

The RIGHT CONSTITUTION of a COMMON-WEALTH EXAMINED.

[Continued from No. XX.]

Nedham had forgotten the example of Cassius, which would have been equally apposite to prove a simple aristocracy a bad government, and equally improper to prove that the people in their supreme assemblies, successively chosen, are the best keepers of their liberty.

The first notice that is taken of Cassius is in the year 252, when he was consul, gained considerable advantages over the Sabines, and received the honor of a triumph. In 256 he was chosen by Lartius the first dictator, General of the horse, and commanded a division of the army with success against the Latines.

Cassius, after his triumph, represented to the Senate, that "the people merited some reward for the services they had rendered the commonwealth, for defending the public liberty, and subjecting new countries to the Roman power: that the lands acquired by their arms belonged to the public, though some patricians had appropriated them to themselves: that an equitable distribution of these lands would enable the poor plebeians to bring up children for the benefit of the commonwealth; and that such a division alone could establish that equality which ought to subsist between the citizens of the same State."

(To be continued.)

SKETCH OF THE POLITICAL STATE OF AMERICA.

[Continued from No. XX.]

AS the circumstance of having two of the American States still continue in their refusal to join in union with the others, is a matter of speculation, and engages much of the public mind, it may not be amiss, at this time, to make a few general observations on this subject; in which it will appear, that strong natural and political reasons oppose their present disunion, and both must for-

cibly operate to effect their future junction: We proceed to examine some of the causes resulting from both these principles—and it may from the former be fairly argued, that nature has evidently designed these States, at least for many years to come, to be one united nation, and with her unerring hand, pointed out innumerable blessings to be derived to the inhabitants of this Western World from such an union: For their encouragement to persevere in completing this noble fabric as a Temple to the Goddess of Liberty—a relief from the scourge of tyranny—the ill directed zeal of superstition and bigotry—and an asylum to the oppressed of all mankind: The reciprocal wants of men arising from local situation and other circumstances, are here provided for by the kind author of nature, in giving to America a participation of the various climates of the world:—Here a brother's arm, nerved by the bracing zephyrs of the West, shall be extended to the aid of a brother enfeebled by the scorching beams of a vertical sun—Here the riches, which a fertile soil and favorable climate give to the sons of the South, shall be waisted by their hardy brethren of the North, to every part of the globe—The blood, become almost stagnant by the chilling frost of northern latitudes, shall be forced from the heart by the generous juice of the southern grape—The industrious worm, wrapt in his little orb, shall (unfolded by the genial ray of a tropical sun) expand his silken wings over the fair daughters of Columbia—while the fleecy tribe shall willingly yield their snow white vestment to cloath the arm by which they are cherished and protected.

Having viewed some of the natural, we proceed to notice some of the political ties, which ought to cement this Continent in one firm, efficient union: The first of which arises from the propriety of observing that maxim, so essential to the support of any government, and more especially a republican, that the minority should ever quietly submit to be governed by the majority: However, in objection to this, some fine-spun arguments have been sophistically urged to prove, that each individual State possesses within itself all the sovereignty of a distinct nation; but such ideal, chimerical assertions, cannot make an impression on the mind deeper than the surface of the paper which contains them. What do we mean by sovereignty, but the deposit of supreme power: Can there be thirteen deposits of supreme power existing at the same time, directed to similar ends, and for the same purposes: Shall the language of the several States to the general government still be what McFingal has heretofore well described it,

"You shall be Viceroy's it is true; But we'll be Viceroy's over you."

No—rather let our united language in future, run thus:

We'll be a nation, it is true, And for that end, the means pursue.

It is certain, without practising on this principle, we can never claim that character. Of what avail will be the possession of sovereignty in each State, without the ability to support it! The madman sees in the watry mirror a crown dazzling with diamonds, and plunging to grasp the fancied object, perishes in the attempt. Who doubts of the natural independency of every son of Adam; but who will contend that both his power and liberty are most compleat under the operation of a good government.

These States, in that united act by which they abjured the British government, not only pledged themselves to each other for every possible risque in their contest to be rid of usurpation and tyranny; but also their joint exertions to raise a future government, calculated to secure their freedom and happiness—and no one of them has now a right to recede from the original contract, or oppose those measures which a majority of their fellow citizens have deemed as necessary to effect this valuable purpose; nor is their conduct in dissenting from the union to be justified on any principle of government—having a tendency to bring on their country greater evils than those it has been contending to avoid—the horrors of a civil war. The States alluded to are indebted to the others for their joint efforts in emancipating them from a foreign yoke: They have a part of the expence incurred by the war to discharge—for which justice cannot withhold her claims: Many more reasons could be urged to shew the impropriety and ill tendency of their present defections—but it is yet to be hoped, that the passions of men, their little views, and mistaken interests, will not be suffered to frustrate the benevolent design of Heaven, marked by every circumstance of our natural situation, and so often exemplified in our progress towards the rank and character of a nation.

A M E R I C A N U S.

