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WORCESTER MAGAZINE.

For the Second Week in November, 1787.

HISTORY of the late WAR in AMERICA.

From the BRITISH ANNUAL REGISTER, for 1780.

DON Bernardo de Galvez, the Spanish Governor of Louisiana, having collected the whole force of his Province at New Orleans, first publicly declared the independency of America by beat of drum, and then set out on this expedition. He had previously concerted his measures so well in securing the communications, that Major General Campbell, who commanded at Pensacola, did not receive the smallest information of the danger of the western part of the province, or even that hostility was intended, until the design was nearly effected. With similar address, and profiting of the security which prevailed on our side, he had, by surprize and stratagem, taken a royal sloop of war, which was stationed on Lake Pontchartrain, and was equally successful in seizing several vessels on the lakes and rivers, laden with provisions and necessaries for the British detachment, and one, containing some troops of the regiment of Waldeck.

Such lucky circumstance were not necessary to insure success to his enterprize. The whole military force, British and German, stationed for the protection of the country, did not amount to five hundred men; and these had no other cover against a superiour enemy, but a newly constructed fort, or more properly Field Redoubt, which they had hastily thrown up, at a place called Baton Rouge. In this place, however, Lieutenant Colonel Dickson, of the 16th regiment, stood a

siege of nine days; and when the opening of a battery of heavy artillery had rendered all farther defence impracticable, he obtained conditions very honourable to the garrison, and highly favourable to the inhabitants. The troops, from the nature of their situation, were necessarily obliged to surrender prisoners of war; and it is to be remembered, highly to the honour of the Spanish governour and commander, Don Bernardo de Galvez, that upon this, as well as upon a later occasion of the same unfortunate nature, nothing could exceed the good faith with which he observed the prescribed conditions, nor the humanity, and kindness, with which he treated his prisoners.

The languid nature of the campaign on the side of New York, enabled the Americans, in the beginning and progress of the autumn, to take a heavy vengeance on the Indians, for the cruelties and enormities which they had so long practised on the frontiers. So formidable was this enemy now grown, through the accession of strength and discipline which it derived from the refugees and white adventurers, that a small anny, with a train of artillery, under the conduct of General Sullivan, assisted by some other officers of name, were destined to this service. The fancus confederacy of the five or of the six nations, as it has been differently called; that confederacy which exhibited the rude outlines of a republic, in the most hidden desarts of



America, was the object of the present expedition. These nations lying at the bases of the northern and middle colonies, amidst the great lakes, rivers, and impenetrable forests, which separate them from Canada, had long been renowned for the courage, fidelity, and constancy, with which they had adhered to the English in their wars with the French; and had even assisted them frequently against different nations of their own countrymen. In the beginning of the present contest, they had concluded a treaty with the Americans, by which they bound themselves to observe a strict neutrality during the progress of the struggle. The Americans said, that they offered at that time to take up the hatchet against the English, but that they had rejected the offer upon principle; only requiring of them to adhere strictly to the neutrality.

The power of presents, with the influence of Sir William Johnson, and some others who had interest among them, operating upon their own natural propensities, soon led them to depart from this pacific line of conduct, and they took a distinguished part in that cruel and destructive war, which, we have more than once seen, was carried on against the back settlement. The Oneida Indians, were the only nation of the confederacy, who had adhered to the neutrality; or at least, who were not known to have taken any direct part against the Americans. They were accordingly destined to escape the intended general destruction. For the principle of this war was extermination; so far as that can be carried into execution against an enemy, who seldom can be caught or found, except when, from motives of advantage, he chooses to stay, or to reveal himself. They were of opinion that nothing less, than driving them totally and far from their present possessions, could ever afford any permanent prospect of security and quiet, to their numerous infant settlements; which they knew, under these circumstances,

would soon become the great sources of wealth and strength to their respective states.

The Indians marched boldly towards the frontiers of their country to meet the invaders. They were headed by Butler, Brandt, Guy Johnson, and Macdonald; and besides assembling all their own tribes and allies, were joined by some hundreds of refugees, or, as the Americans call them, Tories. They possessed themselves of a difficult pass in the woods, between Chemung and Newtown, in the vicinity of the Teagoa River; where they constructed a strong breast-work, made of large logs, of above half a mile in extent; from whence other works of less strength, reached a mile and a half, to the top of a mountain in their rear, where a second breast-work was formed.

A warm attack and defence took place, and was continued for two hours; Aug. 29th, 1779. in which Sullivan found that he had full occasion for his artillery to make any effectual impression on the breast-work. The rout of the confederates was accelerated and completed, through the movements that were made by the generals Poor and Clinton, for turning their flanks and thereby cutting off their retreat. The victory was so complete that they never attempted to make another stand during the subsequent desolation of their country.

