

The RIGHT CONSTITUTION of a COMMON-WEALTH EXAMINED.

[Continued from our last.]

The fourth reason is, "because a succession of "supreme powers destroys faction:" Which is defined to be an adherence to an interest distinct from the true interest of the state.

In this particular, one may venture to differ altogether from our author, and deny the fact, that a succession of sovereign authority in one assembly, by popular elections, destroys faction. We may affirm the contrary, that a standing authority in an absolute monarch, or an hereditary aristocracy, are less friendly to the monster than a simple popular government; and that it is only in a mixed government of three independent orders, of the one, the few, and the many, and three separate powers, the legislative, executive, and judicial, that all sorts of factions, those of poor and the rich, those of the gentlemen and common people, those of the one, the few, and the many, can, at all times, be quelled.

The reason given by our author is enough to prove this: "Those who are factions must have time to improve their sleights and projects, in disguising their designs, drawing in instruments, and worming out their opposites." In order to judge of this let us put two suppositions: 1. Either the succession must be by periodical elections, simply; or, 2. by periodical elections in rotation: and, in either case, the means and opportunities of improving address and systems, concealing or feigning designs, making friends and escaping enemies, are greater in a succession of popular elections than in a standing aristocracy or simple monarchy, and infinitely greater than in a mixed government. When the monster faction is watched and guarded by Cerberus with his three heads, and a sop is thrown to him to corrupt or appease him, one mouth alone will devour it, and the other two will give the alarm.—But to return to our first case, a succession in one assembly, by simple annual elections. Elections are the best possible schools of political art and address. One may appeal to any man who has equal experience in elections and in courts, whether address and art, and even real political knowledge, is not to be acquired more easily, and in a shorter time, in the former than in the latter. A King of France once asked his most able and honest ambassador d'Ossat, where he had learned that wonderful dexterity, with which he penetrated into the bosoms of men of all nations and characters, unravelled every plait in the human soul, and every intricacy of affairs and events? The cardinal answered, "Sire, I learned it all, in my youth, at the election of a parish officer." It is a common observation in England, that their greatest statesmen, and their favorite Chatham among the rest, were formed by attendance on elections. The human heart is no where so open and so close by turns. Every argument is there exhausted; every passion, prejudice, imagination, superstition and caprice, is easily and surely learned among these scenes. One would suspect that Shakespeare had been an electioneering agent. When these elections are in a single city, like Rome, there will be always too sets of candidates: If one set succeeds one year, the other will endeavor to succeed the next. This will make the whole year a scene of faction and intrigue, and every citizen, except perhaps a very few who will not meddle on either side, a partisan or factious man. If the elections are in a large country like England, for example, or one of the United States of America, where various cities, towns, boroughs, and corporations, are to be represented, each scene of election will have two or more candidates, and two or more parties, each of which will study its sleights and projects, disguise its designs, draw in tools, and worm out enemies. We must remember that every party, and every individual, is now struggling for a share in the executive and judicial power as well as legislative, for a share in the distribution of all honors, offices, rewards, and profits. Every passion and prejudice of every voter will be applied to, every flattery and menace, every trick and bribe that can be bestowed, and will be accepted, will be used; and what is horrible to think of, that candidate or that agent who has fewest scruples; who will propagate lies and slanders with most confidence and secrecy; who will wheedle, flatter, and cajole; who will debauch the people by treats, feasts and diversions, with the least hesitation, and bribe with the most impudent front, which can consist with hypocritical concealment, will draw in tools and worm out enemies the fastest: Unfulfilled honor, sterling integrity, real virtue, will stand a very unequal chance. When vice, folly, impudence, and knavery have carried an election one year, they will acquire, in the course of it, fresh influence and power to succeed the next. In the course of the year, the delegate in an assembly that disposes of all commissions, contracts, and pensions has many opportunities to reward his friends among his own constituents, and to punish his enemies. The son or other relation of one friend has a commission given him in the army, another in the navy, a

third a benefice in the church, a fourth in the customs, a fifth in the excise; shares in loans and contracts are distributed among his friends, by which they are enabled to encrease their own and his dependents and partisans, or, in other words, to draw in more instruments and parties, and worm out their opposites. All this is so easy to comprehend, so obvious to fight, and so certainly known in universal experience, that it is astonishing that our author should have ventured to assert, that such a government kills the canker-worm Faction.

(To be continued.)

New-York, July 13.

