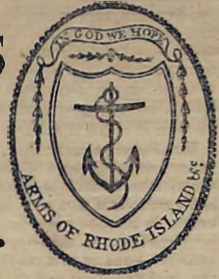


SC#New 99.2



UNITED STATES CHRONICLE:

Political, Commercial, and Historical.



Published by BENNETT WHEELER, in Westminster-Street, PROVIDENCE.

THURSDAY, April 3, 1788.

Massachusetts STATE CONVENTION.

TUESDAY, January 22. P. M.

Section 8th, still under consideration.

MR. Symmes. Mr. President, in such an assembly as this, and on a subject, that puzzles the oldest politicians, a young man, Sir, will scarcely dare to *think* for himself; but if he ventures to *spea*k, the effort must certainly be greater. This Convention is the first representative body in which I have been honoured with a seat, and men will not wonder that a scene at once new, and so august, should confuse, oppress, and almost disqualify me to proceed.

Sir, I wish to bespeak the candour of the Convention—that candour which I know, I need but ask to have it extended to me, while I make a few indigested observations on the paragraph now in debate. I have hitherto attended with diligence but no great anxiety, to the reasoning of the ablest partizans on both sides of the question. Indeed I could have wished for a more effectual, and (if I may term it so) a more *feeling* representation in the lower house, and for a representation of the *people* in the senate—I have been and still am desirous of a rotation in office, to prevent the final perpetuation of power in the same men.—And I have not been able clearly to see why the *place* and *manner* of holding elections should be in the disposal of Congress.

But, Sir, in my humble opinion, these things are comparatively the lesser things of the law.—They doubtless have their influence in the grand effect, and so are essential to the system.—But, Sir, I view the section to which we have at length arrived, as the cement of the fabric, and this clause as the key-stone, or (if I may apply the metaphor) the magic talisman on which the fate of it depends.

Allow me, Sir, to recal to your remembrance that *yesterday*, when States were in doubt about granting to Congress a five per cent. impolt, and the simple power of regulating trade—the time, when so delicate was the patriotic mind, that power was to be transferred with a reluctant, with a sparing hand—and the most obvious utility could scarcely extort it from the people. It appears to me of some importance, to consider this matter, and to demand complete satisfaction upon the question, why an unlimited power in the affair of taxation, is so far required? Is our situation so vastly different, that the powers so lately sufficient, are now but the dust of the balance? I observe, Sir, that many men, who within a few years past, were strenuous opposers of an augmentation of the power of Congress, are now the warmest advocates of power, so large as not to admit of a comparison with those which they opposed. Cannot some of them state their reasons then, and their reasons now, that we may judge of their consistency—or shall we be left to suppose that the opinions of politicians, like those of the multitude, vibrate from one extreme to the other, and that we have no men among us to whom we can entrust the philosophic task of pointing out the golden mean?

At present, Congress have no power to lay taxes, &c. nor even to compel a compliance with their requisitions. May we not suppose, that the members of the great Convention, had severely felt the impotency of Congress, while they were in it, and therefore were rather too keenly set for an effectual increase of power? That the difficulties they had encountered, in obtaining decent requisitions, had wrought in them a degree of impatience, which prompted them to demand the purifications of the nation, as if we were involunt, and the proposed Congress were to compound with our creditors?—Whence, Sir, can this great, I had almost said, this bold demand have originated? Will it be said that it is but a consistent and necessary part of the general system? I shall not deny these gentlemen the praise of inventing a system completely consistent with itself, and pretty free from contradiction—but I would ask, I shall expect to be answered, how a system can be necessary for us, of which this is a consistent and necessary part?

But, Sir, to the paragraph in hand—Congress, &c. Here, Sir (however kindly Congress may be pleased to deal with us) is a very good and valid conveyance of all the property in the United States—to certain uses indeed, but those uses capable of any constitution the trustee may think proper to make. This body is not amenable to any tribu-

nal, and therefore, this Congress can do no wrong. It will not be denied that they *may* tax us to any extent, but some gentlemen are fond of arguing that this body never *will* do any thing but what is for the common good. Let us consider that matter.

