EUROPEAN POLITICS.

FROM THE LIVERPOOL MERCURY OF JULY 28.

The most striking incident in the intelligence of the present week is the surrender of Bonaparte to a Captain in the British navy. This will probably close the *political* existence of a man who has sustained a greater part on the theatre of Europe than any potentate, statesman or warrior, of modern times. The concluding events of the career have passed with astonishing rapidity.—In the short space of four months, we have beheld him an exile, an emperor, a fugitive, and a captive. These four months contain matter not only of interest to the philosopher, and of deep research to the future historian, but of the highest importance to him, who looks forward to the progress of the cause of freedom. The overthrow of Bonaparte both now and in the spring of last year, ought to be closely investigated, and the more we discover its causes, the more will the great lessen, exhibited by it both to sovereigns and to nations, be understood. The prominent circumstances, in his fall is his insatiable ambition. He was furnished with power by the French people, which he abused to their destruction and his own.——He could not content himself with the character of the champion of freedom; he sought only for military renown combined with sovereign power; in his recent temporary possesssion of the French throne, his attachment to the nominal rank of imperial dignity, seems to have been tenacious even to a degree of infatuated obstinacy: his ruin is probably to be entirely attributed to the reluctance which the patriotic party in France must have felt against assisting in his views; for little as that had to expect from the Bourbons, still less confidence was due to the idol of a victorious soldiery, who seemed resolved to defend the national independence of France, and transmit its crown to his own dynasty. Whether the patriotic party are able to improve the circumstances of his fall to the benefit of mankind or to the establishment of any one of those principles of liberty for which the human race have been contending with the prejudices of ancient and ignorant institutions, is a question of difficult solution. But on examining the appearance that France at present offers us we see no reason to despair.

In the capital of France, and in many of the provinces there are large foreign armies. The objects of the potentates to whom such extended forces appertain, are security against the operation of popular principles, and personal aggrandizement. They have, however, an opponent to the first of these objects which the force neither of bayonets or artillery can subdue: *the increase of political knowledge.* It is also probable that if in their other object, they aim at dividing France, they will rouse a spirit throughout that country which will strengthen the armies under Davoust and Suchet, and originate another war, of as sanguinary a character as that which they hope to have terminated with so much glory.

After a contest of five & twenty years, the European sovereigns have succeeded in destroying a government in France, which, whatever was its origin, greatly resembled their own despotisms, and was weak exactly in proportion as it approximated in character to them.——They have gained no victory over those principles which at the beginning of the French revolution they pledged themselves to counteract. On the contrary those principles have become every where more prevalent.——Russia, in receiving the dominion of Poland, has acknowledged the representative system, and has engaged herself to introduce it into those parts of that kingdom, which have been so long under the despotic authority of Austria and Prussia.——Even the military tyranny of Prusssia has been obliged to concede much to the voice of the people, and a legislative body composed of deputies chosen by the inhabitants of the various states, is to form a part of the Prussian government. The feudal system is completely broken up: Saxony and Prussia have mutually surrendered what were termed their feudal *rights*; rights founded entirely upon the oppression of the people. The Netherlands, in receiving a monarch with authority extending over the former aristocratic republic of Holland, & the mixed and ambitious governments of Flanders, are to have the representative system on an extensive plan, each deputy to be elected by about two thousand persons.——If some fragments of feudalism are to be found in the new German confederation, they are to be attributed to the complex situation of the states that propose it; and the friends of freedom will still have reason to congratulate themselves, that popular rights have, even there, been acknowledged among all the discordant claims of a thousand petty sovereignties. From Sicily to Norway the right of the people to participate in their own government has been asserted, and under various modifications, has been admitted. The great western peninsula of Europe containing the superstitious thrones of Spain and Portugal is the only portion of the most civilized quarter of the globe, in which no effects of the British representative system of freedom appear to have taken root.——The consequence of the war in that region against the invasion of Bonaparte have been transient.—The principles, which the Cortes endeavored to propagate, had nothing to support them against the return of superstition and despotism.

