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NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

Accusation against the administration of hostility to England and partiality to France—Continued—

III. The charge is attempted to be maintained by the measures of the present administration.

Let us faithfully review these measures, so far as they respect France and England.

Mr. Jefferson became President of the United States on the 3rd of March 1801.

Previous to this period, the present treaty with France was framed by ministers, appointed by, and conformably to instructions given by Mr. Adams; and was approved by the Senate.

So far then as the terms of this treaty respect the point at issue, they do not bear upon the conduct of the present administration, it being exclusively the measure of the preceding administration.

Mr. Jefferson, accordingly, when he entered office, found in existence treaties with both France and England These he determined to observe with inviolable fidelity, and he has kept his promise: The contrary is said by no one.

Under these circumstances the first session of the seventh Congress opened. The message of the President, delivered on that occasion, commences with the following congratulations and manifestation of amicable sentiments to the foreign world generally:

"It is a circumstance of sincere gratification to me, that on meeting the great council of the nation, I am able to announce to them on grounds of reasonable certainty, that the wars and troubles, which have for so many years afflicted our sister nations, have at length come to an end; and that the communications of peace and commerce are once more opening among them. Whilst we devoutly return thanks to the beneficent Being who has been pleased to breathe into them the spirit of conciliation and forgiveness, we are bound, with peculiar gratitude, to be thankful to him that our own peace has been preserved through so perilous a season, and ourselves permitted quietly to cultivate the earth, and to practise and improve those arts which tend to increase our comforts. The assurances indeed of friendly disposition received from all the powers with whom we have principal relations, had inspired a confidence that our peace with them would not have been disturbed. But a cessation of the irregularities which had afflicted the commerce of neutral nations, and of the irritations and injuries produced by them, cannot but add to this confidence; and strengthens at the same time, the hope that wrongs committed on unoffending friends, under a pressure of circumstances, will now be reviewed with candor, and will be considered as founding just claims of retribution for the past, and new assurance for the future."

That these were not words of course, so far as related to Great-Britain, is manifest from the conduct of the President. They were accompanied by every demonstration of amity; and, among the rest, by the continuance of Mr. King as minister of the United States at the court of London. It was understood that Mr. King was highly acceptable to that government. It must have been with the sincere view of cultivating their good will and promoting the interests of the two nations that he was continued, notwithstanding his avowed possession of political sentiments at variance with those of the new administration. The inference deduced becomes irresistible, when we consider the great responsibility of the place he held, and the high confidence it implied. It manifests also a rare sacrifice of personal to patriotic motives. Mr. King was not only permitted to retain his situation for a short time; but was actually continued in it, to the mutual satisfaction of himself and the government, until his own personal convenience produced his resignation; until, it is believed, the end of the year 1803 or beginning of 1804. Had the government entertained views hostile to England, would they have so long continued Mr. King in this important station? No. They would have selected as the depositary of their confidence, and the organ of their machinations, a man of similar sentiments with themselves, one whose prejudices or judgment would have co-operated in producing the desired effect; one, at any rate, who by his principles, would have inspired the British ministry with distrust. This fact is worth a volume of assertion or speculation. It carries conviction to the judgment of any man of common sense; and proves, beyond dispute, the honest desire of the administration to maintain the friendly relations subsisting between the two nations.

In December 1803, at the opening of the next session of Congress, we find the President addressing them in the following terms:

"When we assemble together, fellow-citizens to consider the state of our beloved country, our just attentions are first drawn to those pleasing circumstances which mark the goodness of that Being from whose favor they flow, and the large measure of thankfulness we owe for his bounty. Another year has come around, and finds us still blessed with peace and friendship abroad, law, order and religion, at home, good affection and harmony with our Indian neighbors, our burthens lightened; yet our income sufficient for the public wants, and the produce of the year great beyond example. These, fellow-citizens, are the circumstances under which we meet; and we remark with special satisfaction those which, under the smiles of Providence, result from the skill, industry and order of our citizens, managing their own affairs in their own way & for their own use, unembarrassed by too much regulation, unoppressed by fiscal exactions.

"On the restoration of peace in Europe that portion of the carrying trade, which had fallen to our share during the war, was abridged by the returning competition of the belligerent powers. This was to be expected & was just. But, in addition we find, in some parts of Europe, monopolizing discriminations, which, in the form of duties, tend effectually to prohibit the carrying thither our own produce in our own vessels. From existing amities and a spirit of justice, it is hoped that friendly discussion will produce a fair and adequate reciprocity. But should false calculations of interest defeat our hope, it rests with the legislature to decide whether they will meet inequalities abroad, with countervailing inequalities at home, or provide for the evil in any other way.

"It is with satisfaction I lay before you an act of the British parliament anticipating this subject, so far as to authorise a mutual abolition of the duties and countervailing duties, permitted under the treaty of one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four. It shews on their part a spirit of justice and friendly accommodation, which it is our duty and our interest to cultivate with all nations. Whether this would produce a due equality in the navigation between the two countries, is a subject for your consideration."

