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From the Aurora.

POLITICAL VIEWS.

No. III.

BEFORE the revolution of 1789, France employed nearly three thousand sail of vessels of all sizes, in the Mediterranean; for Spain, from the constant hostility which subsisted between her and the Barbary powers, was under the necessity of using the bottoms and the flag of France in that sea. Since the conquest of Lombardy and Tuscany, France has secured, by treaty, the monopoly of the coral fishery on the coast of Algiers, which was formerly in the hands of merchants of the kingdom of Sicily, of the island of Corsica, Genoa, & Marseilles, giving employment to full 300 vessels, of from 15 to 20 tons, with ten men each. France will not suffer this lucrative trade, and nursery for 5,000 seamen, to diminish; and her factories at El Callo and El Bastian, on the eastern coast of Algiers, in the province of Constantia, open at once resources of great magnitude to her commerce, give strength and interest to her influence at the courts of Barbary, and afford new aids to the coral and coasting trade.

The monopoly which the city of Marseilles enjoyed under the Bourbons, was not as advantageous to that city, as an open trade to the whole nation would have been, and the whole nation suffered by this mistaken favor and contract system. The African company at Marseilles, like all monopolists, became as odious as their system was vexatious & intolerant, they were detested at home, and lost the confidence of the natives of the African shores. The Barbary powers, during the reign of Louis XIV. had contracted many treaties with France, highly advantageous to France, had they been duly attended to; but the same laxity & imbecility which ruled France, and which ultimately produced the revolution, had suffered more treaties to be broken through, and by the activity of her great English rival, in the year 1799, there was not a single French merchant in the dominion of Algiers. The recent expedition of Jerome Bonaparte, to that coast—the counteraction of Mr. Cartwright, the English Consul, still more recent, and his flight from that country, plainly point out the objects pursued by France, and the unity of her stupendous policy. In a subsequent number of these papers, we shall go into the detail and particulars of the commerce of the Levant.

The next power in the order before given, was Genoa, now an integral part of the federal empire of France. Genoa, before her union with France, had pursued a system of policy in relation to the Barbary powers, well worthy of their ancient reputation, and honorable to the native land of Columbus. She always preferred fighting the Barbarians to the payment of tribute. Her seamen, therefore, were the best and bravest that sailed in that sea—the state never redeemed those who surrendered, and her merchantmen, always prepared for death rather than slavery, were a terror to the corsairs. They have not had, for the 25 years preceding their incorporation with France, more than three large ships of war, two gallies, and two corvettes; yet, with this small force, they protected their coasts with effect, and carried on an active commerce with a degree of security and success, honorable and worthy of imitation, by commercial nations. The acquisition of such a people on the Mediterranean shores must be of the first consequence to the federal empire: and a recent release of a great number of Genoese, who had been captured, and remained unredeemed, at the solicitation of Jerome Bonaparte, is another evidence, that the system of French policy is directed by men of no mean intellect or shallow views.

The third power, whose number of ships was stated, was G. Britain. One half of the number stated, are chiefly confined to Gibraltar and Malta; a great proportion of those that trade with Gibraltar, are navigated by Italians, who expect, under the British flag, protection against corsairs, and who, during war, possess many indulgences in smuggling commerce, not authorised by English laws, but which policy blinks at in consideration of their supplying the British garrisons, and aiding in cutting up the French and Spanish commerce; these men after acquiring property adequate to their wishes, return to the Italian shores from whence they came, to Genoa, to Tuscany, to Elba, to Sardinia and Corsica.

A decree of Bonaparte published in July, 1805, against enemy's corsairs, manned in Italy, has paralysed that branch of illicit commerce, and thrown those hardy seamen on shore in their several countries, or transferred them to the naval ports of the federal empire; & it is not at all improbable that the same sagacity which dictated the decree, and that adopted Genoa may, upon the ascendency of Bonaparte being unequivocally established, convert those very seamen into enemies of English commerce.