In this general view of the progress of the representative system, and of the extensive acknowledgment that the people ought, through that system to participate in the government, we have to conclude that the *cause of liberty* has been eminently *victorious*. It has obtained perhaps, as much as it is possible for it to obtain, in the present circumstances of mankind. Knowledge, though widely diffused, has not yet removed some of the strongest prejudices. Men still revere the most debarring institutions: the sanctity of antiquity still gives an awe to ignorance and to error: the splendor of conquest, and the enthusiasm of military renown reduced thousands in France, at the moment that her freedom was making itself felt in every corner of Europe, to the servile admiration of a successful general, and drew to an imperial throne, that honor which was due to the energies of a republic. The prevalence of liberty is therefore limited by the want of universal knowledge itself, from the very imperfections of human nature, must be always fluctuating; it may sometimes recede as well as increase; but the political improvements that accompany that increase are so many fixed and permanent advantages gained by mankind. They are the strong holds, the fortresses of human welfare, and it is the business of all those who comprehend their valve to defend them, at all periods, against the inroads of ignorance. In this point of view, the establishment of the representative system in so many of the kingdoms of the continent is truly important. Let the advocates for the ancient family claims of monarchs rejoice at the restoration of the Bourbons in France, but the friends of liberty have much more reason to rejoice, that the great principle, which is the foundation of all justice, is admitted in those states where the ancient families reigned hitherto only to oppress.

But while we congratulate mankind on this great victory over feudalism, in what situation is the representative system in Britain? Here, where it may almost be said to have had its birth, and whence other nations derive the example, on which they frame the outline of their new institutions have we preserved that fabric in its purity which they so eagerly endeavour to imitate or surpass? The nations of the continent have taken up this prineiple of legislature, at a period when the interest of mankind are better understood, and when the prejudices of superstition, prevalent as they are, have certainly less sway that during any former era of English history.——Does it not, therefore, behove us to watch attentively the modification with which they accept the representative system, and to attend to all the improvements that it is found capable of receiving? In most of the plans into which these nations have entered, we find that the deputies will be sent not by towns but either by districts or by a certain numercal proportion of inhabitants. This expedient will prevent all the evils which we experience from the borough-system. And shall we, who have set the example of a representative body of the legislative to the rest of the world, continue to behold that legislature with regard to ourselves, divided by opulent nations, while people who are just emerging from despotism are to enjoy it in a state of comparative perfection? With us, it is continually made a tool of corruption or contention: a portion of it is directed by a *manager* appointed by the administration, while another portion is in the hands of those who are ever demanding the possession of the places held by their opponents.

The representation of the people has in this country been repeatedly proved to be the property of an oligarchy; the absolute inheritance of a few wealthy men; and there are instances of its sale and purchase recorded on the journals of that very assembly, which is supposed to consist of the representatives of the people of the kingdom.

Shall we, then, after having paid most liberally for the maintenance of a war, which with all its calamities, has been instrumental to the progress of freedom, not participate in the greatest of the benefits that are to ensue from its close?—We have on our own shores that man, illustrious as a warrior, and beneficial in his institutions as an Emperor, but who perverted the victories of liberty to his own aggrandizement; we have been greatly instrumental in overthrowing that man: and shall we gain no advantage from the high position which we have attained? Shall we not show the world, that we have really had "the liberation of Europe at heart," & that having seen, with pleasure, the representative system extending itself through every state, we are now actuated by the generous spirit of emulation in the cause of liberty, by immediately endeavoring to improve that example, which we have already successfully given to mankind.

FROM FRANCE.

[*Translated for the New York Commercial Advertiser.*]

PARIS, August 12.

It is said that the Duke and Duchess of Bassano have obtained permission to reside in Switzerland—and also, that Madame Louis Bonaparte has been authorised to reside at a country house which her mother had previously purchased in the country near Gax.

Some Prussian Commissaries arrived on Wednesday last at St. Quinton, for the purpose of preparing there 40,000 rations of provisions for the 6th and 7th corps of the army, which were to arrive there on the 13th.

The Pope had written to the King of Spain, to invite him to re-establish the Order of the Jesuits in his kingdom, as a measure necessary for the maintenance of religion, the reformation of manners, and the progress of science.

New corps of Prussian cavalry are on their march from the banks of the Rhine to Paris.

The cannonade of the Zieres is heard still in the direction of Sedan.

