Mr. PRINTER,

Your publishing the following thoughts, at this time, may be useful, and afford some entertainment to the public.

Your's, &c. Z. Y.

AN ingenious writer, speaking of the evils incident to the different forms of government, has the following passage relative to that form termed democratical.

"In democratical governments, "(says he) if there is less violence, "there is more corruption; which "in these indeed is the basis of all power, and pro-"ductive of the most mischievous effects: Here all "things are at the disposal of an ignorant and giddy "multitude, always led to their own destruction by the "slimsy eloquence, and pretended patriotism of knaves, "fools, and enthusiastic madmen; or commonly of "some extraordinary genius, formed for popularity "by a lucky composition of all these excellent ingre-"dients: All subordination is subverted; and the "most insolent and vitious of the people must be "caressed, bribed, and intoxicated, and by that means "rendered still more insolent and vitious; and all who "by these methods acquire their favour, must be no "less vitious than themselves. If, in despotic govern-"ments, power cannot be attained but by servility "and adulation; in democratical, it can never be ac-"quired but by the more pernicious vices of turbu-"lence and faction; for which reason, these are ever "sure to be governed by the most wicked, ambitious, "avaricious, and mischievous of their members."

Who is there, that cannot discover, in the aforego-ing picture, some features strongly resembling the present manners and government of this colony? I am no friend to a popular or republican government, yet I am of opinion, that in the beginning or infancy of a state, when its members are few and virtuous, and united together by some peculiar ideas of freedom or religion; the whole power may be lodged with the people, and the government be purely democratical; or, which is the same thing, there may be no govern-ment at all; because, in such a state, the people have yet acquired no passion but the love of their infant country; and simplicity and integrity of heart and manners answer the design of laws. But when such a state has arrived to some degree of power and popu-larity; when simplicity of heart, and mutual confi-dence, is changed to licentiousness of manners, and universal distrust: In short, when virtue, its original basis, is undermined, then a superior force is necessary, and a coercive power should be increased to regulate and keep it within bounds.

The charter granted by King *Charles* the 2d to this colony, contains many privileges, which were well calculated to encourage the settlement, and pro-mote the growth of an infant country, and they doubtless contributed to it: But this charter, at first so beneficial, is at present the source of all our evils, by giving too much to the people, and reserving too little in the crown.

How excellent soever this power of the people may seem in theory, it hath always proved mischievous in fact. A small knowledge of history will con-vince us, that the people, in almost every age and country, have been incapable, collectively, of acting with any degree of moderation or wisdom. It was ever impracticable to combine the various passions, humours, and interests of a multitude, so as to produce harmony, order, and subordination in a state. From this incapacity and disorder of the people, particular men, of artful and ambitious minds, have ever derived their advantage; and by a display of talents, fitted to the caprice of the ignorant populace, obtained, by degrees, the authority over them. When one is thus raised, jealousies and envyings follow him; some other citizen, thinking himself equally entitled to com-mand, begins an opposition, and thus a party is formed.

The leaders of these opposite parties having nothing in view, but to keep or acquire to themselves and adherents all the profits and emoluments of the go-vernment, it follows, that the interest of each party becomes its ruling passion, to which every thing else must submit; and as the suffrages of the people settle and determine every thing, these are to be gained by gratifying and humouring all their demands and ex-pectations, however scandalous or extravagant.

Such has often been the case in other countries, and were we to search for examples among ourselves, we should find similar causes producing similar effects. To be particular, might seem invidious; the writer means no offence to any one, yet he cannot think it criminal to speak of things as they are, especially in a government where decency and esteem have been long extinguished.

The baleful influence of party extends to every transaction, public or private: Our courts of judica-ture, which should be the sacred fountains of law and justice, are often but mere instruments to execute the particular designs of a party; and hence it comes to pass, that we have neither confidence in, nor respect for, our judges: Law, instead of being a permanent and uniform rule to society, is ever vague and tran-sitory, and adjusted to the annual complexion and passions of a party. May it not, with truth, be said, that the previous question to every public resolution, how salutary soever, is, Whether the interest of a party will be served by it? Is it not true, that par-ticular private men, suing for their just rights, are frequently sacrificed by the despotism of a party; and through every stage of their suit, meet with injurious delays and impositions, both from those who ought to decree, and those who ought to execute? In a word, are not all our concerns, civil and religious, in-corporated with, or tainted by, this accursed thing?

