National Intelligencer.

& WASHINGTON ADVERTISER.

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To the Editor of the National Intelligencer.

A Massachusetts newspaper called "The Repertory" is now on my table. It ascribes to the pen of Mr. Madison the series of papers under the signature of "*Juriscola,*" in the "*National Intelligencer.*" It is utterly untrue that Mr. Madison wrote or caused the composition of any one of those essays. They were written by a native citizen of America far North of Washington. Whatever may be the faults of the writer of "*Juriscola*" they are not imputable to any of our administration at that place. Neither Jefferson nor Clinton, Madison, Gallatin, Dearborn, Smith or Rodney, could have seen a line of the papers before their publication: The whole superstructure of acrimonious censure, built by "*The Repertory*" upon the pretended authorship, falls therefore to the ground.

The cloud which "The Repertory" endeavors to throw over *the historical truths* collected by Juriscola, cannot conceal them.

Great Britain began, though a neutral, in 1792, those lawless violations of neutral commerce, which have brought on by their plain consequences, *the suspension of our trade.*

She cannot therefore claim the rights of retaliation.

Yet *her present orders of council* are openly grounded on a pretence to a right to retaliate.

As France was an intended victim of the British aggressions on neutral trade, she has, *as against Britain,* a right to retaliate.

Yet, since it is believed that our measures of peaceable resistance to this conduct of Britain are sincerely intended and well calculated *to prevent the perversion of our neutrality to the injury of France,* it is contended by *Juriscola,* that France ought to be convinced that she has not the right of retaliation, *as against us.* This defence of American rights and interests at the expence of England, though in part also at the expence of France, offends the writer in the *Boston Repertory.*

It was stated in the essays of Juriscola, that while Britain enslaved scores of hereditary princes and *eighty* millions of people in India, and kept her Hanoverian and Irish brethren under military despotism, *her government* could not be allowed, by discriminating Americans, a right to stamp "*usurper and despot*" on the front of Bonaparte. The real friends of the rights of mankind may consider the royal author of Asiatic bloodshed, dethronements, partitions, plunders, famines, and *unequalled* slavery, as not less dangerous and criminal than his imperial enemy. Juriscola defended not the conduct of either. He appeals to the tenor of the essays. It is asserted, that the papers of Juriscola are written with great labor. It is not so. They offer truths, which all public men well know, and which are imprinted, by their own intrinsic weight, deeply on the memory of thousands of our countrymen. Let the Repertory fairly republish the essays, and then offer its own commentaries, affording Juriscola an opportunity to reply in the same newspaper. He pledges himself to perform his duty. The cause will thus go fairly before the country. Truth and reason alone can thus prevail.

"The Repertory" charges the essays of Juriscola with a spirit and design of war against England. It would be easy to prove that the whole tenor of the writer's opinions and expressions have been opposed to *offensive war* with any nation, considering it as *indisputable* "*murder on an extended scale*"—"*genuine murder on the scale of millions.*" It is equally capable of proof, that he is averse to all *extra-territorial* wars, excepting however those cases when we may be obliged to carry war into an enemy's country to prevent predatory and murderous inroads on our frontiers and coasts. It is an opinion too, adopted on deliberate examination, that no war upon the ocean can redound to our real and ultimate advantage, though it may be necessary to our defence. Commerce, it is believed, as a general idea should be left free, but as British aggressions and French retaliations subjected our ships and cargoes to *ruinous confiscations* and our seamen to imprisonment, slavery, insult, degradation and *a forced participation in British battles against powers with which we were at peace, and even in British aggressions on our commerce, our flag and ourselves,* it appears to have been the bounden duty of our *Executive* department to suggest the measure of an embargo to the consideration of that legislative body, to whom the people and the states have committed the high power. Since France *confiscates,* and England *confiscates* our property at sea, and since England *captures, enslaves, perverts and murders* our mariners and passengers, will you not, *said the President to Congress,* suspend these insults and fatal injuries by ordaining an embargo on our own vessels? In the House of Representatives, all but forty-two concurred in the law; and after much agitation of all the suggestions of "*French influence*" *a secret hand, &c. &c.*" all but twenty-two of that House, late in the session, confirmed the measure by a new act of Congress*. The President, the Senators and the Representatives, amount to more then one hundred and eighty persons; and only 28 or 30 of this whole number opposed by their votes the act confirming and strengthening the embargo law.

