to unlock, completely, the secrets of the French Cabinet in respect to this country. From an attentive perusal of the letter before us, however, I think we shall draw this important conclusion: that no arrangement can be made with France, which for its basis, a rupture with G. B.—the clamour now echoing from one press to another all through the continent. Baptist to Everitt, for war with Britain. But it all went do, good folks; Mr. Erskine is not disposed for such a war, and was, the people would not now support it, and he knows it. But to the Letter.

Letter to Monsieur Le Comte de ***
The arrangement concluded between the French and the English.

Thacos intra muros seccatur et extra.

In my first letter, Monsieur Le Comte, I expressed my sentiments of the raising of the blockade to the United States. I considered the measure as extremely favorable to the commerce, or rather as its plank of life. I believe I have demonstrated to you the truth of that assertion; but I had only to say a few words respecting the arrangement concluded between the two countries, and to call your attention to the disadvantages which that arrangement produces to us. The *Morning Chronicle* of the 5th May, has just given us some details on the subject, and I there find the most convincing proofs of every thing that I perceived at first glance.

Neither you nor I, nor any person in the degree acquainted with what passes in the character of the people, the party debates, the stratagems of ministers, the pretended combats of parties, always agreeing on every thing which tends to the pecuniary interest of the nation; no, I say, would be the dupe of the pretence which that Journal, styling itself ministerial, appears desirous to have the authors of the arrangement in question nevertheless the trap is so well laid, and the bait so manifest, it with so much apparent consciousness confesses its fears lest all measures which the English government has taken, should be turned against itself; so many people, well disposed in other respects, regard every thing said by the *Morning Chronicle* as gospel, and believe that all that has just been done is in the highest degree advantageous to us, that I have thought it my duty to unmask openly this miserable juggler, and point out the real intention of the Journalist, and of those who have directed his pen.

In this purpose, I have only to put in the following some very simple reflections on the reasoning with which he accompanies his assertions; all your doubts will be speedily removed as mine were.

LONDON, May 5.

On the 26th of April the orders in Council of the 11th November, 1807, of the 18th December, 1807, and 15th March, 1809, relative to the commerce and navigation of the U. States were revoked and annulled.

After having sounded so loudly the importance and the advantages of your new order in Council; after having maintained until now, notwithstanding universal protests, confess that very imperious motives were necessary to make you renounce these motives are not very difficult to divine. After having given loose to your system of monopoly, alone, unaided by disguise, you have soon felt that it was necessary to renounce the chimerical prospect of Europe, and from that of America, deprived of your ancient auxiliaries, to distribute abroad the immense superflux of your manufactures of every kind. How were you to answer the demands of your planters and manufacturers? How were you to appease your indigent planters, who in their speeches were

publishing your distress? You were then obliged to submit to necessity. The Americans have availed themselves of the critical situation in which you were placed. They have offered to lend you again their assistance their industry and their flag, but on condition that you will spare a little their self love; that they shall no longer be obliged to go to you to tread upon the crucifix, (b) and that they shall receive at least a moderate share in your profits. All that is arranged amicably, and we now see you united for the purpose of obtaining the booty, until you shall quarrel about the division.

"The same day, a new order of council determines the conditions under which the U. States may trade with other nations."

Always the tone of masters, even when you have need of the assistance of others; but this is an old and bad custom among you; and surely, should there not be something concealed?

"It is decided that the ports of France and Holland, and their colonies, plantations and dependencies; the ports of Italy to the north of Orbicello and Passaro; the port of Barcelona, the bay of Roses, in Spain, the coast of Biscay from St. Andero to Fontarabia, shall be considered as being in a state of the most rigorous blockade."

In fact to open to the Americans all the ports of the globe indiscriminately, to permit them to go to those belonging to or under the control of France, after having yourselves raised the obstacles which prevented them, would not that be throwing off the mask too openly? In saying to the Americans: go, increase and multiply every where, would it not have been avowing the perfect harmony which is established between you and them, and exposing them to receive amongst us a very cold reception, to say the least; (for union and harmony between you and them, must naturally produce quite contrary effects between them and us.) How then were you to draw from their flag all the aid which you must have expected from it? Was it not necessary in order to have the appearance of not being, to speak vulgarly, hand and glove with them, to put some restrictions to your kindness, to cause the American commerce to be considered as still oppressed in some respects, in order that her vessels escaped without much trouble from your pretended vigilance, from your ridiculous blockade, might be received among us and our friends with open arms, and as victims escaped from your cupidity?