Faction, Sir, is the vehicle of all transactions in public bodies, and when gentlemen know this so well, I am rather surprized to hear them so sanguine in this respect. The prevalent faction is the *body*—these gentlemen, therefore, must mean that the prevalent faction will always be right, and that the true patriots will always out number the men of less and selfish principles. From this it would follow, that no public measure was ever wrong, because it must have been passed by the majority, and so, I grant no power ever was, or will be abused.—In short, we know that all governments have degenerated, and consequently have abused the powers reposed in them, and why we should imagine better of the proposed Congress than of myriads of public bodies who have gone before them, I cannot at present conceive.

Sir, we ought (I speak it with submission) to consider that what we now grant from certain motives, well-grounded at present, will be exacted of posterity as a prerogative when we are not alive to testify the tacit conditions of the grant—that the wisdom of this age will then be pleaded by those in power—and that the cession we are now about to make will be actually clothed with the venerable habit of ancestral sanction.

Therefore, Sir, I humbly presume we ought not to take advantage of our situation in point of time, so as to bind posterity to be obedient to laws, they may very possibly disapprove, nor expose them to a rebellion which at that period will very probably end only in their farther subjugation.

The paragraph in question is an absolute decree of the people. The Congress *shall* have power—it does not say that they shall *exercise* it—but our necessities say, they *must*, and the experience of ages says, that they *will*, and finally, when the expenses of the nation, by their ambition are grown enormous, that they will oppress the subject.—For, Sir, they may lay taxes, duties, imposts and excises!—One would suppose that the Convention, Sir, were not at all afraid to multiply words when any thing was to be got by it. By another clause, all imposts and duties, on exports and imports, wherever laid, go into the federal chest—so that Congress may not only lay imposts and excises, but all imposts and duties that are laid on imports and exports, by any State, shall be a part of the national revenue—and besides, Congress may lay an impost on the produce and manufactures of the country, which are consumed at home.—And all these shall be equal through the States.—Here, Sir, I raise two objections.—First, that Congress should have this power. It is a universal, unbounded permission—and as such, I think, no free people ought ever to consent to it, especially in so important a matter as that of property. I will not defend, Sir, to an abuse of this future Congress, until it exists, nor then, until it misbehaves, nor then, unless I dare. But I think that some certain revenue amply adequate to all necessary purposes, upon a peace establishment, but certain and definite would have been better, and the collection of it might have been guaranteed by every State to every other. We should then have known to what we were about to subscribe, and should have cheerfully granted it.—But now, we may indeed grant, but who can *cheerfully* grant he knows not what?

Again, Sir, I object to the equality of these duties through the States. It matters not with me, in the present argument, which of them will suffer by this proportion.—Some probably *will*, as the consumption of dutied articles will not, if we may judge from experience, be uniform in all.

But say some, with whom I have conversed, it was for this reason that taxes were provided, that by their assistance the defect of duties in some States ought to be supplied. Now then, let us suppose that the duties are so laid, that if every State paid in proportion, to that which paid most, the duties alone would supply a frugal treasury. Some States will pay but half their proportion, and some will scarcely pay any thing. But those in general who pay the least duty, viz. the inland States, are least of all able to pay a land-tax, and therefore, I do not see but this tax would operate most against those who are least able to pay it.

I humbly submit it, Sir, whether, if each State had its proportion of some certain gross sum assigned according to its numbers, and a power was given to Congress to collect the same, in case of default in the State, this would not have been a safer Constitution.—For, Sir, I also disapprove of the power to collect, which is here vested in Congress—it is a power, Sir, to burden us with a standing army of ravenous collectors—harpies perhaps from another State, but who, however, were never known to have bowels for any purpose, but to fatten on the life-blood of the people. In one age or two this will be the case, and when the Congress shall become tyrannical, their vultures, their servants, will be the tyrants of the village, by whose presence, all freedom of speech and action will be taken away.

