[No. 14.....681.7

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## Documents

Accompanying the President's Message the 12th of November.

MR. RUSSELL TO MR. MONROE. London, 19th Sept. 1812

On the 12th inst. I received rour letter of the 27th of July last, and the copies of my note to Lord Castlereagh, and of his Lordships reply en- 18. Bentinck St. 16 Sept. 1812. closed herein, will inform you that the propositions, made in consequence of it, have been re-

As I have but this moment heard of the imme- SIR, diate departure of the Friends, I have time only to Mr. Graham of the 9th and 10th of August, by the of the nature of the instructions which you have your letter of the 27th of July last-I called im-Gleaner, and that I leave London this evening, to embark on board the Lark, at Plymonth, for New

I am, with great respect and consideration, sir, your faithful and ob't serv't. JONA. RUSSELL. (Signed)

Postscript. An interesting interview took place between Lord Castlereagh and myself on the 16th inst. the account of which i must, for want of time, reserve until I have the honor to see you.

MR. RUSSELL TO LORD CASTLEREAGH.

13, Bentinck St. 12th Sept. 1812. Private.

out of town. My object was to communicate to proposal acceded to, the discussion on the several clock. your lordship the powers under which I act, that points must substantially precede the understandyou might perceive their validity and extent. 1 ing required. my arrangements being made and all my baggage | such a discussion must in the first instance inhaving left town) and the detention of the Lark at | volve. much expence, will plead powerfully in my favor.

tion, your Lordship's very oh't and very humble servant. (Signed) JONA. RUSSELL. Lord Visocunt Custlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

MR. RUSSELL TO LCRD CASTLEREAGH. 18. Bentinck St. 12th Sept. 1812. My Lord-I hasten, authorised by instructions recently received from the government of the U. States, and urged by an unfeigned anxiety to ar- SIR. rest the calamities of war, to propose to your Lordmen, from being taken or employed in the ser- of which the enclosed is a copy. vice of the other power; for the regulation of their commerce, and all other interesting questions now | your assured and ob't servt. depending between them, and that the armistice shall not cease without such previous notice by To the honorable James Mionroe, &c.

land and by sea. comprising in it the discharge of the citizens of ment.

Council being confirmed. employment of British seamen must be exercised rican government has nothing to disguise; and be aware. "Indeed" he continued "there has on. in the sense and spirit of the constitution; but by varying the proposition as to the manner of evidently been much misapprehension on this As to the supposed ignorance in America of

seamen ever enter voluntarily into the British service, the reciprocity would be nominal, and it is sincerely believed that it would be more than an equivalent for any advantage she may derive from impressment.

nor to make in behalf of my government, your Lordship will perceive the earnest desire of the President to remove every obstacle to an accom- exhibited the instructions which warranted it to lessions of a disposition to remove the complaints Orders in Council. At any rate, having autho- to say any thing offensive, but merely to suggest modation, which consists merely of form; and to secure the rights and interests of the U.S. in a manner the most satisfactory and honorable to G. B. as well as America.

The importance of the overture now made, will learn his decision.

I have the honor to be, my Lord, with high to be wished. consideration, your Lordship's most obedient ser-JONA, RUSSELL. (Signed) Lord Viscount Castiereagh, &c. &c. &c.

LORD CASTLEREAGH TO MR. RUSSELL. Lord Castlereagh presents his compliments to Mr. Russell, and requests to have the honor of seejng him at his house in St. James's Square, at 9

o'clack this evening. Poreign Office, Sept. 16, 1812.

N. B .- Received a little before 5 o'clock. MR. HAMILTON TO MR. RUSSELL. request in that respect. You may be assured that us. no delay will take place, which can be avoided.

I am, dear sir, faithfully yours,

Foreign Office, Sept. 16, 1812.

Januthan Russell, E.g. Se.

N. B .- Sent at 3 o'clock. LORD CASTLEREAGH TO MR. RUSSELL. Foreign Office, Sept. 18th, 1812. Under the explanations you have afforded me

MR. RUSSELL TO MR. HAMILTON.

and disappointment, that Lord Castlereagh has

directed you to inform me that it is not in his pow-

which I have had the honor to address to him .-

The object of those letters was of a nature to re

unhappy relations between the two countries,

unless some special and satisfactory resson be as-

my duty to proceed to Plymouth to embark for the

I am, dearsir, with great truth and respect,

(Signed)

Your obedient servant,

JONA. RUSSELL.

