the bar of the House of Commons, to be the author. The remarks were voted libellous, and he, as the author of them, was expelled. If the people were irritated before, they were still more irritated now. If Mr. Wilkes was dear to them before, he was now endeared to them tenfold. If before the voice of the county of Middlesex was favorable to him, it was now wholly his own; it uttered no sound but that of his name, unless it was the cry, 'Liberty,' which [illegible], was considered as almost synonymous with 'Wilkes.' He was rechosen on the 16th of February, without opposition. On the following day he was declared by a majority of the House of Commons incapable of being elected into that Parliament, and the election was vacated. This was assuming at once that the expulsion of a member of Parliament was equivalent to exclusion; and that a single branch of the legislature could control by its fiat the choice of electors, however explicitly declared. But it rested not here. On the 17th of February, the day after his re-election, Mr. Wilkes was again expelled, the House resolving that he was incapable of being elected into that Parliament. Notwithstanding this resolution, he was a third time elected, again without opposition; a Mr. Dingley indeed offering himself as a candidate, but not obtaining a single freeholder even to nominate him. That election was also, on the next day, declared void. On the 13th of April, Mr. Wilkes was, a fourth time, elected by a majority of 1143 votes, against Mr. Luttrell, who had only 296. The same day the House of Commons resolved, 'that Mr. Luttrell ought to have been returned.' On the 29th of April a petition was presented by sir George Savile, from the freeholders of Middlesex, declaring that their intention was not, in voting for Mr. Wilkes, to throw away those votes, or waive their right of representation, and praying therefore against the return of Mr. Luttrell. Notwithstanding which it was finally determined, on the 8th of May, 'that Mr. Luttrell was duly elected.' Mr. W's. contests, like the battles of Homer, arose one above the other in progressive majesty. Not within the walls of the legislative assemblies only was it fought, but without also; in the wider plains of literature, of general intellect, & general feeling. In this, his fiercest and most important fight, the immortals descended into the war. The gravity of Johnson, biassed by its favorite political prepossessions, brought forward to the side of power its impressive weight. The sage Blackstone, with his book of wisdom, the characters of which were attempted to be read against him, supported also the cause of ministers. Burke, more subtle, if less vehement than in latter days, broke his lance in defence of popular right; Burke, supporting as utility seemed to him to require, the people or the throne; and turning, like the poet's feigned Almanzor, in favor of the weaker side, the scale of fortune. Above all, the fiery and the rapid Junius, in dazzling armour, but his beaver down, coursed along the lists, scattering lightnings round him. Nor were the thunders rolled in the senate less awful than the eloquence of the press. Lord Chatham, how much soever he had once personally condemned Mr Wilkes, was now, with the fulness of his great soul, of his party; for his party was that of the constitution. He quoted Lord Somers and Lord Holt; "he called them honest men, who knew and loved the English constitution. I vow to God (to Lord Mansfield, who defended the measures of the majority,) I vow to God, I think your Lordship equals them both in abilities. The House of Lords is privileged to interfere, in the case of an invasion of the people's liberties; and the case of the county of Middlesex is a case of such invasion."

To the vote of the 17th of February, 1769, wisely and fortunately no resistance was made but the resistance of logic and complaint; the murmur was loud and long, but vented itself in the legal mode permitted and justified by the constitution. The petitions presented to parliament were, by Lord Chatham, styled honorable and manly; by the partisans of ministers seditious, by some of them even treasonable.

