Eastern Shore REPUBLICAN STAR OR General Advertiser.

EASTON—(MARYLAND) Printed and Published every *Tuesday Morning*, by THOMAS PERRIN SMITH, near the Court House.

[VOL. I....4.] TUESDAY MORNING, JUNE 7, 1803. [NO. 40....196.]

THE TERMS OF THE STAR

ARE TWO DOLLARS and FIFTY CENTS per annum—payable half yearly, in advance.——No paper discontinued until the same is paid for.

Advertisements inserted three weeks for ONE DOLLAR a square, and TWENTY-FIVE CENTS per week for continuance.

From the NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

A VINDICATION

OF THE MEASURES OF THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.

BY ALGERNON SIDNEY.

"*Where Liberty is—there is my Country.*"

No. III.

A violent effort has been made to produce an immediate war between the United States, France and Spain. For this purpose the celebrated resolutions of Mr. Ross, authorizing the president to embody fifty thousand men, and to seize on New Orleans and Louisiana, and appropriating five millions of dollars for the expenses, were presented to the senate. The tocsin has been sounded from one extremity to the other of the union.—The opposition, true to their old system of war, standing armies, navies, debts and patronage, have been tremblingly alive on the subject. No means have been omitted to effect their object. Brilliant offers have been made to the western people, their passions played upon, their spirit and resolution at one moment, admired, the next, doubted:—but all to no purpose. Those who were eminently useful in preventing war during the last administration, who first asserted the rights of freemen, and by their bold and manly resolutions said to the ruler of the nation "thus far shalt thou go and no farther," here shall thy proud career be stayed, have remained unmoved and firmly attached to the interest, the peace, the happiness and the government of the country. My surprize at the conduct of opposition, is increased by their vote proclaiming their want of confidence in the executive. Charity leads me to admit this originated in their belief that he was distitute either of talents or integrity.—If the first, then they have evinced a readiness to expose the nation to the evils of a misguided and ill conducted war.—If the last, then they have manifested a willingness to hazard the liberties of the country, by intrusting to a man, whom they believe unprincipled, the sword and treasures of the nation. They must elect between these alternatives, or admit what is generally believed, that this extraordinary vote did not speak the language of the heart, but was the child of party brought into existence to foster the spirit of disaffection. Because the government refuses to resent the unauthorized act of a Spanish intendant by a declaration of war, before it has demanded an explanation from the crown of Spain, its want of energy is daily proclaimed. Notwithstanding the Spanish minister, and the French charge des affairs, have in the most solemn manner assured government; that the rights of deposit will be restored and our interest respected and cherished; notwithstanding they have united in an endeavor to procure us immediate redress (and there is just reason to hope that at this moment the prohibition is taken off) still it is resounded in our ears, "but for the fears of the president we should soon be in possession of New Orleans, we should teach the nations of Europe to respect our rights." The president undoubtedly has his fears; but fears of a personal nature he cannot have, his high station and the duties of his office, place him above them. He fears to do wrong. He fears to create a standing army and thereby jeopardize the liberties of the country, to increase the executive powers in his own hands, and those of his successors. He fears to oppress the people by tax upon tax, to destroy our commerce and fisheries by an unnecessary war. He fears to transmit to posterity a debt increased to such degree as to entail slavery upon them, to demoralize the people, to bury in one common grave, the robust yeomanry, the hardy fishermen, and the useful mechanics of the nation. He fears the imprecations of frantic mothers, and still more frantic wives, bewailing the loss of their children and husbands—And lastly he fears to offend the Majesty of Heaven by inflicting misery and wretchedness on five millions of people intrusted to his care and protection.

