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

(CONTINUED.)

IT appears that the question depends entirely upon the manner of crowning the government. What the monarchists would do by individual unity, the republicans would do by a collective body. I do not accuse the last of failing to perceive the necessity of unity in action, and I do not deny that it may be possible to establish this unity in a senate or superior council of execution. But I believe, that it would be ill-constituted under a multitude of reports of committees; and that, in order to preserve all the advantages of which the unity of action is capable, it should not be separated from individual unity.

Thus, in our system, the government is composed of a first monarch, the elector and irresponsible, in whose name act six monarchs, named by him and responsible. After these are the directories of the departments.

In the other, a senate or council, named by the departments, or by the legislative assembly, would be in the first degree of execution; then the administration of the departments.

Those who aim at investigating an image with abstract notions, may figure a monarchical government as ending in a point, and a republican government in a platform; but the advantages which we attribute to one form rather than the other, are so important, that they cannot be conveyed by a simple image. I do not give the exposition of them; this is not the place; but I am not unwilling to repeat, that in the two points here mentioned, consist the distinctive characters of the two systems; that is to say, the difference which there is between an individual responsible decision, withheld by an irresponsible electing will, and a decision by a majority discharged of all legal responsibility. The consequences will be deduced elsewhere.

The republicans and we, may, moreover, differ upon many great questions, referring to social regulation, though there may be no reason to acknowledge any difference between republicanism and monarchism. For example, several combinations may be imagined, in the election of the council or senate of execution, with the design of extending them more or less to the deliberating administrative bodies. So may we also admit, that there may be more than one method proper to regulate what is called the succession to the throne: for there is a latitude of opinion to be either a republican or a monarchist, according to several varieties.

If it is enquired, and I have no doubt that the enquiry will be made, what is my opinion with respect to the hereditary right of the monarch elector—I answer without hesitation, that, in good theory, a hereditary transmission of an office, whatever it is, can never accord with the laws of a true representation. Hereditaryship, in this sense, is as much an attain upon principle, as an outrage upon society. But let us refer to the history of all elective monarchies or principalities. Is there one in which the elective mode is not still worse than the hereditary succession?

What more than they have done could have been performed in the two years past by men, at bottom, like others; that is to say, who can judge only by that which they know, and who, for the most part, know that only to be possible which has been already done? And if they had thought themselves able to enter into the examination of this question, would it have been for them to balance against an absurd, but peaceable hereditaryship, the equally absurd custom of election, which is also oftentimes accompanied with a civil war? At present, indeed, we are habituated to an elective mode, and have sufficiently reflected to believe, that there may exist a great variety of combinations in that respect.

There is certainly one very applicable to the first public function. It appears to me to unite all the advantages attributed to hereditary, without any of its inconveniences; and the advantages of election, without its dangers. Nevertheless, I am far from thinking that circumstances are favorable for producing a change in this respect of the decreed Constitution, and I am very glad to deliver my opinion strongly upon this subject. The obstacles, I admit, are no longer the same; but have they therefore all disappeared, and have not some new ones arisen? Would an interior division be an indifferent transaction, at the era in which we are placed? The National Assembly is secure of the union of all parts of France for the Constitution, as already known.

An universal wish appears for the completion and the confirmation of it throughout with uniformity, and with a force capable of giving empire to the law. Would it be reasonable to take this moment for throwing an apple of discord in the midst of the departments, and hazarding incongruities in the decrees, to which it might be hereafter so difficult to place limits? If the nation will one day explain itself by a Constituent Assembly as to the place of the Monarchy, whether it shall become elective, or remain hereditary, we may not, on that account, lose monarchy, since there will always remain what is its essence, an individual decision, as well on the part of the acting Monarchs, as the Monarch elector. In short, I hope, that as the public opinion is simplifying more and more in political matters, the triangle monarchy will be generally perceived to be more suitable than the republicanism platform to that division of powers which is the true bulwark of public liberty.

[To be concluded in our next.]

EXTRACT OF AN ADDRESS TO FARMERS.

[From the Albany Gazette.]

YOU will probably arrive at the dignity of representative—this is your field of battle, death or glory here await you—money must not now be so much your object, or at least it must not appear to be, as fame—though there are strokes frequently to be made worth hazarding a little character for—let the rights of the people and of your constituents in particular be continually in your mouth—no matter what the subject of debate is, never consider it worth a moment's thought, speak to it or from it with earnestness and volubility; dash, like Wilkinson, through thick and thin, till you have attained your great and last object, which will be either to be considered by government as a troublesome man, and silenced with an office, in which you may fit down easily for life—or be placed in the chair of state,

by those whose rights and liberties you have so nobly contended for. Should the latter of these events take place, and I see nothing to hinder, you will have arrived to the zenith—and your only care now ought to be to preserve yourself there—fill the country with judges, justices and officers of every description—no matter for character or abilities, it is their votes and interest only which you are to look to—but it is needless to give you further advice—when you are once in the chair, if you have a little sense and a great deal of cunning, it will be impossible to get you out.

TIMON.

FRANCE.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, AUGUST 29.

ON Monday evening an extraordinary sitting was held on the interesting situation of the Isle of St. Domingo, which lasted to the unusual hour of 11, and in which some warm personalities were employed, that will probably have fatal consequences. A coalition seems to be formed in the Colonial Committee, at the head of which is M. Barnave, who insists upon the revocation of the decree of the 15th of May.

