

CONGRESS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, November 27, 1794.

Debate on Mr. Dayton's motion to restore the words "self-created societies and," which had been expunged in the address to the President in answer to his speech.

Mr. Nicholas, after a short apology for speaking again observed, the gentleman who amended the house yesterday, and the gentleman who just set down, have so far fallen short of their object, that he should be pardoned in taking a review of the subject. The gentlemen have adopted this mode—they first propose a question, and from a comparison of the mischiefs arising on the different decisions, urge a right to decide, when no such right is contended to exist.—What is the evidence on which we are to decide? the testimony of the gentleman from Pennsylvania? He refers to one society only. Adverting to the address, Mr. N. expressed his surprize that so much aid had been drawn from that quarter. He rejected the President—he believed his declarations; but this imposed no obligation to add his own. Noticing Mr. Dexter's remarks on the abuse of the liberty of the press, he adverted to the publications of the democratic societies; if they are so false as is pretended, they will defeat themselves. He noticed the concession which had been made, that societies for political information are legal and may be useful—taking this for granted, he insisted that they had a right to censure, as well as to inform; for without this right, the concession amounts to nothing.

He noticed the argument that the censure being general, does not amount to individual censure—if it is not general and individual censure both, the argument in favour of the general proposition is of no use, and is nugatory. He noticed the assertion of Mr. Dexter, who had asserted that the house had a right to legislate in this case; he remarked that by this mode the house precluded the regular course of legislation, by a single vote at the commencement of the session.

We are called upon to support the President; but what are we to support, his actions or his opinions? The constitution does not depend on the President; but the President has only flattered an opinion to the people, and leaves it to them to reflect on it. He lamented that the President's weight and influence was brought to often into debate. He had heard it said it was part of a system; he wished it might not be injurious to him or to the government.

Mr. Montgomery. Did the gentlemen imagine that the President, admitting that he was in any way interested in their decision, could feel any great satisfaction in a majority of forty-seven against forty-six? Or was the weight of the forty-six members to be destroyed, with the public, merely because they were outvoted by such a narrow majority? If the amendment was voted at all, it would be this way, and he could not possibly see what advantage any party was to reap from having such a majority. The people at large know as well as the House the state of the votes on the amendment, and, at any rate, they will judge for themselves. He wished the thing to fall asleep, and as the most peaceable way to get rid of it, he should, if seconded, move the previous question.

Several gentlemen rose to second the motion. Mr. Sedgwick and Mr. Dayton declared that it was out of order. It would bring the house into such a dilemma that they could not get forward with the business either one way or another. After some dispute this point of form was referred to the Speaker. He declared that the motion for a previous question was in order, the question being on the amendment.—This opinion was overruled by the house.

The house were then going to divide when Mr. Carnes got up. He was entirely against the amendment. It denouced vengeance against all societies; this was extremely unjust. It would be better for the house to speak out like men, and name the culprits. Let a committee be appointed, if it must take notice of the affair, and let them enquire and report what was the real cause of the late insurrection. Mr. Carnes gave an instance of a democratic society that turned out as volunteers against the rioters. "Do we think," said Mr. Carnes, "that the President interests himself in our address. Sir, that character is not to be amended with trifles. He is not to be tickled with the turn of a paragraph. What I am to answer a line and a half of a speech, with a vote that strikes at the soul of all society? Are we to point the finger of execration indiscriminately? What will be the effect, Sir, of this conduct. A gentleman Mr. Sedgwick told you the other day, that democratic societies had produced the insurrection, but when in the course of his observations, he became a little more animated, he told us, that a foreign envoy, General, had been the cause of all this mischief. If this be true the democratic so-

cieties are innocent. Sir, by this amendment you would prevent the freedom of speech, and lock the mouths of men.—They are not to censure the measures of government, and then bad men may do what they please with it. I hope, Sir, that the day will never come, when the people of America shall not have leave to assemble and speak their mind. It is acknowledged that this affair is not an object of judicial cognizance. This overstraining always defeats its own purpose. The trial of Muir and others, on flimsy grounds, have done more service to the cause of their party than if they had received a reinforcement of five thousand fighting men."

