

But there is another class of people who are entitled to more respect, and who enquire what is the benefit derived to our country, by exhibiting the unsoundness of the principles of our own administration pending a controversy between us and foreign nations?

We answer, our government, like that of Great-Britain, is a government of opinion, that opinion when once well ascertained ought to and must govern our rulers—this is the very foundation of a free government. But how is this opinion to be formed or to be known? A member of Congress does not correspond with ten persons out of fifty thousand of his constituents—It will be said that he carries with him their sentiments, but suppose a question arises like this of Mr. Jackson, after he leaves home, how is he to know the public feeling? We answer—Through the medium of the press—that palladium of our rights. Is all the zeal which we have displayed heretofore in favour of the Liberty of the Press a mere pretension? And shall we renounce its privileges at the very moment when alone they become important? In times of peace and quiet, it is very immaterial what the press does or does not inculcate; but in times of danger and turbulence its value is felt: shall it be, then, restrained when it is most wanted? Shall we be permitted to discuss who shall or who shall not be constables or clerks in a petty village, and be denied the discussion whether our country, our lives, and our fortunes shall be put in jeopardy by an unnecessary war?

This doctrine of the liberty of the press is strangely managed. When the public papers, in the case of the Chesapeake, and of the first unfair and false promulgation of the pretended insult of Mr. Jackson, took side with the government, we were then told they were the *vox dei*, and not to be resisted. "The people have willed it," said the National Intelligencer, "and it must not be opposed." But when these same public presses, recovering from the panic, and the effects of misdirected passions, began to express a different opinion, they were denounced. The sentiments of more sober thoughts were declared to be the offspring of seditious opinions.

The motives of the foregoing writings were these—It was believed that there was a manifest disposition to bring about a rupture with Great-Britain; it was perceived that the documents furnished no new and no plausible occasion for it; it was known that our members of congress left their respective States before this state of things was understood, and it was deemed important to let them know in what light these dispatches, and the late conduct of our government, were viewed here. It was found moreover, that the dismissal of Mr. Jackson might be followed by a declaration of war against Great-Britain, and that the best mode of avoiding such a calamity would be by uniting the people and the legislatures of the states, the most opposed to such a disastrous measure, in legal and unconstitutional means of averting it. It was, and it is still hoped, that if petitions should be presented at the foot of Mr. Madison's throne, he may revoke his determination as to the rejection of the Envoy of his Britannic Majesty. It is also hoped that Great-Britain, notwithstanding the rejection of her Minister on frivolous pretences, which is the usual prelude to war, will yet be diverted from adopting, as a precautionary step, the seizure of our vessels and property, an event which would certainly lead to a war, much to be deplored on both sides.

The only hope entertained by the writer of this article is derived from the belief that Great-Britain understands the policy of our Cabinet—that while their feelings and wishes are all on the side of France, they do not choose to hazard their popularity by an unjust and unfounded war against Great-Britain—that a majority of the Eastern States, and two fifths of the others are opposed to a war on such flimsy grounds as have been yet brought forward, and so long as much deeper, more aggravated wrongs remain wholly unatoned for by France.

We hope she knows farther, and we are sure she estimates more seriously the great interests of liberty—that the preservation of America from the grasp of France, is vastly more important than any smaller consideration, and that much is to be endured rather than to suffer such an event to take place.

She will not we are persuaded permit herself to mistake the temporary policy of the democratic party, for the real interest and feelings of the American people. She will recollect that Great-Britain had her long Parliament and her Cromwells, and France her Robespierres and Marais, but that such ephemeral appearances are no indication of the general course of National policy.

It is hoped and believed that the promise made by the writer has been in some measure fulfilled:—

That it has been shown that we had a right to expect such a negotiation and such an issue from Mr. Madison's former character:—

That an arrangement of Mr. Erskine was concluded, mala fide, without demanding his powers, knowing that such as he did exhibit were violated and accompanied with such affrontive expressions as rendered it certain it could not be accepted:—

That Mr. Jackson is chargeable with no insulting expressions which we can discern—with no indecorum towards our Cabinet, but that the most harsh and indecorous language has been adopted towards him by our Secretary of State:—

That the British Minister and British Government have both been charged with the most improper conduct in this late negotiation, without, as far as we can discern the slightest evidence. On the contrary, that the most injurious conduct and the most insulting insinuations from France, have been wholly overlooked.

We owe an apology to the public for the very incorrect form in which these ideas are conveyed. It has been our endeavour to present a perspicuous view of the subject, rather than to exhibit it in an enticing dress. We are aware that many imperfections and inaccuracies will be found in the style, but they have arisen from the strong desire which was felt to present this subject at an early moment to the public.

¶ We this day complete the publication of "The Diplomatic policy of Mr. Madison unveiled."

NEW-YORK, FEBRUARY 20.