If we consider the consequences of party, as it ef-fects the riches and prosperity of the public, we shall find it fatal to the growth and improvement of the colony, the bane of industry, and the nurse of idleness. In the spring of the year, every voter, feeling in him-self some importance, from the flatteries bestowed on him by the tribunes of the people, forsakes his pro-per calling, becomes a member of some political club, and wastes away the season, which should be employed in tilling and planting, at taverns and market places. Allowing but a thousand men to lose only thirty days work in a year by this means, which is greatly below the mark, the loss of so much labour to the public will be found considerable. But this is not the worst, a perpetual habit of idleness, and a vain dissipated manner of thinking and acting, is hereby contracted by people of all ranks and degrees, which often ends in the ruin of themselves and families.

It were needless to recount the evils that flow from our party dissentions; to be a thorough party man, as the phrase is, comprizes all the merit necessary to obtain a place of profit and trust in the government. This is an established maxim among us, and it bids fair to root out and banish every virtue and accom-plishment of the heart and mind; for who will study the improvement of these, in a country where he is sure they will procure him neither profit or esteem. To be considerable in this kind of government, a man must be endowed with a large stock of falshood and infincerity; he must be practiced in every de-ceitful scheme, and lying artifice, for the seduction of the stupid herd of voters; he must learn to accom-modate himself to the humours and prejudices of the lowest vulgar; and must be villain enough to em-brace and flatter the man, who, in his heart, he hates or despises. Nay, I have been told, that a popular tri-bune, formerly pretty well hackneyed in these mat-ters, did once say, that he would swear, pray, or lie, at any time, to gain a vote. *Sallust*, speaking of a cer-tain period in the *Roman* commonwealth, says, *Nam pro pudore, pro abstinentia, pro virtute; audacia, largitio, avaritia vigebant*: That is, Instead of modesty, temperance, and virtue,—impudence, bribery, and avarice carried all before them.

But the tale is not yet told; if we trace the effects of party further, or the manners of individuals, our concern and anxiety will increase. A spirit of ran-cour and bitterness is in the hearts of this unhappy and mistaken people; the diabolical impression of party is made on the minds of children, who, early in life, imbibe the narrow and illiberal sentiments of those with whom they are nearly connected; they are taught to think all of a different party from their fathers or guardians, to be fools and knaves: Hence disgusts, antipathies, and hatreds, fasten upon their tender minds, and scarcely ever wear out; no friendly offices, or social intercourse, is preserved between them; both strive to blacken and ruin the characters and interest of each other, during their whole lives; and this temper being general, partly constitutes the man-ners of the people.

Are these things so, my countrymen, and are ye not ashamed? Can you yet be so fond of what are called charter privileges, which serve no other purpose but to advance the pride and interest of a few men, whose importance depends chiefly on your folly and wicked-ness? Is not every honest freeman among you highly scandalized at the insolence of these popular tribunes, when they, on a late occasion, valued so little your boasted privileges, as to set on foot a bar-gain for the settlement and division of every place of profit and trust in the government among them-selves. I shall always respect a member of the house of deputies, who said very well on that occasion, "That two parties had for a long time contended for the government; that they at length grew tired of the quarrel; and were now about to share the prize, and enslave the people." But what raises my indignation still higher, these are the men who are loudest in the sound of liberty and charter privileges; and it is truly their interest to be so; while it may justly be observed, that every moderate man in the colony, who is not corrupted by party, and neither enjoys or seeks after any share in the government, sees and laments the present folly and riot, and wishes for a change.

But I fear this change cannot be effected by any strength or wisdom among ourselves: A change of-rulers hath been, in general, no other than a change of faction. Nay, should there be found a few virtuous men among us, their efforts for a reformation would be vain: Our distemper is radical, and so must be the remedy. It is said, (if I may compare small things with great) when *Sylla* was desirous of restoring *Rome* to her liberty, this unhappy city was incapable of receiving it—she had lost her virtue.

Our salvation then must come from the east; an act of parliament is the only cure: And can any man, how tenacious soever of his liberty, fear such an event? Dare any one hazard a suspicion, that if the crown should resume the charter, any form of government would be imposed upon us inconsistent with that spirit of liberty, and mildness of dominion, which distinguishes the constitution of our mother country? Do we see any marks of tyranny or arbitrary power in the neighbouring governments, more immediately under the crown? Do we not rather see them more eminent and respectable than ourselves, more happy, more flourishing?

To say, that in a future reign, less gentle than the present, our charter might protect us from the designs of an arbitrary prince, will avail but little, if it be con-sidered, that an arbitrary prince never wants a pretext to invade the rights of his people: To the designs of such a one, no charter would be any obstacle at all: His single order, with a regiment of dragoons, would dis-solve all the charters in his dominions. Against such a prince, all defences are vain; and the quiet surren-der we made of the very charter we now have, to King *James* the 2d, is a sufficient proof of these assertions.

Upon the whole, I hope every honest man in the colony will seriously think of these things, and join to facilitate and hasten that general reformation of the colonies, which, we have reason to think, is now under the consideration of our rulers at home.