Here, it will be admitted, is breathed nothing but amity and good will to England, whose government is complimented for "*a spirit of justice and friendly accommodation.*"

Nothing occurred in the current year, which was the subject of reprehension or complaint against England. In this period, however, Spain suspended our right of deposit at New Orleans, which eventuated in the cession of Louisiana by the French to whom Lousiana had been in the mean time transferred. It was, on this occasion, that the President, in his opening address, used the memorable terms "*enlightened government of France*," which have been since so much carped at; terms, however, not more complimentary than those applied, as above, to England.

At the same time the President closed his address to Congress as follows:

"We have seen with sincere concern the flames of war lighted up again in Europe, and nations, with which we have the most friendly and useful relations, engaged in mutual destruction. While we regret the miseries in which we see others involved, let us bow with gratitude to that kind Providence, which, inspiring with wisdom and moderation our late legislative councils, while placed under the urgency of the greatest wrongs, guarded us from hastily entering into the sanguinary contest, and left us only to look on and to pity its ravages. These will be heaviest on those immediately engaged; yet the nations pursuing peace will not be exempt from all evil. In the course of this conflict let it be our endeavor, as it is our interest and desire, to cultivate the friendship of the belligerent nations by every act of justice and of innocent kindness; to receive their armed vessels, with hospitality, from the distresses of the sea, but to administer the means of annoyance to none; to establish in our harbors, such a police as may maintain law and order; to restrain our citizens from embarking individually in a war in which their country takes no part; to punish severely those, citizen or alien, who shall usurp the cover of our flag, for vessels not entitled to it, infecting thereby with suspicion those of real Americans, and committing us into controversies for the redress of wrongs not our own; to exact from every nation the observance, towards our vessels and citizens, of those principles and practices which all civilized people acknowledge; to merit the character of a just nation, and maintain that of an independent one, preferring every consequence to insult and habitual wrong. Congress will consider whether the existing laws enable us efficaciously to maintain this course with our citizens in all places and with others while within the limits of our jurisdiction, and will give them the new modifications necessary for these objects. Some contraventions of right have already taken place, both within our jurisdictional limits, and on the high seas. The friendly disposition of the governments from whose agents they have proceeded, as well as their wisdom and regard for justice, leave us in reasonable expectation, that they will be rectified and prevented in future: and that no act will be countenanced by them which threatens to disturb our friendly intercourse. Separated by a wide ocean from the nations of Europe, and from the political interests which entangle them together, with productions and wants which render our commerce and friendship useful to them, and theirs to us, it cannot be the interest of any to assail us, nor ours to disturb them. We should be most unwise indeed, were we to cast away the singular blessings of the position in which nature has placed us, the opportunity she has endowed us with, of pursuing, at a distance from foreign contentions, the paths of industry, peace, and happiness, of cultivating general friendship, and of bringing collision of interest to the umpirage of reason, rather than of force. How desirable then must it be, in a government like ours, to see its citizens adopt individually the views, the interests, and the conduct which their country should persue, divesting themselves of those passions and patialities, which tend to lessen useful friendships, and embarrass and embroil us in the calamitous scenes of Europe. Confident, fellow-citizens, that you will duly estimate the importance of neutral dispositions, towards the observance of neutral conduct, that you will be sensible how much it is our duty to look on the bloody Arena spread before us, with commiseration indeed, but with no other wish than to see it closed, I am persuaded you will cordially cherish these dispositions, in all disscussions among yourselves, and in all communications with your constituents. And I anticipate with satisfaction the measures of wisdom, which the great interests now committed to you, will give *you* an opportunity of providing and *myself* that of approving, and of carrying into execution, with the fidelity I owe to my country."

We defy any man to mark more distinctly, or to enforce more eloquently, the duties of impartiality and neutrality. There is one consideration, in this eloquent appeal of the President to his fellow-citizens, that ought not to be overlooked. He knew that their wishes and sympathies were then on the side of France. He knew that the people of America had neither forgotten or forgiven the tyrannical conduct of the British government towards them. In injoining, therefore, upon them forbearance and moderation, he, in fact cautioned them, against permitting their passions to be enlisted on the side of France. It is impossible to have manifested a higher evidence of his desire to cultivate the good will of Britain.

In November 1804, on the opening of the ensuing session of Congress the President says—

"To a people, fellow-citizens, who sincerely desire the happiness and prosperity of other nations, to those who justly calculate that their own well being is advanced by that of the nations with which they have intercourse, it will be a satisfaction to observe that the war which was lighted up in Europe a little before our last meeting, has not yet extended its flames to other nations, nor been marked by the calamities which sometimes stain the footsteps of war. The irregularities too on the ocean, which generally harrass the commerce of neutral nations, have, in distant parts, disturbed ours less than on former occasions. But, in the American seas, they have been greater from peculiar causes; and even within our harbors and jurisdiction, infringements on the authority of the laws have been committed which have called for serious attention. The friendly conduct of the governments from whose officers and subjects these acts have proceeded, in other respects, and in places more under their observation and control, gives us confidence that our representations on this subject will have been properly regarded."

