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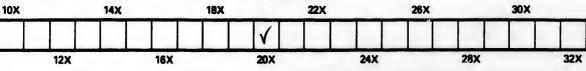
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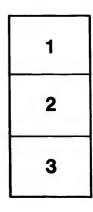
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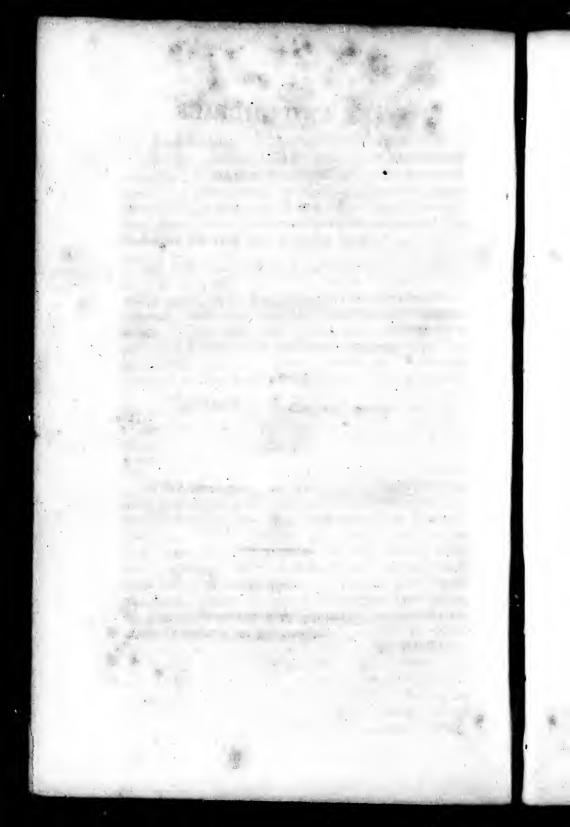
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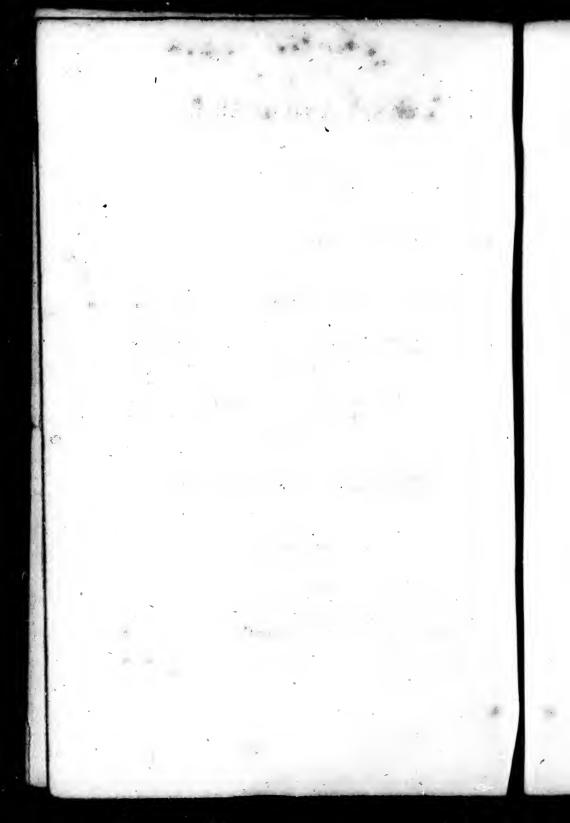
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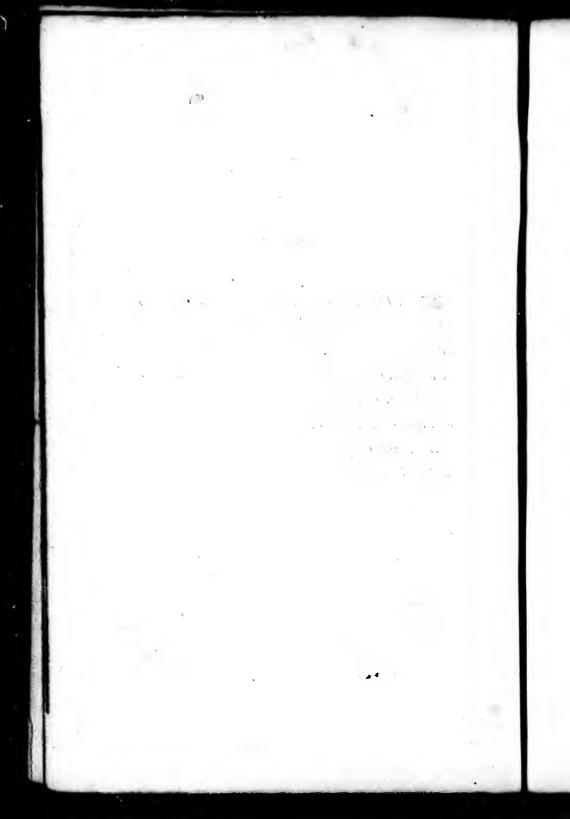
TO BE IMPARTIALLY CONSIDERED BY THEM.

