

(Extraordinary.)

The Massachusetts

CENTINEL.

PUBLISHED ON WEDNESDAYS AND SATURDAYS.



Uninfluenced by Party, we aim to be JUST.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1788.

[12s. per ann.]

NUMBER 40. of Vol. VIII. Price Three Cents.

MISCELLANY.

For the CENTINEL.
The REPUBLICAN FEDERALIST, No. VI.
(Concluded from our last.)
To the MEMBERS of the CONVENTION of
MASSACHUSETTS.

Honourable Friends, and Fellow Citizens,

I AM sensible it will be said the Constitution provides "that the electors in each State shall have the qualification requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures." But the new Constitution was evidently intended to, and must in its operation inevitably produce an abolition of the State governments, and when this is accomplished, the rule of apportionment of representatives according to property, must and will apply to electors, and have the effect mentioned. There would nevertheless be some consolation, if these were the only objections relative to representation in the new system, but in the second sect. of the first art. there is a provision that "no person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States," &c. had this provision extended to the foreigners who under the government of the United States, had contended for the establishment of our independence, it would have met with no objection; but as it now stands, any foreigner having attained the age of twenty-five years, having been seven years a citizen of the United States, and being an inhabitant of any State, may be elected a representative—and the right of being elected senators, is confined to foreigners who shall have attained "the age of thirty years," and "who shall have been nine years a citizen of the United States, &c." Thus are we to have a supreme legislature over us, to consist as well of foreigners, as of freemen of the United States.—CITIZENS OF AMERICA! What have you for a number of years been contending for? To what purpose have you expended so freely the blood and treasures of this country? To have a government with unlimited powers administered by foreigners? Will there not be immediately planted in the several States, men of abilities, who, having the appearance of privates, will nevertheless be in the pay of foreign powers? Will not such men ingratiate themselves into your favour, or, which will be much better for them, into the favour of the new government? And after seven years residence, will they not be in your federal house of representatives, or after nine years residence in your senate? Will not the most important secrets of your executive, respecting treaties and other matters, be by these means always open to European powers? Will you not be engaged in their trials? Will not your interest be sacrificed to their politics? And will you not be the puppets of foreign Courts? Perhaps you will be told that this provision will encourage emigrants, who will bring their money to America; but will you for such precarious and futile prospects consent to part with the right of governing yourselves? How carefully is this point guarded by Great-Britain. Judge Blackstone, book first, chap. tenth, says, "naturalization cannot be performed but by act of parliament, for by this an alien is put in exactly the same state as if he had been born in the king's allegiance, except only that he is incapable as well as a denizen of being a member of the privy council, or of parliament, no bill for naturalization can be received in either house of parliament without such disqualifying clause in it." Other European powers are equally careful to exclude foreigners from their councils, whilst we, too wise to be benefited by the experience of governments which have existed for ages, and have attained the zenith of power, are adopting new principles, and exposing ourselves to evils which must inevitably lead us to destruction.

What I before hinted respecting the danger of ratifying the new Constitution, as it stands, is now too evident to admit of a doubt: The opposition in Pennsylvania have been too imprudent as to burn in effigy, Judge McKean and Mr. Willson, two of the leading members of their State Convention. The offenders are of obscure, and perhaps contemptible characters, and there is danger, that they

will be arrested, without considering the probability of their having been excited to this outrage by men of influence—that the government will be opposed—and that a civil war will commence, which will flame through this continent, the consequences of which are to be dreaded: Thus will the fairest prospects that ever a people had of establishing for themselves good government, be at once blasted by imprudent zeal and cursed ambition.

