

rests of the state, it invites the minister who has given the order to revoke it.

67. If after three successive invitations, renewed within the space of a month, the hindrances subsist, the commission demands an assembly of the senate, which is convoked by the president, and which issues, if there is cause the following declaration.

"There are strong presumptions that the liberty of the press has been violated."

The fact is then proceeded upon according to the article 112, title XIII, of the high imperial court.

68. One member of each of the senatorial commissions ceases his functions every four months.

69. The projects of laws decreed by the legislative body, are transmitted, on the very day of their adoption, to the senate & deposited in its archives.

70. Every decree issued by the legislative body may be denounced to the senate by a senator: 1st, As tending to the re-establishment of the feudal system; 2d, As contrary to the irrevocability of the sales of the national domains; 3d, As not having been deliberated upon in the forms prescribed by the constitutions of the empire, the regulations, and laws; 4th, As attacking the prerogative of the imperial dignity and those of the senate; without prejudice to the execution of the articles 21 and 37 of the act of the constitution of the empire, bearing date the 2d Frimaire, year 8.

71. The senate within the following days after the adoption of the project of law, deliberating upon the report of a special commission, and after having heard three readings of the decree in three sittings held upon different days, may express the opinion that there is no cause for promulgating the law.

The president carries to the emperor the deliberation of the senate, with the motives assigned for the same.

72. The emperor after having heard the council of state, either declares by a decree his adhesion to the deliberation of the senator, or causes the law to be promulgated.

73. Every law the promulgation of which, in this circumstance, has not been made before the expiration of the space of ten days, can no longer be promulgated, if it has not been again deliberated upon and adopted by the legislative body.

74. The whole of the operations of an electoral college, and the partial operations which are relative to the presentation of the candidates to the senate, to the legislative body and to the Tribunal, cannot be annulled on account of being unconstitutional, but by a senatus consultum.

(This concludes in our next.)

SPEECH OF MOREAU,

BEFORE THE COURT OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE.

Gentlemen.—In presenting myself before you, I ask to be heard for a moment. My confidence in the counsel I have chosen is entire; I have resigned to them without reserve the care of defending my innocence; it is only in compliance with their desire that I wish to speak before the court, but I feel the need of speaking myself, both to you and the nation.

Unhappy circumstances produced by chance or prepared by hatred, may obscure some periods of the life of the most upright man. With much address a criminal may remove from him both the witnesses and the proofs of his crimes: a whole life is always the surest testimony against, or in favor of the accused. It is then my whole life which I oppose to the accusers who pursue me. It has been sufficiently public to be known. I will recall some epochs of it, and the witnesses that I shall invoke are the French people, and the people whom France has conquered.

At the commencement of that revolution which was to found the liberty of the French people, I was devoted to the study of law. It changed the destination of my life; I devoted it to arms; I did not place myself among the soldiers of liberty from ambition—I embraced the military life from respect for the laws of the nation; I became a warrior, because I was a citizen.

I supported the character under the colors—I have always preserved it. The more I loved liberty, the more I submitted to discipline.

I advanced very rapidly but always from grade to grade, without overlooking any—always loving my country, never flattering the committees. Arrived at the chief command, when victory caused us to advance into the middle of hostile nations, I did not less apply myself to make the character of the French people respected, than to make their armies invincible. The air under my orders was a scourge only in the fields of battle. Even from the midst of their ravaged plains, more than once have nations and hostile powers read, and this testimony. This conduct I believed as proper as our victories, to make conquests to France.

At the time when even contrary maxims appeared to prevail in the committees of government, this conduct did not excite against me either calumny or persecution. No cloud ever arose to diminish the military glory which I had acquired, till that too famous day—the 18th Fructidor, those who with too much rapidity extolled that day reproached me with being too slow to denounce a man, in whom I could see only a brother in arms, even at the moment when the evidence of facts and of proofs convinced me that he was accused by truth, and not by unjust suspicions. The Directory, who alone knew the cir-

cumstances of my conduct sufficiently to judge of it correctly, and who, every one knows, could not be disposed to judge me with indulgence, boldly declared that they found me irrefragable; they employed me in their service; the post was not brilliant, but it soon became so.