An order has been published at Bordeaux, directing all the officers, sub-officers and soldiers, belonging to the army, to quit the City in 48 hours, and retire to their homes.

The following are some of the details in relation to the death of Marshal Brune. He arrived on the 2d of Aug. at Avignon, at 10 A. M.—The new prefect arrived the same day, some hours before, and had alighted for a little while at an inn where the Marshal stopped.——Some persons who were apprised of the arrival of the Marshal at Avignon and others who had recognized him, formed a circle around his carriage.——They suffered him to change horses quietly; the Marshal would perhaps have even set out without accident had he not wished to wait for some papers which had been carried to the superior commander of the department. The tumult in the mean time increased; M. Brune, uneasy, went to the house of the Prefect, to shew him his passport signed by the Marquis of Riviere.—The Prefect advised him to abscond, and promised to send him his papers, they descended together. The Prefect although he was not yet known to the people, and in the midst of the insulting language which they heaped upon the Marshal, to reproach him for his former conduct and his recent tranactions in the South, he with difficulty procured an opportunity for the Marshal to pass in his carriage without receiving violence.

He tho't himself safe; but a moment after his carriage was stopped upon the ramparts and his life was threatened anew.——They assailed his retinue with stones and cut his horses to pieces. The Marshal then demanded of the Prefect, who came in haste, with the members of the council, permission to enter the city. He was conducted to the post house. There the Prefect not having an armed force at his disposal, aided by some peaceable citizens, defended the door of this house in person. He employed, to appease the anger of the people, prayers, solicitations, promises, threats—nothing availed. Those without demanded the death of the Marshal with loud cries. The Prefect promised in vain that he would conduct the Marshal to prison if they would respect his life; all was useless.

A battalion of troops which arrived could not re-establish order—the effervescence was at its height—already they began to break the gates with axes—the vociferations redoubled. For more than four hours the Prefect defended the life of the Marshal with unheard of courage; the multitude crowded towards the door, before which he stood with all the magistrates, the commandant of the department, some officers of the national guard, and the armed force which they had assembled. Three times they were driven off thrice they returned in spite of the bayonets and threats which were directed against them. At this moment they heard the discharge of a gun, and persons came to announce that the Marshal had killed himself.

Some hours after they wished to carry the body to the Chapel; but it was impossible to restrain the people, who seized it and threw it into the Rhone.

FROM THE AURORA.

GENERAL POLITICS.

Those persons who call themselves *Washingtonians*, are the loudest in their rejoicings at the *fall of France*; they applaud the *military contributions* and *proscriptions*, and the utter extinction of the *revolutionary party*. According to these gentry, the French revolution began in *iniquity* and ended as it should in *disgrace*; the efforts of the French were at all times *wrong*, and it is right that an end should be put to *modern philosophy*."

Such are the opinions of men who pretend to be the *disciples of Washington*, and yet Washington himself enthusiastically approved of "the *commencement*, and *progress* and the *issue* of the French revolution," as we have often shewn and shall now shew again.

The same persons rejoice at the *fall of the tricolored flag*, and yet *Washington* himself received the *tricolored flag* "with lively sensibility," as "the symbol of *the enfranchisement of the French nation.*"

The same persons vilify and abuse in the most scurrilous language, the founders of the *French republic* and yet *Washington* himself called France "our *sister republic, our magnanimous ally.*"

If the British had been as successful in 1776 as they have been in 1815, Washington would never have had an opportunity to *approve* of the French revolution; if not *hanged*, he might have been sent to *Botany Bay* or *St. Helena*, and the rest of the soldiers and statesmen of the American revolution would have been *proscribed like Carnot and his compatriots.* It is in vain therefore, for the usurpers of *Washington's* name, to abuse the *French revolution* and pretend to rejoice *at our own*; and it is as mean as it is ridiculous for them to rejoice at the degradation of France and pretend that they wish American to be free.

Washington though as a *freeman* as a *successful asserter of liberty* his pretented admirers think & act as those do *whom he conquered.* If he was now alive he would deplore the fate of *France*; he would be alarmed at the successful putting down of a nation, and at the forcing detested tyrants upon it: he would not rejoice at the blotting from the map of Europe so many *small states* and republics; even he would tremble at the probable consequences. He would not consider the ambition or the tyranny of Bonaparte as a justifiable excuse for *ravaging Fuance* and forcing a detested government upon it, long after Bonaparte's political death.

