

CONNECTICUT GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, MARCH 14, 1788.

NEW-LONDON: Printed by TIMOTHY GREEN, at the Northwest Corner of the PARADE.

BOSTON, Feb. 21.

PROCEEDINGS of CONVENTION.

(Continued from our last.)

SATURDAY, Jan. 25. A. M.

THE conversation on the Constitution by paragraphs being ended,

Mr. PARSONS moved, that this Convention do assent to and ratify this Constitution.

Mr. NEAL rose and said, that as the Constitution at large was now under consideration, he would just remark, that the article which respected the Africans was the one which lay on his mind—and unless his objections to that were removed, it must, how much soever he liked the other parts of the Constitution, be a sufficient reason for him to give his negative to it.

Col. JONES said, that one of his principal objections, was the omission of a religious test.

Rev. Mr. PAYSON. Mr. President,—After what has been observed relating to a religious test by gentlemen of acknowledged abilities, I did not expect it would again be mentioned, as an objection to the proposed Constitution, that such a test was not required as a qualification for office. Such were the abilities and integrity of the gentlemen who constructed the Constitution, as not to admit of the presumption that they would have betrayed so much vanity as to attempt to erect bulwarks and barriers to the throne of God. Relying on the candour of this Convention, I shall take the liberty to express my sentiments on the nature of a religious test; and shall endeavour to do it in such propositions as will meet the approbation of every mind.

The great object of religion being God supreme, and the fear of religion in man being the heart or conscience, *i. e.* the reason God has given us, employed on our moral actions, in their most important consequences, as related to the tribunal of God, hence I infer, that God alone is the God of the conscience, and consequently, attempts to erect human tribunals for the consciences of men, are impious encroachments upon the prerogatives of God.—Upon these principles had there been a religious test, as a qualification for office, it would, in my opinion, have been a great blessing to the instrument.

Gen. HEATH. Mr. President. After a long and painful investigation of the federal Constitution, by paragraphs, this hon. Convention are drawing nigh to the ultimate question. A question as momentous, as ever invited the attention of man. We are soon to decide on a system of government, digested, not for the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts only—not for the present people of the United States only;—but in addition to these, for all those States which may hereafter rise into existence within the jurisdiction of the United States—and for millions of people yet unborn.—A system of government not for a nation of slaves, but for a people as free, and as virtuous as any on earth.—Not for a conquered nation subdued to our will, but for a people who have fought, who have bled, and who have conquered; who under the smiles of Heaven, have established their independence and sovereignty, and have taken equal rank among the nations of the earth. In short, sir, it is a system of government for ourselves and for our children, for all that is near and dear to us in life, and on the decision of the question is suspended our political prosperity or infelicity, perhaps our existence as a nation. What can be more solemn? What can be more interesting? Every thing depends on our union—I know that some have supposed that although the union should be broken, particular states may retain their importance, but this cannot be; the strongest nerved state, even the right arm, if separated from the body, must wither: If the great union be broken, our country, as a nation perishes, and if our country so perishes; it will be as impossible to save a particular state, as to preserve one of the fingers of a mortified hand.

By one of the paragraphs of the system it is declared, that the ratification of the conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of the Constitution, between the States so ratifying the same: but, sir, how happy will it be, if not only nine, but even all the States should ratify it.—It will be a happy circumstance, if only a small majority of this convention should ratify the federal system; but how much more happy if we could be unanimous.—It will be a happy circumstance if a majority of the people of this Commonwealth, should be in favour of the federal system; but how much more so, if they should be unanimous, and if there are any means whereby they may be united, every exertion should be made to effect it. I presume, sir, that there is not a single gentleman within these walls, who does not wish for a federal govern-

ment—for an efficient federal government; and that this government should be possessed of every power necessary to enable it to bind on the people the benign influences of a good government. But I have observed from the first, that many gentlemen appear opposed to the system, and this I apprehend arises from their objections to some particular parts of it. Is there not a way in which their minds may be relieved from embarrassment? I think there is—and if there is, no exertions should be spared, in endeavouring to do it.

