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Letters to the Editors must be post-paid.

From Cobbett's Weekly Register.

No. II.

OF THE ALARM; OR
EXCITEMENT TO A NEW WAR WITH AMERICA.—Addressed to the Manufacturers of Great Britain and Ireland.

I have, I think, in my Letters to Lord Sheffield, clearly proved, that manufactures, in all branches, have been established in the United States; that machinery of all sorts is in motion; that the raw material is possessed in abundance; and that, as the effect, immense quantities of goods have been made and are making in that country. This wonderful change in the commercial affairs of the world I have proved to have been produced by our Orders in Council, Impressments of American Seamen, and by the late war. Still there is room for English goods in America. For many years, if peace continue between the two countries, English goods may be sent to America in great quantities. The population goes on increasing there at a rapid rate.—Supposing the manufactures in America to noid their own, still there will be a demand for English goods. But, on the other hand, we have another war with that country of a few years duration, and we may bid adieu to that market forever. Yet there are several writers in England, who are laboring hard to produce a new war with America.

The COURIER newspaper, which is one of the principal vehicles of these efforts, has the following paragraph upon the subject of American manufactures:—“We are glad to learn that cotton goods continue in great demand. Manchester was never known to do more business than it has done for some weeks past. The Americans have assisted greatly in clearing the market; and we may hence be satisfied that the stories of the progress of the cotton trade in the United States are not authentic.”

The Editor, or, rather, the authors, the real authors of this paragraph, had seen the Notice of my intended letters to Lord Sheffield, proving, not asserting, that the cotton and other manufactures were making great progress in the United States, under a cheap, republican government, and amidst a people, the laboring part of whom eat butchers' meat every day once at least, and, in general, if they choose it, poultry once a week, or oftener. This paragraph, therefore, was intended to check my letters in their effect, by causing the public to believe, that my “stories” were “not authentic.” How then, must this writer have been surprised, when he found, that it was not “stories” that I had to relate, but that I had evidence to produce as good, aye, and a great deal better evidence, than ever was or ever can be produced in a Court of Justice. The lives of men are taken away at the gallows upon evidence not nearly so good as that I have produced to Lord Sheffield of the wonderful increase of American Manufactures. It is a subject which admits of no controversy; for I have left no room for it. The man who attempts to controvert, must begin by swearing that truth shall be, in future, considered as falsehood.

But, this paragraph of the Courier has another object; namely, that of preparing the nation for another war; as if he had said “be not afraid of another war with America; for, you see, she will make goods for herself.” This was what Lord Sheffield said in 1811. See his report, page 288 of this volume of the Register. But, I have proved that she can make goods for herself; and, therefore, it behoves you to consider, betimes, now you will be affected by another war, to which these men are exciting the nation, as I shall presently show you.

The TIMES newspaper, of the 23d of August, 1815, after expressing its regret that the most distinguished republicans of France had not been free to death, concludes thus:—“Why are these scoundrels tolerated in civilized

countries? If they must be sent out of France, instead of being hanged there, as the law would have them, to be, why not confide them to the paternal care of Mr President Madison? Birds of a feather should flock together. By the bye, an infamous libel on this country has lately been published in America, and Mr. Madison's friends gave him the honor of its composition. It was probably committed to the press as soon as he heard of Bonaparte's having reached the Tuilleries; but it will serve to shew the sentiments of its author, and to mark him out for our avoidance.”

The word “avoidance” was used merely because hostility would have let the writer's motive peep out a little too soon. But, here is the President of the United States, with whom we are at peace, called a “scoundrel” in an English public print, issued in the metropolis of the kingdom, while the minister of that country is resident here, and is negotiating, as it is said, a treaty of commerce with America.—He is directly put upon a level with men, who, as this writer asserts, are “scoundrels that deserve to be hanged.” And yet these same writers have the impudence, and that too, in the very same paragraph, to complain of an “infamous libel,” published in America, against whom? Why, against “this country.”

