

From the English Review.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS.

London, April 6.

FRANCE.

The accounts that we have received for some time concerning France have been, as usual, somewhat contradictory. Nor is this to be wondered at. Not only are the individuals, from which the reports originate, swayed by different passions and interests, but even men of perfect candour and sincerity, and who have no other views than those of truth, are exceedingly liable to be deceived in the estimates they form of the actual condition, sentiments, dispositions and designs, of a people so numerous, so versatile, so corrupt, and, in proportion to their corruption, open to the influence of intrigue and faction. Were France a kingdom of small or but moderate extent, were the French a steady, simple and honest people, it might be possible to form some probable judgment concerning the conduct they would hold at the present crisis. As peace is, beyond all doubt, their interest, their interest, even if they were to place their supreme interest in political power and grandeur; so it might be pretty certainly predicted, that pacific councils would prevail in the great assembly of the nation. Peace would heal up her wounds, revive agriculture, manufactures and commerce; consolidate her government in some form or other; and place in hand, as heretofore, the balance of the greater part of Europe. The juvenile ardour of a nascent republic, would carry her on, by a rapid progression, in a splendid career of various improvement; and a large increase of wealth and of knowledge, would render her capable of the greatest achievements of war; if, indeed, in that progress towards the perfection of human nature which was the grand principle on which her philosophers set out in the revolution, she should not attain to so much wisdom as to be persuaded, that there is a degree of national glory, as well as of felicity, superior far to what is to be procured by force of arms. In the natural course of events, the Netherlands would be united, in some shape or other, and by some means or other, with France; and her empire, bounded only by the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Rhine and the Ocean, might form and execute grander designs than any that were ever executed, or even conceived by the greatest emperors; designs not of political ambition and conquest; not of stupendous pyramids, or mountains and rocks shaped into fantastic forms, by millions of hands in the lap of ages; but designs of philosophy, for the general comfort of mankind, and the aggrandizement of human nature. But, on the other hand, the national assembly should persevere in the war, the resources of the nation, though great, yet annually diminishing, must fail at last; if the enemies of France should also resolve to persevere in the struggle. They have been successful in the first years of the war; as always has been, and also must be the case, where a whole, or a great part of a people, marches forth to war, into the territories of their neighbours. They find supplies in those territories for a time; but, when these are exhausted, they are under a necessity of either advancing or retreating. If they advance, they weaken their body by dilatation, and they present numberless advantages over them to their enemies, whose armies on the frontiers formed but a small part of their population. If they retreat into their own country, they cannot long make head against constant and active assailants, unless it can be supposed that it is possible to carry on perpetual war with their most powerful neighbours, and, at the same time, afford a sufficient number of hands for agriculture, and a certain portion, too, of the necessary manufactures and commerce. It would be considered, too, by the French nation, were they guided by good sense and pure intentions, that constant war must throw them, sooner or later, into the hands of the army, or, which is the same thing, a junta of leading men in their assembly, who influence and direct the army. Something very like this has happened already. It was by means of the army that the National Assembly, that is, the ruling party in the National Assembly, controuled the Parisians, and the citizens of other large cities, and continued their power by the re-election of two thirds of their number.

Such are the reflections that, in our judgment, would occur to a sober and sensible people: such are not the French. And, to conjecture concerning the conduct of such arrogant, bizarre, and infuriated beings, is difficult; though entirely to abstain from all conjecture is impossible. The sovereign power of France, at the present moment, seems to be lodged in a collusion, or coalition, between the leaders of the National Assembly and the army. The Assembly have paid the army nobly, and they will continue to pay them, if not with piper, with plunder. The army, in return, have done every thing for the National Assembly. This mutual complaisance may continue during the war; but, on the conclusion of a peace, it must come to a period. Then it must be decided with which party the benefit of this combination is to remain at last. This is not our present question; though it be, to a certain degree connected with it. Our present enquiry is, how far the passions and interests of the Executive Government of France, including the Directory and the army, will probably incline them to the continuance of war, or the restoration of peace. It occurs, at first sight, that the voice of the army must still be for war. But if we should reason from most other armies to the army of the republic, we might fall into an error. In most other armies military ideas prevail over civil; in the French army civil ideas prevail over military; both officers and men may naturally be supposed to wish for a return into the bosom of their families and their country, and there enjoy in tranquillity the honors and the rewards of their services. A certain degree of compensation, we understand, is decreed even to the privates. And employment may be provided for them in the construction of harbours, canals, and other public works, until a demand for labour grow out of peace and returning commerce.

