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DOCUMENTS.

Messieurs Adams, Bayard, Clay,
Russell, and Gallatin to Mr. Mon-
roe, Secretary of State, dated
Ghent, 19th Aug. 1814.

Sir,

Mr. Baker, Secretary to the British mission, called upon us to-day, at 1 o'clock, and invited us to a conference to be held at 3. This was agreed to, and the British commissioners opened it, by saying that they had received their further instructions this morning, and had not lost a moment, in requesting a meeting for the purpose of communicating the decision of their government. It is proper to notice that Lord Castlereagh had arrived last night, in this city, whence it is said he will depart to-morrow on his way to Brussels and Vienna.

The British commissioners stated that their government had felt some surprise, that we were not instructed respecting the Indians, as it could not have been expected that they would leave their allies, in their comparatively weak situation, exposed to our resentment. Great-Britain might justly have supposed that the American government would have furnished us with instructions, authorising us to agree to a positive article on the subject; but, the least she could demand was that we should sign a provisional article admitting the principle, subject to the ratification of our government, so that, if it should be ratified the treaty should take effect; and, if not, that it should be null and void; on our assent or refusal to admit such an article would depend the continuance or suspension of the negotiation.

As we had represented that the proposition made by them, on that subject, was not sufficiently explicit, their government had directed them to give us every necessary explanation, and to state distinctly the basis which must be considered as an indispensable preliminary.

It was a *sine qua non* that the Indians should be included in the pacification, and as incident thereto, that the boundaries of their territory should be permanently established.

Peace with the Indians was a subject so simple, as to require no comment. With respect to the boundaries which was to divide their territory from that of the U. States, the object of the British government was, that the Indians should remain a permanent barrier between our western settlements, and the adjacent British provinces, and to prevent them from being continuous to each other; and that neither the U. S. nor G. Britain, should ever hereafter have the right to purchase or acquire any part of the territory thus recognized as belonging to the Indians.

With regard to the extent of the Indian territory, and the boundary line, the British government would propose the lines of the Greenville treaty, as a proper basis, subject however to discussion and modification.

We stated that the Indian territory according to these lines, would comprehend a great number of American citizens, not less perhaps, than a hundred thousand; and asked what was the intention of the British government respecting them, and under whose government they would fall? It was answered, that those settlements would be taken into consideration when the line became a subject of discussion; but that such of the inhabitants as would ultimately be included within the Indian territory, must make their own arrangements and provide for themselves.

The British commissioners here said, that considering the importance of the question we had to decide (that of agreeing to a provisional article) their government had thought it right, that we should also be fully informed of its views, with respect to the proposed revision of the boundary line, between the dominions

of G. Britain and the United States.

1st. Experience had proved that the joint possession of the Lakes, & a right common to both nations, to keep up a naval force on them, necessarily produced collisions and rendered peace insecure. As Great-Britain could not be supposed to expect to make conquests in that quarter, and as that province was essentially weaker than the U. S. and exposed to invasion, it was necessary, for its security, that G. Britain should require that the U. S. should hereafter keep no armed naval force on the Western Lakes, from Lake Ontario to Lake Superior both inclusive; that they should not erect any fortified or military post or establishment on the shores of the Lakes; and that they should not maintain those which were already existing.

This must, they said, be considered as a moderate demand, since Great Britain, if she had not disclaimed the intention of any increase of territory, might with propriety have asked a cession of the adjacent American shores. The commercial navigation and intercourse would be left on the same footing as heretofore. It was expressly stated (in an answer to a question we asked) that G. Britain was to retain the right of having an armed naval force on those Lakes, and of holding military posts and establishments on their shores.

2. The boundary line west of Lake Superior, and thence to the Mississippi, to be revised, and the treaty right of G. Britain to the navigation of the Mississippi to be continued. When asked, whether they did not mean the line from the Lake to the Woods to the Mississippi, the British commissioners repeated, that they meant the line from Lake Superior to that river.

3. A direct communication from Halifax and the province of New-Brunswick to Quebec, to be secured to G. Britain. In answer to our question, in what manner this was to be effected—we were told that it must be done by a cession to G. Britain of that portion of the District of Maine (in the state of Massachusetts) which intervenes between New-Brunswick and Quebec, and prevents that direct communication.

Reverting to the proposed provisional article, respecting the Indian pacification and boundary, the British commissioners concluded by stating to us, that if the conferences should be suspended by our refusal to agree to such an article, without having obtained further instructions from our government, G. Britain would not consider herself bound to abide by the terms which she now offered, but would be at liberty to vary and regulate her demands according to subsequent events, and in such manner as the state of the war at the time of renewing the negotiation, might warrant.

