

ON DEMOCRACY.

What hath ears to hear let him hear.

WE have now come to an issue, and perhaps the rage of party may subside, and we may all unite in maintaining our Elective Democracies.

If the men who stile themselves federalists, are really so, they will unite with the republicans in supporting the governments which secure to the people their dearest interests, and their most invaluable rights. If they are dissatisfied with the Constitutions, let them state their arguments to the public; let the question be fairly debated, & let the people decide. Washington says, what is strictly true, when he tells us, that the people alone have the right to form, establish, and alter their Constitutions of Government; and justly observes, that provision is made, in the Federal Constitution itself, for all needed amendments. This provision does by no means contain, or intend, powers, for such amendments as shall change the nature of the Federal Government from an Elective Democracy to an authority independent of the people, as to its limits and duration; but all amendments which experience should exhibit the necessity of, in order to maintain an Elective Republic, can be obtained through the process pointed out in the Constitution.

The complaint is, that the executive government has not energy enough to repel the invasions of other nations. It is agreed by the warmest opposers of the Constitution, that the President has nearly the same authority, as the King of the British Empire, in the appointment of military, and civil officers; but as to the latter, this is not the fact. He must have the consent of the senate as to the appointment of Judiciary officers. But he has not the power of making war or peace, without the aid of the whole Congress. The question is only to be asked, in order to its having a proper decision—Will the people of America ever delegate such an authority to any single man?

We have lately been in a situation, a review of which, will exhibit the extreme folly, as well as the great danger attached to such a delegation of power. There was not a majority of votes for any one man as President; we had an expectation, that there would be no choice in any constitutional mode, and the President of the senate, for the time being, would be at the head of the nation. This was ardently wished for by those who had falsely assumed the name of federalists; because it would exhibit a degree of imperfection in the government, and do much towards establishing, in the public mind, a necessity of having a King, a master who would govern us with a rod of iron. Those who want a King, and those who dread one, may read this true description of that officer in the book of Samuel; but to return. If in the crisis above mentioned, the President, who was going out of office, had been an ambitious, revengeful man, how easy would it have been for him, and he had sufficient notice of it to have made overtures to England, to declare war against France, or to France to declare war against England, on a compact, that the effect of the alliance should be to place him permanently at the head of the nation of the United States. A war in alliance with any powerful nation, will, if the President can make one independent of the Congress, render him independent of his people, and render them dependent on a foreign power.

The party now pursuing these ideas, this phantom of ambition, wished a war with France, Spain, and Holland, in alliance with G. Britain, without any cause or foundation for a war; and even without the internal preparations, or external requisitions commonly & necessarily used on such great and interesting occasions. The same party had in Congress, before, usurped the powers of government, and attempted by every possible exertion to prevent a treaty with France, which would take away all pretext for a war.—And they reduced John Adams to private life because he ratified that treaty. They, in Congress, associated under a new compact, repugnant to the tenor of the Constitution; by which a party was formed there, that the minority should be bound by the majority of the party, so that if there were ninety members in congress, and forty-six were of that club, twenty-four made a majority of it, the other twenty-two, being obliged to vote with the twenty-six in Congress, or rather in the House of Representatives, the whole house of ninety, was governed by the opinion of the twenty-six.

When the people sent their Representatives, they expected them to act like men of honor and integrity, and to act independently on their own sentiments; but this association was in a

direct opposition to the Constitution. It brought men into a strong temptation to act, either without reasoning, or to act against the light of their own understanding; it laid a foundation for fraud, dishonesty, and unfaithfulness; and had it not been overthrown, the country might have been ruined. Several members, who went to Congress with an intention to act for themselves, have declared, that they were obliged to join that party, or to lose all kind of consequence.—Dearborn was, among others, hunted down, and thrown out of public life by the influence of that association, for no other reason, than that he would vote in Congress according to the dictates of his own conscience, without being bound by their opinion. Their influence has been very widely known and felt.

WASHINGTON in his address, gives us this opinion, that "in governments purely elective, a spirit of party is not to be encouraged."

Our Governments are Elective Republics; a majority must govern in all constitutional measures, & if when there is a constitutional choice of the President, we are to be kept in a flame, in uneasiness and caballing, during his administration, we shall very soon be weary of an Elective Government. This is a matter of serious consideration with true federalists, with those who love, and mean to maintain our Elective Democracies; but it promotes the wishes of those who in the opposition papers are attempting to run down, and destroy the Federal Government itself.