"With the nations of Europe in general our friendship and intercourse are undisturbed: and from the governments of the belligerent powers especially, we continue to receive those friendly manifestations which are justly due to an honest neutrality, and to such good offices consistent with that, as we have opportunities of rendering."

A more liberal or impartial compliment to both Britain and France could neither have been expected or given.

Here then is a period of four years, two of which were war, during which an uninterrupted good will was maintained between the United States and England as well as France. We ask, whether this is not an irrefragable proof of the amicable sentiments of our administration towards both nations, of their rigid adherence to the precepts of a just and impartial neutrality. During the whole of this time, we have seen that the President held, and actually expressed before the world, the most favorable opinions of the friendly sentiments of both these goverements.

This fortunate state of things was, however, destined to change, and we accordingly find, in the winter of 1805, the following language held by the President in his address to Congress.

"Since our last meeting the aspect of our foreign relations has considerably changed. Our coasts have been infested, and our harbors watched by private armed vessels, some of them without commissions, some with illegal commissions, others with those of legal form, but committing piratical acts beyond the authority of their commissions. They have captured in the very entrance of our harbors as well as on the high seas, not only the vessels of our friends coming to trade with us, but our own also. They have carried them off under pretence of legal adjudication; but not daring to approach a court of justice, they have plundered and sunk them by the way, in obscure places, where no evidence could arise against them, maltreated the crews, and abandoned them in boats in the open sea, or on desert shores, without food or covering. These enormities appearing to be unreached by any control of their sovereigns, I found it necessary to equip a force, to cruise within our own seas, to arrest all vessels of these descriptions found hovering on our coasts, within the limits of the gulf stream, and to bring the offenders in for trial as pirates.'

"The same system of hovering on our coasts and harbors, under color of seeking enemies, has been also carried on by public armed ships, to the great annoyance and oppression of our commerce. New principles too have been interpolated into the law of nations, founded neither in justice nor the usage or acknowledgment of nations. According to these a belligerent takes to itself a commerce with its own enemy, which it denies to a neutral, on the ground of its aiding that enemy in the war. But reason revolts at such an inconsistency, and the neutral having equal right with the belligerent to decide the question, the interests of our constituents, and the duty of maintaining the authority of reason, the only umpire between just nations, impose on us the obligation of providing an effectual and determined opposition to a doctrine so injurious to the rights of peaceable nations. Indeed the confidence we ought to have in the justice of others, still countenances the hope that a sounder view of those rights will of itself induce from every belligerent a more correct observance of them."

The first member of these remarks alludes to French privateers, and the second to English national ships. It must be admitted that the measures taken by the President against the former, connected with his forbearance towards the latter, argues at least as much moderation towards England as France. Add to this his concluding language, and no doubt can be entertained on this head.

On the 2d of December, 1806, the President addressed Congress as follows:

"It would have given me, fellow-citizens, great satisfaction to announce, in the moment of your meeting, that the difficulties in our foreign relations, existing at the time of your last separation, had been amicably and justly terminated. I lost no time in taking those measures which were most likely to bring them to such a termination, by special missions, charged with such powers and instructions as, in the event of failure, could leave no imputation on either our moderation or forbearance. The delays which have since taken place in our negociations with the British government, appear to have proceeded from causes which do not forbid the expectation that, during the course of the session, I may be enabled, to lay before you their final issue."

On the 27th of October, 1807, the session was opened by the following remarks:

"Circumstances, fellow-citizens, which seriously threatened the peace of our country have made it a duty to convene you at an earlier period than usual. The love of peace so much cherished in the bosom of our citizens, which has so long guided the proceedings of their public councils, and induced forbearance under so many wrongs, may not ensure our continuance in the quiet pursuits of industry. The many injuries and depredations committed on our commerce and navigation upon the high seas for years past, the successive innovations on those principles of public law which have been established by the reason and usage of nations as the rule of their intercourse, and the umpire and security of their rights and peace, and all the circumstances which induced the extraordinary mission to London, are already known to you. The instructions given to our ministers were framed in the sincerest spirit of amity and moderation. They accordingly proceeded, in conformity therewith, to propose arrangements which might embrace and settle all the points in difference between us; which might bring us to a mutual understanding on our neutral and national rights, and provide for a commercial intercourse on conditions of some equality. After long and fruitless endeavors to effect the purpose of their mission, and to obtain arrangements within the limits of their instructions, they concluded to sign such as could be obtained, and to send them for consideration: candidly declaring to the other negociators, at the same time, that they were acting against their instructions, and that their government therefore could not be pledged for ratification. Some of the articles proposed might have been admitted on a principle of compromise, but others were too highly disadvantageous; and no sufficient provision was made against the principal source of the irritations and collisions which were constantly endangering the peace of the two nations. The question therefore whether a treaty should be accepted in that form could have admitted but of one decision, even had no declarations of the other party impaired our [illegible]