obvious that while the state governments have attained their zenith of power, that of the general government is in a state of regular increase. The steps may be insensible; but they are from that very circumstance the surer.

The power of the general government arises from two sources. The first depends on the *powers delegated;* the second the quantum of such powers *actually exercised.* It is evident, that in the infancy of governments, even of absolute character, although the former are unlimited, the latter may be extremely moderate. In other words, it is more on the actual exercise of power, than on a theoretic bestowal of it, that the energy of governments depends.

The constitution has cautiously defined the powers vested in the general government. They are generally such as cannot interfere with those of the states. Little danger is, therefore, to be feared from a collision. But the chief source of danger will be found in the encreasing greatness & population of the United States. The general government having, in many important respects, a full control over these, will, from the force of events, be led to develope them. Having the almost entire command of revenue, and of the military force, if the use of these shall advance with our numbers and wealth, the government will gain constant and great accessions of strength. These great engines of power, being in the first instance bestowed for beneficial purposes, and principally for defence against the injustice of foreign nations, will make the exercise of the power they bestow popular; and in this way, it is very possible that a temporary expedient, or exertion of strength for a special purpose, will be made the pretext for the permanent establishment of taxes and armies and navies.

Let us look forward to the period when our numbers shall have reached an hundred millions. A century will not elapse before this era. There is every reason to believe that our wealth will increase in a more rapid ratio than our numbers. But supposing the progress of each the same. There will be then at the command of the general government an annual revenue of two hundred millions of dollars, which, deducting an ample allowance for ordinary expences, will be competent to the support of an army of five hundred thousand men, and a navy of three hundred ships of the line. Any mind, conversant with the events of either ancient or modern times, will be able to estimate the effects of these mighty instruments either in increasing the strength of the government, or the dependance of the people. Would the states be able to oppose an adequate barrier to the abuse of this power? Or would even the people, when once it became completely organized and consolidated, be able efficiently to resist it? These are considerations of vast moment; and this is the proper season for examining them; there is no obstacle, at present, to a dispassionate discussion. Nor ought it ever to be lost sight of that the prevention of political as well as physical diseases is more easy and certain than their cure.

It is to be feared, from the structure of our government, that the vast instruments of power, to which we have just alluded, would tend in a ten-fold degree to aggrandize the Executive, who besides having at his command the army and the navy, would enlist under his banners a mighty host of civil officers appointed by him. By the instrumentality of these powerful agents the independance of the legislative body, the last reliance of the people for the preservation of their rights, might be successfully assailed.

I mean not to prophecy, or to say that it is my positive opinion that time will develope these mournful effects. But it has always appeared to me that, under our existing form of government, the Executive power is dangerously organized. It is perhaps, happily suited, under the guidance of a good and wise man, to advance the public good; but it is in vain that I look for an efficient security against the designs of a bad or weak one. It does appear to me, that the unity of executive power is incompatible with a peopled and powerful republic. Fortunately this attribute may be preserved, as to almost every useful purpose, under certain modifications, which will present formidable, perhaps sufficient guards against dangerous abuses. Let the Chief Executive be one. Let him have a small council, in part chosen by the people, and in part by the legislature. Let him be obliged to advise with this council before he acts. Let him follow or reject such advice at pleasure. Let a complete record of the proceedings of the council, containing their acts and advice, be statedly published, with the reservation of such parts as they may consider improper for the public eye. Let the Chief Executive be under the necessity of assigning in writing his reasons whenever he rejects the advice of his council. Let him retain his office for a limited, and then be ineligible for a prescribed number of years; the better plan would, perhaps, be, to inhibit his election for more than one continuous Presidential term. In this way, it is probable that a large portion of the danger, hereafter to be apprehended from the augmented power of the general government, would be averted.

These suggestions may, however, be viewed as hasty. They do not in truth from the style and manner in which they are presented, lay claim to superior attention. But it is seriously believed that the subject merits the notice of our wisest citizens, and that this is the best season, we shall ever enjoy, of discussing these great political principles, on which our destiny hangs.

It remains to enquire whether the liberties of the American people are likely hereafter to be endangered by a spirit of conquest growing up among them.

(To be continued.)

[The following remarks are extracted from the London 'Monthly Register,' for 1805, the editor of which has given a brief detail, entitled, 'Half yearly retrospect of American Literature.' It is subject of regret to candid and enlightened minds, and degrading to the American character, that while the nations of Europe deign not to withhold their admiration and applause from those who so equitably administer the government of the United States we have men within the very bosom of our country who are using the most strenuous efforts to detract from the superlative merits of Mr. Jefferson, and those in his confidence; thereby hoping to bring the republican system into contempt, and to overthrow that sacred fabric, for the attainment of which thousands of our best citizens have fallen martyrs.]

