

the explanation attempted by Doerze, the minister of Marine in relation to the Berlin decree, and the subsequent annunciation of his government to Mr. Armstrong, with true French sang froid, that "as there was no exception of the United States in the terms of the decree, so there was no reason for excepting them from their operation." Have we forgotten Champagny's declaration of war in our name? "War exists then in fact between England and the United States and his majesty considers it as declared." In short for years past France had required us to make war with England as the price of undefined commercial concessions from her. We had been told "that we ought to tear to pieces the act of our independence—that we were more independent than Jamaica—that we were without just political views, without energy, without honor, and that we must at last fight for interest, after having refused to fight for honor."

France, whilst you required of her as a preliminary to further accommodation the restitution of her plunder decoyed into her ports, required from you, as a preliminary, a war with England. Mr. Barlow has now been ten months in France, dancing attendance on her court without being able to obtain an answer to a few plain questions: Are your decrees repealed? It is considered as improper to make the enquiry. Instead of the edict, the instrument of repeal, by whatsoever name it be called, he sends us the strictures of the French government upon the proceedings of the American congress, and a remonstrance to the Duke of Bassano, that the repeal of the decrees (in which he is compelled to feign a belief, because the President's proclamation is the sole evidence of the fact) has not been given in charge to the French cruisers, but that the public ships of war (Nymph and Madusa) continue to burn our vessels on the high seas. And what does the Duke of Bassano tell him in reply? The same old story of Champagny to General Armstrong—"The U. States will be entirely satisfied on the pending questions, and there will be no obstacle to their obtaining the advantages they have in view, if they succeed in making their flag safe." In other words, make war with England, and you will be satisfied (and not until then) on the pending questions. And what are they? One of them, the required compensation for plunder—your minister after waiting for months for an oral answer tells you, "This is *difficult to begin, and difficult to execute.*" This is the claim too required by Mr. Secretary Smith, under the President's order, to be satisfied as a preliminary to the acceptance of the overture of August 5, 1810. It is impossible, the Wasp may bring out something just to hush up complaints until we are fairly embarked in war into which, if we enter, it will be a war of submission to the mandates of a foreign despot—the basest, the most unqualified, the most abject submission—France for years past has offered us terms (without specifying, what they were) at the price of a war with England, which hitherto we have rejected. That price must now be paid. The Emperor deals only for ready money—and carrying his jealousy further than in the case of the President's proclamation (which he would not believe until its terms were fulfilled) he requires to be paid in hand before he will name his equivalent.

In the celebrated case of insult by implication, or insinuation, offered by Mr. Jackson, there existed in the archives of the country, a monument (such as it was) of the sensibility of this House to that insult. If under such circumstances, without having received any shadow of indemnity for the past, or security for the future—if indeed security could be given by the French Emperor—the United States become virtually a party to the war in his behalf, it must confirm beyond the possibility of doubt every surmise that has gone broad, however gross, however injurious to the honor or the interests of this government—that there exists in our councils an undue fatal French bias. After the declaration of official men, after the language uttered on this floor, if the United States becomes parties to the war with France against her rival it must establish as clearly as the existence of the sun above us—this event has not happened, and God forbid it should—but if it does, the conclusion will be irresistible, and this government will stand branded to the latest posterity, (unless the press should perish in the general wreck of human liberty) as the pandars of French despotism—as the tools, the minions, sycophants, parasites of France. It was to secure the country from this opprobrium, that the proposition was about to be submitted.

This is not like a war for a Spanish succession or a Dutch barrier, for the weight of cutting logwood on a desert coast, or fishing in the Polar sea. It is a war unexampled in the history of mankind—a war separated as we are from the theatre of it by a wide ocean from which it behoves us to stand aloof—to get our backs to the wall, and await the coming of our enemy—instead of rushing out at midnight, in search of the disturbers of our rest, when a thousand dangers are pointed at our bosoms. But it is said we must fight for commerce—a war for commerce deprecatd by all the commercial portion of our country, by New-England and New-York, the great holders of our navigation and capital.

Mr. CALHOUN rising and signifying his intention to make a question of order, Mr. Randolph took his seat. Mr. CALHOUN then said the question of war was not before the country, it was not before the House and the gentleman was therefore speaking, as he conceived, contrary to rule, and without affording to others an opportunity to reply.

It was decided from the Speaker's chair (then filled by Mr. Bibb, the Speaker having casually vacated it for a moment) that the objection was not valid, as the gentleman from Virginia had announced his intention to make a motion, and it had been usual in such cases to permit a wide range of debate.