Petitions were succeeded by remonstrances, some of which were composed in language sufficiently intemperate: but the flame, which ministers had incautiously raised, they possessed not the courage to extinguish. They believed, probably it would of itself in time consume and die away: they stood therefore wholly on the defensive, rejecting the propositions made in parliament to rescind the resolution, but carefully avoiding to punish those, without doors, who complained, however rudely, of its injustice. Mr. Wilkes in the mean while, within the walls of the king's bench prison, continued to pass a not inglorious confinement. From the time of his first election for Middlesex, in March 1768, through the whole of the year 1769, and even far into 1772, he was the sole and unrivalled political idol of the people, who lavished upon him all in their power to bestow, as if willing to prove that in England it was possible for an individual to be great and important through them alone. A subscription was opened for the payment of his debts, and 20,000l. are said in a few weeks to have been raised for that purpose, and for the discharging his fine. The society for the support of the bill of rights, presented him with 300l. Gifts of plate, of wine, of household goods, were daily heaped upon him. An unknown patriot conveyed to him in a handsomely embroidered purse, one hundred guineas. An honest chandler enriched him with a box containing of candles, the magic number of dozens, forty-five. High and low contended with each other who most should serve and celebrate him. Devices and emblems of all descriptions ornamented the trinkets conveyed to his prison: the most usual was the cap of liberty placed over his crest: upon others was a bird with expanded wings, hovering over a cage, beneath a motto, "I love liberty." Every wall bore his name, and every window his portrait. In China, in bronze, or in marble, he stood upon the chimney-piece of half the houses of the metropolis: he swung upon the sign post of every village, of every great road throughout the country. He was accustomed himself to tell with much glee of a monarchical old lady, behind whom he accidentally walked—looking up, she murmured, within his hearing, in much spleen—"He swings every where but where he ought:"—He passed her, and, turning round, politely bowed. But the voice of disapprobation, whether of old women or of young, of men or of youths, was the voice of one amidst a thousand. The most grateful of all harmony, says Balzac, arises from the dissenting voice of a single individual, when mixed in the general concert of public applause: the appetite for popularity is not often distinguishing; it loves to number rather than select.

"Praise from the rivell'd lips of toothless, bald
Decrepitude; and in the looks of lean
And craving poverty; and in the bow
Respectful of the smutch'd artificer:
Is oft too welcome, and may much disturb
The mass of the purpose."

What wonder then, if, accompanied by the praise also of the splendid, the polished and the wealthy, it invigorate and confirm the purpose?

Amongst the public bodies that testified their approbation of his spirit, the city of London took the lead. As early as the 2d of January, 1769, he was elected alderman of the ward of Faringdon without: by a mistake in closing the poll books, the election however was pronounced void; but on the 27th of the same month he was declared duly elected.

In November, 1769, he brought his action against Lord Halifax, for false imprisonment, and the seizure of his papers: he obtained a verdict of 4000l. On the 17th of April, 1770, he was discharged from his imprisonment. On the 24th he was sworn as alderman.

In 1771, he seized the advantage afforded by his magisterial situation, to make reprisals on the House of Commons. A messenger having orders from the House to command the attendance of a printer, (against whom complaint was made that, contrary to the privileges of parliament, he had published the debates of the house), attempted in vain to execute what was required.

After several fruitless visitations, the serjeant at arms reported that the printer was not to be met with. An address to the sovereign was drawn up, in pursuance of which a proclamation was issued, offering for the apprehension of the printer a considerable reward. He was apprehended and the reward claimed. Mr. alderman Wilkes discharged him, apprehended under an illegal warrant, and bound over the printer to prosecute the party apprehending him for an assault. He at the same time wrote a letter to lord Halifax, the secretary of state, acquainting him with what had been done. The same conduct was adopted by Mr. alderman Oliver, and the lord mayor, Brass Crosby, with relation to other parties similarly situated: nor did they stop here; in one instance the magistrates of the city not only discharged the person against whom the House of Commons had directed their orders, but, as their joint act, committed the messenger who endeavored to put them in force. The Commons, fired at this contempt of their authority, proceeded to command the attendance of the magistrates. The lord mayor and Mr. alderman Oliver, as members of the house, attended in their places, and justified the part which they had acted. They were committed to the Tower; and though brought up by habeas corpus to the court of common pleas, where their case was argued at length, were remanded thither, and continued there till the close of the sessions. Their being, however, as members, within the jurisdiction of the house, was not applicable to Mr. Wilkes. In a letter to the speaker, he peremptorily refused to comply with the order of attendance, except as representative of the county of Middlesex. The order was renewed, and renewed again, but it was not obeyed. At length he was ordered to be present on the 8th of April, and an adjournment was then made to the 9th, and thus, to use the words of Junius, 'by this mean, pitiful evasion,' was the point given up. The wretchedness of this shift became still more apparent from the house having previously erased out of the Guildhall rota book an entry taken by the magistrates of their examination of the printer, for answering of whose charge they bound over the messenger to give security. These minutes were at the command of the house expunged by the lord mayor's clerk at the speaker's table.

