of merciless tyranny, to this asylum of liberty. The same spirit, when the same tyranny pursued them, rose superior to every opposing obstacle, and founded against the combined armies of despots, that liberty and independence, which we now enjoy, which we now contend for, and which we wish to transmit to our posterity, pure and unsullied.

Great Britain, ever since the loss of the brightest jewel in her sovereign's crown, has viewed our rising greatness with a jealous eye, and determined by every means in her power to check it. She has endeavoured to engross our trade—she has endeavoured to render us dependent upon her for articles of her manufacture—she has by all the means in her power tried to prevent the emigration of her manufacturers and artisans to this country. This not being enough, she has robbed our merchant vessels, plundered our citizens, forcibly impressed our natural born countrymen from our ships, forced them to fight her detestable battles, and to complete the horrid and cruel catalogue of grievances, she has insulted our national sovereignty in our harbours, attacked one of our national vessels, butchered our citizens, dragged them from their country, protection, and now holds in bondage several thousands of them. Is this an exaggerated picture? No, my fellow-citizens, know it is not.

France on the other hand, the inveterate foe of Great Britain, being cut off from the advantages of trading with us, by her rival's navy, viewing with keen penetration, the efforts of Great Britain, to engross the whole trade of the world, and the unlawful and abominable schemes which she took to effect her purpose, followed her example, and passed decrees equally as unjustifiable, with this difference, that Great Britain actuated by the old spirit of drawing a revenue from us, has had the audacity to say to us. "If you want to trade, you must pay us for the licence, though when you were colonies you refused, yet now times are changed, and you either shall have no trade, or you shall support the sovereigns of the ocean, and though we are determined to keep the seamen we have forced from your vessels, though we are determined to take and seize every vessel, and all the property we chuse, yet this is not enough, we want more, we want you to pay TRIBUTE—we have passed laws taxing BALTIMORE with one million of dollars, PHILADELPHIA, NEW-YORK, and all your ports of export with so many MILLIONS—thus we shall distress you, distress our rival, glut and gratify our avarice, and bring you under that subjection which before you would not submit to." FRANCE on the other hand says "if you submit to take BRITISH PROTECTIONS and LICENCES, your vessels and cargoes become denationalized, and as enemies property we will treat them". In this situation we were placed, when our government with that forbearance which shewed their attention to our dearest interests, wishing to avoid that contest between the rival potentates of Europe, which will never end but with the destruction of one side or the other, determined upon a dignified retirement from the stage of contention passed the EMBARGO LAW. Thus has our honor, our independence, and our property, been saved, and by this salutary and wise measure, have we been hitherto kept from a war, which no human foresight can shew the issue of.

To a person acquainted with our revolutionary war, who recollects the string of causes, which led to that event who has seen with horror in what manner it began, by what means carried on, and the horrid catastrophies which attended it, it must be astonishing to hear it now said "that Great Britain is fighting for the liberties of the whole world."—That she is fighting for us? Gracious God! Must the infants of murdered children, which looking up to their country to be avenged, for the blood of their beloved offspring, the pride of their hearts—the all that could perhaps make this life a blessing, be told, "Great Britain has done nothing to cause us to go to war," we have only "pretexts or pretences, but no real causes of war," told this too, by a man, who holds one of the highest seats in the gift of the people? Their astonishment must be great, especially when they are informed that this was said by a man known by his great fame and prowess in the battle of Lexington—and who by some means or other, God knows how, got to be Secretary of State, and Senator of the UNITED STATES! They will, they must suppose that, whatever station this man fills—whatever abilities he may possess—whatever great boasting he may make and however good his intentions may be—that the line of his conduct—the tendency of his speeches—the virulent opposition he makes, to every measure of government to procure satisfaction for insults, and release of seamen—and the defence and justification of British measures which he openly avows—tend to encourage the British in their wanton and unjust attacks upon our rights liberties, and property. Ask our countryman old Mr. Strachan, if he is yet living, whose locks perhaps are silver'd o'er with age, whose child while under his countries protection, was seized by the ruffian hand of tyranny and is now held in bondage? Ask him, whose darling youth on whom his eyes delighted to look, lay bleeding on board the CHESAPEAKE, never more to be embraced in the arms of a fond father and doating mother, massacred, by the cruelest tyrants, and the most inveterate foes to human happiness this world ever produced? Let them answer, whether they consider the conduct of Great Britain to us as no real cause of war?—What will be their reply?—"My children belonged to their country, were in the service of their country, and from this same country expected protection. I now look up to that country for satisfaction, assured, that it can never deny my request—let them be released to my embraces—or if murdered—their blood be avenged." Human nature must cease to feel—the heart-strings of affection that bind father and son together, must be broken, before we can forget the treatment Great Britain has loaded us with.

