

my writings in support of such associations is best known to himself. If you have not perused the book, you might be led from the detached sentences there cited to believe that it contains the principles of anarchy, instead of the principles of government; principles wholly subversive of a representative democracy. If you will give yourself the trouble to read the passages there cited, in their connection, you will find that they have been brought in by the head and shoulders and "with the strength of Hercules," as a comic author observes on a like occasion.

I have, indeed, in treating of a representative democracy, asserted, that "an interest in the approbation of the people, and a strong sense of accountability to them, in all official conduct, is the greatest or rather the only effectual security against abuses in those who exercise the powers of government." I have further said, that "to render the public sentiment a more rational and a more powerful check upon every department of government, it is essentially necessary that there be in every free state an effectual provision for the dissemination of useful knowledge." That "in a Republic, by which is intended a representative democracy, the powers of government are supported not by force, but by the sentiments of the people," that "it is necessary to cultivate a sentimental attachment to the government." I still believe these principles to be just, not in theory only, but in practice; yet I cannot discover that they express, or even remotely imply, an approbation of self created societies and clubs formed for the purpose of censuring the proceedings of government in transitu, of anticipating the deliberations of constitutional bodies, or dictating the measures, which those bodies ought to pursue.

If, Sir, you will have the patience to read for long a letter, I will give you my reasons for believing such societies not merely useless, but mischievous and a very dangerous imposition. Simple democracies, in which the people assemble in a body, to enact laws and decide on all public measures, have, from the earliest ages, exhibited scenes of turbulence, violence and fluctuation, beyond any other kind of government. No government has ever been able to exist under this form for any length of time. Experience has evinced, that the people collected in a body are impatient of discussion; that they are fatally incapable of reasoning; but they are highly susceptible of passions. To those the more artful direct their whole attention. By these every decision in the numerous and heterogeneous assemblies of the people at large, is irresistibly influenced. In a simple democracy, there can be no fixed constitution. Every thing is liable to be changed by the frenzy of the moment, or the influence of a popular faction. In such a government, where all are immediate actors no accountability can exist; consequently, in no government, have there been instances of a more flagrant violation of rights, or a tyranny more cruel and remediless than that which has been exercised over a minority of the citizens, or against an unpopular individual. Many public measures, whether they regard the internal legislation of the state, or its conduct towards foreign powers, will often be, not a little complicated. Many of the people, for want of the means of information, for want of leisure, patience or abilities, will come forward wholly ignorant of the relative circumstances necessary to be known, in order to a just and proper determination; and I believe you will agree with me, that, on such occasions, presumption, passionate zeal, and obstinacy, are always in proportion to the ignorance of the actors. In such governments, the measures, will, of necessity, be frequently unjust, violent and fluctuating.

Such is not the government under which we live. Our national government & the governments of the several states, are representative democracies. This kind of government is calculated to give a permanent security to all the essential rights of man, life, liberty and property, the equal rights of acquisition and enjoyment, in a just compromise with the rights of all, which a simple democracy by no means secures. This kind of government is designed in its constitution to provide equally against the tyranny of the few and the tyranny of the many. The people have endeavored to place their delegated rulers in a constant state of accountability. This is the hinge on which American liberty turns. That the most perfect freedom of deliberation might be secured, the members of the legislature are, in their public conduct, made amenable only to the sentiments of the people, by the interest which they have in the approbation of their constituents. The executive is made accountable to the public sentiment, and

is further amenable to a constitutional tribunal, for every violation of trust.—The powers and duties of the several departments, are in many instances limited by the laws of the constitution, by which the people have said to their rulers, thus far shall ye go; and no farther.—Many things are left to their integrity and discretion, to act for the best good of the nation. Congress are, from their situation furnished with the necessary information relative to the present state of things, as they may affect the nation, whether internally or externally. All this is, in their debates, handed out, and circulated among the people, together with all the reasons for, and against any measure that could be suggested by the most mature deliberation. By these means, the people have in their power, sufficient information to judge calmly and rationally of the measures which have from time to time been adopted.

Proceeding in this way, I am persuaded that a representative democracy may secure to the people more civil and political happiness than any of the kinds of governments which have hitherto existed. Such is the state of things, that knowledge in the complicated affairs of civil society comes not by intuition.—The means of information, and frequently, diligent investigation are necessary. The knowledge of the people will follow, but rarely precede, a public discussion. They will generally approve or disapprove with judgment, but in dictating, are exposed to all the rashness of ignorance, passion and prejudice.