By reflecting on it a little, this suspicion appears to me to acquire a considerable degree of weight.

The new order of council was made on the same day that you revoked the others. How could the American negotiator, when demanding, when obtaining the revocation of the old orders, have acknowledged the legality of the new, if it had not been tacitly agreed between you and him, that the latter should only be pro forma, as in fact it is: for you know as well as we, that your whole navy united, would not be sufficient to guard such an extent of coast? This order, in short, if you had the intention to cause it to be executed, if it would be executed, would it not be contrary to your dearest interests, would it not deprive you of the most considerable markets of the continent? Add to all this the singular precaution of declaring publicly that you would not give licenses to trade with blockaded ports. Nothing more is wanting to convince us that your new order in council has a secret end in view, and that end is no other than to procure to your factors a more free entrance into our ports, by pretending to interdict it.

"Although it be as yet very uncertain whether this arrangement is the result of an agreement made with the government of the U. States, and although the American Minister, Mr. Pinckney, has not yet given to it his formal assent, the partizans of the Ministry proclaim that result with much emphasis."

Be not uneasy on that head, and let the partizans of the ministry enjoy a triumph which you heartily partake. Nothing is less uncertain than the assent of Mr. Pinckney. He has given it with joy, believing that he promotes the interest of his own country in promoting the interest of yours.

(b) This alludes to a ceremony which it is said the Dutch are obliged to undergo, before they can be admitted into the ports of Japan. The Japanese will have no intercourse with Christians, for which reasons the Dutch deny their religion, and as a proof of their sincerity, tread upon the Crucifix. Ed.

* And you, Americans, will you pride yourselves upon your independence recovered by the abolition of the orders in council? If there were no connivance between you and them, would you suffer them to forbid you to approach an immense extent of coast? Would you have subscribed an arrangement at the very moment when this new decree was issued? Would you have submitted to this new right of search and capture? Would you have renounced your most incontestable rights?

floating the interest of yours, and we shall soon see that he was before hand sufficiently sure of the approbation of his government.

It depends upon the French government to change the effect of all these measures, and perhaps to turn them against ourselves. The commerce of the United States tends towards the ports of France. It will readily enter them, ridiculing our rigorous orders and our vain precautions. The merchants of that nation will know very well how to elude the prohibitions which we appear to impose, since they elude even those of their own government.

Yes, certainly, it all depends upon the French government, and you know very little of it, if you think it will be your dupe. It belongs not to us to anticipate the intentions of that vast and profound genius, which has already withdrawn a great part of the world from your pernicious influence; but you may expect every thing from him, except what would favor your monopoly, and confirm in your hands the sceptre which he means to break in pieces. We may here remark how much every thing that I have said above respecting the hidden meaning of your blockade acquires force and certainty by what you say here, and how much you fear lest the Americans should not find access to our ports.—What a misfortune it would in fact be to you! What a loss to England! What a terrible blow to your commerce, if the produce of the two Indies should freely enter the ports of France and her allies! No, the French government has too much reason to be satisfied with you, to play you so perfidious a trick.

Vessels of that nation entered our ports, at the very moment when we learned that the bill which forbade all commerce with England was sanctioned by the Congress.

Think you that we have been ignorant, and can there exist more evident proofs of the attachment of these pretended neutrals and of the partiality of their government in your favor? Is it conceivable that in making us the same offers, the same promises, the same menaces as to you, they would so early have prejudged the question in your favor? Can it hence forth be doubted but that the arrangement has been made in America itself, between the English or Federal party and the authorized agents of England? Would American ships have departed for London and exposed themselves to all the rigour of the former orders in council, if they had not been certain of their (as yet tacit) revocation? Did they condescend to enquire whether France approved this scandalous renewal of intercourse, this manifest violation of the blockade in which we had placed the British Islands? And why, if the intention of the Americans had been upright and pure, did they not come freely to the ports of France and Holland, as well as to England? What means this distrust on the one hand and this confidence on the other?

Let us fear every thing from a people covetous and ingenious, who observe with joy our increasing embarrassment and approaching distress, without efforts, without combats without a navy. They are learning to get into their own hands a commerce protected by the most flourishing navy, and an hundred years of naval victories. They present themselves modestly and pacifically where we present ourselves with pride: they find every where a favorable reception when they declare themselves our rivals: they would be repulsed if they were considered only as our factors.