As to the comparison between this business and that of St. Clair's failure, there was no sort of similarity or correspondence between them. In that case the house had employed servants, & was entitled to look into their conduct. The present amendment, on the contrary, holds up no determined object, and has ill-nature and asperity on the very face of it. When the President, in his speech, mentioned the self-created societies, he did not address himself to the House of Representatives, but to people at large. But if it was to become the rule, in framing a reply, to make it an exact echo of the speech itself, if there was no necessity for exercising our judgments, he considered the house as losing time. It would be much better to take the speech at once, turn the other end uppermost, and send it back to the President as fast as possible. As to this all powerful resolution which was to go into these dark cells, of which the house had been told, it would be much better to give the gentleman (Mr. W. Smith) a blacking brush, and send him into them, to mark out the guilty. The house would then know how to proceed. Mr. Carnes objected to Mr. Dexter's comparison, of a man shot dead by a ball. He wanted the gentleman to shew him the bullet, or, in plain terms, to shew him a letter from the democratic societies of New-York, or Philadelphia, addressed to the western people, and exciting them to insurrection; but as the gentleman could shew him no such thing, Mr. Carnes, utterly denied the propriety of the parallel.

Mr. W. Smith thought it somewhat strange that at this time of day, members should be calling for facts, when these are so well known to all the house. He then read a set of resolutions, dated 8th of May last, adopted and published by the democratic society of Philadelphia. These resolutions condemned, in the most unqualified terms the appointment of John Jay as minister from the U. S. to the court of London, because they say, he had formerly declared, that the British were entitled to keep the western posts, and because it was contrary to the constitution to appoint a judge to a diplomatic station. The strongest censure was likewise cast upon the executive for having made such an appointment. These resolutions were circular and voted to be sent to all the democratic societies in the United States.

Mr. Smith next observed, that individual legislatures in the Union had passed votes of censure on this house, and he did not see, by a parity of reasoning, why the house might not also pass votes of censure. Mr. Smith said, that there had been a great change of sentiments of some members of that house. About two years ago the house of representatives had determined by thirty-five votes against sixteen, to pass an opinion on the new constitution of France, and the gentlemen who had then exercised the right, now denied that the house had it. Mr. Smith concluded by saying, that the President had denounced the democratic societies, and they had denounced him.

Mr. Giles rose and said that the charge of inconsistency rested with the member last up, who in the case referred to, had asserted that the house had no right to pass a vote of opinion, yet, on the present question, insisted that they had. Mr. Giles was one of the thirty-five who voted for an exercise of opinion, but this was only for returning a civil answer to a civil letter from the republic of France. The gentlemen who gave that vote for an answer knew, that they were not to give an opinion, where they could not legislate. There was therefore no inconsistency on the part of these members; But with the gentleman from South-Carolina. Mr. Giles informed the house of his having this moment, learned, that in the army, in the western counties, there was nothing talked of, but overturning democratic societies. No body could tell where this matter might end.

(To be concluded on Monday.)

From the EAGLE.

VIGIL.

As the author of the laborious work called "the Vigil," is desirous of

encouraging correspondents to assist him in his speculations, he now presents a communication from a young friend, whose genius, is deserving of patronage, and whose political sentiments correspond with his own.

TO THE VIGIL.

SIR, As you have never made any observations on politics, I will give you a few hints, which, if you think proper, you may communicate, as they are; or, if you choose, please to give them some better dress.

It is the disposition of some men, when innocent novelties cease to please and employ them, to invent and frame hobby-horses for themselves, and their profelytes to ride, without the least regard to consequences; and blindly to pursue their favorite schemes, however ruinous to the happiness of their fellow citizens, and destructive of all principles.—

We are surrounded with hordes of beings, most poisonous to a government, whose only wish is peace, safety, and domestic tranquillity.

These vermin are particularly anxious to diffuse their pernicious principles more generally through these states; but in New-hampshire have hitherto failed in their attempts.

