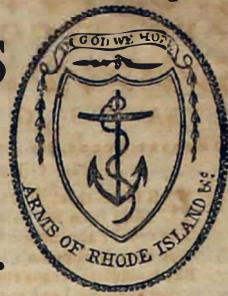




THE  
**UNITED STATES**  
**CHRONICLE:**  
 Political, Commercial, and Historical.



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

THURSDAY, May 1, 1788.

**Massachusetts STATE CONVENTION.**

WEDNESDAY, January 23. A. M.

Section 8th, still under consideration.

**M**R. Parsons [of Newbury-Port.] Mr. President. A great variety of supposed objections have been made, against veiling Congress with some of the powers defined in the 8th section. Some of the objectors have considered the powers as unnecessary—and others, that the people have not the proper security that these powers will not be abused. To most of these objections, answers, convincing in my opinion to a candid mind, have been given. But as some of the objections have not been noticed, I shall beg the indulgence of the Convention, while I very briefly consider them.—And as it is my intention to avoid all repetition, my observations will necessarily be unconnected and desultory.

It has been said, that the grant in this section includes all the possessions of the people, and divests them of every thing—that such a grant is impolitic, for as the poverty of an individual guards him against luxury and extravagance, so poverty in a ruler is a fence against tyranny and oppression. Sir, gentlemen do not distinguish between the government of an hereditary aristocracy, where the interest of the governors is very different from that of the subjects, and a government to be administered for the common good by the servants of the people vested with delegated powers by popular elections at stated periods. The federal Constitution establishes a government of the last description, and in this case the people divest themselves of nothing:—The government and powers which the Congress can administer, are the mere result of a compact made by the people with each other, for the common defence and general welfare.—To talk, therefore, of keeping the Congress poor, if it means any thing, must mean a depriving the people themselves of their own resources. But if gentlemen will still insist, that these powers are a grant from the people, and consequently improper, let it then be observed, that it is now too late to impede the grant—it is already completed—the Congress under the Confederation are invested with it, by solemn compact—they have powers to demand what monies and forces they judge necessary for the common defence and general welfare—powers as extensive as those proposed in this Constitution. But it may be said, as the ways and means are reserved to the several States, they have a check upon Congress by refusing a compliance with the requisitions. Sir, is this the boasted check—a check that can never be exercised but by perfidy and a breach of public faith—by a violation of the most solemn stipulations? It is this check that has embarrassed at home, and made us contemptible abroad—and will any honest man plume himself upon a check which an honest man would blush to exercise?

It has been objected, that the Constitution provides no religious test by oath, and we may have in power unprincipled men, atheists and pagans. No man can with more ardently than I do, that all our public offices may be filled by men who fear God and hate wickedness; but it must remain with the electors to give the government this security—an oath will not do it: Will an unprincipled man be entangled by an oath? Will an atheist or a pagan dread the vengeance of the christian's God, a being in his opinion the creature of fancy and credulity? It is a solecism in expression. No man is so illiberal as to wish the confining places of honour or profit to any one sect of christians: But what security is it to government that every public officer shall swear that he is a christian? For what will then be called christianity? One man will declare that the christian religion is only an illumination of natural religion, and that he is a christian; another christian will assert, that all men must be happy hereafter in spite of themselves; a third christian reverses the image, and declares, that let a man do all he can, he will certainly be punished in another world; and a fourth will tell us, that if a man use any force for the common defence, he violates every principle of christianity. Sir, the only evidence we can have of the sincerity and excellency of a man's religion, is a good life—and I trust that such evidence will be required of every candidate by every elector. That man who acts an honest part to

his neighbour, will most probably conduct honorably towards the public.

