

New-York, Nov. 22.

The Monument erected in this city, to be a memory of that patriotic warrior, the late General MONTGOMERY, has received the following elegant ornamental additions, designed by Major D'Esfont, the gentleman to whom we are indebted for superintending its original erection:—"Hymen, extinguishing his torch, mourns over the tomb. From behind the pyramid rises a Sun with thirteen rays, which enlightens the quarter of a terrestrial globe, emblematical of America. Above the whole is the American Eagle flying from East to West, carrying in his talons a flurry curtain, in which the globe appears to have been wrapped." It must give real satisfaction to every patriotic mind, to behold the attention of genius and taste thus generously employed, in celebrating American heroism and departed virtue.

A Liverpool paper of the 24th Sept. says, "It is not improbable, after all the endeavors of the mediating powers, but that the States of Holland, West Frizeland, and Utrecht, will oblige the King of Prussia to proceed to extranities, as he may think proper, in vindication of the Stadtholder's rights, and to restore the ancient Constitution of the Republic, now broken and divided by the many jarring resolves of the above-mentioned States. We confess we have our doubts of the probability of the French assisting the States; and it is even confessed by the political intelligencers on the patriot side, that the system of the Court of France is changed on this head, and that they are to try every method in the way of mediation first, and appeal, if possible, instead of irritating the Prussian Monarch.

"It puzzles the brain of the wisest politician to devise what kind of satisfaction France can offer, or Prussia accept, other than that which is impossible, viz. a disavowal of the attempt to seize the Princess of Orange, and the punishment of those who did make that attempt. This the States can never submit to, without violating their faith to their supporters---and violating truth at the same time; for it is well known, and they cannot deny it, that the Princess has long been the object of their aversion. It is more than four years since they openly accused her of intriguing politically against the States; and, when the Prince demanded satisfaction for this insult, they refused to prosecute the Printers of such libels.

"In fact, it may be said of Holland as it was said of America. The design to be independent did not, in the latter case, take its rise from the Tea Act. It had before

time confined, impelled by that natural love of life which is implanted in our nature, he took the resolution of getting out of one of the port-holes, and dropping into the water, chusing to run the risque of drowning, rather than proceed to his native country, where certain death awaited him; and this risque was very great, as he feared to know little more of swimming, than just to keep himself above water; for tho' the oar, which was thrown overboard, came within five yards, he feared not to know how to get nearer to it.

In the Liverpool papers, the Elizs, Mercer, and the Betty and Amey, Watt, are advertised for New-York;

The Hall, Ward, for Philadelphia;
The Irish Volunteer, Cooke, for Baltimore;

The Peace and Plenty, Williams, for Boston;

The Henderson, Steel, and the Abby, Braithwaite, for James River;

The Anne, Tolson; Clio, Dawson; Jane, Watson; and Ardeer, Sutherland; for Charleston.

They were all to sail early in October.

Extracts from English prints received per the Nestor, from Liverpool.

L O N D O N.

Sept. 11. Mr. Grenville is returned to the Continent, with full powers for executing the negotiation now on the tapis between his Majesty and the Prince of Orange.

An anonymous correspondent says, he has received a letter from Holland, dated August 28, which states, that by accounts from Rotterdam it appears, that the Prince of Brunswick had received a wound in a skirmish near Utrecht, which the surgeons had declared mortal; and that great alarm was spread in consequence of this affair.

One of the principal articles of the late Convention between France and England is, "That no ships of war, of any description, on either side, shall sail for the East-Indies, without mutual consent." This article will, in all probability, be one of the best preservatives against war, as it has been the policy of France, for near half a century, to strengthen herself, previous to a rupture, in her extra European settlements. She did so in the West-Indies in the war of 1744; in America in the war of 1756; and in the East-Indies in the late war, just before she declared in favor of America.

The following is the 13th article in the Definitive Treaty of Peace, to which the Convention announced in the Gazette alludes: "Art. XIII. If either of the high contracting parties has granted, or shall grant, any bounties for encouraging the

operation of our governments; but it will be found, at the same time, that other causes will not alone account for many of our heaviest misfortunes; and particularly, for that prevailing and increasing distrust of public engagements, and alarm for private rights, which are echoed from one end of the continent to the other. These must be chiefly, if not wholly, effects of the unsteadiness and injustice, with which a factious spirit has tainted our public administrations.

By a faction I understand a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or minority of the whole, who are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, adverse to the rights of other citizens, or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community.

There are two methods of curing the mischiefs of faction: the one, by removing its causes; the other, by controlling its effects.

There are again two methods of removing the causes of faction: the one by destroying the liberty which is essential to its existence; the other, by giving to every citizen the same opinions, the same passions, and the same interests.

It could never be more truly said than of the first remedy, that it is worse than the disease. Liberty is to faction, what air is to fire, an aliment without which it instantly expires. But it could not be a less folly to abolish liberty, which is essential to political life, because it nourishes faction, than it would be to wish the annihilation of air, which is essential to animal life, because it imparts to fire its destructive agency.