Sir, I shall be told that these are imaginary evils—but I hold to this maxim, that power was never given (of this kind especially) but it was exercised, nor ever exercised but it was finally abused. We must not be amused with handsome probabilities, but we must be assured that *we are in danger*, and that this Congress *could* not distress us, if they were ever so much disposed.

To pay the debts, &c. These words, Sir, I confess are an ornament to the page: And very musical words—but they are too general to be understood as any kind of limitation of the power of Congress, and not very easy to be understood at all. When Congress have the purse, they are not confined to rigid economy, and the word debts here is not confined to debts already contracted, or indeed, if it were, the term “general welfare” might be applied to any expenditure whatever. Or if it could not, who shall dare to gainsay the proceedings of this body at a future day, when according to the course of nature it shall be too firmly fixed in the saddle, to be overthrown by any thing but a general insurrection; an event not to be expected considering the extent of this continent, and if it were to be expected, a sufficient reason in itself for rejecting this or any Constitution that would tend to produce it.

This clause, Sir, is the very inew of the Constitution. And I hope the universality of it may be singular; but it may be easily seen that it tends to produce in time, as universal powers in every other respect. As the poverty of individuals, prevents luxury, so the poverty of public bodies, whether sole or aggregate, prevents tyranny. A nation cannot, perhaps, do a more politic thing than to supply the purse of its sovereignty with that parsimony, which results from a sense of the labour it costs, and so to compel him to comply with the genius of his people, and conform to their situation, whether he will or not. How different will be our conduct, if we give the entire disposal of our property to a body, as yet almost unknown in theory, in practice quite, heterogeneous in its composition, and whose maxims are yet entirely unknown.

Sir, I wish the gentlemen, who so ably advocate this instrument, would enlarge upon this formidable clause, and I most sincerely wish that the effect of their reasoning, may be my conviction. For, Sir, I will not dishonour my constituents, by supposing that they expect me to resist that which is irresistible—the force of reason. No, Sir, my constituents ardently wish for a firm, efficient, continental government, but fear the operation of this which is now proposed. Let them be convinced that their fears are groundless, and I venture to declare, in their name, that no town in the Commonwealth, will sooner approve the form, or be better subjected under it.

Mr. Jones (Boston) enlarged on the various checks which the Constitution provides; and which he said formed a security for liberty, and prevented power from being abused.—The frequency of elections of the democratic branch—Representation apportioned to numbers—I he publication of the Journals of Congress, &c. Gentlemen, he said, had compared the people of this country, to those of Rome,—but, he observed, the comparison was very erroneous—the Romans were divided into two classes—the nobility and plebeians—the nobility kept all kinds of knowledge to their own class; and the plebeians were in general very ignorant—and when unemployed, in time of peace, were ever ready for revolt, and to follow the dictates of any designing patrician: But, continued the worthy gentleman, the people of the United States, are an enlightened

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POET'S CORNER.

TIMES GOE BY TURNES.
A curious old Song.

THE lopped tree in time may grow againe,
Moft lapped plants renew both fruite and flower:
The forriest wight may find releafe of paine,
The dryest foile sucke in some moystring shower.
Times goe by turnes, and chaunces change by course,
From foule to faire; from better hap to worfe.

The sea of Fortune doth not ever flow,
Shee draws her favours to the lowest ebbe;
Her tides have equall times to come and goe,
Her loome doth weave the fine and courset webbe,
No joy so great, but runneth to an end:
No hap so hard, but may in fine amend.

Not alwaies fall of leafe, nor ever spring,
No endless night, nor yet eternal day:
The saddest birds a season find to sing,
The roughest forme a calme may soon ally.
Thus with succeeding turnes God tempereth all:
That man may hope to rise, yet feare to fall.