This “libel,” as they call it, is a publication which appeared in America in March last, bearing date the 10th of February. It is entitled “An exposition of the causes and character of the late war with Great Britain.” It traces the war to its causes; it describes the conduct of the two parties during the war; and from first to last, it appeals to official documents for the truth of its assertions. So far from being an “infamous libel,” it contains not one single rude expression. The style of it is dignified, the language all mildness and moderation. To be sure, it does contain great numbers of most shocking facts; but, so far from its being an attack “on this country,” it invariably avoids every thing disrespectful to the people of every part of the kingdom. As to its being “committed to the press as soon as Mr. Madison heard of Bonaparte's having reached the Tuilleries,” this must be a wilful falsehood; for this writer knows that it was published in America in March, and he also knows that the news of Napoleon's having landed at Cannes did not reach London till the middle of that same month of March; and that the news of his having arrived at the Tuilleries did not reach America till the beginning of May.

The EXPOSITION is a publication of great importance. It is not only the most interesting publication that I ever read, but it contains the most useful matter. It has not left the work of history to the time when it can be of no use. It has done the thing at once, and, without any account of battles, which some one else may give, it has put the causes and conduct of the war upon safe record, and has placed this record in the hands of every man, woman, and child in America, who now, at this moment, know for a certainty what a glum, gloating despotism would have kept from their knowledge, leaving their posterity to guess at it amidst the contradictory assertions of party or venal scribes.

Such a publication, if it bear hard upon our country, or its government, should be answered; not abused. The hero of the TIMES newspaper, who is a perfect fire-eater of the quill, should assail it from his magazine of facts and arguments. To call Mr. President Madison a scoundrel, that deserves to be hanged, is no answer to such a publication. The “Exposition” is now republished in England. I have a copy of the pamphlet before me. “And why do not you answer it?” some one may say. I wish, with all my heart, my ability were equal to the task.—But, I have before, and I now again, offer to any one, who will answer it, the columns of the Register, through which to convey such answer, as I once offered them to the Botley parson, as a vehicle for an answer, if he chose to write one, to Paine's Age of Reason.—Strange to tell, the Botley parson abused me for this offer, though he agreed with the attorney general, that the work was calculated to produce the eternal damnation of the souls of those who read it, and though it was notorious that a large edition or two of the work had been sold and of course read.

I hope, that I shall not meet with like treatment on the present occasion. There are, as I said before, all the ministers, all the privy counsellors, about a thousand noblemen and gentlemen of the two houses of Parliament, about fifteen thousand bishops, deacons, arch-deacons, and other clergymen of the established church, about twelve

thousand officers of the army, about ten thousand officers of the navy, besides a civil list that costs better than a million sterling a year, and all the innumerable secretaries, commissioners, clerks, sinecure-placemen and pensioners. It is hard indeed if not one is to be found amongst all these, to say nothing of the writers by trade, to give an answer to this five shilling pamphlet, which does not contain so many letters as there is persons of the above descriptions at this hour in England. And the bar, too! I had forgotten the bar and all its “learned friends” and silk gowns and many-tailed wigs.—And the universities, those hot-beds of eloquence and argument. Can they not suspend, for two minutes, the making of nonsense-verses? Will none of them answer this pamphlet? And, old “War in Disguise!” Where is he now? Well, all that I can say is, that, if this pamphlet be not answered, and that quickly too, John Bull will have good reason to complain.

I presume that it will not now be pretended that America is too insignificant to be worthy of such a notice.—There was a time when it was in fashion to speak of her as being of no consequence at all in the world, and as not being in a state to be spoken of as a nation. I never shall forget the cool insolence of the Morning Chronicle, just after the return from America of Mr Jeffery, the conductor of the Edinburgh Review, who went to that country for a short time, previous to the late war. The paragraph of the Chronicle to which I allude, stated that Mr. Jeffery during the time that he was in America, “being dining in company with the President, was asked by the latter what were the sentiments of the people in Great Britain as to the dispute and the probable war with America; our celebrated critic, putting his fingers to his forehead, as if endeavoring to recollect, answered, at the end of a minute or two, “I think I do remember hearing some person at Liverpool mention the name of America.”