It has been objected, that we have not so good security against the abuse of power under the new Constitution, as the Confederation gives us. It is my deliberate opinion, that we have a better security. Under the Confederation the whole power, executive and legislative, is vested in one body, in which the people have no representation, and where the States, the great and the small States, are equally represented; and all the checks the States have, is a power to remove and disgrace an unfaithful servant, after the mischief is perpetrated. Under this Constitution, an equal representation immediately from the people, is introduced, who by their negative, and the exclusive right of originating money-bills, have the power to controul the Senate, where the sovereignty of the States are represented. But it has been objected, that in the old Confederation the States could at any time recall their delegates, and there was a rotation. No essential benefit could be derived to the people from these provisions, but great inconveniences will result from them. It has been observed by a gentleman who has argued against the Constitution, that a representative ought to have an intimate acquaintance with the circumstances of his constituents, and after comparing them with the situation of every part of the union, so conduct as to promote the common good. The sentiment is an excellent one, and ought to be engraven on the hearts of every representative. But what is the effect of the power of recalling.—Your representative, with an operating revocation over his head, will lose all ideas of the general good, and will dwindle to a servile agent attempting to serve local and partial benefits by cabal and intrigue.—There are great and inseparable objections to a rotation.—It is an abridgement of the rights of the people, and it may deprive them at critical seasons of the services of the most important characters in the nation. It deprives a man of honorable ambition, whose highest glory is the applause of his fellow-citizens, of an efficient motive to great and patriotic exertions. The people individually have no method of testifying their esteem, but by a re-election: And shall they be deprived of the honest satisfaction of wreathing for their friend and patriot a crown of laurel more durable than monarchy can bestow.

It has been objected, that the Senate are made too independent upon the State Legislatures. No business under the Constitution of the federal Convention, could have been more embarrassing, than the constituting the Senate—as that body must conduct our foreign negotiations, and establish and preserve a system of national politics, an uniform adherence to which can alone induce other nations to negotiate with and confide in us.—It is certain the change of the men who compose it should not be too frequent, and should be gradual: At the same time suitable checks should be provided to prevent an abuse of power, and to continue their dependence on their constituents—I think the Convention have most happily extricated themselves from the embarrassment. Although the senators are elected for six years, yet the Senate as a body composed of the same men, can exist only for two years, without the consent of the States: If the States think proper, one third of that body may at the end of every second year, be new men. When the Senate act as legislators they are controulable at all times by the representatives; and in their executive capacity, in making treaties and conducting the national negotiations; the consent of two-thirds is necessary, who must be united to a man, which is hardly possible, or the new men biennially sent to the Senate if the States chuse it can controul them; and at all times there will also be one-third of the Senate, who at the expiration of two years must obtain a re-election, or return to the mass of the people. And the change of men in the Senate will be so gradual as not to destroy or disturb any national system of politics.

It is objected, that it is dangerous to allow the Senate a right of proposing alterations or amendments in money-bills—that the Senate may by this power increase the supplies and establish profuse salaries—that for these reasons the lords in the British Parliament have not this power, which is a great security to the liberties of Englishmen. I was much surprized at hearing this objection, and the grounds upon which it was supported. The

reason why the lords have not this power is founded on a principle in the English Constitution, that the Commons alone represent the whole property of the nation; and as a money-bill is a grant to the King, none can make the grant but those who represent the property of the nation; and the negative of the lords is introduced to check the profusion of the Commons, and to guard their own property. The manner of passing a money-bill, is conclusive evidence of these principles—for after the assent of the lords, it does not remain with the clerk of the Parliament, but is returned to the Commons, who by their speaker, present it to the King, as the gift of the Commons;—But every supposed controul the Senate by this power may have over money-bills, they can have without it—for by private communications with the representatives, they may as well insist upon an increase of the supplies, or salaries, as by official communications:—But had not the Senate this power, the representatives might tack any foreign matter to a money-bill, and compel the Senate to concur, or lose the supplies; this might be done in critical seasons, when the Senate might give way to the encroachment of the representatives, rather than sustain the odium of embarrassing the affairs of the nation.—The balance between the two branches of the Legislature, would in this way be endangered, if not destroyed; and the Constitution naturally injured. This subject was fully considered by the Convention for forming the Constitution of Massachusetts, and the provision made by that body after mature deliberation is introduced into the federal Constitution.

It was objected, that by giving Congress a power of direct taxation, we give them power to destroy the State governments by prohibiting them from raising any monies.—But this objection is not founded in the Constitution. Congress have only a concurrent right with each State, in laying direct taxes, not an exclusive right; and the right of each State to direct taxation is equally extensive and perfect as the right of Congress—any law, therefore, of the United States for securing to Congress more than a concurrent right with each State, is usurpation and void.