I dare to believe that the nation has not forgotten how much I shewed myself worthy of it; it has not forgotten with what facile devotedness I fought in Italy in subordinate stations; it has not forgotten how I was restored to the chief command by the reverses of our armies, and named general, in some measure, by our misfortunes; it remembers how I twice re-composed the army of the wrecks of those that had been dispersed; and how, after having twice sent it back in a condition to oppose the Russians and Austrians, I twice resigned the command of it to enter on one of much higher confidence.

I was not, at that era of my life, more republican than in all the others: I appeared more so. I saw fixed upon me, in a more peculiar manner, the regards and the confidence of those whose province it was to impress new movements, and new directions on the republic. They proposed, it is well known, to place me at the head of—, little similar to that of the 13th Brumaire. My ambition, if I had much of it, could easily conceal itself from all appearances, or even do honor to itself by every sentiment of the love of country.

The proposition was made to me by men celebrated in the revolution by their patriotism, and in our national assemblies by their talents; I refused it. I believed myself made to command armies, and did not wish to command the republic.

This was enough to prove, in my opinion, that if I had an ambition, it was not that of authority, or of power: very soon after, I proved this still farther.

The 18th Brumaire arrived, and I was at Paris. That revolution, provoked by others as by me, could not alarm my conscience. Directed by a man environed with a blaze of glory, it made me to hope for happy results. I began to second it when other parties pressed me to put myself at their head to combat it. I received in Paris the orders of the general Bonaparte. In executing them, I concurred to elevate him to that high degree of power, which circumstances rendered necessary.

When sometime after he offered me the chief command of the army of the Rhine, I accepted it from him with as much devotion as from the hand of the republic itself. My military successes were never more rapid, more numerous, more decisive, than at that epoch, when their splendor overspread the government which accused me.

Upon the event of so many successes, of which the greatest of all was to have ascertained, in an efficacious manner, the peace of the continent, the soldier heard the lofty shouts of national gratitude.

What a moment to conspire, if such design had ever been able to enter my soul! Every one knows the devotedness of armies to chiefs whom they love, and whom they have just led from victory to victory: An ambitious man, a conspirator, would he have suffered the occasion to escape when, at the head of an army of a hundred thousand men, so often triumphant, he returned to the midst of a nation still agitated, and always restless with regard to its principles, and their duration?

I only thought of disbanding the army, and returning to the repose of a civil life.

In this repose, which was not without glory, I enjoyed without doubt my honors—these honors which human power can never wrest from me, the remembrance of my actions, the testimony of my conscience, the esteem of my compatriots and strangers, and, if it may be said, the flattering and sweet presentment of posterity.

I enjoyed a fortune which was not great, because my desires were not immense, and which caused me no reproach of confidence. I enjoyed the entertainment of my retreat. Surely I was content with my lot—I never envied the lot of any. My family and my friends, so much the more precious, as not having any thing to hope from my credit or my fortune, they could remain attached but to myself alone.

All these blessings, which alone I highly appreciate, filled my soul entirely, and could permit no undue desire or ambitious wish to enter; would it then be opened to criminal projects?

This condition of my soul was so well known, it was so well guaranteed by the distance at which I kept from all the paths of ambition, that since the victory of Hohenlinden till my arrestation, my enemies have never been able either to find or to seek me by another crime than the freedom of my discourses; my discourses—they have often been favorable to the operations of government: and if at any time they have not been so, could I therefore think that that was a crime among a people who had so often decreed that of thought, that of word, that of the press, & who had enjoyed much of it even under kings.

I confess that, born with an openness of disposition, I have not lost this attribute of the country of France) where I received life neither in the camp where every thing gives a new impetus, nor in the revolution which has always proclaimed it as a virtue of the man, and as a duty of the citizen. But do those who plot blame so openly what they disapprove? If I had wished to form and pursue plans of conspiracy, I would have assembled my sentiments, and solicited all the situations which could have replaced me in the midst of the forces of the nation.