On Saturday last the following ADDRESS was presented to the PRESIDENT of the United States, by the Rev. William Smith, D. D. the Hon. John Henry, Esq; of the Senate, and the Hon. Joshua Sney, Esq; of the House of Representatives; being a committee of the Visitors and Governors of Washington College, in the State of Maryland, appointed for that purpose. viz.

To THE PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES.

S I R, WE, the Corporation of Visitors and Governors, and the Principal and Faculty of WASHINGTON COLLEGE in the State of Maryland, actuated by the sincerest personal affection, as well as the purest public considerations, beg leave to embrace the present occasion of our Anniversary Meeting and Commencement, to felicitate ourselves and our country, upon your unanimous appointment to the Chief Magistracy in the general government of the United States.

Revolving upon the vicissitudes and eventful history of the late war, every page of which bears ample and honorable testimony to the services which you have rendered to your country, and the exertion of those Virtues and Talents which have exalted your name to the first rank among the Heroes and Benefactors of mankind, we cannot but recall to mind the occasion of our former address to you, and your benevolent answer to the fame.

The General Assembly of Maryland, upon the establishment of this Seminary, having dignified the same with the auspicious name of "WASHINGTON COLLEGE, in honorable and perpetual memory of the services of the illustrious and virtuous Commander in Chief of the armies of the United States;" we expressed our confidence—"that, amidst all the public monuments which your country sought to erect to you even while living, none would be more acceptable than a Seminary of universal Learning, expressly dedicated to your name, with a view to instruct and animate the youth of many future generations, to admire and to imitate those PUBLIC VIRTUES and PATRIOT LABORS which had created for you a Monument in the heart of every good citizen; that we hoped you would permit your name to be placed at the head of the Visitors and Governors of the college, trusting that the time was then not very remote, when, by the termination of War, the Infant Institution might be enabled to salute you in person, and, like a dutiful child, as one of its first works, present the OLIVE WREATH and other emblems of Peace, to its FATHER, GUARDIAN and FRIEND."

Highly encouraging to us was your answer;

"That, with pleasure, you would consent to have your name enrolled among the Visitors and Governors of the college, if it were not to the exclusion of some other whose proximity and other circumstances might enable him to be a more useful member; and that as the Act of the General Assembly, which has given your name to the college, would remain a monument of their esteem, it made an impression on your mind which could only be exceeded by the flattering assurance of the lasting and extensive usefulness of the seminary; and when that period should arrive when we could hail the blest return of Peace, it would add to your pleasure to see the Infant Seat of Learning rising into consistency and proficiency in the sciences, under the nurturing hands of its founders."

The happy period is now arrived when, through the blessing of GOD, upon the return of Peace, this Seat of Learning hath attained to such proficiency in the Sciences, as to wait upon you with the promised WREATH of literary Honour which we trust you will not reject, although from an institution of inferior standing, yet not of inferior gratitude and affection, to the chief of those which have al-

NOTE. The WREATH OF LITERARY HONOR referred to in the above ADDRESS and in the answer to the same, is the academical degree of DOCTOR OF LAWS; and as we have been favored with a copy of the preamble to the DIPLOMA, we are happy to lay it before our readers, as the first specimen we have seen of the present title and past services of our illustrious and beloved PRESIDENT, attempted in truly classical Latin. "Cum cum in finem GRADUS ACADEMICI a Majoribus nostris prudenter instituti fuerint, ut Vitis qui de Religione, Republica et Literis optime sint meriti publici honores decerneretur; Cumque Nobis et Omnibus præclare compertum sit, GEORGIUM WASHINGTON Fœderatarum Americæ Civitatum PRÆSIDEM; non solum de Religione, Literis, Republica, et toto etiam humano genere bene semper et multum meruisse; sed, Bello, æque ac Pace, communis omnium salutis appetentissimum, per gravissima Rerum Discrimina, sese Civem præstantissimum, LIBERTATIS ultorem felicissimum, PATRIÆQUE PATREM assantissimum, ostendisse; nos igitur &c."

ready dignified themselves by presenting you with the like honors.

Bearing an ardent and unfeigned part in the admiration and applause of those virtuous and magnanimous sentiments, which in obedience to the voice of your country, have led you forth once more from the enjoyment of domestic happiness to a laborious and conspicuous participation of the cares of public life, at a most interesting crisis of our affairs; we fervently pray—That the glory and felicity of our country—the true consummation of the PATRIOT'S LABORS—may be your crown in this world, and assure you an everlasting crown in the world to come!