This action only opened the way to the commencement of Sullivan's expedition; and there was a difficulty still remained, which was capable of rendering it in a great measure ineffective. To render the service in any considerable degree effectual, it was necessary that the army should be out a month, at least, in a country totally unknown, and where no supplies of any sort could be hoped for; but with all Sullivan's industry, and the aids of his employers, the distance, roads, and other circumstances, rendered it impracticable to provide provision for more than half the time; nor, if there had

been more, were packhorses to be found for its conveyance; although to lighten the carriage, the cattle which they were to live upon were driven along with the army. The spirit of the soldiers, the hearty zeal of the officers, with an animating speech from their general, removed all impediment to the design: The proposal of short allowance was received with the loudest shouts of approbation; and the ration for 24 hours was fixed, with universal consent, at half a pound of flour, and as much fresh beef; the reduction going even to the salt.

This expedition was worthy of note, as it discovered a greater degree of policy, and rather an higher state of improvement, among those Indian

nations, than had been expected, even by those who had lived near, and almost in the midst of them. Sullivan discovered, to his surprize, that no guides could be procured who knew any thing at all of the country; and that the only means he had of finding his way to the Indian towns, were those which betray a wild beast in his den, the track of the inhabitant; which was a much more difficult clue in the former case than the latter, as the last of an Indian file always smooths and covers over with leaves, the tracks made by his fellows and himself; so that it requires much experience, as well as patience and industry, to be able to develop and trace them.

[To be continued.]

The following is the Letter from the Hon. E. BRIDGE GERRY, Esq; one of the Delegates from this Commonwealth to the late Federal Convention, containing his Objections to signing the National Constitution.

New York, October 18th, 1787.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE the honour to inclose, pursuant to my commission, the constitution proposed by the Federal Convention.

To this system I gave my dissent, and shall submit my objections to the honourable Legislature.

It was painful for me, on a subject of such national importance, to differ from the respectable members who signed the constitution: But conceiving as I did, that the liberties of America were not secured by the system, it was my duty to oppose it.

My principal objections to the plan, are, that there is no adequate provision for a representation of the people—that they have no security for the right of election—that some of the powers of the Legislature are ambiguous, and others indefinite and dangerous—that the Executive is blended with and will have an undue influence over the Legislature—that the judicial department will be oppressive—that treaties of the highest importance may be formed by the President with the advice of

two thirds of a quorum of the Senate—and that the system is without the security of a bill of rights. These are objections which are not local, but apply equally to all the States.

As the Convention was called for “the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several Legislatures such alterations and provisions as shall render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government; and the preservation of the union,” I did not conceive that these powers extended to the formation of the plan proposed, but the Convention being of a different opinion, I acquiesced in it, being fully convinced that to preserve the union, an efficient government was indispensably necessary; and that it would be difficult to make proper amendments to the articles of Confederation.

The Constitution proposed has few federal features, but is rather a system of national government: Nevertheless, in many respects I think it has great merit, and

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by proper amendments may be adapted to the "exigencies of government, and preservation of liberty."

The question on this plan involves others of the highest importance—1st. Whether there shall be a dissolution of the federal government? 2dly. Whether the several State Governments shall be so altered, as to effect to be dissolved? And 3dly. Whether in lieu of the federal and State Governments the national Constitution now proposed shall be substituted without amendment? Never perhaps were a people called on to decide a question of greater magnitude—Should the citizens of America adopt the plan as it now stands, their liberties may be lost: Or should they reject it altogether, Anarchy may ensue. It is evident therefore, that they should not be precipitate in their decisions; that the subject should be well understood lest they should refuse to support the government, after having hastily accepted it.

If those who are in favour of the Constitution, as well as those who are against it, should preserve moderation, their discussions may afford much information, and finally direct to an happy issue.

It may be urged by some that an implicit confidence should be placed in the Convention: But, however respectable the members may be who signed the Constitution, it must be admitted, that a free people are the proper guardians of their rights and liberties—that the greatest men may

The following are the outlines of a long and eloquent SPEECH, upon the principles of the Federal Constitution, by Mr. WILSON, one of the Members from Pennsylvania to the late National Convention. Delivered at the State House in Philadelphia, to a numerous Assembly, met for the purpose of electing Representatives to the General Assembly.

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Citizens,

HAVING received the honour of an appointment to represent you in the late Convention, it is perhaps my duty to comply with the request of many gentlemen, whose characters and judgments I

and that their errors are sometimes, of the greatest magnitude.

