commanding the *mouth of the river*."— (Is it not evident that any power having the command of *the mouth of the river* must possess the land on both sides of it?) "Bonaparte will then say to you, my French West India colonies and those of my allies, can be supplied from my *colony of Louisiana*, with flour, pork, beef, lumber and any other necessary.—If you on the Atlantic coast, wish to trade with my colonies in those articles, you must pay 15 or 20 per cent. impost: we want no further supplies from you, and revenue to France must be the condition of all future intercourse."

(Ross's first speech.)

"We are not deliberating about the right of deposit in New Orleans only, nor about the *island* of New Orleans, we are told that we are to look for new and powerful neighbors *in Louisiana*.—What right has Spain to give us these neighbors without consulting us. To change our present security into hazard and uncertainty? I do not believe that Spain has any right to do so. What are the limits of *Louisiana*? It extends 3,000 miles upon your frontier, New-Orleans is ceded with it.—The *Floridas* must belong to the masters of Louisiana and New-Orleans. Then the owners possesses the lock and key of the whole western country. They have not only 3,000 miles on your frontier in the interior country, but they have the command of your outlet to the ocean, and 700 miles of sea coast, embracing the finest harbours in North America.—This makes them in fact *masters of the western world*." (If France possesses this country) "we must go to market through a line of batteries manned by veterans, and return home with our money through a fortified camp. This privilege will be held at their will, and may be withheld whenever their intendant forbids its further continuance.—Our object is not war, but the attainment of security for a right without which *our political existence cannot continue*.

Ross's second speech.

"He (Bonaparte) knows full well the value of the position, (the mouth of the Mississippi) he knows it must become one of the first in the world, and that it now offers higher temptations to a powerful, ambitious and intriguing people, than any place on the earth. It is the only key to the immense regions watered by the Mississippi and its tributary streams, to a country larger in extent than all Europe, *surpassed by no portion of the world in fertility of soil, and, most of it, in climate, a paradise*."

Mr. White, of Delaware.

Speaking of the foreign influence, which would be introduced into our government should France possess that country, he remarks, "whenever this period shall arrive, it will be the crisis of American glory, and must result either in the political subjection of the Atlantic states, or in their separation from the western country, and I am sure there is *no American who does not view as one of the greatest evils that could befal us, the dismemberment of this union*."

His colleague, Mr. Wells, says—"For my own part I am strongly impressed with an opinion that the French consul has a project in view deeply hostile to the prosperity of our country."—He says too—"there is but one fault I find with these resolutions (Ross's) which is, they do not go *far enough*.—If I could obtain a second, I would move an amendment explicitly authorising the taking possession of *both the Floridas*, as well as the island of New Orleans."

Governeur Morris, in his speech before the senate, remarks: "There has been a cession of the *island of New Orleans and of Louisiana to France and probably of the Floridas*. Now, sir, let us note the time and manner of this cession. It was at a moment when France could take up a distant object of attention. It was secret because it was hostile. The First Consul, in the moment of terminating his differences with you, sought the means of future influence and controul. He found and secured a pivot, by which, with potent arm, he means to subvert your civil and political institutions. Here is a vast country given away, and not without danger to us."

Speaking of the cession of these provinces to France, he says, "The general consequences are those, which affect our revenue, our defence, and what is of more importance than these, *our union*. Your commerce will suffer, because you will no longer hold the means of supplying the West India islands subject to your single controul; and because all the exports from New-Orleans, being of course in French bottoms, your navigation will be proportionably diminished. Your revenue will suffer as much as your commerce. The extensive boundary of more than 2,000 miles, will be stocked with goods for the purpose of contraband trade. The inhabitants will naturally take their supplies in that way. *with this country in your possession you have means of defence more ample, more important, more easy than any nation on earth.* In a short time all the West India islands, fed from your granaries, must depend upon your will, and in consequence all the powers of Europe, who have colonies there, must court your friendship. Consider moreover, your condition in the wars which are the most likely to happen. These must be either with France or England. If with France your interior is ruined; if with England, the commerce of the Atlantic States will be distressed; and that of the western country too, though not perhaps in so great a degree. Thus, let the war be with whichsoever those nations it may, one half of the United States must be peculiarly injured; and, in all cases, it will be difficult for them to assist each other."

After thus detailing the *general* consequences of the possession of these provinces by France, he proceeds to point out the *particular* evils, which the great sections of the United States will sustain. In *peace*, they (the western states) will suffer the diminution of price for their produce. In a *war* with England, the attention of her fleets to cut off supplies from her enemies, must necessarily affect the price of produce in a greater degree; and in a *war* with *France* it will bear no price at all, until N. Orleans shall be wrested from their grasp. The price of land must be reduced from the certainty that its produce will become less valuable.—The flood of emigration to those fertile regions must cease to flow, &c.