If the power of the commons in parliament was such as to justify this interposition, it seemed to follow as a necessary consequence, that it was such as to justify the commitment of Mr. Wilkes, who with his colleagues had signed the minutes. If their jurisdiction were circumscribed, and extended only to that which was immediately a part of their body, it became difficult to say, what control they possessed over the judicial papers of the city magistracy: Lord Chatham, in the house of peers, denominated this interference the act, not of a parliament, but of a mob: and the metropolis at the time approved so much of the conduct of their magisterial officers, that at a court of common council thanks were voted to them, for having supported the privileges and franchises of the city, and having so firmly defended the British constitution. Mr. Wilkes triumphantly observed, that it was now evident the house 'had had enough of him.' His victory was decisive; and all that a well wisher to the country could regret was, that it was a victory gained over the elected representatives of the nation, and that those representatives had, in part, merited their defeat.

From this period, Mr. Wilkes's career was a course of good fortune. On the 3d of July, 1771, he was chosen sheriff; in October 1774, he was elected Lord Mayor; and parliament being suddenly dissolved in its sixth session, he was elected one of the new representatives of Middlesex, and took his seat unmolested in the December of the same year. He had during the whole of the last parliament publicly termed himself the real and legal representative of that county: its sheriffs too had, at two distinct calls of the House, returned him as such. In 1774, he actually attended to be sworn, but the tender of the oath was refused, without a certificate from the clerk of the crown; which, naturally enough, was refused also. His election secure, he had now the privilege "of calling names," and the still more important privilege of pressing upon the House, in person, an oft repeated motion for rescinding the resolution of 1769. This for several years was not accompanied with complete success, though it was, at almost each attempt, attended with an augmentation in number of those who voted with him. In April, 1775, he presented, as Lord Mayor, a remonstrance to the sovereign, from the city of London; and in July, a petition: both of them relating, not to his own peculiar case, but to the state of public affairs; both, however, hostile to the conduct of ministers. Having several times stood candidate for the chamberlainship of London, against alderman Hopkins, he, in 1779, upon the death of his opponent, obtained that, not dishonorable, and very lucrative office. He obtained it by a most decided majority, and held it, without interruption, for life. Amid these more substantial benefits, it is scarcely worth relating, that a Mr. Temple left him, by will, 500l. "for his strenuous endeavors in the cause of freedom, and his noble defence of the constitution against a series of despots and wicked ministers;" and that the city of London presented him with a valuable silver cup, embossed with the death of Caesar in the capitol.

In 1782, upon the dismission from office of the ministers who conducted the war against America, the obnoxious resolution was, at length, upon his own motion, expunged from the journals. This was the crown of those political labors, which more immediately concerned his own personal actions. He thenceforward deemed himself "a fire burnt out." Such are the main and more important incidents of the life of John Wilkes, a man, about whom, even were it unwilling, posterity necessarily must make enquiries; since the circumstances of his life are interwoven with the history of his time, and with the history of the constitution of his country. His after life was passed in the punctual and faithful discharge of the duties attached to his office of chamberlain; in a temperate attention, as a senator, to national affairs, and the proceedings of parliament; and in the cultivation of letters and the fine arts. As treasurer of the city of London, (such is the chamberlain) his accounts were kept with exactness, and his personal attendance was most regular. No officer subordinate to him, no person in any way concerned with his office, ever had occasion to wait one moment beyond the appointed time of daily business.

He died on the 26th, aged seventy. He was interred in Grosvenor chapel, south Audley street. According to the directions of his will, eight laboring men, dressed in new mourning, bore his coffin from the door of the chapel to the vault. The bearers, by his will, received, in addition to their clothes, a guinea each. A tablet, its inscription written by himself, has this memorial:

The Remains
of
John Wilkes,
A Friend to Liberty;
Born at London, Oct. 17, 1727, O.S.
Died in this Parish.

ALEXr COCHRAN, Jun.

Being determined on going to Ireland as soon as he can get his affairs settled. He offers for sale on easy payments, a LOT of ground fronting the Marine Barracks on square 004 on which are two new two story convenient Brick Houses, in one of which he lives himself and the other is rented. Also, on square 799 nine unimproved lots; and also two small Framed Houses, both under rent at 6 dollar per month each, one of them being on [illegible] street, and near to where the Tobacco Warehouse is to be built, and the other on 4th street near to the Navy Yard.

