

# The RIGHT CONSTITUTION of a COMMON-WEALTH EXAMINED.

(CONTINUATION.)

IN the Roman story, some few of their brave patriots and conquerors were men of small fortune, and of so rare a temper of spirit, that they little cared to improve them, or enrich themselves by their public employment. Some, indeed, were buried at the public charge. And perhaps this race is not quite extinct; but the examples are so rare, that he who shall build his frame of government upon a presumption that characters of this stamp will arise in succession, in sufficient numbers to preserve the honor and liberty, and promote the prosperity of his people, will find himself mistaken. "The time will come," said a Roman senator, "when Horatii and Valerii will not be found to forego their private fortunes for the sake of plebeian liberty." His prediction was fulfilled; and a similar prophecy will be accomplished in every nation under heaven. The instances too of this kind, in the Roman history, are all of patricians and senators: We do not find one example of a popular tribune who was so in love with poverty. Cincinnatus was a patrician, a senator of a splendid family and no mean fortune, until his son Cæso was prosecuted, and obliged to fly from his bail. The father had too noble and sublime a spirit to let the bail be ruined, and sold his fortune to pay the forfeiture: When this was done, he had only four or six acres left. But who was it that made him dictator? Not the people, nor the tribunes, but the senate, that very standing power against which our author's whole book is written: By no means by a successive sovereignty of the people's representatives, which our author all along contends for. Had the appointment of a dictator at that time lain with the people, most probably a richer man would have had the preference. He behaved with so much magnanimity, integrity, and wisdom, that he subdued the enemy, and quitted his authority with all willingness, and returned to painful private life. This example is a good argument for a mixed government, and for a senate as an essential part of it; but no argument for a successive sovereignty in the people's representatives. Gracchus, Marius, Sylla, and Cæsar, whose elevation to power was by the people, in opposition to the senate, did not exhibit such moderation and contentment. Our author's other examples of Lucius Tarquin, and Attilius Regulus, by no means prove such disinterested and magnanimous virtue to be ordinary in that state, nor Lucius Paulus Æmilius. Lucius Tarquin, or Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, was not only a patrician and a senator, but of the royal family, and therefore by no means an example to show what the conduct of a general, or other officer or magistrate, will be, who shall be appointed by a majority of the people's successive annual representatives. He was the husband of Lucretia, whose blood had expelled the king. It was in an assembly of the centuries, where the senate were all powerful, that he was appointed consul with Brutus. Valerius was the favorite of the plebeians. Collatinus had been given by the king to Ancus Tarquin, because he had no estate; and from thence the family were called Collatinæ. At the siege of Ardea the frolic commenced between Collatinus and the other young Tarquins, over wine, which ended in the visit to their wives, which proved at first so honorable to the domestic virtues of Lucretia, and afterward so fatal to her life; it occasioned also the expulsion of kings, and institution of consuls. Brutus and Collatinus were created consuls, but by whom? By the people, it is true, but it was in their assemblies by centuries; so that it was the senate and patricians who decided the vote. If the people in their tribes, or by their successive representatives, had made the election, Collatinus would not have been chosen, but Valerius, who expected it, and had most contributed, next to Brutus, to the revolution. And, by the way, we may observe here, that an aversion to public honors and offices by no means appears in the behavior of the virtuous and popular Valerius. His desire of the office of consul was so ardent, that his disappointment and chagrin induced him, in a sudden ill-humour, to withdraw from the senate and the forum, and renounce public affairs; which so alarmed the people, that they dreaded his reconciliation and coalition with the exiled family. He soon removed this jealousy by taking the oath by which Brutus wanted to bind the senate against kings and kingly government. All the art of the patricians, with Brutus at their head, was now exerted, to intoxicate the people with superstition. Sacrifices and ceremonies were introduced, and the consuls approaching the altar, swore, for themselves, their children, and all posterity, never to recal Tarquin or his sons, or any of his family; that the Romans should never more be governed by kings; that those who should attempt to restore monarchy should be devoted to the infernal gods, and condemned to the most cruel torments: And an abhorrence of royalty became the predominant character of the Romans, to such a degree, that they could never

bear the name of king, even when, under the emperors they admitted much more than the thing in an unlimited despotism. But is the cause of liberty, are the rights of mankind, to stand for ever on no better a foundation than a blind superstition, and a popular prejudice against a word, a mere name? It was really no more in this case: For even Brutus himself intended that the consuls should have all the power of the kings; and it was only against a family and a name that he declared war. If nations and peoples cannot be brought to a more rational way of thinking, and to judge of things, instead of being intoxicated with prejudice and superstition against words, it cannot be expected that truth, virtue, or liberty, will have much chance in the establishment of governments. The monarchical and aristocratical portions of society will for ever understand better how to operate upon the superstition, the prejudices, passions, fancies, and senses of the people, than the democratical, and therefore will for ever worm out liberty, if she has no other resource.