"The southern states will be exposed to invasion from the Floridas and New-Orleans.——Pernicious emissaries may stimulate with a prospect of freedom the miserable men (the slaves) who now toil without hope. They may excite them to imitate a fatal example, (that of St. Domingo) and to act over those scenes, which fill our minds with horror, &c."

"Their trade (the trade of the middle states) to the West India islands is gone, the moment that country is in possession of the French. England, to whose dominions alone they can have recourse for the vent of their produce, and the purchase of their supplies, will confine that commerce to her own ships."

"To the eastern states, when separately considered, this may appear a matter of less moment than to the other great divisions of our country. But *they* will perceive in it the loss of their navigation; *they* will see the theatre of their industrious exertions contracted; *they* will feel the loss of the productions of the *western world* in the mass of their commercial operations; and above all they will feel the loss of ample resources for their children. These western regions are peculiarly their heritage. It is the property of the fathers of America, which they hold in trust for their children. The exuberant population of the eastern states, flows in a steady stream to the *western world*, and if *that* be rendered useless, or pass under the dominion of a foreign power, the fairest hope of posterity is destroyed."

"Whether we consider, therefore, the object in relation to our general policy, or examine its bearings on the great divisions of our country, we find ample reason to agree with the gentleman near me, that New Orleans and the *Floridas*, must not be separate from the United States."—"Never, no never has France lost sight of *Louisiana*. Never for a moment has she been blind to its importance."—"Grant us these provinces, and we can dictate our commerce with the islands. Possessed of them it will be doubly lucrative, and without them wholly uncertain, &c.—But great as are the benefits which will result from possession of the Floridas and New Orleans, great as is their tendency to advance our power, secure our peace and extend our commerce; there is a consideration in comparison with which, commerce, peace and power are of but slight avail.—These provinces will fortify the defence of our freedom."—"My honorable colleague has stated to you his apprehension of standing armies. And yet, sir, if we be not possessed of this country, standing armies become necessary—when it is in our hands, we need no standing army."

"Mr. Jonathan Mason in his speech says, "If the *whole province of Maine* were invaded by our enemy, it would not be of so much importance as the stoppage of the Mississippi."

Remarks—The paragraphs last cited from the speeches of the federal senators, are a full and complete vindication of the purchase of the *whole* of Louisiana, so far as it regards, not only the commercial and agricultural prosperity of the union, but its peace, independence and integrity. For the object of the opposition, in urging us to war, if we may believe their own solemn delarations, was the acquisition of such an extent of territory on our *Western* and *Southern* frontiers, as would effectually secure us against all foreign influence in those quarters; it was to obtain security for the free and uninterrupted navigation of the Mississippi; to preserve us from a dissolution of the union; to extend the means of our defence; and to command the commerce of the West India Islands. So far as these objects depend upon our *Western* boundaries, they are more effectually secured by the possession of *both*, than of *one* of the banks of the Mississippi. For had France, whose chief magistrate is represented as ambitious, intriguing and irresistible, retained the *Western* bank, with the lands adjoining, could she not have sent her emissaries to disturb our internal tranquility; would she not have spread disaffection in our western states; would she not have disturbed our navigation of the Mississippi, and by her arts and industry have rivalled our commerce to the West Indies? If also our revenue be a matter worthy of consideration, would she not be enabled to smuggle goods into our dominions, with almost as much facility, as though she were in possession of the Eastern shore.—In the contemplation of Mr. Morris, if we obtain these provinces, a standing army will be unnecessary. But altho' we may not be able to proceed in our political career, without some troops in that quarter, still we may safely say, that the possession of the *Eastern bank alone*, would not relieve us from such an incumbrance. For had France retained the *Western* bank, she would have kept up a military force, which must have compelled us to adopt the same measure. In whatever light therefore we consider the subject, if any faith can be reposed in the assertions of the opposition, if their views, in attempting to drive us to acts of hostility, were truly represented, they contemplated not the conquest of New-Orleans and the Floridas only, but of Louisiana. Their speeches on this subject are the best encomium on the wisdom of the administration, and the most powerful justification of its proceedings.

(To be continued.)

Frederick-Town, August 17.

Gentlemen,

Your favor of the 10th instant has been duly received, and in pursuance of your request communicated to a respectable meeting of the voters of that part of Frederick county attached to the 4th Congressional District, convened especially for the purpose of taking it into consideration. The proceedings of this meeting we have now the honor to enclose, by which it will appear that we have been appointed a Standing Committee, "to reply to the letter received from Washington county, and to hold such other correspondence as may be necessary to promote" and give effect to the measures and principles of republicanism.