NEW-YORK: PUBLISHED BY E. SARGEANT, No. 39 Wall-street.

1809.



CF THERE is no treaty or other convention between us and Great-Britain; and, as it respects France, the following Cases, and the reasonings from them, are as supposing there is none between us and her, defining or declaring what shall be deemed the rule, in the respective cases, relative to the mutual rights and duties between a belligerant and a neutral.



FIRST CASE.

NEITHER France or Great Britain had every er, prior to the French decree of Berlin, claimed it as the rule or law, between belligerants and neutrals, that the vessel of the neutral being bound to a port of one, is, af itself, sufficient cause of capture, to the other, of the belligerant parties—France has by the above decree claimed, or assumed, such to be the rule, and has accordingly captured our vessels, and condemned them, with their cargoes, when bound to a British port; and we having submitted to the claim, or (and which is the same thing,) we having net resisted, by arms, the exercise of

it, Great Britain, while she admits that no such rule exists, at the same time, claims, that we having submitted to it when claimed by France, she is thereby, and as against us, entitled also to avail herself of it, and accordingly captures and condemns our vessels, with their cargoes, when bound to a French port.

SECOND CASE.

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AS to the right to capture the goods of an enemy on the seas, Great Britain claims the rule to be, that free ships do not make free goods. Supposing France to admit the contrary to be the rule, that free ships do make free goods, then Great Britain would capture and condemn French property on board our vessels; whereas, France, according to the rule, as admitted by her, must let British property on board our ships, pass, as *free*; and supposing us to *submit* to the rule, as claimed by Great

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Britain; then QUERY: would we be entitled to hold France to the rule, as admitted by her, or would she not, as against us, be entitled to avail herself of it, as claimed by Great Britain.?

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THIRD CASE.

AS to the rule concerning articles contraband of war—Suppose France to claim provisions to be within the rule, and Great Britain to admit them to be not within it; in that case France would capture and condemn provisions on board our vessels, bound to a British port, whereas Great Britain, according to the rule as admitted by her, must let the provisions on board our vessels, bound to a French port, pass, as innocent. Here therefore again, only changing the places of the two belligerant parties, the like question occurs :—If then, in the second case, France would have a right to capture British property found on board our vessels, and if in

the third case, Great Britain would have a right to capture provisions on board our vessels bound to a French port, does it not follow that she has now, in consequence of the French decree, authorizing the capture of our vessels when bound to a British port, and our submission to it, a right to capture our vessels when bound to a French port? or, are not the first case and the second and third cases the same in principle, as it respects the right of a belligerant, when its opposite belligerant has assumed a rule of capture against neutrals, and a neutral has submitted to it, also to assume against the neutral so submitting, the like rule? and does it not then further follow, that the right of Great Britain to capture our vessels when bound to a French port, rests wholly on the rule or law that neutrality must not only be impartial, as free from collusion, but also equal, between the neutral and both the belligerants, so that the neutral is not to submit to the enjoyment of a right against her by one, and resist the exercise or enjoyment