If we should ratify the Constitution, and instruct our first members to Congress, to exert their utmost endeavours to have such checks, and guards provided as appears to be necessary in some of the paragraphs of the Constitution, and communicate what we may judge proper, to our sister States, and request their concurrence, is there not the highest probability that every thing which we wish may be effectually secured.—I think there is—and I cannot but flatter myself that in this way, the gentlemen of the Convention will have the difficulties under which they now labour, removed from their minds;—we shall be united: The people of this Commonwealth and of our sister States may be united. Permit me therefore, most earnestly to recommend it to the serious consideration of every gentleman in the Honourable Convention.

After Gen. HEATH sat down, his Excellency the President rose and observed, that he was conscious of the impropriety, situated as he was, of his entering into the deliberations of the Convention—that unfortunately, through painful indisposition of body, he had been prevented from giving his attendance in his place; but from the information he had received, and from the papers, there appeared to him to be a great dissimilarity of sentiments in the Convention.—To remove the objections of some gentlemen, he felt himself induced, he said, to hazard a proposition for their consideration—which, with the permission of the Convention, he would offer in the afternoon.

P. M.

When the Convention met in the afternoon,

His Excellency the President observed, that a motion had been made and seconded, that this Convention do assent to and ratify the Constitution which had been under consideration—and that he had in the former part of the day intimated his intention of submitting a Proposition to the consideration of the Convention. My motive, says he, arises from my earnest desire to this Convention, my fellow-citizens, and the public at large, that this Convention may adopt such a form of government, as may extend its good influences to every part of the United States, and advance the prosperity of the whole world. His situation, his Excellency said, had not permitted him to enter into the debates of this Convention—It however, appeared to him necessary, from what had been advanced in them, to adopt the form of government proposed; but, observing a diversity of sentiment in the gentlemen of the Convention, he had frequently had conversation with them on the subject; and from this conversation, he was induced to propose to them, whether the introduction of some general amendments would not be attended with the happiest consequences: For that purpose he should, with the leave of the hon. Convention, submit to their consideration a proposition, in order to remove the doubts, and quiet the apprehensions of gentlemen; and if in any degree the object should be acquired, he should feel himself perfectly satisfied. He should therefore, submit them—for he was, he said, unable to go more largely into the subject, if his abilities would permit him; relying on the candour of the Convention to bear him witness, that his wishes for a good government were sincere. [Here his Excellency then read his proposition.] This, gentlemen, concluded his Excellency, is the proposition which I had to make; and I submit it to your consideration, with the sincere wish, that it may have a tendency to promote a spirit of union.

FRIDAY, February 1, 1788.

Mr. BOWDIN [of Dorchester] observed, that he could not but express his hearty approbation of the propositions made by his Excellency, as they would have a tendency to relieve the fears, and quiet the apprehensions of some very respectable and worthy gentlemen, who had expressed their doubts, whether some explanation of certain clauses in the Constitution, and some additional restrictions upon Congress, similar to those proposed by his Excellency, were not necessary.—But, he said, as the proposition were incorporated with the great and important question, Whether this Convention will adopt and ratify the Constitution; he conceived himself in order, and would, with the permission of the Convention, make a few general observations upon the subject; which were as follow;

It was an answer of Solon's, when he was asked what

kind of a Constitution he had constructed for the Athenians; that he had prepared as good a Constitution of government as the people would bear: Clearly intimating that a Constitution of government, should be relative to the habits, manners, and genius of the people; intended to be governed by it. As the particular state governments, are relative to the manners and genius of the inhabitants of each state; so ought the general government to be an assemblage of the principles of all the governments—for without this assemblage of the principles, the general government will not sufficiently apply to the genius of the people confederated, and therefore by its meeting, in its operation, with a continual opposition, through this circumstance it must necessarily fail in its execution: Because agreeable to the idea of Solon, the people would not bear it.

It may not, therefore, be improper to examine whether the federal Constitution proposed, has a likeness to the different state Constitutions, and such a one, as to give the spirit and features of the particular governments. For Baron Montesquieu observes, That all governments ought to be relative to their principles; and that "a confederate government ought to be composed of states of the same nature, especially of the republican kind." And instances, that as "the spirit of monarchy is war, and enlargement of dominion; peace and moderation, the spirit of a republic; these two kinds of governments, cannot naturally subsist in a confederate republic."

From hence it follows, that all the government of the states in the union, ought to be of the same nature, of the republican kind, and that the general government ought to be an assemblage of the spirit, and principles of them all. A short comparison, pointing out the likeness of the general, to the particular Constitutions, may sufficiently elucidate the subject.

