Such a Caucus is said to be unconstitutional, because the constitution prohibits the choice of electors from among the members of the two Houses. It is in vain replied that the gentlemen who composed the Caucus acted, and declared that they acted in their individual capacity; this is pronounced a mere cheat; and it is contended that they cannot in such an act divest themselves of their representative character. No! If so, it follows that a citizen in accepting a public place divests himself of some of the political rights which previously belonged to him as a citizen; and is this the fact in a single instance that can be named, unles where the deprivation of right is expressed in the constitution or the law creating the office? And when named, is it not an undisputed principle of law that the restriction on the broad pre-existing right shall be construed literally and rigidly. Under a republican government this rule of construction is of superior obligation, as the great principle of such a government is to maintain inviolate the political and civil rights of the citizen, and to abridge them in no other cases except where the public welfare absolutely requires it. Hence the legislator, the Executive magistrate, and the judge, all retain, in undiminished strength, their political rights as citizens, with very slight qualifications, which qualifications are always construed most rigidly. And it is right they should be. For the political rights of the citizen are infinitely more important than those of the ruler. The latter are indeed the mere creature of the former, and while the first remain unimpaired, the other may, without danger, be varied at pleasure.

But, why, it is said, did the framers of the constitution forbid the selection of electors from the members of the two Houses of Congress, if not to take from them *all agency* in the election of the Chief Magistrate? I answer, that one of the principal reasons of this restriction may have arisen, and probably did arise from the expectation that the members would in the first instance nominate the candidate for the Presidency, and a desire to withhold from men who exercised this power the ulterior power of election. Without such a restriction there might have been reason to fear that a majority of the members of Congress would name the candidate, themselves be chosen electors, and either as electors, chose a man conformably to their wishes, or throw the choice into the House of Representatives, where the ultimate power would be theirs. Nor is this ascribing too much forecast to a body so illustriously intelligent as the Convention that formed the Constitution, as the expectation might have been entertained, either from the numerous cases which had occurred in the states in which governors had been nominated by the members of state legislatures, or by the foresight that no other fair mode of collecting the public sentiment in a country so widely extended as the United States, could be obtained.

If it be indisputable that the members of Congress had in their individual characters an equal right to nominate a President with their fellow-citizens, that this right is secured by the federal and state constitutions, being in its exercise dependent upon both, it is equally clear that the same instrument, not merely by implication, but by direct and positive provisions, confer the right of associating for all purposes not inhibited by law. The only thing to consider remaining is the *place* where this right was exercised. And is it not absurd to say that it might be exercised by these gentlemen in their own states, but not in the City of Washington; in a private house, but not in the Capitol? To the first interrogatory, it is sufficient to reply that during the sitting of Congress they could not exercise the right elswhere than in the city of Washington; and to the second to enquire whether this is not the very first instance in which it has been alleged that a legal act is vitiated by being performed in a public place.

(No. 2 to be concluded in our next)

A BULL.

THERE is now on Col. Tayloe's farm, called Petworth, near the City of Washington, a BUFFALOE BULL, of the true English breed, very remarkable for size and figure, will be let to cows this season at one dollar each—those wishing to improve their breed of cattle should embrace the opportunity, as he will be removed the ensuing season.

Apply to the Manager.

N. B. The money to be paid when the cattle are sent.

June 3——6t.

WANTED

To go to *North-Carolina* in May, a Papermaker, who is a good workman, and is sober and industrious. To such a person good wages will be given.

Apply to the Editor of this paper.

April 29.

WASHINGTON CITY.

FRIDAY, JUNE 10.

DIED—Yesterday Mr. HENRY KREEMER, late a clerk in the Treasury Department, his friends are invited to attend his funeral from the house of Mr. William Rhodes, at 4 o'clock this afternoon."

Mr. ROSE arrived in England on the 23d of April, on board the Statira.

It is with the deepest humiliation that we lay before our readers the following resolutions, with the sanction given them by the legislature of Massachusetts. The spirit of party has triumphed over every suggestion of patriotism, and they have passed by 247 affirmative to 219 negative votes.

