

clinations of the people constituted the leading cause of every removal of the popular will to mount Aventine. A republican government, therefore when it is well organized, may for many reasons, be considered as the most safe, at the same time that it administers to the citizen the most perfect freedom. All its parts work together. Society is the focus strength, which either gives acceleration to its motion as occasion may require, or represses the influence which each order of the government might assume over the rest, to derange the harmony of the whole. This will always mark the operations of that kind of institution, which has a well digested system of rational principles for its superstructure and the will of the people its basis. It requires no belief for its existence beyond the nature of things, as it is presented to the senses at the moment when the materials are put together, to give it the form of a compact. Every citizen feeling himself free, asks not for the charter of his authority to act as he thinks proper, or takes the trouble, like the religious bigot, to search the annals of antiquity, for a period to date the original chains. Man is his character, & this character with all its rights, are relative to every nation and every period of time.

But the great advantage of this kind of government is, that it is forever susceptible of successive mutations, according to the exigencies of the state, or the sovereign will of the people. In many countries of Europe, the governments on account of the original structure of their constitutions, have ceased to be relative to the interests or happiness of the people, even allowing that there may have been periods, when they were most suitable to these ends. In England, Ireland and Scotland, in modern Italy, in Sweden and Denmark, as well as in Germany and Prussia, the temper of the people, the increase of knowledge, and the progress of civilization, in many other respects have long since fitted the mass of society, for republican forms of government. But the original structure of the old governments in these countries is an obstacle which cannot be removed without immense danger; and therefore the people are willing to suffer the tranquility of slavery, to avoid the calamities of civil commotion by an effort to become free.

This kind of government is of all others the most energetic in its principles and structure, so long as the will of the nation constitutes the ground upon which it is erected. Under monarchical institutions the government belongs either to the king alone, or to the king and nobles together. Under the republican plan, the people are the sole proprietors. It is a species of property which they consider as exclusively belonging to themselves and therefore becomes an object of earnest solicitude and care. All its parts are completely understood; and the beauty, regularity and harmony which compose its features, the general felicity and safety which it produces, and the freedom which it gives to every sentiment and action that can embellish life and manners, naturally attract the affections of a people who have once enjoyed these advantages. It is owing to these causes, that the republican plan is calculated to outlive, in duration, any other system that can be devised. The diffusion of knowledge, to which it is so favorable and the free spirit of enquiry which the mind assumes, when it no longer dreads the rack or the inquisition, will always give birth to right reasoning on political subjects, and prevent it from becoming poisoned by that fatal prejudice and spirit of indifference, which mark the approach of national misfortune. The ancient Batavians took the government under their immediate management, and the nation continued free for several ages. The spirit of commerce and the pride of luxury made them in process of time indifferent to every object of a political nature; and it was then that the republic lost its liberty. The same cause produced the same effect at Rome, some time prior to the proscription of Sylla.

There is nothing perhaps which tends so much to perpetuate the duration of a republic, as the freedom of popular suffrage in elections. The first step which the Roman liberties received, was occasioned by the establishment of the *Leges Tabularae*, towards the close of the republic. Under these laws all elections became secret, which immediately opened an avenue for every species of corruption and venality on the part of both the elector and the elected. It was not surprising therefore, that the liberty of the citizen should be destroyed, when both the government and the laws of society, mutually conspired to subvert the foundation upon which it rested. At Athens before the flame of liberty expired, all the elections

were public. But when the government became vested in the hands of those tyrants which the fickle temper of the Athenians submitted to, in the last ages of the republic, the freedom of suffrage no longer existed. Every vote was given in a most secret manner, to avert the vengeance of an overgrown aristocracy, who had usurped the rights of the people. Is not this the case in every despotic government? In a genuine republic, however, where every man votes in a public manner, there will no longer exist those fatal intrigues in government, which equally serve to render itself impotent and to corrupt the mass of the people, by party collision. Had this right been exercised in a public manner at Venice, the aristocracy would never have usurped the reins of government. The secret exercise of this privilege, only served to perpetuate it; for as long as the elector was unknown, he was secure from the vengeance of the inquisition. If he had given his vote in a public manner it would have occasioned resentment somewhere, and he was sure of being cut off by the most terrible of human punishments. The tranquility of a peaceable degrading slavery was preferred to the dangers which might attend an effort to become free. But the blood that would have stained the altars of aristocracy, in consequence of a free exercise of the right of suffrage would soon have called for vengeance from the suffering party, and at last produced its own punishment, by exciting the resentment of human nature.