On the whole, it is our opinion, that, in the French army, military ideas do not yet predominate over those of patriotism and civil liberty; although they might probably be found to predominate at last: a consideration that should induce the civil powers of France to make peace, on any reasonable terms, as fast as possible.

But, on the other hand, the ministers of France, if they were to make peace, would undoubtedly lose their places; for it is scarcely to be supposed that they could, in their present circumstances, make such a peace as would satisfy the national vanity and ambition so completely as to shield them from all the arrows of embittered rivals. Supposing them however, to possess to great a degree of virtue as to sacrifice private ambition and interest, and the attachment too of their numerous creatures depending on war, to retain such materials as the French, in any form, or similitude to a form, of civil government?

It has been affirmed, by many political writers, profoundly versant in history, that every extensive republic must be a conquering power; because, if it does not expand itself without, it must be destroyed within by its own internal faction. And it is said by others, that if ever there was a republic incapable, by nature, of internal peace, without external commotion, it is France; the nurse of apes and tigers. Certain it is, that with many excellent qualities, the French nation inherit great ambition and great confidence in their own powers; or, in harsher terms, great arrogance

and self conceit. In private conversation it is a wonder to find two Frenchmen, and a perfect stranger to find three Frenchmen, agreed on any one point. And, if any thing is to be undertaken, every one is for being the conductor or manager. Each lays hold on the helm, and commits the laboring oar to his neighbour. If, therefore, peace is ever to be referred to France, it is perhaps to spring out of a general satiety and abhorrence of the present system, that has hitherto produced nothing at home but crimes, dissensions, disorder and misery. And even now, after all their victories, and the assimilation of their constitution to that of America, the prediction of Calonne, that they would return on their steps to monarchy through an ocean of blood, may yet be verified. It may reasonably be presumed, that the passion of the French nation for a republican form of government has, in some measure, abated; and it is far from being improbable that a time may come when there may be a general reflux towards monarchy. If so, may it be a limited monarchy! and such, had Calonne's principles prevailed, they might already have had.

By adhering to our plan of perfect impartiality, and giving the pro and the con on all subjects of primary importance, to the best of our ability, we have incurred, as we forewarn, occasional censure from all parties. It has been imputed to us as a weakness, to entertain any doubt concerning the question, whether the French or the allies were, in the present war, the aggressors. The war, it was observed when the censure was conveyed, was provoked by the treaty of convention of Pilnitz. It might be urged with plausibility, at least, on the other side, that intentions of amalgamating all the neighbourhood with their own government had been avowed and strongly expressed by many members of great influence in the Assembly; and that it was impossible for human nature, even in situations the most elevated above the power of sympathy, to behold, without some movement of compassion, the treatment of the royal family of France. But if a doubt of this subject is to be confuted, by an opponent, into a partiality for administration, how can such a one suppose that a friend of the ministers will not also confute as a partiality of a contrary kind, what is said in the same, and the subsequent pages, and that total want of generalization or philosophy, which has characterized our councils in the whole of the present war? How can such a person suppose that the friends of administration have not at least equal cause to bring a charge of partiality for opposition? But it is impossible to be partial to them both. Therefore we are not partial to either. All this reasoning will go for nothing with zealots on either side. It is addressed to the candid and impartial; a small audience, but which, we doubt not, on the grand points that have for some time been maintained in this Monthly Retrospect of the active world, will by and by be augmented.

Although we cannot praise administration any more than any of the allies, in the conduct of the war, yet we hesitate not to declare, that we do not see how it is possible to make peace with the French unless they be willing to abandon their conquests on the Rhine.