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of it by the other. Neither of them is to be, as it were, the more favoured party with the neutral. It is a rule of universal law, that "equity is equality," and it is convertible, a want of equality is a want of equity; and is it not essential to equality between us and Great Britain, that as long as we submit to the rule priorly assumed by France, to capture our vessels when bound to a British port, we are not entitled to resist Great Britain when she subsequently assumes the like rule, and captures our vessels when bound to a French port? Is not Great Britain entitled to tell us, that although we would have been justifiable in considering the decree as an act of hostility, and instantly made reprisals, and if so, that a state of war would now exist between us and France, yet, that we having elected to consider it as an act done under colour of a right, and if so, that until discussion and disagreement between us and France, we persisting to deny, and she to assert and exercise the right, and the disagreement followed up by resistance

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on our part, a state of peace still continues between us and France, she (Great Britain) is content, as between her and us, formally to affirm the French decree as an act done under colour of right, and accordingly, that she is entitled to have the captures by her of our vessels bound to a French port, considered by us as acts under the like right? It must, however, be at the same time stated, that if she insists on the affirmative of this question from us, it will follow, that the instant we *elect* to consider the decree as an act of hostility, by resisting it as such, even perhaps if the resistance should be only a convoy of our vessels bound to British ports, she has no longer a right to capture our vessels bound to a French port-that this right in her depending on our submission to the French decree as its cause, the instant the cause ceases, the right, as its effect, then also ceases-that she has then no longer reason to complain of inequality: she has no longer, as it were, an equity from us to be satisfied—and that if she should

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then continue to capture and condemn our vessels, with their cargoes, bound to French ports; it must be on some other ground, than as being entitled to an equality of right, against us, with France—as, for instance, for supposed breach of blockade. The question of blockade, however, or whether a belligerant has, under any circumstances, a right by mere proclamation, or any other act to the effect of a proclamation, or in any manner without an actual competent force, a right to constitute a blockade, and so to capture and condemn the vessel of a neutral attempting to enter the declared blockaded port? not having any necessary relation to the other questions intended to be examined, is therefore passed by. Great Britain will also, probably, as under her supposed rule, known as the rule of '56, continue to capture our vessels when found in the French colonial, as being to us an unaccustomed, trade. This rule will be so far noticed, as to test it with the rule or principle of equality.

To return to the intended subject of inquiry Not not only many among us, but even the British ministry themselves, endeavour to justify the claim of Great Britain to assume the like rule, priorly assumed by France, or the British orders in council, the acts exercising or enforcing the claim, by considering them as acts of retaliation on France. If the above reasoning is correct, then to place the claim on the ground of retaliation is certainly a mistake. This, however, will make no difference, as it respects our conduct to Great Britain, in reference to the claim. The question between us and her is, whether the claim is, or is not just in itself? and not, whether the true ground of it has been unperceived? There may be an act of reprisal by one nation against another, till then at peace, as a mean to obtain reparation for an injury, but retaliation supposes a then already state of war, and not thereby to be repaired for injury, but to punish for crucity. As between the belligerants themselves, their rights are in one sense unlimited,

either of them may, for its own preservation, pursue the other to destruction; but still those rights are, in another sense, limited by certain temperaments, as the jurists express themselves, or mitigations of the rights, acknowledged and observed by civilized nations; and every exercise of a right beyond the due temperament, according to the circumstances of the case, is cruelty. A belligerant has a right to the life of his enemy; but he may not take it away in cold blood, as it is phrased; according to a due temperament, or mitigation of the right, it is cruelty in him; and it is for acts of this nature that one belligerant retaliates on the other. Indeed,having already the greater right to the life, or person of the enemy, and consequently the lesser right to his property when captured, there is nothing, as a distinct, or farther subject, left, on which an act of retaliation, viewed as an act by one belligerant, to obtain reparation for damage arising from an act by the other belligerant, considered as an injury, can operate. Retalia-

