" For forms of government (says Pope)
let fools contest,
" Whate'er is best administered is best."

And does not the incessant censure of the administration of the general government by federalists, in the same breath that they avow an idolatrous devotion to the Constitution, prove that there is no inconsistency between a warm approbation of the *structure* of a government, and a strong disapprobation of the manner in which it is administered? The truth is, they are absolutely distinct things, and that no inference can be drawn of the approbation of the one from that of the other.

Called upon, as we are, by the Courant unequivocally to express our opinions of the manner in which the government of Connecticut is administered, we shall take the liberty of making some remarks which should not otherwise have been drawn from us. We wish it to be understood that they are on this occasion extorted inasmuch as they are only means of preventing a misuse of our previous remarks.

We consider, as we have before said, Connecticut, in the structure of her government, the most republican state in the union. Why? Because, not only her Governor, Assembly men, and Councillors are chosen every year; but because all other Executive and Judicial officers, superior or subordinate, are likewise annually appointed by men elected by the people. There are various senses in which the term " republican" is used. It will, however, be apparent to any man that reads our remark, that we used the term in its most popular acceptation, and that when we called the government the most republican, we meant that, according to its structure, it flowed most directly from the people. In this acceptation the accuracy of the declaration will not be impeached.

We did not mean to say that although this *government* was the " most republican," the *Constitution* was therefore the best or the most republican. Here again are two distinct terms meaning different things. The government is not the Constitution. Sometimes the terms are used as synonimous. But it is evident that they are not always so, from the fact that all countries have governments, while many have no constitutions. We believe this to be the case with Connecticut; and are therefore rejoiced at the prospect of her soon obtaining one by the efforts of her best patriots.

We did not mean to say, nor did we say, that the liberal allowance made for the support of schools was properly applied. On the contrary we had great reason to believe that it was not. Still this consideration did not, in our mind, derogate from the magnitude of the object. We hope these remarks will be allowed to be unequivocal by the writer in the Courant, and as that print has, as we conceive, misrepresented the observations previously inserted in this paper, we trust it will consider itself under an obligation, at our request, to insert the above.

To illustrate the remarks we have made, we add the following, communicated by a correspondent.

" Whatever may be the external appearance of the government of Connecticut, we have as little republicanism here as in Turkey. The people are amused with frequent elections, but they are so managed as to be of no service to them. The Governor and Council actually possess the whole power of the state, they have all the *executive, legislative, and judicial powers of the state, and have power to control the elections*; they are bound by no constitutional limits but their own arbitrary will.

" I will give you a brief statement of these four branches of power, each one in their order.

" 1st. By the charter of King Charles II. to the colony, (for we have no constitution) the *executive* power of the state is lodged with the Governor and Council; it has always been exercised by them.

" 2d. The Governor and Council are one branch of the legislature, called the upper house, and the Governor has no power but as president of that body. The house of representatives amount to about 195, a majority of which are judges and justices of the peace, dependant on the upper house for their annual appointment to the offices which they hold, or to which they may hope to be promoted; they are uniformly re-appointed to office every year, provided they are faithful to their masters at the elections, and will vote for every bill proposed by the upper house, so that the tenure of their office depends on their being tools and sycophants, for as soon as they refuse to vote in the house of representatives, or at elections, according to orders from the upper house, they are dismissed from office, traduced, and abused. In addition to all these judges and justices in the house of representatives, are generals, colonels, majors, captains, and a host of military officers, who know full well the way to promotion, and that the least disobedience of orders would blast all their hopes. There are also sheriffs, sheriffs' deputies, clerks of courts, and various other classes of men, making in the whole at least three fourths of the house of representatives, directly or indirectly dependant on the upper house, so that the upper house make and repeal what laws they please, and the other house are of no use but to give a false impression to the people; a majority of the house of representatives are as servile to the upper house as a slave to his master.

" 3d. The Governor and Council by an act of the legislature, are made the *Supreme Court of Errors*, and this court is the dernier resort by way of law or equity. And while they have power to reverse every judgement of the courts below, they can remove every judge and justice without assigning any cause.