The conclusion of such a peace would ultimately, and at no great distance of time, exalt the naval power of France over that of Britain. But another consequence of such an event would threaten us, more immediate and more tremendous. Should a war unnecessary in its origin, in the opinion of some, and imprudent in its conduct in that of more, be followed by a peace inglorious and pregnant with loss and danger in the judgment of all; could the taxes necessary in order to wind up the arrears of such a war be imposed and collected with perfect ease and safety? Rather than make such a peace, it would seem to be expedient to continue the war at all hazards. And, now that we have ended where we should have begun, in naval war, and have the advantage of a very able and active naval minister, we may carry on war, at less expence then formerly, and with greater advantage. Though the resources of the French according to our constant and confident prediction, have survived their assignments, they are not altogether inexhaustible. By delays in the accomplishment of the best founded predictions men are sometimes led to consider them as delusions. Thus, people confined by bad weather are apt to cry out that it will never be fair. Let us beware of a similar error.

But it will be said, that, if we shall be obliged to make an unsafe and inglorious peace, after more and more efforts and expences, the dangers above alluded to, on winding up arrears, will only be the greater. This is true: and, therefore, it must be owned, that our situation is singularly arduous. We shall conclude, from the whole of the case, that in war there is yet a ray of hope, in an inglorious peace nothing but the darkness of despair.

THE NETHERLANDS.

The question of peace or war being still uppermost in our minds, we cast our eyes over the Austrian Netherlands, and the seven United Provinces; in which countries we are struck with two appearances that seem to indicate opposite intentions. The devastation of the Netherlands by the French like that of the West India islands, seem to indicate a despair of being able to preserve them: while the establishment of the Batavian Convention looks as if they still persevered in the design of bounding their empire on the east only by the ocean.

SPAIN.

We have not in the course of the present month heard of any thing of importance from this kingdom. Although Spain has made peace with France is jealous of the British power at sea, and meditates, perhaps, a design of combining her fleet with that of France, she is, in the mean time, not a bad ally to England, as she sends from two to three millions annually for manufactures, with which, before the war, she was supplied from France. We now also enjoy the largest share in the trade from Turkey.

IN ITALY.

The king of Sardinia seems to be wavering between peace and war. The ports of Corsica are opened to the Algerines, who are to be considered as an ally of an importance that bears a kind of proportion to that kingdom.

GERMANY.

The emperor lays heavy taxes on the church. This is equally just and judicious. His family have long protected the church, and still protects it. This impost will enable him to defend it by his arms. It serves to protect them, also in another way. It cuts off the means of luxury and debauchery, which are great enemies to the influence of religion. A poor church is a pure church. We humbly advise, not only the churches of Germany, but also those of Italy, to lay their wealth at the feet of the Austrians. If they do not, this, as sure as the Pope is in Rome, will one day invite the rapacity of the French infidels.

SWEDEN AND DENMARK.

have recognized the French Republic GREAT-BRITAIN.

Admiral Christian's fleet have at last set sail with a fair wind; and the ships, with troops on board, that parted from him, five months ago have arrived safely, and turned the tide of fortune in St. Vincent's.

Our commercial prosperity, at present, is great beyond example. We enjoy the largest share by far, of the European and the American trade, and the whole of that of both the East and West Indies. The immense influx of specie diminishes, in fact, the burthen of national debt, by the gradual depreciation of money. And this is a fact which we wish to hold up to the consideration of the French government and people. But France, though almost insulated from commerce, possesses advantages of a kind more compact, solid, and durable, in her united though extensive, various, and fertile lands, in the number, spirit, and genius, of her people: and this is a consideration which we wish to hold up to the consideration of the people and government of England; that each nation, contemplating, according to the advice of the apostle Paul, "Not his own things only, but also those of another," may be inclined to make concessions, in order to obtain the supreme blessing of peace.

Great designs are not always to be measured as we have often had occasion to observe, by the common maxims of financial and vulgar calculation. Consider what the Empress of Russia has done, and continues to do, with a revenue of no more than 6 millions sterling. When the Scottish projector, Law, proposed his banking scheme to Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, that prince replied, "I am not powerful enough to go to ruin." At the bottom of this saying there is a great deal of profound political wisdom. It implies that a nation may be powerful enough to set the common proceedings of finance, in a great measure, at defiance.

It has, however, been affirmed, that the army begins to abstract itself more and more from political questions. This is a matter that demands serious attention.