All the Constitutions of the states, consist of three branches; except as to the legislative powers, which are chiefly vested in two; the powers of government, are separated in all, and mutually check each other. These are laid down as fundamental principles, in the federal Constitution. All power is derived either mediately or immediately from the people in all the Constitutions; this is the case with the federal Constitution. The electors of representatives to the state governments, are electors of representatives to the federal government: The representatives are chosen for two years, so are the representatives to the assemblies of some of the states. The equality of representation is determined in nearly all the states, by numbers, so it is in the federal Constitution.

The second branch of legislature, in some of the states, is similar to the federal senate, having not only legislative, but executive powers: Being a legislating, and at the same time, an advising body, to the executive. Such are the assistants of Rhode-Island and Connecticut, and the councils of New-Jersey and Georgia. The senators of Virginia and New-York, are chosen for four years, and so elected, that a continual rotation is established, by which one quarter of their respective senates, is annually elected; and by which, (as one of the Constitutions observes) there are more men trained to public business, and there will be always found a number of persons, acquainted with the proceedings of the foregoing years, and thereby the public business be more consistently conducted. The federal senators are to be chosen for six years, and there is a rotation so established, for the reasons above mentioned, that one third of the senate is to be chosen every two years.

The President, and Vice-President answer to officers of the same name in some of the states; and to the office of Governour, and Lieutenant-Governour in most of the states. As this office is of the utmost importance, the manner of choosing, for the better security of the interests of the union, is to be by delegates, to be expressly chosen for the purpose, in such manner, as the different legislatures may direct: This method of choosing, was probably taken, from the manner of choosing senators, under the Constitution of Maryland.

The legislative powers of the President, are precisely those of the Governours of this state, and of New-York; rather negative than positive powers; given with a view to secure the independence of the executive, and to preserve a uniformity in the laws, which are committed to them, to execute.

The executive powers of the President, are very similar to those of the several States, except in those points, which relate more particularly to the union; and respect ambassadors, public ministers and consuls.

If the genius of the people of the States, as expressed by their different Constitutions of government—if the similarity of each, and the general spirit of all the governments, concur to point out the policy of a confederate government; by comparing the federal Constitution with those of the several states, can we expect

BOSTON, Feb. 28.

Yesterday agreeably to Proclamation, the hon. general court of this Commonwealth, convened at the State-house, in their town—and a quorum of both Branches being assembled, a joint committee was appointed to wait on his excellency the Governor, to inform him, that they were ready to receive communications, &c.—Accordingly, at 5 o'clock, his Excellency met both Branches, convened in the Representatives' Chamber, and delivered the following

SPEECH:

Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

THE Letters which I have received in the recess, the Secretary will lay before you, they are not of such importance, as to claim any particular notice from me at this time.

The adjournment of the General Court, for the space of one week, became necessary, in order to give the members who were also members of the late Convention, an opportunity of returning home before the meeting of the legislature. I could have wished that the Proclamation of adjournment had been of an earlier date, but the Session of the Convention, by the importance of the business before that body, was protracted beyond what was expected. I flatter myself that this will be satisfactory, as well to those of you gentlemen, who having not heard of the adjournment, have been some days waiting in town, as to those who may be apprehensive that the business of the present Session will demand a longer time than can be conveniently afforded at this season of the year.

I have nothing of more importance at this time; to recommend to your deliberation, than the lands of the Commonwealth. It is scarcely necessary to remark that this State, from its particular situation, as well as from the noble ardor of its citizens in defence of their liberties and independence, hath accumulated a very heavy debt; the interest of which arises to ninety thousand pounds annually; this consideration alone, gentlemen should induce us by every possible exertion consistent with the peace of the Commonwealth, to diminish the principal. In order to this, the great quantities of unappropriated territory both in the eastern part of the government; as well as the immense tract lately ceded to us by the State of New-York, afford ample resources, if wisely and expeditiously improved by that spirit of unanimity and discernment which I flatter myself will always distinguish your conduct when the interest of the people is so deeply and essentially engaged in the result of your deliberations.

I am sorry that my duty urges me to mention to you the necessity of a small tax, but the Treasury is so far exhausted, that the business of the government must cease its progress unless a tax is granted.