DEAR SIR-I have learnt with much regret

ter of the 12th inst. before his Royal Highness the extent of my instructions, for the communication the disposition of the parties were limited only by reagh, that the proposed understanding should be Prince Regent. to you his regret that he cannot perceive any substantial difference between the proposition for a suspension of hostilities which you are now directed to make, and that which was contained in your | soliciting despatch. letter of 24th of Aug. last. The form of the pro-

posed arrangement, it is true, is different; but it

tionable manner. You are now directed to require, as prelimina-My Lord-In consequence of additional in- ry to a suspension of hostilities, a clear and distinct

have however sought to state them substantially This course of proceeding, as bearing on the loaded with the records of American corresponin the official letter which I have herewith the face of it a character of disguise, is not only felt to dence, which they appeared to have been examin- language of his Lordship's discourse. To which I have herewith the face of it a character of disguise, is not only felt to dence, which they appeared to have been examinhonor to transmit to your lordship, but should be in principle inadmissible, but as unlikely to ling. you find any thing that stands in need of explana- | lead in practice to any advantagenus result : as it tion, previous to being submitted to his Reval does not appear on the important subject of im-Highness, I shall remain at 18, Bentinck Street, pressment that you are cither authorised your lordship could, in courtesy, find any motive | which the suspension of that practice could be in my personal convenience to hasten a decision | made a subject of deliberation, or that you have | be again rejected. upon the propositions which I have submitted ; received any instructions for the guidance of your the season of the year, my anxiety to depart (all | conduct on some of the leading principles, which

Under these circumstances the Prince Regent I have the honor to be, with great considera. | sincerely laments that he does not feel himself enabled to depart from the decision, which I was di

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient CASTLEREAGH. Jonathan Russell, Esq. &c.

MR. RUSSELL TO MR. MONROE.

London, 9th Sept. 1812.

JONA. RUSSELL. (Signed)

one to the other party, as may be agreed upon & MR. RUSSELL TO LORD CASTLEREAGH. shall not be understood as having any other ef-London, 19th Sept. 1812. fect, than merely to suspend military operations by a suspension of hostilities, I am instructed to come | that his royal highness the Prince Regent has a- British faith and leaving the American governto a clear and distinct understanding with his gain rejected the just and moderate propositions | ment free to disregard its engagements. Besides

Your Lordship is aware that the power of the structions, I did not expect to hear repeated any went on to observe, was attended with difficulties correspondence at the time, acquit him from the lineance of this degrading practice. government of the United States to prohibit the objections on these points. For itself, the Ame. of which neither lor my government appeared to imputation of any excessive want of penetration there is no reason to doubt but that it will be so coming to a preliminary understanding, it merely subject, and an erroneous belief entertained that the revocation of the orders in council, at the time with too much earnestness the adoption of the intended to leave to the British government that an arrangement, in regard to it, has been nearer my instructions were dated, I observed, that if this Such a measure, as it might by suitable regula- which might be most congenial to its feelings - an accomplishment than the facts will warrant - ignorance did in fact exist, yet, from certain ex tions and penalties be made completely effectual The propositions presented by me, however, on Even our friends in Congress, I mean" (observ- pressions in those instructions an expectation of loftily, that if the American government was so and satisfactory, would operate almost exclusive- the 24th of August and 12th inst. are distinguish. ing perhaps some alteration in my countenance) such a measure seems to have been confidently ly in favor cold. Britain; for as few American able by a diversity in the substance as well as in those who were opposed to going to war with entertained, and the orders in council appeared no the mode of the object which they embraced; as us, have been so confident in this mistake that longer to form an obstacle to a conciliation .\_\_

effect simultaneously hereafter.

ob't humble serv't.

JONA. RUSSELL. (Signed) The Right Honorable Lord Castlereagh, &c. Mr. Russell to Mr. Monroe. | Private

On board the Lark,

7th November, 1812. Sir-I have the honor to inform you that I am now passing the Narrows, and expect to land in ed." New York this day. I conceive it to be my duty

I have the honor to be. With great consideration & respect, Sir, Your very obelient servant. JONA. RUSSELL. The hon. James Monroe, &c. &c. &c.