Our self created societies and clubs, as it appears to me, have a tendency, directly or indirectly, to introduce into the measures of government, all the precipitation, all the heat and ungovernable passions, of a simple democracy.—Have we reason to believe that these self pronounced dictators, have a free access to the means of information, that they have been able more fully to comprehend the present circumstances, the principles and reasons which ought to direct public measures, than those to whom the people have confided that task? Or even than their more peaceable and quiet fellow citizens? Certainly they have given us no unequivocal proof of either.

Their professed design has been to promote political knowledge; but wherever they have established themselves, they have assumed a dictatorial style in their resolves. Where any man or body of men have refused their dictates, or presumed to differ from them in opinion, no length of meritorious services, no virtue or integrity of character, has been proof against their bold proscriptions. Like the demagogues of simple democracy they have applied wholly to the passions and jealousies of the people. They have assumed to speak the sentiments of the people, though, in point of numbers they are certainly a very inconsiderable minority. If their assertions have so far imposed on the national government as to direct its measures it is worse than the evils of a simple democracy. It is an engine to govern the majority by a minor faction. Nothing of this kind can happen in an assembly of the people at large. Is it, Sir, supposed that the measures of Congress have, in their present session been influenced by means of those societies? I should be very unwilling to believe that the American government, which I had supposed to be an improvement upon the wisdom of ages, had so soon submitted to the controul of a few self authorized oligarchs.

If however these societies are unable directly to dictate measures to the national governments, they will still have a pernicious effect. When once, tho' under the thickest clouds of ignorance, they have prejudged a measure, and assumed to dictate it, unless they have more candour than most men, their prejudices will rarely yield to any light of conviction. This, as far as their influence extends, will, in a great degree, prevent the happy effect of the wisest and best measures. It is perhaps, of as much importance, in general, that the people should see and acknowledge the measures of government to be wise and good, as that they should really be wise and good. If there is a failure in either respect they will not secure the happiness of the people. It is of great consequence that the people, with the means of information should cultivate a disposition to judge with coolness and impartiality, and that legislators should endeavour to render the reasons of their measures plain and intelligible to the common sense of mankind.

I know that it is frequently said, that in a republic it is necessary to the maintenance of liberty, the people, should be jealous of their rulers. But I have never been able to persuade myself, that to be a good republican a man must im-

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The execution of these persons, which took place a few hours after their condemnation, drew the same concourse of spectators as the execution of Hebert, Danton and their associates. Chaumette was treated in the same manner as these two chiefs, that is to say, he was the last guillotined, and his head was shewn to the people—he had declared before the Tribunal, That he appealed from their sentence to Posterity, and it is said that he supported his character to the last moment; but we are assured that it was otherwise with *Bishop Gobet*, who at the foot of the scaffold, invoking "JESUS CHRIST," appeared to return to the consolations of that religion, the abjuration of which in the presence of the national convention, he not long since proclaimed amidst the loudest applauses.

LEXINGTON, (Ken.) June 14.
On Tuesday last, between the hours of 11 and 12 o'clock, William Cox, who was condemned at the court of Oyer and Terminer for passing counterfeit Bank Notes, was taken from the public jail in this town and conveyed to the intended place of execution, where after continuing about an hour, he received the Governor's pardon.

The Order of Procession.
A part of the Lexington troop of horse formed the front, the light infantry on the right of the battalion, the town militia and guards on the left, and the rear closed by the balance of the troop of horse.—They moved in open order very slowly, with the prisoner in a cart in the center, with a rope about his neck, the end of which was held by the sheriff. He was attended by the rev. Adam Rankin. The spectators are computed at not less than 16,000.

PHILADELPHIA,
JULY 14.

Five men are taken up on suspicion of being the perpetrators of the murder of Dr. Redman's coachman, and committed to jail.

By this Day's Mail.

SALEM, July 8.
Last week arrived here, the schooner Swallow, Capt. Baker, from a port in Hispaniola, in possession of the British, from whence she was regularly cleared. On this coast she was taken by a Bermudian privateer, which took out some of the hands, and put on board a prize-master and five hands, and ordered her for Bermuda; but Capt. Baker and his crew found means to bring the schooner into this port, with the prize-master, &c. who, if they have their desert, will be hanged for pirates.

Capt. Very, bound from Aux-Cayes to this port, has been taken, carried into Bermuda, and on the 17th of June was adjudicated a lawful prize to the captors, tho' wholly American property. Several other Americans were condemned about the same time.

NEW-YORK, July 12.

Arrived here yesterday, the brig Union, Capt. —, from Bristol. About 30 leagues from land, five of the passengers, in the brig's yawl, went out for amusement, and during their absence, there coming on a sudden squall, the brig left them, and have not since been heard of. One of the above persons was a lady whose husband arrived in the brig.