Doubtless it is because you fear every thing from such a people, that you open to them your ports; it is for your own ruin that you sell to them annually from two hundred and fifty to three hundred millions of manufactured articles, which they cannot pay you for but by selling themselves to other nations the produce of your colonies; it is to ruin you that they bring you naval stores of which you have need to keep up your flourishing navy. This is the rivalry which you pretend to dread, which ought to prevent us from looking upon the Americans as your factors, and insure to them our good will. *Risum teneatis.*

The blockade which it is wished should be respected by the Americans, is of such an extent that it may be looked upon as impossible to be enforced.

Who knows it better than your ministry, and why then have they taken such a measure if it is not to deceive us, in order that your friends may enter our ports more freely, under the mantle of rivalry and oppression?

Why are not the ports of Russia included, when that government manifests against us an enmity always increasing, and when ours has lost all hope of mollifying it?

A fine question! because you have occasion to sell your productions to Russia, and to purchase

Think you that we have forgotten both the false neutral papers fabricated in England, and the false certificates of origin which were sold in the North and in Holland at two louis a piece.

chase hers; because your flag not being received in her ports, you are obliged to transact your affairs through other agents, as was done last year, and will be done again, if Russia consents to furnish you with naval stores, to attack her fleets and her ports.

In the present state of things, the Americans may communicate with the greater part of the ports of Spain and Portugal.

Because the insurgents of Spain and her colonies, like yours, have need of provisions, and you yourselves have none to spare.

Sweden is also open to the commerce of the U States; and yet how many press-galleys have we not on the side of that kingdom. The other ports of the Baltic are interdicted, and there is not one of them at which our vessels are received.

Because you foresee that you will ere long lose the alliance of Sweden: because the sound is about to be shut either willingly or by force, as Trieste doubtless already is; because you want active agents wherever you cannot act yourselves.

The real motive of this arrangement is to facilitate the new loan which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has just announced at the bank and on the exchange. The loan, it is said, will be still more considerable than those of former years. The expenses only of the army for the present year, are augmented near three millions. This augmentation of expence is frightful, at a time when the public revenue diminishes in a still greater proportion. The custom and the excise, which are the principal branches of it, suffer every day more and more from the stagnation of commerce.

At last we have you. *Habemus confitentem regem.* You want a considerable loan. The customs and the excise, your principal branches of revenue suffer every day more and more from the stagnation of commerce. You confess that the measures which France had taken were beginning to produce their effect. A little longer, and they would have been followed by consequences the most disastrous to you. Masters of both the Indies, those possessions were about to become a real burden to you. The nations of Europe were on the point of being at last freed from your tyranny, and the most distant nation, who had imitated their noble example, would be found, in the increase of its population, industry, of its agriculture, an ample recompence for some momentary sacrifices. It is necessary for you to extricate yourself from this alarming crisis, to regain a few advantages, to re-open the channels of trade, to snatch from other nations the means to take long their sufferings, and to render the twenty years of combats and of triumphs, which you and your allies. All this, you have effected by your amicable arrangements. Your commerce will revive; the coffers of your customs and your excise will be replenished; your loan will be promptly filled up. Be it so—you are under great obligations to those who render you so signal a service; but at least expect not that France and her allies will deign to contribute to it.

Such, Monsieur Le Comte, are the replies which might be made to the English Journalist; or rather to the Mercantile coalition which has just been formed against us. The ministers of that nation are certainly not in the wrong to sing victory, and as for us, we cannot but see, with painful uneasiness, the English commerce, that audacious Proteus, almost touching the earth, rise up under another form, and escape all our attacks. Had I not reason to say to you, in my first letter, that in the present state of things, all maritime and colonial commerce, permitted or suffered on the continent of Europe, cannot but turn to the advantage of England and her exhausted finances; that pretended neutrals will necessarily be the most powerful auxiliaries of the English commerce; that France and her allies must be upon their guard, and frustrate by their firmness, manœuvres so contrary to their true interests.

Examine and re-examine the question in every point of view, and see if it can be answered in any other manner; if there be, on our part, any possible tolerance, which will not in its result, contribute to the advantage of our mortal enemies; examine whether in the interior of the continent, under whatever forms, the productions of the two Indies do not always proceed from England; whether, in short, the proceeds do not go into her coffers, whether her fortune is not founded upon those accumulated proceeds, and whether she can ever be compelled to make peace, if she finds herself us and her other enemies, the means of prolonging the war.

Already the American flag floats on every sea. No time has been lost. They are feeling the ground on the right and on the left. Two vessels of that nation have ventured to enter Tomangen, and the Danish government has thought it its duty to sequester them, until the powerful Arbiter of the Continent shall himself decide.