It has been objected that we have no bill of rights.—If gentlemen who make this objection, would consider what are the supposed inconveniences resulting from the want of a declaration of rights, I think they would soon satisfy themselves that the objection has no weight. Is there a single natural right we enjoy, uncontrouled by our own legislature, that Congress can infringe? Not one. Is there a single political right secured to us by our Constitution, against the attempts of our own Legislature, which we are deprived of by this Constitution? Not one that I recollect. All the rights Congress can controul, we have surrendered to our own Legislature, and the only question is, whether the people shall take from their own Legislatures, a certain portion of the several sovereignties, and unite them in one head, for the more effectual securing of the national prosperity and happiness.

The hon. gentleman from Bolton, has stated at large most of the checks the people have against usurpation, and the abuse of power, under the proposed Constitution; but from the abundance of his matter, he has, in my opinion, omitted two or three, which I shall mention.—The oath the several legislative, executive and judicial officers of the several States take to support the federal Constitution, is as effectual a security against the usurpation of the general government, as it is against the encroachment of the State governments. For an increase of the powers by usurpation, is as clearly a violation of the federal Constitution, as a diminution of these powers by private encroachment—and that oath obliges the officers of the several States, as vigorously to oppose the one as the other. But there is another check, founded in the nature of the union, superior to all the parchment checks that can be invented.—If there should be a usurpation, it will not be upon the farmer and merchant, employed and attentive only to their several occupations, it will be upon thirteen Legislatures, completely organized, possessed of the confidence of the people, and having the means as well as inclination, successfully to oppose it. Under these circumstances, none but mad men would attempt an usurpation.—But, Sir, the people themselves have it in their power effectually to resist usurpation;



**POET'S CORNER.**

*Of MAN'S DEPENDENCE on his CREATOR.*

**T**HRO' all the various shifting scenes  
Of life's mistaken ill or good,  
The hand of God conducts, unseen,  
The beautiful vicissitude.

He portions with paternal care,  
How'er unjustly we complain,  
To each their necessary share  
Of joy and sorrow, health and pain.

Trust we to youth, or friends or pow'r ;  
Fix we our foot on fortune's ball ;  
When most secure, the coming hour,  
If he sees fit, may blast them all.

When lowest sunk with grief and shame,  
Gorg'd with affliction's deepest cup,  
Lott to relations, friends and fame,  
His pow'ful arm can raise thee up.

Before his throne the poor, oppress'd  
With stand'rous rage, acquitted stand :  
He guides the exile to his rest,  
And country, in a foreign land.

His pow'ful consolations cheer,  
His smiles erect th' afflicted head ;  
His hand can wipe away the tear  
That secret wets the widow'd bed.

All things on earth, and all in heav'n,  
On his eternal will depend ;  
And all for greater good were giv'n,  
Would man pursue th' appointed end.

This be my care ; to all beside  
Indifferent let my wishes be ;  
Passion be calm, and dumb be pride,  
And fix my soul, my God, on thee.

**The MONITOR, No. 7.**

**ADVANTAGES OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.**

**H**ONOUR to whom honour is due."—*That every creature should do homage to his Creator is so obvious that it needs neither proof nor illustration.—It is also obvious that the honour of God is more promoted by his being publicly worshipped, than only in a private manner ; because private prayer is piety confined within our own breasts ; but public prayer is piety exemplified and displayed in our outward actions : It is "the beauty of holiness" made visible ; our "light shines out before men," and in the eye of the world ; it enlarges the interest of godliness, and keeps up the face and sense of religion among mankind.*

*Were men only to repair to their devotion, as the Disciple of quality did to his Lord and Master, secretly and by night, for fear of the Jews ; religion, thus lonely and unfriended, would soon decay for want of public countenance and encouragement. What would be the consequence, if religion sought the shades, and lived a recluse only immersed in closets ; while irreligion audaciously appears abroad, "like the pestilence that destroyeth at noon day ?" It requires no great depth of penetration to perceive, nor expense of argument to prove that a general declension of public worship must end in a general irreverence to the Deity ; and an irreverence to the Deity in an universal dissolution of morals. It is therefore the duty of every man, not only to cultivate a devout reverence in himself, but promote it as far as he can in others. And how can he do this but by exemplifying before them his inward and sacred regard to the Deity, by solemn and revered acknowledgments of his power and glory, in assemblies set apart for that purpose ?*

For NEW-YORK and ALBANY,  
**The SLOOP POLLY,**  
JOHN JACOBS, Master,  
WILL sail the First of May next.—For Freight and Passage apply to the Master on-board.—She is well accommodated for Passengers, and lies at Mr. Moses Brown's Wharf, Providence, April 22, 1788.