## AN ESSAY ON FREE TRADE AND FINANCES.

[Continued from No. XXXII.]

ANOTHER objection against my mode of taxing, which in my opinion is the greatest by far that can be fairly urged, remains yet to be considered. I once almost concluded not to mention it here, because its hurtful operation is distant, we are in no present danger of its effects and its evils may be prevented or remedied in future time by necessary measures, without requiring our present attention. But I will subjoin it, because I think it best to communicate every quality, effect and tendency of this subject, which my utmost investigation of it has been able to discover, that the public may take it up or reject it on the fullest reason that I can lay before them. The objection is, that this tax is insensible, and will produce more money than the people are apprized of, and in future time, when our trade and consumptions shall increase, may produce more than the public service will require, and of course tend to public dissipation and corruption. For frugality in a court ever springs from necessity, and a rich treasury naturally makes a prodigal administration, and too often a corrupt one. It may be answered, that it will always be easy to lessen or take the tax off, whenever it shall become necessary. This may be easy, but will be always be dangerous. The imposing it at the close of the war will prevent the fall of the goods taxed, and keep them up partly to the war price, and of course save the merchants who have goods by them from very great loss, and is a good reason for imposing it now; but when it shall be taken off, it will reduce the price of the goods taxed in so sudden a manner, as will be very hurtful to those who have stock on hand, and may ruin very many families. There is another, and perhaps better way of guarding against the evils of the objection. It will be easy to transmit to each state an account of the annual proceeds of the tax, and when the amount shall exceed the annual expenditures, an account of the surplus, together with an estimate of the proportion of each state (according to the established quota of burdens and benefits) may be returned with it, and the said proportion of the surplus may be made subject to the order of each state respectively; and if they judge that they can more safely trust their own economy, than that of the supreme administration, each state may draw its quota out of the general treasury into its own, and there keep it as a deposited fund of public wealth, or dispose of it as they please. Perhaps a fund to defray the internal expences of each state, might be as easily raised in this way as any other; but I leave a further discussion of the objection and its remedies to the wisdom of future times.

But if this my mode of taxing, or any other that may be adopted, should not be sufficient for the public service, I could wish the deficiency might some how be made up at home, without recurring to the ruinous mode of supplies by public loans abroad. I think that every light in which this subject can be viewed, will afford an argument against it. I have known this cogent argument used in favour of foreign loans, viz. We give but five per cent. by the loan. This stupid argument, if it proves any thing, just proves that 'tis every man's interest to borrow money, for 'tis certainly profitable to buy any thing for five pounds which will bring ten; but the natural fact is, the very reverse of this, for if you bring money into a kingdom or family, which is not the proceeds of industry, it will naturally lessen the industry and increase the expences of it. It has been often observed, that when a person gains any sudden acquisition of wealth by treasure thro' captures at sea, drawing a high prize in a lottery, or any other way not connected with industry, he is rarely known to keep it long, but soon dissipates it. The sensible value of money is lost, when the idea of it becomes disconnected with the labor and pain of earning it, and expences will naturally increase when there is plenty of wealth to support them. The effect is the same on a nation. Is Spain a whit richer for all the mines of South America. The industry of Holland has

proved a much more sure source of durable wealth. We already find a dangerous excess of luxury growing out of our borrowed money; and industry, (especially in procuring supplies of our own) wants great animation. Besides, the afore said argument is not grounded on fact; 'tis true I suppose, that we pay but five per cent interest on our foreign loans, but they cost us from fifteen to twenty per cent more to get them home, for that is at least the discount which has been made on the sale of our bills for several years past, and if we bring it over in cash, there is freight and insurance to be paid, which increases the loss. From this it appears, that for every eighty pounds of supplies which we obtain in this way, we must pay at least an hundred pounds, even if we were to pay the principal at the end of the year, and the consuming want of five per cent interest every year after, if the payment is delayed: To all this loss, is to be added, all the expence of negotiating the loans abroad, brokerage on sale of the bills, &c. &c.