The second expedient is as impracticable, as the first would be unwise. As long as the reason of man continues fallible, and he is at liberty to exercise it, different opinions will be formed. As long as the connection subsists between his reason and his self-love, his opinions and his passions will have a reciprocal influence on each other; and the former will be objects to which the latter will attach themselves. The diversity in the faculties of men from which the rights of property originate, is not less an insuperable obstacle to a uniformity of interests. The protection of these faculties is the first object of Government. From the protection of different and unequal faculties of acquiring property, the possession of different degrees and kinds of property immediately results; and from the influence of these on the sentiments and views of the respective proprietors, ensues a division of the society into different interests and parties.

The latent causes of faction are thus found in the nature of man; and we see them every where brought into different degrees of activity, according to the different circumstances of civil society. A zeal for different

encouraged, and in what degree, by restrictions on foreign manufactures: are questions which would be differently decided by the landed and the manufacturing classes; and probably by neither, with a sole regard to justice and the public good. The apportionment of taxes on the various descriptions of property, is an act which seems to require the most exact impartiality; yet there is perhaps no legislative act in which greater opportunity and temptation are given to a predominant party, to trample on the rules of justice. Every shilling which they over-burden the inferior number, is a shilling saved to their own pockets.

It is in vain to say, that enlightened statesmen will be able to adjust these clashing interests, and render them all subservient to the public good. Enlightened statesmen will not always be at the helm: Nor, in many cases, can such an adjustment be made at all, without taking into view indirect and remote considerations, which will rarely prevail over the immediate interest which one party may find in disregarding the rights of another, or the good of the whole.

The inference to which we are brought, is, that the causes of faction cannot be removed; and that relief is only to be sought in the means of controlling its effects.

If a faction consists of less than a majority, relief is supplied by the republican principle, which enables the majority to defeat its sinister views by regular vote: It may clog the administration, it may convulse the society; but it will be unable to execute and mask its violence under the forms of the Constitution. When a majority is included in a faction, the form of popular government on the other hand enables it to sacrifice to its ruling passion or interest, both the public good and the rights of other citizens. To secure the public good, and private rights, against the danger of such a faction, and at the same time to preserve the spirit and the form of popular government, is then the great object to which our enquiries are directed: Let me add that it is the great desideratum, by which alone this form of government can be rescued from the opprobrium under which it has so long labored, and be recommended to the esteem and adoption of mankind.

By what means is this object attainable? Evidently by one of two only. Either the existence of the same passion or interest in a majority at the same time, must be prevented; or the majority, having such co-existent passion or interest, must be rendered, by their number and local situation, unable to concert and carry into effect schemes of oppression. If the impulse and the opportunity

was said of America. The design to be independent did not, in the latter case, take its rise from the Tea Act. It had before that period risen to a very considerable height. That was the passion only. And in Holland, for a series of years, jealousies have been encouraged and fomented by the Aristocratic and Democratic parties against the Monarchical or Stadtholderian party. Real injuries never were complained of. But surmises, insinuations, and allegations, were made without number, and an aversion to the Stadtholder's person, family, and Government, is at the bottom of every proceeding since the American war.—At that time the Dutch furnished the Americans with every necessary for carrying on the war against Britain, contrary to the faith of nations. When, in consequence of many fruitless remonstrances, we were impelled to do ourselves justice, the Dutch, from the hesitating and slow form of their Constitution, were unprepared, and throughout the whole war unsuccessful. They accused the Stadtholder as being in secret combination with England; they proved nothing, even after the long enquiry into the affair of the *Brest* fleet. But although they proved nothing, they have gone on ever since *suspecting*; and we believe that if many, who are now most inveterate against the Stadtholder, were to be asked this plain question, *What has he done?* they would be at a loss to make an answer.—Hence it is, that no nation will adopt the cause of the Dutch, unless from interested views, for to the pity of any nation they have no claim. And all that the philosopher and the philanthropist can do is, to brood over the impending calamities of a civil war, and to regret that a country that might be happy and flourishing, is like to be deluged in blood.”

On the 24th of August, in lat. 45, 46, N. long. 48, 2, W. Capt. Collinson (of the *Backhouse*, which arrived at Liverpool on the 23d Sept. from Grenada) being about a mile abreast of a French East-Indiaman, which was bound for L'Orient, perceived a man floating on the water towards him; on which he threw an oar and an empty cask overboard, for present assistance, and got his boat out as soon as possible, with which he was fortunate enough to get him on board his vessel. On questioning him, he learned that he was one of three men, who, for some misbehaviour, had been sentenced, in the East-Indies, to be sent to Old France, and there shot to death by way of example; when, seeing the *Backhouse* so near, and being released from the irons with which he had been for a long

contracting parties has granted, or shall grant, any bounties for encouraging the exportation of any article, being of the growth, produce, or manufacture of his dominions, the other party shall be allowed to add, to the duties imposed by virtue of the present treaty, on the said goods and merchandize imported into his dominions, such an import duty as shall be equivalent to said bounty. But this stipulation is not to be extended to cases of restoration of duties and imposts (called draw-backs) which are allowed upon exportation.”