From the commencement of the government to the inauguration of the present executive, though the eastern states have constantly boasted of their superior strength, not an arsenal or factory, of military stores, has ever been established in the western country, or south of the Potomac. Of the monies expended in fortifications and for defence, not one dollar in six has been applied in these states. Now the members from the New England states, whose representatives heretofore voted to lock up the Mississippi for twenty-five years, express the most tender concern for that part of the union. Happy will it be for this country, if experience shall prove their pretensions sincere! But I cannot forget, that the persons, who heretofore for years, have bestowed upon the people of that country, the epithets of "the wild men of the woods of Kentucky," the "banditti of whiskey boys," the "sweepings of the earth," "enemies to religion order and government;" who have treated with contempt and indignity their solemn act of legislation, and who have proclaimed their wish for a separation, now challenge their first confidence. Is there no reason to believe that, irritated and chagrined at their loss of power and of the confidence of the people, they have seized upon the misconduct of the intendant of New Orleans with a view to embarrass government, and, in a moment of passion, to push the western people to some act, disgraceful and ruinous to themselves and to the nation? For let me ask, from whence has originated in the minds of the opposition this affection for the western country, at once so novel and irresistable, so vast and unbounded, so tender and glowing, that burns like Crater of Etna, and that threatens, by the bursting of its lava, to overwhelm the honor, the peace and the happiness of this nation? From the bleak mountains of Nova Scotia to the pestilential heats of Florida, from the recesses of the forest to the billows of the ocean, not a member of the opposition can be found, high or low, great or small, rich or poor, learned or ignorant, whose mind is not touched with this ardent flame, who does not sigh for some relic of this burning lava. Not one, who has not heard the hoarse thunder of war rumble through the welkin, who has not seen the Moon dyed with blood, and the finger of heaven pointing to war." All exclaim for it immediately, and for the capture of New Orleans.

What charms does not New Orleans possess? She is indeed a talisman. Seize but upon her and the mighty power of France, of Spain, of Italy and of Holland, vanish like spirits at the approach of light. The United States become impregnable; no point is left for attack.—The Mobile, the Tombigbee, the Altamaha, and the St. Mary's, are dried to their sources. Our commerce, our fisheries, our cities and our towns, are all protected from assault, and the war is ended ere it is commenced. Omit to seize upon her, and instantly, from the Mississippi to the south sea, the haunts of wild beasts are transformed into princely palaces, lofty towns and richly cultivated fields. The oak, the sycamore and the cypress, become soldiers; an unhappy race rises up among us and butchers our wives and children. The energies of the nation are palsied, and she forever ruined.

I tremble as I write. Surely this cannot be the child of fancy, it must be a reality; in some hidden volume of the book of fate it was registered, our guardian angel made the discovery, whispered it in the ear of *America's best friends*. Else why is it proclaimed, echoed and re-echoed, from one end of the union to the other, by those who claim a superior regard to religion order and happiness? Why are we urged to instant war? Why is the government censured for making one effort to preserve peace? It has spoken to the nations interested, in the respectful strong language of freemen. It has solemnly pledged itself to maintain inviolate, the rights of the people and nation. It has made provision for the dernier resort, an appeal to arms.

Yet despair should not drive us to madness. It is impossible that the advocates for war have taken the *evil genius of America* for her guardian angel. The rights of our western brethern are sacred, they never will be neglected, surrendered or bartered. On the other hand, in the estimation of every good man, the preservation of peace is important.

In discussing subjects so interesting, flights of fancy should give place to cool reflection, and the ardor of passion to the dictates of sound discretion.

Whenever the rights of a nation are violated, it becomes the duty of the rulers to seek redress. Where the safety of the state will admit, this redress is to be sought, first, by amicable conference and negociation, and in case these fail, by resort to war. This rule is laid down by all the writers upon natural law, and practised by most of the nations of the earth. It results from nature itself, and from the obligations we are under to consult, as well the happiness of others, as of ourselves. Whoever reflects upon the miseries of war, will agree with the writers upon that subject, that it is justified only by extremities. Not to swell the volume of human woe, is a duty we owe to ourselves and mankind at large. Now the safety of state was not endangered by denying the right of deposit at New Orleans; a right derived from treaty alone. It was therefore the duty of government, as it was the interest of the people, to endeavor to regain the exercise of that by negociation. The obligation upon government to adopt this course, was heightened by the consideration, that the act complained of was not the act of the Spanish government, but of a subordinate officer of that nation.

To involve the nation in all the horrors of war, for the unlawful and unauthorised act of a subordinate officer, would be the height of political depravity. It would introduce, a rule of which we could not complain, and under which this nation, at any future time, might be involved in war by the unlawful or wanton act of any one of her officers. It would be virtually transferring, the all important questions of peace and war, from the representatives of the people and the government of the country, to the captain of a frigate.

The act of an individual officer or subject, does not become the act of the nation to which he belongs, until the nation has sanctioned it, as it is impossible for the most vigilant and best regulated government to control the actions of its agents and subjects, and to bring them to an exact obedience on all occasions. Hence it follows, that the government, by declaring war, would have committed an act of injustice against Spain, established a precedent which might become fatal to the future, and justly merited the execration of the world.