DOCUMENTS companying the President's Niessage of the 18t of November.

MR. RUSSELL TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE quirean early decision. Reluctant, however, by any SIR, Washington, Nov. 16, 1812.

precipitancy on may part, to protract the present I have the honor to hand you herewith an account of the conversation alluded to in a postbeg you to acquaint his Lordship that I shall rescript to my letter of the 19th Sept. and which main in town until Sunday (the 20th inst.) when, had not then sufficient time to copy. I have the honor to be, signed for a longer delay, I shall consider it to be

With great consideration & respect, Your obedient servant,

JONA. RUSSELL. The Honorable James Monroe, Esq. &c. &c.

MR. RUSSELL TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE London, Sept. 17, 1812.

On the 12th inst. I had the honour to receive preceding occasion, been induced to lay your let. | Castlereagh, by imparting to him the nature and which it became meto make to him. His Lordver accompanied my official note (A\*) with a pri vate letter (B) offering explanation, if required, &

I waited until two o'clock, the 16th inst. without hearing from his Lordship, when I was muc only appears to aim at executing the same purpose surprized at receiving a note (C) from Mr. Haing an official reply.

ed, in company with Mr. Hamilton, at a table plishment."

by the former, the discontinuance of the practice | they have ascribed the failure of such an arrange. However this might be, it ought not to be sup of impressment was to be immediate, and to pre- | mentsolely to the misconduct of the American go- | posed that the American government would b cede the prohibitory law of the U. States relative vernment. This error probably originated with ready to abandon one main point for which it conto the employment of British seamen; when by Mr. King, for being much esteemed here, and al- tended merely because it had obtained another, By the proposition which I have now the ho- the latter both these measures are deferred to take ways well received by the persons then in power, which was generally considered to be of minor imhe seems to have misconstrued their readiness to portance, and to submit to the continuance of im-Having made a precise tender of such law, and listen to his representations and their warm pro pressment on account of the discontinuance of the your Lordship. I have learnt with surprize that it of America, in relation to impressment, into a rized me to propose terms of accommodation does not appear to your Lordship that I am an supposed conviction on their part of the propriety here, it would probably wait for information conject of impressment. I still hope that the over- But Lord St. Vincent, whom he might have tho't ceived, before it would consent to more unfavora. tures made by me may again be taken into consi- he had brought ever to his opinions, appears ne- ble conditions. In the mean time, the war would I trust, obtain for it the early consideration of his deration by his Britannic majesty's government; ver for a moment to have ceased to regard all ar. be prosecuted, and might produce new obstacles Royal Highness, the Prince Regent, and I shall and as I leave town this afternoon for the U. States, rangement on the subject to be attended with for- to a pacific arrangement. I was happy to learn detain the vessel in which I have taken my pass- that it will authorize some agent to proceed this midable, if not surmountable obstacles. This is that the failure of a former negociation concerning age to the United States, until I have the honor to ther and adopt them as a basis for reconciliation obvious from a letter which his Lordship address. impressment could not be ascribed to a want of het ween the two countries, an event so devoutly ed to Sir William Scott at that time." Here Lord sincerity & moderation in the American govern-I have the honor to be, my Lord, your most cords before him, in which Lord St. Vincent securing to G. Britain her own seamen might re-

communicated to Congress.

attempting to devise expedients satisfactorily to layourable distinction. perform the office of impressment, and-nothing I next pointed out to his Lordship the differcan more conclusively demonstrate the inherent ence between the propositions which I now subdifficulty of the matter, and the utter impossibili- mitted, and those contained in my note of the 24th ty of finding the expedient which they so't, than of August. That altho' the object of both was that all their labors, pursued on that occasion with essentially the same, there was great diversity in unexampled diligence, cordiality and good faith, the manner of obtaining it. The discontinuance should have been in vain."