Nothing is more injurious to the regular and peaceable administration of government, than clubs, whose professed design is the superintendance of that government.—Their increase, and influence is a sure evidence of approaching evil to a State, and consequently, nothing ought to add so much to the vigilance of virtuous citizens, for the welfare of the established government; and nothing should have so immediate an influence to strengthen our attachment to it, as the establishment of Jacobinic clubs.—

I am by no means averse to open, fair, and candid discussions of political questions; but am however, far from wishing to encourage those societies whose evident tendency, by obtaining an influence, is to lessen the power of the officers of government, and to lead, or rather drive, the legislature, wherever they please.—

These Democratic Societies, altho at first they appear insignificant and hardly worth notice, yet their tendency is really consequential. Altho their number is small, at first, yet it is by no means difficult for them to proselyte inconsiderate individuals; and alas! some indeed have hearkened to their flattery, who have heretofore been esteemed meritorious, and have, in some dark moment, been made the dupes of their vile designs. Accessions of this kind, to their former power, has influence over others, who at length become disaffected; which tends to diminish the reverence for government, even in those, who are not immediately connected with them by becoming members of their institutions.

A republic, having, in this fatal way, lost its energy, cannot be sufficiently respectable at home, and of course will not appear in that degree formidable abroad, which is necessary to secure it from intestine wars, and from the attacks of foreign enemies.

Their name, (Democratic) which is undoubtedly just to their levelling principles, shews them to be such, as are inconsistent with those of Federal Republicans.

A citizen of the United States would never have thought of introducing such a nuisance into this country, were he not blinded by novelty, and the glaring appearance of the French Jacobins, whose influence would finally have destroyed all hopes of a regular government in France, had not their tendency been explored in season, and their supporters been opposed and seasonably cut off, by the keen razor of national justice.

Foreign Intelligence.

LONDON, October 9.

Yesterday Mr. Windham was presented to his majesty by the duke of Portland, on his arrival from the Hague.

Yesterday the earl of Chatham laid a variety of papers in the naval department before his majesty at Buckingham house. Mr. Windham also laid a great number of letters and papers before the king, which took up nearly two hours.

Yesterday morning arrived the mail from Halifax, brought to Falmouth by the Westmoreland packet, Capt. Wolfe, in 17 days.

The board of Agriculture have appointed Mr. James Donaldson, at Dundee, to make up a general report of the state of agriculture in Great-Britain, from the returns made by those who surveyed the different districts under the authority of the board.

Translated for the Aurora from Paris Papers.

NATIONAL CONTRIBUTION

September 30.

Cambion in the name of the committee of finances gave an account of the sums imposed and received in the Netherlands, as also of the money arrived in the national treasury.

The convoy arrived on the 26th Sept. delivered into the national treasury 3,441,343 livres; it was the seventh transport which entered the national treasury. The total sum already paid by the Belgians amounts to 13,359,404 livres paid partly in ingots partly in French and foreign coins. The following is an exact statement of the quota imposed on the principal towns and shews in the same time the sums already received on account.

Table with columns: Name of the places, Sum imposed, Paid. Rows include Brussels, Antwerpen, Mechlen, Liege, Gand, Oudenaarde, Louvain, Namur, Tournay, Alost and Ninove, Mons, Alb, Bruges, Offende, Ypres, Courtray, Huy.

The operations of the representatives in Belgium are not bounded to the levying of money; they send to France every object useful to the arts, the instruction of the French, and the fabrics; they are even occupied with the sale of the national domains which has already begun.

The national treasury has also received intelligence from the agent charged with the operations of the same kind in the electorate of Treves, "that he has made a remittance to the pay master general of the Moselle; the amount of the sum transmitted is 91,543 livres 6 sous 5 den, paid partly on account of the 3000,000 livres, imposed on the country of Treves, and partly arising from particular captures. The Electoral Throne accompanies the above convoy; but this piece of furniture being of no use in a republic, as the example which you have given by punishing the tyrant, must serve as a lesson to the ambitious, and show them how dangerous it is, to mount a throne, under whatever title it may be, we shall send its gold and silver ornaments to the national crucible."

On motion of Bourdon De L'Oise, the Convention authorized the Committee of general safety, to decide on the detentions pronounced by judgment of the different tribunals to the peace, but only till the 27th August, 1795; on those ordered for suspicion.

OS. 2.

In order to fix hereafter the public opinion Thibaudot proposed, to frame an address to the French people, in which the principles of Republicans ought to be expost in a simple, positive and distinct manner. Then, said he, you will see the whole nation rallying round those principles. You will have a touchstone to distinguish those, who with sincerely the triumph of liberty, from intriguers and knaves. If any body should dare afterwards to profess in a popular society or elsewhere principles opposed to those, proclaimed by the National Convention, he would soon be discomfited by universal shouts of disapprobation. The assembly charged its three committees, to frame an address to that effect.