THE FEDERALIST, No. X.

To the People of the State of New-York.

AMONG the numerous advantages promised by a well constructed Union, none deserves to be more accurately developed than its tendency to break and control the violence of faction. The friend of popular governments, never finds himself so much alarmed for their character and fate, as when he contemplates their propensity to this dangerous vice. He will not fail therefore to set a due value on any plan which, without violating the principles to which he is attached, provides a proper cure for it. The instability, injustice and confusion introduced into the public councils, have in truth been the mortal diseases under which popular governments have every where perished; as they continue to be the favorite and fruitful topics from which the adversaries to liberty derive their most specious declamations. The valuable improvements made by the American Constitutions on the popular models, both ancient and modern, cannot certainly be too much admired; but it would be an unwarrantable partiality, to contend that they have as effectually obviated the danger on this side as was wished and expected. Complaints are every where heard from our most considerate and virtuous citizens, equally the friends of public and private faith, and of public and personal liberty; that our governments are too unstable; that the public good is disregarded in the conflicts of rival parties; and that measures are too often decided, not according to the rules of justice, and the rights of the minor party; but by the superior force of an interested and over-bearing majority. However anxiously we may wish that these complaints had no foundation, the evidence of known facts will not permit us to deny that they are in some degree true. It will be found indeed, on a candid review of our situation, that some of the distresses under which we labor, have been erroneously charged on the

ty where brought into different degrees of activity, according to the different circumstances of civil society. A zeal for different opinions concerning religion, concerning Government, and many other points, as well of speculation as of practice; an attachment to different leaders ambitiously contending for pre-eminence and power; or to persons of other descriptions whose fortunes have been interesting to the human passions, have in turn divided mankind into parties, inflamed them with mutual animosity, and rendered them much more disposed to vex and oppress each other, than to co-operate for their common good. So strong is this propensity of mankind to fall into mutual animosities, that where no substantial occasion presents itself, the most frivolous and fanciful distinctions have been sufficient to kindle their unfriendly passions, and excite their most violent conflicts. But the most common and durable source of factions, has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold, and those who are without property, have ever formed distinct interests in society. Those who are creditors, and those who are debtors, fall under a like discrimination. A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a monied interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide them into different classes, actuated by different sentiments and views. The regulation of these various and interfering interests, forms the principal task of modern Legislation, and involves the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of Government.”

No man is allowed to be a judge in his own cause; because his interest would certainly bias his judgment, and, not improbably, corrupt his integrity. With equal, nay with greater reason, a body of men, are unfit to be both judges and parties, at the same time; yet, what are many of the most important acts of legislation, but so many judicial determinations, not indeed concerning the rights of single persons, but concerning the rights of large bodies of citizens; and what are the different classes of legislators, but advocates and parties to the causes which they determine? Is a law proposed concerning private debts? It is a question to which the creditors are parties on one side, and the debtors on the other. Justice ought to hold the balance between them. Yet the parties are and must be themselves the judges; and the most numerous party, or, in other words, the most powerful faction must be expected to prevail. Shall domestic manufactures be

their number and local situation, unable to concert and carry into effect schemes of oppression. If the impulse and the opportunity be suffered to coincide, we well know that neither moral nor religious motives can be relied on as an adequate control. They are not found to be such on the injustice and violence of individuals, and lose their efficacy in proportion to the number combined together; that is, in proportion as their efficacy becomes useful.

From this view of the subject, it may be concluded, that a pure Democracy, by which I mean, a Society, consisting of a small number of citizens, who assemble and administer the Government in person, can admit of no cure for the mischiefs of faction. A common passion or interest will, in almost every case, be felt by a majority of the whole; a communication and concert results from the form of Government itself; and there is nothing to check the inducements to sacrifice the weaker party, or an obnoxious individual. Hence it is, that such Democracies have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention; have ever been found incompatible with personal security, or the rights of property; and have in general been as short in their lives, as they have been violent in their deaths. Theoretic politicians, who have patronized this species of Government, have erroneously supposed, that by reducing mankind to a perfect equality in their political rights, they would, at the same time, be perfectly equalized and assimilated in their possessions, their opinions, and their passions.

A Republic, by which I mean a Government in which the scheme of representation takes place, opens a different prospect, and promises the cure for which we are seeking. Let us examine the points in which it varies from pure Democracy, and we shall comprehend both the nature of the cure, and the efficacy which it must derive from the Union.

The two great points of difference between a Democracy and a Republic are, first, the delegation of the Government, in the latter, to a small number of citizens elected by the rest; secondly, the greater number of citizens, and greater sphere of country, over which the latter may be extended.

The effect of the first difference is, on the one hand to refine and enlarge the public views, by passing them through the medium of a chosen body of citizens, whose wisdom may best discern the true interest of their country, and whose patriotism and love of justice, will be least likely to sacrifice it to temporary or partial considerations. Under