Since the last session, Luke Day, one of those persons for whose arrest a bounty was offered in consequence of an act of the legislature, has been taken by some of the citizens of New-Hampshire, to whom one hundred pounds has been paid, upon their delivering him into the custody of the sheriff of the county of Suffolk. Could the late unhappy commotions be thrown into oblivion, consistently with the honor of government; and the safety of the people, I persuade myself, it would give satisfaction.

In the beginning of your last session, I laid before you the Constitution and Frame of Government for the United States of America, agreed upon by the late General Convention, and transmitted to me by Congress. As the system was to be submitted to the people, and to be decided upon by their Delegates in Convention, I forbore to make any remarks upon it.—The Convention which you appointed to deliberate upon that important subject, have concluded their session, after having adopted and ratified the proposed plan, according to their resolution, a copy whereof, I have directed the Secretary to lay before you.

The obvious imbecility of the Confederation of the United States, has too long given pain to our friends, and pleasure to our enemies; but the forming a new system of Government, for so numerous a people, of very different views, and habits, spread upon such a vast extent of Territory, containing such a great variety of soils, and under such extremes of climate, was a task, which nothing less than the dreadful apprehension of losing our national existence, could have compelled the people to undertake.

We can be known to the world, only under the appellation of the United States; if we are robbed of the idea of our union, we immediately become separate nations, independent of each other, and no less liable to the depredations of foreign powers, than to wars and bloody contentions amongst ourselves. To pretend to exist as a nation without possessing those powers of coercion, which are necessarily incident to the national character, would prove a fatal scissar in politics.—The objects of the proposed Constitution, are defence against external enemies, and the promotion of tranquillity and happiness amongst the States. Whether it is well calculated for those important purposes, has been the subject of extensive and learned discussion in the Convention which you appointed. I believe there was never a body of men assembled, with greater purity of intention, or with higher zeal for the public interest. And although when the momentous Question was decided, there was a greater division than some expected, yet there appeared a candour, and a spirit of Conciliation in the minority, which did them great

honour, and afforded an happy preface of unanimity amongst the people at large. Tho' so many of the members of the late Convention could not feel themselves convinced that they ought to vote for the ratification of this System, yet their opposition was conducted with a candid and manly firmness, and with such marks of integrity and real regard to the public interest, as did them the highest honor, and leaves no reason to suppose that the peace, and good order of the government is not their object.

The amendments proposed by the Convention, are intended to obtain a constitutional security of the principles to which they refer themselves, and must meet the wishes of all the States. I feel myself assured, that they will very early become a part of the Constitution, and when they shall be added to the proposed plan, I shall consider it the most perfect system of government, as to the objects it embraces, that has been known amongst mankind.

As that BEING, in whose hands is the government of all the nations of the earth, and who putteth down one, and raiseth up another according to his Sovereign Pleasure, has given to the People of these States, a rich and an extensive Country, has in a marvellous manner given them a standing among the nations of the World—has blessed them with external Peace, and internal Tranquillity;—I hope and pray, that the gratitude of their Hearts may be expressed by a proper use of those inestimable blessings,—by the greatest exertions of Patriotism,—by forming and supporting Institutions for cultivating the human understanding, and for the greatest Progress of the Arts and Sciences,—by establishing Laws for the support of Piety, Religion and Morality, as well as for punishing Vice and Wickedness,—and by exhibiting on the great Theatre of the World, those social, public and private Virtues, which give more dignity to a people, possessing their own Sovereignty than Crowns and Diadems afford to Sovereign Princes.

Every matter of a public Nature, which may occur worthy of your notice, shall be communicated by Message, and in every concern tending to promote the public welfare, I shall be happy to concur with you, and be ready at all times to give every possible dispatch to the business that may come before you.

JOHN HANCOCK.

Council Chamber, Feb. 27, 1788.

The following copy of an original letter from queen Elizabeth, to Heaton, Bishop of Ely, is taken from the Register of Ely.

Præsd. Prælatæ, I understand you are backward in complying with your agreement; but I would have you to know, that I who made you what you are, can unmake you; and if you do not forthwith fulfil your engagement, by —, I will immediately unstock you.

Your's as you demean yourself,

ELIZABETH.

Heaton, it seems, had promised the queen to exchange some part of the land belonging to the See for an equivalent, and did so, but it was in consequence of the above letter.