The virulent supporters of the new system, say, as those did in the parliament of Great-Britain, who pushed the American revenue-acts, that the opposition consists principally of men of low and vulgar minds, but the event will be much the same in the one case as in the other: The yeomanry supported by men of abilities and integrity in the several States, and standing on the ground of right, will maintain it; and in case of a war, will derive from this continent, many valuable men amongst us, who, although now deceived by an aristocratic party, will be considered as usurpers and tyrants. There are not the apprehensions of a timid mind, they are no edifications founded on our own experience, and God grant, that the wisdom of this Convention, on which is suspended the fate of America, may avert the impending evil. You have now the confidence of your countrymen, and it is hoped will not be deprived of it, by the arts of any individuals with interested views: You are now in possession of an inestimable jewel, which if lost by a hasty ratification, will never be regained. It is not my wish to make any objections to the new system that are not well founded, and such I conceive to be those against biennial elections: For, considering the extent of the continent—the complicated business of the legislature—the experience requisite for its members—the necessity of their punctual attendance—and their arrangements for quitting their States, and familiar biennial elections, are not lengthy or dangerous; but can there be any reason, that in the first Congress, when the most important institutions and provisions will be made for carrying into effect the new system, Massachusetts, who according to her numbers of freemen, is entitled to nearly eleven out of sixty-five, should have but eight representatives? It must clearly appear, by my former numbers, that by the clause for regulating representation, we are to be reduced to the level of slaves, and that we shall soon be such, if the planters of the south are to send to the new Congress, representatives for three fifths of their negroes. But if this rule was even admissible, we are entitled to above nine representatives according to the present enumeration, and are told, as a consolation for having but eight members, that New-Hampshire has the deficient member, which to us is the same thing. This to me is unintelligible, for the members of both houses are to be paid out of the continental treasury, to which we shall contribute a full proportion according to our property: Why then should we give up to any State whatever, the important privilege of sending a representative? New-Hampshire is a good neighbour, but like other States, has her separate interests, and in pursuit of it, our's may and will be sacrificed, by such an unreasonable concession. It is remarkable, that in the new system there is no qualification of property, for members of either branch of the federal legislature. It is surprizing to some gentlemen in Convention, that others should wish "to exclude from the federal government a good man, because he was not a rich one"—No such thing is in contemplation, but on the other hand, they wish to fend him there, and want to know what security there is, that a good man, not being wealthy, shall long continue to be eligible to such an office? If there was provision in the Constitution, that any citizen having three, six, or even nine hundred pounds estate, should be eligible, and that one of those sums should be requisite to qualify him, the publick would be equally guarded against a representation of persons having no property at all, and an exclusion of good men, because not wealthy: But the objection to the Constitution is, that it has no provision for securing the eligibility of good men. If good members without much property, should oppose the wealthy but unprincipled ones in Congress, and prevent their passing oppressive acts, such as revenue-acts, calculated

to promote speculation—to protect defaulters—and to plunder the people, (as this system undoubtedly will of all their property) will not those unprincipled members exert themselves to pass an act, requiring for senators and representatives so high a qualification of property, as to exclude for ever from Congress, the good men who have not great estates? Surely they will, being fully authorized hereto by the omnipotent clause, enabling Congress "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers, vested by this Constitution, in the government of the United States, or in any department or office thereof." This I call an omnipotent clause, for I must believe the man who says, that he can see in its application, a comet which requires a century for its revolution, as soon as him that says, he can see the extent to which an artful and arbitrary legislature, can by this clause stretch their powers. We shall next consider the most important clause respecting representation, in art. 1st. sect. 4th. which provides, "that the times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof: But the Congress may at any time by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators."—Great ingenuity has been manifested in attempts to explain away the meaning and tendency of this fatal clause—a clause destructive of the small but best security which the people by the new system will have for preserving their liberties: Let us candidly attend to the arguments urged on this occasion. One is, that the legislatures, or as they are called the sovereignties of the States, are to be the constituents of the federal senate, and the people, the constituents of the house of representatives; that in the frequent struggles and contentions between these two branches to depress and controul each other, each will be supported by its constituents, and therefore that the State legislatures, if uncontrouled by the federal legislature, would endeavour to regulate the times, places, and manner of holding elections, as to deprive the people of their right of representation—Here, before, is the appearance of great tenderness for the rights of the people, and nothing but the appearance; for an imaginary danger of losing their rights is held up to them to introduce a remedy which must inevitably deprive them of those rights. That there will be such struggles and contentions between the two branches, is admitted—but is it natural to suppose, that the State legislatures, in aid of the federal senate, will wish to destroy the federal representation? Are not the members of one branch of the State legislatures in all the States and of the other branch, in most of them, elected annually, or for a less time? Are not those members dependent on the people for re-elections, and equally with them affected by all federal and State laws? Can those members have any separate interest from the people for destroying the balance in the federal legislature? And if they could have such a separate interest, and should attempt to impair or destroy the right of choosing federal representatives, would not the people instantly feel the injury, and leave out of the legislature men so inimical to their rights? Was there no controuling power in the federal legislature for altering or regulating the times, places, and manner of holding elections, would not the people, by annually electing those who are to make the regulations, have every check requisite for securing the right of elections? If, indeed, the members of the State legislatures held their offices independent of the people, and had separate interests, there would be some ground for the argument—but, dependent as they are, and having the same interests with the people, they cannot.

FURS.

CASH and a good price given for all kinds of SHIPPING FURS, by

Samuel Coverly,

No. 11, MARLBOROUGH-STREET. Dec. 3.

CASTALIAN FOUNT. ORIGINAL POETRY.

The AMULET.

WHERE could my warmest wishes rove, To find a nymph like Delia kind; Who joins to gentleness and love...

MISCELLANY.

For the CENTINEL. Mr. RUSSELL,

AS I understand the fifth article in the proposed Constitution, it is provided by it, that when two thirds of the Senate, and two thirds of the House...

I am exceedingly pleased with this mode, so far as it regards the purpose which it was intended to effect. When a government is in exercise, all innovations are dangerous...

But this remedy is by no means calculated for those defects, which appear upon the plan, before it is adopted. It is only intended for those which may appear upon the exercise of it.

amendments, stated in my other paper, which are by no means local, and some of which, respecting the right of juries, I believe a majority of States will agree to.