A FARMER.

Queen-Ann's, January 16, 1809.

FOR THE STAR.

BRUTUS—NO. IV.

SIR,

I wish in this piece to expose the Doctrine of Hereditory Presidency, and a senate for life, which was proposed in the convention at the time when our constitution was formed, and by the same party, who was still violently opposed to the present administration.

Liberty cannot be preserved, if the manners of the people are corrupted; nor Hereditory Presidency, and Senate for life, introduced, where they are sincere: Which is sufficient to shew, that those who manage free governments, ought always to the utmost of their power, oppose corruption because otherwise both they and their government must inevitably perish; and that on the other hand, Hereditory Presidency and Senate for life, can never be supported, only by intrigue, and corruption. 'Tis also so natural for all such designing charaters to place men in power, who pretend to love their persons, and will depend upon their pleasure, that possibly it would be hard to find one in the world who has not made in it the rule of his government.

I shall now only touch on Hereditory Presidency, but the Senate for life, I shall say nothing more of, only that the introduction of it in this country, I hope will never be attempted.

Hereditory Presidency, then is not only the way to corruption, but the most dangerous of all. For though a good man,* may love a good President, he will obey him only when he commands that which is just; and no one can engage himself blindly to do whatever he is commanded, without renouncing all virtue and religion; because he knows not whether that which shall be commanded is consistent with each, or directly contrary to the Laws of God and Man. But if such a president be evil, and his actions such as they are too often found to be; whoever bears an affection to him; and seconds his designs, declares himself an enemy to all that is good; and the advancement of such men to power, does not only introduce, foment, and increase corruption, but fortifies it in such a manner, that without an entire renovation of that state, it cannot be removed, ill men possibly creap into any government, but when the worst are placed nearest the President, and raised to honors for being so, they with that force endeavour to draw all men to a conformity of spirit with themselves, that it can no otherwise be prevented than destroying them, and the principle in which they live. Here then we may observe, if the unconstitutional Alien and Sedition laws still existed, and the corruption they lead to, being enforced by the army intended for that purpose, the United States at this time would be in a deplorable situation. But thanks be to Heaven, the timely caution taken by the true friends of our government, has thus far prevented it, and we have lived happy under the administration of Mr. *Jefferson*, and have reason to believe we shall live happy under the administration of Mr. *Madison*.

The great privileges we enjoy by our constitution in frequent elections, enable us to make choice of our most virtuous citizens to represent us, where too, a value is put upon virtue, and it is hoped, no one will be honoured unless for such qualities as are beneficial to the public. By this means virtue itself becomes popular, especially where riches are only valued for the advancement of a public good.

Had this been the case formerly, the survivors of our poor soldiers, who fought, bled and many died, would not be in the deplorable situation they are at present; they would not have been swindled out of their hard earned certificates, by speculators many of whom (to the dishonour of our nation) had seats in the Congress of the U. States, and no doubt, were the first to introduce the funding system, by which they were allowed 20s. in the pound with interest, for what cost them about 2s. 6d. being all those poor creatures got for their certificates, and may be the cause of their poor children (at this time) begging their bread. O! Let it not be mentioned in Gath, nor published in the streets of Ashkelon, except to the dishonor of the guilty.

The conduct of the speculators above mentioned, who have been the cause of the distresses of so many of our worthy citizens, (the soldiers) and from whose valour, under a kind Providence, (was the salvation of our country) differ very much from *Epaminondas*, *Aristides*, *Phocion*, and even the *Lacedemonian Kings*, who found no inconvenience in poverty, whilst their virtue was honored, and the richest Princes in the world feared their valour and power. It was not difficult for *Curius*, *Fabricius*, *Cincinnatus*, or *Emilius Paulus* to content themselves with the narrowest fortune, when it was no obsticle to them in the pursuit of those honors which their virtue deserved. 'Twas in vain to think of bribing a man, who supped upon coleworts of his own garden. He could not be gained by gold, who did not think it necessary. He that could rise from the plow to the triumphal chariot, and contentedly return thither again, could not be corrupted; and he that left the sense of his poverty to his executors, who found not wherewith to bury him, might leave Macedon and Greece to the pillage of his soldiers, without taking to himself any part of the booty. But when luxury was brought into fashion, and they came to be honored who lived magnificently, though they had in themselves no qualities to distinguish them from the basest of slaves (like the speculators above described) the most virtuous men were exposed to scorn (like our poor soldiers) if they were poor, and that poverty which had been the mother and nurse of their virtue, grew insupportable. This then, my fellow-citizens ought to be a caution to us, and as we have experienced in a degree, the like effects by those (in our young country) who have grown rich by empoverishing the poor, and who wish to be honoured in consequence of their ill-got gain; ought to be on the contrary, despised and held in contempt, by all the true friends of the United States of America.