CASH

Given for good clean dressed

FLAX,

By JAMES TILLEY.

New-London, March 5th, 1788.

CASH given for Old SILVER and GOLD,

By EZRA DODGE,

Clock and Watch maker.

N. B. Wanted a steady, well minded Boy, about 14 or 15 years of age, as an apprentice to the above occupation.

New-London, March 6, 1788.

TO BE LET,

And possession given the 25th of

March instant,

A convenient new

Dwelling-House,



Two stories high, four rooms on a floor, with a good garret, and a cellar under the whole, completely finished; also a good garden, &c. pleasantly situated on the main-street, near the head of the mill-cove in this city. For terms, apply to WILLIAM WINTHROP.

New-London, March 5, 1788.

THE hon. Court of Probate, for the district in East-Haddam, have allowed seven months from this date, for the creditors to the estate of BARNABAS PEAS, late of Hebron, in Tolland county, deceased, to bring in their claims against said estate; those who neglect to bring them in by said time, will be debared a recovery.

EI. I. H. MARVIN, Adm'r.

Hebron, Feb. 20, 1788.



TO BE LET, And possession given the first of April next,

A Farm lying at Groshen in the Great-Neck, New-London. The Land is of the first quality for grass, &c. and the situation very pleasant. For further particulars, enquire of ELIZABETH HURLBUTT.

New-London, March 5, 1788.

To be SOLD or LET,

The Rope-Ferry in New-London with House and Land adjoining, and possession immediately given. Enquire of THOMAS DURFEY.

Wanted, as an apprentice to the Blacksmiths' business, an active Lad, about 14 or 15 years old. Enquire of JOHN GORDON.

New-London, March 5, 1788.



A fast-sailing SLOOP, Burthen about twenty Tons, and well found, to be sold on very reasonable Terms.—Inquire of Joseph Skinner, in New-London.



For CHARLESTON, The Schooner HARMONY, HUMPHRY CRARY, master.

L Y I N G at Stonington-Point; to sail by the tenth of March. For freight or passage, apply to the master on board, or to GARDINER CARPENTER, at Norwich.

DRUGS & MEDICINES,

Imported directly from LONDON, To be sold by Wholesale and Retail, At as low prices as can be purchased at any drug-gift's store in this State, by NATHANIEL MANN, and Co.

N. B. Cash, Pot and Pearl-Ash, Wheat, Rye and Indian-Corn, will be taken in payment. Hebron, Feb. 26, 1788.

Fifty quintals FISH,

to be sold at the lowest rate for Cash, Pork or Corn, at Tilley and Miller's wharf. New-London, Feb. 26, 1788.

Cash given for all kinds of

Shipping FURRS,

By EBENEZER BACKUS, of Windham.

73) Dec. 25, 1787.

CASH given for Hatters' and Shipping FURRS, by JOSEPH EMERSON. New-London.

NOTICE is hereby given, that all persons who have any demands on the estate of DORCUS SPAFFORD, deceased, late of Wilksherre, of the State of Pennsylvania, are requested to exhibit their claims before the subscriber, at or before the first day of June next. And all who are indebted to said estate will make immediate payment, and save themselves expenses. Constant attendance will be given at the subscriber's house in Wilksherre.

ELISHA PLACKMAN, Adm'r.

Wilksherre, Jan. 17, 1788.

For sale on the premises on the following days of

May next,

SO much of the real estate of the following persons, for Lawrence's certificates or soldier notes out before 1785, or soldier civil list, and hard money, as will pay their state and town taxes due to us the subscribers, with costs of sale, viz. Thomas Bowhea, deceased, Thomas Hancock, Peter Darrow, deceased, Peter B. Harris; Henry Perout and John Hertel, non-residents, William Rogers, (Hogneck) non-resident, on the 2d day; Daniel Chapman and Capt. William Prince, non-residents, on the 2d; Stephen Allen, on the 5th; Charles Read and James Douglass, on the 6th, and James Nobles on the 7th, by us.

SAMUEL BRAIDFORD, } Collectors.

JOSHUA RAYMOND, jun. } Collectors.

AMASA LEARNED, Administrator to the (estate of Nathaniel Coit, jun. collector, deceased. New-London, Feb. 26, 1788.

LINSEED-OIL,

To be sold by THOMAS C. GREEN.