

[LXVIIIth YEAR.]

(Documents Continued.)

No. 11. Boston, April 13, 1809.

Sir—I send to Mr. R. a pamphlet entitled "Suppressed Documents." The notes and comments were written by the gentleman who has written the "analysis," which I sent by a former conveyance. These works have greatly contributed to excite the fears of the men of talents and property; who now prefer the chance of maintaining their party by open resistance and a final separation to an alliance with France, and a war with England. So that should the government unexpectedly and contrary to all reasonable calculation, attempt to involve the country in a measure of that nature, I am convinced that the elections have all terminated favourably that none of the New-England states would be a party in it. But, as I have repeatedly written, the general government does not seriously entertain any such desire of intention. Had the majority in the New-England states continued to approve of the public measures, it is extremely probable that G. Britain would now have to choose between war and concession. But the aspect of things in this respect is changed; and a war would produce an incurable alienation of the Eastern states, and bring the whole country in subordination to the interests of England, whose navy would prescribe and enforce the terms upon which the commercial states should carry and the agricultural states export their surplus produce. All this is as well known to the democrats as to the other party; therefore they will avoid a war, at least until the whole nation is unanimous for it. Still when we consider of what materials the government is formed, it is impossible to speak with any certainty of their measures. The past administration in every transaction presents to the mind only a muddy commixture of folly, weakness and duplicity. The spell, by which the nations of Europe have been rendered inert and inefficient when they attempted to shake it off, has stretched its shadows across the Atlantic and made a majority of the people of these states alike blind to duty and to their true interests.

I am, &c. A. B.

No. 12. Boston, April 26, 1809.

Sir—Since my letter No. 11, I have had but little to communicate. I have not yet been able to ascertain with sufficient accuracy the relative strength of the two parties in the legislative bodies in New-England.

In all of these states, however, governors have been elected out of the federal party, and even the southern papers indicate an unexpected augmentation of federal members in the next Congress.

The correspondence between Mr. Erskine, and the Secretary of State at Washington, you will have seen before this can reach you. It has given much satisfaction to the federal party here; because it promises an exemption from the evil they most feared (a war with England) and justifies their partiality towards G. Britain, which they maintain was founded upon a full conviction of her justice and sincere disposition to preserve peace. Even the democrats affect to be satisfied with it, because as they insist it proves the efficacy of the restrictive system of Mr. Jefferson.

But the great benefit that will probably result from it, will be, that Buonaparte may be induced to force this country from her neutral position. Baffled in his attempts to exclude from his continent the manufactures of G. Britain, he will most likely confiscate all American property in his dominions and dependencies, and declare war. Nothing could more than this contribute to give influence and stability to the British party. The invidious occurrences of the rebellion would be forgotten in the resentment of the people against France, and they would soon be weaned from that attachment to her which is founded on the aid that was rendered to separate from the mother country.

While G. Britain waits for this natural, I might say necessary result of the negotiation, would it not be extremely inexpedient to conclude a treaty with the American government? Every sort of evidence and experience prove that the democrats consider their political ascendancy in a great measure dependent upon the hostile spirit that they can keep alive towards Great-Britain, and recent events demonstrate that their conduct will be predicated upon that conviction. It is therefore, not to be expected that they will deal with corresponding feelings a sincere disposition on the part of England to adjust all matters in dispute. They are at heart mortified and disappointed to find that G. Britain has been in advance of the French government in taking advantage of the provisional clauses of the

non-intercourse law: and if they show any spirit at the next session of congress towards France, it would be only because they will find Buonaparte deaf to entreaty and inflexible of past favours; or that they may think it safer to float with the tide of public feeling which will set strongly against him, unless he keep pari passu with England in a conciliatory policy.

When I began my letter, I intended to make some observations in relation to the boundary line.—[Here 10 or 12 lines of the manuscript are erased.]

I am, &c. A. B.

No. 13. Boston, May 5, 1809.

Sir—Although the recent changes that have occurred quiet all apprehensions of war, and consequently lessen all hope of a separation of the states, I think it necessary to transmit by the mail of each week a sketch of passing events.

