

The RIGHT CONSTITUTION of a COMMON-WEALTH EXAMINED,

(IN CONTINUATION.)

"WHERE luxury takes place, there is a natural tendency to tyranny." There is a natural tendency to tyranny every where, in the simplest manners as well as the most luxurious, which nothing but force can stop. And why should this tendency be taken from human nature, where it grows as in its native soil, and attributed to luxury? "The nature of luxury lies altogether in excess. It is an universal depravation of manners, without reason, without moderation: it is the canine appetite of a corrupt will and phantasy, which nothing can satisfy; but in every action, in every imagination, it flies beyond the bounds of honesty, just and good, into all excess of tremity." This is declamation and rant that it is not easy to comprehend. There are all possible degrees of luxury which appear in society, with every degree of virtue, from the first dawning of civil society to the last stage of improvement and refinement; and civility, humanity, and benevolence, increase commonly as fast as ambition of conquest, the pride of war, cruelty and bloody rage, diminishes. Luxury, to certain degrees of excess, is an evil; but it is not at all times, and in all circumstances, an absolute evil. It should be restrained by morality and by law, by prohibitions and discouragements. But the evil does not lie here only; it lies in human nature: and that must be restrained by a mixed form of government, which is the best in the world to manage luxury. Our author's government would never make, or, if it made, would never execute laws to restrain luxury.

"That form of government," says our author, "must needs be the most excellent, and the people's liberty most secured, where governors are least exposed to the baits and snares of luxury." That is to say, that form of government is the best, and the people's liberty most secure, where the people are poorest: This will never recommend a government to mankind. But what has poverty or riches to do with the form of government? If mankind must be voluntarily poor in order to be free, it is too late in the age of the world to preach liberty. Whatever Nedham might think, mankind in general had rather be rich under a simple monarchy, than poor under a democracy. But if that is the best form of government, where governors are least exposed to the baits and snares of luxury, the government our author contends for is the worst of all possible forms. There is, there can be no form in which the governors are so much exposed to the baits and snares of luxury as in a simple democracy. In proportion as a government is democratical, in a degree beyond a proportional prevalence of monarchy and aristocracy, the wealth, means, and opportunities being the same, does luxury prevail. Its progress is instantaneous. There can be no subordination. One citizen cannot bear that another should live better than himself; a universal emulation in luxury instantly commences; and the governors, that is those who aspire at elections, are obliged to take the lead in this silly contention: they must not be behind the foremost in dress, equipage, furniture, entertainments, games, races, spectacles; they must feast and gratify the luxury of electors to obtain their votes; and the whole executive authority must be prostituted, and the legislative too to encourage luxury. The Athenians made it death for any one to propose the appropriation of money devoted to the support of the theatre to any the most necessary purposes of the state. In monarchies and aristocracies much may be done, both by precept and example, by laws and manners, to diminish luxury and restrain its growth; in a mixed government more still may be done for this salutary end; but in a simple democracy, nothing: every man will do as he pleases—no sumptuary law will be obeyed—every prohibition or impost will be eluded; no man will dare to propose a law by which the pleasures or liberty of the citizen shall be restrained. A more unfortunate argument for a simple democracy could not have been thought of: it is, however, a very good one in favor of a mixed government.

An ESSAY on FREE TRADE and FINANCES.

(Continued from No. LII.)

I WILL conclude this essay with one argument more in favor of my principle of taxation, which appears to me of such mighty weight and vast importance, as must reach the feelings and govern the heart of every upright American, viz. That our public union with all its blessings depends on it, and is supported by it, and must without it dissolve, and waste away into its original atoms. To refuse any plan its necessary support, and to murder and destroy it is the same thing; the union cannot be supported without so much money as is necessary to that support, and that money may be raised in the way I propose, and cannot in any other. We have a most plain and undeniable proof of fact, that the usual mode of taxation of polls and estates, is in its principle unjust and unequal, because it does not operate on our people in any due

proportion to their wealth: This mischief was less felt, when our taxes were very small, and therefore though unjust, were not ruinous; but the case is greatly altered, now the taxes are grown up into the burden which the present exigencies of the nation require.

The said tax hitherto in use, is further ruinous, because it carves what money it does produce, out of the very first resources, the original principle of our national wealth, which like tenders, should be nursed and guarded with all care, till they arrive to strength and maturity,—then we may pluck the fruit without hurting the tree:—To cramp and diminish any of these, is like making bread of our seed wheat, or feeding our mowing grounds, every quantity we take lessens the next crop ten: but what gives decision to the point is, that we have the clear proof of experience, that the utmost efforts in this way have been sufficient to produce one quarter of the sum necessary for the public service; nor is there any probability of an increased production.

The mode of supply by foreign loans need not be further reprobated; 'tis plain to every body, that if they can be continued, (which is doubtful) they will soon involve us in foreign debt, vastly beyond all possibility of payment: Our bankruptcy must ensue; and with our bankruptcy will go all our national character of wisdom, integrity, energy of government, and every kind of respectability. We shall become objects of obloquy—buts of insult; and bye-words of disgrace abroad; an American in Europe will be ashamed to tell where he came from. Every stranger takes some share in the character, in the honors or disgrace, not only of the family, but the nation to which he belongs.

THE BASTILE.