Malta, to which another portion of the British commerce was directed, has been in a commercial decline for fifty years; and after all her former celebrity, her military monks, like the eunuchs of those infidel countries to which they had, in the name of God, sworn a holy hatred, had lost all their vigor & their reputation. During the twenty years which our American friend, to whom we are indebted for these facts, resided there, there had not been a single Barbary corsair captured by the Maltese knights. Malta, excepting a small quantity of cotton, produces nothing worthy of commerce. It is therefore an entrepot, where the commerce of other places may be deposited for future transportation, and possesses no consequence but from its military position. As things look at present, the British commerce to the Mediterranean has reached its height. The barbary system has been hitherto sustained and nourished by G. Britain, as a check and a scourge upon the commerce of nations which are not "*intimately connected*" with her. That system will now be either destroyed, or employed by France, as it was formerly employed by her rival, the *parent of universal mischief*. The commerce of Italy, and of the Mediterranean generally, will obtain a renewed life, and a more vigorous body; and the consequences will affect the Baltic and the Atlantic—while to the U. S. if the pacific and strictly neutral policy of our government is pursued, the consequences must prove of the first importance. But our greatest danger will be from the influence of English politics in our country, & the assumption of our flag by English factors, who disregard our nation, and who, to answer the purposes of England, would readily commit our peace. But these dangers will diminish with the progress of those events, which time must now speedily unfold.

Spain, before the humiliating peace made with the Barbary powers, & her disasters under *Acton*, (late Neapolitan minister) and Count *O'Reilly*, in 1785, had not, in the Mediterranean, more than 250 vessels, and these principally belonging to Majorca & Ivica; Barcelona and Malaga furnished a few. The sacrifice of national honor, however, procured a considerable advantage to Spain; near 160,000 Italians removed to her seaports on the Mediterranean: The Catalonians, and Majorcans are the most active of the Spanish seamen; and it has been more than once hinted that Catalonia was to be incorporated with the federal empire; an event by no means inconsistent with the prevailing policy of France.

Naples has recently undergone a total revolution. The island of Sicily which contains a population of about a million of both sexes, cannot long remain unsubjugated.—Its commercial prosperity was at its greatest height about 50 years ago. Since that period, particularly since the war of the second coalition, its general commerce has been virtually annihilated, as its ordinary imports and exports were almost limited to the mere subsistence of human life. Her navy, between her enemies and her friends, ceased to exist, and the numerous corsairs of Tunis, without professing or courting alliance, preyed upon the vessels, and ravaged the coasts and carried thousands of the unhappy Sicilians into captivity. Under their own flag, the Sicilian seamen have never fought with valor or success. Under other flags, they have been found gallant, intrepid, and intelligent—such is the evident effect, and the most salutary commentary on depraved and debased government. Her new destiny may restore her to commerce and prosperity; under the former dynasty, Naples and Sicily were doomed to wretchedness & progressive deterioration. If the same genius that pervades France, should equally favor Naples and Sicily, their position, climate, productions, promise to exalt them to an unexampled state of commercial prosperity. The occupation of Naples is surely a powerful evidence of the intelligence and unity of design, which governs the policy of France.

Next to the Neapolitan and Sicilians we noticed the Greeks, subject to the Grand Seignior. These possess the largest, best rigged, and best fitted ships that navigate the Mediterranean. Since the commencement of the French revolution they have doubled in number. Three out of four of their vessels they build themselves, the rest are purchased at Naples, Genoa, Venice, &c. The acuteness, intelligence, intrepidity and enterprize of the Greeks are proverbial; their skill in commercial transactions is not surpassed even by the Chinese. In 1804, 900 sail of Greek vessels were loaded in the Archipelago and Euxine, with grain for Spain and Portugal; and as they took but very little of a return cargo, it is supposed that from Spain alone they carried in that year 4 millions and a half of dollars, and it is a fact ascertained, that in the course of 3 months they carried from the port of Malaga alone, in exchange for grain, to the amount of a million of dollars.