Others may suppose, that the Constitution may be safely adopted, because therein provision is made to amend it: But cannot this object be better attained before a ratification, than after it? And should a free people adopt a form of Government, under conviction that it wants amendment?

And some may conceive, that if the plan is not accepted by the people, they will not unite in another: But surely whilst they have the power to amend, they are not under the necessity of rejecting it.

I have been detained here longer than I expected, but shall leave this place in a day or two for Massachusetts, and on my arrival shall submit the reasons (if required by the Legislature) on which my objections are grounded.

I shall only add, that as the welfare of the union requires a better Constitution than the Confederation, I shall think it my duty as a citizen of Massachusetts, to support that which shall be finally adopted, sincerely hoping it will secure the liberty and happiness of America.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, with the highest respect for the honourable Legislature and yourselves, your most obedient, and very humble servant,
E. GERRY.

The Hon. Samuel Adams, Esq;

President of the Senate; and

The Hon. James Warren, Esq;

Speaker of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts.

sincerely respect, and who have urged, that this would be a proper occasion to lay before you any information which will serve to explain, and elucidate the principles and arrangements of the constitution; that

has been submitted to the consideration of the United States. I confess that I am unprepared for so extensive and so important a disquisition; but the insidious attempts which are clandestinely and industriously made to pervert and destroy the new plan, induce me the more readily to engage in its defence; and the impressions of four months constant attention to the subject, have not been so easily effaced as to leave me without an answer to the objections which have been raised.

It will be proper, however, before I enter into the refutation of the charges that are alleged, to mark the leading discrimination between the State constitutions, and the constitution of the United States. When the people established the powers of legislation under their separate governments, they invested their representatives with every right and authority which they did not in explicit terms reserve; and therefore upon every question, respecting the jurisdiction of the House of Assembly, if the frame of government is silent, the jurisdiction is efficient and complete. But in delegating federal powers, another criterion was necessarily introduced, and the congressional authority is to be collected, not from tacit implication, but from the positive grant expressed in the instrument of union. Hence it is evident, that in the former case, every thing which is not reserved is given; but in the latter, the reverse of the proposition prevails, and every thing which is not given is reserved. This distinction being recognized, will furnish an answer to those who think the omission of a bill of rights, a defect in the proposed constitution: For it would have been superfluous and absurd to have stipulated with a federal body of our own creation, that we should enjoy those privileges, of which we are not divested, either by the intention or the act, that has brought that body into existence. For instance, the liberty of the press,

which has been a copious source of declamation and opposition, what control can proceed from the federal government to shackle or destroy that sacred palladium of national freedom? If, indeed, a power similar to that which has been granted for the regulation of commerce, had been granted to regulate literary publications, it would have been as necessary to stipulate that the liberty of the press should be preserved inviolate, as that the impost should be general in its operation. With respect likewise to the particular district of ten miles, which is to be made the seat of federal government, it will undoubtedly be proper to observe this salutary precaution, as there the legislative power will be exclusively lodged in the President, Senate, and House of Representatives, of the United States. But this could not be an object with the Convention, for it must naturally depend upon a future compact, to which the citizens immediately interested will and ought to be parties; and there is no reason to suppose, that so popular a privilege will in that case be neglected. In truth, then, the proposed system possesses no influence whatever upon the press, and it would have been merely nugatory to have introduced a formal declaration upon the subject—nay, that very declaration might have been construed to imply that some degree of power was given, since we undertook to define its extent.

Another objection that has been fabricated against the new constitution, is expressed in this dilingenuous form—"the trial by jury is abolished, in civil cases." I must be excused, my fellow citizens, if, upon this point, I take advantage of my professional experience to detect the futility of the assertion. Let it be remembered, then, that the business of the Federal Convention was not local, but general: not limited to the views and establishments of a single State, but coextensive with the continent, and comprehending

the views and establishments of Thirteen Independent Sovereignities. When, therefore, this subject was in discussion, we were involved in difficulties which pressed on all sides, and no precedent could be discovered to direct our course. The cases open to a trial by jury differed in the different States, it was therefore impracticable on that ground to have made a general rule. The want of uniformity would have rendered any reference to the practice of the States idle and useless; and it could not, with any propriety, be said, that "the trial by jury shall be as heretofore," since there has never existed any federal system of jurisprudence to which the declaration could relate. Besides, it is not, in all cases, that the trial by jury is adopted in civil questions; for causes depending in Courts of Admiralty, such as relate to maritime captures, and such as are agitated in Courts of Equity, do not require the intervention of that tribunal. How then was the line of discrimination to be drawn! The Convention found the task too difficult for them, and they left the business as it stands, in the fullest confidence that no danger could possibly ensue, since the proceedings of the Supreme Court are to be regulated by the Congress, which is a faithful representation of the people; and the oppression of government is effectually barred, by declaring, that in all criminal cases the trial by jury shall be preserved.