In order to trace this plan, in default of political genius, which I never possessed, I had examples known to all the world, and rendered imposing by their success. I knew well that Monck did not withdraw from the armies when he wished to conspire, and that Cælius and Brutus approached the heart of Cæsar to pierce it.

Magistrates I have nothing more to say to you. Such has been my character, such has been my whole life. I protest in the face of heaven and of men the innocence and integrity of my conduct: You know your duties, France listens to you, Europe contemplates you, and posterity awaits.

From the United States Gazette.

It appears that general Armstrong is on the eve of taking his departure, with an outfit of nine thousand dollars in his pocket, to present the homage of his high respect and that of Mr. Jefferson to the Emperor of the Gauls. It seems to be part of the present system of economies to divide the honors and profits of foreign missions as much as possible among all those who have distinguished themselves in the ranks of democracy.—Whenever it shall have been settled by the government what length of residence at a foreign court is sufficient to entitle a minister to his outfit, equal to one year's salary, we shall probably know the exact term for which any one of our democratic ambassadors will continue in office.

It is now little more than a year since Mr. Livingston was sent to France with an outfit of nine thousand dollars, and a salary of nine thousand more—making eighteen thousand dollars, which *we, the people*, pay for one year's embassy. As he can hereafter get no more than nine thousand dollars, should he remain, he finds in himself no anti-republican tendencies strong enough to continue him there, and is, accordingly, about to return; and the same jig, to the tune of eighteen thousand dollars a year, is to be played over for General Armstrong.

Our readers must well remember, that under the administrations of Washington and Adams, no one item of public expenditure was so much or so successfully clamoured against, by Mr. Jefferson and his parasites, as that attending our foreign intercourse. It was repeated over and over again, in one monotonous yell, that the salaries of our foreign ambassadors were exorbitant; and, in fact, that the money which was paid them was worse than thrown away; for that the less connection we had with the despotic governments of Europe, the better. Observe now, gentle reader—the *gestion of affairs* under those administrations was this; a man of talents and integrity was appointed to reside at a foreign court; his office was considered as a permanent thing, and his salary settled at nine thousand dollars a year. Such was the system of things in the days of extravagance and profusion, when Washington, "that legislator of corruption," and his successor, Mr. Adams, managed our public concerns. Under the present reign of economies, a new order of thing has obtained.—Not that our present rulers have more cupidity than the federalists; but they have twice as many economies; and by sending out an annual ambassador, contrive to get for each twice as much money.

It might be worth while, if any good could be hoped from the discussion, to enquire what extraordinary services have been performed by our minister in France in return for the extraordinary sum of public money which he has received.

The first great exertion of his diplomatic talents was displayed in his famous memorial upon Louisiana, in which he weakly and wantonly called upon all nations to combine for the purpose of humbling one of the belligerent powers of Europe with which we are at peace. The only advantage resulting to our country from this grand stroke of policy, so far as we have been able to learn, was the necessity of sending immediately to the court of London, & there in the name of our government, solemnly and formally disavowing the act of the minister. We leave it to the democrats to decide how many of the eighteen thousand dollars Mr. Livingston earned by this *chef d'œuvre* of diplomacy. It may possible be urged, however, in his justification, that from the treatment which he personally experienced at the court of France, he supposed the nation whose sovereignty he there represented was viewed as the mere vassal of the *grande republicque*, and consequently, that it was his duty to do and say every thing which he thought might be pleasing to the first consul, & which might have a tendency to avert his anger, or to conciliate his mercy.