Nothing more strongly characterises the activity and perseverance of the Greeks than the constancy with which they resist and overcome all the oppressive exactions and vexations to which they are subjected under the Turkish rule—The Porte is jealous of them, and with great justice, for they are miserably and cruelly oppressed. Heavy duties and fees exacted by the officers of the Turkish government, have no doubt retarded and deterred many from commerce—but the progress which they have made, is the best proof that even subjugated as they are, they are a great people, and form the materials ready prepared for a great nation. The oppression which they have been exposed to, has thrown many under the protection of Russia, and given life and commerce to the Crimea. It is difficult to foresee what course the Greeks will take, because it will be difficult for France to maintain amicable relations with Turkey, and encourage the emancipation of the Greeks; while it will be equally difficult not to afford protection to the Greeks, who would, if not countenanced by France, naturally strengthen their connexion, and adhere more ardently to Russia. The course to be pursued perhaps by France, is that of colonization; and the Porte would be readily brought to cede the Morea to France, in return for the guarantee of Romania, Bulgaria and Bessarabia, against the designs of Russia, or perhaps in consideration of shutting up the Bosphorus against the Russian flag.

The reader of these papers will keep constantly in mind, that they are but the illustration of certain reasonings and anticipations formed at different times in the *Aurora*, on the interesting theatre of European politics; and that we pursue the commercial and political relations of the several people, as they bear upon and illustrate each other.

FROM A LONDON PAPER.

FEDERATIVE SYSTEM.

Comparison of the federative system of France with the policy of the Roman Republick.

ITALY was long considered the school of the arts and of politics. The French of the present day removed the finest monuments and productions of the former, from that fair peninsula to their brilliant capital; and since Talleyrand's administration, a plan of the most subtle policy seems to have found its way, with those monuments, to the palace of the Tuilleries. Many expressions of that cabinet are now recalled to mind, which to many perhaps, appear totally unmeaning; but whose eventual signification was but too soon manifested. What however distinguishes the French school from the more ancient one is, that its plans are more speedily matured; and is not this perfectly natural, as the impulsive energies employed are so infinitely superior?

In the letter in which the Emperor of the French informed the Senate, that he had adopted prince Eugene viceroy of Italy, in that remarkable document, dated the 12th of January, Napoleon used for the first time the expressive term *Federative States*. "We intend," said he, "by other dispositions, to devote the relations which shall exist between all the federative states of the French empire. As the different parts, though independent of each other, have one common interest, so likewise they shall have one common bond of union." Scarcely three months had elapsed when the promised developement appeared, and this federative system upholds itself by marriages and political treaties, to an extent that excites astonishment.

The expressive term *Federative State* first received a signification from the speech with which Napoleon opened the sitting of the legislative body on the 2d of March. "The whole peninsula of Italy, said he, forms a part of the great empire: I have, as its chief, guaranteed the sovereigns and the constitutions, by which the different portions of it are governed." The new federative system continued to extend itself over Europe. The idea may perhaps long have engaged the mind of him, whose influence over the destiny of states is so powerful and irresistible. Its appearance before the world, its realization, can only be dated from the last disastrous coalition, and particularly from the eventful battle of Austerlitz.

Modern times can scarcely transfer to the great book of history, events and circumstances, for which a parallel may not be found on some preceding page. Thus, in an earlier epoch of the human race, we discover the same federative system which now forms a principal object of French policy, of an extent and a perfection that are worthy of admiration. It was at Rome, where the ambition of universal dominion invented this system—The subtle rulers of that conquering state were convinced of the difficulty of retaining all the distant and motley parts of which this perpetually increasing colossus was composed, and this conviction created allies. These allies of the Roman people were nations who, either voluntarily, to preserve their otherwise precarious political existence, or vanquished, after a fruitless contest, entered into alliance, by which Rome promised them her protection, as the price of her independence. They were obliged to furnish numerous auxiliaries, who never formed separate armies, but were only permitted to act in conjunction with the Roman legions. The political exertions were consequently crippled by this alliance; from Rome emanated the commands which decided the destination and employment of their energies.