It is pretended in the Repertory, that it is an object of *Juriscola* to convince France that we have adopted measures of "*revenge*" towards G. Britain. Never did a country less vindictively act in so temperate a spirit of mere defence against equal wrongs, as the U. States have displayed towards G. Britain before all her enemies. It is admitted that pacific measures, tending to coerce England out of her course of infracting neutral rights and her incessant violations of the law of morals among nations, have been so openly and firmly taken, as, in the sincere opinion of Juriscola, to be sufficient to convince all the continental powers of Europe, that we are determined to struggle, as far as in us lies, against *the perversions of our neutrality,* which have been too often made by England. No man, who remembers the British treatment of the Hamburgers, Bremeners, and Lubeckers in January 1793, and of Genoa and Tuscany in the same year, can doubt the justice and wisdom of such a struggle at this time on our part. When England in March, 1793, agreed with Russia to prevent not only our contraband, but our innocent trade with her enemies, *by force and arms beyond the law of nations,* we might justifiably have cut off all her intercourse with our country till she should declare our absolute exemption from that *insolent, unwarrantable and inadmissible attempt to regulate the trade of the neutral world.* As we are now doing *less* towards her, though she has since injured us *more* in our *persons,* our *property,* our *vessels* and our *trade,* nay, in our clearest and most important rights as *independent states,* *Juriscola* is *firm* in his convictions, that our present measures towards G. Britain are perfectly warrantable before heaven and earth. If Executive influence and the influence of Bonaparte are so great as are pretended by the Repertory, how is it that we have not declared war against G. Britain? If the essays of Juriscola deserve so much consideration and reprehension as the Repertory alleges, a faithful edition of ten thousand copies shall be immediately published, if the Editor of the Repertory will previously provide for the expence, in order to subject their contents to the public judgment.

A most disingenuous paragraph dishonors the observations in the Repertory: *Recent* condemnations in France, unknown in America when the essays under this signature were published in "*the National Intelligencer,*" are given as evidences of deliberate falsification in *Juriscola.* The Editors and writers of this charge are advised to meditate on the high command, that we bear not *false-witness* against our neighbor. It is too early to decide upon the list of captures. The evidences of the grounds of the condemnations are not before us. If they are finally confiscated under the Milan decree they are the first we have known except the shipwrecked vessel. We never defended any of them. We defend them not at this time. If true, we are sorry to believe, that they are produced by the long series of British aggressions on neutral rights, with the *avowed* design to injure France, which England has committed since the year 1791.

* The votes in the Senate are not at hand, but the majority there, for the embargo, was stronger.

The observations of the Repertory on *commerce* and *manufactures* are curiously sophistical. Is it incompatible with *justice* and *amity* towards England to maintain the interests of our own manufactures by permanent measures? Then has G. Britain been *unjust* and *inimical* to us since the revolutionary war, for she has maintained a severe and extreme permanent system to promote her manufactures and restrain ours. Not "*a hobnail,*" said that thoroughgoing Englishman, the old Lord Chatham, should the American colonists be permitted to make for themselves! Not a new slitting mill shall be erected in America, said the statute of that British Parliament, which contended for the right to bind us in all cases whatsoever. The American militia in the democratic state of Pennsylvania were to be armed in 1799 by muskets to be shipt on a contract of Governor Mifflin with an English house; but the British government refused permission to ship them; yet it is a crime in the view of the Repertory permanently to encourage their manufacture in our own country. The produce of our fisheries, of our farms, of our forests and of our mines may rust or decay, *deprived of their markets abroad by British original impediments and French imitations,* but our own manufacturers must not be permanently encouraged to employ or consume them. A writer living among the numerous manufacturers of the Eastern states, attempts to render Jefferson and Madison unpopular there, because they are willing to encourage manufactures, as well as commerce! There is no doubt, that more persons subsist by manufactures in these states than by foreign commerce. Manufactures are therefore entitled to as much favor as trade. There is no doubt that more value of our own produce is consumed and worked up by our manufacturers, their assistants and cattle, than is consumed and exported by the merchants, their assistants and cattle. In these positions we include household manufactures.

