

Amidst all the Quixotic vagaries of the few men in France, none have appeared more flimsy and contemptible, than the exclusive power they have claimed for themselves of reducing independent nations to a state of freedom.

The error upon which their practice in this particular has been grounded, is the origin of half the mistakes and absurdities of mankind—the confusion of causes with consequences.

Thus, the French Reformers have imagined, (if they merit the credit of acting upon any determinate system at all) that to make a people free was to make them enlightened and happy—Whereas a mass, whom general ignorance has once pervaded cannot fail to be deteriorated in condition by any liberation from restraint, however partial.

To be fitted for the enjoyment of liberty a community must previously be enlightened—and the experience of France has shewn that an attempt on different grounds, is to arm the poor against the rich, and the Russian against the man of honor. In Turkey, or other despotic governments, is it not uniformly seen, that when any portion of the subjects, by insurrection or rebellion, shakes off restraints, the consequences are uniformly murderous. Bad dispositions, evil spirits, and minds endued with those qualities which constitute the noxious and turbulent demagogues, require the iron hand of power to restrain them from bursting forth into dangerous acts. All these evil propensities have their foundation in ignorance. Wherever ignorance rules, these despotic sway alone can constitute a paramount authority.

The surest antidote against despotism is information. And it is lamentable that while our sister states of New-England, which are on all hands allowed to be the purest models of republicanism extant, hold up to us "the glass of fashion and the mould of form." Pennsylvania should supinely neglect a point of such prominent and leading importance. To this fatal neglect, it is owing, that Jacobinism

Like an evening mist, Caters ground fast at the Patriot's heel. That improve men intrude themselves into important offices, and that a spirit of licentiousness, disorder, turbulence and mischief, has been enabled to assume a menacing aspect.

MORRIS-TOWN, (N. J.) Oct. 18. Communication.

In a free state the best inheritance of every man should be the laws and constitution, not his estate or chattels, and the best property of the state is the industry, talents and attachment of its inhabitants, not the lands they possess. The feudal idea of regulating elections by the possession of property, or of portions of territory, to which the people are deemed merely appendages, is not yet discarded. Legislators, and constitution mongers, gravely utter the absurdity that forests, fields and blades of grass may be represented by men. The possession of property is of itself (according to Joel Barlow) a sufficient advantage, and it is impolitic, as well as unjust, to add to the advantage, at the expense of labour, industry, and talents, the most valuable resources of every community. Nothing less than a civil offence or crime should deprive a citizen of the right of voting in the appointment of legislators and magistrates, who are to determine on happiness and life. The lands and riches of a country may be monopolized by a few, while suffrages and property have no more natural connection than nobility or suffrages and military rank. The power of appointing governors does not imply an equality in personal consideration or in property: it is founded in the reasonableness of having a choice where appointments may restrain our public actions, and dispose of the fruits of our industry, and our lives. All on such occasions should be considered equal, and entitled strictly to equal consideration; for all commit all to the hands of government. The property and talents of individuals may be unequal, and private advantages or disadvantages arise from them: but in the intercourse of every community with its government, every citizen is equally an unit, and every violation of this equality, whatever the state is called, is an approach to despotism.

REMARKS.

There is in the foregoing observations a good deal of modern sophistry. Attachment to the government of a country arises from the benefits derived from the laws which secure life, liberty and property under that government. These three are inseparable. To tell those who have no estate or chattels, that the laws and constitution are an inheritance, is too unsubstantial an idea for them to realize; and to talk of talents and industry as the best property of the state, apart from the lands or other objects on which those talents and that industry are to be exercised, is refining beyond common or useful comprehension. The distinctions attempted to be drawn, between property, labor, industry and talents, is invidious. The three last, in a free country, produce the first; and this forms the basis of attachment, made valuable by just and equal laws. In the intercourse of every community with its government every citizen is equally an unit, says the communication. This cannot be true. If A possessing nothing, neither house nor land, nor wife nor child, nor talents nor industry, nor virtue nor character, is a unit, can it be said that he enjoys no greater advantage than B, who possessing all that A wants, is nevertheless no more than a unit. The true political equality here is, that B is a unit, and A is a cypher, and ought to remain so, till circumstances alter. An equality of this sort is only the species of despotism; for it not only gives A the control of B's property, but a general scale damps and quenches every spring of human exertion.