This constitution, it has been further urged, is of a pernicious tendency, because it tolerates a standing army in the time of peace.—This has always been a topic of popular declamation; and yet I do not know a nation in the world, which has not found it necessary and useful to maintain the appearance of strength in a season of the most profound tranquillity. Nor is it a novelty with us: for under the present articles of confederation, Congress certainly possesses this reprobated

power, and the exercise of that power is proved at this moment by her cantonments along the banks of the Ohio. But what would be our national situation were it otherwise? Every principle of policy must be subverted, and the government must declare war, before they are prepared to carry it on. Whatever may be the provocation, however important the object in view, and however necessary dispatch and secrecy may be, still the declaration must precede the preparation, and the enemy will be informed of your intention, not only before you are equipped for an attack; but even before you are fortified for a defence. The consequence is too obvious to require any further delineation, and no man, who regards the dignity and safety of his country, can deny the necessity of a military force, under the controul and with the restrictions which the new constitution provides.

Perhaps there never was a charge made with less reason than that which predists the institution of a baneful aristocracy in the Federal Senate. This body branches into two characters, the one legislative, and the other executive. In its legislative character it can effect no purpose, without the cooperation of the House of Representatives; and in its executive character, it can accomplish no object, without the concurrence of the President. Thus fettered, I do not know any act which the Senate can of itself perform, and such dependence necessarily precludes every idea of influence and superiority. But I will confess, that, in the organization of this body, a compromise between contending interests is discernable; and when we reflect how various are the laws, commerce, habits, population and extent, of the confederated States, this evidence of mutual concession and accommodation ought rather to command a generous applause, than to excite jealousy and reproach. For my part, my admira-

tion can only be equalled by my astonishment, in beholding so perfect a system, formed from such heterogeneous materials.

The next accusation I shall consider, is that which represents the Federal Constitution as not only calculated, but designedly framed, to reduce the State governments to mere corporations, and eventually to annihilate them. Those who have employed the term corporation, upon this occasion, are not perhaps aware of its extent. In common parlance, indeed, it is generally applied to petty associations, for the ease and convenience of a few individuals; but, in its enlarged sense, it will comprehend the government of Pennsylvania, the existing union of the States, and even this projected system is nothing more than a formal act of incorporation. But upon what pretence can it be alleged, that it was designed to annihilate the State governments? For I will undertake to prove, that upon their existence depends the existence of the federal plan. For this purpose, permit me to call your attention to the manner in which the President, Senate, and House of Representatives, are proposed to be appointed. The President is to be chosen by electors, nominated in such manner as the Legislature of each State may direct; so that, if there is no Legislature, there can be no electors, and consequently the office of President cannot be supplied. The Senate is to be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature; and therefore, if there is no Legislature, there can be no Senate. The House of Representatives is to be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature—unless, therefore, there is a State Legislature, that qualification cannot be ascertained, and the po-

pular branch of the Federal Constitution must likewise be extinct. From this view, then, it is evidently absurd to suppose, that the annihilation of the separate governments will result from their union; or, that having that intention, the authors of the new system would have bound their connexion with such indissoluble ties. Let me here advert to an arrangement highly advantageous, for you will perceive, without prejudice to the powers of the Legislature in the election of Senators, the people at large will acquire an additional privilege in returning members to the House of Representatives—whereas, by the present confederation, it is the Legislature alone that appoints the Delegates to Congress.

The power of direct taxation has likewise been treated as an improper delegation to the federal government; but when we consider it as the duty of that body to provide for the national safety, to support the dignity of the Union, and to discharge the debts contracted upon the collective faith of the States for their common benefit, it must be acknowledged, that those upon whom such important obligations are imposed, ought in justice and in policy to possess every means requisite for a faithful performance of their trust. But why should we be alarmed with visionary evils? I will venture to predict, that the great revenue of the United States must and always will be raised by impost; for, being at once less obnoxious, and more productive, the interest of the government will be best promoted by the accommodation of the people. Still, however, the objects of direct taxation should be within reach, in all cases of emergency; and there is no more reason to apprehend oppression in the mode of collecting a revenue from this resource, than in the form of an impost, which by universal assent, is left to the authority of the federal government. In either case, the force of civil in-

situations will be adequate to the purpose; and the dread of military violence, which has been assiduously disseminated, must eventually prove the more effusion of a wild imagination, or a factious spirit. But the salutary consequences that must flow from thus enabling the government to perceive and support the credit of the Union, will afford another answer to the objections upon this ground. The State of Pennsylvania particularly, which has encumbered itself with the assumption of a great proportion of the publick debt, will derive considerable relief and advantage; for, as it was the imbecility of the present Confederation which gave rise to the funding law, that law must naturally expire, when a competent and energetic federal system shall be substituted—the State will then be discharged from an extraordinary burthen, and the national creditor will find it to be his interest to return to his original security.