Capt. Mitchell informs, that the day before he left St. Bartholomew, it was reported, that the British had landed 800 troops at Bay-Mahaut, Guadeloupe, drove the French before them, and took possession of the fort. Point-Petre was to have been attacked on the 2d inst. off which place were 20 sail of British ships of war.

LATE FROM LISBON.—We learn by the ship Monticello, which left Lisbon on the 8th ult. that the Head-Quarters of the British army were still at Coimbra—that every possible defence was to be made against the French—that 40,000 Portuguese troops were to be raised, supported, and officered by the British—that off the harbor of Lisbon, Capt. Kearny spoke a British sloop of war from England for the Cape of Good Hope, with dispatches, and was informed by her commander, that a fleet of transports sailed a days before her, with 10,000 troops on board for Lisbon.

Capt. K. further states, that at Lisbon, he read London papers as late as the 3d of January, which noticed the dismissal of Mr. Jackson by our Government. The news was received in England by the British Packet from America. It excited a considerable ferment at first, but in a few days it somewhat abated. Mr. Canning had been appointed first Lord of the Admiralty.

Answer of the House of Assembly of this State, to the Speech of the Governor.

To his Excellency Daniel D. Tompkins, Esq. Governor of the State of New-York.

SIR.—The duty of legislating for a large and opulent State, it is at all times important and highly responsible.

Whether the magnitude of that duty is enhanced at the present juncture by the convulsed state of the civilized world, and the great political events, constantly occurring, it is not our province to determine.

The powers constitutionally vested in the legislatures of the particular States, do not authorize any interference on their part, with the foreign relations of the United States. If, however, the general government, to whose consideration this and many other topics embraced in your Excellency's speech, properly belong, shall require the co-operation of this house, in any measure necessary to maintain the dignity and provide for the protection of the nation, the well known patriotism of this State is a sufficient pledge that such co-operation will be promptly and cheerfully afforded.

The mournful picture which your Excellency has drawn of the unhappy condition of the nations of Europe, and the monitory lesson which it furnishes to the American people, of the rapacity and ambition of princes, cannot fail to make a deep impression on every patriotic mind; as men we sympathize sincerely with the sufferers, and as Americans we feel a deep solicitude to escape similar calamities.

We have witnessed with strong emotions of indignation and resentment the aggressions on our neutral rights by the belligerents, but we have also seen with extreme regret, that those aggressions have not been met or resisted in a manner becoming the impartial State of neutrality, or by means consistent with the honor and resources of our country.

It does not comport with our sense of propriety to assume the office of censors, on the conduct of the general administration, and therefore we forbear to enter into a discussion of the unatoned injury we have received by the insulting attack on one of our public armed ships. But as your Excellency has been pleased to press the subject upon us, truth constrains us to observe, that if such atonement has not been exacted and obtained during the lapse of more than two years, when the act was acknowledged by the nation whose officer committed it, to be wholly unwarrantable; it is a mortifying proof either of the imbecility of our nation or the want of energy in those who preside over its destinies.

We have to lament that when called upon by your Excellency to recognize the constant evidences of a desire on our part to maintain a strict and impartial neutrality, those evidences were not exhibited to enable us to decide understandingly on their merits; and we are the more reluctant to express any opinion on this interesting point, when we reflect that the people are utterly unacquainted with the state of the negotiations between this country and one of the belligerents, with whom we have a subsisting treaty, and from whom we have received repeated and flagrant injuries, aggravated by the most humiliating and irritating circumstances.

While on the one hand the administration has thought proper to disclose, as we have reason to believe, the whole of the correspondence relative to our differences with Great-Britain, it has on the other hand given publicity to detached and apparently mutilated extracts of the correspondence with France.

If, as we are bound to presume, a full disclosure of the communications, with the latter government, is withheld from the public for cogent reasons, we trust that it will not be deemed disrespectful in us to withhold a blind recognition of the existence of "constant evidences of a desire on our part to maintain;" in fact, "a strict and impartial neutrality." For although we freely admit that a reasonable confidence is due to the administrators of the general government, we cannot concede that it would accord with the duty of this branch of the legislature to commit itself on such an important point, without a full knowledge of every material circumstance connected with it. Such a step would in our opinion be an act of servile courtesy, unbecoming the representatives of a free and enlightened people.

The disavowal on the part of Great-Britain of the arrangement entered into by her minister with the United States, is to us a matter of deep concern, inasmuch as we participated in the lively satisfaction which the nation derived from the prospect of a speedy restoration of good understanding and harmony between the two countries.—But when the accredited representative of the British nation has declared solemnly that it was disavowed because concluded its violation of express instructions to her agent, it would be rash in us without clearer evidence than we possess of the insincerity of that declaration to impute the disavowal to bad faith.

