

The RIGHT CONSTITUTION of a COMMON-WEALTH EXAMINED.

[Continued from our last.]

IT is pretended by some, that a sovereignty in a single assembly, annually elected, is the only one in which there is any responsibility for the exercise of power. In the mixed government we contend for, the ministers, at least for the executive power, are responsible for every instance of the exercise of it; and if they dispose of a single commission by corruption, they are responsible to a house of representatives, who may, by impeachment, make them responsible before a senate, where they may be accused, tried, condemned, and punished, by independent judges. But in a single sovereign assembly, each member, at the end of his year, is only responsible to his constituents; and the majority of members who have been of one party, and carried all before them, are to be responsible only to their constituents, not to the constituents of the minority who have been overborne, injured, and plundered. And who are these constituents to whom the majority are accountable? Those very persons, to gratify whom they have prostituted the honours, rewards, wealth, and justice of the state. These, instead of punishing will applaud; instead of discarding, will re-elect, with still greater eclat, and a more numerous majority; for the losing cause will be deserted by numbers: and this will be done in hopes of having still more injustice done, still more honours and profits divided among themselves, to the exclusion and mortification of the minority. It is then astonishing that such a simple government should be preferred to a mixed one, by any rational creature, on the score of responsibility. There is, in short, no possible way of defending the minority, in such a government, from the tyranny of the majority, but by giving the former a negative on the latter, the most absurd institution that ever took place among men. As the major may bear all possible relations of proportion to the minor part, it may be fifty-one against forty-nine in an assembly of an hundred, or it may be ninety-nine against one only: it becomes therefore necessary to give the negative to the minority, in all cases, though it be ever so small. Every member must possess it, or he can never be secure that himself and his constituents shall not be sacrificed by all the rest. This is the true ground and original of the liberum veto in Poland; but the consequence has been ruin to that noble but ill-constituted republic. One fool, or one knave, one member of the diet, which is a single sovereign assembly, bribed by an intriguing ambassador of some foreign power, has prevented measures the most essential to the defence, safety, and existence of the nation. Hence humiliations and partitions! This also is the reason on which is founded the law of the United Netherlands, that all the seven provinces must be unanimous in the assembly of the States General; and all the cities and other voting bodies in the assemblies of the separate states. Having no sufficient checks in their uncouth constitution, nor any mediating power possessed of the whole executive, they have been driven to demand unanimity instead of a balance: and this must be done in every government of a single assembly, or the majority will instantly oppress the minority. But what kind of government would that be in the United States of America, or any one of them, that should require unanimity, or allow of the liberum veto? It is sufficient to ask the question, for every man will answer it alike.

FINANCIAL MEMENTO.

From the FEDERAL GAZETTE.

I HAVE had my attention seriously engaged by the publication of the Estimate of the Supplies requisite for the United States in the year 1789.

On investigating this report of a committee, it appears that the annual demands on the Union for the civil list expenditures, the instalments due on foreign loans, and the interest on the foreign and domestic debt, amount to 3,207,096 21-90

Deduct instalments and premium on the loan 490,962 89-90
2,716,133 24-90

which is the clear amount of the annual contributions for the support of government—for the payment of the instalments is a liquidation of so much of the capital of the foreign debt, which by being extinguished, will require a proportionally less sum to be raised in subsequent years for interest.

As for the various arrearages, which the report takes notice of, and which form the balance of the sum total, they are not to be considered as an annual demand, but will probably be consolidated with the capital of the debt, and the interest thereon be alone required.

So far from room for despondency in the minds of the good people of these States, by such a representation of their affairs, it exhibits the most flattering and favorable prospects. The annual requisitions will not amount to a dollar per head, estimating the population of the Union at three

millions: A small demand, in exchange for such invaluable blessings as peace, liberty and independence; and which must be lightly felt in a country that can afford to pay three shillings per day for a common laborer.

It is not probably a fourth of the contributions that we should have been compelled to furnish towards our proportion of the national debt of Great Britain, if we had remained under the domination of that haughty and exacting nation.

But let us enquire what is the relative situation of other countries, with respect to quantum of public contributions.