The allies and Louis XVIII. consider all the governments since the death of Louis the XVI. as usurpations, and all the people who supported them, *rebels*; Louis now pretends that he is in the 21st year of his reign: so do all those in America who call themselves *Washingtonians*, and yet Washington himself declared that he rejoiced that the French had formed a government *insuring their liberty and happiness, and so much like our own*—he said that he viewed the events of the French revolution with "*the highest admiration,*"—and what were those events? why, the dethroning and bringing to justice Louis XVI. the expulsion of his race, and the overthrow of the *nobility*: but is pretended followers now say that the *beginning* and *progress* and *events* of the *French revolution* were detestable, they rejoice at the return of the "legitimate" Bourbons, and at the restoration of the *old, debauched*, and *imbecile* nobility and priesthood.

If those, who pretended to be, really were, *disciples of Washington*, they might indeed condemn the ambition and the tyranny of Bonaparte, but they would not rejoice at the fall of one domestic tyrant, because it produced the usurpation of a host of tyrants; they would deplore the fate of France, and would wish her to enjoy under a good government like our own, that liberty which they sought at so great a price; Washington would have done so, but his pretended admirers do not recollect his sentiments, or else they treat them as they do the *bible*, they make a mask of it for every iniquity.

But, why quote such instances of inconsistency as to foreign affairs; do we not all know that *Washington* on his death bed called on his country to frown indignantly upon the most insignificant effort to *separate the States?* and do we not all know that those who call themselves his disciples did all they could in the Eastern States to form a *new English nation* for themselves?

We have no desire to intrude upon the opinions, or to disturb the feelings of any set of men; but it behoves us to bear witness to the American people, that the sentiments and wishes of those who say they are admirers of Washington, are utterly at variance with those of that great man, and that Washington would have died on a gallows, if the American people tho't in 1776, as his pretended disciples think and act now.

The proof of Washington's opinions of the French revolution, which we annex, we have often published; we publish it now again, and think it would be well for other papers to copy it: it is the answer of Washington to the address of the minister of the French nation, when the letter presented to the American people, through their president Washington, the tri-colored flag. We ask our readers to peruse attentively this eloquent answer, and we ask them to compare its sentiments with those of *Governeur Morris* and his friends: they will find *Washington* expressing the deepest solicitude for the success of the French revolution, they will find him expressing the highest admiration at the expulsion of the Bourbons, and at the unfurling the banners of freedom by an oppressed nation—whilst they will find *Governeur Morris* and his friends rejoicing that "the long agony is over," and that "France reposes in the arms of her *legitimate sovereign*"——and yet after all this, those advocates of tyranny in France dare to try to hide their intentions in America under the mantle of Washington; but they have not got the mantle, it was left by Washington to his country as a shield against internal as well as external enemies.

Washington's answer to the French Minister.

"Born, sir, in a land of liberty; having early learned its value; having engaged in a perilous conflict to defend it; having, in a word, devoted the best years of my life to secure its permanent establishment in our own country——my anxious recollections, my sympathetic feelings, & my best wishes, are irresistably excited, whensoever, in any country, I see an oppressed nation unfurl the banners of freedom. But, *above all*, the *events of the French revolution have produced the deepest solicitude, as well as the highest admiration.* To call your nation *brave* were to pronounce but common praise—*Wonderful people!* Ages to come will read with astonishment the history of your brilliant exploits.

"I rejoice that the period of your toils and of your immense sacrifices is approaching; I rejoice that *the interesting revolutionary movements* of so many years have issued in the formation of a constitution designed to give permanency to the great object for which you have contended; I rejoice that liberty, which you have so long embraced with enthusiasm; liberty, of which you have been the *invincible defenders*, now finds an asylum in the bosom of a regular organized government—a government, which, being formed to secure the happiness of the French people, corresponds with the ardent wishes of my heart, whilst it gratifies the pride of every citizen of the U. States, by its resemblance to their own. On these glorious events, accept, sir, my sincere congratulations.

