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[Whole No. 261.]

ANSWER OF M. SYEYES,

To Mr. PAINE's Letter, and to several other publications of a similar nature.

MR. THOMAS PAINE is one of those men who have contributed the most to establish the liberty of America. His ardent love of humanity, and his hatred of every sort of tyranny, have induced him to take up in England the defence of the French revolution, against the amphigorical declamation of Mr. Burke. His work has been translated into our language, under the title of "DES DROITS DE L'HOMME," and is universally known.

What French Patriot is there, who has not already, from the bottom of his heart, thanked this foreigner for having strengthened our cause by all the powers of his reason and reputation? It is with pleasure that I observe an opportunity of offering him the tribute of my gratitude and my esteem for the truly philosophical application of talents so distinguished as his own.

Mr. Paine supposes that I have given him a challenge, and he accepts it. I have not given any challenge; but I shall be very glad to afford to a able author an opportunity of giving the world some further truths.

Mr. Paine declares himself to be the open enemy of monarchical government. I merely say, that a republican form of government appears to me to be insufficient for liberty. After an avowal so positive on both sides, nothing seems to remain for us but to produce our proofs, the public being entirely ready to decide between us. But unfortunately abstract questions, those especially that relate to a science, the very language of which is scarcely yet fixed, require to be prepared for investigation by a sort of preliminary convention. Before we begin a contest, to be carried on at least under the standard of philosophy, it is absolutely necessary that we should be understood. Mr. Paine is so conscious of this necessity, that he begins by giving definitions. "I do not understand," says he, "by republicanism, that which bears the name in Holland, and in some states of Italy."

When he wrote thus, the author was, no doubt, aware, that I, on my part, do not undertake to defend either the Ottoman, or the ——— monarchy. In order to be reasonable in this discussion, and certainly we both desire to be so, we ought to begin by rejecting all examples. In point of social order, Mr. Paine cannot be less pleased than I am with the models which history offers us. The question between us then depends upon simple theory. Mr. Paine defends his republic, such as he understands it; I defend monarchy, as I have conceived it.

"In short," says Mr. Paine, "it is against the whole HELL of monarchy, that I have declared war." I intreat him to believe, that in this undertaking, I would be his second, and not his adversary. I do not adopt the interest of the whole Hell of republics. The one is as real as the other, and avails just as much. It is impossible that either Mr. Paine or myself should ever take the part of any sort of Hell.

"By republicanism," says Mr. Paine, "I understand merely a government by representation." I have had some difficulty in conceiving, why it should be endeavoured to confound two notions so distinct as those of a representative system and republicanism; and I hope for some attention to my answer.

It is only since the event of the 21st of June last, that this republican party has been perceived. What is their object? Can they be ignorant, that the plan of representation which the National Assembly has presented to France, though imperfect in some of its parts, is, notwithstanding, the purest and the best which has appeared in the world? What then is the object of those who desire a republic, when they define it to be simply a government by representation? What! does this party, so lately formed, already endeavour to array itself with the honor of demanding, representative administration against the National Assembly itself? Will they seriously undertake to persuade men, that in all this there are but two opinions—that of the republicans, who wish a representation, and that of the National Assembly, who do not? It is impossible to impute to M. M. the new republicans, such a chimera; or, that they should hope for such a blind docility on the part of the public and posterity.

When I speak of political representation, I go further than Mr. Paine. I maintain that every social constitution of which representation is not the essence, is a false constitution. Whether a monarchy or not, every association, the members of which do not all at once vacate their common administration, has but to chuse between representatives and masters, between despotism and legitimate government. There may be varieties in the manner of electing the representatives, and their internal regulations; and none of the different forms may be able to attribute to itself exclusively the true, essential, and distinctive character of all good government. We are not to imitate those who say—Observe, I understand by a republic, a good government; and by monarchy, a bad one: take that ground, and defend yourself. It is not to a man of abilities, like Mr. Paine, that it is necessary to give a caution against such language.