Should any man be at a loss to assign the motives to which this legislative interposition is to be ascribed, all difficulty will be removed by attending to what these representatives do not say, as well as what they do say. At a crisis so portentous, when the hostile attitude of almost the whole foreign world towards us is unquestioned, it might have been expected, that the representatives of a great and powerful member of the confederacy would have prefaced their *Expose* of the state of the nation with an expression of their sense of the indignities and injuries received by us from the belligerent powers, when those indignities and injuries are admitted to be the sole causes of our present situation. It might, particularly, have been expected that some pointed allusion would have been made to the British orders of Council, and that the principle on which they were issued, as well as the evils they inflict on unoffending neutrals, would have been strongly reprobated; this might the more have been looked for, as the resolutions in several instances contain a marked reprehension of French principles. Yet it is a most singular fact that the name of Great-Britain is not to be found in them, or any reference to the celebrated British orders, either for impressing our seamen, or for seizing and condemning our vessels and property.

It might have been expected that, while the policy of the Embargo was questioned, the course of the negociation with Britain would have been approved. It might have been expected that a body, so alive to the national honor, as to be ready to plunge into the horrors of war to guard it, would not have been insensible to the dignity and talent with which it has been defended, or to the justice of the ground taken by the administration; and that here at least the pride of an American would have silenced the petty feelings of the partisan. It might have been expected to have occurred to such a body that the weight of their opinion would operate abroad as well as at home; and that, consequently, while they were censuring a strong and leading measure of their own government, it became a paramount duty to condemn the unjust conduct of foreign governments. But not a word do we find to this effect. Not daring to approve British violence and injustice; they have shrunk from condemning it. Not in their hearts to condemn it would evince a total destitution of patriotism, which charity will not suffer us to ascribe to them. No—they must feel such wrongs as have been inflicted. To think otherwise would be a libel on their virtue, their spirit, and their understanding. But, they had a political effect to produce; in the day of danger, they surrender themselves to the selfish suggestions of party spirit; they look with a single eye to the loaves and fishes; they must, therefore, prostrate by any means the administration in their way to preferment. Hence, with their celebrated Senators and the Essex Junto, their total blindness to the wrongs we have received, and their culpable silence with regard to the causes which led to the Embargo.

The next thing that presents itself is the *substitute* recommended for the Embargo. This, however disguised, is nothing more or less than *submission* to British violence, or *war*, with a navy. The total silence as to British aggressions leads us to fear the former to be their wish, and that when they talk of a navy, it is meant but as a tub to the whale, as a cunning indication of their meaning to do something, when in fact in their hearts they mean to do nothing. *Submission!* Good God! Can the idea enter into the minds of any Americans? Can it more than all enter into the minds of the sons of Massachusetts? Can they who have been rocked by their illustrious and patriotic forefathers in the cradle of revolutionary independence, whose fathers rank with the Hampdens and Sydneys of England, who risqued their property, their lives, in seventy-six, when we were weak, poor, and disunited, can these men in eighteen hundred and eight, when we are a powerful, a rich, an united people, submit to the same nation, to the same chains forged for us, and others still more galling? The idea is too monstrous. It were treason against liberty to harbor it for an instant. It would prove that commerce had made us another Carthage; and that wealth and liberty were incompatible.

And yet, if the object be not submission, to talk of carrying on war with an effective navy gradually created! Against whom? Here again we behold the cloven foot. Not against England surely. With her thousand ships of war what purpose would our little navy, gradually created, answer, but to swell her vast flotilla. When then these representatives talk of a navy, it is not meant to make it the instrument of coercing Britain, of maintaining by its means our rights against this great violator of maritime rights; but, it is to protect our commerce against the pickaroons of France, themselves obliged to seek a refuge in every harbor against the superior force of their enemy, and therefore actually disqualified from doing us any great harm,—and in this way to embroil us in a war with France, and thus force us into an alliance with England.

Unpleasant as the task has been, we have considered it a duty to take from party the mask that hides its deformities. Many other detailed features, scarcely less reprehensible, merit and may receive further notice.

"Whereas the present critical and alarming state of our national affairs, renders it peculiarly necessary and proper that our rulers should be correctly informed of the sentiments of the people, who are the only legitimate source of power—and whereas certain resolutions passed at the last session of the Legislature, before means had been afforded to consult their constituents, may have led to a misapprehension of the state of public opinion. And whereas the people of this commonwealth are placed in new & extraordinary circumstances, interdicted by the national government from the use of the ocean, and from the habits and occupations to which they & their fathers have been accustomed to from the first settlement of the country—and at the same time, the surplus of their fields and fisheries is perishing on hand, for want of a market, and the ruinous consequences which must ensue from a continuance of the present system of measures cannot be exceeded by the losses and dangers to be apprehended from any information which has been officially communicated to the public:—Therefore,

Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the commonwealth of Massachutts in general court assembled,

That the citizens of Massachusetts have a natural, necessary, and immediate interest in the preservation, and prosperity of commerce, navigation and the fisheries; to the successful extension of which, under the late administrations of the national government, they are, with the blessings of Providence, principally indebted for the rapid improvement in agriculture and the arts, and for the unexampled increase of their domestic resources.