On local politics I have nothing to add; and as the parade that is made in the National Intelligencer of the sincere disposition of Mr. Madison to preserve amicable relations with G. Britain is in my opinion calculated to awaken vigilance and distrust rather than inspire confidence, I shall (having nothing more important to write about) take leave to examine his motives. I am not surprised at his conditional removal of the non-intercourse law with respect to G. Britain, because it was made incumbent on him by the act of congress, but the observations made on his friendly dispositions towards G. Britain is a matter of no little astonishment. The whole tenor of his political life directly and unequivocally contradicts them. His speech on the British treaty in '99. His attempt to pass a law for the confiscation of "British debts" and British property. His commercial resolutions grounded apparently on an idea of making America useful as a colony to France. His conduct while Secretary of State: all form an assemblage of probabilities tending to convince me at least that he does not seriously desire a treaty in which the rights and pretensions of G. Britain would be fairly recognized. It seems impossible that he should at once divest himself of his habitual animosity and that pride of opinion, which his present situation enables him to indulge; but above all, that he should deprive his friends and supporters of the benefit of those prejudices which have been carefully fostered in the minds of the common people towards England, and which have so materially contributed to invigorate and augment the democratic party. Whatever his real motives may be, it is in this stage of the affair harmless enough to inquire into the cause of the apparent change. He probably acts under a conviction that in the present temper of the eastern states a war could not fail to produce a dissolution of the union; or he may have profited by the mistakes of his predecessor; and is inclined to seize the present opportunity to prove to the world that he is determined to be the president of a nation rather than the head of a faction; or he has probably gone thus far to remove the impression on the mind of many that he was under the influence of France, in order that he may with a better grace and on more tenable grounds quarrel with G. Britain in the progress of negotiating a treaty. Whatever his motives may be, I am very certain his party will not support him in any mean and generous policy. Weak men are sure to temporize when great events call upon them for decision, and are sluggish and inert at the moment when the worst of evils is in action. This is the character of the democrats in the northern states. Of those of the south I know but little.

I am, &c. A. B.

No. 14. Boston, May 25, 1809.

Sir—My last was under date of the 5th instant.

The unexpected change that has taken place in the feelings of political men in this country in consequence of Mr. Madison's prompt acceptance of the friendly proposals of G. Britain has caused a temporary suspension of the confidence of parties; and they both regard him with equal wonder and distrust. They all ascribe his conduct to various motives, but none believe him to be in earnest.

The state of N. York has returned to the assembly a majority of federal members. All this proves that an anti-commercial faction cannot rule the northern states. Two months ago the state of New-York was not ranked among the states that would adopt the policy of that of Massachusetts; and any favourable change was exceedingly problematical.

I beg leave to suggest that in the present state of things in this country my presence can contribute very little to the interests of G. Britain. If Mr. Erskine be fancioned in all he has conceded, by his majesty's ministers, it is unnecessary for me, as indeed it would be unavailing to make any attempt to carry into effect the original purposes of my mission.—While I think it to be my duty to give this information to you, I beg it may be understood that I consider myself entirely at the disposal of his majesty's government.

I am, &c. A. B.

No. 15. Montreal, June 12, 1809.

Sir—I have the honour to inform your excellency that I received through Mr. Secretary Ryland, your excellency's commands to return to Canada, and, after the delays incident to this season of the year, in a journey from Bolton, arrived here yesterday.

Your excellency will have seen by the papers of the latest dates from the U. States, that a formidable opposition is already organized in congress to the late measures of Mr. Madison; and it is very evident that if he be sincere in his professions of attachment to G. Britain, his party will abandon him. Sixty-one members have already voted against a resolution to approve of what he has done, and I have no doubt, the rest of the democratic party will follow the example, as soon as they recover from the astonishment into which his apparent defection has thrown them.

The present hopes of the federalists are founded on the probability of a war with France; but at all events this party is strong and well organized enough to prevent a war with England. It would now be superfluous to trouble your excellency with an account of the nature and extent of the arrangements made by the federal party, to resist any attempt of the government unfavourable to G. Britain. They were such as do great credit to their ability and principles; and while a judicious policy is observed by G. Britain, secure her interests in America from decay. My fear of inducing a false security on the part of his majesty's government in their efficiency and eventual success, may have inclined me to refrain from doing them that justice in my former letters, which I willingly take the present occasion to express.

I trust your excellency will ascribe the style and manner of my communications and the frequent ambiguities introduced in them, as arising from the secrecy necessary to be observed, and my consciousness that you understood my meaning on the most delicate points without risking a particular explanation.

I lament that no occasion commensurate to my wishes has permitted me to prove how much I value the confidence of your excellency and the approbation already expressed by his majesty's minister.

I have the honour to be, &c.

I certify that the foregoing letters are the same referred to in the letter of H. W. Ryland, Esq. dated May 1st, 1809, relating to the mission in which I was employed by Sir James Craig, by his letter of instructions bearing date Feb. 6, 1809.