tion can therefore be only punitive, or with intent only either to amend or deter; and thereforc, must necessarily be inflicted *immediately* on the guilty party: and if it affects a third, or innocent party, it must be only consequentially, or casually so; but in the present case, Great Britain captures and condemns our vessels and cargoes, we being the third or innocent party, France having no interest in them, not to be gainer by their safe arrival, nor a loser by the capture and condemnation of them by Great Britain; and this capturing our vessels and cargoes by Great Britain, is with intent thereby to prevent France from the *benefit* she might otherwise have from the *trade* carried on between her and us in our own vessels, and on our own account, and so to affect her, in its consequences to her detriment, and thereby to coerce, or induce her to revoke her decree. Surely this sort of retaliation is inverting the very nature and order of things! but it ought to suffice to shew the futility of the notion of retaliation, as applicable to the

case, that the effect of the British orders in council has happened to be the very reverse of *punitive*; for if the French decree has produced the British orders, and if they have produced our embargo, then the decree has eventually produced a *consummation*, than which it is not possible to conceive one more *devoutly to have been wished for* by the individual possessing the sovereignty of France: that very enemy on whom it would seem even Great Britain herself imagines she is *retaliating* for it.

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Now briefly to notice the British rule of '56. It is requisite previously to state, that a *duty* from a neutral to a belligerant, involves a correspondent or correlative *right* in the belligerant, to require the observance of it; and *in the converse*, a *right* in the neutral involves a correspondent *duty* in the belligerant.—that rights and duties are founded equally between nations as between individuals, in *morality*—that a *breach* of *duty* being *immoral*, a claim of a

right by either one of the parties not involving or necessarily supposing a correspondent duty in the other, to allow the exercise or enjoyment of it, is an immoral act-that acts by one belligerant occasioning loss or damage, and immediately affecting a neutral, are to be distinguished between those done as from necessity, and those done as under a belligerant right, a right arising from the relation or condition the parties stand in to each other, the one, the belligerant, being at war with another nation, and the other, the neutral, being at peace with both-that, as to acts of the former class, necessity having no law, all perhaps that is requisite to justify them, is that they be not done rashly; that they be done in good faith, as from necessity, and not under pretence of it, and that recompense be made for them; hence a belligerant may, for his safety or preservation, capture the vessel and cargo of a neutral, and detain them till the necessity ceases, or use them as if taken by impress, but he must always make recompense ; and that as to

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the acts of the *latter* class, and in reference to the right of capture on the seas, the subject of the present inquiry, the right to capture, includes, or draws after it, as a consequence, a right to condemn or confiscate, and which can only be for a fault or wrong in the neutral, consisting in a non-observance or breach of his duty of neutrality.

These matters being premised, it is now to be stated, that what has been advanced to prove equality to be the only foundation of rights between belligerants and neutrals, may be reduced to these two propositions—First, that a belligerant cannot LEGALLY claim any thing as a right against the neutral, which the other belligerant may not also legally claim : and secondly, that where one belligerant has claimed and exercised a right, and the neutral has submitted to it, the other belligerant may LEGALLY exercise it also. If these propositions are true, then the question presents itself—Is the Brit-

ish rule of '56 just? and this is a question suggested to the present judge of the British admiralty, to be reviewed by him, and impartially, between us and Great Britain-is he not pledged, that when called upon, he will ?- Hear him, in deciding between Great Britain and Sweden, in the case of the Swedish convoy, and it deserves to be written in letters of gold. "In forming "my judgment, I trust that it has not escaped "my anxious recollection for one moment, what "it is that the duty of my station calls from me; " namely, to consider myself as stationed here " not to deliver occasional and shifting opinions " to serve present purposes of particular nation-" al interest, but to administer with indifference " that justice which the law of nations holds out, " without distinction, to independent states, some "happening to be neutral, and some to be bel-"ligerant. The seat of judicial authority is in-"deed locally here, in the belligerant country, "according to the known law and practice of " nations : but the law itself has no locality. It

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" is the duty of the person who sits here to de-" termine this question exactly as he would de-" termine the same question if sitting at Stock-" holm; to assert no pretensions on the part of " Great Britain, which he would not allow to " Sweden in the same circumstances, and to im-" pose no duties on Sweden, as a neutral country, " which he would not admit to belong to Great " Britain in the same character." Here the part of