provide as far as possible against the abuse of it. might have been the mere suggestion of its "If," resumed his Lordship, " such was re- Place received from your government, I have, as on the mediately at the Foreign Office to prepare Lord sult of a negociation entertain under circum. I finally offered, in o or to answer at once all stances so highly favorable, where the powers & the observations and enquiries of Lord Castlethe difficulties of the subject, what reasonable ex- expressed in the most general terms-that the His Royal Highness commands me to express ship was in the country and I was obliged to write pectation can be encouraged that in the actual laws, to take effect on the discontinuance of the to him without previously seeing him. I howe. state of things, with your circumscribed and im- practice of impressment, should prohibit the enperfect authority, we can come to a more success. ployment of native subjects or citizens of the one ful issue? I shall have to proceed in so weighty a state, excepting such only as had already been nanot aware of the great sensibility and jealousy of of naturalization or the formal renunciation of a in a more covert, and, therefore, in a more object milton, the under secretary, indefinitely postpon- the people of England on this subject, and no ad- ny pretended right. With regard to blockades. To give more precision to the transaction I in should consent to renounce the right of impress- agree that none should be instituted by either parstantly addressed to him answer (D) and a little ment, or to suspend the practice, without the cer. ty which were not conformably to the acknowstructions which I received from my government understanding, without, however, requiring it to before five o'clock on the same day, I receive tainty of an arrangement which should abviously ledged laws of nations—leaving the definition of this morning, I called about noon at the foreign of be formal on all the points referred to in your ed an invitation (E) from Lord Castlereagh to be calculated most unequivocally to secure its ob such blockades, and all other details, to be setfice, and found with regret that your lordship was former proposition. It is obvious that, were this meet him at his house that evening at nine o' ject. Whether such an arrangement can be de- the by the commissioners in the definitive trearised is extremely doubtful, but it is very certain |ty. I waited on his Lordship, at the time appoint. that you have no sufficient powers for its accom-

I replied that the main object of my powers being by Mr. Hamilton if the U. States would deliver up I was courteously received, and after a conver- to effect a suspension of hostilities, their form the native British seamen who might be naturalsation of a few minutes on indifferent subjects I could not be material. It was sufficient that they | ized in America? Although shocked at this deled the way to the business on which I came, by emanated from competent authority and were mand, I mildly replied that such a procedure to receive the commands of your Lordship. If to propose any specific plan, with reference to observing that I had once more been authorised distinctly and clearly conferred. That in require would be disgraceful to America without being to present the olive branch and hoped it would not ing as a condition to an armistice a clear under- useful to G. Britain—that the habits of seamers standing relative to impressment and other points were so peculiarly unaccommodating that no one His Lordship observed that he had desired the of controversy between the two countries, it was would patiently go through the long probation, interview to ascertain, before he submitted my intended merely to lay the basis of an amicable ad- required by law, to become the citizen of a councommunication of the 16th inst. to the Prince Re- justment & thereby to diminish the probability of jury where he could not pursue his professional gent, the form & nature of the powers under which a renewal of hostilities. To come to such an un- occupations and that not to employ him in this lacted. To satisfy him at once on both these derstanding, to be in itself informal, and which way would be virtually to surrender him to Great points I put into his hands your letter of the 27th expressly left the details of the points which it Britain. of July. I the more willingly adopted this mode embraced, to be discussed and adjusted by comrected to convey to you in my letter of the 2d of procedure as, besides the confidence which its missioners to be hereafter appointed, was certainfrankness was calculated to produce, the letter it- ly within the instructions which I had received, deserters from public vessels. self would best define my authority and prove the and I could, of course, thus far pledge my govern. moderation and conciliatory temper of my govern- ment for its observance. I did not acknowledge the force of his objection, predicated on the inc-His Lordship read it attentively. He then | quality of our respective powers, nor perceive commented at some length both on the stape and how the British faith would be particularly com-Since writing you this morning, fearing that former he observed that all my authority was con- equally committed, for whatever was done under greed upon, and stipulating that each party shall view which Lord Castlereagh has in his last note appeared but a scanty foundation on which to tice and understanding for which I was instructed, procal arrangements, for the security of their sea. I have considered it my duty to return an answer, of my powers, he could not perceive that they ead ground. And were it otherwise, yet, as the prosentially differed from those under which I had mise of the one party would be the sole considera-With great considerar: on and respect, I am, sir, brought forward the propositions contained in my tion for the promise of the other, should either fail to enter with me into the understanding, required | would necessarily be discharged and the imputatihe would be compelled to act on unequal ground | quent. Nor was I dismayed at the very formidaas from his situation he must necessarily pledge | ble difficulties with which he had thought proper vening, your Lordship's note of yesterday; and | thority, I could give no similar pledge for mine. \_ ling to acknowledge my inferiority to the Ameri-In proposing to your Lordship these terms for have learnt with great regret and disappointment, He could not therefore think of submitting the can negociators who had preceded me in the matfailure to shrink from the discharge of a duty im-Britannic Majesty's government, without require for a suspension of hostifities, which I have been it did not appear to him that at the date of my last posed on me by my government. To me indeed ing it to be formal, concerning impresement, instructed to present on the part of my govern- instructions the revocation of the orders in coun. the whole question appeared much less alarming cil on the 23d of June, had been received at Wash. | than his Lordship had described it to be. And the U. States already impressed; and concerning After the verbal explinations which I had the ington, and that great hopes were entertained of that if Mr. King had already been mistaken with future blockades ; the revocation of the orders in honor to afford your Lordship on the 16th inst. the favorable effect such intelligence would pro- regard to the near completion of an adjustment both as to the object and sufficiency of my in- duce there. The question of impressment, he his Lordship must, on an attention to the whole

