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AND

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(BY AUTHORITY.)

Scheme of a Lottery.

To build an Academy in the city of Richmond.

				Dollars.
1 Prize—last drawn ticket, having a blank to its number,				20,000
1 do.				10,000
1 do.				5,000
5 do.	of	1,000	make	5,000
6 do.	—	500	—	3,000
10 do.	—	200	—	2,000
20 do.	—	100	—	2,000
100 do.	—	50	—	5,000
250 do.	—	30	—	7,500
420 do.	—	25	—	10,500
1,500 do.	—	20	—	30,000
3,000 do.	—	15	—	45,000
1 first drawn ticket after 1,000 having a blank to its number,				250
1 do	after	2,000	do.	250
1 do.	do.	3,000	do.	250
1 do.	do.	4,000	do.	250
1 do.	do.	5,000	do.	500
1 do.	do.	6,000	do.	500
1 do.	do.	8,000	do.	500
1 do.	do.	10,000	do.	500
1 do.	do.	12,000	do.	500
1 do.	do.	13,000	do.	500
1 do.	do.	14,000	do.	1,000
5,325 prizes,				150,000
9,675 blanks, not two to a prize.				
15,000 tickets at 10 dollars each,				150,000

N. B. Prizes subject to a deduction of 15 per cent.

This lottery has been authorised by the legislature of Virginia, for the laudable purposes of erecting a seminary of learning in or near the metropolis of this state. With this view, it is contemplated to raise 20,000 dolls. and 2,500 dolls. in addition, for defraying the expences attendant on drawing the lottery. Citizens of the first respectability have been selected as trustees, and they have pledged themselves to use their utmost exertions to carry it into effect. The scheme has the advantage of giving to each adventurer, a chance for some very large prizes, whilst the proportion of prizes to blanks, is so great as to invite the friends of the intended institution to partake in the lottery, with very little risque of their becoming losers. The treasurer of the state is to be appointed to receive the money for the tickets as they are sold, and to pay the amount of the prizes to the fortunate adventurers. It is believed that the above considerations will induce a rapid sale of tickets, and the drawing will commence as soon as a sufficient number shall be sold to authorise it——which it is believed will be on the second Monday in December next.

Richmond, March 2—tf

☞ Tickets to be had of Robert Pollard Doct. John Brockenbrough, jun. Wm. Price (Reg.) Samuel Pleasants, jun. and William Prichard.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Subscriber has for sale a likely well grown healthy strong NEGRO lad about sixteen years of age; although his conduct has been such as obliges me to part with him. I believe he will make a valuable slave to any man who lives in the country and who will keep him closely, and constantly at work. Apply at the house of the subscriber in George Town where in his absence his brother will treat for him.

JOHN T. MASON.

April 30—tf

—NOTICE—

BY virtue of a decree of the circuit court of the district of Columbia in the suit of Valentine Peyton, against Mary Cooke & Alexander Stedman and Julia his wife, Joseph Wilson and Robert Brown defendants, in chancery, will be sold at the premises to the highest bidder at public sale on the 14th day of June next, all that piece or parcel of Land known and distinguished by lot, No. 5. in square No. 253 in the city of Washington, together with the houses and appurtenances according to the terms of the said decree, which are as follows, to wit: one third of the purchase money within six months from the time of the sale with interest thereon until the same shall be paid, one other third in twelve months from the time of the said sale with interest thereon as aforesaid and the residue in eighteen months from the time of the said sale with interest thereon as aforesaid; and if the purchaser or purchasers of the said premises should fail to make his payments or either of them at the periods before mentioned it shall and may be lawful for the said marshal, and he is hereby ordered upon giving ten days notice of the time and place of the said sale to sell again the said premises upon the following terms of payment, that is to say, for as much cash as may be necessary to discharge the sum which may be due at the time of such sale, and the residue at such time or times as were upon the first sale appointed for the payment thereof. And if the said premises upon the said second sale, should not sell for as much as upon the first, the purchaser or purchasers, at the said first sale shall be accountable and liable for the deficiency. It is further decreed and ordered that the marshal do bring into court the money arising from the sale of the said premises from time to time as the same shall be received, to be subject to such distribution as the court shall from time to time direct and appoint; & the said marshal is further decreed and ordered to report to this court his proceedings herein, in order that a final decree be made and the title of the purchaser be confirmed, until which said final decree the said premises shall remain bound to the payment of the purchase money. The improvements are a small framed Dwelling House with a shed and a small stable, the sale will commence precisely at 12 o'clock.