This beautiful metaphor is copied from M. de Calonne, by Mr. Burke; who has, indeed, borrowed, very judiciously, as we have formerly remarked, from that statesman, the best part of his letters on the State of France. Had the French nation taken M. de Calonne's advice to assimilate their constitution to that of England, they might, at this moment, have been a happy and flourishing people. M. de Calonne delivers, in a sober, tho' elegant and lively manner, what Mr. Burke set off in a very extraordinary though fascinating mixture of Irish howl, with Irish vivacity. It was M. de Calonne who first stood forth as the prophet of evil to democratic rage, not Mr. Burke. It was on M. de Calonne that sovereign princes should have bestowed the first pension. But this gentleman must be satisfied with conscious elevation of mind, and future fame; for he does not, in his late publications, take the road that leads to a pension.

See last number of the English Review, page 198.

They laid the inhabitants under severe contribution, and carried off every thing, even to the tools of industry and agriculture.

FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

To the Magistrates of the City of Philadelphia.

Gentlemen, It is with the utmost concern that I again find myself under the necessity of addressing you on a grievance which I at first supposed needed but to have been mentioned to have been remedied, I mean the PHARO TABLES which have been established in this city. But perhaps you either thought that shame would have been a sufficient check to men for the future from attending them; or, that a newspaper was not a sufficient authority for you to act upon. To the first of these ideas I shall only answer, that shame is the passion of half formed villains, and must therefore soon quit the breast of the habitual gambler; to the second, I am willing to allow all reasonable weight, and of consequence grant that such information would not be sufficient, for the arresting a person on a criminal charge, for an indictment before a court of justice, or, in short, for any crime of a private nature. But when you come to reflect on the importance of the subject now under consideration, and the impossibility of getting any private citizen to come publicly forward before a court of justice as an informer, you will then see the necessity you are under for the preservation of the remaining morals of our youth, if you should think them worth the preserving, to come forward and act upon the notoriety of the case. It were indeed to be wished, that some person whose situation in life would shield him from all those aspersions which are generally thrown out on the character of an informer would come forward, but this is not to be hoped for. Such men usually think it sufficient to preserve their own morals, without troubling themselves about the preservation of those of their fellow citizens.

It cannot be supposed that those whose duty it is to guard the public morals, by executing the laws are ignorant of what is so generally known—Every obligation, moral and political, therefore calls upon them to come forward, and arrest in its progress an evil that threatens general contamination, extensive private misery, and public infamy.

AN OBSERVER.

From the Aurora.

Extra from the Second Part of the Age of Reason, A correct edition of this work, printed under the eye of the Author, is to be had at the office of the Aurora.

To be happy in old age, it is necessary that we accustom ourselves to objects that can accompany the mind all the way through life, and that we take the rest as good in their day. The mere man of pleasure is miserable in old age; and the mere drudge in business is but little better; whereas, natural philosophy, mathematical and mechanical sciences, are a continual source of tranquil pleasure, and in spite of the gloomy dogmas of priests, and of superstition, the study of those things is the study of the true theology; it teaches man to know and to admire the Creator, for the principles of science

are in the creation, are unchangeable and of divine origin.

Those who knew BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, will recollect, that his mind was ever young; his temper ever serene; science, that never grows grey, was always his mistress. Without an object, we become like an invalid in a hospital waiting for death.

For the GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MR. FENNO,

I am not surprised at the eagerness of Benjamin Franklin Bache, to circulate the second part of "the Age of Reason;" because interest prompts to it, and probably a fondness for the sentiments which that contemptible pamphlet contains fans the flame of his zeal. But I am surprised at the unlucky choice of an extract which he has published in his paper of this morning. When Tom Paine and his old grandfather were to be brought before "the mind's eye," he certainly ought not to have inserted one word of an allusion to "a mistress," or to "a man of pleasure." But, forgetful of this, he lifts up our "busy meddling memories," by printing Benjamin Franklin in capital letters, in connexion with such a declaration as this—"Science, which never grows grey, was always his mistress." Besides, I do affirm that, unless a man can have two mistresses at a time (which I would charitably hope is more than Paine himself would contend for) the assertion that science was *always* his mistress, is not true, either as it relates to Thomas or to Benjamin: For there are, at this day, living witnesses to prove that each of them had another mistress beside science. There are, also, those who throwly suspect that the eminity cherished and manifested by this brace of patriots to revealed religion, owed its origin principally to its denouncing such a harsh sentence as it is known to do, on the keeping of mistresses, and on certain other pleasurable practices. See 1. Cor. 6, 9, 10, and the gospel every where. "No man can serve the halter draw."