We asked whether the statement made, respecting the proposed revision of the boundary line between the U. S. and the dominions of G. Britain, embraced all the objects she meant to bring forward for discussion, and what were, particularly her views with respect to Moose-Island, and such other islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy, as had been in our possession till the present war, but had been lately captured? We were answered, that those islands, belonging of right to G. Britain, (as much so, one of the commissioners said, as Northamptonshire) they would certainly be kept by her, and were not even supposed to be an object of discussion.

From the forcible manner in which the demand, that the United States should keep no naval armed force on the Lakes, nor any military posts on their shores, had been brought forward, we were induced to inquire, whether this condition was also meant as a *sine qua non*? To this the British commissioners declined giving a positive answer. They said that they had been sufficiently explicit; that they had given us one *sine qua non*, and when we had disposed of that, it would be time enough to give us an answer as to another.

We then stated that, considering the nature and importance of the

communication made this day, we wished the British commissioners to reduce their proposals to writing before we gave them an answer; this they agreed to and promised to send us an official note without delay.

We need hardly say that the demands of Great Britain will receive from us an unanimous and decided negative. We do not deem it necessary to detain the John Adams for the purpose of transmitting to you the official notes which may pass on the subject and close the negotiation. And we have felt it our duty immediately to apprise you, by this hasty, but correct sketch of our last conference, that there is not, at present, any hope of peace.

We have the honor to be, sir, with perfect respect, your obedient servants,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,
J. A. BAYARD,
H. CLAY,
JONA. RUSSELL,
ALBERT GALLATIN.

Note of the British Commissioners.

[Received after the above letter was written.]

The undersigned plenipotentiaries of His Britannic Majesty, do themselves the honor of acquainting the Plenipotentiaries of the U. States, that they have communicated to their court the result of the conference which they had the honor of holding with them upon the 9th instant, in which they stated that they were unprovided with any specific instructions, as to comprehending the Indian Nations in a treaty of peace to be made with G. Britain, and as to defining a boundary to the Indian territory.

The undersigned are instructed to acquaint the Plenipotentiaries of the U. States, that His Majesty's government having at the outset of the negotiation, with a view to the speedy restoration of peace reduced as far as possible the number of points to be discussed, and having professed themselves willing to forego on some important topics any stipulation to the advantage of G. Britain, cannot but feel some surprise that the government of the U. States should not have furnished their plenipotentiaries with instructions upon those points which could hardly fail to come under discussion.

Under the inability of the American plenipotentiaries, to conclude any article upon the subject of Indian pacification and Indian boundary, which shall bind the government of the United States, His Majesty's government conceive that they cannot give a better proof of their sincere desire for the restoration of peace, than by professing their willingness to accept a provisional article upon those heads, in the event of the American plenipotentiaries considering themselves authorised to accede to the general principles, upon which such an article ought to be founded. With a view to enable the American plenipotentiaries to decide how far the conclusion of such an article is within the limit of their general discretion, the undersigned are directed to state, fully and distinctly, the basis upon which alone G. Britain sees any prospect of advantage in the continuance of the negotiations at the present time.

The undersigned have already had the honor of stating to the American plenipotentiaries, that in considering the points above referred to, as a *sine qua non* of any treaty of peace, the view of the British government is the permanent tranquility and security of the Indian nation, and the prevention of those jealousies and irritations, to which the frequent altercation of the Indian limits has heretofore given rise.

For this purpose it is indispensably necessary, that the Indian nations who have been during the war in alliance with Great Britain should, at the termination of the war, be included in the pacification.

It is necessary, that a definite boundary should be assigned to the Indians, and that the contracting parties should guarantee the integrity of their territory, by a mutual stipulation, not to acquire by purchase or otherwise, any territory within the specified limits. The British

government are willing to take, as the basis of an article on this subject, those stipulations of the treaty of Greenville, subject to modifications, which relate to a boundary line.

As the undersigned are desirous of stating every point in connection with the subject, which may reasonably influence the decision of the American Plenipotentiaries in the exercise of their discretion, they avail themselves of this opportunity to repeat what they have already stated, that G. B. desires the revision of the frontier between her N. American dominions and those of the U. States, not with any view to an acquisition of territory, as such, but for the purpose of securing her possessions, and preventing future disputes.

The British government consider the lakes from Lake Ontario to Lake Superior, both inclusive, to be the natural military frontier of the British possessions in North America. As the weaker power on the North American continent, the least capable of acting offensively, and the most exposed to sudden invasion, Great Britain considers the military occupation of these lakes as necessary to the security of her dominions. A boundary line equally dividing these waters, with a right to each nation to arm, both upon the lakes and upon their shores, is calculated to create a contest for naval ascendancy in peace as well as in war. The power which occupies these lakes should, as a necessary result, have the military occupation of both shores.