Great Britain under the operation of a government, that it must be confessed pays pointed attention to her agricultural, commercial and manufacturing pursuits, flourishes, notwithstanding an accumulation of public debt, that demands an annual supply of sixteen millions sterling, to satisfy its interest, and support her other expences.

But the people are so little oppressed by these demands, that they are enabled, with ease, to raise by taxation a sufficient sum to constitute a sinking fund, which in the course of the last year extinguished two millions of the capital of the national debt.

Calculating on eight millions of inhabitants in Great Britain, there will be apportioned to each individual, as an annual contribution, forty shillings sterling, which is betwixt eight and nine dollars per head.—What a flattering consideration for the citizens of the United States, arises out of the comparative situation of the two countries!—But what renders the reflection still more pleasing, is, that Great Britain may be deemed stationary, if not declining, in her population, and consequent resources. But the United States present an unbounded field for progressive population; and the increase of inhabitants will ease the burthen of the debt, by additional numbers participating in the support of its weight.

This augmentation does not only arise from natural increase in a country situated like America, where the means of subsistence are so easily to be procured—but likewise from the rapid emigration that will necessarily take place, from the superior encouragement that a government, so well constituted to favor civil and religious liberty, and protect the rights of property, will offer. Such emigrations are usually, accompanied with considerable acquisitions of property, which add to the general stock of the community.

When the United States of America have arranged their financial system, and made ample provision for their existing claims, the progressive increase of the taxes, arising from various causes, joined to the sales of the western territory, will form a considerable surplus, that may be applied to the gradual and speedy extinction of the capital of the public debt.

The beneficial effects of the funding system, when founded on proper principles, will be felt through all classes of the community—as it will throw into circulation the capital of the domestic debt, increase thereby the general stock of the country, and facilitate the various purposes of alienation.

If a comparative view was formed of the public debts of France, Spain, or Holland, the United States would find, that it would induce a result much more favorable than even that with Great Britain.

This communication of Congress can therefore give no cause of exultation to the enemies of the government. Foreign nations must respect the resources of a country, abounding in such powerful means, and so unfettered by its present engagements. A FRIEND TO THE UNION.

ADDRESS TO THE PRESIDENT.

EDENTON, (N. C.) JULY 9.

The following ADDRESS of the Governor and Council of this State, has lately been presented to General WASHINGTON, President of the United States: To which he has been pleased to return the Answer therunto subjoined.

To his Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esquire, President of the United States.

SIR, AMIDST the congratulations which surround you from all quarters, WE, the Governor and Council of the State of North-Carolina, beg leave to offer ours, with equal sincerity and fervency with any which can be presented to you. Though this State be not yet a member of the Union under the new form of government, we look forward with the pleasing hope of its shortly becoming such; and in the mean time consider ourselves bound in common interest and affection with the other States, waiting only for the happy event of such alterations being proposed as will remove the apprehensions of many of the good citizens of this State, for those liberties for which they have fought and suffered in common with others. This happy event, we doubt not will be accelerated by your Excellency's appointment to the first office in the Union, since we are well assured the same greatness of mind, which in all scenes has so eminently characterized your Excellency, will induce you to advise every measure calculated to compose party divisions, and to abate any animosity that may be excited by a mere difference of opinion. Your Excellency will consider (however others may forget) how extremely difficult it is to unite all the people of a great country in one common sentiment upon almost any political subject, much less upon a new form of government materially different from one they have been accustomed to, and will therefore rather be disposed to rejoice that so much has been effected, than regret that more could not all at once be accomplished. We sincerely believe America is the only country in the world where such a deliberate change of government could take place under any circumstances whatever.

We hope your Excellency will pardon the liberty we take in writing to particularly on this subject; but this State, however it may differ in any political opinions with the other States, cordially joins with them in sentiments of the utmost gratitude and ve-

ration for those distinguished talents and that illustrious virtue, which we feel a pride in saying we believe, under God, have been the principal means of preserving the liberty and procuring the independence of our country. We cannot help considering you, Sir, in some measure, as the father of it, and hope to experience the good effects of that confidence you so justly have acquired, in an abatement of the party spirit which so much endangers a Union on which the safety and happiness of America can alone be founded. May that Union, at a short distance of time, be as perfect and more safe than ever! And in the mean while, may the State of North-Carolina be considered, as it truly deserves to be, attached with equal warmth with any State in the Union, to the true interest, prosperity, and glory of America, differing only in some particulars in opinion as to the means of promoting them!