PLAIN TRUTH.

WHEN the political horizon is darkened, from whatever cause, it is the duty of every good citizen, to clear the mist, and illumine the understanding of those citizens, who, from whatever blind fatality and invincible influence or bias, occasions them to be misinformed of the necessary order or series of things and events; without entering into the violences of either party. Considering the many grievous misrepresentations of persons and things, it is highly requisite, at this juncture, that the people throughout the United States, should, if possible, be set right in their opinions by some impartial citizen.

WE, the People, live here under a Represented Democracy, and under the most perfect and free government, in which laws are administered; but we are unhappily divided into two parties, both which pretend a mighty patriotism for our religion and government, only they differ about the means. The evils we must fence against are, on the one side, a coercive jurisprudence and federalism, under the name of a Commonwealth in government; On the other side, Foreigners interfering in our political concerns, and those deluded and deluding persons, who hope, or pretend, that a war is necessary to preserve the honor and dignity of our common country. How to form and direct us in sentiments upon these weighty points, and to guard against fanaticism by profession, men of arbitrary principles, whose interest it is to corrupt our republican manners, blunt our understandings, drain our wealth, and in time destroy our excellent Constitution; and at last bring us to the very brink of ruin. Unlucky for society, there are some who think in every government, whether a Monarchy or Republic, there is placed a supreme, absolute, unlimited power, to which passive obedience is due. That wherever is entrusted the power of making laws, that power is without all bounds, can repeal or enact at pleasure whatever laws it thinks fit, and justly demands universal obedience and non-resistance.

For the service therefore of our adversaries and the true friends of our happy Constitution, I shall briefly examine this point, by shewing what are the causes and symptoms of such people's delirium, and how it differs from their inclination or natural bias.

It is Machiavel's observation, that the people when left to their own judgment, do seldom mistake their true interest; and indeed they naturally love the constitution they live under, never desiring to change but under the greatest oppressions. However, they are to be deceived by several means. It has often happened in Greece, and sometimes in Rome, that those very men who have contributed to shake off a former tyranny, have, instead of maintaining the true Constitution, deluded the People into a worse and more ignominious slavery. To complain of our unhappy divisions, is what all are agreed in. And that they are great evils is past all doubt; but what shall we do to remedy them? What are the most probable means to compass so desirable an end? Not general exhortation to unity; not formal declarations to shew that peace is a very good thing, especially when they are made by the greatest enemy to it, or disturbers of it; not at an endless, unprofitable bartering about

moderation and forbearance; not declaring we are of no party, and professing an abhorrence of strife and contention. These are not measures to bring about that so much desirable reconciliation. But the way to do it is, to strike at the root, and take away the cause of these animosities. If we unite, 'tis plain we must unite in something; we must agree in some common scheme of principles; and what shall those be, but the principles of that Constitution of which we are citizens? And since they are so many who continue unreconciled to republican principles, only because they do not understand them; and are led away by general phrases and soft expressions to carry on the designs of a party, which very designs they would detest, did they conceive them to be what they really are: It is not my intention to persuade or convince such men, because the fault of most of them is not so much in their judgment, as in their wills.

Hopes are natural to all men, especially to sanguine complexions; and among the various changes that happen in the course of public affairs, they are seldom without some pretended grounds: Even in desperate cases, where it is impossible they should have any foundation, they are often affected to keep a countenance, and make their antagonists think they have some resource when they have no expedients. This appears to have been for some time past the condition of those persons, whom I am forced, for want of other phrases, to call the disappointed party. They have taken up, since their fall, some real and some pretended hopes. Before the late change took place, and the former party was at the helm, those who were called the Republican Democrats never put their resentments in balance with the safety of the nation, but cheerfully contributed to the general welfare. Now the scene is changed, the fallen party seem to act from very different motives; mortified as they are, still seek to plunge the country into a war, in the hopes to raise a tempest to overwhelm the friends of government in the whirlwind and direct the storm. Vain hopes! These are the men who cast abroad fire-brands, arrows and death. These are the persons whom those scoundrels to the press, in their daily gazettes, openly revile as ignominious a race, as I believe was never tolerated under any former government. For surely no lawful power, derived from the People, should be so far affronted, as to leave those who are in authority exposed to every scurrilous libeller. Not to mention those infamous libels, directly levelled at the President; how many papers do come out every week, full of ruffianly invectives against this great personage, with the view to lessen him in the public estimation; & with the strength of unjust reproaches, hold the constituted authorities at defiance.