" 4th. If the power of the upper house will not apply with equal force in controling the elections of state representatives, yet they have great influence, and besides it has been shewn that they could control a majority of the members when elected, which answers their purpose equally well. They can and do control their own elections, that of senators and members of Congress. They have engaged in their service 6 judges of superior courts, 40 judges of county courts, 28 judges of probate, and five hundred and ten justices of the peace, 8 sheriffs, about 40 deputy sheriffs, several hundred military officers, between 2 and 3 hundred clergymen, with all the proprietors and petitioners of and for banks, turnpike roads, insurance companies, and monied corporations; these chosen men are placed in every town and section of the state, with as much care and reference to their local situation, zeal and ability to secure the election, as a good general would station his guards and sentries around a camp in the night season, expecting the approach of an enemy. What adds greatly to their power and success is, that members of the Council and Congress are first voted into *nomination*, say 18 or 20 at a time, not by districts, but by a general ticket: the upper house make out the list, including themselves and friends, send copies to all their faithful servants, and the people have little or no knowledge of the candidates; so that the judges, justices, Sheriffs and deputies, Clerks of courts, Generals, Colonels, Majors, Subalterns, Clergy, &c. &c. inform the people when assembled, that the federal candidates are the most pious and enlightened in this or any other state, that their opposers are infidels, enemies to order and good government, to religion, to God and to every thing good, and in this way gain the election. Hence it is that not a member of the upper house (excepting one by accident & he was re-appointed the next year) has failed of a re-election in forty years, unless denounced by the upper house, and it is a certain fact that the people of Connecticut were never represented in Congress—hence is the question so often asked by strangers, why has every member of congress from Connecticut uniformly advocated tory principles? The answer is, they were not elected by the freemen of the state, they do not represent them, they neither represent the state or the paole, but the upper House in Connecticut."

NEW-YORK, *Sept.* 17.

Our latest accounts from Europe, by the way of London, gave us information of the extreme probability of a continental war: at least that the Emperor of Russia and the king of Sweden had shewn a disposition indicatory of an intention of shortly commencing hostilities against France.

In confirmation of this news, we have received the following important particulars of movements in Russia, received from Capt. Hiller, of the ship Centurion, arrived here last evening in a short passage from Cronstadt.

On the 14 of July, the day on which Capt. Hiller sailed, the Russian fleet of 11 sail of the line and 4 frigates, were ready for sea—and he was informed that day by an officer of one of the ships of the line, whom he supposed to be a native of England, & whom he saw on shore, that general orders had just been read in the fleet, that they were to sail with all possible expedition, to join the British. From this circumstance, together with that of a more rigid discipline among the Russian troops, there was but little doubt of their being speedily called into service.

The Emperor of Russia, in a peculiar degree, was personally attentive to Americans.—It was no uncommon thing for him to seek opportunities to speak to the commanders of American vessels; and that he paid the utmost attention to Mr. Harris, the American Consul at that place, who was highly gratified at the signal honour conferred on his nation.

Capt. Hiller is the bearer of dispatches from Mr. Harris to our government.

SAVANNAH, Aug. 29.

The Vice-President of the United States arrived, we understand, a few days since at St. Simons in a vessel from Philadelphia, in perfect health, and entirely freed from the *hydrocephalus* which afflicted him in the neighbourhood of that city.

Sept. 1.

By a gentleman who passed through this place a few days since, from Fort Wilkinson, we were informed that the running of the lower line was completed; and that the treaty lately held between the United States Commissioners and the Creek nation had terminated in the extinguishment of the Indian claim as far as the Oakmulgee river.

From the MONITEUR, [July 10, 1804.]

Different reports are spread throughout Europe, of the ambitious views of the French government; which could only have originated in the malignity of the enemies of France, who have an interest in propagating such insinuations.

From among these reports, we select the following:—

The emperor is going to unite to his dominions the Italian and the Ligurian Republics, the Republic of Lucca, the Kingdom of Etruria, the Papal state, and also Naples and Sicily, Switzerland and Holland are to have the same fate; and Hanover and its connexion will furnish the emperor with the means of becoming a member of the Germanic body. From these suppositions various are the inferences that are drawn;—thus it is inferred, that the Pope will abdicate, and that Cardinal Fesh or Cardinal Ruffo, will be raised to the pontifical throne.

We have before said, and often repeated it, that if France was to interfere in changes relative to the sovereign pontiff, she would rather exert her influence to increase the happiness and the consideration of the holy see and its dominions, and not to diminish them.

As to Naples, the aggression of Mr. Acton, and his uniform hostile system, would have formerly afforded France very just motives for making war, which she never would have entered into with the intention of uniting the two Sicilies to the French empire.

The Italian and Ligurian Republics and the kingdom of Etruria, shall not cease to exist as independent states; and most assuredly it is rather improbable that the emperor should disregard at the same time the duties attached to the power which he holds from the committee of Lyons, and the personal glory he has acquired in twice restoring the independence of states which he had twice conquered.