By the above vessel we have received English papers as late as the 18th May—they contain nothing of importance. As it was late before the Editor obtained them, he is necessitated to defer such extracts as may be worth copying, until Monday.

Orders are sent down from the Secretary of State's Office to the keepers of all the gaols in England, to send up an account of all the prisoners they have in custody for debt, with the sums they are confined for, and how long they have been in custody.

Prince Adam Czartoriski, who has joined the standard of General Kosciuszko, is second confin to the King of Poland. His Highness spent some time in England, about three years ago; and at that period foresaw and lamented the fate of his unhappy country.

A commission consisting of two Secretaries of State and some other persons, is constituted to try the Neapolitan conspirators. The King sits President. One of the principals, whose first object was the death of the King and Royal Family, is Pascal Jourdan, a Lecturer in one of the Ecclesiastical Academies.

The Joseph, Forest, arrived last evening from Newry, has 310 passengers—the London accounts are not so late as

we have had, but she spoke a vessel which informed, that the Duke of York's army was cut up.

The Union, from Bristol, failed May 19; her London dates are of May 16—this paper contains an account of the total DEFEAT OF CLAIRFAIT; also, on May 11, beat back to the walls of Bruges at 11 o'clock of that night.

A vessel gone into Boston, which failed from England in June, will doubtless afford very interesting particulars for our next.

The French convoy of 150 sail of victuallers from America, arrived safely.

Our last accounts of London, May 13, informed, that Courtray and Menin were re-taken from the French; but this is, this day, contradicted, by accounts of London, May 17, received via Liverpool and Boston.

From the EAGLE.

A Penny saved is a penny earned, says poor Richard; and so says the miser; aye, and the libertine too, when there's no music heard at the shake of the purse. Strange, that Mr. Spendthrift's prudence should step up, just at the exit of his cash; but he's like half of the world, with whom prudence and property were never joint-tenants. Make every mother's son face the grindstone, say the aristocrats; the swinish rabble have liberty! it would be casting pearls before swine; obedience is the soul of order, and severity is the parent of submission. Poor Richard makes a parody on this language—make every mother's son pale with poverty, quoth prudent Dick; the world have plenty of cash! it's casting guineas into the ocean. Adversity is the school of wealth, and want creates invention. Take warning, ye knights of the careless purse! many of your order have wooed prudence behind the grates. They then sing psalmtunes, at church, instead of the Bacchanal chorus, at the hotel.

Pell Bluster was like ye; he borrowed dollars, and stumped people to play for 'em; bought land in Vermont and went to New-York, in the stage, to speculate; and came home in a fulkey, Pell talked of a servant and mistress, and swore he'd have 'em; which was scarce uttered, before Mr. officer steps up, and reads to him—to answer unto Mr. ——— for not paying him 800l. Our gentleman spends four weeks in gaol, and comes out prepared for a man of business; he now reads PALEY instead of ROCHESTER, buys his annual coat, calculates interest on his notes, and uncorks his bottle, only to his friend. He now points to the old sign of the punchbowl, where sit in reeling merriment a circle of toppers! see there says he, poor Pell Bluster, had it not been for the gaoler's bolt.

CIMON.

PHILADELPHIA.

A report has been circulated in the city this day, that Gen. Clairfait and the Duke of York, with their armies, are taken prisoners by the French.

This day, being the anniversary of the grand confederation of the French nation for the preservation of Freedom, the same was celebrated in this city by various testimonials of joy. Detachments of the uniform companies, the Light horse, and Artillery paraded in honor of the day, and at noon the Artillery fired a salute.

The following is the form of the oath which was taken by the National Assembly, & the King, & repeated by all the people in the Champ de Mars, on the 14th July 1790. "We swear to be faithful to the Nation, the Law, and the King—to maintain with all our power the Constitution decreed by the National Assembly and accepted by the King—to protect the individual and preserve his property, according to law—to see that there be a free circulation of grain throughout the kingdom—to enforce with all our power the collection of the public revenues, and to remain united to every Frenchman by the bands of brotherly love."

Extra from the Gazette of the United States of September 25, 1790.

The late grand federative association of the French Nation at Paris, was one of the most interesting, solemn and dignified transactions, ever exhibited on the theatre of this lower creation!

If ever the celestial bend with delight to view the triumphs of reason, humanity and freedom, it must be on such an occasion.

To see the Representatives of a mighty empire, with the sovereign at their head, emerging from the depths of slavery and darkness, to light, liberty and happiness, impress feelings on every philanthropic mind, too great for utterance.

A Gentleman who came passenger in the Ship Washington informs that three ships were to sail in a few days after the Washington, from Londonderry for this port—viz. Ship Liberty, Happy Return, and Charlotte, with 500 passengers each.