A chaunce may winne what by mischaunce was lost,
That net that holds no great, takes little fish;
In some things all, in all things none are croft,
Fewe all they need, but none have all they wish.
Unmeddled joyes here to no man befall:
Who least, hath some, who most, hath never all.

The MONITOR, No. 3.

IT was an observation of that excellent divine, Dr. Dodridge, that, of the persons we meet, nine out of ten are what they are, good or bad, according as they have been educated.

The fact is unquestionable that youth generally fix the habits of virtue or vice, and lays in that stock of good or evil which composes the residue of our lives.

"Children like tender oysters take the bow,
And as they first are fashion'd always grow."
Of such importance is an early and well-managed education, that it, long since, became a maxim of wisdom and experience that a child trained up in the way it "should go will not depart from it." This duty is recommended to christian parents by every tie of nature and religion; sanctioned by divine authority, and made indispensable to the christian character. "Bring up your children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." Let the precept sink into every parent's heart while they reflect, it is a precept of their divine master, and is directed to the best good of their rising offspring,—to their own comfort and honour,—to the welfare and happiness of the world!

This inheritance, transmitted to posterity, will make them respectable in life, and will survice the ruin of all temporal possessions: They will rise up into life under many advantages from your forming hand and "call you blessed."—*Tea, they will at the tribunal of the great God—A FUTURE PERIOD!—meet you with joy, and bless you forever.*

Mr. WHEELER,
By giving the following (from a late Boston Paper) a Place in your useful Chronicle, you'll oblige B. Z.

THE neglect of female education, is a fault inexculable in parents. It is to me matter of surprise how they attain to that degree of knowledge and refinement, which many of them largely possess, considering the disadvantages they labour under: Scarcely one eighth part of the care is taken to enlarge their ideas, and improve their understandings, which is bestowed upon the male sex—and was it not for their more lively conception, and the superiority of their natural genius, many of them would scarcely have an idea but what was bounded within the narrow limits of a dressing-room. Two and three quarters schooling is thought sufficient, and a year's schooling is thought extravagant for the female sex; but six, seven, and eight long years, are often thought little enough to give an education to one of the male sex—and with those eight years education, during which time they are under the tutorage of the most expert masters, and revel in all the luxury of science, are afterwards inferior to many of the female sex. What then might we not expect, if female education was more attended to? One cause, in my opinion, why their education is so much neglected, is, that lordly man trembles lest his boasted superiority should be called in question, by those whom he looks upon, and treats, when he has it in his power, as his inferiors—and that he could not claim that respect and awe, which he thinks due to his superior knowledge and understanding: But I hope the time will soon arrive, when candour shall consign to oblivion such deep-rooted and vulgar prejudices.—When *Masters shall view with pleasure and applause, The female mind "unfold great Nature's laws," And paths of honour and of science claim A double lustre from each female's fame.*

A writer on "the Present Times," speaks of America in the following words:—

"WHATSOEVER may be conjectured concerning the form in which the American governments may finally settle, it is certain, that the present agitation of spirit, and high sense of the dignity of man and of the rights of human na-

ture vindicated by them from the attempts of tyranny, promise a successful career in all that embellishes and renders life delightful. The glory of science and of extended commerce, will, no doubt, as usual, follow that of arms. The western hemisphere will reflect the light of the east with large increase.

"The pecuniary distresses of the new States, and of individuals, will be but temporary. Industry is the constant companion of liberty and peace, and the blessings of nature are permanent. The enthusiasm with which the more generous and sublime spirits of America speak of the future glories of their country, will not appear wholly unjustifiable, when we consider the light in which they view other nations, and that in which they, in their turn will be viewed by them. The Americans, placed at a noble and happy distance from the other quarters of the globe, extend their prospects beyond the narrow horizon of one or two nations, and, in one general and comprehensive view embracing the whole, consider the world as a theatre for friendly intercourse and extended commerce. In their publications, in their private letters, in their public harangues, and in their private conversations, they speak with an elevation of thought which nothing but the contemplation of the grandest objects could inspire—of the triumphs of liberty—the rights of human nature—unbounded trade—the felicity and the glory of a division of the world, fitted and destined by Providence to afford subsistence to the industrious, and relief to the oppressed."

