From the Providence Gazette.

JUDGE BOWEN's CHARGE.

Mr. PRINTER,

As much agitation has been excited, from *Georgia* to *Maine*, by the very "reprehensible nature of some sentiments contained in a charge delivered by Judge BOWEN to the grand jury of Chatham county;" and as many severe comments have been made, it may be proper, it may be perhaps in some measure indispensably necessary, to submit this charge to the consideration of an unprejudiced and impartial public.

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

The period has at length arrived, when the citizens of Georgia shall hear from the bench sentiments which ought long since to have been promulgated in the legislature. Why is it that the silence of of the grave has hitherto pervaded every description of men, on a subject so highly important as that on which I am about to address you? Why is it that on our legislative floor, amongst those who are annually elected to guard our safety and secure our repose, the most important avenue by which danger may assail us has neither been anticipated nor guarded? Is it that cold-blooded fear has paralized the minds and the nerves of our legislators? Is it that the apprehension of drawing down the vengeance of the wealthy and the powerful has silenced the cries of oppression, and the voice of truth? Or is that, alike interested in one and the same species of criminality, each individual is willing that his own malconduct should operate as an apology for that of his neighbors? and thus, with a view of conferring benefits, expose to ruins all he most loves on earth.

Avarice! How dreadful may be thy consequences! Unnatural love! That exposes its objects to the justly irritated passions of an oppressed and abused people.

Long have your eyes been closed to the dangers that surround you; enough have you been misled and deceived; in vain will the laws of our country enact injustice,, and authorize oppression; the loud tongue of truth, and the sacred, imprescriptible rights of man, will be asserted. Hear then, my fellow citizens! Listen to what experience and wisdom suggest, as the only means of rescuing you from the abyss which yawns beneath your feet, and now, even now opens its destructive jaws to ensnare and devour you. Derived from the same Almighty source are life and liberty. They are one and the same gift. They cannot be disjoined. Life without liberty would be considered a curse, instead of a blessing—the wretched donation would be repelled, and the Almighty Donor accused of injustice. Are not, then, all men clothed with the same privileges from our Creator? Are you authorized to assert, that to one colour is given the two-fold blessings of life and liberty, and to another colour life alone, devoid of liberty? Impious wretches cease your calumnies on the God whose decrees are just and immutable, and who can confound your misinterpretation of his ordinances. How, then, does slavery exist? Not from the fiat of Heaven, but from the municipal institutions of base, degenerate man. "No human laws are of any validity, if contrary to the law of nature, which is coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself." "Neither are positive laws, even in matters seemingly indifferent, any further binding than they are agreeable to the law of God and nature." Of what authority, then, are the laws of this or any other country which sanction slavery? Slavery which is contrary to the law of nature, which law is dictated by God himself—slavery, which is opposed to the principles of justice and humanity—slavery, which, in the language of Lord Coke, can only be authorized by laws contrary to reason, which laws must consequently be void.

It is not on principles only that I will assail this detestable principle, for principles of justice and humanity, when opposed to the dictates of avarice and the desire of lordly power, have ever had but little avail. Else why in a country which boasts of republican magnanimity, and vaunts loudly of the rights of man, whence is it that this discharge, this curse on your land, still exists? I will then, assail you in the only vulnerable part—listen to me—let your fears be aroused, and let them (for they only can operate the miracle) compel you to do an act of which can alone secure your lives, your liberties, and your properties.—Cast your eyes back to ancient history; do you not there find, that amongst the most dreadful and terrific wars the republic of Sparta was obliged to maintain, was that against their own slaves? Turn your eyes to the more recent occurrences in the West Indies. Has not France entirely disgraced herself, by attempting to subvert privileges guaranteed by nature, and which she herself, after having destroyed, had restored—and is not the number of Frenchmen immolated by the brave sons of nature, in their own defence, enough to appal the stoutest heart? And who is there that does not justify them? From my very soul I have wished them success from the commencement of their career, and I glory that so numerous and so oppressed a portion of my fellow creatures have bravely asserted the rights which God and nature gave them, and have rescued themselves, and I trust their descendants, from the galling yoke of servitude. Are we not in this country precisely situated as they were? Have we not a hord of miserable, oppressed slaves amongst us, who out-number us by thousands? Are they ignorant of their rights? Are they ignorant of what has taken place in that country! Surely they are not. What, then, have we eventually to expect—what but blood, massacre and devastation? There is yet a method by which these horrors may be averted. I entreat you to adopt it, while it is yet in your power. Believe that you hear the voice of inspiration when I solemnly assure you, that an immediate and an implicit obedience to the dictates of justice alone will be an obedience to the dictates of policy, and can alone avert those miseries to which we are exposed.