(To be continued.)

## EIGHTH ACT OF THE LEGISLATURE OF THE UNION.

An ACT to provide for the Government of the Territory North-West of the River Ohio.

WHEREAS in order that the ordinance of the United States in Congress assembled, for the government of the territory north-west of the river Ohio may continue to have full effect, it is required that certain provisions should be made so as to adapt the same to the present Constitution of the United States;

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in all cases in which by the said ordinance, any information is to be given, or communication made by the Governor of the said territory to the United States in Congress assembled, or to any of their officers, it shall be the duty of the said Governor to give such information and to make such communication to the President of the United States; and the President shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint all officers which by the said ordinance were to have been appointed by the United States in Congress assembled, and all officers so appointed, shall be commissioned by him; and in all cases where the United States in Congress assembled, might, by the said ordinance, revoke any commission or remove from any office, the President is hereby declared to have the same powers of revocation and removal.

And be it further enacted, That in cases of the death, removal, resignation, or necessary absence of the Governor of the said territory, the Secretary thereof shall be, and he is hereby authorized and required to execute all the powers, and perform all the duties of the Governor, during the vacancy, occasioned by the removal, resignation or necessary absence of the said Governor.

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

APPROVED, AUGUST 7, 1789.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, President of the United States.

## NINTH ACT OF THE LEGISLATURE OF THE UNION.

An ACT providing for the EXPENCES which may attend NEGOTIATIONS or TREATIES with the INDIAN TRIBES, and the appointment of COMMISSIONERS for managing the same.

BE it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a sum not exceeding twenty thousand dollars, arising from the duties on imports and tonnage, shall be, and the same is hereby appropriated to defraying the expence of negotiating and treating with the Indian tribes.

And be it further enacted, That each of the commissioners who may be appointed for managing such negotiations and treaties, shall be entitled to an allowance, exclusive of his expences at the place of treaty, of eight dollars per day during his actual service, to be paid out of the monies so appropriated.

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

APPROVED, AUGUST 20, 1789.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, President of the United States.

## THE NATIONAL MONITOR.—No. XVII.

Th' eternal God who form'd all human kind,  
Views the whole species with an equal mind;  
With HIM there's neither black, nor brown, nor fair,  
ALL sprang from HIM and ALL his goodness share.

LIBERTY and humanity are closely allied: By the former is meant that security of life, property and the equal rights of nature, which is the result of just and righteous laws: By the latter, the full influence of that divine precept "to do to others as we would be done unto." It is astonishing to reflect how long the most enlightened part of the world; men, who profess to be governed by the sublime principles of the gospel, remained insensible to this natural and divine obligation; in commencing and continuing, for near a century, a species of commerce repugnant to every benevolent and just sentiment: A traffic in their own species. Among the innumerable advantages derived to the world from the revolution of America, may be reckoned this, that it has roused the benevolent feelings of the inhabitants of the eastern hemisphere, and led them to the most honorable and spirited exertions, to vindicate the rights, and redress the accumulated injuries of the natives of Africa.

GREAT-BRITAIN has frequently taken the lead in the most brilliant enterprises: She now appears with distinguished lustre in offering the cause of injured humanity, by making rapid progress in the great work of emancipating the wretched race of slaves; the hapless victims of avarice. Her PRINCES, her NOBLES, her PATRIOTS, and WISE MEN, unite in the God like undertaking; and there is no doubt that she will crown her character by completing the business in due season.

FRANCE has caught the sacred flame: Her citizens in their late public assemblies, speak the language of reason and righteousness. Her NECKER on this subject is inspired.

SPAIN also has long been in the habit of meliorating the fetters of slavery; and as she emerges daily into the regions of knowledge and refinement, will naturally be led to imitate her neighbours in their enlightened and generous policy.

AMERICA, by the new constitution, has at a limited period, forever shut the door to this commerce. Mean time the States individually, are prohibiting the traffic. The business every day, in all of them, becomes more and more reprobated; and there is the highest reason to suppose, that it will become completely and universally infamous.

From the foregoing we are led to contemplate the improved state of society, and the increase of the best principles among mankind.

May our country progress in its character, for every virtue that dignifies and adorns the species; till the full effect of the American revolution shall be seen, in the complete triumph of reason and benevolence among the great, the happy family of mankind.

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