(Debate to be continued.)

Foreign.

BOSTON, June 16.
LATEST FROM ENGLAND.

The brig Adamant, Capt. Smith, 26 days from Greenock, was spoken in our harbour by a pilot boat yesterday, and has gone into Plymouth.—The pilot boat brought up a London Courier of the 12th of May and a Greenock paper of the 10th, for the perusal of which we are indebted to Messrs. Adams & Rhoads, and have selected for our readers a few interesting extracts.

Assassination of Mr. Perceval.
On the 11th of May at a quarter past 5 o'clock, Mr. Perceval, Prime Minister of G. Britain, was shot through the heart, in the lobby of the House of Commons, by a Mr. John Bellingham, formerly a ship-broker of Liverpool. The Courier of the 12th instant, thus announces the event: (Reporting.)

"It is under feelings of horror, grief, and dismay, that we record an event unparalleled in the history of our country, or perhaps of any other—the assassination of Mr. Perceval, as he was entering the lobby of the House of Commons yesterday, at a quarter past five o'clock.

Bellingham had placed himself at the side of the door leading from the stone stair-case. Mr. Perceval was in company with Lord F. Osborne, and immediately on receiving the ball, which entered his left breast, he staggered and fell.—The only words uttered were, "Oh! I am murdered," the sound

of the shot, Bellingham crying, "I am a mad man," and making no attempt to escape. When he was interrogated as to his motive, he said, "It is a private injury—I know what I have done—it was a refusal of justice on the part of the government."

On the examination, after the fact was completely established, the prisoner was asked what he had to say against the fact with which he was charged.

The prisoner spoke to the following effect: "I have admitted the fact—I admit the fact; but wish, with permission, to state something in my justification I have been denied the redress of my grievances by the government; I have been ill treated—They all know who I am, and what I am, through the Secretary of State and Mr. Becket, with whom I have had frequent communications. They knew of this fact six weeks ago, through the Magistrates of Bow-Street. I was accused most wrongfully by a Governor-General in Russia, in a letter from Archangel to Riga, and have sought redress in vain. I am a most unfortunate man and feel here, (placing his hand on his breast) sufficient justification for what I have done."

On being informed that he was only called upon to say what he had to offer in contradiction of the fact; and that any thing in extenuation of his crime had better be reserved for his trial, he added, "Since it seems best to you that I should not explain the causes of my conduct, I will leave it until the day of my trial, when my country will have an opportunity of judging whether I am right or wrong."

The Editor of the Courier in giving a sketch of what could be collected of the circumstances, says—it is proper to be known, this man had no ground of complaint against Mr. Perceval or government whatever. He had been in Russia, and had some dispute with the consul at Archangel—he alleges too that he had been engaged in some mission under Lord Leveson Gower. Being a Liverpool man, he had presented a memorial to Col. Gascoyne, the member from Liverpool, relative to his mission. The Colonel very properly informed him, that to present to government in the first instance would be useless, because they could know nothing of his claims but from Lord Gower. That he should go first to his Lordship, and upon his report the government would act. But of any memorial, or of any claims or even of the name of the man, Mr. Perceval was as completely ignorant, as he is now ignorant of all worldly things. The man is stated to have been subject to insanity, and from many circumstances, it appears very probable, that this atrocity was perpetrated under the influence of mental derangement.

Mr. Perceval was a married man with a family of twelve children, and poor. It is recommended that he have a public funeral and provision be made for his distressed family. The unhappy Mrs. Perceval, on learning the overwhelming event, remained many hours totally senseless.

The Coroner's Jury has just concluded its proceedings by bringing in a verdict of wilful murder against John Bellingham.

Postscript.

"Since writing the above, we have to state, that considerable numbers of persons were loitering this morning about the House of Commons and in Downing-street; and we are sorry to add, that upon personal enquiry on the spot, we find that the mob manifested a most atrocious disposition, that of abetting assassination. When the prisoner was attempted to be put into the coach last night, a great bustle was set up—and an attempt made to rescue him. In the most detestable spirit they huzzed and cheered him, calling out, "Burdette for ever!" and exhorting the soldiers as murderers. They not only did this, but hissed and hooted the carriages of the members and other gentlemen in the audacious manner; in consequence of which they were obliged to draw away to Abingdon-street and private places.

The Embargo forsworn in England.
We are informed that Mr. Quincy and Mr. Lloyd's note published in Boston 3d April, had arrived at London.

The Emperor of Russia has issued a Ukase, ordering every 500 men in his empire to furnish immediately two recruits for the army.

