be led from the detached fentences there ciples of anarchy, instead of the principles of government; principles wholly subversive of a representative democracy. If you will give yourself the trou-ble to read the passages there cited, in their connection, you will find that they have been brought in by the head and thoulders and " with the ftrength of Hercules," as a comic author observes on a like occasion.

I have, indeed, in treating of a reprefentative democracy, afferted, 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 fecurity against abuses in those who exercife the powers of government." I have further faid, that " to render the public fentiment a more rational and a more powerful check upon every department of government, it is essentially nean effectual provision for the diffemina-tion of useful knowledge." That " in a Kepublic, by which is intended a representative democracy, the powers of government are supported not by force, but by the fentiments 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 felf created locieties and clubs formed for the purpose of censuring the proceedings of government in transitu, of anticipating the deliberations of confti-tutional bodies, or dictating the mea-fures, which those bodies ought to pur-

If, Sir, you will have the patience to read fo 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 affem-ble 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 sufceptible of paffions. To those the more artful direct their whole attention. By these every decision in the numerous and heterogeneous affemblies of the people at large, is irrefiftably influenced. In a fimple democracy, there can be no fixed conflitution. Every thing is liable to be changed by the frenzy of the ent, or the influence of a popular faction. In such a government, where all are immediate actors no accountabilify 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 ternal 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 ation, for want of leifure, 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 fuch occasions, prefumption, passionate zeal, and obstinacy, are always in proportion to the ignorance of the actors. In fuch 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 effential 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 defigned in its confliction to 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 conftant 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 fentiment, and

my writings in support of such affocia-tions is best known to himself. If you have not perused the book, you might the powers and duties of the several departments, are in many inflances limited by the laws of the constitution, by which the people have faid 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 surnished with the necesfary 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, togethe 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 meafures which have from time to time been adopted.

Proceeding in this way, I am perfuaded that a representative democracy may secure to the people more civil and political happiness than any of the kinds of governments which have hitherto exifted. Such is the state of things, that knowledge in the complicated affairs in civil fociety comes not by intuition.— The means of information, and frequent-ly, diligent investigation are necessary. The knowledge of the people will follow, but rarely precede, a public difcuftion. 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 pre-cipitation, all the heat and ungovernable passions, of a simple democracy.-Have we reason to believe that these felf pronounced dictators, have a free access to the means of information, that they have been able more fully to comprehend the prefent 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

Their professed defign has been to promote political knowledge; but wherever they have established themselves, they have affumed a dictatorial flyle in their refolves. Where any man or body of men have refused their dictates, or prefumed to differ from them in opiion, no length of meritorious fervices, no virtue or integrity of character, has been proof against their bold proscripbeen proof against their bold proterptions. Like the demagogues of simple democracy they have applied wholly to the passions and jealousies of the people. They have assumed to speak the fentiments of the people, though, in point of numbers they are certainly a very inconsiderable minority. If their affertions have so far imposed on the naaffertions have so far imposed on the na tional government as to direct its meafures it is worse than the evils of a simple democracy. It is an engine to go vern the majority by a minor faction. Nothing of this kind can happen in an affembly of the people at large. Is it, gress 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 controll of a few felf

If however these societies are unable directly to dictate measures to the na-tional 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 nore 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 wifeft 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 wife and good, as that they should really be wife 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.

authorised oligarchs.

I know that it is frequently said, that in a republic it is necessary to the maintenance of liberty, the people, fhould be jealous of their rulers. But I have never been able to perfuade myfelf, that to be a good republican a man must imbibe prejudice, which are the necessary

confequences of jealoufy. That certainly is an unfortunate fituation which renders candor dangerous, or jealoufy a pecies of virtue. In no government are rulers held more firictly and generally accountable than in our representative democracies. Their continuance in place depends constantly on a faithful discharge of their trust. Ought we not then, for a suspicious jealousy, to substitute a manly and rational confidence. This by no means implies a supine inattention to public men or measures; but it admits candor in the examination. If jealoufy be a republican virtue, if it be necessary to excite suspicions among the people, to render them watchful over their liberties, it must be acknowledged that democratic focieties have, in this respect great merit.—They will not furely think that the people ought to ex-empt them from suspicions and jealou-fies, because they are self-existent. Until their turn shall come, they may on these principles justify any, the most ill grounded and violent invectives against the members of the federal government, as purely intended to keep alive, among the people a necessary jealousy, a whole-some distrust of rulers. If by these means the people should be deprived of all the present blessings of government and the nation plunged into a long series of calamities, they have only to say, all this is the alloring price of the control of the same is the glorious price of liberty. They need not blush for their violent censures of the executive of the federal government for an opposition to the measures of a foreign minister; those measures which were disapproved by his nation, and for which heewas displaced with

pointed marks of difgrace.

Notwithstanding what has been observed, I do not mean to infinuate, that fuch affociations as our democratic focieties are a crime to be animadverted upon by laws and reftrained by the con-titution. The exercise of such a pow-er would be more dangerous to liberty than the affociations themselves. They must be left to rise or fall, solely by the good fense of the people. Nor would I infinuate that it can never be expedient for the people to affemble on occasion to petition for a redress of grievances, whether constitutional or legislative. But it would be well if the petitions and representations of the people, unless when they come from known corporate bodies, were always to be figned individually, that it might appear how far they are expressive of the public sentiment. When they come forward from voluntay focieties, there is often a deception. It is not known whether they contain ten or ten thousand individuals.