DANl. C. BRENT, Marshal.

May 14——t14Jun.

National Intelligencer.

THOUGHTS on the LIMITS to which the RIGHT of SUFFRAGE ought to be extended.

(Concluded.)

If the right of suffrage be limited to those who possess a fixed quantum of property,

1. The lives and liberties of those who are unrepresented will be placed at the mercy of men of property. In this case the poor are a perfect nullity in the government; they are not so, however, in whatever conduces to the general welfare of the community, and the individual benefit of the rich. If taxes are to be laid, the poor are not spared; nay, according to the prevailing system of taxation they pay a larger quota than those who are affluent; and if measures of defence become necessary, the poor are not exempt from personal duty. There might be some semblance of justice (tho' it would be in reality hollow) if they who were excluded from political rights were also exempted from political duties. But this neither is, or can be, the case in any government, without its soon mouldering to decay. It is essential to its duration to command the whole fiscal and physical resources of the nation. If then there is an indispensible necessity, that all should pay taxes and bear arms, and that all should be alike subject to the same common laws, can those citizens be considered as free who have no share in making the laws by which they are bound? It is most evident they cannot. It is most evident that be they called by whatever name they may, they are politically slaves.

But we are told, that tho' this is true in the abstract, they are nevertheless free, inasmuch as they enjoy common rights, and are subject to common laws, and as these privileges are guaranteed by the constitution. To this it may be replied that these privileges are held, according to this argument, by favour and not by right; and that the same power that deprived men of an equal participation of political rights may, without any greater violation of principle, deprive them likewise of those privileges they now enjoy; for instance, of the trial by jury, of an equal imposition of taxes, and of an equal contribution of personal service in the militia. This is what *may be*. If a higher authority for these remarks is required it will be found in *what has been*. If we examine the state of the several nations of Europe, we shall perceive that there is not one of them in which a departure from the principle of universal suffrage has not deprived a large portion of the people of these very privileges. They were once comparatively free, while in the enjoyment of the right of self-government; but as this right was taken from them, their liberties faded away, and they sunk to a state of vassalage. If then the experience of others can be relied on, it is most certain that a monopoly of power will invariably produce oppression; and that, consequently, when the rich possess this monopoly, they will oppress the poor. Let no enthusiast imagine that we shall be exempt from the common lot of other nations if we pursue their policy. The same causes must produce the same effects. Those who have no power, even in this region, will be oppressed by those who have all power.

From these considerations it follows, that though a limitation of the right of suffrage should be necessary for the protection of property, which, on the contrary, has been shewn not to be the case, yet if such protection required that which necessarily involved a sacrifice of the great and unalienable rights to liberty and life, it would be impolitic and unjust; inasmuch as life and liberty are of infinitely more value than property, and as they appertain to all men and are the gifts of God, while property is confined to a few, and is the acquisition of society. If there be an incompatibility between the secure enjoyment of life and liberty, and of property, there is no rational and just understanding that will not allow that the former should be respected to the neglect of the latter. Fortunately, however, no such incompatibility exists.

2. The immediate effect of the oppression of the poor by the rich is a sentiment of dissatisfaction entertained by the former, and its ultimate effect their slavery or rebellion. Whatever may have heretofore been in other countries the tame submission of men to usurped power, there can be no doubt in the mind of any man who knows Americans, that they cherish too lofty a conviction of their own rights, and estimate too highly the benefits of political power, not to feel indignant at its deprivation, and resolute to attain it whenever they shall possess the means. These proud feelings, which oppression can only electrify into life, will operate with constant activity among a people where public opinion is made the criterion of the propriety of every public measure. Contemplating the habitual enjoyment of political rights by those that surround them, they will constantly feel the humiliation of their lot. This will excite a spirit of jealousy, hostility and resentment. From a deep and settled conviction of ill-treatment, they will be discontented and restless, and ready to unite in any opposition that may be raised to the measures of the government. Not united to the community by the indissoluble ties of a common interest, they will readily rush into any rash steps that ambition or resentment may recommend. This hostility will naturally produce a like sentiment in those who govern. The measure of oppression will be swelled to depress them still lower; and the unavoidable effect be either submission or insurrection.—The one will end in slavery; the other may terminate in an overthrow of the government.