"In delivering to you these sentiments, I express *not my own feelings only, but those of my fellow citizens, in relation to the commencement, the progress, and the issue of the French revolution*; and *they* will cordially join with *me* in purest wishes to the *supreme being*, that the citizens of *our sister republic, our magnanimous allies*, may soon enjoy in peace, that liberty which they have purchased at so great a price, and all the happiness which liberty can bestow.

"I receive, sir, with lively sensibility, the *symbol* of the *triumphs* and of the *enfranchisement of your nation, the colors of France*, which you have now presented to the United States.—The transaction will be announced to Congress; and the colors will be deposited with those of the U. States, which are at once the evidences and the memorials of their freedom and independence: May these be perpetual, and may the friendship of the two republics be commensurate with their existence."

FROM THE TRENTON TRUE AMERICAN.

PECULALION.

In the Trenton Federalist of the 21st August is an account that a "Mr Marsteller, who was employed to rebuild the fort below Alexandria, has been detected in presenting a fraudulent account of 12,000 dollars, more than he could produce vouchers for, and had since run away."

Whether this account is true or not, we cannot tell. But *it is true*, as we are informed and believe, that Mr. Marsteller, who is thus accused of peculation, and whose crime is laid at the door of Mr. MADISON, is *a warm federalist*, a professor of religion, and a President of a Bank.

This does not prove that Mr. MADISON made a good selection—but his being a Federalist does prove that he could not have been selected from party attachments—his being a professor of religion would at least lead one to suppose he was morally honest—& being a President of a Bank shews that those who ought best to know him confided to him the charge of their own property.

So much for Mr. Marsteller.—In reply to the observation in the Federalist that "if a Virginia jockey was as poor a judge of horses as Mr. Madison is of men he would stand a poor chance on the turf"—we observe, that he must indeed be a good jockey who was never deceived in a horse even when he saw, examined and tried him—and if the most finished jockey had, in the purchase of horses, as Mr. MADISON generally has in the selection of officers, *to depend entirely upon the recommendation of others*, we suspect he would often find himself disappointed in their expected good qualities.

Our country is of vast extent, & comprises every variety of character—recommendations are too often given without due consideration of the fitness or desert of the applicant——they are sometimes signed as a mere matter of course, and often to silence importunity, to appease resentment, to gratify friends, to provide for dependents, or from some such motive. The President seldom knows either the candidate or those who recommend him; and therefore must act in some measure in the dark. Of this every man of understanding must be sensible; and for this every man of candor would be willing to make some allowance when an appointment proved injudicious. But federalists seem to expect from Republicans a degree of perfection in this respect which they themselves were very far from exhibiting when they were in office; as a list of *federal defaulters* would at once prove.—We forbear to pursue this subject further at present.

Paymaster Whittlesey.—Most of our readers will recollect the account which we lately published of a paymaster in the State of New York having pretended to be robbed of all the public money, and of its being ultimately found in his wife's possession nicely quilted up in a pair of drawers of her ladyship's. The money was thus recovered from him; but if it had not been it would probably have been obtained of his sureties. At any rate, no harm was done, whatever was intended. Yet from one end of the continent to the other, as much noise is about this business as if the money had all been lost; and as usual, the fault is imputed to Mr. MADISON for it was "*Madison's paymaster!*" Now to shew how unjust and unreasonable these federal gentry are in their censures in this case, as in many others, we insert the following extract which, we think, will settle the business not much to their liking or honor:

Extract of a letter from an officer late in the U. S. service recently from New York to the Editor of the New-Hampshire Patriot.

"Your friend the Editor of the *Thing*, is under a mistake about the paymaster of the New-York militia *Whittlesey*, who lately robbed himself of $30,000: he was *not one of Mr. Madison's appointment.* I can assure you that Mr Whittlesey is a *rank federalist*, and that he never received an appointment under the United States. He was a militia paymaster *under the state of New-York*; and the money lost and found was money lent by the state of New-York to the U. States for the payment of the New York militia."

A serious fire broke out at Natchez, on the 16th ult. which destroyed nearly two thirds of the town below the bluff. Messrs. Moore & Downing were among the principal sufferers.

Philadelphia Journal.

Gen. E. P. GAINES and suit, arrived in this place a few days since, where we understand his head quarters are established. *Augusta Herald.*

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