BRUTUS.

A member of Congress, who will not submit to any commands of the President, only what he believes to be just.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States—

I communicate to Congress certain letters which passed between the British Secretary of State, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Pinkney, our minister plenipotentiary at London. When the documents concerning the relations between the United States and Great Britain were laid before Congress at the commencement of the session, the answer of Mr. Pinkney to the letter of Mr. Canning had not been received, and a communication of the latter alone would have accorded neither with propriety nor with the wishes of Mr. Pinkney. When that answer afterwards arrived, it was considered that as what had passed in conversation had been superseded by the written and formal correspondence on the subject, the variance in the statements that had verbally passed was not of sufficient importance to be made the matter of a distinct and special communication. The letter of Mr. Canning, however, having lately appeared in print unaccompanied by that of Mr. Pinkney in reply, and having a tendency to make impressions not warranted by the statements of Mr. Pinkney, it has become proper that the whole should be brought into public view.

TH: JEFFERSON.

Jan. 17, 1809.

SIR, LONDON, Sept. 24, 1808.

I am now enabled to transmit to you a copy of Mr. Canning's answer, received only last night, to my note of the 23d of August.

This answer was accompanied by a letter, of which also a copy is enclosed, recapitulating what Mr. Canning supposes to be 'the substance of what has passed between us at our several interviews previous to the presentation of my official letter.'

To the accompanying paper I think it indispensible that I should reply without delay—Supporting with politeness, but with firmness, the statements, which I have already had the honor to make to you, of the conversations in question, and correcting some errors upon points, which Mr. Canning has thought fit to introduce into his letter, but which I had not supposed it necessary to mention in detail in my dispatches.

I shall not detain Mr. Atwater with a view to this reply; but will take care to forward a copy of it by an early conveyance. My official note and the answer to it being perfectly explicit, Mr. Canning's misapprehensions (for such they are) of previous verbal communications can scarcely be very important in a public view; but it is, nevertheless, of some consequence that, whatever may be the object of his statement, I should not make myself a party to its inaccuracies by even a tacit admission of them.

I do not perceive that a formal recourse to the more official paper can now be of any advantage; but I shall probably take occasion to combine with my reply to the one paper some observations upon the other.

I regret extremely that the views which I have been instructed to lay before this government, have not been met by it as I had at first been led to expect. The overture cannot fail, however, to place in a strong light the just and liberal sentiments by which our government is animated, and in other respects to be useful and honorable to our country.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration, sir, your most obedient humble servt.

WM. PINKNEY.

Hon. James Madison &c. &c.

Mr. Canning to Mr. Pinkney, accompanying his letter of September 23, 1808.

FOREIGN OFFICE, Sept. 23, 1808.

SIR,

In laying before the king, your letter of the 23 of August, and in communicating to you the accompanying answer, which I have received his majesty's commands to return to it—I confess I feel some litle embarrassments from the repeated references which your letter contains, to what has passed between us in conversation. An embarrassment arising in no degree (as you are perfectly aware) from any feeling of distrust in you personally, but from a recollection of the misrepresentation which took place in America of former conferences between us. You gave me, on that account, the most satisfactory proof that such misrepresentation did not originate with you, by communicating to me that part of your dispatch, in which the conferences particularly referred to, were related correctly; but this very circumstance which establishes your personal claim to entire confidence proves, at the same time, that a faithful report of a conference on your part is not a security against its misrepresentation.

It was for that reason, principally, that after hearing with the most respectful attention, all that you had to state to me, verbally, upon the subject of the present, overture, I felt myself under the necessity of requiring, as "indispensable," a written communication upon the subject.

It is for that reason, also, that as in your written communication you refer me to our late conversations for the "bearings and details" of your proposal, I feel it necessary to recapitulate, as shortly as I can, what I conceive to have passed in these conversations beyond what I find recorded in your letter.

The principal points on which the suggestions brought forward by you in personal conference, appear to me to have differed in some degree from the proposal now stated by you in writing are two—the first, that in conversation the proposal itself was not distinctly stated as an overture authorised by your government—the second, that the beneficial consequences likely to result to this country from the acceptance of that proposal were "pursued" through more ample "illustrations."

In the first of our conferences, I ununderstood you to say little more on the authority of your government, than that you were instructed to remonstrate against the orders in council of the 7th of January, and the 11th of November 1807—but to add, as from yourself, an expression of your own conviction, that if these orders were repealed, the President of the United States would suspend the embargo with respect to Great Britain.