The next great diplomatic exploit of Mr. Livingston is his answer to Talleyrand, in which upon the representation of one party, and that representation consisting of such printed papers as the French court thought proper to select and put into his hands, he proceeded to try an important litigated question between two nations at war, and to pronounce sentence of condemnation against one of them. We have not yet heard that our administration has yet disavowed this act of outrage; but they will unquestionably find it necessary to do so. As soon as that shall have been accomplished the chancellor may return in triumph, with his 18 thousand dollars, for one year's faithful services, and leave the arena clear for the exploits of his successor.

Of General Armstrong we shall take occasion to say a few words on some future opportunity. It is generally known that he is the reputed, if not acknowledged author of the anonymous letters against General Washington, addressed to the officers and soldiers of the American army. This may account for his present promotion.

Every American will peruse the following extract with no little solicitude. The writer views with a clear sighted eye, a transaction, which we desire it may be remembered, this paper has uniformly spoken of with marked disapprobation. No reflecting man can scruple to say that the conduct of our French ambassador is irregular, unwarrantable and indiscreet in the extreme. But it was not till we saw this spirited and well written letter, we had any idea that Mr. Munro's conduct had also been regarded in Great Britain as exceptionable. [Reperatory.]

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in London, to his friend in Boston.

"I am not altogether at my ease in regard to the relative situation of the Government of America and that of this country. The men employed by Mr. Jefferson are completely hostile in their wishes, and indecent and violent in their conduct towards this country. Our Ministry, in compliance with the general wish of the nation, have been moderate in their language and forbearing in their conduct, under circumstances which would certainly have authorised expostulation and justified resentment. Mr. Munro and Mr. Livingston are known, and it is not believed that they speak the sentiments of the American people, although it is not doubted that they are faithful Representatives of America & Great Britain are deeply concerned in a continuance of their friendship: but should the present war be prolonged, and should your present executive hold his situation, I do not foresee a possibility of avoiding a rupture between the two countries: for contumely and insult are what no British Ministry can bear; & keep their places.—The spirit of the nation will be roused at the local indignity offered to their King, and to his Ministers; and they would drive from their places any Ministry who should refuse to be the organ and instrument of general resentment.

The conduct of Mr. Livingston at the Court of France, in sanctioning by his official answer to the communication of Talleyrand, the atrocious calumnies fabricated against this country by the pretended letters of Mr. Drake, has produced a sensation here among all classes and parties, which I am concerned to observe but cannot disapprove. That Mr. Drake had some intercourse with the interior of France, there can be no doubt—no person denies it, and none can be surprized at it. But that Mr. Drake had any connexion with any conspirators whose object was the assassination of Bonaparte, or that he wrote the letters now published as his, is an absolute falsehood—and it is of a piece with a thousand fabrications which Bonaparte and the predecessors of Bonaparte in the calamitous course of the French revolution have practiced. The conduct of Mr. Livingston admits of no excuse, as he has departed from the usual form of official communication, to gratify his own feelings and offer insult to Great Britain—& this has been the more noticed because it has been considered as a discovery of the sentiments of himself and the Executive he represents. In regard to Mr. Munroe's mode of conducting business, I formerly wrote you, and as the man and his predilection to France (even in preference to this country and to his official duty when an Ambassador) are well known, you cannot be surprized at any thing unconciliatory or even offensive which he may have done in this country. What all this will produce may be easily foreseen. But insult and indignity are seldom forgotten; and they are never forgiven when offered to a party embarrassed and at the moment unable to resent them."

From the Trenton Federalist.

To A. BURR, Esq.

AN event, in which you were the principal actor, has lately taken place, which has filled United America with horror.—By you, my country has been deprived of its bravest warrior—its ablest statesman—its delight—its ornament & pride.—While I bend over the tomb of Hamilton, and in bitterness of soul deplore his loss, my heart burns with indignation, against the man who was the guilty cause of his death.—Lately you stood high in the estimation of your countrymen—your name was enrolled in the catalogue of our worthies, and the highest honors in our gift were freely bestowed on you. But now, your glory has departed from you, and by a single act you have drawn upon your head the curses of a whole nation.

In the name of my country I charge you with foul unnatural murder.—When you thirsted for the blood of Hamilton, did you