(Signed) JOHN HENRY.

No. V.

Mr. Ryland to Mr. Henry; 1st May 1809. MY DEAR SIR—The news we have received this day from the states will, I imagine, soon bring you back to us, and if you arrive at Montreal by the middle of June, I shall probably have the pleasure of meeting you there, as I am going up with Sir James and a large suite. The last letters received from you are of the 13th of April; the whole are now transcribing for the purpose of being sent home where they cannot fail of doing you great credit, and I most sincerely hope they may eventually contribute to your permanent advantage. It is not necessary to repeat the assurance that no effort within the compass of my power shall be wanting to this end.

I am cruelly out of spirits at the idea of old England trucking to such a debased and accursed government as that of the U. States.

I am greatly obliged to you for the trouble you have taken in procuring the books, though if Spain fails I shall scarcely have heart to look into them. I can add no more now, but that I am most heartily and affectionately yours,

(Signed) H. W. R.

J. Henry, Esq. Boston.

Mr. Ryland to Mr. Henry, dated the 4th May, 1809.

MY DEAR SIR—You must consider the short letter I wrote you by the last post as altogether unofficial, but I am now to intimate to you in a more formal manner our hope of your speedy return, as the object of your journey seems, for the present at least to be at an end. We have London news by the way of the river up to the 6th March, which tallies to a day with what we have received by way of the states. Heartily wishing you a safe and speedy journey back to us,

I am, my dear sir, most sincerely yours,

(Signed) H. W. R.

Have the goodness to bring my books with you, though I shall have little spirit to look into them unless you bring good news from Spain.

No. VI.

Mr. Henry's memorial to Lord Liverpool, enclosed in a letter to Mr. Peel of the 13th June, with a copy of that letter.

The undersigned most respectfully submits the following statement and memorial to the Earl of Liverpool.

Long before and during the administration of your Lordship's predecessor the undersigned bestowed much personal attention to the state of parties and to the political measures in the U. States of America.

[Here is an erasure of 10 or 12 lines.]

Soon after the affair of the Chesapeake frigate, when his majesty's governor general of British America had reason to believe that the two countries would be involved in a war, and had submitted to his majesty's ministers the arrangements of the English party in the U. S. for an efficient resistance to the general government, which would probably terminate in a separation of the northern states from the general confederacy; he applied to the undersigned to undertake a mission to Boston where the whole concerns of the opposition were managed. The object of the mission was to promote and encourage the federal party to resist the measures of the general government; to offer assurances of aid and support from his majesty's government of Canada; and to open a communication between the leading men engaged in that opposition and the governor general upon such a footing as circumstances might suggest & finally to render the plans then in contemplation subservient to the views of his majesty's government.

The undersigned undertook the mission which lasted from the month of January to the month of June inclusive, during which period—those public acts and legislative resolutions of the assemblies of Massachusetts and Connecticut were passed, which kept the general government of the U. S. in check and deterred it from carrying into execution the measures of hostility with which Great-Britain was menaced.

For his services on the occasion herein recited, and the loss of time and expenses incurred, the undersigned neither sought nor received any compensation: but trusted to the known justice and liberality of his majesty's government for the reward of services which could not, he humbly conceives, be estimated in pounds shillings and pence. On the patronage and support which was promised in the letter of Sir James Craig, under date of the 20th Jan. 1809, (wherein he gives an assurance, "That the former correspondence and political information transmitted by the undersigned had met with the particular approbation of his majesty's secretary of state; and that his execution of the mission proposed to be undertaken in that letter would give him a claim not only on the governor general but on his majesty's ministers,") the undersigned has relied, and now most respectfully claims, in whatever mode the Earl of Liverpool may be pleased to adopt.

The undersigned most respectfully takes this occasion to state, that Sir J. Craig promised him an employment in Canada worth upwards of one thousand pounds a year, by his letter (herewith transmitted) under date of the 13th Sept 1809, which he has just learned has, in consequence of his absence, been given to another person. The undersigned abstains from commenting on this transaction; and most respectfully suggests that the appointment of judge advocate general of the province of Lower Canada, with a salary of five hundred pounds a year, or a consulate in the U. S. sine curia would be considered by him as a liberal discharge of any obligation that his majesty's government may entertain in relation to his services.

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NOTICE.

subscriber intends to apply to the Anne Arundel county court, or some other court, in the recess of said court, for the relief of insolvent debtors, and the several supplementary acts, after this notice shall have been published weeks from the date hereof.

Richard Rawlings.

1812.