Upon the consequences of such a suspension of the embargo, while it would still continue to be enforced against France, you expatiated largely—still speaking, however, (as I understood) your own individual sentiments.

It was suggested by you, that America would, in that case, probably arm her merchant ships against the aggressions of France—an expedient, to which, you observed it would be perfectly idle to resort against Great Britain. The collisions of armed vessels would probably produce war—and the United States would thus be brought into the very situation in which we must wish to place them—that of hostility to France, and virtual, if not formal alliance with Great Britain.

In our second conference, you repeated and enforced the arguments calculated to induce the British government to consent to the repeal of the orders in council, and in this conference, though not stating yourself to be authorised by your government formally to offer the suspension of the embargo as an immediate consequence of that repeal—yet you did profess (as I understood you) a readiness to take upon yourself to make that offer, provided that I should give you before hand an unofficial assurance that coupled with that offer so made, the demand of the repeal of the orders in council of January and November, 1807, would be probably rescinded.

I, of course, declined to give any such previous assurances—but as you appeared to attach great importance to this suggestion, and as I was led to think that a compliance with it might relieve you from a difficulty in executing the instructions of your government, I consented to take a few days to consider of it, and to reserve my difinitive answer until I should see you again.

I never doubted in my own mind, as to the inexpediency and impropriety of encouraging you to take an unauthorised step, by an unofficial promise that it should be well received—but in a matter of such delicacy I was desirous of either confirming or correcting my own opinion by the opinion of others.

The result was, that in a third interview, which took place shortly after the second, I had the honor to inform you, that after the most mature deliberation, I found it impossible to yield to your suggestion, and that it, therefore, remained for you to frame your proposition according to the instructions of your government, as to your own unbiassed discretion.

My own share in these several conferences, beyond what was implied in the above statement, was very small. I have (as you know) always wished to refer the argumentative discussion of the subject of the orders in council, to the official correspondence, which I have more than once been taught to expect you to open upon it, than to engage with you in a verbal controversy, which, if confined to ourselves, would be useless—If afterwards to be reduced into writing for the purpose of being communicated to our respective governments—superfluous.

But to the representations which you have repeatedly made against the orders in council of January and November, "as violating the rights of the United States, and affecting most destructively their best interests upon grounds wholly inadmissible both in principle and fact,"—I have uniformly maintained the unquestionable right of his majesty to resort to the fullest measures of retaliation, in consequence of the unparalleled aggression of the enemy, and to retort upon that enemy the evils of his own injustice—and have uniformly contended that "if third parties suffer from those measures, the demand of reparation must be made to that power, which first violates the established usages of war and the rights of neutral states."

There was, indeed, one point, upon which I was particularly anxious to receive precise information, and upon which, from your candor and frankness, I was fortunate enough to obtain it. The connecting together in your proposed overture, the suspension of the embargo, and the repeal of the orders in council—as well those of November, as the preceding one of the 7th of January, might appear to imply that the embargo had been the immediate consequence of those orders, and I was therefore, desirous to ascertain whether, in fact the orders in council of November, had been known to the government of the United States previous to the message of the President proposing the embargo—so as to be a moving consideration to that message. I had the satisfaction to learn from you, that such was not the fact—that rumors, indeed, might have reached America of some measures of further retaliation, being in the contemplation of the British government, that, perhaps, (as I unexderstood you), some more severe and sweeping measures might have been expected—but that the orders in council of the 11th of November, as having been issued, there was no knowledge of in America—at least none in possession of the American government, at the time of proposing the embargo. Such, sir, is, (according to the best of my recollection,) correctly, the substance of what has passed between us, at our several interviews, previous to the presentation of your official letter; and such I have represented to have been the substance of what has passed on those several occasions in the reports of our conferences which it has been my duty to make to the king.

If, in this recapitulation there is any thing mistaken, or any thing omitted, you will do me the justice to believe the error unintentional, and you may rely on my readiness to set it right. I have the honor to be, &c.

GEORGE CANNING.

Great Cumberland Place, Sept. 24, 1808.

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your answer to my official note of the 23d of last month, relative to the British orders in Council of January and November 1807, together with a statement of "the substance of what has passed between us at our several interviews, previous to the presentation of that note."

I shall lose no time in transmitting to my government copies of both these papers, upon the last of which I will take the liberty, in the course of a few days to trouble you with some observations.

I have the honor to be,

With the highest consideration, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

WM. PINKNEY.

The right hon. Geo. Canning, &c. &c.

(Mr. Pinkney's answer next week.)