I will not be answerable for the very words; but, as to the substance I pledge myself; and, let the paragraph, which the Editor must have, though I have it not, be republished, if I have misrepresented its meaning. It struck me at the time as an instance of the most consummate folly as well as the most consummate insolence. I do not believe that the conversation ever took place; and, I would fain hope, that the publication of the paragraph was unauthorised by Mr. JEFFERY. But, why did he not justly himself against what implied in him such a want of sense and of knowledge, and, indeed, such a barefaced disregard of truth? At any rate, “our celebrated critic” will not need to put his fingers to his forehead; he will not need his considering-cap, to enable him now to recollect, whether he has heard any one speaking about the dispute or war with America.—The affairs of Cawpewa, Fort Erie, Plattsburg, Point Mobile, and New Orleans; the defeat and total capture of two British squadrons; the defeat of so many single British frigates and smaller vessels of war, will teach him, as well as others, in future, to speak of America in a different tone; and, surely, he, at any rate, will review, if he do not answer the Exposition. But, upon this occasion, he must not suppose that the public will be contented with his merely taking the title of the performance, and then running into a rambling essay, coming to no point, and leaving the reader where he found him. The public will here expect a fair analysis; and, where opinions are expressed, they will require something to justify those opinions.

To call this publication a libel is not to give it an answer; it is not to show any zeal in the cause of truth; it is what every knave does, when exposed by the press. According to such a people, every one who exposes them is a libeller. Either the facts alleged in this publication are false, or they are true. They have been promulgated in another country. If false, it was proper that they should be made known in England, that we might have an opportunity of refuting them; if true, it was equally proper, that we might know what had been the real cause, and the manner of conducting the war. Yet, necessary as it was that this paper should be republished in England, and though it had long been in the hands of many newspaper proprietors here, my belief is, that it never would have been re-published in England, had it not been for me, who called the public attention to it in such urgent terms, that, at last, a bookseller was induced to hunt it out and put it to the press. What a shame is this for the press of England! What a disgrace! Had a similar paper been published here, it would have been read by every man in the United States

within seven weeks of the day of the original publication. Thus are the people of England kept in a state of ignorance as to those matters, with which, more than any other, they ought to be made acquainted.

Before I quit this part of my subject, I think it may be useful for me to point out the way in which any one, who wishes it, may regularly obtain a knowledge of political occurrences in the United States. At Baltimore there is a weekly publication, entitled “NILES'S WEEKLY REGISTER,” the price of which in America, is five dollars a year. The form of this work is large octavo. It is printed to be bound up in volumes, and it appears to me, that it would be worth any London bookseller's while to import a number of copies of this work, either in numbers or in volumes.—At any rate, I venture to recommend it as an extremely well conducted and useful publication, and better calculated than any that I know of to afford any person in England a competent knowledge of American politics. Loose daily papers, however well conducted, are not calculated for durable utility.

To return, now, to the efforts of these writers to kindle the flame of a new war with America. I shall take an article from the MORNING POST of the 24th August, which print, next to the TIMES and the COURIER, may be looked upon as the mouth-piece of those who would utterly ruin us for the sake of injuring America. The article which I am about to quote discovers all the feelings and views of this vindictive description of persons, who would see all the manufacturers in England starved rather than give up the hope of making the people of America slaves.

“The anxious attention which the event passing in Europe have for some weeks commanded, may be said to have made the people of England act as if it were impossible for any thing of interest or of importance to us, to occur in another quarter of the world. But for the vast magnitude of those changes which have occurred in the immediate vicinity of this country, our most serious consideration would have been attracted by what has occurred on the other side of the Atlantic.—Under other circumstances we should have seen with uneasiness and sorrow (ALARM is out of the question,) the unfriendly, or rather the decidedly hostile feelings towards this country, which is still cherished by a large party in the United States of America.—The same indefatigable spirit of mischief which provoked and sustained the late war, has been, within these few months, as much on the alert as ever to propagate the vilest calumnies against the conduct and intentions of Great Britain.

“Our readers must remember that this country was placed by the intrigues of a party in the United Provinces, in a state of war with them, at a time when it was supposed the resources of England were so far exhausted by fighting the battles of Europe, that it was impossible for her successfully to sustain a new war. On the first conquest of France, and the conclusion of a general peace in Europe, the American government found it impossible to continue the contest with a hope of gaining any advantages, much less such as were absolutely necessary to console the people for the sacrifices to which they were compelled to submit. Under these circumstances it was thought expedient to abandon all the ridiculous pretensions which they had formerly advanced, and every object for which the war had been commenced was at once given up. It was hoped, and with some reason, that the experience of both nations would have created a mutual indisposition to a state of hostility, and this effect has certainly been produced on every honest heart and rational head on either side of the water. But, happily, those who stirred up the late contest, chagrined at the termination to which they had been compelled as they thought, to bring it, seized the first opportunity that offered to attempt revising the differences which had been adjusted at Ghent.