It is good sometimes, to let these exclusive patriots see, that the people neither want spirit nor materials to retaliate; not following their example with the weapons of slander, but the calm and irresistible voice of truth. Notwithstanding all which, you shall frequently hear the partizans of the late men in power, bravely and decidedly pronounce, that the present administration cannot possibly stand. Now, they who affirm this, if they believe themselves, must ground their opinion upon the inquiry of the last, being so far established and deeply rooted, that no endeavors of honest men will be able to restore things to their former state. Or else these reasoners have been so misled by a few years mismanagement, that they have forgot the principles of our constitution, and talk as if the madness of the People hath risen to such a height as to crumble in pieces the whole fabric of our instituted Governments.—Do they not deceive themselves? Yes! for the body of the People is wiser, and by the choice they have made, shew they do understand the principles on which our glorious constitution is founded; which, if the present administration take care to maintain, will and ought to stand, otherwise fall like its predecessor. But to conclude, we readily see what an administration freely chosen, without threatening or corruption, hath done, and is likely to do, when no one shall lie in danger to lose his place by the freedom of his voice. So that this change must be allowed to be according to the natural genius and disposition of the People. A CITIZEN.

NEW-YORK, August 11.

Capt. Coyle of the sch'r. Perseverance, arrived at quarantine, from Aux Cayes, informs, that it was reported there that Jeremie and several plantations in the neighborhood had been burnt by the brigands, and that Fort St. Louis and Jacmel had been evacuated by the French, and it was daily expected the inhabitants of Aux Cayes would be compelled to abandon that place; that a flag of truce was sent

to Jamaica just before he sailed, by which the French offered to throw themselves into the hands of the British, to rescue them from the danger of the blacks. Thirty-one passengers came in the Perseverance, amongst whom is a collector of the customs and a navy agent of St. Domingo. Off the Rite of Leogane, the Perseverance was boarded by the British sloop of war Snake, which took out several letters and pressed one man. On the 23th inst. in lat. 27, long. 73, was boarded by the frigate Andromache.

The brig Lydia, arrived last evening at quarantine, was captured by the British privateer Ursula, from Antigua, and carried her into Nevis, where she was detained 24 hours on account of having French passengers. Capt Stoddart informs us, that all was quiet at Guadaloupe. The port was not blockaded. A Scotch brig had been captured and carried into Bassaterre by the French. Flour 18 dollars, beef 18, pork 20.

August 19.

Settlement of American claims on the government of France.

The following statement is from a correct source, and may be relied on:—The 3,750,000 dollars, that the United States are to pay France, is to be paid to the citizens of the United States for claims they have upon the French government, embraced by the convention made the 30th September by ELWORTH and DAVIN. The second article of that convention is to be considered as null and void. The payment of the United States is to be made to the citizens thereof, in sixty days after the final ratification of the last convention by our government, and exchange of the same, which is to be done here; the payment to be made by bills drawn by our minister in Paris, on the treasury of the United States: Claimants are first to have their claims liquidated by the French government, on which claims they are to be allowed 2 per cent. per annum from the time that the claimants respectively made their demands for payment. After their claims are finally liquidated, a board of three commissioners, appointed by our ministers, are to sit in Paris, who are to examine these liquidated claims, to see if they properly are claims that are embraced under the convention of the 30th September. As soon as this is determined, the claimants will receive their drafts, and they will be paid as they are presented; and should the claims embraced by the convention exceed the sum of 3,750,000 dollars, the remainder is a debt remaining due from France, and to be paid the claimants by that republic. It is understood that claims for supplies to the West-India islands, demurrages on vessels from France, vessels taken and not restored agreeable to the convention of the 30th September, and supplies under the contracts made by officers of the French government in the United States, are the proper claims embraced by that convention.

[D. Ad.]

Peter-Augustus Jay, Esq. who arrived at this port yesterday in the ship Oliver Elsworth from Rochelle, is said to be the bearer of dispatches for government on the subject of the cession of Louisiana.

