

both economy and success, in what appertains to the army and the war, is equally inculcated by the examples of other countries, and by the experience of our own.

A revision of the militia laws for the purpose of rendering them more systematic and better adapting them to the emergencies of the war, is at this time particularly desirable.

Of the additional ships authorized to be fitted for service, two will be shortly ready to sail: a third is under repair, and delay will be avoided in the repair of the residue. Of the appropriations for the purchase of materials for ship-building, the greater part has been applied to that object, and the purchases will be continued with the balance.

The enterprising spirit which has characterized our naval force, and its success both in restraining insults and depredations on our coasts, and in reprisals on the enemy, will not fail to recommend an enlargement of it.

There being reason to believe that the act prohibiting the acceptance of British licenses, is not a sufficient guard against the use of them for purposes favorable to the interest and views of the enemy; further provisions on that subject are highly important. Nor is it less so, that penal enactments should be provided for cases of corrupt and perfidious intercourse with the enemy, not amounting to treason, nor yet embraced by any statutory provisions.

A considerable number of American vessels, which were in England when the revocation of the Orders in Council took place, were laden with British manufactures, under an erroneous impression that the non-importation act would immediately cease to operate, and have arrived in the United States. It did not appear proper to exercise, on unforeseen cases of such magnitude, the ordinary powers vested in the Treasury department, to mitigate forfeitures, without previously affording to Congress an opportunity of making on the subject such provisions as they may think proper. In their decision they will doubtless equally consult what is due to equitable considerations and to the public interest.

The receipts into the Treasury, during the year ending on the 30th September last, have exceeded sixteen millions and a half of dollars; which have been sufficient to defray all the demands on the Treasury to that day, including a necessary reimbursement of near three millions of the principal of the public sum of near 5,850,000 dollars, received on account of the loans authorized by the acts of the last session: the whole sum actually obtained on loan amounts to eleven millions of dollars, the residue of which being receivable subsequent to the 30th September last, will, together with the current revenue, enable us to defray all the expenses of this year.

The duties on the late unexpected importations of British manufactures, will render the revenue of the ensuing year more productive than could have been anticipated.

The situation of our country, fellow-citizens, is not without its difficulties, though it abounds in animating considerations, of which the view here presented of our pecuniary resources is an example. With more than one nation, we have serious and unsettled controversies; and with one, powerful in the means and habits of war, we are at war. The spirit and strength of this nation are nevertheless equal to the support of all its rights, and to carry it through all its trials. They can be met in that confidence. Above all, we have the inestimable consolation of knowing, that the war in which we are actually engaged, is a war neither of ambition nor of vain glory; that it is waged, not in violation of the rights of others, but in the maintenance of our own; that it was preceded by a patience without example, under wrongs, accumulating without end; and that it was finally not declared until every hope of averting it was extinguished, by the transfer of the British sceptre into new hands clinging to former Councils; and until declarations were reiterated to the last hour, through the British Envoy here, that the hostile edicts against our commercial rights and our maritime independence would not be revoked; nay, that they could not be revoked, without violating the obligations of Great-Britain to other Powers, as well as her own interests.—To have shrunk, under such circumstances, from manly resistance, would have been a degradation blasting our best and proudest hopes—it would have struck us from the high rank, where the virtuous struggles of our fathers had placed us, and have betrayed the magnificent legacy which we hold in trust for future generations. It would have acknowledged, that the element, which forms three-fourths of the globe we inhabit, and where all independent nations have equal and common rights, the American people were not an independent people but colonists and vassals.—It was at this moment, and with such an alternative, that war was chosen. The nation felt the necessity of it, and called for it. The appeal was accordingly made, in a just cause, to the just and all-powerful Being who holds in his hand the chain of events and the destiny of nations. It remains only, that faithful to ourselves, entangled in no connexions with the views of other powers, and ever ready to accept peace from the hand of justice, we prosecute the war with united counsels, and with the ample faculties of the nation, until peace be so obtained, and as the only means, under the divine blessing, of speedily obtaining it.

NOVEMBER 4, 1812. JAMES MADISON.

DOCUMENTS

Which accompanied the President's Message to Congress.
LETTER.

Mr. Russell to Lord Castlereagh.