In furtherance of this object, the British government is prepared to propose a boundary. But as this might be misconstrued as an intention to extend their possessions to the southward of the lakes, which is by no means the object they have in view, they are disposed to leave the territorial limits undisturbed, and as incident to them the free commercial navigation of the lakes, provided that the American government will stipulate not to maintain, or construct, any fortifications upon, or within a limited distance of the shores, or maintain or construct any armed vessel upon the lakes in question, or in the rivers which empty themselves into the same.

If this can be adjusted, there will then remain for discussion the arrangement of the north western boundary between lake Superior and the Mississippi, the free navigation of that river, and such a vacation of the line of frontier as may secure a direct communication between Quebec and Halifax.

The undersigned trust, that the full statement which they have made of the views and objects of the British government in requiring the pacification of the Indian nations, and a permanent limit to their territories will enable the American plenipotentiaries to conclude a provisional article upon the basis above stated. Should they feel it necessary to refer to the government of the United States for further instructions, the undersigned feel it incumbent upon them to acquaint the American plenipotentiaries, that the government cannot be precluded by any thing that has passed from varying the terms at present proposed, in such a manner, as the state of war, at the time of resuming the conferences, may, in their judgment, render advisable.

The undersigned avail themselves of this occasion to renew to the plenipotentiaries of the U. States the assurance of their high consideration.

(Signed) GAMBIER,
HENRY GOULBURN,
WILLIAM ADAMS,
Ghent, 19th Aug. 1814.

From the New-York Evening Post of October 12.
FEDERAL CONVENTION AT ALBANY.

At a numerous and respectable meeting of federalists from different parts of the state of New-York, convened at the city of Albany, on the 6th day of October 1814. Gen. Matthew Trotter, was chosen Chairman, and Geo. P. Oakley, Secretary.

The general objects of the meeting being stated, it was resolved, that John Wells of the city of New-York; James Emott of the county of Dutchess; Theodore Sill, of the county of Oneida; Daniel Haje, of the city of Albany; and David B. Ogden of the city of New-York, be a committee to prepare resolutions to be submitted to the meeting in relation to the said matters.

The committee after retiring, reported the following resolutions, which being separately read, and maturely considered, were unanimously adopted by the meeting.

Resolved, that the situation of our country is calculated to excite feelings of apprehension and alarm in every bosom. The war into which we have been unwisely precipitated by the administration of the general government, has involved us in difficulties and dangers long foreseen and predicted, but now universally felt and acknowledged. We who have invaded others, are now called upon to defend ourselves from an invading foe. We who have committed depredations upon others, the subjects of depredation ourselves. We, who went to war upon speculative questions, are now reduced to the necessity of defending some of our dearest rights, which that war has put in jeopardy, and which never otherwise would have been disputed. Under these circumstances whilst we feel it to be our duty to endeavour, by every means in our power, to relieve our country from the perils which surround her, we hold it to be equally our duty, unawed by threats & regardless of consequences, peaceably to assemble, and firmly to express our opinions of the men and measures that are the causes of the evils we deplore.

Resolved, That although under the guidance of a weak and inefficient administration, our commerce has been annihilated, our finances deranged, public credit destroyed, a national bankruptcy threatened, and many of our fellow citizens reduced from opulence to ruin; although numerous widows and orphans are left to mourn in penury the loss of husbands and fathers, who have fallen victims to this ill-fated war; and although our soil, our fire sides, and our altars are in danger, yet as Americans, we proudly feel that there is nothing in the situation of our country which should make us despond. The administration have indeed wasted much, but we have abundant resources still left; much of the spirit and energy of the nation yet remain; and if entrusted to the direction of abler counsels, the talents, wealth and valour of the nation may yet be successfully employed in maintaining its rights, its independence and honour. Whilst, therefore, we are called upon by every motive of patriotism, to rescue our country from the ruinous condition into which the incapacity of its rulers has plunged it, we are bound to exercise our constitutional rights and privileges to place the administration of the government in the hands of faithful and practical men, as the only means of maintaining a vigorous war and obtaining a speedy and honourable peace.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the general government to provide for the common defence, and they ought to have afforded to this state that protection to which it is justly entitled, not only as a member of the union, but as one that has more largely than any other contributed to the treasury of the United States. Altho' the administration have shewn their unwillingness or incapacity to do this, still we are not unmindful of the obligations imposed upon us by the duty of self-defence. The imbecility of the general government has left us no choice but a surrender of our rights as freemen, or the vindication of them by individual energy, and the resources of the state.

Resolved, therefore, that it is the duty of the people of this state to defend at every hazard, their soil from invasion, and never to suffer it to be polluted by an hostile foot, without making every exertion to defeat and expel the foe; and that whilst we will never cease to expose and condemn the measures of an administration that has spread ruin and disgrace over our country, we will cheerfully