Signed by order.

WILLIAM SMITH, D. D. President of the Corporation, and Principal of the Faculty.

June 24, 1789.

THE PRESIDENT'S ANSWER.

To the Corporation of Visitors and Governors, and the Principal and Faculty of Professors of WASHINGTON COLLEGE, in the State of Maryland.

GENTLEMEN, YOUR very affectionate Address, and the honorable Testimony of your regard which accompanied it, call forth my grateful acknowledgments.

A recollection of past events, and the happy termination of our glorious struggle for the establishment of the Rights of Man, cannot fail to inspire every feeling heart with veneration and gratitude towards the Great RULER of events, who has so manifestly interposed in our behalf.

Among the numerous blessings which are attendant upon PEACE, and as one whose consequences are of the most important and extensive kind, may be reckoned the prosperity of Colleges and Seminaries of LEARNING.

As in civilized societies, the welfare of the state and happiness of the people are advanced or retarded, in proportion as the morals and education of the youth are attended to; I cannot forbear, on this occasion, to express the satisfaction which I feel on seeing the increase of our seminaries of learning through this extensive country, and the general wish which seems to prevail for establishing and maintaining these valuable institutions.

It affords me peculiar pleasure to know that the Seat of Learning under your direction hath attained to such proficiency in the Sciences since the PEACE; and I sincerely pray that the great AUTHOR OF THE UNIVERSE may smile upon the Institution, and make it an extensive blessing to this country.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

New-York, July 11, 1789.

MISCELLANY.

FROM THE ESSEX JOURNAL.

MR. HOYT,

BY giving the following extract of a letter (which lately fell into my hands) from a gentleman who resided several years with our illustrious PRESIDENT of the United States, a place in your useful paper, you will oblige one of the many thousand of his admirers, who, although he has not a personal acquaintance, is nevertheless under very particular as well as general obligations to him, and wishes that all the good people of these States may be sensible of his unbounded disinterestedness, formerly in relinquishing the pleasures and enjoyments of affluence and domestic quiet, at the risk of life, to rescue his country from slavery and oppression; and now, at the repeated call of his fellow citizens, in devoting himself to their service in devising measures to preserve and secure that liberty, which, by the divine munificence, he had by his wisdom and valour procured: And all this without any other compensation than the satisfaction of doing good! In addition to all this, from unequivocal authority I am able to assert, that his whole influence is exerted to patronize and befriend the liberal arts and science.

EXTRACT.

"GENERAL WASHINGTON possesses 10,000 acres of land in one body, where he lives—constantly employs 250 hands—keeps 24 ploughs going all the year, when the weather will permit—sowed in 1787, 600 bushels of oats, 700 acres of wheat, and prepared as much for corn, barley, potatoes, beans, peas, &c.—has near 500 acres in grass—and sowed 150 with turnips—Stock, 140 horses, 118 cows, 235 working oxen, heifers and steers, and 500 sheep. The lands about his seat are all laid down in grass—the farms are scattered round at the distance of 2, 3, 4, or 5 miles, which the General visits every day, unless the weather is absolutely stormy.—He is constantly making various and extensive experiments for the improvement of agriculture: He is stimulated with that desire which always actuates him, to do good to his country and benefit mankind. In 1786 he killed 150 hogs, weighing 18,560lb. for his family use (exclusive of provisions for his negroes) which was made into bacon."

GREATNESS OF SOUL.

AN anecdote, in "A tour in Corsica," will illustrate the position, that true greatness of soul may be found as well in the lower as in the highest grades of life.—"The leader of a gang of banditti, who had long been famous for his exploits, was at length taken and committed to the care of a soldier, from whom he contrived to escape. The soldier was tried, and condemned to death. At the place of execution, a man, coming up to the commanding officer, says, "Sir, I am a stranger to you, but you shall soon know who I am. I have heard one of your soldiers is to die for having suffered a prisoner to escape: He was not at all to blame; besides, the prisoner shall be restored to you. Behold him here: I am the man. I cannot bear that innocent man should be punished for me, and I come to die myself."—"No, cried the French officer, who felt the sublimity of the action as he ought, thou shalt not die, and the soldier shall be set at liberty. Endeavouring to reap the fruits of thy generosity: Thou deservest to be henceforth an honest man."

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Published by JOHN FENNO, No. 9, MAIDEN-LANE, near the Old-Swage-Market, NEW-YORK.—[3d ed. fr. an.]