The various nations which inhabited the Italian peninsula, the Latins, the Etrurians, the Peceni and the Campanians, were the principal allies of the Roman state. In the sequel, this federative system expanded itself, and for many centuries kept advancing by degrees. It extended to Greece, to Spain, to Gaul, and reached from Europe even to Asia and Africa. Not only small Republics, but likewise *many Kings*, some of whom were powerful monarchs, belonged to this confederacy.

As Napoleon at the present day strengthens through gratitude the bonds which unite Bavaria, Wirtemburg and Baden to France, by increasing the power and enlarging the dominions of those princes, so Rome likewise rewarded the zeal of her allies. The territory of the African king, Massinissa, was considerably extended; and that of king Eumenes in Asia Minor, was increased, by the provinces united with it, to a powerful monarchy. Exactly in the same manner as Napoleon accommodates the differences between Bavaria, Wirtemburg, and Baden, relative to their respective limits, the Roman state adjusted a similar dispute of king Eumenes.

This parallel is rendered ſtill more ſtriking, by the language employed in the aſſembly of the French legiſlature, after the official expoſition of the exterior ſituation of France:—"From the peace concluded by Napoleon, (ſaid a member of the legiſlature, in the meeting of the 5th of March,) Europe goes forth under a new form. A balance of power can no more ſubſiſt among ſtates, than among the individuals who compose them; for equal pretentions produce jealouſy, this leads to war, and war entails misery on nations. Every thing, therefore, indicates the neceſſity of a preponderating power which ſurrounded by ſtates leſs powerful, can afford them protection and ſuccor, can be the umpire of their quarrels, and the chaſtiſer of their guilt—This power, Frenchmen, you have become; Europe is under your direction; your laws ſhall reſound from its tribunals; and, like the glorious luminary of day, ye are called to operate, from the center of the political power, and to direct the others in their appointed course."

Of these directed powers, which are immediately, or mediately under the command of France, a demi-official paper, the Journal de Paris, conducted by the counſellor of State Rœderer, lately gave a remarkable calculation. France, it is here ſaid, in an article dated from Leipzic contains, in the 110 departments, of which that empire is compoſed, 30,480,000 ſouls. The total population of the countries united in one common intereſt with France, amounts to nearly the ſame number. Among the federative ſtates, that Journal mentions the kingdom of Italy with 6,200,000, and the kingdom of Naples, ſince conferred on Prince Joſeph, with 7,350,000 inhabitants. The population of the allied ſtates is eſtimated at 16,450,000, viz Spain contains, according to this ſtatement, 10,000,000; Bavaria, 3,200,000; Wirtenberg and Baden together, 1,600,000; and Holland, 1,650,000 inhabitants. The ſum total preſents a maſs of 66,500,000 perſons, who are all under the direction of Napoleon.

If we pause at this number, and compare it with the total population of our quarter of the globe, we shall find that about two-fifths of the 170,000,000 of inhabitants in Europe, are under the *general direction* mentioned by the Journal de Paris. But we are obliged to go still farther; for by the Westphalian State, recently created for Prince Murat, by the new possessions on the Adriatic Sea, in the vicinity of Greece, by the late acquisitions in the south of Italy, and by many other alterations which since that time have been either effected or prepared, the balance of the European states, which was declaimed against in the assembly of the French Legislature, has been still more deranged, and the power of France has gained a still greater preponderance.