After all, my fellow citizens, it is neither extraordinary or unexpected, that the constitution offered to your consideration, should meet with opposition. It is the nature of man to pursue his own interest, in preference to the publick good; and I do not mean to make any personal reflection, when I add, that it is the interest of a very numerous, powerful and respectable body to counteract and destroy the excellent work produced by the late Convention. All the offices of government, and all the appointments for the administration of justice and the collection of the publick revenue, which are transferred from the individual to the aggregate sovereignty of the States, will necessarily turn the stream of influence and emolument into a new channel. Every person therefore, who either enjoys, or expects to enjoy, a place of profit under the present establishment, will object to the proposed innovation; not, in truth, because it is injurious to the liberties of his country, but because

it affects his schemes of wealth and consequence. I will confess, indeed, that I am not a blind admirer of this plan of government, and that there are some parts of it, which, if my wish had prevailed, would certainly have been altered. But when I reflect how widely men differ in their opinions, and that every man (and the observation applies likewise to every State) has an equal pretension to assert his own, I am satisfied that any thing nearer to perfection could not have been accomplished. If there are errors, it should be remembered, that the seeds of reformation are sown in the work itself, and the concurrence of two thirds of the Congress may at any time introduce alterations and amendments. Regarding it then, in every point of view, with a candid and disinterested mind, I am bold to assert, that it is the best form of government which has ever been offered to the world.

Mr. Willon's speech was frequently interrupted with loud and unanimous testimonies of approbation, and the applause which was reiterated at the conclusion, evinced the general sense of its excellence, and the conviction which it had impressed upon every mind.

Doct^r Rulh then addressed the meeting in an elegant and pathetic style, describing our present calamitous situation, and enumerating the advantages which would flow from the adoption of the new system of federal government. The advancement of commerce, agriculture, manufactures, arts and sciences, the encouragement of emigration, the abolition of paper money, the annihilation of party, and the prevention of war, were ingeniously considered as the necessary consequences of that event. The Doct^r concluded with an emphatic declaration, that “were this the last moment of his existence, his dying request and injunction to his fellow citizens would be, to accept and support the offered constitution.”

Copy of a Letter from Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth, Esquires, Members of the late National Convention, to his Excellency Governour Huntington, of Connecticut, accompanying a Copy of the Federal Constitution.

New London, 26th Sept. 1787.

“S I R,

WE have the honour to transmit to your Excellency a printed copy of the constitution formed by the Federal Convention, to be laid before the Legislature of the State.

The general principles which governed the Convention in their deliberations on the subject are stated in their letter addressed to Congress.

We think it may be of use to make some further observations on particular parts of the constitution.

The Congress is differently organized, yet the whole number of members, and this State's proportion of suffrage, remain the same as before.

The equal representation of the States in the Senate, and the voice of that branch in the appointment to offices, will secure the rights of the lesser as well as the greater States.

Some additional powers are vested in Congress, which was a principal object that the States had in view in appointing the convention; those powers extend only to matters respecting the common interests of the Union, and are specially defined, so that the particular States retain their *Sovereignty* in all other matters.

The objects for which Congress may apply monies are the same mentioned in the eighth article of the confederation, viz. for the common defence and general welfare, and for payment of the

debts incurred for those purposes. It is probable that the principal branch of revenue will be duties on imports;—what may be necessary to be raised by direct taxation is to be apportioned to the several States, according to the numbers of their inhabitants, and although Congress may raise the money by their own authority if necessary, yet that authority need not be exercised if each State will furnish its quota.

The restraint on the legislatures of the several States respecting emitting bills of credit, making any thing but money a tender in payment of debts, or impairing the obligation of contracts by *ex post facto* laws, was thought necessary as a security to commerce, in which the interest of foreigners as well as the citizens of different States may be affected.