That to secure protection and encouragement to these most important and unalienable interests, was a primary motive for the accession of this Commonwealth to the Constitution of the United States:—

That we therefore view with anxiety and alarm, the operation of an Embargo of an unprecedented extent and unlimited duration, by which not only foreign commerce is annihilated, but the most grievous restraints and embarrassments imposed upon the intercourse between different states, and even between different parts of the same state:—That although a *temporary* Embargo may be on some occasions expedient as a measure of precaution, and the right to impose it may be admitted as incident to the powers of the national government to regulate commerce:—Yet the power to create a permanent Embargo upon foreign and inland commerce, which a majority of Congress cannot repeal against the consent of the President, was not, it is believed, contemplated by the framers of the Constitution; and the adoption of this measure with a view to coerce foreign nations, is, in our estimation, a novel and dangerous experiment, which discourages industry by destroying its reward, disturbs the natural relations of the citizens, is equally repugnant to the national honor and interest; and while its effects in counteracting the oppressive policy of any other nation, is at least doubtful, is pregnant with disastrous consequences to our own:—

That if this unexampled prohibition of commerce could rightfully be enforced by Congress, yet the delegation of an authority to the Executive, to regulate the coasting trade, and the ordinary intercourse between the citizens of the same state, and to grant exemptions and dispensations at his discretion to individuals of districts, would be not less dangerous and extraordinary, as it might become the foundation for oppressive monopolies and exclusive privileges, and prepare the country for the habitual surrender of the legislative power into a single hand:—

That while the true policy of the United States points to the cultivation of peace and amity with all nations, yet if these blessings be unattainable by means consistent with national honor, the people of this Commonwealth will be ever ready to sustain all privations, and to make every exertion requisite to support the dignity and enforce the reasonable pretensions of the nation; and it being certain that no degree of forbearance and moderation will exempt neutral nations, at all times, from insult and aggression, and that the claims of military ambition can be satiated only by universal dominion, it is the duty of government to prepare for events, which it may be impossible to avert:—That the spirit and resources of the country are fully adequate to the protection of its maritime and territorial rights, and ought to be directed and employed in such preparations as the experience of ages demonstrates to be alone safe and effectual.—We cannot therefore but deprecate a system of measures, which instead of providing for the defence of our ports and frontier, by usual and obvious means, has impaired our naval force, and left us exposed to every invader:—

That in the estimatin of this legislature, a naval force is highly important for the defence of this country and the protection of commerce; and that it is the duty of the Senators and Representatives of this commonwealth in Congress, from time to time to use all due means for the gradual creation of an effective navy:

That the general government, having been instituted expressly to provide for the common defence and general welfare, and to preserve to us and to posterity the blessings of liberty, must be supported at every expence and every hazard, while it secures these inestimable objects by an equal and paternal solicitude for the various parts and sections of the union: But that government must not be confounded with the administration as the latter can only be entitled to the confidence of the people, when by a fair and frequent display of their purposes and policy they rescue themselves from the imputation of partiality, and prejudice, undue fear or affection in the conduc of our foreign and domestic concerns.

Electoral votes for next President.

The *Citizen* of New York has given his readers the following estimate:

Mr. Clinton is to have	90
Mr. Madison	15
Federal	22
Doubtful	48

The *Public Advertiser*, noticing this estimate, also makes one as follows:

Mr. Madison	108
Mr. Clinton	12
Mr. Monroe	4
Federal	52

The *Aurora*, in commenting on these articles, the latter of which allows Mr. Clinton eight votes in Pennsylvania, says—

"We copy the following from the New York *Public Advertiser*, a paper conducted with firmness and intelligence, which neither assumes more than it performs, nor undertakes more than it is competent to execute—with this estimate, however, we do not entirely concur; as to a *general result* perhaps it may be near the case, but in what concerns the votes of Pennsylvania, the *Public Advertiser* is absolutely misinformed, at no time was there a suspicion that there were *more than two* of the citizens nominated for electors partial to Mr. *Clinton*; and it is well known that these will abide by the sentiments of their consituents; what those sentiments are the public already partly know from the sentiments published in various parts of the state, & which will soon generally appear. Liberties have been taken also with the name of the venerable *Charles Thompson*, that good man entertains an entire respect for *Mr. Clinton*, but it may be permitted to those who are intimately acquainted with him, and who know his sentiments on the best policy of the United States, to say that he is in favor of that candidate who is most likely to pursue the policy of the present administation, and that he thinks Mr. Madison that man."