SALT for the Fisheries.

TO BE SOLD, BY
Joseph & Wm. Russell,

At their Store in Providence,
LIVERPOOL, French, and Cape de Verd
SALT, and other Stores for the Fisheries,
on the most moderate Terms.—Also, best Connecticut BEEF and PORK, in Barrels and Half-Barrels; Flour, Ship-Bread, Rice, a few Firkins of excellent Butter for Families' Use, Beef Tallow, and Hog's Lard in Firkins, Grindstones of several Sizes, long Pipes by the Box, Spanish White, White Lead and Spanish Brown, English Duck No. 1. Copperas and Brimstone, Codfish, Indigo, French Brandy, West-India Rum, Sugars, &c. to by 8 Window-Glafs by the Box, best Velvet Corks.

A general Assortment of English and Hardware GOODS, at the lowest Rates for Cash, by Wholesale.

A few Bushels of clean FLAX-SEED to be exchanged for Seed in the Fall.
Providence, March 20, 1788.

JOHN WARD & Co.

Have for Sale, at their Store, opposite the Friends' Meeting-House, Providence.

BOHEA Tea of the first Quality, in half Chests and smaller Quantity—Powder of best Quality, in Quarter-Calks of 27 lb. Sugar, Chocolate, Flour, Sherry Wine, Brandy, West-India and New-England Rum, Molasses, Turpentine, Soap, German steel, Crockery Ware.—A Consignment of Chariots, Calicoes, Irish and printed Linens, 7-8ths and 11-8th Checks, from the Manufactorys, very low.—Also, a few Pieces of Broadcloths, Duills, Blankets, Linen and Silk Handkerchiefs, black Mode, black Gauze, and some saleable Articles of Hardware.

Moreens, Durants, Shalloons, Tammies, Calimancoes.
Providence, March 6, 1788.

WANTED,

TWO Journeymen PAPER-MAKERS,
at the Paper-Mill in Providence.—Good Encouragement will be given by
CHRISTOPHER OLNEY.
March 18, 1788.

JUST COME TO HAND,

THE Volume of DEBATES, RESOLUTIONS and other PROCEEDINGS of the late Hon. Convention of Massachusetts.—With the Yeas and Nays, on the Question of Ratification. To which is prefixed the CONSTITUTION reported by the late Federal Convention.

Price to Subscribers 1/4, to others 1/2.
This Volume contains 220 Pages—the Whole is regularly arranged, and as far as was practicable corrected. It is perhaps unnecessary to say anything in Commendation of these Debates—they are generally known to be highly interesting; and that, from the able Manner in which the Principles of the proposed Constitution are illustrated in them, they produced a Conviction in the Minds of a considerable Part of that Convention, in its Favour.—And it is but reasonable to suppose, a general Circulation of them will have a like good Tendency wherever they appear.

Subscribers are requested to call at the Printing-Office in Westminster-Street, for their Books.—A few more are received than will supply the Subscribers.
March 25, 1788.

ALL Persons indebted to the Printer of this Paper, either by Note, or Book-Account, are earnestly requested to make Payment.

GERSHOM JONES,

Pewterer, Coppersmith and Brazier,
In Westminster-Street, Providence, next Door to Mr. Jacob Whitman's,

MAKES and sells all Kinds of Pewter Ware, Wholesale and Retail, warranted to be equal, if not superior, to any imported from Europe, and as cheap as can be purchased in America; also, all Sorts of BRAZIERY, viz. Brass Kettles, Coffee-Pots, Sauce-Pans, Skillets, Skimmers, Ladles, &c. &c.—He makes STILLLS and WORMS, of all Sizes, on a new Construction, proved by Experience to consume less Fuel, and produce at least One per Cent. more Spirit, than the common Stills, some of which, in this Town, containing 1500 Gallons, will run off in Ten Hours from the kindling the Fire under them.—He returns his best Thanks to his Customers for their past Favours, and begs Leave to inform them, and all others, who wish to encourage those useful Manufactures, and will please to honour him with their Commands, that they may depend on the utmost Punctuality and Dispatch.