The Repertory complains that the commerce of America is unfavorably treated by Jefferson and Madison. Does England, which *plunders* and *teaches the foreign world to plunder our trade,* injure our commerce less than a faithful government which saved it from confiscation by a well-timed embargo? Does the British practice of taking away sailors of all nations from our vessels, promote our commerce more than *the steady resistance to British impressment,* which has been made during the time of our present administration? Do the British extensions of the list of articles, contraband of war, in the old treaty of 1794, favor our trade more than the ordinary rules of the law of nations, which our government will secure by a new treaty founded thereon or *by resting matters on the customary ground?* Did the purchase of Louisiana lessen our trade more than would the plans of Liston and Blount, and of Aaron Burr (*now with England!*) to establish the British monopoly at the mouth of the Mississippi? Does the British claim to the superiority on the ocean promote *our* trade? Does their extending their *monopoly,* to all the India and American commerce, favor our merchants? Does their seizing our ships in the colonial trade of their enemies and carrying on the same trade in their licenced and public ships help our commerce? Does their impressing passengers in our vessels, (enemies not military or their own subjects not liable to impressment in their own dominions) favor the trade of America? The commercial subject might be continued further, but it will be concluded with a few reflected opinions. It is firmly believed, that if the British government had never violated *neutral rights* and the *rights* of the adversary belligerents, in the manner they passed on from the year 1792 till the recent and insufferable *imposition of duties on our vessels exports and imports to and from the continent of Europe,* we should never have heard of the French decrees of Berlin, of Milan or of Bayonne; nor of the non-importation and embargo laws of the United States. The fall of our produce, the advanced price of our supplies, the distress of our fisheries, our sailors and our merchants by the embarrassment and suspension of trade and commerce, would not have occurred. The island of Great Britain is therefore in truth the *Pandora's box* of the planters, the seamen and the merchants of America. To *the manufacturers* she occasions unintended benefits.

JURISCOLA.

FOR THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

At a very numerous and respectable meeting of the democratic republican citizens of New-Castle County in the state of Delaware, on the 3d of September, 1808.—Convened pursuant to a resolution of a former meeting, dated the 19th of Aug. last, in order to agree on resolutions, relative to our political affairs, as regards the national government, and pending Presidential election; and also to agree on measures to be adopted relative to the ensuing election of this state.

George Read, chairman of the committee to whom the objects of the meeting were referred to report on—Reported the following introductory observations, and resolutions, expressive of the sense of the citizens assembled, in relation to those objects; and which were unanimously adopted.

Urged by the dangers that encompass our country on every side; threaten the infraction of its peace, and hazard its safety—the democratic citizens of New-Castle county have assembled to express their sentiments concerning, and communicate their views of, the state of public affairs—rendered infinitely interesting by the approaching national election for President and Vice-President of the United States:—The dignity and influence attached to these high offices, present them, as objects of great ambition and deep interest; their attainment is too often attempted by the aid of domestic faction and foreign intrigue; and it is apparent, that at the present crisis—combinations of a serious and alarming nature are forming to bias the election; hence results the importance of requiring 'talents,' 'patriotism' & 'worth,' and we would add—'a total exemption from foreign partialities'—as qualifications, essential to entitle the candidates to the support of those, upon whom the constitution devolves the important trust of electing, and of the exercise on their part of the utmost vigilance to guard against the wiles of faction and intrigue.

Whereupon Resolved, That the unjust & injurious measures pursued by Great-Britain and France, in imposing undue and illegal restraints on, and finally, interdicting the commerce of the United States with the belligerent powers—left no other alternative but *War* with both nations, or withdrawing our ships and vessels from commercial intercourse, by retaining them within our ports and suspending exportation.