M. De Tracy, Brostaret, Perisse da Luc, and Rochefoucault, gave notice, that they should resign their places in the committee; and in assigning their reasons for their resignation, these gentlemen successively displayed such a scene of despotism exercised in the committee, as to render it impossible for any members out of the party to be heard.

AUGUST 31.

The order of the day was, the further consideration of the best mode of fixing a national convention for altering any part of the present constitution.

The principal speech on this occasion, and upon which the principal part of the ensuing decree was founded, was made by M. Frocheau, the friend of the celebrated Mirabeau.

After having demonstrated the principles of the national sovereignty and the necessity of not departing from those on which representative governments are founded; he concluded, with proposing, that two sorts of assemblies should be appointed, one of which, under the title of a national convention, should be authorized to revise, retouch, and modify any parts of the constitution; and the other, under the denomination of the constituent assembly, should be charged with the function of new modelling the constitution entirely, if necessary. The legislative body should have the sole right of convoking one or other of these assemblies; to have an authoritative effect; three successive legislatures must express their desire with regard to the calling of these assemblies; and in order to prevent cabal, the same members must not be eligible to the legislatures succeeding that which has begun to express its desire for this change.

Many spoke on this interesting subject, among the most distinguished of whom was M. Barnave, who with his usual precision, observed, that the end of all government, is tranquility and liberty conjoined; but these two great advantages the people themselves are most liable to destroy with their own hands, from being led to act by general ideas, under the guidance of artful and eloquent demagogues, who have their own private views at bottom. The people are no doubt the only legal sovereign; when they have established a representative government, the public power resides in those representatives; the people can only exercise the sovereignty by elections.

The decree with which the debate ended, is couched in the following terms:

"Whenever three following legislatures shall express a uniform wish to reform a part of the constitution, a revision may take place.

"The fourth legislature shall be charged with examining the articles on which the three preceding legislatures shall have demanded a revision.

"The members of the third legislature cannot be named to the fourth."

M. de la Fayette proposed, that the mode adopted by the American States should be adopted, according to which the nominal appeal is referred to in the three legislative assemblies, and the names of those voting for a reform are printed. This proposal was referred to the committee of constitution.

After this business was concluded, a number of curious and interesting papers were read relative to the Isle of St. Domingo.

PARIS, September 5.

THE Grand Constitutional Chart is at length finished, and was on Saturday last presented to the King: who received it with a countenance in which much outward satisfaction was depicted.

The members met in the Hall of the Assembly at six o'clock in the evening; but it was half past eight before every thing was ready.

M. Vernier, the President, then intimated, that he had waited on the King, and announced their intentions; and that his Majesty was ready to receive them.

On this the deputation moved on towards the Palace of the Thuilleries, between a double row of National Guards, flambeaux preceding, following, and accompanying them, and martial music striking up, and continuing during the procession.

Having arrived at the Palace, the Deputation was immediately ushered into the Grand Council Chamber, and introduced to the King, who was seated on a throne, surrounded by his Ministers, and a great number of other people of distinction.

M. Thouret then advanced, and spoke as follows:

"The Representatives of the Nation who present to your Majesty the Constitutional act, which consecrates the imprescriptible-Rights of the French Nation; which gives to the throne its true dignity, and which organizes the Government of the Empire."

The King instantly replied:

"I now receive the Constitution presented to me by the National Assembly. I shall inform them of my resolution, after the shortest possible delay which the examination of such an important object demands.

"I am resolved to remain in Paris; I shall give the necessary orders to the Commandant-General of the national Parisian troops respecting my guards."

The Deputation having received this answer, and M. Thouret having asked and obtained a copy of it in writing, for the satisfaction of the Assembly, they instantly returned with the same ceremony that they had set out.

Yesterday the Thuilleries were opened, all the centinels posted to prevent the entrance of strangers, being removed.

A prodigious crowd of citizens having gone to the chapel during the morning service, on the entrance of the King and Queen to hear Mass, a number of voices exclaimed, Vive la Nation! Vive la Constitution!

His Majesty, who was taken unawares, being unable to hide his emotion at this circumstance, burst into tears. On this the audience cried out, Vive le Roi! Vive la Liberte! One person in particular pronounced with a loud and distinct voice, Vive le Premier Roi constitutional des Francois!

VIENNA, August 17.

Accounts are received here, that after the last rencontre between the van of the Turkish army the Ruffians, the Grand Vizier assembled all his army, the flower of which consisted of 80,000 men, and the rest he divided into two divisions, consisting of 30,000 men each; he then assembled all his officers, and gave them such orders as he thought proper, and in a speech of great energy told them, that he had no doubt of obtaining a victory over the enemy if they and the men under their command would do their duty. Immediately after this they attacked the Ruffians, between Galacz and Maczyn, and a bloody contest ensued, the certain issue of which is not known; some say the Ruffians had the advantage, whilst others assert that the Muscovites were beat, and had 12,000 men killed upon the spot.

LONDON, September 9.

How strangely are the French altered! It was lately represented as a degradation in the Assembly to exclude a member of the Royal Family from the rights of a citizen. How infinite formerly was the distinction between Prince and Citizen!

The French Elections do not seem to meet with so many difficulties in general as in Paris.—At Chartres, the Electoral Assembly chose nine Deputies to the new Legislature in one day.

An authentic list has been published, containing the names of no less than eighty-nine persons, proposed as candidates for the office of Governor to the Dauphin.