

interest of the true Federalist to invalidate and blast the federal constitution; so that if those maxims should be denied, an extensive and proper operation, both his reasoning and my conversion, will fall together. It is to be lamented, that this important circumstance has been disregarded by all the states now in the new union, in this unlawful dissolution of the old confederation. The necessary solemnities of its dissolution not being observed, consequently it yet remains in full vigour and force, and the state of North Carolina entitled to all the privileges of that consideration now as much as ever it was. It is absolutely necessary to keep those principles in view, as a direct reference to them will be necessary to obviate a number of objections which may be brought against the substance of my next number; for upon this point hangs the force of the author's reasoning; and consequently the basis of my late conversion will instantly melt away, should the above maxims not prevail.

I am, dear friends,

Your real well-wisher,

ANOTHER TRUE FEDERALIST.

Hillsborough, August 20, 1789.

[Remainder next week.]

Remarks on the amendments to the federal constitution, proposed by the conventions of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, New-York, Virginia, South-Carolina, and North-Carolina, with the minorities of Pennsylvania and Maryland.—By the Rev. Nicholas Colton, D. D. & M. A. P. S. of Philadelphia.

[Continued from our last.]

THE federal power of raising a revenue, is an object of general but various criticism. The minority of Pennsylvania propose, that "no taxes, except imposts, and duties upon goods imported and exported, and postage on letters, shall be levied by the authority of Congress," art. 9. Whether they mean to grant duties on exportation, prohibited in the constitution, is not clear. Whatever may be the extent and merit of this amendment, I shall pass by it as differing from all the rest.

The convention of New-York insists, that "no capitation tax shall ever be laid by the Congress," art. 15. The minority of Maryland means the same, by the word poll tax, art. 9; and that of Pennsylvania tacitly condemns it among so many others. Capitation taxes are not indeed very eligible: when the degrees of opulence among a people are numerous and very unequal, they cannot be proportional and productive, without a troublesome, and in some measure arbitrary, assessment. They may, however, be occasionally used in America, because the great body of the people are in easy circumstances, and few, comparatively, rich or poor; consequently, a general small capitation tax, of a dollar per annum, would not incommode even day labourers, yet amount to a considerable sum. It must also be remarked, that as the people at large have the important right of directly choosing the federal house of representatives, in which all money-bills must originate, it would be ungenerous to complain of a little disproportion in a general personal tax: if a person in that case pays the same as a rich neighbour, he has also an equal vote with him; and this very tax forms a part of that federal revenue, by which not only property but liberty is protected.

The minority of Maryland request, that "all imposts and duties laid by Congress, shall be placed to the credit of the state in which the same may be collected, and shall be deducted out of such state's quota of the common or general expences of government," art. 13. The meaning, though not clearly expressed, is, that all the expences of the federal government should be appropriated among the states according to the census and number of representatives; and that all imposts and duties, by virtue of a general and uniform law of Congress, collected in any state, shall be deducted out of such state's quota.

Virginia and North-Carolina demand, that excises, like direct taxes, may be apportioned among the states, "according to the census, nor collected by Congress in such state as will pay its quota," art. 3.

The amendment of the above minority differs considerably from the two just mentioned; and all three are unsupported by any of the other conventions. I shall therefore leave them without a direct reply, as their impropriety will appear when we come to examine the system of federal revenue, adopted

by the constitution. For the same reason, I hardly take notice of the second amendment, proposed by the convention of New-York, that "Congress do not impose any excise on any article, except ardent spirits, or the growth, production, or manufacture of the United States, or any of them."

The general request of amendments, when cleared of contradictory parts, is, that Congress may not have recourse to direct taxes; but when the other sources of revenue are insufficient; nor then lay and levy such, if the several states will in a reasonable time pay their quotas of the general requisition according to the determined census. Their sense of the matter is thus respectively expressed—that "Congress do not lay direct taxes, but when the monies arising from the impost and excise are insufficient for the public exigencies; nor then, until Congress shall have first made a requisition upon the states, to assess, levy, and pay their respective proportions of such requisition, agreeably to the census fixed in the said constitution, in such manner, as the legislatures of the states shall think best; and in such case, if any state shall neglect or refuse to pay its proportion, pursuant to such requisition, then Congress may assess and levy such state's proportion, together with interest thereon, at the rate of six per cent. per annum, from the time of payment prescribed by such requisition," Massachusetts 4th am. New-York 3d; New-Hampshire 4th, with the variation—impost, excise, and their other resources; South-Carolina 3d, in words nearly the same, with duties, imposts, and excise. "When Congress shall lay direct taxes or excise, they shall immediately inform the executive power of each state of the quota of such state, according to the census therein directed, which is proposed to be thereby raised; and if the legislature of any state shall pass a law, which shall be effectual for raising such quota, at the time required by Congress, the taxes and excises laid by Congress shall not be collected in such state," Virginia and North-Carolina 3d.—"That in every law of Congress imposing direct taxes, the collection thereof shall be suspended for a certain reasonable time, therein limited: and on payment of the sum by any state, by the time appointed, such taxes shall not be collected," minority of Maryland, 3d am.