It may be well to advert to a few of the objections which have been started against the system of universal suffrage. The first is, that it would in most instances defeat the principal object in view, that is, an equal representation. The more exten-

sive the field of corruption, the greater chance of success in exercising the means and artifices usually employed. One of the greatest evils attending the extensive right of suffrage exercised in this country, is the facility of increasing the voters in favor of unworthy and unprincipled candidates, by the arts of seduction which are practised on the voters, the simple and unvarnished. Universal suffrage would increase this description of voters in a ratio greatly overproportioned to the number of a contrary complexion. The consequences are undeniably; the representatives of numbers, would seldom if ever be the representatives of the feelings or the intelligence of the people. Universal knowledge, ought to precede universal suffrage.

Another objection arises from the evident ill policy of excluding the worthless, the profligate and abandoned, without property and without information, with those who are the salt of society. The principal householders, the industrious farmers and artisans, who possess property and talents, and whose providence and economy are the chief dependence of the poor and improvident. This would unnerve to far as it went, the hand of enterprise, and destroy one great spring of a laudable emulation, by giving equal advantages to idleness and industry.

A third objection, and the most important is, that it would very soon transfer the powers of government from those who have every thing to lose, to those who have nothing to lose, but every thing to gain. For as it is contrary to reason and experience, that the wealthy should ever be equal in numbers to those who are poor, placing the power to determine on happiness and life in the hands of a majority of the latter, will eventually in laws together in their own favor, and involving a sacrifice of the happiness of those who possess property. Laws in such cases would affordly be made to effect an equality on principles contravening the settled course of nature. Where property, and its enjoyments are secured, the most powerful incentives to industry exist, but where it is controlled by the will of those who have none, it loses its value.—The main spring of society is unbraced, and its dissolution soon follows. Legislators determine not only on "happiness and life," but also on property.

It surely would be incongruous to place the property of A, to the disposal of B and C who have none. The business must be disposed of, for neither rich nor poor may have just cause of complaint. The qualifications in this country are moderate, that were to the generation which faces the present barriers thrown down.

ALBANY, October 13. From a Correspondent.

Whiteford, Oct. 5, 1797. On Monday the 2d inst. was celebrated at Fort Schuyler, formerly Fort Stanwix, (in modern Rome) a marriage between a younger branch of the family of ST. LAWRENCE, and an Elder branch of that of HUDSON. This match, so long contemplated by the friends of this state, was brought to a happy issue, in consequence of the liberal settlement made by the legislature of this state, as a marriage dower on the young Lady. The marriage ceremony was celebrated, under a discharge of cannon, by Mr. Weston, in behalf of her guardians, assisted by some of her other friends. At the commencement of the ceremonies, thirteen cannon were fired in honor of her Guardians, and at the conclusion, sixteen as a federal salute.—After which the company partook of an elegant dinner, at the house of Mr. Weston, by whose able and judicious conduct the match has been concluded, where decent hilarity evinced the joy of the guests on this happy event. May this match give rise to a numerous progeny, that may, in some future period, contribute amply to the support of the parent stock, and enrich the various branches of this house, as well as the state which has so judiciously patronized them.

From the Western Centinel, October 3.

We hear from Fort Stanwix that the canal and locks are completed, and that yesterday was the day fixed on for the boats to pass. The formalities of the day we have not obtained.

CHARLESTON, October 9.