The Convention endeavoured to provide for the energy of government on the one hand, and suitable checks on the other hand, to secure the rights of the particular States, and the liberties and properties of the citizens. We wish it may meet the approbation of the several States, and be a mean of securing their rights and lengthening out their tranquillity. With great respect we are, Sir, your Excellency's obedient humble servants,

ROGER SHERMAN,
OLIVER ELLSWORTH.
His Excellency Gov. Huntington.

For the WORCESTER MAGAZINE.

THE WORCESTER SPECULATOR. No. VII.

ALTHOUGH acting in character as Speculator may lead me to examine any subject in politics or divinity, yet I mean not to engage in controversy with any sect in religion, or any party in government. I would rather calculate all my speculations, as well as order all my actions and discourses, so as to conciliate and unite. Patriotism and benevolence are the principles I avow, and wish to recommend. By these I hope ever to be actuated, and their excellence I would endeavour to display by my writings, conversation and example. As it is not my design to attack or confront any publick writer or speaker, I wish not to expose myself to the attacks

of others. Next to the sword of the duelist, or the dagger of the assassin, I abhor the envenomed pen of ill natured satire and malignant revenge. As I would demean myself a peaceable subject of civil government, and an useful member of society, according to my narrow sphere and capacity, it is my wish, and shall be my endeavour, to encourage others to become the same. In these my speculations I hope the publick will find me at least inoffensive, should they judge that I fail in being instructive or entertaining.

To be consistent with myself in claiming the right of private judgment, and to secure the candid sentiments of others, I

must not disturb them in the exercise of the same right, nor withhold from them my candour and good will. It cannot be expected that minds so differently situated, instructed, and biased, as ours unavoidably are, should think alike in politics or religion. But, though there cannot be union of sentiment, there may and ought to be union of affection. At this point all parties should aim. I hope therefore I shall not incur the censure of any, especially of orthodox divines and sober christians, if in this speculation I take it for granted, that human nature is not wholly depraved; and that my fellow citizens, in a particular manner, are conscious of superior dignity in the construction and furniture of their minds, and the disposition of their hearts: That they feel and cherish the operations of worthy and virtuous principles, and are capable of being fired with a noble emulation in discarding every thing that is base, and encouraging every thing that is excellent—in refining and exalting our common nature to the highest pitch, and in diffusing virtue and happiness to the greatest extent. Degenerate as human nature is, and vicious as mankind too generally are, I like not to hear it or them indelicately decry'd. If any profess to believe the doctrine of total depravity, I would charitably hope they do not mean hereby to palliate or excuse any voluntary meanness or wickedness in themselves; but on the contrary, that by the goodness of their hearts and actions they contradict their professed belief. I freely own, and wish to do it without offence, that the *dignity* and not the *depravity* of human nature, is the most pleasing theme of my contemplations. And although I may be told that this is an evidence of my pride, and therefore of my own depravity, I wish to refute them by no other argument, than acting up to this sentiment. If any should point me to an *Arsenal*, I would point him to a *Washington*.

To inspire noble sentiments, and to prompt to virtuous exertions and attainments, we must not dwell on the imbecility and meanness, but on the exalted capacities and designs of man. And although I am extremely mortified at the folly and baseness which so many of my fellow citizens were guilty of the last year, in flying in the face of so excellent a constitution as ours of this Commonwealth, and of a government so well administered, thereby bringing such disgrace upon themselves and their country,

yet I flatter myself, that by the reasonable exertions and examples of the wise, the virtuous and the influential in the community, this enlightened people, who are sensible of their error, will use every endeavour to retrieve their character, and demonstrate to the world, that they have a sense of the value of their privileges, and will never more ask unworthy of them or of themselves.

As the wisdom of the United States has by free choice been selected and concentrated to devise a form of government which shall cement, secure, and dignity the whole, I flatter myself that the prudence, piety and patriotism of my dear native country, breaking forth like the sun from behind the clouds, will be soon displayed in the ready adoption of the proposed constitution. For my part, when I consider the dilemma into which we are plunged, the necessity of a firm, effective federal government—the expectations and demands of other nations from us—the knowledge and integrity employed in concerting the plan, and the disgrace and ruin that await us if such a measure be rejected, I cannot but conclude that all the states view the subject in the same light of importance, and laying aside all party and local prejudices, and inspired as with one enlightened benevolent spirit, are already stretching out an eager hand to grasp the offered boon. To facilitate so auspicious an union, let my fellow citizens pay, as the subject deserves, a close and unprejudiced attention, not only to the form of government so deliberately and unitedly constructed, but also to the unanimous resolve of its most respectable framers, and to the letter of the illustrious President, the man, who, of all others, has shewn himself worthy of the confidence and esteem of his country. Should this happy event take place, what an additional lustre would accrue to America! already is the distinguished among the nations for a glorious and successful struggle in the cause of freedom. She has produced upon the stage the brightest geniuses in war, politics, in the mercantile and refined arts. And may we not promise ourselves, that conscious of her advantages and duty, she will now aspire to the still nobler distinction of improving human nature, and exhibiting the highest degree of moral worth; of displaying, for the honour of the species and the good of the world, the most skillful and vigilant instructors of youth—the most catholic and successful