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What the rule, alluded to, was IN '56, is, dif₁, ficult, perhaps impossible, now to ascertain, it not being any where to be found *in terms*, and there not being *reports* of condemnations, if any, under it during the succeeding period of the then war, and so to be considered as *cotemperaneous* expositions of it. From a reference to, it by Lord Mansfield, in 1761, it would seem as if it was intended to apply only to a *neutral* vessel trading to a belligerant *colony*, with all the privileges of a belligerant vessel, and consequently to be deemed such, and therefore liable to cap-

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ture and condemnation. His words are-" the " rule is, that if a neutral ship trades to a French " colony with all the privileges of a French ship, " and is thus adopted and naturalized, it must " be looked upon as a French ship, and is liable " to be taken." The present judge of the British admiralty, in 1799, understands, or explains, or expounds the rule, when exemplified between Great Britain and France as the belligerants, to be, in substance, that it is not competent for a neutral to accept from France, during the present war, a permission to carry on a trade with her colonies, which the neutral was not accustomed to have in time of peace, " because, as " he expresses himself, Great Britain having, by " her superiority at sea, brought France un-"der an entire inability to supply her colonies, " and export their products, the permission to " neutrals to trade with her colonies does not " proceed from her will, but her necessity ; it is a "measure not of French councils but of British "force; and that this predominance of the Brit-

" ish force at sea is the true FOUNDATION of the " principle." Hence it follows, that Great Britain not being reduced to this state of inability, it would be morally right in us to accept, involving that it would be morally right in Great Britain to grant, a permission to carry on a trade with her colonies, beyond what we were accustomed to carry on with them in time of peace, and if so, then it would be morally wrong in France to capture our vessels and cargoes, and condemn them, for carrying on such unaccustomed trade, inasmuch as she is not in condition, she wants, as it were the requisite qualifications, to entitle herself to the rule; she is not superior or dominant at sea----Great Britain practised on the rule as so understood, or on the supposed difference of condition between her and France, when in 1794 she offered us a trade with her colonies. Supposing then Great Britain to capture our vessels when found in the French colonial trade; and supposing France, if we had accepted from Great Britain the offer referred to, had captured our

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vessels when found in the British colonial trade, would Great Britain be entitled to require from us to resist France? Undoubtedly in order to be consistent with herself she must have claimed herself to be so entitled, and must accordingly have admitted that whenever France becomes superior at sea, she will then have the right to capture our vessels when found in the British colonial trade, and that then the right of Great Britain to capture our vessels, when found in the French colonial trade ceases until she again becomes superior: in short, that the right as it were opens and shuts according as the superiority, of the one or the other nation, shall from time to time happen to exist ;---that she having now the superiority the right has opened to her and is shut against France, that when France shall acquire the superiority it was then be shut against her and open to France; and it is in this way that the equality, as to the right or the enjoyment of it, is to take place between her and France.

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I ask, and I ask it in the name of *reason*, what kind of *equality* is this? I ask what kind of a *rule* must it be, which, when analyzed, resolves itself into the conclusion, that the right of a belligerant to capture the vessel of a neutral in an *unaccustomed* trade with his enemy, depends on the *fact*, whether the belligerant, or his enemy, is for the time *superior* at *sea*?—Such however *virtually* adjudged by the judge of the B ish admiralty to be the FOUNDATION of the

Great Britain is now predominant on the oce is; but it behoves her to bear in mind, that Frage may be permitted to become predominant there in turn, and to be the instrument to scourge here from which, however, may all-gracious heaven forbear! for surely every friend to truth, justice, knowledge, religion, and whatever hath aught of moral or intellectual worth or excellence, must have an anxious distressing concern for her fate, and that she may be spared from the *indignation*; there being much reason to dread that

if she perishes, it will all perish with her, and that universal bondage, debasement, ignorance and gloom will ensue.

-" Nox atra caput tristi circumvolat umbra,"

IMPARTIAL.

FINIS.