Let our legislature enact, that every female slave, born after one year from the date of the law, shall be free at 18 years of age, and the male at 21—and let the master be obliged to bring them up in the practice of religious and moral duties, and teach them the common rudiments of education.—What would be the consequence? At the expiration of 19 years perhaps one thousand females would have a right to demand their liberty, and three years afterwards one thousand males.—They would say to their masters, my relatives are with you; give me some trifling compensation and I will labor for you.—This reasonable boon would be granted, and in the course of a few years, instead of a gang of menial, wretched, unhappy slaves, each planter would find in each slave a child and a friend. In addition to this, let our legislature say, that a master shall lay up for each slave a certain quantity of meat and of fish, in addition to their usual inadequate allowance of rice or corn, that no master shall be allowed to give his slave more than 20 lashes, without the attendance of a magistrate to authorize a farther punishment; and that each and every master who does not comply with these regulations, shall be compelled to part with such slave or slaves, to any person with whom he, she or they shall choose to live, on his receiving the price originally paid for the slave or slaves. A law of this nature would insure to us and our posterity the enjoyment of what we have long unjustly deprived this unhappy race of people, viz. liberty and property, and often times of life itself. Let then, these things, gentlemen, occupy your attention; your minds cannot be more advantageously devoted, be assured. I possess as great a stake in this country as the most wealthy; for my little all is here, and no man's heart beats higher with a love of country than mine.

But although I love my country much, very much, yet I love, I adore the principles of liberty, of justice and humanity; and I will no longer acknowledge that my country, where these sound principles are thus prostrated by such accursed avarice, such infamous conduct; but I will seek in other climes for that tranquility and repose which are here every moment liable to be interrupted, the moment I am convinced there is not virtue and understanding enough in Georgia to listen to and pursue the path I have pointed out to you.

I have delivered these sentiments after the most mature and deliberate reflection, and I solemnly swear, in the presence of God, who created and knows my heart, that if, stretched on the bed of death, I should be called upon to advice on the proper method to secure the safety and tranquility of this country, I should dictate what I have now expressed to you You well know, or you ought ere this to have known, that I am far above the impulse of fear or hope, in regard to any thing the people of this country can do for or against me. Within myself and the bosom of my family, and to the approbation of my God alone, do I look for happiness. I despise from my soul the threats of the haughty and vindictive, and and the applause of the giddy unreflecting multitude, and have dared to avow sentiments which, while life mantles in my veins, I will support, because I am convinced the pursuance of them will be simply an act of partial justice, and can only secure my country from all the horrors of civil warfare. Careless of the approbation or disapprobation of the public, when I lay my head upon my pillow, it will be with the reflection that I have discharged my duty to my God, my country, and the poor miserable wretches who claim your compassion—and I hope, gentlemen, you will so conduct yourselves in this particular, as to merit the same heart-consoling reflection.

From the National Intelligencer.

Sick of the unceasing falsehoods and misrepresentations, with which the federal papers swarm we determined to abandon, at least for a time, the detection of what we hoped had been disarmed of its capacity of doing injury. In this purpose we probably should have persisted but for the daring effrontery of the following libel on a citizen, whom the high station he holds, no less than the dignity of his mind, forbid to notice the low falsehoods by which his reputation is assailed.

From the Evening Post, of July 6.

"Those who affect to feel such an enthusiastic admiration for every paragraph, sentence, line and comma, in the declaration of independence, and who lose no opportunity to extol the prodigious talents and courage of the immortal Jefferson, as being the penman, are invited to peruse the following extract from an address to the "king of Great Britain," drawn up by the same immortal Jefferson, only ten months before, with that singular consistency which has always characterised him and his writings drew up the declaration of independence.

"Attached to your majesty's person, family and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite society, and deploring every event that tends to weaken them, we solemnly assure your majesty that we not only most ardently desire the former harmony between the colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings uninterupted by any future dissentions to succeeding generations in both countries; and *transmit your majesty's name to posterity, adorned with that signal and lasting glory that has attended the memory of those illustrious personages whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and by securing happiness to others, have erected the most noble and durable monument to their own fame.*

"We beg leave further to assure your majesty, that notwithstanding the sufferings of your loyal colonies during the course of the present controversy, our breasts retain *too tender* a regard for the kingdom from which we derive our origin, to request such a reconciliation as might in any manner be inconsistent with her dignity or her welfare. These, related as we are to her, honor and duty, as well as inclination, induce us to support, and advance; and the apprehensions that now oppress our hearts with unspeakable grief being once removed, your majesty will find *your faithful subjects*, on this continent, *ready and willing*, at all times, as they have ever been, with their *lives and fortunes to assert and maintain the rights and interests of your majesty and our mother country.*"

"We have ventured to say that the address from which the above extract is taken was penned by Mr. Jefferson; this however, is only strong conjecture; we believe his title to it is at least as good as that to the declaration. But to place it on the proper footing, we may with strict truth assert that this address was, at any rate, signed by *Thomas Jefferson*, in his own hand writing; it is preserved on the public records of the country, where it will ever remain incapable of being altered or misrepresented. Should it be proper at the next anniversary to begin with the declaration of independence, we recommend to finish with the above address; so that the audience may have as well the reverse as the face of the medal."