states to Sir William Scott the zeal with which move the difficulties which had hitherto embar. Mr. King had assailed him on the subject of im- trassed this question. If the people of England pressment, confesses his own perplexity and total were so jealous and sensitive with regard to the incompetency to discover any practical project exercise of this harsh practice, what ought to be asks for council and advice. "Thus you see," victims of it? In the U. Sta'es this practice of proceeded Lord Castlereagh, "that the confidence | impressment was considered as bearing a strong of Mr. King on this point was entirely unfound. resemblance to the slave trade, aggravated indeed in some of its features, as the Negro was purchas. distinctly seize his meaning. "The extreme difficulty, if not total impracti- ed already bereft of his liberty, and his slavery and The conversation ended with an assurance on much pleasure in attending immediately to your appears to be the only honourable alternative left of which these noblemen had been the advocates, while the American citizen is torn, without price. people prevail here, this decision will be favoure when in opposition, bound them by all the force at once from all the blessings of freedom and all ble. of consistency to do every thing under their com- the charities of social life, subjected to military mission for the satisfaction of America relative to law, exposed to incessant perils, and forced at times to hazard his life in despoiling or destroying . The notes here referred to have already been his kindred and countrymen, It was matter of astonishment that while Great Britain disgover-

impressment, which the subject would possibly ad- ed such zeal for the abolition of the traffic in the mit. There were many circumstances on that | barbarous and unbelieving natives of Africa, as occasion peculiarly propitions to an amicable ar- to endeavor to force it on her reluctant allies, that rangement on this point, had such an arrange | she should so obstinately adhere to the practice of ment been at all attainable. Both parties second- impressing American citizens, whose civilization, ingly appear to have exhausted their ingenuity in religion, and blood, so obviously demanded a more

of the practice of impressment, which was before His lordship now turned to a letter in a volume | required to be jmmediate and to considite a forbefore him addressed at the close of the negociation | mal preliminary to an armistice, was now descried by these commissioners to the American minis- to commence cotemporaneously with the operatiters, conceived in the kindest spirit of conciliation, on of the law of the U. States, prohibiting the emin which they profess the most earnest desire to re- ployment of British seamen, and was consigned. move all cause of complaint on the part of rineri- with the other conditions, to a separate and inforca concerning impressment, regret that their en | mal arrangement. In this way it was no doubt deavors had hitherto been ineffectual, lament the intended, by respecting the feelings of the British necessity of continuing the practice & promise to government, to obviate any objection which

concern with the utmost deliberation & circum- turalized, on board the private and public ships of spection; and it will be necessasry for me to con- theother-thus removing any objection that might sult the great faw officers of the crown. You are have been raised with regard to the future effect ministration could expect to remain in power than I proposed to follow the same course, and only to

I was disappointed and gricved to find that these propositions, moderate and liberal as they Such was the substance, and in many parts, the were, should be treated in a manner which forbid

> I was disposed to believe, however, that a reciprocal arrangement might be made for giving up