He also wishes to sell his entire stock of Goods on hand consisting of a good assortment of Groceries, Dry Goods, Crockery, and Ironmongery, which he will do on terms pleasing to any person who may wish to purchase.

April 27—3t

N. B. All persons indebted to A. C. Jr are desired to settle their accounts immediately otherwise they will be put in the hands of law officers, without further notice.

WASHINGTON CITY.

FRIDAY, MAY 1.

CANAL-PARTY shall appear in our next paper. Although we do not relish the suggestion of creating a new debt of fifty or hundred millions of dollars for promoting internal improvements, we shall notwithstanding be much gratified by the future speculations of the writer.

The public were, in the last number of this paper, advised of the death of Mrs. TINGEY. She died in the 57th year of her age, above thirty of which she had passed in the married state.

Her virtues in the relation of a wife, a parent, & a friend were, perhaps, unsurpassed by any of her sex, and constitute a monument in the hearts of her kindred and friends, which will be imperishable.

A long, lingering, and often excruciating illness, she bore with more than ordinary fortitude, and with a cheerfulness superior to what, considering her emaciated frame, her friends could have conceived her capable of supporting.—At length worn down by the violence of disease, she resigned without a groan or struggle, her soul to Him who gave it, retaining her entire senses to the last—having some time previously given full testimony of her faith in the holy Christian Religion, and through that of an assurance of being received to a life of bliss—leaving a disconsolate family, and numerous friends to bewail her loss.

Our readers will find in our preceding columns the liberal, and manly sentiments avowed by Lord Howick, long the friend and political associate of Fox; both of whom opposed in all its stages the tyranny practised by England against this country. It is these sentiments, and the measure to which they were about to give birth, that awoke the infatuated monarch of Britain from his momentary trance, and threaten a return of the reign of prejudice and superstition. Let the apologists of England reflect on these things, and cease to extol that nation as the freest on earth.

Among the important subjects recommended by the President, at the opening of the last session of Congress, to their attention, was an enquiry into the expediency of appropriating the surplus revenue to the purposes of education and internal improvements. This part of the message was referred to what, in parliamentary language, is denominated a grand committee, composed of a member from each state. Although, however, this reference took place during the first week of the session, no report was made; nor have the public to this day been advised, whether at all, or in what way, the committee discharged the important duty assigned them—a duty, we will venture to affirm, not inferior to that devolved on any select committee during the session. We believe the fact is that few meetings were held, and that no decision was made on any point. Whatever apologies may be offered for this supineness, we must notwithstanding be compelled to consider it highly exceptionable. If the members on the committee were indifferent as to the importance of the subject, they should have vacated their seats in favor of those who viewed it important. If too much engaged in business of a more pressing nature, they should have pursued the same course. And if, after a diligent research into the subject, they should have found themselves, as they possibly might, unable to devise a system in which a majority united, they should, at least, have made a report, and assigned the leading views which had been taken of the subject; but to pass it over *sub silentio*, we repeat, was highly exceptionable.

The supineness of the House of Representatives, however, imposes a stronger duty on that part of the people, who view the subject as of great importance, to draw the public attention to it. NOW is the time for a fair, temperate and enlightened examination. Enjoying the calm of peace, and prosperous and happy as we ever can be, no season can be more propitious for a just and impartial decision whether the general government will interpose in the accomplishment of these great objects, or whether they shall be left exclusively to the states.