Extract of a letter from captain Edward Johnson, of the sloop James, belonging to Messrs. Blake and Magwood of this city, dated Nassau, September 20. "I am sorry to inform you of my long passage from Charleston, and also of my misfortunes. On the 22d of August, I was in lat. 26, long. 77, which was within six hours sail of this place, when I was boarded by the Grouper, which is a Spanish privateer, by which I was very hardly treated, and my vessel sustained very great damage; they kept me on board the privateer 48 hours, during which they robbed my vessel of every thing worth taking. I received a stab under my right breast, but, thank God, it is not dangerous. They carried me back as far as lat. 29, long. 79, and then put 7 Spaniards on board of her, to carry her to St. Jago in Cuba. Being unwell, they put me on board of my own vessel, where I found means to get possession of her, and have brought her in here. I am sorry for your loss, but it could not be helped, as the privateer Grouper is the occasion of all the damage the cargo has received. A great many American vessels are brought in here; they take out whatever is contraband, or contrary to treaty, and let the vessels go." A letter dated Mole St. Nicholas, September 23d, 1797, received there by the sloop General Green, now off Fort Johnston, mentions that

The brig Jerusha, capt. Ebenezer Giles, which sailed early in June last, from Bristol in England, for this port, was captured on the 31st of August, by the French frigate Medusa, commodore Barney, who took her in tow until the 17th of September; in the night, off the north side of the Caucasus, the tow rope broke, and the Medusa left the Jerusha, carrying away all her people and leaving 8 Frenchmen on board. On the 18th September the Jerusha was retaken by the English frigate Aquilon, captain Crawford, who sent her into the Mole. On the 19th September, captain Giles made out his protest, and waited on the judge of the admiralty, who told him, that he should pay to the captors a salvage of one eighth of the vessel and cargo.

Captain Giles writes, that he expects a part of the cargo will be sold to pay the salvage, in compliance with an order of court, which will be immediately granted, and he will proceed for this port as soon as his business is arranged.

Here is a new specimen of the principles of a French American; the commodore of Baltimore has no sooner cleared himself of our limits, which protected him from the enemies, whom he so anxiously lusted for vengeance from, than he has commenced his spoiliations on American property. We hope and trust, that such unparalleled villainy and ingratitude will meet with the punishment due to it, and that he may shortly again enjoy the comforts of a prison ship.

An extract of a letter, from a citizen of this state, now in Holland, to a character of the first respectability in this city, on the subject of politics, says,

"That the negotiations now pending between Britain and France, may possibly terminate in peace; that of the directory of France, but one member (Barthelemi) is friendly to the United States; of the council of five hundred, a majority may be reckoned well disposed to us than otherwise; that should a peace take place between Britain and France, it is impossible to form a judgment, of what measures or conduct the directory will adopt with respect to the United States, and it is therefore of the utmost importance that we should be fully prepared for the worst, and that our sea-ports and harbors particularly, ought to be immediately well fortified. In speaking of the differences between the French directors and the council of five hundred, the writer says, "that it is uncertain whether the armies will side with either of the parties, or that BUONAPARTE will not set up for himself," with the title of the KING OF THE ROMANS."

Communication.

Barney and Deschamps, ex-citizens of the United States, are now in their glory; they have each commenced their career with robbing and plundering our citizens; the latter has already gone so far as to attempt to murder one, and the former, there can be no doubt, will likewise take advantage of the first opportunity to do the same. It is said there has been an excessive hard gale of wind to the southward on the 26th of September; it is most devoutly to be wished, that the vessels of these unnatural, unprincipled and unparalleled villains have been wrecked, and that they with all the horrors of the storm, are embosomed in the deep, as food for fishes. Were they simply our enemies, there would be something wickedly cruel in such a wish, but they are the enemies of nature.