Our opinion, from information derived from various part of the union, is that *Mr. Madison will have every republican Electoral vote*, & that the federal electoral votes will not exceed *twenty-one*. We believe that Mr. Madison will command an unanimous republican vote—

Because, it is ascertained that he will *certainly* have a majority, which will necessarily make him President.

Because this fact once ascertained, there will be no inducement to the republicans to divide their votes, while there will be strong inducements to them to united them. Guided by patriotic motives, they will deem it a duty to diminish the chances to their adversaries of carrying their political objects by giving to the President elect their undivided support; and they will deem it a still higher duty to shew the foreign world the falsehood of the libel that represents us as a divided people. Knowing that the President is the organ of foreign intercourse, and sensible of his great Constitutional power over our foreign relations, they will feel the importance attached by foreign nations to this election with regard to the adjustment of our differences with them, and will elect the man whose sentiments and measures they approve, and who, they are certain, will persist in the same course which has heretofore guided the administration. The importance of their union in this respect will be so self-evident, that they will not permit themselves to be divided. We believe that, in no circumstances, would the republicans suffer themselves to be divided on so important an object; we are confident that under existing circumstances, they will not. Their not having heretofore permitted themselves to be divided, is the best assurance of their union on this occasion.

A decision of the Circuit Court of the U. States for the district of South Carolina has lately been made against the detention, by the collector, of a vessel sailing from Charleston laden with rice. The result of the decision was, the issuing of a mandamus commanding the collector to grant a clearance to the Resource. Several vessels laden with rice, relying on this decision, then took out clearances; and, attempting to proceed, their voyage was arrested by the Hornet sloop of war, and they were forbidden to proceed to sea with rice on board. They were, however, afterwards permitted to proceed. The opinion of the court will be given in our next.

The Intendant of Havanna has issued an order, demanding that the merchants who hold American produce shall furnish for the use of government, 6,744 barrels of flour, 1,027 barrels pork, 1,251 barrels beef, 63,562 wt. of good beans, and 95,813 wt. of ordinary, 9,296 jars of oil, and 81 barrels of vinegar; which, if not delivered in ten days, he will take measures for obtaining by force, for the use of his Catholic Majesty's troops. *Nassau Paper.*

By the arrival of the schooner Five Sisters at Philadelphia, from New Providence, we have received our file of Bahama papers down to the 21st of May. In these we find the publication by the governor's order, of the instructions of the British commissioners of the high court of admiralty, directing and authorising a trade from the British West-India Islands and Nova Scotia, with the revolted part of St. Domingo. *American.*

The late Spanish papers state that the Rochefort and Toulon fleets had combined, and arrived in the roads of Corfu 25th February—consisting of 10 ships of the line and several frigates and smaller vessels.

True strength of parties in Massachusetts.——The votes for Governor in April last, as finally ascertained, give

Mr. Sullivan, republican,	43,074
Mr. Gore, federalist,	40,453
Republican majority	2,621

Last year Gov. Sullivan had a majority of 2730. So that the embargo may be considered having changed 109 votes out of 83,000.

The term of service of John Quincy Adams, Esq. expiring on the third of March next, the House of Representatives of the state of Massachusetts proceeded to the election of a Senator of the U. States for the ensuing six years. The ballots having been counted, there were

For James Lloyd, jun.	248
John Q. Adams	213
Laban Wheaton	1

As the Senate is federal, no doubt Mr. LLOYD, a decided federalist, is elected.

IMRORTANT!

The following information was laid before the underwriters this day, by a respectable Merchant of this City.

"That by the French Emperor's special order of the 27th January last emanating from himself, not published or promulgated, or otherwise made known at Hamburg, than by a verbal message from the French customhouse there to the consignee of the ship Juniata, of this port, about the the 15th of March, the cargo of this ship, *with others in a similar predicament, was difinitively* CONFISCATED, *and the greater part of it ordered to be transported by land to Paris*, to be sold there for consumption. And the tribunal of prizes was ordered not to take cognizance of any claims for these cargoes. *(N. American.)*