DEMOCRAT.

From the London "Monthly Magazine."
Half yearly retrospect of American literature.

POLITICS.

The people of the United States of America possess some political blessings peculiar to themselves. Not to mention the structure of their government, which will be variously estimated among political theorists, and which it would be unseasonable now to discuss, they consider themselves as singularly fortunate in their territorial position, and in the administration of their public affairs. In addition to the kindness of nature, in severing them by a wide ocean, from the everlasting agitation and hostilities of the old continent, they find themselves seated in a region which supplies them, directly or indirectly, with all the necessaries and which provides for the extension and permanency of their happiness, by an almost indefinite increase of numbers. They find themselves at peace with all the world (except the feeblest and most contemptible of the piratical states of Barbary) with the prospect of its long continuance. With the great powers of Europe, they stand connected by relations which are likely long to preserve the present state of amity and beneficial intercourse. Nothing but necessity will drive the United States into war; and there is good ground to believe, that every enlightened nation will pause and consider maturely the points of variance before they provoke this necessity into action. The acquisition of Louisiana, confers the sovereignty of a vastly extended territory, and the exclusive commerce of the greatest river of North America. Spain has wisely withdrawn her objections to the cession of this country, and has now only to adjust questions concerning limits, which the government of the United States will always be disposed to discuss on liberal and amicable terms. The wisdom of contracting for the purchase of this immense country, particularly when the previous extent of the United States is considered, has indeed been denied by many persons whose opinions are entitled to great respect. But the evils to be apprehended from this measure are distant, contingent, and by judicious management, may probably be obviated; while those which were to be feared from Louisiana remaining in the hands of France, or being wrested from her by conquest, were numerous, great, imminent and unavoidable.

Besides the circumstances of national prosperity already mentioned, the United States have done and are now doing, much towards conciliating and securing the friendship of tribes of Indians settled and occupying territories of great extent within their jurisdiction. By treating these people with justice and mildness, by respecting their customs and prejudices, by accommodating their wants and especially by introducing among them the arts of civilized life, from natural enemies they are converted into friends, and are rapidly laying aside the ferociousness belonging to the savage state.—This triumph of justice and humanity, over violence and fraud, is now become so conspicuous, as to be acknowledged by every observer of public affairs. What was formerly too often obtained from the Indians by war, bloodshed, and rapine, is now amicably yielded through the medium of negociation, and all parties participate the blessings of the improvement.

The opulence, power, and resources, of the people of the United States, increase as rapidly as their numbers. Comparatively only a small portion of their territory is cleared of the forest trees; the chief part is still reserved for the enterprize and diligence of such as are inclined to improve their circumstances and form establishments for their children. How long will be the term before this extensive region ceases to afford room for the multiplication of its inhabitants? And how numerous and powerful will be the community (unless civil discord should rear its direful crest) which is destined to behold this vast surface occupied and cultivated by all the arts and improvements of an enlightened people.

The national expenditure of the U. States, so far from encreasing at every step of their prosperity, is either stationary, or in a course of diminution. The great mass of public wealth, instead of being lavished in the prosecution of incessant wars, such as vex and exhaust most other nations, is here converted into the means of advancing the improvement and happiness of the community. The eye of philanthropy must dwell with rapture on the prospect of a country whose whole energy is steadily and faithfully devoted to the acceleration of its progress in that course which leads to the highest elevation of public felicity.

No new burthens are laid on the people in this favored country. Instead of torturing invention to devise plans of revenue, and exhausting all the sources of taxation, the government has relinquished many duties which had been found inconvenient and unpopular, and still finds the national income adequate to the expenditures. The debt of the nation is undergoing extinguishment with a rapidity and steadiness unprecedented any where else, and in the present course will soon be entirely redeemed.—May not the whole world be challenged to point out a nation where the public affairs are proceeding in such a train? And ought not the friend of mankind devoutly to return thanks to heaven that there is at least one spot on the globe where man is true to himself, and where he successfully vindicates his rights, his dignity, and his high destination?

WASHINGTON CITY.

MONDAY, MAY 13.

WEST INDIA TRADE.

IN laying before our readers the following extracts from Cobbett's Political Register of the 9th of February, we cannot refrain from inviting the serious attention of our countrymen, as the writer has invited that of his, to the restrictions imposed by the government of England on a free trade between the United States and the British West India Islands. The expanded, and for the most part correct remarks of Mr. Cobbett on this point supersede the necessity of a detailed comment. It would, indeed be very interesting, and would perhaps most forcibly illustrate the importance of the subject, to exhibit a minute statement for a series of years of the imports from the British West Indies into the United States, and the exports to those Islands, specifying the articles as well as their value, and the ships, whether American or British, in which they were carried. We do not, however, possess the materials for such a document. Should we at a future period, succeed in obtaining them, it shall be published.