Whatever diversity of opinion may exist on this point, there ought to be, and it is presumed there is none on the necessity of making such a decision. For until it shall be made, it is in vain to expect either the general government or the states to adopt those extensive plans, and to apply towards their execution those great resources, which the industry of our citizens, and the national interests and honor require. If the states individually undertake the accomplishment of what may be deemed national objects, what security have they that the federal government will not in a few years execute on a bolder scale plans which will render their labors fruitless? What security, for instance, have they that they, or their citizens will be permitted to reap the harvest of their capital and enterprize expended on turnpiking a section of the present main mail line; when Congress may at any moment they please designate another route, which shall be more direct, and in every respect more convenient to travellers? Is it not most obvious, that while Congress continue to refuse a decision on the extent of their powers on this subject, and the expediency of exercising them, that they in effect put a seal on the exertions of the states? Surely, then, if this is the undisguised truth, all will agree, however they may differ in other respects, in the propriety of bringing this interesting point before the proper tribunal for a decision. Is there any one in this country, who, at this day, doubts the incalculable benefits of good roads and navigable canals? If there be such a man, or such a body of men, we fear that they are wedded to irreclaimable prejudice. They can only be compared to the man, who disputing the existence of the sun, to convince his companion that it did not exist, desired him to shut his eyes against its light. Why is England the richest and most productive country on earth? Because she has better roads and more canals than any other country. It is this that has enriched her lands, by the facility with which manures are transported from one place to another, and has increased their productive capacity at least fifty per cent. in a period of twenty years. It is this which has rendered it easy and cheap to distribute through the whole nation the important articles of coal and lime, and many others, which, but for these means, would be confined to narrow districts; and above all, it is owing to this circumstance that soils the best calculated for particular products are almost exclusively devoted to their cultivation. *The average production of an acre in England is twenty two bushels of wheat.* What would the value of lands in the U. States be, compared to what it now is, if they produced this quantity of grain, and if the means of transportation were such as they are in England? It is true, that a great, if not the greater part of the lands in the U. States are capable of producing nearly the same crop. But only a small portion of these lands are yet in cultivation. Of that part which is at present cultivated, there is scarcely a fourth that produces half the quantity. It may be said that we have not manures in sufficient quantities to raise our worn out soils to the state in which the English lands are. This may be true; but it is only true in a limited extent. The manures which we have, though not comparatively equal to those of England, would yet be competent to effect a decisive change in the state of agriculture on the Atlantic board. Lime and marle are found in great quantities, and plaister answers extremely well for perhaps more than one half of the lands of this country. To diffuse the blessings of which these are the magical causes only requires good roads and canals.

Let not then the American people slumber on this momentous subject. They are, perhaps, the only people in the world deeply interested in the accomplishment of these objects. Compared with their condition, the whole world besides is a dreary despotism, in which the laboring classes are in fact the slaves of the great monopolists who consume all the surplus product of the land. It is very doubtful, whether, under such systems, the situation of the great body of the people is ameliorated by the increased fertility of the soil and facility of internal commerce. Although more is produced, such is their abject state, that they are still merely fed and clothed in the plainest manner—while all that contributes to comfort, or administers to vanity, goes to the highest orders, or is squandered by government. In these countries the die of a laboring man is cast at his birth, and nothing but a miracle can afterwards elevate him above the necessity of incessant occupation. *Here* man stands in a far different relation. The door to distinction is open—politically all men stand in the same ranks—we have no monopolies—and our institutions, so far as they trench on the rights of property, all tend to equalise it. Such too is the cheapness of land that it requires but a small sum to become a proprietor and cultivator of the soil; and this step once taken, scarcely half the life of a man is passed before he is raised above the necessity of constant drudgery. Industrious, it is necessary for him, still to be; but he is no longer chained to that incessant toil which deprives him of the pleasure of passing a part of his time with his friends, of enjoying himself in the bosom of his family, of cultivating his mind by reading and observation, and of joining in the important public duties to the discharge of which he may be called by the favor of his country. Such a man has a deep, nay, he has the *deepest* interest in the accomplishment of these great objects. For in them, not only he will find his reward, but likewise his children, and his children's children.

John Clopton is re-elected a representive in the next Congress for the state of Virginia by a majority of 164 votes over Peyton Randolph.

MASSACHUSETTS ELECTION.

The last Boston Chronicle received states the number of votes given this year for Governor to be—

For Mr. Sullivan	41,092
Mr. Strong	38,527
Republican majority	2,565
The same towns last year—	
Mr. Strong	36,940
Mr. Sullivan	36,309
Federal majority	631

The Chronicle adds—"The election is decided—and what does the result prove.

"1st, IT PROVES that all the charges and allegations against Judge SULLIVAN are, in the opinion of a majority of the qualified voters, *false, malicious & scandalous.*

"2dly. IT PROVES that the leaders of the federal party, together with the