There is reason to believe, that not only a complete restoration, but an enlargement of our rights will take place. Then let the people judge between those, who have used every mean in their power to inflame the public mind, and to involve the nation in war; and those, who have labored incessantly to regain the enjoyment of our rights, and to preserve peace and happiness.

Government has represented to the Spanish court the violation of our rights by the intendant, and demanded immediate satisfaction. "Indemnity for the past, and security for the future," are expected. Should Spain, like neglectful of her duty and her interest, withhold from us that satisfaction which justice decrees, all will unite in the necessity of war. By attempting to void its evils, we shall have given to Europe, evidence of our disposition to live in peace and good neighborhood; we shall become united, and justice will arrange herself under our banners. By hastily declaring war, without asking redress, we should have excited discontents among our own citizens, and justly awakened the suspicions and jealousies of those European powers who have American possessions.

The cabinet of Saint James might possibly have rejoiced at this event; but would it not have occurred to them, that the same power, which had seized upon New Orleans, might, at any moment, upon as light or less provocation, seize upon the Canadas, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Bahamas, and, in a few years, upon their West India possessions? Our highest interest require that we should evince to the world a strict regard for justice, a faithful performance of all our engagements, and a desire to cultivate friendship, peace and good will with all.

In case war shall become necessary, what new evils will the nation have incurred by the delay! The advocates for that measure say, "France will be in possession of Louisiana!" and will she not be in possession of the province before we could have raised an army, if war had been declared at the commencement of the session of congress, or even if the executive had possessed and exercised that power on the day he was informed of the unlawful act of the intendant? But are we really to enter into war with France because the intendant of New Orleans has closed that port which is ceded to France, and has committed no infraction of our rights? Will any man say that war shall be levied upon *France* for the misconduct of a *Spanish officer?* or will any one deny, that taking possession of New Orleans, which is daily expected to pass into the possession of France, to whom it has long since been ceded, will in fact, be making war against her? If we had seized upon that place, we must have retained it against her, or have restored it when she came to take possession. If we restored it to her, then what advantage should we gain by the sacrifice? It would certainly excite her jealousy. If we retained it, a long, bloody and arduous war must be the consequence—The people of the western country would be deprived of the navigation of the Mississippi, more years than they have been, or will be, months under the policy pursued by the administration. Besides, on what principle should we justify the detention? Certainly, not on account of the conduct of the Spanish intendant.

But say the advocates for war, 'France is a powerful, ambitious and designing nation; she has procured the cession of Louisiana to draw a cordon round these states. The nation therefore has the right of levying war to ward of a future evil. An infant colony planted in the wilderness for a corder to bridle this union!! As well might she set a sergeant's guard to overawe the people of Paris.' I readily admit the importance of attaching that country to the union, because thereby we shall be forever secured from the wars and intrigues of Europe. We should then have no interest in forming political connections with the maritime powers. But I maintain, that, by the laws of nations, the cession of territory by one nation to another, does not create a right of war in the adjoining nation. That nation must wait, not indeed until the new neighbor declares war, but until she furnishes some evidence of her hostile intentions, by adding to the number or strength of her forts, increasing her troops, denying the exercise of her own rights, or the like. This rule appears to apply with particular force in the present case, for France nearly a century ago, had a settlement on the western waters, which was included in this colony. By the fortune of war she was compelled to cede it, again, by the fortune of war, she has been enabled to regain it. Her reclaiming an ancient colony, founded by herself and ceded by the possessor, cannot give a just right of war to her old neighbor, nor can I believe such war, if just would be politic. But it is said, if we were in possession of New Orleans, France could not get a foot hold, and the country of course would become ours: That, if true, would not alter the justice of the case. So it might be said, that if we seized upon Montreal it would give us the command of the St. Lawrence, the western lakes and the Upper Canada.

Is there no point of attack from the two Floridas, or must the war of necessity be confined to New Orleans? No. If there be war it will rage in all parts, it will destroy our navigation, commerce and fisheries, and may produce serious calamities to our seaports. I fear not the issue of a just war; strong in ourselves, possessed of every material necessary for war, and removed three thousand miles from the powers that alone can attack us on American ground, we are certain of eventual success. All wars on this continent must terminate in the aggrandisement of this nation and the extension of her territory. But to a nation of farmers and artisans, glory and happiness are essentially different.