EXPLORE yon Cavern, frowning on the sight,
Where one faint lamp sends forth a sickly light;
Thro' folds of darkness, where yon wicket glooms,
Perfidious power has scoop'd the LIVING TOMBS!
Along the filth that oozes from the walls,
The slimy snail, with track abhorrent crawls,
And oft, augmenting poisons from the top,
With fullen sounds falls slow the with'ring drop.
The pestiferous toad that squats below,
Gathers fresh venom as those poisons flow!
Here many a fathom down, despotic rage,
Hung human victims in the dreadful cage—
Here the poor captive, torn from child and wife,
From youth to age groan'd out detested life—
Nor nature's sun, nor art's supplying blaze,
E're stole one beam of comfort on their days!
Nor human form, nor human hand was nigh,
To soothe the grief that gather'd in his eye;
Save one brief glance of man, as thro' the hole,
His daily bead the SILENT goaler stole—
No human voice beguil'd the endless night,
That cruel shut him from creation's light.
To soothe a mistress, wanton LOUIS gave
To one who dar'd be just, this lingering grave!
To one who dar'd a prostitute pourtray,
And bring his honest fate into day.
How sinks the heart, to pace this gloomy round,
How pants the Muse to leave this TYRANT bound!

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Began and held at the City of New-York, on Wednesday the Fourth of March, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-Nine.

An ACT for allowing COMPENSATION to the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, and to the Officers of both Houses.

BE it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That at every session of Congress, and at every meeting of the Senate in the recess of Congress, prior to the fourth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, each Senator shall be entitled to receive six dollars for every day he shall attend the Senate, and shall also be allowed, at the commencement and end of every such session and meeting, six dollars for every twenty miles of the estimated distance, by the most usual road, from his place of residence to the seat of Congress: And in case any member of the Senate shall be detained by sickness on his journey to or from any such session or meeting, or after his arrival shall be unable to attend the Senate, he shall be entitled to the same daily allowance: *Provided always*, That no Senator shall be allowed a sum exceeding the rate of six dollars a day, from the end of one such session or meeting to the time of his taking a seat in another.

And be it further enacted, That at every session of Congress, and at every meeting of the Senate in the recess of Congress, after the aforesaid fourth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, each Senator shall be entitled to receive seven dollars for every day he shall attend the Senate; and shall also be allowed at the commencement and end of every such session and meeting, seven dollars for every twenty miles of the estimated distance, by the most usual road, from his place of residence to the seat of Congress: And in case any member

of the Senate shall be detained by sickness, on his journey to or from any such session or meeting, or after his arrival shall be unable to attend the Senate, he shall be entitled to the same allowance of seven dollars a day: *Provided always*, That no Senator shall be allowed a sum exceeding the rate of seven dollars a day, from the end of one such session or meeting to the time of his taking a seat in another.

And be it further enacted, That at every session of Congress, each Representative shall be entitled to receive six dollars for every day he shall attend the House of Representatives; and shall also be allowed at the commencement and end of every session, six dollars for every twenty miles of the estimated distance, by the most usual road, from his place of residence to the seat of Congress: And in case any Representative shall be detained by sickness, on his journey to or from the session of Congress, or after his arrival shall be unable to attend the House of Representatives, he shall be entitled to the daily allowance aforesaid: And the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to defray the incidental expences of his office, shall be entitled to receive in addition to his compensation as a Representative, six dollars for every day he shall attend the House: *Provided always*, That no Representative shall be allowed a sum exceeding the rate of six dollars a day, from the end of one such session or meeting to the time of his taking a seat in another.

And be it further enacted, That there shall be allowed to each chaplain of Congress, at the rate of five hundred dollars per annum during the session of Congress; to the secretary of the Senate and clerk of the House of Representatives, fifteen hundred dollars per annum each, to commence from the time of their respective appointments; and also a further allowance of two dollars per day to each, during the session of that branch for which he officiates: And the said secretary and clerk shall each be allowed (when the President of the Senate or Speaker shall deem it necessary) to employ one principal clerk, who shall be paid three dollars per day, and an engrossing clerk, who shall be paid two dollars per day during the session, with the like compensation to such clerk while he shall be necessarily employed in the recess.

And be it further enacted, That the following compensation shall be allowed to the officers hereinafter mentioned, viz. To the serjeant at arms, during the sessions and while employed on the business of the House, four dollars per day; the allowance of the present serjeant at arms to commence from the time of his appointment: To the door-keeper of the Senate and House of Representatives, for their services in those offices, three dollars per day during the session of the House to which he may belong, for his own services, and for the hire of necessary laborers; the allowance to the present door-keeper of the Senate to commence from the day appointed for the meeting of Congress; and the allowance to the door-keeper of the House of Representatives to commence from his appointment; and to the assistant door-keeper to each House, two dollars per day during the sessions.

And be it further enacted, That the said compensation which shall be due to the members and officers of the Senate, shall be certified by the President; and that which shall be due to the members and officers of the House of Representatives, shall be certified by the Speaker; and the same shall be passed as public accounts, and paid out of the public treasury.

And be it further enacted, That this act shall continue in force until the fourth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, and no longer.

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
JOHN ADAMS, Vice-President of the United States,
and President of the Senate.

APPROVED, SEPTEMBER 22, 1789.
GEORGE WASHINGTON, President of the United States.

An ACT for the temporary establishment of the POST-OFFICE.

BE it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there shall be appointed a Post-Master General; his powers and salary and the compensation to the assistant or clerk and deputies which he may appoint, and the regulations of the Post-Office shall be the same as they last were under the resolutions and ordinances of the late Congress. The Post-Master General to be subject to the direction of the President of the United States in performing the duties of his office, and in forming contracts for the transportation of the mail.

Be it further enacted, That this act shall continue in force until the end of the next session of Congress, and no longer.

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
JOHN ADAMS, Vice-President of the United States,
and President of the Senate.

APPROVED, SEPTEMBER THE 22d, 1789.
GEORGE WASHINGTON, President of the United States.

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