SAMUEL JOHNSON.

By order and on behalf of the Council,

JAMES FREDELL, President. William Johnston Dawson, Clerk Council.

To the GOVERNOR and COUNCIL of the State of North-Carolina, Gentlemen,

IT was scarcely possible for any address to have given me greater pleasure than that which I have just received from you; because I consider it not only demonstrative of your approbation of my conduct in accepting the first office in the union, but also indicative of the good dispositions of the citizens of your State towards their sister States, and of the probability of their speedily acceding to the new general government.

In justification of the opinion which you are pleased to express of my readiness to advise every measure calculated to compose party divisions, and to abate any animosity that may be excited by mere difference of opinion, I take the liberty of referring you to the sentiments communicated by me, to the two Houses of Congress. On this occasion, I am likewise happy in being able to add the strongest assurances, that I entertain a well grounded expectation that nothing will be wanting on the part of the different branches of the general government to render the union as perfect, and more safe than ever it has been.

A difference of opinion on political points is not to be imputed to freemen as a fault; since it is to be presumed that they are all actuated by an equally laudable and sacred regard for the liberties of their country. If the mind is so formed in different persons as to consider the same object to be somewhat different in its nature and consequences, as it happens to be placed in different points of view, and if the oldest, the ablest, and the most virtuous statesmen have often differed in judgment as to the best forms of government—we ought, indeed, rather to rejoice that so much has been effected, than to regret that more could not all at once be accomplished.

Gratified by the favorable sentiments which are evinced in your address to me, and impressed with an idea that the citizens of your State are sincerely attached to the interest, the prosperity, and the glory of America, I most earnestly implore the divine benediction and guidance in the councils which are shortly to be taken by their delegates on a subject of the most momentous consequence, I mean the political relation which is to subsist hereafter, between the State of North-Carolina, and the States now in union under the new general government.

G. WASHINGTON.

New-York, June 19, 1789.

A NEW METHOD OF MAKING POTASH.

PUT your ashes into your fats about four inches deep, then put in slack lime about two inches deep, then put in your ashes as usual—when beginning to boil, put in about the bigness of an hen's egg of hog's fat every day when boiling, into each kettle, and skim your kettles once a day, which will take off all the fat; and when drying down your salts, throw in a piece of alum, one ounce, and take great notice about your salts settling—when they once settle, it will not be but a few minutes before there will be a small crust on the top, but it will follow boiling up immediately, —as soon as the boiling is all over the kettles, then stir it until it leaves off at frying, then dip it off into your coolers. The melting down is accomplished in 45 minutes, that used to take four or five hours.

From a VIRGINIA PAPER.

(Published by authority.)

THE public are advertised, that the French packet-boats, which had been suspended by order of government, are lately re-established—and that from the 15th of March, 1789, a packet-boat will sail from the port of Bourdeaux, the 15th March, 15th May, 15th July, 15th September, 15th November, and 15th January, in every year, which will take charge of the letters and packets intended to be sent to the United States of America.—These vessels will arrive alternately at New-York and at Norfolk, where they will deposit the mails they bring, and take those intended for France, which they will convey directly to Bourdeaux.

On their departure from France, there will be made out two lists, the one addressed to the Director of the French post at New-York, comprehending all the letters directed to the States of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware; the other addressed to the Vice-Consul of France in Virginia, containing the letters for Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia.

The superintendance of the packet boats at Norfolk, being confined to Mr. Oster, Vice-Consul of his Most Christian Majesty, letters for France, England, Germany, Holland, &c. &c. will be received at his office, on payment of postage to Bourdeaux.

N. B. All letters sent by land, which are not franked, will remain in the Post-Office.

BON MOT.

SOME days ago a gentleman of the order of Epicurus was dining at a Friend's table, and was displaying some very extraordinary feats of eating; by way of apology, however, for troubling the Lady of the house to help him so frequently, "Upon my honor madam, I am sorry to trouble you so often, but I really think I have lost the bottom of my stomach!"—The answer was near—"Upon my honor, Sir, I have not found it."

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