Whatever dispute may arise upon the different sorts of representations; however it may be enquired, for instance, whether it is wise to employ exactly the same method in the executive and the legislative order; or whatever other questions of this sort may be produced, it does not at all follow, that upon these gradations and shades, depend the difference between republicans and monarchians.

All these debates are, or will be, common to partisans of both systems, and they will be equally so in either hypothesis of a good or a bad representation. In fact, whether our established proxies shall be well or ill chosen, or well or ill established, it will remain to be known what shall be their correlation, and how you will dispose them amongst themselves, for the best distribution and greatest facility of public operation.

In one word, it will still remain to be known, whether you will have a republic or a monarchy; because, of themselves, the republican and monarchic forms will apply either to a good or bad constitution, to a good or bad government. It is not, therefore, the character of a true representation, that it must bear the distinguished attributes which mark republicans.

Here, in my opinion, are the two principal points, by which the difference of the two systems are to be recognized.

Make all political action, that which you please to call the executive power, center in a council of execution appointed by the people, or by the National Assembly; and you have formed a republic.

Place, on the contrary, at the head of the departments which you call ministerial, and which ought to be better divided, reasonable chiefs, independent one of another, but depending, as to their ministerial existence, upon an individual of superior rank, in

whom is represented the stable unity of government, or, what is the same, of national monarchy; let this individual be authorized to chuse and delimit, in the name of the people, these first executive chiefs, and to exercise some other functions suitable to the public interest, but his irresponsibility for which cannot be dangerous, and you have formed a monarchy.

[To be continued.]

FROM THE COLUMBIAN CENTINEL.

MR. BURKE,

Has been charged with entertaining despotic principles. The charge is not however, well founded; as can be demonstrated by the following extract from a pamphlet lately published by him, intitled, "An Appeal from the NEW to the OLD WHIGS," which the Editor received in the last vessel from Europe. The indignation which has marked his public writings and speaking, it seems, was wholly excited by the levelling spirit of the French Democrats; for speaking of another revolution, which has lately passed before the world—and condemning the silence in which it has been passed over in England, he says:—

"THE STATE OF POLAND

Was undoubtedly such, that there could scarcely exist two opinions, but that a reformation of its constitution, even at some expence of blood, might be seen without much disapprobation. No confusion could be feared in such an enterprise; because the establishment to be reformed was itself a state of confusion. A King without authority; Nobles without union or subordination; a People without arts, industry, commerce, or liberty; no order within; no defence without; no effective public force, but a foreign force, which entered a naked country at will, and disposed of every thing at pleasure. Here was a state of things which seemed to invite and might perhaps justify bold enterprise and desperate experiment. But in what manner was this chaos brought into order? The means were as striking to the imagination, as satisfactory to the reason, and soothing to the moral sentiment. In contemplating that change, humanity has every thing to rejoice and to glory in; nothing to be ashamed of, nothing to suffer. So far as it has gone, it probably is the most pure and defecated public good which ever has been conferred on mankind. We have seen anarchy and servitude at one removed; a throne strengthened for the protection of the people, without trenching on their liberties; all foreign cabal banished, by changing the crown from elective to hereditary; and what was a matter of pleasing wonder, we have seen a reigning King, from an heroic love to his country, exerting himself with all the toil, the dexterity, the management, and intrigue, in favor of a family of strangers, with which ambitious men labour for the aggrandisement of their own. Ten millions of men in a way of being freed gradually, and therefore safely to themselves and the state, not from civil or political chains, which, bad as they are, only fetter the mind, but from substantial personal bondage. Inhabitants of cities, before without privileges, placed in the consideration which belongs to that improved and connected situation of social life. One of the most proud, numerous, and fierce bodies of nobility and gentry ever known in the world, arranged only in the foremost rank of free and generous citizens. Not one man incurred loss, or suffered degradation. All, from the King to the day-labourer, were improved in their condition. Every thing was kept in its place and order; but in that place and order every thing was bettered. To add to this happy wonder (this unheard-of conjunction of wisdom and fortune) not one drop of blood was spilled; no treachery; no outrage; no system of slander more cruel than the sword; no studied insults on religion, morals, or manners; no spoil; no confiscation; no citizen beggared; none imprisoned; none exiled; the whole was effected with a policy, a discretion, an unanimity and secrecy, such as have never been before known on any occasion; but such wonderful conduct was reserved for this glorious conspiracy in favour of the true and genuine rights and interests of men. Happy people, if they know to proceed as they have begun! Happy Prince, worthy to begin with splendor, or to close with glory, a race of patriot Kings: and to leave,