Here, perhaps, I owe an apology to my government, for having, without its precise commands hazarded the overture above mentioned, relative to British subjects who may hereafter become cisubstance of my powers. With regard to the mitted. The faith of both governments would be lizens of the United States. In taking this step. however, I persuaded myselfthat I did not trespass. ship a convention for the suspension of hostilities, this government should infer from my silence an tained in a letter from the Secretary of State, their respective authority; and although his Lordto take effect at such time as may be mutually a acquiescence in the strange and unwarrantable which, as my diplomatic functions had ceased, ship might have power to go beyond the armis-I should not have been without all hope that is forthwith appoint commissioners, with full pow- thought fit to take of the overtures which I have place the important arrangement I had been in- yet there was no necessity for doing so, and while would have been approved by the President, as its ers to form a treaty, which shall provide, by reci- submitted, and of the powers under which I acted, structed to propose. With regard to the extent we acted within those limits we stood on equal prospective operation would have presented injustice, and its reciprocity disgrace. Should I, however, urged by too great zeal to produce an accommodation, have mistaken herein the intentions note of the 24th of August. He considers that in the performance of its engagements, the other of the President, I still should have derived some consolation from reflecting that this proposition, as a preliminary to a convention for an armistice, on of bad faith could alone attach to the first delin- thus frankly and explicitly made, afforded an opportunity of satisfactorily testing the disposition of this government & might be useful in removing My Lond -I had the honor to receive, last e- his government, when, from the nature of my au- to array the subject of impressment, & altho' wil- much misconception and error. The refusal of this proposition sufficiently explains the view with which I was assailed with the ostentations parade ter, yet I was not disposed on account of their of the abortive negociations relative to impressment ; the exaggeration of its pretended difficul-, ties : the artificial solemnity given to its character; the affected sensibility to the popular sentiment, concerning it; and the fastisious exception taken to my powers, & proves most unequivocally the predetermination of the British government to reject, at this time, every overture for the discon-

> Most unfeignedly desiring to suspend the existing hostilities between the two states with a reasonable prospect of finally terminating them in arrangement which I was instructed to propose; anxious to get rid of the war, it would have an opportunity of doing so on learning the revocation of the Orders in Council. I felt constrained on this occasion to assure his Lordship that the anxliety of the American government to get rid of the war was only a proof of the sincerity with which it has constantly sought to avoid it, but that no event had occurred, it was apprehended, to encrease this anxiety. His Lordship, sorrecting that if the American government sincerely wished for a restoration of the friendly relations between thorized to propose any specific plan on the sub- of adopting the plan which he had proposed .- cerning the manner in which they had been re- the two countries, it would consider the revocation of the Orders in Council as affording a fair occas sion for the attainment of that object. After a pause of a few mements he added, that if the U. States did not avail themselves of this occasion, not only to put an end to the war, which they had declared, but to perform the conditions on which Castlereagh read a letter, contained in the re- ment; and I hoped the made now suggested for those orders were revoked, that the orders would of course, revive. I could not forbear to remind his Lordship, that when I took this view of the subject, in my note of the 24th of August, he had found it to be incorrect; but I hoped that, now I was so fortunate as to agree with him on this for the safe discontinuance of that practice and the feelings of the people of America who were the point, some provision would be made, in case the terms proposed for an armistice should be accepted, to prevent the revival of those edicts. His Lordship attempted to explain, but I could not

DEAR SIR-I have not seen Lord Castlereagh to repair to the seat of government, and shall set cability of any satisfactory arrangement for the exile were at least mitigated by his exemption the part of his Lordship that he would, with as since his receipt of your two letters of the \_\_\_\_\_ off as soon as I can obtain my baggage. In the discontinuance of impressment is most clearly from danger, by the interested forbearance of his little delay as possible, communicate officially to but have received his directions to say to you that mean time I am sorry to inform you, that the se. manifested by the result of the negociation carried task master, & the could me the decision of the Prince Regent, and I took he is concerned that he cannot have it in his power | cond proposition for an armistice was rejected like on between Messrs. Munroe and Pinkney and no longer associate with those who were dear to my leave, forbiddent, hope that while the present to reply to them for a few days; or would have had the first, and a vigorous prosecution of the war Lords Auckland and Holland. The doctrines him, he was not compelled to do them injury councils and the present opinion of the war lords Auckland and Holland. The doctrines him, he was not compelled to do them injury councils and the present opinion of the war lords Auckland and Holland.

> I have the honor to be, With great consideration and respect Your fathful chedient servent. JUNA. RUSSBUL