Citizen Commodore, had you at any time after becoming Frenchman quit pickaroonery, made good your boatings, fought out the enemies of your newly adopted country and fought them, your quondam countrymen, the Americans, and your eternal enemies, the English, would have done justice to your courage and applauded your revenge; but a conduct like this corresponded neither with your principles nor views; you fled to the enemies you vowed vengeance upon, to American protection, and left it only to unmask your viperous heart, and commence your trade of robbery and plunder, and to rank yourself the equal of pirates.

Married, on Thursday the 5th inst. by the rev. Mr. Hollinghead, Mr. William Rufel Gray, to Miss Ruth Ann Man, both of this city.

Died, on Thursday last, at his house in this city, after a short indisposition, in the 55th year of his age, Isaac Huger, Esq. late brigadier general in the army of the United States.

NASSAU, (N. P.) Sept. 26.

On Saturday evening, the appearance of the sky indicated the approach of a heavy gale. At 12 o'clock, M. there suddenly came on a severe squall from the southward, and for half an hour the wind blew with very great violence. The weather has since been moderate. The trial of the American East Indiaman Ada, re-captured by the Ranger privateer, came on this day in the court of vice admiralty. The council for the re-captors contended for the whole, both vessel and cargo, being condemned, as lawful prize; and in support of this claim, urged the uniform practice that has hitherto obtained, where no stipulations were made by particular conventions or treaties, for a specific salvage in cases of recapture. The sentence of the court, it is supposed, will be given in the course of next week.

LONDON, August 19.

Yesterday letters of intelligence were received at the office of the secretary to the admiralty, Whitehall, from admiral Duncan's fleet. The British and Dutch fleets it seems still hold their usual situations.

Yesterday we received Dutch and Brussels papers down to the date of the 12th inst. The former are extremely barren of news, every thing having been anticipated by preceding accounts. The intelligence brought by the latter is extremely important, inasmuch as it may be said to exhibit the fine qua non of the imperial cabinet, which is said to insist on a fulfilment of the strict letter of the preliminary articles.

The Udine account also strongly intimates that the negotiation is drawing to a close.—Perhaps it is not the intention of Buonaparte to return to Udine, but at the head of his army.

The Austrians and French, both on the side of the Rhine and Italy, are making movements which indicate a renewal of hostilities.

Accounts are moreover said to have been received yesterday at the imperial ambassador's, that the emperor will certainly break off the negotiations with Buonaparte, unless the idea of dividing Italy into republics is totally given up; but as the cessation of the French is not probable, it is likely that another week may bring an account of an appeal to the sword, as this only depended upon an ultimatum from Vienna to the French commander in chief, and in the manner in which it may be received.

Almost the whole of the imperial forces from Manheim to Mentz have left their cantonments, and are gone to occupy the new camps traced out for them. In case of a

renewal of hostilities, the archduke Charles will command the army on the Rhine, while the archduke Joseph, assisted by gen. Mack, will conduct the operations in Italy.

From Nuremberg it is remarkable, that it is impossible to divine the objects of the Austrian movements, and that they continue to buy up all the hay, &c. that they can meet with.

The French troops under gen. Grenier have again taken possession of the Bridgehead at Niewed. This is understood as a certain indication of approaching hostilities.

The letters from the Hague, received yesterday, reach down to the 14th of August, and contain communications of the first importance. The new constitution, so strongly recommended by Noel, was on the 8th inst. rejected by a considerable majority.

One of the most efficacious means employed by the French for the purpose of working up a revolution in Turkey, is the establishment of a French gazette at Constantinople. This paper contains not only an account of all public transactions, which are represented in a manner the most favourable to their project of universal disorganization, but is also constantly engaged in disseminating those destructive principles of anarchy which have laid waste the finest countries of Europe.

It is rumoured at Paris that a revolution has taken place in the Ecclesiastical states, and that the pope has abdicated his sovereignty on a pension.

Three directors of the bank of Vienna have, it is said, been arrested, and are to be brought to trial on a charge of having lowered the public credit by stock jobbing.