preachers—the most learned and honest lawyers—the most able and humane physicians, and a race of inhabitants, who, thoroughly possessed and actuated by the spirit of christianity, shall demon-

strate, by the benevolence of their temper, and the usefulness of their lives, the efficacy and divinity of the religion which they profess.

Summary of late Intelligence.

American News.

RICHMOND, (Virginia) October 20.
At a Meeting of Respectable Inhabitants of Berkeley county.

RESOLVED, That it is the opinion of the gentlemen now met, that the United States are under the greatest obligation to the members of the late Convention, for their assiduity and perseverance in accomplishing the plan of federal government.

Resolved, That two of the gentlemen now present do wait upon the clergymen of different persuasions in this county, and request them to prepare a sermon, to be preached at every place of worship, on the sabbath they think most proper, to return thanks in a special manner to Almighty God, for inspiring the members of the late memorable Convention, with amity, wisdom and unanimity to form a federal government, with so great judgment, and sound policy, amidst so many and various interests.

Resolved, That the members of the present meeting do pledge themselves to one another, to contribute all in their power, to establish and support the plan of federal government proposed by the late Convention, as it appears sufficient and well adapted to secure *peace, liberty, and justice* to the citizens of the United States.

Done at Martinburg, the 28th day of September 1787.

PHILADELPHIA, October 31.

We are sorry to find from papers lately received that the southern states will probably be involved in a long and bloody war with the neighbouring Indians. Every day produces some new instance of their inhuman depredations. Georgia is anxiously preparing for action, and we hope she will receive reasonable assistance from all her sister states.

H U D S O N, October 25.

The counties of Somerset and Burlington, in New Jersey, at their annual elections, resolved unanimously to instruct their representatives to use their influence to have a convention appointed by that state, for considering and ratifying the Federal Constitution. The electors of Somerset resolved unanimously, that they would support it with their lives and fortunes.

N E W P O R T, Nov. 1.

Extract of a letter from Charles, South-Carolina, Oct. 6, 1787.

"The grand secret is out and we have the new system laid open for the examination of

the publick—in general I am much pleased to find it approved of.—The sentiments of our country party we have not yet heard, but in town flatter ourselves it will meet the hearty approbation of the assembly."

F O R T S M O U T H, November 3.

His Excellency the President, with advice of Council, has been pleased to appoint Thursday, the 25th inst. to be observed, throughout this State, as a day of publick Thanksgiving and Praise.

S A L E M, November 6.

Yesterday afternoon the inhabitants of this town convened at the Court house, pursuant to warrant—Elias Hasket Derby, Esq; presiding, by a very full choice, as Moderators—

"44. To consider and determine on the petition of Mr. Francis Cabot and others, to see whether the town have any further service for the Committee chosen by the town to oppose the building a bridge across the river: or near Beverly ferry, and for other purposes.—2d. To know whether the town will choose a new Committee, to petition the General Court, that the petition of George Cabot, Esq; and others, may be granted; and also to instruct their Committee to appear at the General Court for that purpose, and there, and elsewhere, to use all due and fit means for attaining that end.—3d. To know whether the town will instruct their Representatives to use all due and fit means, in the General Court, that a bridge may be built as aforesaid, and to direct them to obtain that end."

The meeting was uncommonly full, and so unweildy, and so strenuous the different parties in support of their respective opinions and interests, that it was protracted until nearly 7 o'clock in the evening, when, after much debate, and many unsuccessful proposals from both sides, the following vote was passed:

"That the Selectmen and Assessors be immediately directed to call on every person borne on the Assessors' books, to know their assent or dissent to a bridge proposed to be built over Beverly ferry—distinguishing the qualified from the unqualified voters, with the sums they respectively paid in the last tax; and that each person so desired to give his voice on this subject, without fear or coercion: And that this meeting be adjourned at this place, until the second Monday in January next, at ten o'clock, A. M. to receive the report of the said Selectmen and Assessors."

The meeting was accordingly adjourned.

B O S T O N, November 8.