You will observe that the meeting have approved of the nomination of our worthy fellow-citizen general Daniel Heister, and have resolved to recommend him to the confidence and support of the people, as a proper character to represent the 4th district in the next Congress of the United States. The correct and independent political sentiments of this gentleman, and his unremitting application to the duties of a representative heretofore, are sufficient to convince us of his future adherence to the the same principles, and will no doubt ensure him the encreasing and decided approbation of his constituents generally. With this idea of his worth, the republicans of this county, attached to the 4th district, join their fellow citizens of Washington most cordially, in giving support to his election.

If the resolution under which we now act had directed us merely to communicate the concurrence of the meeting in this place, we should stop here; but it is made our duty to "hold such other correspondence" as the occasion may suggest—Under this injunction, we will take the liberty of offering to your consideration, and through you to the good sense of the people of the district, a few observations.

The opposition which commenced with the election of the present chief magistrate, and which still exists, is a subject of painful consideration. A retrospect of the transactions of the Adams administration, contrasted with the present prosperous, happy and auspicious situation of our public concerns, ought to excite not only the gratitude of the people of these states, to an over-ruling and beneficient Providence, but re-establish union & harmony throughout this country. That spirit of opposition, of ill-will and discontent, which has too long menaced the public peace with anarchy and confusion, ought no longer to resist the virtues and the mild spirit of republicanism. That great and inestimable character who presides at the head of the nation, has by his forbearance invited concord and unanimity. What abuse and injury has he not sustained? Yet fortified with integrity and a love of his country, he has without a murmur, returned good for evil, and has sought his recompence in an approving conscience. Is he still to be the object of persecution, and are the reforms of republicanism to be destroyed—or, what are the views of the opposition? These are serious questions, that must come home to the understandings and the feelings of the people. The virtuous heart will ache at the contemplation of them, and the designing shrink from a reply.

It is but a little while since the people have seen an army raised and a naval system established unnecessary for the occasion, and too burdensome to the people. They have also seen taxes accumulating, new excise laws, additional loans, useless offices established; the press shackled with a sedition law; an alien law enacted; the pomp, parade and etiquette of kings and princes observed by a president of the United States, and as the immediate consequence of this extravagance the public debt increased in the short period of four years, eleven millions of dollars. These are undeniable, incontrovertible facts, within the knowledge of every one of the least observation.—The subject is too unpleasant to be pursued. Let us turn to the serene and soothing prospect which has opened upon us within the two last years.

Happily for the United States a Jefferson has lived, and his country has known how to value his worth and unrivalled talents. Since his election the most sanguine expectations of the people have been realized. The army and the navy have been reduced, and by prudent measures rendered more effective than before. The internal taxes have been repealed, unnecessary offices abolished, and useless officers removed; the national debt has been reduced eight millions of dollars, the disgustful and repulsive pomp of the executive has been simplified and rendered consistent with the plain manners of a republican people, the press is unshackled, free enquiry allowed, and the spirit and principles of our glorious constitution cherished and carried into full effect—yet there are men dissatisfied, who turn from these blessings and seize on every opportunity to injure their country. The wise measures of the administration in relation to the cession of Louisiana have been condemned, because it has not been obtained by hostile means. To involve the United States in a war, perhaps long, bloody and expensive, the Louisiana country was estimated beyond all price. Fifty thousand men were immediately to seize upon it, be the consequences what they might. The wisdom of the Executive pursued a different course, and because that country is now at the option of the United States, at a comparatively small price, without the least disturbance to society, or the loss of a single life, Mr. Jefferson has received the most unqualified censure and indiscriminate abuse.

This is a just picture, within the knowledge of every one. The horrid deformity which characterizes the present opposition must sink deep into every virtuous mind. The people will not fail to perceive the solid interests of the community, and give to the administration that support to which it is entitled by every just consideration.

For us it is enough to know that our meritorious representative and candidate, general Heister, has advocated the salutary measures of the present administration, and that he is a decided Republican. He shall have our cordial support, and we doubt not, the voters of the part of Frederick county, attached to the 4th district, will convince their fellow citizens throughout the Union, that they are superior to the misconceptions and the machinations of erring and dangerous politicians.

We are, Gentlemen,

With much respect,

Your friends & Fellow-Citizens,

SAMUEL DUVALL,
FREDERICK HEISLEY,
ABRAHAM SHRIVER,
JOSEPH SWEARINGEN,
ROGER NELSON.

From the Moniture.

The measures which the English Government has taken in blockading the mouths of the Elbe and Weser, is a new infraction of the rights of the neutrals and the sovereignty of all the powers.

