

THE INSTRUCTIONS.

(Continued from last page.)

They would all find, in the conduct of G. Britain, an unequivocal determination to destroy the rights of other flags; and to usurp the absolute dominion of the ocean.

Should improper impressions have been taken of the probable consequences of the war, you will have ample means to remove them. It is certain, that from its prosecution, Great Britain can promise herself no advantage, while she exposes herself to great expenses, and to the danger of still greater losses.

A disposition has been shown by the British government to extend this principle so far as to inhibit trade to neutrals even between a power at peace with G. Britain and her enemy, as for example, between China & France.

By an order of the British government in 1803, British cruizers were authorized to take neutral vessels laden with contraband articles, on their return from an enemy's port, on the pretence that they had carried to such port contraband of war.

A strong hope is therefore entertained, that full powers will be given to the British Commissioners to arrange all the grounds of controversy in a satisfactory manner.

The violation of our neutral rights by illegal blockades, carried to an enormous extent by orders in council, was a principal cause of the war. These orders, however, and with them the blockade of May, 1806, and, as understood, all other illegal blockades, have been repealed, so that that cause of war has been removed.

The British government has recently, in two formal acts, given definitions of blockade, either of which would be satisfactory. The first is to be seen in a communication from Mr. Morry to this department, bearing date on the 13th of April, 1804.

Commodore Hood, the commander of a British squadron in the West Indies, in 1803, having declared the Islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe in a state of blockade, without applying an adequate force to maintain it, the secretary of state remonstrated against the illegality of the measure, which remonstrance was laid before the lords commissioners of the admiralty in England, who replied, "that they had sent orders not to consider any blockade of those islands as existing unless in respect of particular ports, which might be actually invested, and then not to capture vessels, bound to such ports, unless they shall previously have been warned not to enter them."

It is deemed highly important also, to obtain a definition of the neutral rights of blockade, and in the manner suggested, but it is not to be made an indispensable condition of peace.—After the repeal of the Orders in Council, and other illegal blockades, and the explanations attending it, it is not presumable that G. Britain will revive them. Should she do it, the U. States will always have a corresponding resort in their own hands.

to it again. Such a recurrence would be the more satisfactory to the president, as it would afford a proof of a disposition in the British government not simply to compromise a difference, but to re-establish sincere friendship between the two nations.

An interference with our commerce between enemy colonies and their parent country, was among the first violations of our neutral rights committed by Great Britain in the present war with France. It took place in 1803, did extensive injury, and produced universal excitement. In securing us against a repetition of it you will attend to an article of the convention between Russia and Great Britain, entered into on the 28th day of 1801, to the 11th article of the project of a treaty with Great Britain that was signed by Mr. Monroe and Mr. Pinkney, on the 31st of December, 1806, and to the instructions from this department relating to that article of the 20th of May 1807.—The capture by Great Britain, of almost all the islands of her colonies, diminished the importance of any regulation of this subject; but as they may be restored by a treaty of peace, it merits particular attention; it being understood however, that unless a treaty can be obtained in a proper extent, and without a relinquishment of the principle contended for by the United States, it will be best that the treaty be silent on the subject.

By an order of the British government in 1803, British cruizers were authorized to take neutral vessels laden with contraband articles, on their return from an enemy's port, on the pretence that they had carried to such port contraband of war.

The pretension of G. Britain to interdict the passage of neutral vessels with their cargoes from one port to another port of an enemy, is illegal and very injurious to the commerce of neutral powers. Still more unjustifiable is the attempt to interdict their passage from a port of one independent nation to that of another, on the pretence that they are both enemies. You will endeavour to obtain, in both instances, a security for the neutral right.

Upon the whole subject, I have to observe, that your first duty will be to conclude a Peace with G. Britain, and that you are authorized to do it, in case you obtain a satisfactory stipulation against impressment, one which shall secure, under our flag, protection to the crew.—The manner in which it may be done has been already stated, with the reciprocal stipulations which you may enter into, to secure G. Britain against the injury of which she complains. If this encroachment of Great Britain is not provided against, the U. States have appealed to arms in vain. If your efforts to accomplish it should fail, all further negotiations will cease, and you will return home without delay.

It is possible that some difficulty may occur, in arranging this article respecting its duration. To obviate this the President is willing that it be limited to the present war in Europe.—Reading, as the U. States do, on the solid ground of right, it is not presumable that G. Britain, especially after the advantage she may derive from the arrangement proposed, would ever revive her pretension. In forming any stipulation on this subject, you will be careful not to impair by it the right of the U. States, or to sanction the principle of the British claim.