It is on the authority of a friend of Mr. Jefferson, who has long enjoyed his confidence, and acted with him in many of the important scenes of the revolution, that we are enabled to declare,

That it is false that Mr. Jefferson ever DREW such a paper as is there ascribed to him.

And that it is likewise false that he ever SIGNED such a paper drawn by another.

Let the editor of the Evening Post resort to the public records of the country—Let him produce them and prove his assertions, or acknowledge their falsehood. Unless he does one or the other he will stand arraigned before the public as the *base traducer of character, as the propagator of falsehoods.*

We will not forego this opportunity of remarking that there is a kind of infuriated malice, with which, on all occasions, the character of Mr. Jefferson is attached by this print that looks more like personal hatred than party violence. There is not a feature of that character allowed to be fair.—Candor is stigmatised as hypocricy, decision rashness and learning pedantry. Because Mr. Jefferson drew the *declaration of independence*, the merits of that splendid composition are denied and no occasion is passed of denouncing it. It is even denied that Mr. Jefferson penned it. It stands on record that he was chairman of the committee appointed to draw it. Yet it is contended that his was but a subordinate one.

To satisfy our own curiosity we lately had access to the *original draft* of this eloquent instrument; and to put down forever the falshoods propagated on this subject, we shall state the result of the examination we then made. We viewed attentively the *original draft, presented to congress, and found it to be in the hand writing of Mr. Jefferson.* We perceived that it was, in the first instance, drawn by Mr. Jefferson; and that it was revised by his coadjutors on the committee, and sundry alterations suggested by them, Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams approved We saw these alterations, interlined, and in the hand writing of those gentlemen. They are not more than eight or ten; they do not materially differ from the original composition: and, in every instance, they soften the spirit of the first draft. The report afterwards underwent a very slight alteration in congress.

Thus to the ungenerous calumnies of the enemies of our chief magistrate recoil upon themselves. In attempting to derogate from his merits, they only prove the impotence of their own malice. The part he took in asserting the independence of his country—the foundation of all her greatness—is dear to his fellow-citizens, and to the friends of liberty throughout the world. It has covered his brow with a laurel which can never fade, so long as Americans enjoy freedom, and are sensible of its blessings.

Late Foreign Articles.

BOSTON, JULY 20.

Yesterday arrived the ship Montezuma, captain Isaacs, from London. We received papers to the 5th ult. but we are necessitated to be brief in mentioning their contents.

The king of Great Britain had been again indisposed, but had in a great degree recovered. A cabinet examination of his majesty's physicians took place on the second; and it was rumoured that some important arrangements would be made in consequence.

On the 5th of June Mr. Pitt was to offer to the house of commons his new plan for the defence of his country.

Shipping had been engaged in England for a foreign expedition.

Mr. Livingston the American minister to the French, in England, in pursuit of some agricultural information it is said in some of the papers. In others it is conjectured that his object is to negociate a loan for the purchase of the *Floridas*.—Mr. Fox, and many of the British nobility, have been particular attentive to him; and some of the London editors have expressed an astonishment at these attentions, considering his conduct with the late "conspiracy."

On the 30th of May, Mr. Wilberforce moved in the house of commons for leave to bring in a bill for the total abolition of the slave trade; which he obtained by a majority of 75 of 173 votes.

W. Cobbett (Porcupine) has been convicted of publishing a libel on the government of Ireland.

The emperor of Russia has publicly approved of the conduct of his late envoy at Paris, between whom and the consular government it has been understood some misunderstanding took place. The emperor has beside presented to the Diet of Ratisbon a note on the subject of the violation of the German territory by the seizure of the Duke D'Enghein—in which he expresses his sorrow at that event, and his surprise that France under existing circumstances, should have authorized such a procedure. The envoy of *Sweden* presented a note on the same subject. The emperor of *Russia* wished for an application to be made on the part of the empire to the French government for a satisfactory explanation. He had already instructed his charge des affairs at Paris on the subject—The consideration on the subject was deferred by the Diet for six weeks—There are various accounts of the movement of troops.

The French funds have fallen owing to reports of a misunderstanding with *Russia*; and the "unwillingness of *Prussia* to give up *Embden!*"

On the 20th of May the French senate waited on Buonaparte and requested his acceptance of the title of Emperor, &c. They addressed him with the appellation "Your imperial majesty."—He of course complied with the request. They then waited on Madame Buonaparte, to whom they addressed the same title. Their discourse contained this sentence, your "countenance presages that the name of the *empress Josephina*, will be the signal of consolation and of hope," &c.

