

The RIGHT CONSTITUTION of a COMMON-WEALTH EXAMINED.

(CONTINUED.)

THE people have less means and opportunities for luxury than those pompous standing powers, whether in the hands of one or many. But if the sovereignty were exercised wholly by one popular assembly, they would then have the means and opportunities in their hands as much as the king has in a monarchy, or the senate in an aristocracy or oligarchy; and much more than either the kings or nobles have in the tripartite composition we contend for; because in this the king and nobles have really no means or opportunities of luxury but what are freely given them by the people, whose representatives hold the purse. Accordingly, in the simple democracy, or representative democracy, which our author contends for, it would be found, that the great leaders in the assembly would soon be as luxurious as ever kings or hereditary nobles were, and they would make partisans by admitting associates in a luxury, which they would support at the expense of the minority; and every particle of the executive power would be prostituted, new lucrative offices daily created, and larger appointments annexed to support it: nay, the power of judging would be prostituted to determine causes in favour of friends and against enemies, and the plunder devoted to the luxury. The people would be found as much inclined to vice and vanity as kings or grandees, and would run on to still greater excess and riot: for kings and nobles are always restrained, in some degree, by fear of the people, and their censures; whereas the people themselves, in the case we put, are not restrained by fear or shame, having all honour and applause at their disposal, as well as force. It does not appear, then, that they are less luxurious; on the contrary they are more luxurious, and necessarily become so, in a simple democracy.

Our author triumphantly concludes, "it is clear the people, that is, their successive representatives" (all authority in one centre, and that centre the nation) "must be the best governors, because the current of succession keeps them the less corrupt and presumptuous." He must have forgot that these successive representatives have all the executive power, and will use it at once for the express purpose of corruption among their constituents, to obtain votes at the next election. Every commission will be given, and new offices created, and fresh fees, salaries, perquisites, and emoluments added, on purpose to corrupt more voters. He must have forgot that the judicial power is in the hands of these representatives, by his own suppositions, and that false accusations of crimes will be sustained to ruin enemies, disputes in civil causes will be decided in favour of friends; in short, the whole criminal law, and the whole civil law concerning lands, houses, goods, and money, will be made subservient to the covetousness, pride, ambition, and ostentation of the dominant party and their chiefs. "The current of succession," instead of keeping them "less corrupt and presumptuous," is the very thing that annually makes them more corrupt and shameless. Instead of being more "free from luxurious courses," they are more irresistibly drawn into them; instead of being "free from oppressive and injurious practices," their parties at elections will force them into them: and all these things they must do to hold up the port and splendor of their tyranny; and if any of them hesitates at any imprudence that his party demands, he alone will be rejected, and another found whose conscience and whose shame are sufficiently subdued. (To be continued.)

MR. ADAMS'S LETTERS.

LETTER VIII.

AMSTERDAM, OCT. 16, 1780.

SIR,

THE eighth enquiry is, "WHAT ENGLAND PROPERLY OUGHT TO DO, TO FORCE AMERICA TO SUBMISSION, AND PRESERVE HER IN IT? HOW MUCH TIME, MONEY, AND HOW MANY VESSELS WOULD BE WANTED FOR THAT PURPOSE?"

I assure you, Sir, I am as much at a loss to inform you, in this particular, as Lord George Germaine would be. I can fix upon no number of men, nor any sum of money, nor any number of ships, that I think would be sufficient. But most certainly, no number of ships or men which Great Britain now has, or ever can have, nor any sum of money that she will ever be able to command, will be sufficient.

If it were in the power of Great Britain to send an hundred thousand men to America, and they had men of war and transports enough to convey them there in safety, amidst the dangers that await now from French, Spanish, and American men of war, they might possibly get possession of two or three Provinces, and place so many garrisons in various parts, as to prevent the people from exercising the functions of government, under their new constitutions; and they might set up a sham appearance of a civil government under the King: But I do not believe that an hundred thousand men could gain and preserve them the civil government of any three States in the Con-

federation. The States are at such distances from one another; there are such difficulties in passing from one to another by land; and such a multitude of posts are necessary to be garrisoned and provided, in order to command any one Colony; that an army of an hundred thousand men would soon find itself consumed, in getting and keeping possession of one or two States. But it would require the armies of Semiramis to command and preserve them all.

Such is the nature of that country, and such the character of the people, that if the English were to send ever so many ships, and ever so many troops, they never would subdue all the Americans. Numbers, in every State, would fly to the mountains, and beyond the mountains, and there maintain a constant war against the English. In short, the English, if they could conquer America, which they never can, nor any one State in it, it would cost them a standing army of an hundred thousand men to preserve their conquest; for it is in vain for them ever to think of any other government's taking place again under the King of England, but a military government.

As to the number of ships, it must be in proportion to the number of troops: they must have transports enough to carry their troops, and men of war enough to convoy them through their numerous French, Spanish, and American enemies upon the seas.

As to the sums of money, you will easily see, that adding two hundred millions more to the two hundred millions they already owe, would not procure and maintain so many ships and troops.