It is deemed highly important also, to obtain a definition of the neutral rights of blockade, and in the manner suggested, but it is not to be made an indispensable condition of peace.—After the repeal of the Orders in Council, and other illegal blockades, and the explanations attending it, it is not presumable that G. Britain will revive them. Should she do it, the U. States will always have a corresponding resort in their own hands.

You will observe in every case, in which you may not be able to obtain a satisfactory definition of the neutral rights, that you enter into none respecting it. Indemnity for losses seems to be a fair claim on the part of the U. States, and the British government, if desirous to strengthen the relations of a friendship, may be willing to make it.—In bringing the claims into view, you will not let it defeat the primary objects entrusted to you. It is not perceived on what ground, Great Britain can resist this claim, as

stands pledged. Of these a note will be added.

You are at liberty to stipulate in the proposed treaty, the same advantages in the ports of the U. States, in favour of British ships of war, that may be allowed to those of the most favored nation. This stipulation must be reciprocal.

No difficulty can arise from the case of the non-importation act, which will doubtless be terminated in consequence of a pacification.—Should any stipulation to that effect be required, or found advantageous, you are at liberty to enter into it. Should peace be made, you may, in fixing the period at which it shall take effect, in different latitudes and distances take, for the basis, the provisional articles of the treaty of peace with Great Britain, in 1781, with such alterations as may appear to be just and reasonable.

In discharging the duties of the trust committed to you, the President desires that you will manifest the highest degree of respect for the Emperor of Russia, and confidence in the integrity and impartiality of his views. In arranging the question of impressment, and every question of neutral right, you will explain to his government, without reserve, the sentiments of the United States, with the ground on which they severally rest. It is not doubted that from a conduct so frank and honorable, the most beneficial effect will result.

I shall conclude by remarking, that a strong hope is entertained that this friendly mediation of the Emperor Alexander, will form an epoch in the relations between the United States and Russia, which will be extensively felt, and be long and eminently distinguished by the happy consequences attending it. Since 1780, Russia has been the pivot on which all questions of neutral right have accidentally turned.—Most of the wars which have disturbed the world in modern times, have originated with G. Britain and France. These wars have affected distant countries, especially in their character as neutrals, and very materially the United States, who took no part in promoting them, and had no interest in the great objects of either power.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c. (Signed) JAMES MONROE.

Extract of a letter from the Secretary of State to the Commissioner of the U. States, for treating of peace with Great Britain, dated

Department of State, June 28, 1816.

"An opportunity offering, I avail myself of it to explain more fully the views of the President on certain subjects already treated on in your instructions, and to communicate his sentiments on some others, not adverted to in them."

"The British government having repealed the Orders in Council, and the blockade of May, 1806, and all other illegal blockades, and having declared that it would institute no blockade which should not be supported by an adequate force, it was the better to leave that question on that ground, than to continue the war to obtain a more precise definition of blockade, after the other essential cause of the war, that of impressment, should be removed. But when it is considered a stipulated definition of blockade will cost G. Britain nothing after having thus recognized the principle, and that such definition is calculated to give additional confidence, in the future security of our commerce, it is expected that she will agree to it. It is true, this cause of war being removed, the U. States are under no obligation to continue it, for the want of such stipulated definition, more especially as they retain in their hands the remedy against any new violation of their rights, whenever made.—The same remark is applicable to the case of impressment, for if the British government had issued orders to its cruizers not to impress seamen from our vessels, and notified the same to this government, that cause of war would also have been removed. In making peace it is better for both nations, that the controversy respecting the blockade, should be arranged by treaty, as well as that respecting impressment.—The omission to arrange it may be productive of injury.—Without a precise definition of blockade, improper pretensions might be set upon each side, respecting their rights, which might possibly hazard the future good understanding between the two countries."

"Should a restitution of territory be agreed on, it will be proper for you to make provision for settling the boundary between the U. States and G. Britain on the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, from the point at which the line between them strikes the St. Lawrence, to the north-western corner of the Lake of the Woods, according to the principles of the Treaty of Peace. The settlement of this boundary is important, from the circumstance that there are several Islands in the River and Lakes, of some extent and great value, the dominion over which is claimed by both parties. It may be an advisable course to appoint Commissioners on each side with full powers to adjust, on fair and equitable considerations, this boundary.—To enable you to adopt a suitable provision for the purpose, it will be proper for you to recur to the instructions heretofore given on the subject, published in the documents in your possession."