“No sooner had the news of the 20th of March reached the American continent than it was supposed, the same triumph which attended the progress of Bonaparte to Paris, would still be his, in his operations against the rest of Europe. Invested with the supreme power in France, they thought he might claim the empire of Charlemagne as his own, and England engaged in a new struggle for the balance of power in Europe, would afford her toes in another quarter of the globe, an opportunity of gratifying that hate which they failed to satisfy before.—Believing Napoleon re-seated on the throne, to be restored to all his for-

mer power, they prepared again to enlist among the effectives in the pay of “the child and champion jacobinism;” and every calumny that malice could invent; and brainless credulity report to the prejudice of England was welcomed with rapture. Already the government were admonished not to let the list of their grievances increase, but (to use the elegant phraseology of the original) to settle the score without delay.”

“In other words, to recur to hostilities, now that Great Britain had again got her hands full, as it was likely that she would not soon again be at leisure to direct all her energies against an American enemy. They thought a moment not less favorable than that of which they had availed themselves before, presented itself for indulging their animosity against the land of their progenitors, and no time was lost in setting forth its importance. The battle of Waterloo with Bonaparte has defeated these speculations, for as yet we have no reason to think the American government has committed itself to them. In truth, we should hope Mr. Madison and his friends will, for the present, find enough to employ them in superintending the rebuilding of Washington; but we know they unfortunately count among their adherents all the war faction, whose language we have reason to fear continues to be that of the government. The discomfiture of the hostile plans of the party we have referred to, is, perhaps, not one of the least beneficial consequences of the triumph of the Allies. We trust, however, what has already occurred will not escape the notice of the British Ministry, and contemplating the probability of a new American war, whenever this country shall be again involved in difficulties similar to those from which she had been rescued by the heroism of her sons, we hope adequate arrangements will be made in time to avert the danger; and, that profiting from the hints thrown out by the American journalists, our government will not only “settle the score” without delay, if any fresh insult has been offered to our good faith, but also effectually guard against a new debt being contracted.”

Now, what must an American think of the British nation, when he sees that barefaced falsehoods like these are published in London newspapers?—The first thing to notice here is, that what is passing in America is worthy “our most serious consideration.”—Yes, even the “feelings” of the Americans, their “political conversation,” the chit-chat of their newspapers, are worthy of “our most serious consideration;” and “arrangements ought to be made in time in contemplation of the probability of a new war with America, and to avert the danger.” How changed are things since the contemptuous days of 1812! What! is this the same nation, of whose bits of striped bunting Mr. Canning talked? Is this the nation whose name Mr. Jeffery is said to have with difficulty recollected that he had heard some person pronounce? What an empty man must Mr. Jeffery, or Mr. Perry of the Chronicle, have been! A couple of Scotch writers, or at least one or the other of them, affecting, and that in print too, to consider as insignificant a country containing sixteen states, out of which sixteen there are four EACH of which four surpasses SCOTLAND in quantity and value of products, in commerce and navigation, and in all the arts useful to man! This is emptiness and impudence unparalleled. However, the Morning Post says, that even the talk of the people of America is now become worthy of the most serious consideration of even the Great Statesmen of Great Britain. What a change! The battles of the Lakes and of New Orleans were not fought in vain.—There is nothing like a good sound drubbing to teach men modesty. Even Mr. Perry of the Chronicle, now calls America “the Great Republic;” he who held such contemptuous language towards her at the time when he called the burnings at Washington, under his countryman, the most “brilliant dash of the whole war.” He will find some more “brilliant dashes” if he will look into the “EXPOSITION.” Even Mr. Perry has been reduced to modesty upon this subject. The Jacksons and the Decatur possess great powers of conversion. For my part I have not the least doubt that, when the news of the burning of the capitol at Washington arrived, there were whole shoals of hungry Scotsmen, too proud (either to work or beg, who were on the tip-toe of expectation to be sent out to strut over the re-conquered colonies. Of the general industry, talent, integrity and fidelity of Scotsmen I have often spoken. I have more than once said, in print, that, having had ample opportunities of comparing them with