**Brutus No. 1 (Guided Reading)**

***The Anti-Federalist Papers***

**October 18, 1787**

If the constitution, offered to your acceptance, be a wise one, calculated to preserve the invaluable blessings of liberty, to secure the inestimable rights of mankind, and promote human happiness, then, if you accept it, you will lay a lasting foundation of happiness for millions yet unborn; generations to come will rise up and call you blessed. You may rejoice in the prospects of this vast extended continent becoming filled with freemen, who will assert the dignity of human nature. You may solace yourselves with the idea, that society, in this favoured land, will fast advance to the highest point of perfection; the human mind will expand in knowledge and virtue, and the golden age be, in some measure, realised. But if, on the other hand, this form of government contains principles that will lead to the subversion of liberty —***if it tends to establish a despotism, or, what is worse, a tyrannic aristocracy; then, if you adopt it, this only remaining assylum for liberty will be shut up, and posterity will execrate your memory.***

**What is Brutus arguing against? \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_**

Many instances can be produced in which the people voluntarily increased the powers of their rulers; but few, if any, in which rulers willingly abridged their authority.

**Brutus argues here that in human history what often happens to the rights of people?**

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… when the federal government begins to exercise the right of taxation in all its parts, the legislatures of the several states will find it impossible to raise monies to support their governments. Without money they cannot be supported, and they must dwindle away, and, as before observed, their powers absorbed in that of the general government.

**What did Brutus predict would eventually happen to states under national central government?**

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In so extensive a republic, the great officers of government would soon become above the control of the people, and abuse their power to the purpose of aggrandizing themselves, and oppressing them. The trust committed to the executive offices, in a country of the extent of the United-States, must be various and of magnitude…. When these are attended with great honor and emolument, as they always will be in large states, so as greatly to interest men to pursue them, and to be proper objects for ambitious and designing men, such men will be ever restless in their pursuit after them. ***They will use the power, when they have acquired it, to the purposes of gratifying their own interest and ambition,*** and it is scarcely possible, in a very large republic, to call them to account for their misconduct, or to prevent their abuse of power.

**Brutus argues that in a republic, “the manners, sentiments, and interests of the people should be similar….If not, there will be a constant clashing of opinions and the representatives of one part will be constantly striving against the others.” Should a republic be made of only small groups of like-minded people? Or is diversity of opinion beneficial to success of a democratic government?**

**Should the federal legislature be able to repeal state laws in order to impose federal laws for the purpose of promoting the “general welfare” or “common defense” of the nation? If so why? If not, why not?**

**Which form of government (a large national republic or a confederation of small republics) is more likely to preserve and protect personal liberties and why?**

**Can a larger republic, based on the principle of consent of the governed, sufficiently protect the rights and liberties of the individual states and people, or is a confederation the only method of securing such liberty?**