Mr. Monroe, Secretary of State, to the Plenipotentiaries of the U. States, at St. Petersburg.

Department of State, Jan. 1st, 1814.

GENTLEMEN,

I have not received a letter from you since your appointment to meet ministers from G. Britain at St. Petersburg, to negotiate a Treaty of Peace, under the mediation of the Emperor of Russia.—This is doubtless owing to the miscarriage of your despatches.

The message of the President, of which I have the honor to transmit you a copy, will make you acquainted with the progress of the war with G. Britain, to that period, and the other documents which are forwarded, will communicate what has since occurred.

Among the advantages attending our success in Upper Canada, was the important one of making capture of Gen. Procter's baggage, with all the public documents belonging to the British government in his possession. It is probable that these documents will be laid before Congress, as they are of a nature highly interesting to the public. You will understand their true character by extracts of two letters from Gov. Cass, which are enclosed to you. By these it appears that the British government has exercised its influence over the Indian tribes within our limits, as well as elsewhere, in peace, for hostile purposes towards the U. States; and that the Indian barbarities, since the war, were, in many instances, known to, and sanctioned by, the British government.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c. (Signed) JAMES MONROE.

Mr. Monroe, Secretary of State, to the Plenipotentiaries of the U. States, at St. Petersburg.

Department of State, Jan. 8th, 1814.

GENTLEMEN,

I have the honor to transmit to you a copy of a letter from Lord Cathcart, to this department, and of a note from Lord Cathcart to the Russian government, with my reply to the communication.

The arrangement of a negotiation to be held at Gothenburgh, directly between the U. States and G. Britain, without the aid of the Russian mediation, makes it necessary that new commissions should be issued correspondent with it, and for this purpose that a new nomination should be made to the Senate. The President instructs me to inform you, that you will both be included in it, and that he wishes you to repair, immediately on the receipt of this, to the appointed rendezvous. It is probable the business may not be limited to yourselves on account of the great interests involved in the result.—The commissions and instructions will be duly forwarded to you, as soon as the arrangements shall be finally made.

In taking leave of the Russian government, you will be careful to make known to it the sensibility of the President to the friendly disposition of the Emperor, manifested by the offer of his mediation; the regret felt at its rejection by the British government; and a desire that, in future, the greatest confidence and cordiality, and the best understanding may prevail between the two governments.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c. (Signed) JAMES MONROE.

[To be concluded in our next.]

A BRITISH ACCOUNT OF THE ATTACK ON BALTIMORE.

HALIFAX, SEPT. 29

This morning arrived his majesty's ships Tonnant, vice Adm. Sir A. Cockburn; Surprise, and Diomedé, from the Chesapeake.

An officer of one of the ships has obligingly favored us with the following interesting account of an attack made by the British force upon Baltimore.

Sir Alex. Cockburn and Major Genl. Ross having resolved upon making a demonstration on the City of Baltimore, which might, if circumstances justified, be converted into a real attack.—on the 11th inst. the fleet entered the Patuxon, and the frigates, smaller ships of war and transports, proceeded up the River, to an advantageous situation for landing their troops, &c. Early on the morning of the 13th the disembarkation took place, without opposition, of the army, 6000 seamen, 20 battalions marines, and these of the squadron—the whole under the command of Gen. Ross, who was accompanied by Rear Admiral Cockburn—soon after the landing was effected, Sir A. Cockburn shifted his flag from the Tonnant to the Surprise, and followed by the bombs, rocket ships, &c. passed up the River, with the view of co-operating with the troops.—At day-light on the 14th the melancholy intelligence of the death of Gen. Ross was announced on board the Surprise; he received his fatal wound from a musket ball, while engaged with a small party in reconnoitering the positions of the enemy, and closed his valuable life before he could be bro't off to the ship. Col. Brooke succeeded to the command, and immediately pushed on to within five miles of Baltimore, where the enemy (about 6 or 7,000) had taken up an advanced and strong position.—here the enemy was attacked with an impetuosity that obliged him soon to give way, and retreat rapidly in every direction, leaving on the field of battle a considerable number of killed & wounded, and 3 pieces of cannon.