Men, who are unacquainted with past events, and are unaccustomed to trouble themselves with the future, may think this an exaggerated picture; but those whose minds are enlightened by experience and reflection will acknowledge its fidelity.

3. If the right of suffrage be at all limited, there is no security against its entire subversion. The strongest security against this universal lot of other nations is certainly to be found among a people every one of whom participates in the political sovereignty. For it has been wisely said that the great body of the people are incorruptible. This arises from their honesty, and from there being no one rich enough to purchase them. Once, however, depart from the principle of universal suffrage, and the sanctity of the right is gone; a precedent is established for abridging it still further; and the insatiable thirst which all men have for power will develope itself in its further sacrifice. The truth of this reasoning admits of mathematical demonstration. Suppose the right of suffrage enjoyed only by those possessed of landed property of the value of one hundred pounds and upwards. Men of large fortunes, being as desirous of ruling those of small, as the latter of ruling those possessed of none, the same disposition will exist among men of large fortunes to deprive those who possess small ones of political rights, as exists among the latter to deprive of those rights those who possess no property.—A majority of those worth one hundred pounds possess the whole political power. This majority will be found to be composed of men, not worth precisely one hundred pounds, but of those who possess something above it, say one hundred and ten pounds. Now these last, by uniting together, may with the same justice deprive those worth one hundred pounds only of all political power, as the latter, in union with them, deprived those worth less of similar power; and with much more facility—for the class, previously deprived of power, operated upon by the principle of resentment, and the desire of reducing their oppressors to a level with themselves, will cooperate to carry the measure into effect. And thus will a system, in its termination, totally subversive of a representative government, be commenced; a system which will lead to nothing short of monarchy.

But it is high time to draw this discussion towards a conclusion. This can only be done by a rapid notice of points whose importance merits a full investigation. Giving at present, therefore, little more than the text, we shall hereafter, as time allows or necessity exacts, go into a more diffuse exposition of them.

1. It may be assumed that all the male inhabitants of these states of legal age are qualified to make a judicious choice of rulers.

2. That if some small inconvenience should occasionally arise from an injudicious choice, it will fall infinitely short of the mortal injuries inflicted upon human rights and upon the true principles of republican governments by the adoption of a contrary principle.

3. That a government promises the greatest duration, under which all men are happy and contented, because all men participate in its administration.

4. That the wider the field, from which the choice of rulers is made, the greater will be their talents.

5. That the more extensive the right of suffrage, the less the chance will be of corruption or sinister motive.

6. That where the people themselves lay taxes and enact laws which will operate equally upon themselves there will be no oppression; the very essence of oppression being the unequal operation of power.

7. That that nation will be most invulnerable from foreign violence or seduction, whose citizens, being equally possessed of the highest political rights, have nothing to gain, and much to lose from a change of their political institutions.

8. That no practical injury, but much practical good, has arisen in these states, from the widest extension of the elective franchise.

9. That a good government, so far from lavishing its favors upon the rich and the powerful ought rather to confine them to the poor and to the weak; inasmuch as the former can protect themselves while the latter cannot; and inasmuch as it is the interest of every community to diminish the lower class of men as much as possible.

10. That, however, the great principle and duty of a good government is not to favor one class of men at the expence of another; but to leave all on equal ground to pursue their own interests.

11. That so far, therefore, from holding out inducements to the acquisition of property, by attaching to it the enjoyments of special rights, government should be confined entirely to its protection.

12. That, in truth, the love of wealth is a passion that so far from requiring stimulus stands in need of repression, which however should seldom, if ever, flow from government.

13. That to attach political rights to the possession of a particular species of property, generally landed property, is deeply injurious to the interests of society, as it often tempts men to shut up their wealth in unproductive land instead of embarking it in active business.

14. That the principle of limited suffrage, confined to men of property, sanctions, so far as it goes, hereditary power, property being generally hereditary, in direct violation of the true spirit of a republican government.

There is one objection, already generally noticed, that merits a more detailed consideration. It is affirmed by the advocates of a limited right of suffrage that men not possessed of property are, for the most part, ignorant and worthless, and hold either no independent opinions, or such as are corrupt; and that, therefore, they ought to be shut out from a participation of political rights.