It is then agreed, that Congress may in some cases levy direct taxes, but not until a state neglects or refuses to pay its quota of the requisition. But why will any state neglect or refuse? Is it because the legislature disapproves of it? or because it cannot make the people comply with it? while the government of a state is popular, its rejecting a federal requisition, or neglecting to collect a tax laid in consequence of it, is a tacit but significant hint to the people not to pay; nay, I may almost say it is an express request, considering how well the opinions of a legislature are generally known by the public prints, and the free mingled conversation of all ranks in a republic. Can we suppose that after this, the assessors and collectors of Congress will dare to show their faces without being supported by a strong military force! If the legislature approves of a requisition from Congress, it cannot well be odious to a majority of the people, considering what harmony of sentiment there must generally be between the represented and the representatives. Therefore a tax necessary and reasonable may certainly be enforced by the authority of the state government; if it is not done, such neglect must proceed from a wish of throwing the odium of the discontented on the Congress. Let every friend to the union reflect, if the events in either case are favourable to federal sentiments!

The non-compliance with requisitions was an essential defect of the old constitution; and to mutilate the new government by them, is certainly very imprudent. They should, therefore, be left to the discretion of the United States in Congress assembled, to be made use of or not, according to times and circumstances. As the stability and ease of government depend much on custom and habit, I think that the people should in all federal concerns be directly governed by federal laws; an unusual, though moderate exercise of legal authority, has often produced civil tumults.

The premises of interest of six per cent. on quotas of requisition not paid, and this from the time of payment prescribed by Congress, held out by the conventions of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, New-York, and South-Carolina, are indeed very generous; but I sincerely wish that the defence of the union may never depend on them; generally a bad debtor pays neither an accumulated interest nor the principal.

[To be continued.]

AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE.

CHARLESTON, AUGUST 10.

Late accounts from Cuba inform, that the port of Havana is open for the importation of slaves in the vessels of all nations, and that the ports of Principe and St. Jago were also to be open for the same purpose in a few days, under certain restrictions, the purport of which were daily expected to be announced by a proclamation at the Havana. This step is taken to encourage two merchants of Liverpool, who have promised to give Spain a monopoly of the slave trade, if Great-Britain throws it up.

To our knowledge of America, a large and valuable addition may soon be expected, for several of the inhabitants of Canada had the spirit, about two years since, to send, at their own expence, different persons to traverse that vast continent, from the westward to the opposite shore.

FAYETTEVILLE.

Progress of arts and manufactures.

At Albany they have established a glass manufactory, and at Bolton is established another. The Albany glass is as cheap as that from Europe. In New-York, the castor nut or *Palma* grows well—and one or more mills are established for making of castor-oil.

The cotton manufactory is established at Philadelphia and Beverly, and will be at Lancaster or York, in Pennsylvania. The assembly of Massachusetts have granted 500l. to the one at Beverly, as a gratuity for the advancement it has made. It is carried on with Arkwright's machines.

Carding machines are made as cheap and as well in Philadelphia, as in Europe.

We are informed, that a meeting was lately held in Philadelphia, of the principal schoolmasters and instructors of youth, to deliberate and fix upon some uniform method of teaching our vernacular languages; a sub-committee was appointed to determine upon some grammar extant, or to prepare and report a system for general use: This committee, we are further informed, reported in favour of adopting Mr WEBSTER'S.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The piece of poetry, signed AMERICANUS, can offend no one—its not being altogether an original performance, is not offered as an objection to inserting it; but any particular benefit resulting from it to society, cannot be discovered—utility we ought not to lose sight of.

Two other pieces addressed to the FAYETTEVILLE CITIZEN were received too late for this week's publication. They are under consideration.

At a meeting of the Subscribers of the Fayetteville Races, at the Cool Spring Tavern, on Thursday the 1st inst. pursuant to public notice, they came to the following resolutions, to wit:

THAT the races to be run this fall, shall commence on the SECOND WEDNESDAY in NOVEMBER next; and that the managers are hereby requested to advertise the same, and to notify to the public, that the late advertisement which appeared in the Fayetteville Gazette of the 7th inst. respecting said races, was inserted by mistake.

The subscribers are requested to pay their respective subscriptions into the hands of WILLIAM B. GROVE, Esq. on or before the first day of November next.

FAYETTEVILLE RACES

WILL commence on the Second Wednesday of November next.—The advertisement in No. 3 of this Gazette, was inserted by a subscriber unknown to the managers.

ROBERT ROWAN, } Managers.
GUILFORD DUDLEY, }
Fayetteville, Sept. 17, 1789.

THE subscriber wants to hire TWO JOURNEYMEN BLACKSMITHS, that are capable of doing common country work, and that can be recommended as sober, industrious men, to whom generous wages will be given.

JOHN LOWREY.
Fayetteville, Sept. 20, 1789.