An agent has been sent from the British government to Paris, to negotiate for the revival of commerce.

Parliament were proceeding in the examination of the witnesses against the Orders in Council.

Political.

FOR THE CAROLINA FEDERAL REPUBLICAN.

A DEFENCE OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE IN THE ELECTION OF A PRESIDENT.

To the Freemen who have the virtue to value their independence and the firmness to maintain it—who prefer peace and prosperity to war and oppressive taxes—who desire to promote the welfare of all rather than to indulge the ambition of a few—the present publication is addressed.—

Fellow-Citizens, your liberties are in danger. A blow is aimed at your political rights more dangerous and more base than that attempted by Great Britain in 1776; for the Foe now approaches in the treacherous guise of a Friend. The Independence earned by your blood and the blood of your Fathers, is about to be snatched from you by the perfidy of those in whom you have reposed your trust. The plot is laid—it is ripe for action—but there is yet time to defeat it. Dare to act as Freemen—examine, judge, decide for yourselves, and you may yet be saved.

Fellow-Citizens, I sound no false alarm. Give me but your attention, hear me with candour, and I will convince you that there is treachery in our councils, which would not disgrace an Arnold or a Burr—Treachery, which operating on faction and folly (the fittest tools, and most ample materials for mischief) prosecutes attempts upon your rights, which, if successful, may take from you the power of redressing yourselves.

In execution of the task I have undertaken, I will first examine the Act of our last General Assembly, taking from the People and vesting in themselves, the appointment of Electors of President and Vice-President—point out the fatal effects of that measure and those of which it is the ground-work, upon the public freedom—and expose the miserable pretex upon which its defence has been attempted by its authors and their accomplices. I will then give you a view of some of the lead-

ing and recent measures of that administration, the administration of Madison, to subvert and uphold which this law was passed, and shew you how dangerous and unprincipled must be that combination whose continuance in power is attempted to be enforced at the expence of a violation of your rights, and a sacrifice of your interests.

Through fire and through blood the American people achieved their Independence. By the Federal Constitution they sought to secure its lasting, and (if possible) perpetual existence. That constitution gives to the Nation, and guaranties to each individual state, a republican form of government, which deriving its force from the people shall acknowledge in all its operations the influence of their will. Any measures which have a tendency to lessen this constitutional influence of the people; which strip the great body of the community of their powers of controlling the administration of the government and transfer them to a selected few—whether such measures be founded in force or in fraud, are hostile to the essential principles of our revolution, defeat the great objects of our union, and lay the axe to the root of republican institutions.

In every Government an Executive head is necessary. In the constitution of the United States that executive is called the President. To him are confided vast powers. In his hand is the sword, and greatly under his control is the purse of the nation. He is commander in Chief of the army, the Navy, and of the Militia when called into service. At his nomination is every officer of the government appointed. Those who collect and expend the public revenue, and those who command our military and naval forces, owe their power alike to his choice, and are alike removed at his pleasure. A majority of the national legislature are incompetent to act but with his approbation. Without his assent no act of Congress is a law unless two thirds of both houses concur in its favour. The judiciary, that venerable power which interprets the laws, dispenses justice, and pronounces upon the life and property of the Citizen, is indeed guarded by the independent tenure of office. The Judges hold their places during good behaviour, and are not removable at the pleasure of the executive; but even into this sanctuary of Justice the influence of the President insinuates itself, for upon every vacancy either by death, resignation or removal, he may place his favourites and creatures upon the bench; at almost any moment may he involve us in war, and without his consent there can be no peace. All foreign negotiation, all diplomatic intercourse is conducted thro' him—By his nomination alone can a Minister be sent to foreign powers, and without his concurrence even the whole body of the Senate can not make a treaty. Even life, and death, and property are not exempt from his control, for prosecutions under the law of the United States originate at his command and can be suspended at his discretion; and the convict is pardoned and the penalty remitted at his pleasure.—It is not strange that the jealous and too apprehensive friends of liberty have fancied that they beheld in the President the Monarch for four years; that they saw "the diadem sparkling on his brow and the imperial purple flowing in his train." Let me however not be misunderstood: Vigour and energy in the executive are absolutely essential to good government, and these cannot exist but with extensive powers. This sketch of the influence and sway of the President is not made to excite your disapprobation; but to awaken all your vigilance towards an officer vested with such ample attributes of authority. The checks which the people hold upon the appointment of the President, and the consequent restraints upon his conduct, cannot indeed secure them from the misdeeds of wickedness or from the mistakes of frailty, but they are nevertheless invaluable, and without them, the fears of the timid are realised—he is a Monarch in disguise. The appointment of such an officer cannot be too carefully guarded. The barriers which surround the executive chair, should be sufficiently strong to resist fraud and corruption. If they have hitherto proved insufficient against intrigue or ambition, let them be strengthened, not abandoned.—If possible let the officer thus clothed with power be brought nearer to the people, not removed beyond their influence.—

The framers of our constitution were aware of the greatness of this power, and alive to the danger of its being improperly bestowed. They studiously sought, and believed they had discovered a mode of election, the most guarded from danger, the least liable to exception. It was their leading object that the voice of the people should operate in the election.