Republican institutions, however, require no inquisitions or mansions of duress, to punish the freedom of sentiment or action. From their very nature and organization, they would be considered as an absurdity; because it would be the people inflicting a punishment on themselves. In countries where there are distinct orders in society, as in England, Germany and most other European states, it is the ascendancy which the one gains over the other, that puts an end to the claims of liberty, in the party which is obliged to submit to superior controul. But where all men are equal as in the republican order of things, there is no necessity for burdensome and unnatural impositions on any part of society, to protect the whole from ruin. Man enjoys his natural liberty with a few necessary social restrictions, which are neither rigorous or incompatible with his happiness. The policy, however, pursued by despotic courts, is necessarily different. The great object is the destruction of equality, by creating a higher order over and above the popular mass, to excite their fear by superior power, and to inspire their admiration by the display of all the splendour of wealth, rank and distinction. To strengthen the delusion which is so apt to command the obedience and excite the veneration and credulity of ignorance, an order of men are exalted from the lowly condition of celestial missionaries and the primitive simplicity of the ancient patriarchs, to sit in the councils of kings to assume all the vicious habits of aristocracy and to augment the conspiracy of despotism against the rights of human nature. The clergy have in all ages of the world, constituted the base of society. In conjunction with the secular orders of nobility, they have always been unfavourable to civil liberty. The one armed with the vindictive statutes of aristocracy and the other with the Bible, the Koran or the Shaster, have laid siege to the empire of the passions and effected a complete triumph over philosophy and reason. This constitutes a double slavery on the people. The state threatens to the unfortunate culprit, all the miseries which our physical condition is susceptible; whilst the church carries our afflictions beyond this world, and punishes us with vengeance to the foot stool of a merciful and beneficent providence.

These facts are clearly illustrated in the history of France, during the monarchy, and that of Spain and Portugal, from the period when an union took place between church and state. Oliver Cromwell, by siding with each ecclesiastical order of England, would have been declared King, provided his ambitious career had not been frustrated by death. It was by a hypocritical semblance of friendship which he exhibited to the nation, the protestant church and the Romish hierarchy, and by deceiving in reality all three of them; that he became possessed of such unbounded influence, as to enable him to awe all Europe. What was the cause after the expulsion of Tarquin, and the destruction of patrician influence at Rome, that the people so soon submitted again to tyranny? Because Servius Tullus, blended the church with the state, made it a fundamental law, that all great appointments as well as every important project should be submitted to the determination of both.

ers, who by imposing on the ignorance and credulity of the people, threw the state into convulsions, and opened an avenue for patrician usurpation.

In republican governments, the people are acquainted with the characters they entrust. The confidence which this circumstance inspires, not only adds to the general felicity, but when the people are themselves deceived, they can apply an appropriate remedy to the evil and remove it at once. The case is different in monarchical states. The king, who has nothing to answer for to the people, makes all great appointments, and the government which this order pleases to impose upon them they are compelled to submit to. In England, every change of a minister produces a temporary convulsion in the nation. If his principles are supposed to be hostile to the privileged orders, it excites the opposition of the aristocracy; and if they are of a different stamp, the people, who suffer all the calamities of a mad administration, in their turn, complain of the imposition. Besides, the minister is entirely unknown to the very body of society which is to suffer most by an improper management of affairs. No confidence can be reposed in the character whose principles are doubtful. When lord North and the marquis of Rockingham were appointed ministers in England, they were not known by a tenth part of the nation. The impolicy of their administration was an evil which the people could not remedy, even when the drift and talents of these men were fully discovered. Had the government, however, been in the hands of the people, what would have been the punishment of such a mad scheme as North's to subjugate the Americans, at the expense of the national blood and treasure, and the feelings of humanity? The people would have turned him out of office, and consigned him to oblivion, as they have done in America by John Adams. But in England, and in every country whose government is not relative to the natural rights of mankind, the happiness and claims of the people are objects of the last consideration. Governments of a despotic kind are naturally lazy in the administration of justice. When the power over the multitude is complete, the one becomes every thing and the other nothing. This is the cause why European monarchs compose a mere nominal executive, by doing nothing themselves and confiding every thing to their ministers, and why Asiatic despotism is committed to the hands of viziers, who having no motive to cultivate the affections of any other than the despot they represent, oppress the people with the most unfeeling barbarity to gratify the cravings of avarice.