"With good opinion of the law."

A. B.

MR. FENNO,

I observe in your paper of last evening, an extract from a late publication by Peter Porcupine, who it seems is violently offended that one of our printers, should presume to offer for sale Paine's Age of Reason—this is not at all surprising—Men of a trade seldom agree—and Peter perhaps would like to have the Pamphleteering market altogether to himself. As to the Christian Religion, it will suffer no more from the writings of Paine, than the French Republic will from those of Peter—both authors might be well reconciled to each other on this ground—they both walk in a vain shadow and disquiet themselves in vain—that either of the works tell is owing to the fondness of mankind, for novelty and abuse much more than to any impression made by either on the existing state of things.

This taste for slander, it was the benevolent intention of Christianity to eradicate by reforming the hearts of men; but what pretensions can he have to take up the armour of defence of our Holy Religion, who is daily violating its precepts by publications, replete with as much obscenity, malevolence and detraction, as could flow from the pen of the most unchristian author? and all this against characters utterly unknown to him, and whose reputation is as much beyond the reach of Peter, as he appears to be himself a stranger to the spirit of that system, he would seem to wish to make the world believe him an admirer of

Mr. Warrell, Warrell, jun. & M^{rs}. Warrell's Night

New Theatre.

ON WEDNESDAY EVENING, June 8,

Will be performed, the Tragedy of

ROMEO & JULIET.

Romeo,	Mr. Moreton.
Paris,	Mr. Darley, jun.
Montague,	Mr. Warrell.
Capulet,	Mr. Morris.
Mercutio,	Mr. Chalmers.
Benvolio,	Mr. Green.
Thrust,	Mr. Beece.
Brutus Lawrence,	Mr. Whitlock.
Balthazar,	Mr. Warrell, jun.
Apocentary,	Mr. Francis.
Peter,	Mr. Bliffet.
Page,	M ^{rs} . Warrell.
Juliet,	M ^{rs} . Marshall.
Isabella Capulet,	M ^{rs} . Solomon.
Nurse,	M ^{rs} . Rowton.

In act I. A MASQUERADE, with a Dance by the Characters.

In act V. A FUNERAL PROCESSION and solemn Dirge.—The Vocal Parts by Messrs. Marshall, Darley, Warrell, Rowton, Francis, Robbins, J. Warrell, T. Warrell, Mitchell, and Solomon.—M^{rs}. Oldmixon, M^{rs}. Warrell, M^{rs}. Bates, M^{rs}. Harveys, M^{rs}. Gillingham, M^{rs}. De Marque, M^{rs}. Willem and Miss Milbourne.

End of the Play.

Mr. Bates will sing the favorite comic song of

The Little Farthing Ruff-Light.

After which,

A HORNPIPE.—By Mr. Warrell, jun.

To which will be added, (not performed this season)

a favorite comedy in two acts, called

The LIAR.

Old Wilding,	Mr. Whitlock.
Young Wilding,	Mr. Chalmers.
Sir James Elliot,	Mr. Green.
Papillon,	Mr. Marshall.
Waiter,	Mr. Bliffet.
Servant,	M ^{rs} . Warrell.
M ^{rs} . Grantham,	M ^{rs} . Francis.
M ^{rs} . Godfrey,	M ^{rs} . Harvey.
Kitty,	M ^{rs} . Rowton.

Between the 1st & 2d acts of the Farce, (by desire) The favorite air of

"The Trump of Fame," by M^{rs}. Warrell.

Tickets to be had of Mr. Warrell and Sons, 89 3d Street, South, and at the usual places.

On Friday, Shakespeare's comedy of The Merchant of Venice, with the Pantomime of The Valiant Officer; or, The Rescue of Columbine, with other Entertainments, for the benefit of M^{rs}. Lege and Sig. Jof. Docton.

M^{rs}. and M^{rs}. Solomon's night will be on Monday, BOX, One Dollar—PIT, Three-Fourths of a Dollar—and GALLERY, Half a Dollar.

Places for the Boxes to be taken of Mr. Wells, at the Front of the Theatre.