The federative system, on which it is principally founded, continued in Rome for many centuries. It fell, at length, through the cupidity of the great, who were desirous of converting the allied states into provinces, to make their extortions the more productive, and through the discontent of the allied nations in Italy, which broke out into a terrible and sanguinary war, in which the existence of the Roman state was long endangered. The policy of Napoleon has taken precautions against the possibility of such an accident. Relationship, and multifarious ramifications, have cordially united the sovereigns of the allied states, with the reigning family in France. Should even time weaken these bonds, no prophetic spirit is required to assert, that they will not be dissolved in the age of Napoleon.

FROM AN ENGLISH PRINT.

To the independent electors of Honiton.

GENTLEMEN,

Perceiving that Mr. Cavendish Bradshaw has, since by your voice he was constituted one of the guardians of the public purse, taken care to obtain a place, by the means of which he drew into his own pocket some thousands a year out of that purse, and this, too, at a time when the load of indispensible taxes is pressing his honest and industrious constituents to the earth; perceiving this, and being fully persuaded, that whenever the electors of any place re-choose a representative under similar circumstances, the cause is not so much in their own disposition as in the apathy and lukewarmness of those independent men who have the ability to rescue them from such hands; with this truth being deeply impressed, I did, upon hearing of the approaching vacancy, use my efforts to prevail upon other men of this description to afford you an opportunity of evincing your good sense and uprightness, and having failed in those efforts, I have thought it my duty to afford you this opportunity; it being manifestly true, that, unless men of independence and of public ſpirit will offer themſelves as candidates, to rail at electors for chooſing and rechooſing the dependent and the mercenary is in the higheſt degree, unreaſonable and unjuſt.

As to profeſſions, gentlemen, ſo many and ſo loud, upon ſuch occaſions, have they been; ſo numerous are the inſtances in which the ſoulneſs and ſhameleſſneſs of the apoſtacy have borne an exact proportion to the purity and ſolemnity of the vow; ſo completely, and with ſuch fatal effect, have the grounds of confidence been deſtroyed, that it is now become necessary, upon all occasions like the present, to give a pledge, such as every man can clearly understand, and such as it is impossible to violate without exposing the violator to detection and to all the consequences of detected hypocrisy and falsehood; and, such a pledge I now give in declaring, that, whether you elect me or not, I never, as long as I live, either for myself, or for, or through the means of, any one of my family, will receive, under any name, whether of salary, pension or other, either directly or indirectly, one single farthing of the public money; but, without emolument, compensation or reward of any kind, or in any shape, will to the utmost of my ability, watch over and defend the property, the liberties and the privileges of the people, never therefrom separating, as I never yet have, the just and constitutional rights and prerogatives of the crown.

This declaration, gentlemen, is not made without due reflection as to the future as well as to the present, as to public men in general as well as to myself. It proceeds, first, from an opinion, that the representatives of the people ought never to be exposed to the temptation of betraying their trust; secondly, from long observation, that those who live upon the public are the most miserable of men; and thirdly, from that experience in the various walks of life, which has convinced me of the wisdom of Hagar, who prayed for neither riches or poverty; not riches, lest she should forget God; nor poverty, lest she should be tempted to steal; and, to receive the public money unjustly, is not only stealing, but stealing of the worst and basest sort, including a breach of the most sacred trust accompanied with the cowardly consciousness of impunity. From reflections like these, gentlemen, it is, that the declaration now made has proceeded; and, when I depart, in word or in deed, from this declaration, may I become the scorn of my country; wherein to be remembered with esteem I prize beyond all the riches and all the honors of this world.

But, gentlemen, as it is my firm determination never to receive a farthing of the public money, so it is my determination equally firm, never, in any way whatever, to give one farthing of my own money to any man, in order to induce him to vote, or to cause others to vote for me; and being convinced, that it is this practice of giving, or promising to give, money or money's worth, at elections; being convinced that it is this disgraceful, this unlawful, this profligate, this impious practice, to which are ascribed all our calamities, and all the dangers which now stare us in the face, I cannot refrain from exhorting you to be against all such attempts at such practices, constantly and watchfully upon your guard. The candidates who have resorted to such means have always