In the mean time various considerations recommend the subject to the dispassionate reflection of the people. There can scarcely be a doubt that its importance will claim the early attention of Congress at their next session, should no negociations be previously opened by the Executive. At all events, with a government, all of whose members are appointed by the people, and whose sole object is the promotion of the public interests, the enlightened expression of the public opinion will have great weight, and may have a conclusive influence upon the counsels of a foreign nation not ignorant of the respect that is paid in this country to the public will, or of the energy with which, on fit occasions, it causes itself to be respected. Nearly seven months will intervene before the next session of Congress. Ample time will therefore be afforded for a full discussion of this subject. Nothing need be apprehended from precipitation or rashness. Should it engage the calm investigation of our best writers the public opinion will not only be enlightened, but there will probably be produced a concert of opinion on the means proper to be pursued that will render the duties of our representatives easy of performance. That we have a right to an unrestrained trade with the Islands cannot admit of dispute. The only point, therefore, for solution, is the means which ought to be applied to place that right upon a secure basis. Fortunately for us the best means, which have been suggested, are as pacific as they would be efficacious.

The following are the extracts from the Register.

JAMAICA COMPLAINTS. — *Resolution of the Governor and Council of the Colony of Jamaica, dated and issued on the 21st of November, 1804.*

Whereas, by a resolution of Council, bearing date the 17th day of July, 1800, his honor the lieutenant governor was advised to recommend to the several officers of his Majesty's customs, at the several ports of this island, to permit the free importation of sheep, hogs, poultry, small live stock of all kinds, and all sorts of fruit, salted and all other provisions, and lumber of every description, as well in British as in all other vessels belonging to neutral and other states in amity with Great Britain, from the day of the date thereof until the 31st day of December next ensuing, and until six months notice should be given to the contrary, upon the like terms, charges, and conditions, and subject to the same rules, regulations, visitations, and searches as are observed with respect to vessels importing provisions to this island: And whereas permission was also granted to all neutral vessels importing the above articles, under the authority of the above resolution, to export rum and molasses from any port or ports, place or places, of this island, upon the like terms, stipulations, charges and conditions, as are observed with respect to the British vessels in the like cases.—*Resolved,* That his honor be advised to signify to the principal officers of his majesty's customs, at the several ports of this island, that from and after the expiration of six months, to be computed from the present date, the said resolution of Council of the 17th of July, 1800, is to be no longer considered in force.

M. ATKINSON, *Cl. Conc.*

JAMAICA COMPLAINTS.—*To his honor lieutenant general George Nugent, lieutenant governor and commander in chief of this his Majesty's island of Jamaica, and the territories thereon depending in America, chancellor and vice-admiral of the same, dated 8th Dec. 1804.*

The humble address of the Assembly.

May it please your honor,—We his majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Assembly of Jamaica, beg leave to state to your honor that we have seen, with the deepest concern, the resolution of council of the 21st November last, announcing a termination of the intercourse betwixt this island and America, in six months from that date. The fatal consequences which must result from such a measure, impel us to represent to your honor the alarm and dreadful apprehensions it has generally excited; for the fact is notorious, that without a continuance of this intercourse, our plantations cannot be supplied with the articles of lumber indispensably requisite to convey the various produce of the island to the mother country: that the very sustenance necessary for our own existence and that of our slaves, or even the subsistence of his majesty's forces by sea and land on this station, cannot be obtained by any other means, especially during the time of war, but by a permission for an intercourse with the United States of America, and which, if once interrupted, in the moment of famine and distress, cannot be restored.—Penetrated with the most lively feelings on this alarming occasion, and having the fullest conviction of the fatal consequences inseparable from this resolution, should it not be revoked, we, the representatives of this valuable island, do most anxiously submit to your honor's just consideration our earnest solicitude that your honor would be pleased to direct a reconsideration of this order in council, and recal the publication of such resolution, until an opportunity is afforded to the assembly of representing to his most gracious majesty the certain and immediate destruction that will impend over our lives and properties, whenever the regulation which we now deprecate shall be adopted.

JAMAICA COMPLAINTS.—*Answer of Governor Nugent to the Assembly.*

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the assembly,—The subject of your address has had the mature consideration which its importance required. Having received instructions from his majesty's ministers relative to the intercourse between this island and the American States, and having laid the same before the Privy Council, the resolution of the 21st ult. was published by the advice of that board, as a necessary consequence of the imperative orders transmitted to me from England: It is with extreme concern therefore that I feel myself obliged to deny the earnest request of so very respectable a body as the representatives of this valuable colony; but as the six months notice of the termination of the intercourse have given me an opportunity of communicating your wishes to the secretary of state, I shall not fail to avail myself of it, and that period will also afford you sufficient time to make your representations to his majesty, in the manner you think most conducive to the interests of Jamaica.