A name, which every wind to heav'n would bear,
Which men to tell, and Angels joy to hear.

TERMS and CONDITIONS declared by the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, this seventeenth day of October, seventeen hundred and ninety-one, for regulating the Materials and manner of the Buildings and Improvements on the LOTS in the City of WASHINGTON.

1st. THAT the outer and party-walls of all houses within the said City shall be built of brick or stone.

2d. That all buildings on the streets shall be parallel thereto, and may be advanced to the line of the street, or withdrawn therefrom, at the pleasure of the improver: But where any such building is about to be erected, neither the foundation or party-wall shall be begun, without first applying to the person or persons appointed by the Commissioners to superintend the buildings within the city, who will ascertain the lines of the walls to correspond with these regulations.

3d. The wall of no house to be higher than forty feet to the roof, in any part of the city; nor shall any be lower than thirty-five feet on any of the avenues.

4th. That the person or persons appointed by the Commissioners to superintend the buildings, may enter on the land of any person, to set out the foundation and regulate the walls to be built between party and party, as to the breadth and thickness thereof: Which foundation shall be laid equally upon the lands of the persons between whom such party-walls are to be built, and shall be of the breadth and thickness determined by such person proper; and the first builder shall be reimbursed one moiety of the charge of such party-wall, or so much thereof as the next builder shall have occasion to make use of, before such next builder shall any ways use or break into the wall—The charge or value thereof to be set by the person or persons so appointed by the Commissioners.

5th. As temporary conveniences will be proper for lodging workmen and securing materials for building, it is to be understood that such may be erected with the approbation of the Commissioners: But they may be removed or discontinued, by the special order of the Commissioners.

6th. The way into the squares being designed in a special manner for the common use and convenience of the occupiers of the respective squares—the property in the same is reserved to the public, so that there may be an immediate interference on any abuse of the use thereof, by any individual, to the nuisance or obstruction of others. The proprietors of the Lots adjoining the entrance into the squares, on arching over the entrance, and fixing gates in the manner the Commissioners shall approve, shall be entitled to divide the space over the arching and build it up with the range of that line of the square.

7th. No vaults shall be permitted under the streets, nor any encroachments on the foot-way above, by steps, stoops, porches, cellar-doors, windows, ditches, or leaning walls; nor shall there be any projection over the street, other than the eaves of the houses, without the consent of the Commissioners.

8th. These regulations are the terms and conditions upon which conveyances are to be made, according to the deeds in trust of the lands within the city.

Oct. 17. GEORGE WASHINGTON.

EXTRACTS.

IF we drop a pebble, the size of a nutmeg, upon the smooth surface of a river, we shall observe the circular waves to be small, and issue only to a little distance from the centre. If we drop another the size of a cannon shot, it operates with multiplied force, the surrounding waves swell, to a superior size, and extend to a more distant space.—The mind, unimproved by letters or conversation, deals in trifles, is hemmed in by itself, and extends not far from its own centre; while he, who is enlightened by education, whose ideas are improved by study, rises to a more elevated height, and takes in a more extensive compass.

THE conversations of the lower class rise from themselves, and terminate where they rise. Their observations seldom extend to men or things; they deal in the little; keep near their own centre; are heroes of their own story: and blazon those actions, which never existed to blazon themselves.