It is very certain the English can never send any great numbers more of troops to America. The men are not to be had: the money is not to be had: the seamen, and even the transports, are not to be had. I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN ADAMS.

I give this to Mr. Calkoen as my private opinion concerning the question he asks. As Mr. Calkoen observes, this is a question that had better not be publicly answered: but time will shew the answer here given is right. It would, at present, be thought extravagant, or enthusiasm. Mr. Adams, only requests Mr. Calkoen to look over this letter a few years hence, and then say what his opinion of it is. Victories gained by the English, in taking sea-port towns, or in open field-fighting, will make no difference in my answer to this question. Victories gained by the English, will conquer themselves sooner than the Americans. Fighting will not fail, in the end, to turn to the advantage of America, altho the English may gain an advantage in this or that particular engagement.

ABSTRACT of JOURNAL of the FIRST SESSION of the SENATE of the UNITED STATES.

MONDAY, MAY 4.

Agreeably to the order of the day, the Senate proceeded in the second reading of a bill, entitled "An act to regulate the time and manner of administering certain oaths," and to the consideration of the amendments reported by the Committee, which are as follow:

In line 1, strike out the words "Congress of the United States," and insert, "Senate and Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled."

At the end of the second paragraph add the words "of the Senate, and insert the following clause, "And be it further enacted, "That the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers of the several States, who have been heretofore chosen or appointed, or who shall be chosen or appointed before the 1st day of August next, and who shall then be in office, shall, within one month thereafter, take the same oath or affirmation, except where they shall have taken it before; which may be administered by any person authorized by the law of the State in which such office shall be holden, to administer oaths." And the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers of the several States, who shall be chosen or appointed, after the said first day of August, shall, before they proceed to execute the duties of their respective offices, take the foregoing oath or affirmation, which shall be administered by the person or persons, who by the law of the State, shall be authorized to administer the oath of office; and the person or persons so administering the oath hereby required to be taken, shall cause a record or certificate thereof to be made, in the same manner as by the law of the State, he, or they shall be directed to record or certify the oath of office."

In the last paragraph, strike out the words "of the United States of America," in the third and fourth lines, and insert the same words in the fourth line next after the words "as the case may be." And being accepted, Tuesday morning, 11 o'clock, was assigned for the third reading of the bill.

The report of the Committee to whom was referred the motion made the 1st instant, upon the mode of sending messages to, and receiving them from the House of Representatives, was read, and ordered to lie for consideration. Adjourned.

TUESDAY, MAY 5.

Agreeably to the order of the day, the bill, entitled "An act to regulate the time and manner of administering certain oaths," was read a third time, and passed the Senate with amendments.

Ordered, That the Secretary carry the aforementioned bill to the House of Representatives, together with the amendments, and address the Speaker in the following words:

SIR, THE Senate have passed a bill, entitled, "An act to regulate the time and manner of administering certain oaths," with amendments, to which they desire the concurrence of your House.—Ordered, That when a bill has passed the Senate, the Secretary shall endorse the final determination thereon, and the day when such final question was taken, previous to its being transmitted to the House of Representatives. Adjourned to Thursday.

THURSDAY, MAY 7.

The Committee, appointed to confer with such Committee as might be appointed on the part of the House of Representatives to report what Style or Titles it will be proper to annex to the Office of President and of Vice President of the United States, if any other than those given in the Constitution, Reported: Which Report was ordered to lie for consideration.

The Report of the Committee upon the motion committed May 1st, was considered, and the first paragraph thereof accepted.—Whereupon, Ordered, that when a messenger shall come from the House of

Representatives to the Senate, and shall be announced by the door-keeper, the messenger or messengers, being a Member or Members of the House, shall be received within the bar, the President rising, when the message is by one Member, and the Senate also, when it is by two or more: If the messenger be not a Member of the House, he shall be received at the bar, by the Secretary, and the bill or papers that he may bring, shall there be received from him by the Secretary, and be by him delivered to the President.

The Committee appointed to prepare an answer to the President's Speech, delivered to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, reported.

(For the Answer of the Senate to the President's Speech see our paper of May 20.)

Mr. Beckley, the Clerk of the House of Representatives, delivered a message, purporting, "That the House had concurred with the Senate in the amendments proposed on a bill, entitled "An act to regulate the time and manner of administering certain oaths,"—and "That the House proposed an amendment, to the third amendment, by inserting after the word "Legislatures in the first place," the words "At the next session of the said Legislatures respectively."

He also brought to the Senate a resolve of the House of Representatives, appointing Mr. Bland, Mr. Trumbull, and Mr. Vining a Committee on the part of the House, to confer with any Committee to be appointed on the part of the Senate, and report: Joint rules to be established between the two Houses, for the enrollment &c. of the acts of Congress, and to confer on the mode of presenting addresses, bills, &c. to the President.—And he withdrew.