On Tuesday last a motion was made in the House of Representatives, for the appointment of a Committee to consider the expediency of lengthening the time for the operation of the Tender Act. To determine this important point, it became necessary to discuss the propriety of this new and singular expedient, to favour the debtor at the expence of the creditor. It is not in our power, to go into the particulars of this interesting debate; which was conducted against the commitment of the motion, by Messrs. Sedgwick, Dawes, Brooks, Kilham, Bowdoin, and Jarvis; and in favour of the measure, by Dr. Taylor, Dr. Holton, Mr. Bishop and others. The gentlemen in support of the motion, urged the necessity of the times, and the incapacity of government to do justice to the publick creditors, deducing from this last consideration, a conclusion which those against the motion, did not seem willing to allow the force of; for, though the deficiencies of the State was confessed on all hands, they could not conceive, why this should operate as a reason for a similar delinquency on the part of the individual. Against the Tender Act, was strongly urged, the unconstitutionality, injustice and impolicy, of such expedients in any situation, however disagreeable: This law was declared to be retrospective, contrary to the practice and experience of older countries, anti-commercial, destructive of honour, confidence, and of all the essential obligations which bind society together. It was represented as a poor expedient, producing perhaps a temporary convenience at the expence of a lasting benefit. The growth of this country, was, it was declared, owing to the credit of individuals—but this was now at an end. Money, the vital principle of commerce, of the arts, of manufactures, and of agriculture, was confined in the chests of its possessors, when it might be circulating, to the appreciation of our land, and to the extension of our trade.

The question was carried in the affirmative by a 100 to 77; and a Committee was chosen, consisting of Mr. Dawes, Dr. Holton, Dr. Taylor, Mr. Bishop, and Dr. Jarvis, to report accordingly.

Nov. 10. President Sullivan, by his Proclamation of the 1st. inst. has required the attendance of the General Court of New-hampshire, on the 5th of next month, at Portsmouth—to consider on business of the highest importance—the appointment of a Convention.

We hear that on Thursday, the Committee of the House of Representatives, appointed to consider the expediency of continuing the Tender Act, reported, an Act to continue the same in force six months after January next. On the question, whether the same shall pass to be engrossed, the yeas and nays were required, and the numbers were, Yeas, 111—Nays, 67.

Yesterday the Hon. House of Represen-

tatives concurred with the Hon. Senate in the appointment of Elijah Hunt, Esq; Collector of Excise, &c. for the County of Hampshire, and Jeremiah Hill, Esq; Collector of Excise, &c. for the County of York.

The Hon. Senate appointed and sent down for concurrence, as Collectors of Excise, &c. William Drew, Esq; for Plymouth County, Samuel Fales, Esq; for Bristol—Caleb Ammidown, Esq; for Worcester—and Joseph North, Esq; for Lincoln, West District—the House not concurring with the choice of the Senate, chose Henry Warren, Esq; for Plymouth—Apolos Leonard, Esq; for Bristol—Mr. George Bruce for Worcester, and David Sylvester, Esq; for Lincoln, West District.—So that Excise officers for those counties are not yet chosen.

From the reports in circulation a few days since, we have been in anxious expectation of obtaining some authentick advices respecting a WAR in Holland—But, notwithstanding every enquiry—and a close perusal of all the papers from the southward, we cannot learn, that the troubles in that quarter of the globe, wear any other than the aspect which they have for some months past.

W O R C E S T E R.

On Tuesday evening last week, a Highway Robbery was committed on Mr. Nathaniel Cunningham of Cambridge, as he was passing Boston Neck, by four footpads; but they being speedily pursued, two of them were taken, and are now under confinement.

On Thursday night last, the store of Messrs. Waldo and Son, in this town, was broken open, and robbed of the cash remaining in the money drawer, &c. The same night the shop of Mr. Torrey, Chaisemaker, was broken open, and some tools used in his business carried off; it is supposed in order to effect the entry of Messrs. Waldo's store.

“Died at Northborough, October 31st, very suddenly, Capt. Bezaleel Eager, in the 74th year of his age, formerly a representative for the town of Westborough in the General Court. He was a person well known, and as well respected; and his death is much lamented. He was a sensible, honest, worthy man, and has left behind him a fair character, and a good name.

“The manner of his death was as follows; retiring from a lecture, he mounted his horse, in the view of a number of people, but not being properly seated, and not having full possession of the bridle (as was supposed) his horse, lively and gay, immediately set out upon the run, and threw him against a stone wall, whereby his brains were instantly dashed out, perhaps not more than 20 rods from where he first mounted. Several persons ran to him as he fell, but discovered not the least sign of life in him, except the motion of the lungs; which continued near an hour, and then he expired, probably without any sense of pain, as it was without the least motion of any limb, or part of the body.”