JAMAICA COMPLAINTS.—*Petition of the Assembly of Jamaica to his Majesty, agreed to on the 12th December, 1804.*

Most gracious Sovereign,—We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the assembly of Jamaica, beg leave to approach your throne with our assurances of that profound respect and veneration, which your majesty's many eminent virtues have impressed on the minds of all your faithful subjects.—Conscious that it has been the delight of your majesty, and of the princes of your illustrious house, to protect the rights, to advance the interests, and promote the prosperity of every part of your extensive empire, with perfect confidence in your majesty's paternal care we bring before you the grievances, which at present oppress and threaten to ruin the loyal inhabitants of this valuable colony before they are known to the best of sovereigns.—Encouraged by the proclamations and charters of your majesty's predecessors, our ancestors emigrated to this island, and, under the sanction of positive laws, enacted when civil and political liberty was well understood, established a trade with Africa for procuring laborers. By means of this intercourse plantations were opened, and have been extended and cultivated with well-known advantages to your majesty's empire. But those speculative men who have propagated fanatical and chimerical ideas of liberty and equality in the old world, who poisoned the minds of the inhabitants, and deluged its fairest provinces with blood, have now attacked the rights, traduced the reputation, and set at nought the lives of the peaceable inhabitants of your majesty's West India colonies: They affect to promote the happiness of the natives of Africa, but your majesty's wisdom, which soon penetrated the plausible and delusive guise assumed by those theorists in Europe, will not fail to discover that the good that they seek in another continent is at best uncertain, whilst the means they propose, an abolition to the slave trade, will be immediate destruction to the property, and put in hazard the lives of your majesty's faithful subjects settled in these colonies; and we confidently trust that the same firmness, which protected those subjects, more immediately blessed with your majesty's presence, from the fatal gifts of liberty and equality, will shield your faithful colonists from dangers no less imminent, although concealed under pretences equally specious and popular.—By laws and regulations enacted by your majesty's royal predecessors, with the advice of their parliaments, a monopoly of the navigation and trade of the colonies were secured to the mother country; but, as a compensation, Great Britain, in her justice, gave to the staples, cultivated in these valuable dependencies, a decided preference, or an exclusive right to supply her home consumption. As our means and prosperity increased, duties were levied on our produce imported, and their augmentation, as the exigencies of the state required, was submitted to with cheerfulness, whilst kept within such bounds as there was a possibility of sustaining. Under this system your majesty's colony of Jamaica attained an enviable state of prosperity, and contributed largely to that of the mother country. It is with the deepest regret that we appeal to your majesty's justice to protect us from the consequences of the many deviations lately made from this system, regarded by your colonists as a compact the most solemn, matured by experience, and sanctioned by time: Whilst its observance on our part has been rigidly exacted, Great Britain has exempted herself from its operation: A maximum has been established, limiting the price of our principal staple, sugar, to what is barely sufficient for its cultivation in time of peace: The protecting duty which secured us, in return for numberless restrictions, the consumption of the British market, has been reduced until they are of no avail, and for the avowed purpose of depriving us of this equitable compensation by encouraging the production of sugar in the settlements of the East India company: The duties levied on this commodity and on rum, have been carried so far beyond what they can support, that the consumption has materially diminished, and great part of the exaction falls on the unfortunate planter, leaving him little or nothing for a laborious and expensive cultivation in an unhealthy climate.—The wisdom, the justice, the paternal solicitude of your majesty are the only resources left to your most loyal but distressed subjects in this island: We repose on them with confidence, and most humbly pray your majesty's protection for securing us the sole means of carrying on our plantations by a supply of laborers, the enjoyment of a reasonable profit from them by continuing the reciprocal monopoly, established by salutary laws and ancient usage, and, finally, that your majesty will be pleased to direct your ministers to bring under the review of your majesty's parliament our calamitous situation from the effects of the present exorbitant duties on our staples, in the hope that, by your majesty's most gracious interposition, such an alteration may be made as shall preserve from utter ruin your faithful people of Jamaica.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

JAMAICA COMPLAINTS.—Of the disputes between the legislature and the governor of this important colony, or, rather, between the representatives of the colony and the king's "confidential servants" in Downing-street, much was said in the month of July last. Indeed, I think, it will be found, upon examination, that all, or nearly all, the documents, relating to these disputes, are contained in the preceding volumes of this work; and, to those who may not have perused those documents, and the observations thereon, it may be useful to refer to p. 82 of Vol. VI. where the several parts of the register, relating to these matters are pointed out.—In that page the history of the complaints of the planters of Jamaica was brought down to the month of December, 1803, when the governor applied to the assem-