With regard to Switzerland, who presented its annexion to France previous to the act of mediation? That act, the immediate result of the attention and of the thoughts of the Emperor, restored tranquility to its inhabitants, and the pledge of their independence and security, as long as they themselves do not break that ægis, by substituting for the elements of which it is composed, the will of one of the constituted bodies and of one of the parties.

Had France been anxious to annex Holland, Holland might be French as well as Belgium. If it be an independent power, it is because France felt with respect to that country, the same as she felt with respect to Switzerland, viz. that their locality required an individual existence and a particular organization.

The supposition of annexing Hanover, is still more ridiculous. The annexion of that province would be the most fatal prospect that could be made to France, which requires but a slight reflection to perceive. Hanover would become a bone of contention between the French people and that prince, who has proved himself the friend and ally of France, at a time when all the rest of Europe had conspired against her.

In order to retain Hanover, a military force would be required, the expences attending which exceed all proportion to the few millions which constitute the whole revenue of that state. Would a government that has sacrificed to the principles of the necessity of a line of demarcation, simple and contiguous, even the very fortifications of Strasburg and of Mentz, on the right bank, be blind enough to its interests to endeavor at the incorporation of Hanover? But such a possession it is said, would bring with it the advantage of being a member of the Germanic body. The title alone of emperor of the French is a sufficient answer to that absurd supposition. The Germanic body is composed of kings, electors, princes, and with respect to itself, but one imperial dignity. Besides it would be a glaring misconception of the noble vanity of our country, to imagine it possible that it could consent to enter as an element into any particular body. If such a thing were compatible with the national dignity, who would have prevented France from preserving its right to the circle of Burgundy, and the claim which gives her possession to the palatinate? We may ask, indeed, with the consciousness of a well grounded pride, who prevented France keeping part of the dominions of Baden and of the territory of Suabia?

No! never shall France pass the boundary of the Rhine! neither shall their armies ever attempt to cross it, unless it be necessary to guarantee the Germanic empire, and secure those princes who inspire so powerful an interest not only from their affection for her, but also by the assistance they may afford in maintaining the balance of Europe.

If the suppositions we have alluded to arise from idle curiosity, we have sufficiently answered them.

If, however, they owe their birth to the restless jealousy of certain powers, constantly in the habit of crying out that France is ambitious, in order to cloak their ambition, another answer may be given them. Thanks to the two coalitions successively formed against us, and to the treaties of Campo Formio, and of Luneville, France has bordering on her territory no province that she should be anxious to retain; and if in events that are passed, she evinced a moderation unexampled in modern history, she derives from it this advantage, that she no longer will feel it necessary to take up arms.

The capital of France is situated in the centre of Europe; her frontiers are surrounded by small states, which complete her political system; she has geographically nothing to desire of what belongs to her neighbors, she has therefore no natural enmity to entertain against any one: and as for her there exists no other Finland, no other lines of the Inn, she finds herself in a situation, which belongs to no other power.

Reports of a different description are on the other hand, circulated at the same time. At one time our camps are in a state of mutiny; only the day before yesterday, 30,000 Frenchmen refused to embark at Boulogne. Yesterday, our legions fought ten against ten, standards against standards. The four departments of the Rhine were told, that we were going to surrender them to their former domination. To day, perhaps, it is said, that the public treasury is exhausted of money; that every work is suspended; that discord is abroad, and that the taxes can be levied nowhere. If the emperor visit the camp, he is said to hurry thither to quell disturbances.

In short, whether he remain at St. Cloud, whether he go to the Thuilleries, or whether he return to Malmaison, just so many reports are circulated, the one more absurd than the other.

And if these rumours so industriously and simultaneously banded about in foreign countries, had, at the same time for their object, to excite alarm at the ambition of the emperor, and to inspire boldness at the weakness of his administration, respecting such unbecoming and erroneous proceedings, we should have to repeat what a minister was instructed to say on his leaving a court. The emperor of the French does not wish for war with any one, neither does he dread it with any one. He does not intermeddle with the affairs of his neighbours, and he has a right to expect a reciprocal conduct. A long peace is the wish that he has invariably manifested; but the history of his life affords no room to imagine, that he is of a temper to allow himself to be insulted or dictated to.

London, July 23.