To this it may be replied, that the fact stated is not true; and if true the inference is unfound. It is so far from being true that men of no property are in general ignorant or worthless, and hold either no independent opinions, or such as are corrupt, that their want of property ordinarily protects them from many of the most atrocious vices that disturb the peace of society, and is often the effect of their setting a higher value upon knowledge than money. To the learned class of mankind in all ages and countries, this remark is peculiarly applicable. Ought they to be denied the enjoyment of political rights on account of their poverty? Such doctrines were unknown to the most distinguished nations of antiquity. Among them the spirit of avarice had not extirpated the natural respect cherished by every unperverted mind for great talents and virtues.

But the fact assumed is not alone unjust in its application to this description of citizens. It is also untrue in its application to a class much more extensive, and whose relative numbers are destined in this country to a progressive and rapid augmentation; to that class which is composed of journeymen mechanics, and of agricultural day labourers. Will it be said that these citizens are either in general ignorant or worthless? or that they hold no independent opinions, or such as are corrupt? Whatever may be said of field laborers, it is a fact that journeymen mechanics in this country, where the labor imposed is not excessive, and where time is of course allowed for reflection and reading, are for the most part, as well informed as the land holders.

It is evident, therefore, that the fact assumed is untrue, in its application to any description of citizens in this country, however applicable it may be to the lower orders of people in European nations.

But if it were true, the inference, that men of no property should be excluded from all political rights is unfound. It is never wise when we wish to avoid one evil to rush into a greater. Thus in this case, though the possession of political rights may be an evil, yet the entire denial of them may be a still greater to society. If men of no property be ignorant, vicious, and dependent, they will inevitably disturb the peace of society, dispose of them as you may. They will, however, less disturb it when they are mixed with those who are well informed, virtuous and independent, than when marshalled in a separate body under leaders as vicious, if not so ignorant, as themselves. In vain will the political institutions of this country annihilate their influence or power. A wise legislator, aware of this, will suffer them to remain detached, and encourage their mixing with more intelligent and virtuous citizens, rather than drive them into a common conspiracy against the other parts of the community. Is it not obvious that, if the good and enlightened citizens form a majority of the society, they will much more influence and controul the bad and ignorant, than the latter will influence them? And if the enjoyment of political rights be so limited, as to leave a majority unrepresented, is not the government thrown into extreme jeopardy by having the physical force of the nation against it? All these remarks centre in one point. Our governments are founded upon equal rights; they are essential to their existence, and will perish when they are undermined.

Allied with this objection, is that which opposes universal suffrage, so far as it admits aliens to an immediate or early participation of political rights. An answer to most of the reasons on which it is urged has just been given. Aliens, coming to reside among us, are of two descriptions; either men of property or talents; or men of no property, often extremely ignorant, and sometimes very worthless. With regard to the first description, they generally prefer our country to their own from the superiority of its political institutions, from the greater security found for their property, and the wider range for their talents. Would any wise man be for repressing the immigration of such men? Are they not an invaluable acquisition to their adopted country? And ought they not to be taken to our bosom with the warmth of a friend, instead of being repelled with the coldness of an enemy? Receive them with open arms, open to them a field worthy of their talents, and you will expand their hearts with sentiments of gratitude and affection; they will mingle themselves among your native citizens, imbibe their feelings, catch their manners, and soon become amalgamated with the common mass. Treat them on the contrary with inhospitable coldness, with unwarrantable suspicion, deny them the enjoyment of the rights of citizenship, and they will feel disappointed, they will cherish a love of the country they have left, they will decline an habitual association with your citizens, and they will form a separate order of men with feelings and manners distinct from those of the common mass.

With regard to the other class of aliens, composed of men of no property, and of men ignorant and worthless, it is the unfortunate lot of this country to receive into her bosom too many.—There is no doubt that most of the crimes committed are perpetrated by such foreigners. But this lot, however unfortunate, is inseparable from the nature of our government; and inseparable, we may add, from the lot of human nature, which always mixes some alloy with its purest productions. The evil then must be submitted to. But though human wisdom cannot eradicate, she may mitigate it. And how can this be more effectually done than by uniting these men with the native citizens, and making it their interest to be virtuous? In this way you will at least make them, politically considered, harmless; whereas by refusing them a participation in political rights, you impress them with the idea that they are persecuted, and that they have distinct interests. Hence they league together as a band of brothers; cherishing all their prejudices, practising all their vices, and entertaining settled hostility to a government that denies them all political rights.—He, who should wish to arm these men with high and dangerous power, ready to disturb the peace of society and subvert its fairest institutions, could not devise a more effectual plan.

All these views, and many others, that might be taken, prove that the fundamental principle of a republican