These ministers act like the savages of Louisiana, who when they are desirous of fruit, cut the tree to the root and then gather it.

STILPO.

BOSTON, June 9. IMPORTANT.

Extract of a letter from a respectable house in Bourdeaux, to a gentleman in this town, dated May 5.

"You will expect to hear some news on the prevailing topic of the day. We remain in the same unsettled state as when you left us. A letter, however, which I this moment received from Mr. Skipwith, states as follows: The ultimatum of the British government is now with lord Whitworth; a very few days will therefore determine the question of war or peace."

"In addition to the above, Grammont, an eminent merchant in this place, received an extra courier last evening, by which we learn that Buonaparte has rejected the ultimatum & dispatched his confidential aid to London with his ultimatum; and that lord Whitworth, at the departure of the courier, was packing up his things.—In fact, it is now concluded on, that war is inevitable.

"While writing, several letters are received from the brokers at Paris which state, THAT WAR IS THE ORDER OF THE DAY."

NEW-YORK, June 14.

An American merchant at New-Orleans, under date of May 16th, writes to his correspondents in this city per the brig Union as follows:—"The pleasing account, that general Wilkinson has received the royal proclamation for opening the port of New-Orleans, reached us this morning.—It has already given to our business a considerable degree of activity."

PROCLAMATION

Of the new Governor of Guadaloupe, Augustus Ernouf, General of Division, Inspector General of Infantry, Captain-General of Guadaloupe and its dependencies, To the Inhabitants of Guadaloupe. Citizens, Dispatched by the First Consul to take the command of this colony, it is very agreeable to me, after the great

convulsions that it has experienced, to find it in that state of tranquility which enables all to look forward for the establishment of its ancient splendor.

While, by the care of the immortal Buonaparte, France enjoys the blessings of a paternal government, a protector, shall Guadaloupe be deprived of these advantages? No, citizens, the solicitude of this Hero extends itself to this interesting portion of France. He wishes it to be happy, and it will be so.

A stranger to all the factions that have agitated the colony, I will know none. I believe them exterminated. There ought only to exist here friends to the government: The laws shall make examples of those who show themselves its enemies.—Now the love of country rallies all the inhabitants, a new order of things is going to be established, by the happy harmony which will reign among the constituted authorities and the governed. Cast away every thing from your remembrance which could disturb your peace of mind. It is only pigmy souls who know not how to pardon small and few errors, which perhaps have been more the result of circumstances than premeditated wickedness. The inhabitants of Guadaloupe are known by their generosity, as much as by their courage.

Peaceable colony, respectable men! your tranquility has been often disturbed by the misfortunes of anarchy; but a strict economy which shall extend itself over all branches of office, will alleviate, in some measure, the changes which unforeseen and imperious events have forced to be established: confidence, that soul of commerce, new-born Guadaloupe, shall see again resort to its ports, the great number of vessels which frequented it heretofore.

Inhabitants of Guadaloupe—your happiness will be my sole solicitude, and the object of all my desires: May they be promptly realized.

Done at Basse-Terre, the 21st Floreal, Year 11 of the French Republic.

ERNOUF.

June 15.

Remarks of War.—Every arrival from Europe, as it brings more recent intelligence, brings us nearer and nearer to that eventful moment which for the present is to settle the points in controversy between England and France, or which is once more to plunge them into hostilities, the issue of which is not to be foreseen.

By the article this day inserted from the Aurora, it would seem as if France, intent on the tubefaction of the British power in India, had compelled the Turks to surrender Egypt.—But will Great-Britain acquiesce in this transfer? Will she not repel herself of this important avenue to her East-India possessions, and hold it in defiance of the power & menaces of France?

It is with pain that the benevolent friend of humanity will behold the renewal of war—with pain will he hear of the destruction of his species in a contest for territory and power; but to the American citizen, it will be a consolatory reflection, that he is so far removed from the theatre of bloodshed—that his native fields are not moistened by human gore: His commerce, however, may be exposed to the rapacity of piratical corsairs.

Warned by the experience acquired in the late war it is ardently to be hoped that our government, seconding the wishes and the interests of our merchants and traders, may assume a firm attitude of defence, and, in case the impending war should actually commence, insist on the rights of neutrality—and if infringed, vindicate them with the spirit and resources of a free and great nation.

