West-Chester Farmer: To the Citizens of America, *New York Daily Advertiser*, 8 June 1787

The following item was unusual among the public statements made during the Convention in that it called specifically for the creation of a “consolidated republic” and the reduction of the states to the status of “civil corporations” with the power to make bylaws which would be void if contrary to the laws and ordinances of the “supreme power.” This item was reprinted in the *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 27 June.

*West-Chester, June 3d, 1787.*

It is the undoubted, unalienable and indefeasible right of the majority of the people, in a republican government, to amend, alter, or to annihilate their form of government, as often as the one established should be found to be inadequate to the purposes for which it was intended. It will, I am afraid, be constantly found inconsistent with the views, interests and local peculiarities of thirteen sovereignties, under the direction of a diplomatic Congress, ever to expect they will be sufficiently unanimous, to give such a kind of confederation decision, energy and punctuality; without which, a government will soon be contemptible abroad, and rebellious at home. To give Congress the additional power that has been asked, would (if Blackstone [is] to be credited) be very wrong; he says, that “where-ever the power of making and enforcing laws is in one and the same man, or body of men, there can be no public liberty; but where the legislative and executive authority are in distinct hands, the former will take care not to intrust the latter with so large a power, as may tend to the subversion of its own independence, and therewith of the liberty of the subject.” We shall soon be reduced to the alternative of either making an efficient government for ourselves, or have one made for us. As there is no kind of government at present existing, or that has existed, that would suit our present circumstances, we must content ourselves with a speculative government; and time and experience can only justify the adoption. A monarchical government, under a good king, is generally allowed to be the best; and at present the United States may probably have it in their power to place on the throne as good a king as ever reigned: But as history does not furnish above one good king to half a-dozen bad or indifferent ones, it would be purchasing a good king at too dear a rate. To divide the United States into three or more independent republics, would weaken us too much against foreigners, leave us too small to be respectable, and would expose us to continual quarrels, which could only be decided by the sword as sovereigns do not acknowledge any other arbiter. One consolidated republic of the United States, if formed on the best possible plan, would probably be the most happy government. I will throw out some hints for this purpose, which may be improved on. The supreme power should be divided into two branches, the one legislative, to wit, a parliament consisting of the delegates of the people; the other executive, to wit, the supreme executive council. The house of delegates to consist of one member for every two thousand electors in the United States, to be chosen for two years. The supreme executive council to consist of a president and twenty-six counsellors; the president to be chosen by the governors of the different states, to continue in office five years; the counsellors to be chosen by the legislatures of the different states, each to send two, to continue in office four years, one to be chosen biennially. All acts, provisions or laws shall
Our present yearly expences may be calculated as under—

same, there would be a saving to this state, on this plan, of above 3,000 l. per annum.

Our present yearly expences may be calculated as under—
194 Senators and Assembly-men, at 10s. per diem each, for 90 days, is £.4,230
4 Members of Congress, at 4 dollars each per day, for 300 days, is 1,920

£.6,150

The expence of the new Government would be
28 Members of Parliament, at 16s. per day each, for 60 days, is 1,344
2 Members of the Executive council, at 4 dollars each per diem, for 300 days, is 960
28 Members of the Legislature, at 10s. per day each, for 60 days, is 840

£.3,144.

N.B. I have supposed that the Sessions of Parliament would not be more than 60 days per annum; and that as the Legislature will be divested of so much authority, and the members fewer, their business may be done in 60 days.

Original source: Commentaries on the Constitution, Volume XIII: Commentaries on the Constitution, No. 1