Private letters from Paris, of the 10th, state a new proof of the hostile spirit of Bonaparte in his conduct towards Russia and Sweden. He has adopted a system of rigour and persecution against all the subjects of these two powers, whether travellers or merchants in France, Italy, Switzerland and Holland. His military gens d'arms, commanders and police agents, are ordered to insult, oppress and arrest them upon the slightest pretence. The least informality in their passes, any complaint that ingenuity and suspicion can devise, is considered a sufficient ground to detain their persons. Those who are going to France are stopped at the frontiers, under the pretence that they ought to have new passes from Paris; and those who are leaving France are detained under the pretence that their passes are not correct. During these last five weeks, no Russian or Swedish ship has been permitted to clear out and sail; and notwithstanding the demands and representations of the consuls of their respective nations, the only answer that has been obtained is, " Such are the will and pleasure of the emperor." This measure is generally supposed to be a prelude to an embargo.—Many circumstances tend to confirm this suspicion. Among these is the great activity of the police agent to discover and ascertain the property of Russian and Swedish subjects in France, and to prevent any transfer or removal of it. Should a rupture with these countries take place, an event considered in France very probable, there is little doubt but that Russian and Swedish subjects will experience similar treatment to that which British subjects in France experienced last year.

Bonaparte and the Pope.

Letters from Italy, brought by the Gottenburgh mails of yesterday, relate the progress of Bonaparte's negociation with the pope, or rather his requisition of his holiness to perform the Revolutionary coronation ceremony. Upon Cardinal Feshe's first mentioning this subject, Pius VII. referred it to the sacred college of Cardinals, who, except Feshe, were unanimous in their advice to their sovereign, to decline it, as no such act has been performed by a sovereign pontiff, for seven centuries—and it would offend the House of Austria, as Pius VI. in 1790, refused the same demand made by Leopold II. the father of the present emperor of Germany. Informed of this answer, Bonaparte wrote a letter with his own hand, in the most abusive language, and threatening style, telling the pope, " that he owed to him alone and to his moderation, both the temporal and spiritual powers enjoyed by his holiness. That it was an insult to his glory, and to the high dignity the great nation had conferred on him, only to hesitate; and that as he had made Frenchmen again christians, so he would be able to make them musselmen, should the ungrateful conduct, superstitious scruples, or pusillanimous fears of his holiness force him to such an act." In return, Pius VII. offered to give full powers to Cardinal Feshe to perform on his part, and in his name, the coronation ceremony; a letter of recommendation from madame Bonaparte, the ci-devant emperor's mother accompanied this answer. It had, however, no other effect than to enrage her son the more—who wrote to the pope these few words: " We desire the holy father to chuse between a retreat to a convent, or a journey to France. Paris, May 29, signed, Napoleon." Copies of these transactions and letters are handed about, all over Italy. It is said that the pope has demanded the mediation of Austria, and even offered to resign; but that his holiness has been advised, for the peace of the church, to submit to the circumstances of the times. General Charpentier has therefore been sent to Rome to escort the pope to France; a journey which the Italians compare to that of his unfortunate predecessor, Pius VI. who after suffering so many indignities, at last died a victim of republican ferocity, in a French dungeon.

SPAIN.

There appears no prospect of a rupture between Great Britain and Spain. The government have just published a regulation for the sailing of convoys to Spain for a year to come.

NOTICE.

THE subscriber intends to petition the next General Assembly for an act of insolvency to release him from debts he is unable to pay. SAMUEL S. HARWOOD.
Montgomery County, Maryland.
September 21—3t

NOTICE.

A meeting of the citizens comprehending all that part of the city east of west Third street, and north of south G street are requested to meet at Steile's hotel, on Saturday next at 6 o'clock, P. M. for the purpose of forming themselves into a Fire Company agreeable to an act of the City Council, passed July 24th, 1804. The importance of such arrangements must be obvious to every person; a punctual attendance is therefore earnestly requested.

GRIFFITH COOMBE,
Director of the 4th ward.
September 21—

Bank of Columbia.

THE Board of Directors having declared a Dividend for this half year, ending this day, at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum, the same will be paid to the stockholders or their representatives.
WM. WHANN, Cash'r.
September 21, 1804—4w

THEATRE.

THE LAST NIGHT BUT TWO.
At Mr. M'Laughlin's ball room George Town, by the Philadelphia and Baltimore company of Comedians.
On Friday September the 21st, 1804.
WILL BE PERFORMED A NEW PLAY CALLED THE
MAID OF BRISTOL
OR THE
Lady of the Hay-stack.
End of the play
A DOUBLE HORNPIPE,
By Master HARRIS *& Miss* HUNT.
After which the favorite Farce of the
FARMER.
The doors will be opened at 6 and the performance begin at 7 o'clock.

☞ The public are respectfully informed that the Theatre will positively close for this season, on Wednesday, the 26th of September.