The Senate agreed to the amendment proposed by the House of Representatives to the amendment to the afore-mentioned Bill.—

And appointed Mr. Langdon, Mr. Read, and Mr. Henry, a Committee on their part, for the purpose expressed in the resolve of the House of Representatives received this day; which together with the concurrence of the Senate to the amendment on the amendment to the bill above mentioned, was carried to the House by the Secretary. Adjourned.

FRIDAY, MAY 8.

The Report of the Committee appointed to determine "What Style or Titles it will be proper to annex to the Office of President and Vice President of the United States, if any other than those given in the Constitution"—and, to confer with a Committee of the House of Representatives appointed for that purpose—was considered and disagreed to.

The question was taken "Whether the President of the United States shall be addressed by the Title of HIS EXCELLENCY?—and it passed in the negative.

On motion, That a Committee of three be appointed to consider and report under what Title it will be proper for the Senate to address the President of the United States, Mr. Lee, Mr. Ellsworth, and Mr. Johnson, were elected. Adjourned.

SATURDAY, MAY 9.

Mr. Beckley, the Clerk of the House of Representatives, delivered a message, purporting, That the House had accepted the report of a Committee appointed to consider what Style or Title it will be proper to annex to the Office of President and of Vice President of the United States, if any other than those given in the Constitution. And he withdrew.

Ordered, That Mr. Few, Mr. Maclay and Mr. Strong, be a Committee to view the apartments in the City Hall, and to confer with any Committee that may be appointed by the House of Representatives for that purpose, and report how the same shall be appropriated.

The Committee appointed to consider under what Title it will be proper for the Senate to address the President of the United States, Reported.—The consideration of which was postponed until Monday next.

The Secretary was charged with a message to the House of Representatives, with the order of Senate passed the 7th instant, on the mode adopted by the Senate in receiving communications from the House.

Ordered, That Mr. Lee, Mr. Ellsworth and Mr. Johnson be a Committee, to confer with any Committee, to be appointed by the House of Representatives on the difference of opinion now subsisting between the two Houses, respecting the Title of the President of the United States.—And on motion for Reconsideration, the instruction to the Committee was agreed to as follows:

"That they consider and report under what Title it will be proper for the President of the United States in future to be addressed, and to confer thereon with such Committee as the House of Representatives may appoint for that purpose."

The Secretary carried to the House of Representatives the appointment of a committee on the part of the Senate to view the rooms of the City Hall, and to confer upon their appropriation.—The REJECTION of the Report of the Committee appointed to consider what Style, &c. it will be proper to annex to the Offices of President and of Vice President.—And the appointment of a Committee on the part of the Senate to confer, on a Title under which it will be proper to address the President of the United States. Adjourned.

MONDAY, MAY 11.

Ordered, That the consideration of the Report of the Committee upon "the Title by which it will be proper for the Senate to address the President" be postponed until Tuesday next.

Ordered, That a Committee to consist of Mr. Ellsworth, Mr. Carroll, and Mr. Few, be appointed, to consider and report a mode of carrying into execution the second paragraph, of the third section, of the first article of the Constitution.

The Committee appointed the 13th of April to confer with a Committee of the House of Representatives, upon the future disposition of the papers in the Office of the late Secretary of Congress, made a Report which was ordered to lie until a Committee appointed May 7, to confer with a Committee of the House "On joint rules to be established for the enrollment, &c. of the acts of Congress" should report. Adjourned.

TUESDAY, MAY 12.

Mr. Morris, from the State of Pennsylvania, appeared and took his seat in the Senate.

Mr. Beckley, the Clerk of the House of Representatives, delivered a message, purporting, that the House had concurred in the appointment of a Committee on their part, consisting of Mr. White, Mr. Scott, and Mr. Sturges, to confer, with the Committee appointed on the part of the Senate, May 9th, on the appropriation of the rooms in the City Hall;—Also, that the House had appointed a Committee, consisting of Mr. Madison, Mr. Trumbull, Mr. Page, Mr. Benson, and Mr. Sherman, to confer with any Committee that the Senate shall appoint on the disagreeing votes of the Senate and House of Representatives upon the report of their joint Committee, appointed, to consider what Titles shall be given to the President and to the Vice President of the United States, if any other than those given in the Constitution.—And he withdrew.

Ordered that the Committee appointed the 9th of May to consider "By what Title it will be proper for the Senate to address the President of the United States," be instructed to confer with the Committee of the House of Representatives, agreeably to the proposition in their message of this day.

A motion for the Committee, appointed to address the President, to proceed, was postponed to Thursday next. Adjourned.

IF JOHN BAYES, who lately lived with a Farmer at Pezayco-Neck, near Baltimore, and formerly from Northamptonshire in England, or his son WILLIAM BAYES, who lived with Robert Robertson, tavern-keeper, in Redwinster-Township, Pennsylvania, are living, and will send an account of themselves, and where they are, or either of them may be found, to SAMUEL ELAM, at Newport, Rhode-Island, they will hear of something to their advantage. Information of the decease of either of those persons, (should such an event have happened) would be esteemed a favor, directed as above.

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