Laloi in the name of the committee of public safety, read several dispatches. On one side, the capture of Aix-la-Chapelle, the investment of Maestricht, the rear of the Austrians defeated; and in another quarter, considerable advantages gained by the army in Italy. The army of the Rhine suffered a check, but orders are already given to repair it. Thirty prizes carried into our ports, besides nine ships of the enemy sunk.

Something like the truth at last.

[From the AURORA.]

PARTIES IN FRANCE.

From the cloud of mutilated extracts, of lengthy and unintelligible details from French papers, chiefly republished in our gazettes from London prints, it is impossible to collect an idea of the state of parties in France. The following remarks are founded on a careful perusal of a series of late Paris papers.

Since the death of Robespierre the politics of that country have taken quite a new aspect. Under his reign and that of his partizans the most complete despotism under the name of liberty existed; terror was the constant

order of the day,—the liberty of the press was annihilated, and even the freedom of opinion in the bosom of the Convention was lost; the system of blood had taken to deep a root, that silence was the only condition on which those opposed to the system held their lives. The system of tyranny even extended to private intercourse, and no man was safe, who ventured, even in conversation to drop a word unfavorable to the character of the tyrant, of his abettors, or in opposition to their measures. Dark as this sketch may appear, it is the truth.

The people of this country were much deceived in their ideas of this man's policy, during its prevalence; the acts of blood and injustice he committed, from an idea of the purity of his character (he was not ambitious of riches, but certainly he was of power) were considered as acts of necessary rigour, all calculated to secure the foundations of the revolution, and ultimately tending to the public good. Few dreamed, that they were links in a chain—a deep laid plan of usurpation which if it had been successfully executed would have been fatal, perhaps, to the liberties of France. But the execution was impossible,—the light which the revolution in its progress has already thrown on the minds of the great mass of the French nation, must defeat every attempt to enslave them permanently, though they might be misled for a time.

Insulated individuals in and out of the convention, at the period we have described dared not declare against the tyrant; the attempt seemed certain death.

Tallicn, however, seizing a favourable moment, was bold enough to denounce him, and the recoil of public hatred did the rest. With Robespierre, however, the system of terror appears not to have been buried; it no doubt received a deep wound; but though not now predominant, it has many advocates. It was attempted to be revived forcibly by fomenting an insurrection in Marseilles and Lyons; but the plot has been crushed in embryo by the firmness of the constituted authorities.

Not discouraged by this check, the favourers of the system are busily employed in effecting its revival by more gradual and perhaps surer means. Biland Varennes, who may be considered not only as one of the greatest friends to the system, but the most capable of bringing about its restoration, with Duhem, Barre and others are using every endeavour to encrease their influence, already great, in the popular society of Paris, in order to pervert the principles and nature of the institution, to secure their ambitious or mistaken views.

They are combated on the other hand, by the friends to principles, those who were sincere in the overthrow of the tyrant, not those who took part against him when they saw his fall, and abandoned him only to avoid being involved in his ruin. These, among whom Freron stands distinguished, advocate the absolute liberty of the press, while the Jacobins wish it restricted; fearing the full blaze of truth; No feature in their opposition can better characterize each party. It can scarcely be a doubt which will prevail, they are at present both extremely powerful; but the free discussion of public measures which is now afforded in and out of the Convention, bids fair to secure the preponderance to those who are firm to principles, for thro' that free discussion truth and principles must prevail.

UNITED STATES.

PITTSBURGH, Nov. 20. GENERAL ORDERS.

The heads of departments are requested to bestow every possible attention to the fair and immediate liquidation of all demands against the United States for the subsistence and other charges appertaining to the army—in the execution of this important duty they will be governed uniformly by the strictest regard to equity, always preferring in dubious cases the individual's right, if marked by particular circumstances of damage.

In the payment of forage for any part of the army baggage, a sum fully adequate for the use of the boats and bands employed therein is to be given, and not the established rates per head and wheel.

The supplies of provisions and forage which cannot be readily transported to the camp of the troops, destined to continue during the winter, must be sold for, and on account of the United States.

The commanding officers of the several state lines composing the army, are required immediately to make returns