The Article from the Aurora, containing Paris intelligence to the 27th of April, is so authoritatively announced, that we may deem it at least semi official. It contains, in all probability, the substance of Mr. Monroe's communication to the executive, on the aspect of European Politics. The probability of war is corroborated by every intelligence from abroad. The next arrivals must undoubtedly furnish something decisive on this subject.

The fate of the ultimatum of the British Cabinet will be determined. Great-Britain certainly conceives it high time to check the boundless ambition of her rival, and that the present juncture is the most favorable to enforce submission to measures which the indignant Buonaparte may consider too high-toned for his proud spirit to brook.

Letters from a very authoritative source, dated Paris, 27th April,

have been received within a few days, which from their nature of opinion and the facts upon which the opinions are founded, render the prospects of war in Europe and perhaps in Africa and Asia next to inevitable. They state that a treaty offensive and defensive had been negotiated between France and Turkey; that Egypt is ceded to the former, and that the integrity of the remaining part of the Turkish empire is guaranteed by France.

Such is the ground for an apprehended war; and it is not a light or trivial ground. The trade of the Levant and the necessarily incidental effect of the possession of Egypt on the trade of Asia, are objects which must vitally affect the maritime and commercial importance of Great-Britain. We cannot indeed discover any mode by which France can be prevented from possessing Egypt, but by the British possessing and colonizing it themselves; whether the experience which the French and British have had in Egypt, has taught either or both the experience which may regulate their conduct, it is not at this distance easy to determine.—The stake is a most momentous one for the British empire—and its ultimate consequences so serious, should France possess Egypt uninterrupted, that it would seem under the ruling policy of Great-Britain, to be deemed worthy of all the hazards of war.

Let France gain but a fair footing in Egypt—the trade of India is shaken to the centre; it reverts to its ancient channel, the Mediterranean; and the powers of India will possess an ally capable of affording them all that is necessary to the conquest of all Asia—military skill—the capacity for military combination, and the efficient use of artillery.—Aurora.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Simpson, Consul of the United States, at Tangier, to the Secretary of State, dated 28th March, 1803.

"Yesterday Thomas Beck and David Ervin, late seamen belonging to the schooner Beesley of Norfolk, Virginia, arrived here from Morocco, redeemed by the Emperor from the Arabs; they have been delivered to me, and will be sent to Gibraltar by the first opportunity. On the 3d inst. John Brodie, belonging to the said vessel, was redeemed by Mr. Gwyn, at Mogadore. It appears both by his declaration, and that of those men, the schooner on a voyage from Norfolk for Madeira, having missed that island, endeavored to make Teneriffe, in which they were also defeated, & fell in with the coast of Africa on the 28th June last year, when they came to anchor and sent the boat on shore with two men in quest of water; these not returning, on the evening of the 29th, it was determined to cut the vessel's cable and let her drift on shore, as they had been without water for nine days. The mate, Charles Rivers, was drowned in the surf—the master, Samuel Shore, died on the beach the following day from weakness and fatigue. Thomas Lewis, the other only person of the crew, went in quest of water soon after the capt. died. Brodie and he got on shore, but did not return, nor has any of the three who have been recovered heard any thing of him in the country. At the time the Emperor paid the Arabs for Beck and Ervin, he strongly charged them to make every enquiry after Lewis, and I have instructed Mr. Gwyn to do the same. If he be alive, which I very much doubt of, it is highly probable we shall recover him.

"We have never been able to get any tidings of the two negroes who belonged to the Oswego, none other of that ship's company remain with the Arabs. Hill and Boyer were sent by the governor of Tarifaunt to the emperor at Morocco, and he immediately sent them to Mr. Gwyn.

"The redemption of men under such circumstances, is attended with expense; indeed it is absolutely necessary to hold forth good encouragement to the Arabs to bring them in, to prevent their destroying or keeping in perpetual slavery, such christians as may at a future day fall under similar misfortunes. For people redeemed by the emperor we only pay their travelling expenses, and a gratuity to the soldiers he sends to accompany them on their journey."

BALTIMORE, June 16.

Dispatches were received at Washington, on Saturday morning from Mr. Monroe. Nothing official has transpired concerning their contents. It is reported from a respectable source, that they speak confidently of war between France and England.

WANTED

As apprentices to the Printing Business, one or two boys who can read and write. Apply at the Office of this Gazette.