HAMPDEN.

A QUESTION.

WHETHER there was any necessity for the signature of BRUTE to the piece of scurrility upon the American FABIAN in the Independent Chronicle of the 24th ult?

The WEEKLY MONITOR. No. 199.

IN the course of the political existence of America—it hath appeared, that the arm of divine beneficence, hath ever been stretched out to her support in the hour of adversity...

English Goods.

Imported in the Ship Rebecca, Capt. G. FOLGIER, and to be SOLD, by

JOHN JENKS, At STORE No. 32, STATE-STREET, A GENERAL assortment of GOODS, suitable for the season.

THE publick are hereby notified, that EDMUND QUINCY, Esq has removed his Office, to the house of the widow QUINCY, in Devonshire-Street.

Wanted on CHARTER,

A Sloop, or a Schooner of about 60 or 70 tons burthen—for a voyage of 4 or 5 months. Inquire of the Printer.

To be LET,

A Convenient SHOP, in Cornhill, and small BARN. Inquire of the Printer.

Empty Bottles wanted.

CASH will be paid for EMPTY BOTTLES, at the Store of JOHN & THOMAS READ, STATE-STREET.

LOST, and supposed to be

stolen, from the subscriber's office, three 8vo. vols. of LAW-BOOKS.—The Doctor and Student—Perkins's Law—and the Law of Master and Servants. Also lost, the 2d vol. of Lord Kaimes's Sketches of the History of Man.

Boston, Jan. 26. W. WETMORE.

IMPORTED in the last SHIPS, And now OPENING,

At STORE, No. 36, STATE-STREET,

AN assortment of Woolens,

suitable for the present season, and to be sold on the lowest terms, by wholesale, for ready money only.

A Consignment of a very fine Assortment of black Lastings, and Satinets, worthy the attention of the Lynn Shoemakers, and will be sold on terms that will give satisfaction to the purchaser.

Boston, Jan. 26, 1788.

IF WILLIAM GORTLEY,

of Dartmouth, in the county of Devon, in the kingdom of Great-Britain, is now living. he may hear of something to his advantage, by sending an account where he may be met with, to Mr. JOHN CODMAN, jun. of Boston; or if the said WILLIAM GORTLEY is dead, and any person will give an account when and where he died, to the said JOHN CODMAN, jun. such person shall have a reasonable reward for so doing.

Boston, January 29, 1788.

To be SOLD, At the STORE lately improved by Simon Elliot, jun'r.

BUTLER'S-ROW, HYSON and Souchong Tea, Nankins, dining and tea-table sets China, Cups and Saucers, per box or dozen, Pattipans, &c. which will be sold very cheap for Cash.

Boston, Jan. 22, 1788.

Choice Coals,

FOR the grate, or Blacksmith's use, to be sold cheap, at the Store lately occupied by Hinkley and Kneeland, South-side the Market. Jan. 26. 1788.

Fresh Goods.

Just arrived from IRELAND, and now open for sale At SHOP, No. 7, CORNHILL, CORDUROYS, low priced worsted and yarn Stockings, Linens, Calicoes, &c N. B. The above Goods are of an exceeding good quality, and will be sold at a very low advance.

THIS Day, by mutual consent, the Copartnership of Prince & Cabot,

is DISSOLVED: All persons who have accounts open with them, are hereby notified that an adjustment thereof is requested immediately. Apply to SAMUEL CABOT,

At Store, No. 17, LONG-WHARF, Where is for SALE, Best Sheetings, and Russian Duck, Philadelphia Porter, large Bilboa Handkerchiefs, &c. An excellent BRIG, burthen 160 tons.

ANY good Vessel, bound to Dublin, may have 100 or 200 Barrels of POT and PEARL-ASHES, on freight, by applying at DAVID SEARS'S Store, State-Street. Boston, 30th Jan. 1788.

DRIFTED away, or stolen, from the south-side Long-Wharf, a small MOSES BOAT, with a piece split off her stern—and a part of her gunwale broken. Whoever will give information of said Boat, or return it, to Store, No. 21, LONG-WHARF, shall be suitably rewarded. WILLIAM DAGGETT. Boston, January 30, 1788.

Appleton Prentiss

INFORMS the publick, and his customers, that he has IMPORTED, In the Ship REBECCA, Capt. FOLGIER, A fresh assortment of Goods,

AMONG WHICH ARE, Calicoes, Chinzes, Lastings, Satinets, Thicksets, an assortment of Buttons, Buckles, Bindings, &c. which he will sell on reasonable terms. Jan. 19, 1788.

Table with 4 columns: Date, Hi. W. 4, Or. & 1, Remark. Rows include 2 Sat., 3 Sun., 4 Mon., 5 Tues.

Published by BENJAMIN RUSSELL, near the State-House, Boston.