The above papers contain nothing upon the subject of the negotiation at Lisle worthy of remark. They were brought to Dover by a Danish packet with passengers, but no king's messenger.

The Brussels papers contain intelligence from Wetzelar of the 3d inst. of the liberation of La Fayette; and the other state prisoners at Olmutz; from Vienna, of the murder of the French consul and his wife at Sanico in Dalmatia.

By this day's Mail.

NEW-YORK, October 23.

By Captain Adamson, of the Ship Chesapeake, arrived yesterday, in 56 days from Bristol, we have been favoured with London Prints to the 26th of August, (seven days later than our former advices); and from which we have selected the articles detailed as under.

LONDON, August 21—22.

Letters from Ireland, by the mail of yesterday, state two matters not much in union, though proceeding from the same cause, an increase of disaffection and of quiet.—Neither the bayonet nor the Flames have sufficiently discriminated. Not only the parish of Rathfriland, respectable in extent, in population, in industry, but almost the entire country from Newry to Dundalk has been desolated, under the suspicion of a general propensity to defenderism; nor has the progress of alarm been marked by less fatality in other quarters.

The consequence must be obvious, the many who will not, like the Spaniel, lick the hand by which they are chastised, brood over their ills, and thirst for the moment in which they think they may surmount them. The last accounts from Lord St. Vincent and Bridport, state the continuance of their fleets in their former stations.

On Saturday arrived the first of the Hamburg mails due, which brought intelligence of rather an hostile nature, as far as regarded the negotiations between the emperor and the French republic. The letters from Vienna stated in very positive terms, that his Imperial majesty had determined to renew hostilities, rather than cede the fortresses of Mantua to the Cisalpine republic, which the French have founded in Italy.

Yesterday another Hamburg mail, and also the chaplain of Sir Morton Eden, who came with dispatches from Vienna. The advices are much more pacific than those brought by the preceding mail; and we find, that after numerous difficulties raised by the French negotiator in Italy, in regard to the cession of Mantua to the Emperor, the directory at length instructed him to give up the point; and accordingly, Mantua is to be restored to his imperial majesty; but all the French ordnance and stores are to be previously taken away.

The principal point of difference being now removed, we may expect to hear the definitive treaty of peace has been signed between the emperor and the French republic; unless, indeed, the former chuses to wait the issue of the negotiation at Lisle; for which place, Mr. Brooks, the messenger, set off late on Saturday night, with the answer of our court to the last dispatches. Lord Levison Gower remains in town.

We learn by private letters from Hamburg, of the 11th inst. that the object of the King of Sweden's journey into Germany, was first to see the king of Prussia at Pymont; but principally to espouse a prince of the house of Saxe Coburg, whether his Swedish majesty has gone. The king of Prussia is returned to Berlin.

Mr. Higgins the messenger has been dispatched by government with advices to the hon. Robert Walpole, his majesty's ambassador at the court of Portugal.

Mr. Pitt came to town yesterday from Holwood, and Mr. Secretary Nepean had a long interview with him at his house in Downing street, on instructions, it is said, which are to be sent to earl St. Vincent cruising with his fleet off Cadix, in consequence of the treaty between France and Portugal.

Black collars have been adopted as the costume of the royalists in Paris. The fol-

lowers have torn them off and the beaux call it a title of honour to be stripped of their collar. One young man shot a soldier with a pistol who attempted to pull his off. Orders, however, have been given to apprehend every soldier who shall attempt to insult any citizen on account of his dress.

The inhabitants of all the great towns in Holland, particularly those of Amsterdam, are very hostile to the French, and endeavour by every means in their power, to shake off the French yoke. The Dutch, in all their public meetings, make no hesitation in expressing the strongest antipathy against their invaders; but the powerful arm of tyranny still keeps them in subjection.