At the dawn of the next day, the bomb vessels having taken their stations, supported by the Surprise and the other frigates, opened a heavy fire (with shell range) upon the Fort defending the entrance of the harbor of Baltimore, which had the effect of showing the strength and fortifications of the enemy—on the

land side the town was defended by chain of redoubt, connected by a breast-work, a large train of artillery, & a force apparently of from 15 to 20,000 men—the entrance of the harbor was obstructed by a barrier of sunken vessels, defended by gun boats outside, and flanked by powerful batteries.

These circumstances preventing any effectual co-operation from his majesty's ships; and it being considered that without it there was too great a disparity of force to justify an attack by the army upon the above positions of the enemy—and as the primary object of the expedition has been accomplished—it was thought proper to withdraw the troops—and the next morning they embarked without the least annoyance from the enemy.

The result of the demonstration has been the defeat of the army of the enemy—the destruction by themselves of a quantity of shipping; of an extensive rope-walk and other public erections—harassing the armed inhabitants of the surrounding country, and drawing off their attention from other important points.

On less on the occasion, we are happy to learn, did not exceed, in killed and wounded, 250 men.

FROM THE PHILADELPHIA GAZETTE, (A Federal Paper.)

OUR PROSPECTS.

The late despatches from our Ministers at Ghent are of a character utterly adverse to all hopes of a speedy accommodation of our differences with G. Britain.—Brought up as we had been by the repeated declarations of that government of their "sincere desire" to restore the friendly relations of the two countries "on terms honorable to each," it is with small degree of justification and pain, that we find, on the very threshold of negotiation, that terms are offered and demanded by the enemy, alike extravagant and insulting. It would almost seem that their Commissioners have determined to foreclose all discussions on material points, by precipitating upon our propositions utterly repugnant and foreign to the object of their mission, and out of the necessary scope of their instructions. Whoever could have dreamt that the Indian tribes would have formed the first obstacle in the negotiation at Ghent! And much less could it ever be imagined that the American Commissioners, even after humiliating themselves by listening to the proposition, would agree to give up the Lakes and their respective shores to the enemy! There is something so preposterously absurd & arrogant in this demand that it requires a great deal more than ordinary patience to tolerate it. Perhaps, however, this may have been nothing more than a diplomatic trick of the British Commissioners, in order to feel the pulse of the American ministers; & perhaps in the same spirit the latter withheld the expression of their opinion, with the view of drawing out more a large the pretensions and expectations of the British government. In each case either case it is manifest, that no peace can grow out of the present mission, unless Great Britain relinquishes the two points relating to the lakes and the Indian pacification. The one is utterly incompatible with our honor as an independent nation, the other is inconceivable with our true policy towards these tribes.

FROM THE NORFOLK LEDGER, (A Federal Paper.)

THE DISPATCHES.

We have exerted ourselves to lay before our readers the documents from our Commissioners, which will no doubt excite equal astonishment and indignation. If the gravity and importance of the subjects which they embrace had not demanded serious attention, we should have wanted patience to have gone thro' the perusal of such insolent demands upon our country. Contented if unnecessary every American head and heart will make the same comment.

There is nothing from which some good may not be extracted; our surprise is over, now we know what we have to depend on, and we trust in God, the manly and patriotic spirit of the nation will teach an insolent foe, that a people who in their infancy could break his chains, will in their sturdy youth meet his arrogant demands with firmness, that will prove they are sons worthy of their illustrious sires.

Countrymen! we must now speak plainly; much suffering and hardship you must expect, but you bear them with pride and constancy: when you reflect what your fathers suffered for you, in the dark and perilous stages of the revolution, you will not disgrace them by repining or complaining. You must relinquish luxuries, and some comforts, but our country abounds in many comforts and in all the necessities of life.

To meet the crisis, requires the united wisdom, talents and integrity of the nation; and to bring these into operation, party distinctions must cease, and the people (as their fathers did in the days of trial) must select men of talents and virtue. These are no times to enter into party disputes, as to the causes and origin of the war; the only object before us, is to meet and chastise a perfidious and arrogant government, intoxicated with prosperity. We say perfidious, for who can read that part of the Prince Regent's speech relating to America, and not apply the term? "I am (says he) sincerely desirous of the restoration of peace between the two nations, upon conditions honorable to both." Were such terms as he has instructed his commissioners to propose, deemed by him honorable to his insolent thought!