As your Excellency may expect that in answering your speech we should express an opinion on the late rupture of

the negotiation with the British Minister, it would be highly gratifying to us had you pointed out the impeachment by that gentleman of the veracity of our administration, for in that case we should have approbated cordially the course of treatment which he has received. We have fought in vain for proof of the fact, and therefore we are at a loss to conceive how a measure calculated to close the door of accommodation and to precipitate the nation into a calamitous war, can merit the approbation of any American who feels anxious to maintain the honor and preserve the peace and happiness of his country.

Should the momentous duty of deciding upon the attitude which the United States shall assume in the present emergency, be performed with wisdom and fidelity by the agents to whom it is confided, we assure your Excellency we shall be among the first to render them the tribute of deserved praise. And should war ensue we shall cordially unite with our fellow-citizens throughout the Union to meet the shock with all that firmness and zeal which real patriotism will dictate.

At the same time we have no hesitation to declare that we are decidedly opposed to a war, provided, it can be avoided consistently with our national honor and safety.

We should consider it as one of the greatest calamities to be involved in a war with the only remaining European power which presents a barrier to that universal dominion, at which one of the belligerents manifestly aims, and to which he approaches with rapid and awful strides. It is moreover a lamentable truth that our country is unprepared to prosecute a war with either of the belligerents, however necessary the measure may be. In all the essential means which that deplorable state requires, as well for offensive as defensive operations, we are greatly deficient, but more especially in the important and indispensable requisite of money.

We are justly alarmed at the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, in which he discloses the melancholy fact, that we are reduced to the necessity of resorting to a loan of four millions of dollars and upwards, to defray the ordinary expenses of the general government. This communication is equally unexpected and discouraging to the people of the United States, and we sincerely hope that those who are entrusted with the superintendence of their national concerns will institute such an enquiry into the true causes of the exhausted state of the Treasury, as the magnitude and urgency of the case imperiously call for.

SAINT JOHN, March 12, 1810.

From BOSTON, February 28.

Capt. Purington, arrived here in the brig Retrieve, from Liverpool—On the 27th Dec. in lat. 46, 34, lon. 14, 27, fell in with the wreck of a ship, loaded with lumber, deserted and stripped; foremast, &c. gone, stern stove in, and full of water—found a note on board, enclosed in a bottle, which stated that the ship was the Northern Friends, of Greenock, Capt. John Elms, from St. Andrews, bound home; that the ship had sprung leak off Cape Ray, and had been upset; and that the Captain with five of the crew, were saved on the 22d Dec. by the French privateer Boy, of Bordeaux, Captain M. Lagatig; having subsisted eight days upon a cat and two rats.

The British Packet sailed from New-York on Thursday last, with a fair wind.—Dr. LOGAN was passenger in her. Letters from New-York, state, that a Mr. BRISTED had reported there, that Dr. LOGAN, previous to his sailing, had produced letters in President MADISON'S hand writing, expressing a wish for a reconciliation between the United States and Great-Britain. We do not believe one word of it.—We see nothing in the recent language or conduct of the administration, which looks any way like a desire to conciliate with Britain.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 28.

POSTSCRIPT.—"MACON'S BILL."

The Senate of the United States on Wednesday, 21st inst. took up MACON'S bill, as it is generally called; and, without debate, by a vote of 16 to 11, struck out all the sections excepting the 1st, 2d, and 11th, (which relate to the exclusion of foreign armed vessels from our waters, and the repeal of the Non-Intercourse.—On the following day, (22d) it passed, 26 to 7; and was returned to the House.

In the House of Representatives on the 22d instant, (Thursday) Mr. MACON'S bill, (as amended and passed the Senate) was taken up about 3 o'clock; when a warm debate ensued on the questions for postponing its consideration, until Saturday (24th) or Monday (26th inst.) which was negatived; and the House adjourned until Friday, without taking the final question.—¶ The bill, it was supposed, would pass, either on Friday or Saturday.

¶ The Subscribers to the Dancing Assembly are informed that the next ASSEMBLY will be on FRIDAY EVENING the 16th instant, MARCH 12th, 1810. By the Managers.

AT PUBLIC AUCTION,

AT THE CUSTOM-HOUSE,

On TUESDAY next, at XI o'Clock, will be Sold;

(weather permitting)

A VARIETY of Articles seized by the Officers of the REVENUE, and condemned in the Court of Vice-Admiralty as forfeited to His Majesty, consisting of WINE, BRANDY, GIN, Scented and Plain SOAP, CANDLES, SNUFF, TOBACCO, SEGARS, RAILS, CORDAGE, CALF-SKINS, NEATS LEATHER, PAPER-HANGINGS, Men's and Boy's SHOES, PORK, &c. &c. &c.

N. B. The Money must be paid before the Goods are delivered.

CUSTOM-HOUSE, ST. JOHN, }
8th MARCH, 1810.

CASH or BOOKS given for Clean LINEN and COTTON RAGS at this OFFICE.