A printed address, bearing the signatures of about 150,000 persons was lately circulated in electorate of Treves, inviting the inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine to depose their governors, and either join with France, or establish themselves into an independent republic. Gen. Hoche, considering this revolutionary system as being inconsistent with the preliminaries of peace, in which the integrity of the Germanic empire is stipulated, caused the address to be suppressed, and some of the principals in the business to be banished from Bonn.

Though there can be little danger of any attempt to commence the siege of Gibraltar, yet such is the precaution of government, that the store of salt provisions now in the garrison, is said to be sufficient to supply any reasonable consumption for five years to come. The principal spring of water, however, is under the command of the Spanish batteries.

It is confidently said, that general Simcoe who a few days since arrived from the West-Indies in the Swallow armed brig, has come home to represent to government the absolute necessity of sending out to St. Domingo a considerable military force for the support of the British interests in that quarter; and we learn it is in contemplation of government to complete five or six regiments, by draughts from Ireland and Chatham barracks, which regiments are to be immediately sent to St. Domingo.

The Maidstone frigate, from Africa, is arrived at Barbadoes with a privateer of 14 guns and 70 men, which she took on her passage.

August 23—24.

Dispatches from lord Malmesbury were this day received at the secretary of state's office, from Lisle, by Mr. Wick, the messenger, who reached Calais in 12 hours, and was only 9 hours in his passage to Dover; when he arrived, no communication was permitted with the vessel. The dispatches were transmitted to lord Grenville at Dropmore. They are said to be of the first importance; but nothing particular has transpired.

The stay of lord Malmesbury at Lisle is likely to be of longer duration than was at first expected; his lordship has taken a house there for himself and his retinue.

The Hamburg mail, due on Sunday last, arrived this day.

The intelligence from Italy relates to the troubles in Piedmont, and to the distresses at Venice.

This day arrived a mail from Lisbon, brought to Falmouth by the Wallingham Packet in 11 days. It is said to bring advice of the bombardment of Cadix having wholly ceased; and that rear-admiral Nelson has been detached by earl St. Vincent, with 3 ships of the line and 4 frigates, on an expedition against the island of Teneriffe. The fleet were to call at Gibraltar for some transports, with troops and ammunition, to be employed in the enterprise.

Paris remains in a state of perfect tranquillity, notwithstanding which the military preparations are continued with much activity. Two more regiments of cavalry are arrived, and the Champ de Mars is filled with cannon. The breach between the councils and the directory does not appear to have received a complete reparation. The former naturally view the proceedings of the latter with a jealous eye, and are adopting every practicable means to abridge their military authority and influence. The council of five hundred, in the sitting of the 17th inst. decreed that the directory should not have power to cashier officers at their discretion; and that no naval or military officer should for the future be dismissed, except by virtue of a legal judgment. In the sitting of the 17th, a very flattering statement was presented to the council, of the amount of the receipts and expenditures of the public money, and a committee was appointed to report upon the abuse of the liberty of the press.

The armies still continue to address the directory upon the conduct of the councils, in language the most severe and intemperate; to which, it is certain, they are encouraged by their commanders. General Hoche has at length thrown off the mantle of disguise and boldly declared to his troops the intentions of the directory, of whom he is the most determined partizan. This it is no longer doubtful, that notwithstanding all the equivocation of the directory upon the subject, it is their determination to violate some of the most essential principles of the constitution which they have sworn to maintain, by marching the armed force into the interior of France, without the sanction of the legislative bodies, should they find such an expedient necessary to answer their own private views and ambitious purposes. By these means they may secure a temporary triumph; but the victory of force over law can never be deemed honorable, nor is it likely that its effects can be permanent.

The late strong gales of wind from the south-west have compelled lord Bridport to leave, for a time, his station before Brest. His lordship's fleet was off Falmouth on Monday evening.

The foreign journals contain rumours of the signing of the Definitive Treaty of Peace between the Emperor and French republic. This report appears to be premature; at least, it is probable, that of an event so important, we should, before this,