My Lord—It is only necessary, I trust, to call the attention of your Lordship to a review of the conduct of the government of the United States to prove incontrovertibly its increasing anxiety to maintain the relations of peace and

friendship with Great-Britain. Its patience in suffering the many wrongs which it has received, and its perseverance in endeavouring by amicable means to obtain redress, are known to the world. Despairing at length of receiving this redress from the justice of the British government, to which it had so often applied in vain and feeling that a further forbearance would be a virtual surrender of interests and rights essential to the prosperity and independence of the nation confided to its protection, it has been compelled to discharge its high duty by an appeal to arms. While, however, it regards this course as the only one which remained for it to pursue with a hope of preserving any portion of that kind of character, which constitutes the vital strength of every nation, yet it is still willing to give another proof of the spirit which has uniformly distinguished its proceedings, by seeking to arrest, on terms consistent with justice and honor, the calamities of war. It has therefore authorized me to stipulate with his Britannic Majesty's government, an armistice to commence at or before the expiration of sixty days after the signature of the instrument providing for it, on condition that the orders in council be repealed and no illegal blockades be substituted to them, and that orders be immediately given to discontinue the impressment of persons from American vessels, and to restore the citizens of the United States already impressed; it being moreover well understood that the British Government will assent to enter into definitive arrangements, as soon as may be, on these and every other difference, by a Treaty to be concluded either in London or Washington, as on an impartial consideration of existing circumstances shall be deemed most expedient.

As an inducement to Great-Britain to discontinue the practice of impressment from American vessels, I am authorized to give assurance that a law shall be passed (to be reciprocal) to prohibit the employment of British seamen, in the Public or commercial service of the United States.

It is sincerely believed that such an arrangement would prove more efficacious in securing to Great-Britain her seamen than the practice of impressment so derogatory to the sovereign attributes of the United States, and so incompatible with the personal rights of their citizens.

Your Lordship will not be surprised that I have presented the revocation of the orders in council as a preliminary to the suspension of hostilities, when it is considered that the act of the British government of the 23d of June last ordaining that revocation, is predicated on conditions, the performance of which is rendered impracticable by the change which is since known to have occurred in the relations between the two countries. It cannot now be expected that the government of the United States will immediately on due notice of that act, revoke or cause to be revoked its acts, excluding from the waters and harbors of the U. S. all British armed vessels, and interdicting commercial intercourse with Great-Britain. Such a procedure would necessarily involve consequences too unreasonable and extravagant to be for a moment presumed. The order in council of the 23d of June last will therefore according to its own terms be null and of no effect, and a new act of the British government, adapted to existing circumstances, is obviously required for the effectual repeal of the orders in council of which the United States complain.

The government of the United States considers indemnity for injuries received under the orders in council and other edicts, violating the rights of the American nation, to be incident to their repeal, and it believes that satisfactory provision will be made in the definitive treaty, to be hereafter, negotiated, for this purpose.

The conditions now offered to the British Government for the termination of the war by an armistice as above stated, are so moderate and just in themselves, and so entirely consistent with its interest and honor, that a confident hope is indulged that it will not hesitate to accept them. In so doing it will abandon no right; it will sacrifice no interests; it will obtain only from violating the rights of the United States, and in return it will restore peace with the power, from whom in a friendly commercial intercourse so many advantages are to be derived.

Your Lordship is undoubtedly aware of the serious difficulties with which the prosecution of the war, even for a short period, must necessarily embarrass all future attempts at accommodation.—Passions exasperated by injuries—alliances or conquests on terms which forbid their abandonment—will inevitably hereafter embitter and protract a contest which might now be so easily and happily terminated.

Deeply impressed with these truths I cannot but persuade myself that his Royal Highness the Prince Regent will take into his early consideration the propositions, herein made on behalf of the United States, and to decide on them in a spirit of conciliation and justice.

I have the honor to be, with high consideration, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

(Signed) JONAS RUSSELL.

To the right hon. Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Russell.

Foreign Office, August 29.

SIR—Although the diplomatic relations between the two governments have been terminated, by a declaration of war on the part of the United States, I have not hesitated, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, and the authority under which you act, to submit to the Prince Regent the proposition contained in your letter of the 24th inst. for a suspension of hostilities.

From the period at which your instructions must have been issued, it is obvious, that this overture was determined upon by the government of the United States, in ignorance to the order in council of the 23d June last, and as you inform me that you are not at liberty to depart from the condition set forth in your letter, it only remains for me to acquaint you that the Prince Regent feels himself under the necessity of declining to accede to the propositions therein contained, as being on various grounds absolutely inadmissible.