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States in laying an Embargo on our ships and vessels, and restraining such exportation, subserved the best interest and promoted the real benefit of this great community; subjecting us merely by that measure, to a few temporary privations, instead of preferring the alternative 'War,' an evil of the first magnitude in the social state; a war too in which the odds would have been 'as a hundred to one,' against the people, who must have borne the burthen of the calamity, after commerce had become extinct, and bankruptcy and the ruin of private fortune had prostrated their energies and their ardor.

Resolved, That the strictly neutral and independent stand, which the President of the United States and majority of both houses of Congress have made against the efforts of foreign intrigue, seconded by domestic defection, to induce the adoption of a system of measures that would inevitably have made the U. States parties in the present disastrous and protracted war, merits the gratitude and applause of their fellow-citizens.

Resolved, That the real interests of the people of the United States will be best and most permanently promoted by the observance of a just and impartial conduct, *hereafter* as *heretofore,* towards the nations of the earth, and indicating a temper of moderation and forbearance, when unfortunate collisions produced by ambition or unjust pretentions may endanger subsisting pacific relations.

Resolved, That 'Peace on earth and good will among men,' being inculcated by the Divine Author of our holy religion, as pleasing to himself, and conducive to the temporal as well as eternal welfare of his followers, it becomes a matter of religious duty, as well as of civil obligation, to conform to a principle, which addresses itself with peculiar force to the religious of all denominations, and to support with every exertion the present *administration* and its measures—*which* has made, and we have no doubt will continue to make—'Peace,' and its concomitant, 'the people's happiness,' the bias of its policy. Remembering that the highest authority has promulgated "blessed are the peace-makers."

Resolved, That the uniform conduct of the President of the United States, the amiable and enlightend Jefferson, and of those connected in the administration of the general government during his presidency, has been the practical application of the principles avowed and recommended by the preceding resolutions; in consequence of which our prosperity and safety have flowed in an uninterrupted current, and so far as the wisdom and policy of pre-concerted measures can warrant the expectation—the future welfare of the U. States ensured.

Resolved, That our fellow-citizen James Madison, unites those virtues and talents which in an eminent degree qualify him for the first office in the gift of a free people: The dawn of his genius was hailed by the early confidence of his country, and after successively filling and ably sustaining the duties of various official situations in the United States, and meriting in a peculiar degree, the applause of all patriots, for his amelioration of the Constitution of the United States, by salutary amendments,—he was appointed by the President to the important station of Secretary of State; his services in this department are too recent and illustrious to be forgotten by any one—and more especially his zeal and ability in displaying and sustaining the rights of neutral nations against the unjust pretensions and gross violations of the belligerent powers, will confer a celebrity of character indestructable as the pyramid of national law.

Resolved, That the selection of James Madison to fill the office of President of the United States, after the expiration of the present term of Presidency, was dictated by a wise policy, obviously indicating the necessity of continuing the succession of the powers of administering the government in those hands, that would give a fair scope to, by securing a perseverance in, those political measures, originated by the present administration, now in the full tide of successful experiment; and predicated on principles, recognised and approved by the preceding resolutions—we do therefore approve in the most decided and unqualified terms of the selection thus made, of James Madison; considering him the most proper person to fill the office of President of the United States, believing him to be exempt from all undue influence, either foreign or domestic, and do hereby pledge ourselves to use all honorable and proper means to promote his election.

Resolved, That we approve of the selection at the same time of George Clinton, for the office of Vice-President of the United States, and will yield the like support in the promotion of his election.—This declaration is made and will be conformed to, on the principle alone, of Mr. Clinton's having declined all pretensions to the Presidency, and affording no countenance to our political opponents in using his name as a candidate for that office.

Resolved, That the mode of selection of proposed candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the U. S. is less exceptionable, and liable to fewer objections, than any other that has suggested itself to us: The circumstance of the men, who advised together and determined on the measure, being members of Congress, cannot certainly diminish the