In the valuable political papers called "The Federalist" written by Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Madison and Mr. Jay for the purpose of explaining to the people the constitution then under consideration, we

find the view which these distinguished members of the convention entertained in relation to the election of President. In the 68th Number it is said that "it was desirable that the sense of the people should operate in the choice of the person to whom so important a trust was to be confided. This end will be answered by committing the right of making it, not to any pre-established body, but to men chosen by the people for the special purpose, and at the particular conjuncture." A volume could not more clearly unfold the apprehensions which the convention entertained of improper influence, nor explain more distinctly the means relied on to guard against its consequences. It was foreseen that foreign nations could not but be anxious to influence the choice of an officer upon whom so materially depended the relations which were to subsist between them and the United States. It was known also that ambitious individuals would not see so rich a prize disposed of without entering the lists for its attainment and using every means to effect success. To shield the United States from the dreadful calamities which have arisen from such contentions for power, and to disarm intrigue and corruption of their weapons, the convention adopted the only safe mode of election. They placed not the right of appointment with any pre-existing body, but left it in the hands of the people themselves.

The mode of electing the President and Vice-President which existed in this State until repealed by the last General Assembly, conformed to the correct and patriotic motives of the convention as explained in "The Federalist" above quoted. The Electors being chosen directly by the People themselves, the sense of the people operated in their choice.—The Electors were not a pre-existing body, but created within thirty five days before the day of their meeting: taken by the People from among themselves for the special purpose of making this election, they were free from the influence of domestic corruption and intrigue.—This mode our General Assembly has repealed, and in its stead has determined to choose the Electors themselves.

Compare, I entreat you compare, these different modes.—By the former, altho' it might happen that the choice was not wise, it could not be otherwise than honest, because made by the People who could not be bribed to betray themselves. A foreign Agent or a domestic Traitor knew not where to apply his means of intrigue and corruption. He could not visit all our dwellings nor purchase every man at his plough or his workshop. The arts of deception and misrepresentation to advance a Candidate still perhaps existed—in the nature of things they can not be destroyed—but they were necessarily placed in public view, and exposed to the counteraction of Justice and Truth. The integrity of the Electors could not be assailed, for they were unknown until the moment of selection, and they were chosen but a few weeks before the day on which they were to meet, to perform their office, and to return immediately into the ranks of private life. A choice thus made was pure and incorrupt—it preserved inviolate the republican principle—it permitted the voice of every freeman to operate in the selection of a President. Look at the mode now established, a Legislative choice of Electors, "like a mildewed ear blasting its wholesome brother."—This Act is tyrannical, because it deprives the People of one of their most valuable rights—the right of election.—It is corrupt—because it gives to the General Assembly the rich spoil plundered by them from their constituents.—It is aristocratical and anti-republican, because it takes power from the many to lodge it with a few. It is hostile to the spirit of our Constitution, because it frustrates the objects of that sacred instrument as explained by the ablest of its framers. It is dangerous to our liberties by delegating to ninety seven men (a majority of the General Assembly) a power rightfully and without inconvenience exercised by a hundred thousand freemen.—Who is ignorant of the facility with which Members of Assembly are influenced? Who doubts the possibility that some of them may be bought? Under the old mode, when the whole people elected, no means of intrigue could be devised subtle enough to reach the bosom of every man—but in the General Assembly some are considered as standing members for years, and all are chosen several months before the day of the electoral meeting. Bonaparte, or Burr, or George the third, might have tried in vain the arts of corrupt influence on the whole body of the People—but who can say that these arts will be without effect when exercised on the Members of Assembly? Bad men intrude themselves into every station. Neither dignity of office, nor magnitude of trust, is proof against corruption. Benedict Arnold had spilt his blood in the holy contest of the Revolution—yet, who most honoured and confided in, he attempted to betray his trust to the enemy.—Edmond Randolph, one of the most celebrated of the self-styled Republicans—