When France takes possession of that country she will cultivate peace and good neighborhood, or invite war. If the former, the two nations will be mutually useful and beneficial; if the latter, her colony cannot thrive or become dangerous. It is peace and preserving industry alone, that can build up a powerful colony. But the advocates for war contend the colony will thrive. Admit the fact, so shall we. And by the time any colony France can establish, shall equal in strength an average state in the union, we shall possess power, equal to France herself, in numbers, resources and the means of war. That she possesses a mighty power at this moment I admit, this is one reason why we should not wage war unnecessarily. *She* has come to her growth and splendor; *we* are in the very grittle; our bones though sufficient for any necessary conflict, have not yet acquired their solidity and strength. Time is every thing to this nation. France is under the command of a valiant and fortunate leader. Before a powerful colony can be raised up in Louisiana, he will be laid in the tomb of his ancestors, and nature rarely gives great rulers to a nation in succession. The brilliant exploits of a great warrior inspire the world with awe, but the effect is transitory. The conquest of Tamerlane have long been celebrated. His posterity became vassals. Cyrus made Asia bow to the Persian sceptre. Darius lost the diadem from his head. Alexander conquered the world—his empire died with him.—Louis the fourteenth threatened to overturn the liberties of Europe, in the end his throne tottered under him.—Not unfrequently has it happened that the prudence of the warrior is lost in the splendor of his victories, and he closes his career on the level from which he started.

But what of this mighty power, can she change the course of nature? Can she force colonies into prosperity. She may protect them, and can do no more.—The colony of Louisiana must depend upon the daily industry and economy of the citizens. They will have to combat the evils of an unhealthy climate. They will have to reduce the forrests at an endless labor and expense, to drain their marshes, to make roads and bridges, furnish themselves with comfortable buildings and every other convenience of life. Without an influx of people from Europe, it must take the colony a century to acquire any considerable strength.—With that influx they must furnish us with a market, and depend upon us for the necessaries of life for many years.—From its geographical situation the colony must ever derive from us principally, the conveniences and luxuries of foreign countries. The merchants of our capitals must be their importers, and the imposts on their importations must enrich our treasury. *Nature* has ordained this, and *France* cannot vacate her decrees.

Commanding the left bank of the Mississippi, for more than twenty degrees of latitude, the Atlantic, for more than sixteen hundred miles, with an hundred navigable rivers who pay their tribute to that ocean, what have we to fear from an infant colony, protected by a remote power, possessing but one avenue to the [illegible] equally within our command? If foreign connections shall become necessary are they not to be procured? Is there not a nation, more capable than any other of foreign enterprise, whose interest would lead them with us to unshackle the Mississippi, the West Indies and Spanish Maine?

When I reflect upon the most natural consequences deducible from the proposed establishment, it appears to me, the colony will be for many years a pledge, and the citizens hostages, for the just and equitable conduct of France. This to my mind furnishes strong consolation to balance the prospects of future war.—Our nation with others must taste her portion of wretchedness, so must I in common with my fellow-men, but shall I force sickness and pain upon me, because I must one day meet these evils, or shall this nation plunge herself headlong into the miseries of war, because she must one day be scourged by that dreadful calamity?

One other consideration of great weight forces itself on my mind. As man, when he arrives at full age, withdraws himself from his parents, forms new connections and establishes himself in life, so colonies, when they no longer require the fostering hand of their parent, withdraw from her, and take their rank among the nations of the earth. The situation of this colony, her distance to the parent country, and her contiguity to this republic, appear to indicate her early separation from France. With these states the colony must have a daily intercourse, her citizens will imbibe our principles, our customs and habits. An alliance may take place, or she may be incorporated as a member of the union. Our peaceable temper and habits, and our disposition to extend the arts of civil life to the exclusion of war, furnish to the European powers, the greatest safeguard for the American possessions. The time must come when America will possess self command; by forcing us to assume the character of a warlike people, that event may be accelerated.

On this interesting subject there is one suggestition of the highest importance repeatedly made by the opposition. It is this: The citizens of the western states will secede from the union and form an alliance with France. When that event happens the sun of our happiness will set forever, "and darkness and thick tempests hover around us."

But what are the evidences which sup-