As soon as there was reason to apprehend that Mr. Foster's functions might have ceased in America, and that

he might have been obliged to withdraw himself in consequence of war being declared, from the United States; before the abovementioned order of the 23d June, and the instructions consequent thereupon, could have reached him, measures were taken for authorizing the British Admiral on the American Station, to propose to the United States an immediate and reciprocal revocation of all hostile orders, with the tender of giving full effect, in the event of hostilities being discontinued, to provisions of the said order, upon conditions therein specified.

From this statement you will perceive that the view you have taken of this part of the subject is incorrect; and that in the present state of the relations between the two countries, the operation of the order of the 23d June, can only be defeated by a refusal on the part of your government to desist from hostilities, or to comply with the conditions expressed in the said order.

Under the circumstances of your having no powers to negotiate, I must decline entering into a detailed discussion of the propositions which you have been directed to bring forward.

I cannot however, refrain on one single point from expressing my surprise; namely, that, as a condition, preliminary even to a suspension of hostilities, the government of the United States should have thought fit to demand, that the British government should desist from its ancient and accustomed practice of impressing British seamen from the merchant ships of a foreign state, simply on the assurance that a law shall hereafter be passed to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the public or commercial service of that state.

The British government now, as heretofore, is ready to receive from the government of the U. States, and amicably to discuss any proposition which professes to have in view either to check abuse in the exercise of the practice of impressment, or to accomplish by means less liable to vexation the object for which impressment has hitherto been found necessary, but they cannot consent to suspend the exercise of a right upon which the naval strength of the empire mainly depends, until they are fully convinced that means can be devised and well adopted, by the which the object to be obtained by the exercise of that right can be effectually secured. I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obt'd humble servant,

CASTLEREAGH.

(Signed)

J. Russell, Esq. &c.

Correspondence between Sir John Borlase Warren and the Secretary of State.

Halifax, Nova Scotia, September 30.

SIR—The departure of Mr. Foster from America, has devolved upon me the charge of making known to you for the information of the Government of the United States, the sentiments entertained by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, upon the existing relations of the two countries.

You will observe from the enclosed copy of an order in council, bearing date the 23d June, 1812, that the orders in council of the 7th of January, 1807, and the 26th of April, 1809, ceased to exist nearly at the same time that the Government of the United States declared war against his Majesty.

Immediately on the receipt of this declaration in London, the order in council, of which a copy is herewith inclosed to you, was issued, on the 31st day of July, for the embargo and detention of all American Ships.

Under these circumstances, I am commanded to propose to your government the immediate cessation of hostilities between the two countries, and I shall be most happy to be the instrument of bringing about a reconciliation, so interesting and beneficial to America and Great-Britain.

I therefore propose to you that the Government of the United States of America shall instantly recall their letters of marque and reprisal against British ships, together with all orders and instructions for any acts of hostility whatever against the territories of his Majesty, or the persons or property of his Subjects; with the understanding, that immediately on my receiving from you an official assurance to that effect, I shall instruct all the officers under my command to desist from corresponding measures of war, against the ships and property of the United States, and, that I shall transmit without delay corresponding intelligence to the several parts of the world where hostilities may have commenced. The British commanders, in which will be required to discontinue hostilities, from the receipt of such notice.

Should the American government accede to the above proposal for terminating hostilities, I am authorized to arrange with you as to the revocation of the laws which interdict the commerce and ships of war of Great-Britain from the harbors and waters of the United States; in default of which revocation within such reasonable periods as may be agreed upon, you will observe by the order of the 23d June the orders in council of January, 1807, and April, 1809, are to be revived.

The officer who conveys this letter to the American coast has received my orders to put to sea immediately upon the delivering of this despatch to the competent authority; and I earnestly recommend that no time may be lost in communicating to me the decision of your government, persuaded as I feel that it cannot but be of a nature to lead to a speedy termination of the present differences.

The flag of truce which you may charge with your reply will find one of my cruisers at Sandy Hook, ten days after landing this despatch, which I have directed to call there with a flag of truce for that purpose.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration, sir, your most obedient and most faithful humble servant,

JOHN BORLASE WARREN,

Admiral of the Blue, and Commander

in Chief, &c. &c. &c.

Mr. Munroe to Sir J. B. Warren,

Department of State, October 27, 1812.

SIR—I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 30th ult. and to submit it to the consideration of the President