Verbal accounts by this vessel state that Buonaparte had set out on his journey to the united departments, and was at Boulogne on the first of July, where he examined the batteries, &c. and the preparations which were said to be making for a descent on England. The frigate La Consolante, with general La Crosse on board from Guadaloupe, had arrived at Rochelle, and had captured on her passage an English sloop of war of 20 guns.

We learn from the first authority, that a letter was yesterday received from our minister at Paris, mentioning that East-Florida was to be included in the Louisiana cession.

A. HALL. Has received by the schooner Lanaster, Capt. Bell, from New-York.

An additional Supply of Books and Stationary,

- AS FOLLOWS: Washington on Agriculture, Exercises for Cavalry, Brigg's Cookery, Franklin's Works, Adam's Flowers of Travels, Belknap's Biography, Seneca's Morals, Porfuit of Literature, Watt's Logic, Johnson's Lives of the Poets, Damburger's Travels, Esale of Kotzebue, Biographical Dictionary, Zimmerman on National Pride, Zimmerman on Solitude, Byrdon's Tour, Butler's Hudibras, Bark on the Sublime, Burgh's Dignity of Human Nature,

- Ruffel's Modern Europe, Bolingbroke's Works, Reid's Essays, Rollin's Belles Lettres, Spektor, American Spectator, Farmer's Letters, Botanical Harmony, Fordyce on Education, Blair's Lectures, Complete Letter Writer, Fordyce's Addresses, Rambler, Looker-On, Thompson's Seasons, Hoyle's Games, Taylor's Reports, Evans's Essays, Pothier on Obligations, Beauties of Addison, Do. of Harvey, Family Bible, Butterworth's Concordance, Necker's Religious opinions, Butler's Analogy, Edwards's Affections, Afflicted Man's Companion, Bolton's Fourfold State, Hallyburton's Memoirs, Doddridge's Sermons, Young's Letters, Brown's Concordance, Hervey's Meditations, Elegant Prayer Books, Common do. Bible, Watts's Psalms and Hymns, Buchan's Domestic Medicine, Hunter on the Blood, Inns on the Muscles, Plague and Yellow-Fever, Edinburgh Pharmacopoeia, Aristotle's Works, Aaron Burr's political Disquisitions, &c. Ward's Mathematics, Hamilton Moore's Navigation, Cook's Voyage, Millot's Ancient History, American Lex Mercatoria, Nicholson's Navigation, Blunt's American Navigator, American Coast Pilot, Morlet's Universal Geography, Universal Gazetteer, Johnson's, Jones's, and Entick's Dictionaries, Mair's Introduction to Latin, French Grammar, Murray's Grammar, Do. do. Abridged, Webster's Grammar, Aker's Grammar, Pike's Arithmetic, Fisher's Companion, Schoolmaster's Assistant, American Atlas, Horae, Virgil Dalphin, Clark's Ovid, Sallust, American Preceptor, Columbian Orator, Chapon's Letters, Blossoms of Morality, Looking Glass for the mind, Gay's Fables, Moore's Monitor, Sandford and Meriton, Scott's Lessons, American Selections, Hawney's Measurer, Davidson's Virgil with the English translation, Caeser's Commentaries, Cornelius Nepos, Young's Latin and English Dictionary, Ainsworth's do. do. Lee's American Accountant, Frazer's Assistant, Testaments, Psalters and Spelling Books, Children's Books and Pamphlets, Rolfeau's Elois, Robinson Crusoe, Vicar of Wakefield, Man of Feeling, Charlotte Temple, Bellisarius, Jenny or the Distresses of Love, Maria, Tom Jones, Roderick Random, Invisible Rambler, Monk, Arabian Tales, Children of the Abbey, Zeluzco, History of Women, A collection of the most esteemed modern songs, The Patriotic Songster, Malton, do. Evelyn, Don Quixote, Milberes of Udolpho, Mordant, Adelaide de Sancerre, Constant Loves, Vicar of Landdown, King of the Beggars, Orenburg Family, Fool of Quality, Perplexities, Novelist, Charts of different kinds, Cape-Fear Pilot, Dutch Quills, of a superior quality, Blank Books, of various kinds, Small wrapping Paper, Shining Sand, Seamen's Journals, Letter paper, Writing paper, Sealing Wax, Copy Slips, Wilmington, August 2.