MR. FENNO,

I HAVE with much attention considered the observations handed to the public, through the channel of your paper, by Americanus; and am under the necessity of subscribing to his opinion, in favor of a secretary for domestic affairs; not from any regular train of reasoning which he has used, or deductions which he has drawn in support of this department, but from the duties he has assigned to his secretary: two very essential ones, he

has however omitted.—These are the discovery of the perpetual motion, and the longitude. The first of these, is in my humble opinion of the utmost importance to the United States, particularly in the article of manufactures, so necessary to our existence. I apprehend little reasoning will be sufficient to establish this point. It is generally agreed that motion, is necessary in almost every branch of manufactures, and perhaps some ingenious philosopher, may yet find it requisite in every branch. At present this motion is generally produced by men; but this source must shortly fail from the infatuation, and madness, which has taken hold of our labourers for emigrating into the western country: now when this shall happen, I humbly conceive Sir, that the perpetual motion will be absolutely necessary to supply this defect.

Americanus's last paragraph is a very extraordinary piece of composition: I have studied it with the utmost care, and with the express design of subscribing to his opinions relative to the western territory, as well as to the duties of his domestic secretary; but Sir, his opinions are so involved by words, without any direct conclusion, that it was with difficulty I could find what he was driving at. In the beginning he tells us, that he has his "doubts of the principle, which in a degree leads to the necessity of such an establishment," as a land-office for the western territory. Why this, or any other writer, should have his "doubts" on the subject, is truly astonishing: The "principle," or rather principles, which lead us directly to "such an establishment," as the pointers do to the north pole, are first, the country; secondly, the military bounties; thirdly, the sales already made by the United States of part of the territory; fourthly, the right that people have to settle their own lands, and fifthly, the right that a person has to go from one place to another, whether on foot, on horse-back, or in a waggon.

Americanus, views "any encouragement to emigrate in the present state of our population, as building up the interior part of this country, at the expence of the atlantic settlements." If by disposing of that country, "the atlantic settlements" pay their public debt, the case will be directly reversed; "the atlantic settlements" will get clear of their debt, at the expence of the western territory.—What he means by "producing an undue proportion of certain interests," would require a commentator with all the abilities of Julius Scaliger, to unravel.—This writer grants, that if "the spirit of emigration cannot be well stopped, or greatly checked, that it will be doubtless most politic to methodise the settlement of the western country." The emigration cannot possibly be checked while the inhabitants of "the atlantic States," find it their interest to remove. The manufacturers will reside where they can be the most advantageously employed—the same may be said of any other class of citizens in the United States; and no act, without it is sufficiently energetic to alter the nature of things, can possibly take away such a right in this country; and any attempt, to produce such an effect, can only have a tendency, to shew the imbecility of government when directed to improper objects.

The great popular objection to settling the western country, is the loss of our mechanics.—This objection is founded in mere speculation, and can only have weight from experience; and however plausible at present, will lose its force if the western country should be more favorable to manufactures, than "the atlantic settlements."

When it becomes the interest of the people to manufacture, they will attend to it whether east, or west of the Allegany Mountains; and when it is not, no laws nor regulations, can compel them to it.

A. E.

THE NATIONAL MONITOR.—No. X.

Nothing will conduce more to strengthen, confirm, and perpetuate the Union of these States, than a more perfect acquaintance with the temper, genius, manners, laws, customs, and habits of each other.

AMONG the happy effects of the late war, may be reckoned the eradication from the minds of our citizens, of many deep rooted prejudices, which prevented that mutual respect for the characters of the federal States, so honorable and beneficial to the general interest of the whole. That intercourse which necessarily arose from the circumstance of marching the eastern and northern troops through the middle States, to fight the battles of their country in the south, and vice versa, was productive of lasting and salutary consequences: Thousands by this means were made acquainted with the geography of the country—its immense extent—its productions—its improvements—its worth, and shewed them what they fought for: The planters were taught to admire the hardihood, the independence and bravery of their northern brethren; and while they contemplated their stern republican virtues, they imbibed the same spirit of enterprise, and acknowledged the wisdom of those institutions, which existed in the eastern States, and which contributed so essentially to produce an enlightened race of heroes in the yeomanry of the country. On the other hand the force of those republican principles, which inspired the majority of the citizens of the southern States, was no less an object of pleasing contemplation: These principles were paramount in their operation to all local habits and customs: They burst the barriers of an education friendly to domestic servitude, and produced a glorious emulation in the cause of universal liberty. The war likewise produced a great variety of political, commercial, friendly, and conjugal connections—the benign influences of which are continually expanding, and are among the happiest concomitants of peace—and there is no doubt, have contributed greatly to the production of that uniformity of sentiment which has led to the present happy prospects of this great republic. If the casual and transient acquaintance of our citizens in a time of war, has contributed to these events—what may not be expected from a mutual exchange of sentiments, and an harmonious intercourse for the best of purposes in a time of peace?

(The Subject to be continued.)

Published by JOHN FENNO, No. 9, MAIDEN-LANE, near the Quisgo-Market, NEW-YORK.—[3 dol. pr. an.]