France attacked by England, acquired the right of carrying the war into all the British possessions, and of occupying as she had done in prior wars, Hanover, which forms a part of them. But she has not occupied the banks of the Elbe, except in the countries of which this conquest has put her in possession. She has respected the neutrality of Bremen, Hamburg, and the other States of the Continent.

What circumstances could, therefore, have authorized the King of England to exclude neutral Powers from the navigation of the Elbe and the Weser? If the English flag cannot shew itself at all points within the reach of a French battery, at least it ought not to prevent neutrals from navigating to every place whether the fortune of war has conducted the French armies, and from maintaining their communications with each other. The Elbe and the Weser wash a great extent of neutral territory. The rivers which fall into them, still farther increase the commercial relations to which they furnish a channel of consumption. To shut the entrance of these rivers is to entercept the communications of a great part of the Continent. It is to commit an act of hostility against all the countries to which that navigation belongs.

England should declare in a more open manner that she will not permit any power to be neutral. But, on the other hand will the neutrals permit their flag and their rights to be disregarded?

If England has resolved to punish Germany for not having protected and defended Hanover, it is doubtless as a Principality of that Empire that she supposed herself entitled to that protection. Yet how could she dare to claim the guarantee of the members of the Empire, at the moment when she violates the rights of one of those members? The King of England, in his quality of member of the Germanic Body, had consented to the arrangements, had stipulated indemnities, in favour of the order of Malta, equally considered as a Principality of the Empire. Scarcely had his Britannic Majesty solemnly signed these dispositions, when he attacked the independence of the territory of the Order. She has not a right to make for herself claims which might more justly be advanced against her.

Besides, the measure of shutting the entrance of the principal rivers of Germany is like all those which England has for several months past adopted, an act of infatuation which recoils upon herself. She dissolves her commercial connexion with Germany, and shuts up the principal channels for the introduction of her merchandize upon the Continent. She accustoms its different nations to dispense with the produce of her industry. She compels them, in order to obtain articles of an equivalent kind, to apply to France, to which, after the mouth of the Elbe is shut up, all the channels of land conveyance remain open.

The English Journalists announce as an heroic deed in which they may pride themselves, the capture of some French fishing boats; yet in this instance also, England acts against herself. By divesting the unfortunate inhabitants of the coast of their property, and depriving their families of their means of subsistence, she reduces that population, whose resources she has destroyed, to a state of despair; she excites them to exert themselves with greater ardour to defend our territory and to avenge their country. She lights up a feeling of hatred in the hearts of those men who, from the security and tranquility of their life, seem the least accessible to that sentiment.

Thus a bad action is always followed with fatal results; what is unjust can never be profitable, and can only tend to inflame the public opinion.

It is the nature of man to refuse his assistance, and his good wishes, to undertakings obviously contrary to equity and good faith; and whatever may be his prejudices, he always ends with being drawn towards the juster cause. What would be the fate of Europe, if there were no power disposed to restrain the ambition of a State which makes no account of treaties or considerations of justice.

The English Minister, however, follows the bent to which their character, well known to Europe, inclines them. Feeble men cannot obey the voice of reason; abandoned to their passions, they are incessantly extravagant. A moderate conduct attests the vigor of sound judgement; injustice and violence proceed from actual weakness; as a paroxism is the natural effect of disease, How can the light of reason shine amidst the illusions of delirium? Are not the people of England daily told that France is a prey to every kind of disorder, and still torn by factions, that the Government is without force, and the public spirit without energy? Perhaps, in speaking against evidence, the Ministers of his Britannic Majesty no more speak against their conscience, than a sick man in a state of delirium, when he points out to the buy-standers the phantoms which his imagination has created.

Woe to the people conducted by men weak and without system! Woe also to Europe, should what still remains of the power and prosperity of a great people continue at the disposal of such men!

HANOVER, July 4.

The administrator general of Forests, citizen Chauvet, arrived here on the 27th ult. with several French foresters. The object of his mission, it is said, is to select from our forests the oaks and other trees fit for the use of the French navy, and to cause them to be conveyed to France. Citizen Dierbach, ci-devant administrator-general of the conquered countries on the left bank of the Rhine, and now commissioner of government to the executive consul of the College of Government; he has given orders that there shall be formed an exact list of all the buildings belonging to the electorate domains, which will be afterwards publicly sold.

London, July 18.

The following letter contains such an instance of that genuine and efficient public spirit much wanted at this momoment, has been received by the lord Provost of Glasgow, and which we think highly worthy of being literally stated:

"*Glasgow July 11. 1803.*

"My Lord,

"In case of an invasion of this country by our enemies, I hereby make offer, for the use of Government, of 40 horses and carts to any part of Scotland, as also of six waggons and 40 horses in Lancashire, to any part of England his majesty may think most useful; the drivers expences to be paid by your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

JOHN SCOTT.