From these observations you will be convinced that I am no friend to such focieties, and that my name ought not to have been brought forward as one who favored their principles.

## BISHOP GOBET. LEYDEN GAZETTE, 25 April.

Extract of the news from Paris to the 14th April.

Whatever may have been the jealoufy with which differning men have heard, or read the Reports of the various projects, attributed by the Chiefs of the Government to fuch of their affociates as it has been their interest, or wish to be rid may have been, however fuspicious from the vagueness of the acculations, it is impossible to regard as wholly groundless the designs of some of the principals to de-

prive their feconds of the fupreme power with which they are invested.

If the precipitation of Hebert has prepared his ruin, Danton has succeeded no better by temporizing, and it seems that none of them possess the Tactic of insurrections. tion in the fame degree as Robespierre, or rather it feems that he has dexteriously a-vailed himself of the division that reigned among his enemies to destroy them, the them in detail—an advantage never possef-fed by the ministry of Louis XVI, nor the Section of the Jacobins who attempted to reign upon the ruins of the throne, they had subverted.

The 18 individuals guillotined on the noth of April, were treated as fubaltern conspirators, and were condemned as accomplices of the 33 conspirators who preceded them a few days to the place of ex-

Those who knew the Bishop Gobet under the ancient government, and who ring the early days of the revolution, would not dave expected that the time would come, when the party of Rebefpierre would have condemned him to death for having intended to efface all ideas of the Divinity, and to found the French sovernment upon

Yet fuch is the princip to him in the act of acc against him, Chaumette "Their object (i

" to annihilate every " ity, to destroy ev " tue, and to perfu "tions, that the " arrived to the hall "tion, difbelieving the "God."

The execution of these persons, which took place a few hours after their condemnation, drew the fame concourse of spectators as the execution of Hebert, Danton and their affociates. Chaumette was treated in the fame manner as these two chiefs, that is to fay, he was the last guillotined, and his head was shewn to the peoplehe had declared before the Tribunal, That he appealed from their fentence to Posterity, and it is faid that he supported his character to the last moment; but we are affured that it was otherwife with Bishop Gobet, who at the foot of the scaffold, invoking "JESUS CHRIST," appeared to return to the confolations of that religion, the abjuration of which in the presence of the national convention, he not long fince 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 Over and Ter-

condemned at the court of Oyer and Terminer for pating 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 Procefion.

A part of the Lexington troop of horfe 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 horfe.—They moved in open order very flowly, 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 furpicion of being the perpetrators of the murder of Dr. Redman's coachman, and committed

# 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 Bermaster and five hands, and ordered her for Bermuda; but Capt. Baker and his crew found means to bring the school ner into this port, with the prize-maf-ter, &c. who, if they have their defert, 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 con-demned about the same time.

## NEW-YORK, July 12.

Arrived here yesterday, the brig Union, Capt. —, from Bristol. A-bout 30 leagues from land, five of the paffengers, in the brig's yawl, went out for amusement, and during their ab-sence, there coming on a sudden squall, the brig left them, and have not fince been heard of. One of the above perfons was a lady whose husband arrived in the brig.

By the above veffel 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 fuch extracts as may be worth copying, until Monday.

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

Prince Adam Czartoriski, who has joined the standard of General Kosciu-sko, 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 sate of his unhappy coun-

A commission consisting of two Secretaries of State and some other perfons, 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 Palcal Jourdan, a Lecturer in one of the Ecclefiastical bondations.

> Joseph, Forest, arrived last evenn Ne vry, has 310 passengers— adon accounts are not so late as

we have had, but the spoke a vessel which informed, that the Duke of York's ar-

The Union, from Bristol, failed May 19; her London dates are of May 16this paper contains an account of the total DEFEAT of CLAIRFAIT, alfo, 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 fail of victuallers from America, arrived fafe.

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 f ved is a penny earned, fays poor Richard; and so fays 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 pro-perty were never joint-tenants. Make every mother's fon face the grindstone, fay the ariftocrats; the swinish rabble have liberty! it would be casting pearle before swine; obedience is the foul of order, and severity is the parent of submission. Poor Richard makes a parody on this language—make every mother's fun 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 fing pfalmtunes, at church, instead of the Bacchanal chorus, at the

Pell Bluster was like ye; he borrow-ed dollars, and stumpt 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 mistres, and fwore he'd have 'em; which was scarce uttered, before Mr. officer steps up, and reads to him-to answer unto On this coast she was taken by a Ber- Mr. for not paying him 800l mudian privateer, which took out some Our gentleman spends four weeks in of the hands, and put on board a prze- gaol, and comes out prepared for a man master and five hands, and ordered her 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 fign of the punchbowl, where fit in reeling merriment a circle of topers! fee there fays he, poor *Pell Blufter*, 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 ferve his property, according to law—to fee 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."

Extrast from the Gazette of the United States of September 25, 1790. The late grand federative affociation of the French Nation at Paris, was one of the most interesting, solemn and dignished transactions, ever exhibited on the theatre

of this lower creation!

If ever the celeftials bend with delight to view the triumphs of reason, humanity and freedom, it must be on such an occa-

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

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.