N. B. Cash, or any of the above Articles, will be given for old Pewter, Brass, or Copper.

A Journeyman PEWTERER, well recommended, may have constant Employ, and good Wages, by applying as above.

THE Honorable the Chancellor of the State of Maryland having appointed Mr. JOHN TILLINGHAST, of Baltimore, Trustee, in Favour of the Creditors of SAMUEL and BENJAMIN SNOW—all Persons having any Specialties, or Accounts open with said Company, are requested to exhibit them to the Subscriber, who is appointed Agent by the said Trustee, in Order that a true Statement may be had, and a speedy Settlement made;—to facilitate which a Two-Story Merchant's Shop, on the West Side of the Bridge, together with sundry other Articles belonging to the late Company, will be sold, on the first Day of May, at Public Auction, if not previously disposed of.
BENONI PEARCE.

Providence, March 26, 1788.

ALSO TO BE SOLD,

A convenient DWELLING-HOUSE, belonging to the said Pearce.—For Terms apply to Dr. BENJAMIN DYER, of Providence, who is fully empowered to transact any Business in the Absence of the said Pearce.

The Creditors of the Estate of the late Dr. Thomas Truman, or Truman and Co. are earnestly requested to settle their Accounts.

DANIEL L. COIT, } Executors.
BENONI PEARCE, }

TAKE NOTICE!

ALL Persons indebted for TICKETS in Gloucester Meeting-House Lottery, who neglected to make Payment by the Fifteenth Day of April next, may be depend on being sued, without further Notice.
Gloucester, March 18, 1788.

NOTICE is hereby given to all

Persons indebted to the Estate of Capt. CORNELIUS WHITE, late of Taunton, deceased, —also to all those to whom the said Estate is indebted.—That Attendance will be given, at the Dwelling-House of the said Deceased, on Saturday, the Twelfth Day of this Instant, and from thence on every succeeding Saturday in this and the following Months, till the End of Six Months from the present Date—in order for a Settlement of the Accounts of said Estate—by us the Subscribers, Administrators of said Estate, appointed by the Honorable Judge of Probate for the County of Bristol.

CORNELIUS WHITE, } Administrators.
ABIJAH WHITE, }
Taunton, January 7, 1788.

State of Rhode-Island, &c.

TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

KNOW YE, That EBENEZER BROWN, of North-Kingstown, in the County of Washington, Yeoman, on the 1st Day of January, A. D. 1788, at my Dwelling-House at North-Kingstown, lodged with me the Sum of £85, lawful Money; being in full of the Principal and Interest arising on one certain Bond, due to Joseph Taylor, Samuel Brenton, Anthony Rathburn, Joseph Coggehall, Nicholas Spencer, and Peter Burlingame, they being the present Town-Council of the Town of North-Kingstown, and lawful Guardians or Trustees of the Heirs of John Allin, late of North-Kingstown, deceased: For that whereas the said Ebenezer Brown became Bondsmen for Alexander Huling, to the then Town-Council, who married Mary Allin, Widow of said John Allin, said Mary administering on the Estate of her late Husband, John, deceased: Whereupon the said then Town-Council as aforesaid required bonds of the said Alexander, for the true Performance of the Administration of the said Mary: That the said Ebenezer Brown hath in all Respects complied with the Law respecting the Paper Currency; and that the aforesaid Town-Council hath been legally and duly notified thereof.

Witness, S. GARDNER, J. C. Pleas.
North-Kingstown, March 10, 1788.