Five members of the senate, it is said, were against giving the first consul a new title, &c.—*Sieyes, Lanjuinais* and *Gregoire* were among these.

The French legislative body is to continue 5 (or 10 years,) the tribunate 10. The latter to be blended with the legislature, and called a chamber of orators.

Ministers plenipo. are to have the appellation of "Excellencies."

His imperial majesty the emperor of the Gauls has appointed as marshals of the empire—*Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessieres, Kellerman, Lefebvre, Perignon*, and *Serrurier*.

THE ADDRESS
OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY OF FRANCE
TO THE FIRST CONSUL.

The members of the legislative body are no sooner re-assembled, than they reciprocate a common zeal for their country: and at this important epoch they cannot feel indifferent to the national will, so loudly and generally expressed. Scattered over the various departments of this great empire, they know its wants and habits. They know that the energy and action, of the power which governs, should be commensurate with the extent of territory and population. When this relation, established by nature, is neglected by the legislature, his work must perish.

The chief blessing of man is tranquility and peace; and these depend on permanent institutions. The supreme power which guarantees them, ought to be therefore, secure from the *caprice of elections*. Every elective government is inconstant, violent, and helpless as the passions of men; whilst hereditary power gives to the social system the force, the continuance, and constancy of the designs of nature. An uninterrupted succession of authority in one family, will maintain the peace, and existence of all. It is necessary for the perpetual security of their rights that the authority which protects them should be eternal. The people, who unite the most capricious levity with the most eminent qualities, must supremely prefer a system, which confirms their virtue by repressing their inconstancy.

History every where discovers, at the head of great nations, a single hereditary chief. But this high magistracy is not instituted for general good. If it is weak, it falls—if violent, it destroys itself; and in either case it merits its fate—for it oppresses the people, or fails to protect them. In one word, this authority, which ought to be tutelar, ceases to be lawful, when it is not national.

No!—doubtless, those mighty beings were not Gods whom general interest has defied, and associated in brilliant and inaccessible spheres, that law proclaimed from such high authority might have the more splendor, control and influence. But if the grandeur of monarchy is not founded on the extravagant fictions, which delude the multitude, it is supported by all those political maxims which the lessons of adversity, and the voice of sages have established.

Ancient illusions have ceased; but do we need a man of our choice? scarcely has he numbered thirty-four years and the events of his life are more wonderful than the fables, with which history has surrounded the cradles of ancient dynasties.

The triumph and will of the nation cannot be resisted. Such extraordinary changes are not new. It is at the noise and tumult of thrones, which fall, which rise, and should fall again, that successive ages meditate on the inconstancy of human affairs. Old empires are regenerated at such important eras, and the chief of a new monarchy communicates to them the energy of his spirit, and vigor of his enterprize.

We doubt not a career of prosperity and glory again opens for our posterity. The nineteenth century, at its commencement, presents to the universe a most magnificent spectacle, and instructive lesson. It consecrates the principle of hereditary power and opinion, for the happiness of France—whose revolution it terminates, and for the example of Europe, whose errors it prevents.

The human mind, troubled with the worst diseases, the disease of *perfectibility*, has wished to create a new race of men; to form new societies and another world. But soon frightened at its work, and wearied at its efforts, it has returned to the tract of experience, and submits to the authority of ages. It is at the moment it recognizes its limits, the human mind is enlarged—it is at the moment it learns to check its weakness, that it justly directs the exercise of its powers—The remembrance of its past deviations will afford a useful foresight; and the fear of falling into its first excesses will not hurry it to the contrary extreme.

We shall not witness the deadly stupor of slavery succeeding the mad tumult of democracy. No! Citizen first consul, you would not command but a free people;—we know it;—and will, therefore, obey you always. The departments of governments will be balanced with wisdom, they will preserve every thing that will support, nothing that can destroy, liberty. The *imperial* government will confirm all the blessings of the consulate, and will increase them. The former needs less force than the latter. The security of *heriditary* power will temper all its measures. It is less rigorous for it has fewer obstacles to vanquish and smaller dangers to encounter;—the greater its moderation, the more controuling its influence; and if it aims at extension, it relaxes and destroys itself. Thus the prerogatives of the emperor, better defined, will be more limited than those of the first consul. The danger of faction compelled the establishment of a temporary dictator;—these times are past:—*monarchy* is regenerated—liberty must be immortal—the dictatorship expires; and natural authority commences its reign.

(Signed) FONTANES.

This famous declaration in favor of monarchy, was preceded by the following expression of the will of the legislative body.

They declare their will (*vœu*) as follows: That Napolean Buonaparte, first consul, shall be declared emperor; that the imperial dignity should be hereditary