**TAKE NOTICE!**  
ALL Persons indebted for Tickets in SMITHFIELD and CUMBERLAND BRIDGE LOTTERY, who neglect to make Payment by the 10th of May next, may depend on being sued, without further Notice.

DAVID SAYLES,  
JOTHAM CARPENTER, } Managers.  
Smithfield, April 12, 1788.

**JOHN PEARSE**  
RESPECTFULLY informs the Public, That he carries on the PAINTING, BUSINESS in all its Branches, at the Store at the Southwest Corner of the Market-House, in Providence.—Those who please to, favour him with their Custom may depend on the utmost Fidelity, and as much Dispatch as the Work will admit.—He keeps for Sale—Paints of all Kinds, both ground in Oil and dry ;—also, Putty, Oil, &c. &c.—He takes this Method to return his hearty Thanks to his former Customers, and requests a Continuance of their Favours.

Providence, April 2, 1788.

**LIST of the NUMBERS which came up PRIZES in the WOONSOCKET BRIDGE LOTTERY.**

These Numbers with no Sums annexed are Prizes of Eight Dollars each.

No. Doll.	No. Doll.	No. Doll.	No. Doll.	No. Doll.	No. Doll.	No. Doll.	No. Doll.	No. Doll.	No. Doll.	No. Doll.	No. Doll.
3	349	647	971	1327	1673	1990	2283	2674	40		
7	50	49	73	28	75	95	84	77			
8	52	52	74	29	79	10 2001	87	84			
10	55	53	76	34	83	3	88	86			
16	56	58	77	41	85	6	93	88			
17	57	50 59	79	42	88	9	300	90			
18	58	60	80	10 45	89	10	3	92			
20	60	62	83	57	90	14	4	96			
23	63	64	84	61	10 92	15	10	97			
24	69	71	88	62	94	10 16	34	98			
26	71	75	91	64	96	17	20 40	10 700			
27	73	77	99	68	97	18	43	5			
28	75	87	1006	74	704	19	30 47	12			
30	77	88	9	78	5	21	10 50	19	10		
31	78	90	22	79	6	25	52	22			
34	80	92	26	82	8	26	54	26			
35	82	97	28	84	11	28	61	27			
49	85	700	34	200 86	12	30	64	28			
58	86	4	37	92	100 15	31	66	35			
63	88	14	41	94	22	37	69	38			
64	10 90	15	49	10 95	23	30 39	70	41			
66	92	16	50	97	27	42	78	42			
70	96	19	55	98	20 30	46	83	43			
77	99	26	64	404	32	47	84	46	10		
79	410	27	73	5	40	48	90	50			
80	14	34	74	6	10 41	49	91	51			
82	18	39	75	8	42	50	96	55			
85	19	42	78	12	47	56	402	59			
88	20 10 48	81	14	14	51	59	3	10 62			
94	21	51	10 82	15	10 58	10 63	5	30 63			
95	23	52	83	20	59	66	8	65			
97	27	58	84	22	75	20 67	9	10 71			
99	30	59	20 88	25	10 77	71	14	72			
105	38	61	89	26	78	73	18	77			
6	43	40 64	90	27	80	77	19	88			
8	44	68	91	32	82	78	24	92	20		
11	46	74	93	34	88	80	33	93			
14	49	75	99	35	91	82	36	96			
17	50	77	100	37	92	83	39	98			
18	53	79	10 6	43	30 95	10 85	40	99			
25	64	80	8	10 50	96	87	41	10 800			
26	66	82	13	10 56	97	88	48	1			
27	68	84	14	59	98	10 92	49	4	10		
28	69	85	15	62	99	95	51	6			
32	72	93	17	63	807	96	52	9			
33	74	96	33	64	13	100	61	11			
36	75	97	38	66	14	4	62	17			
39	79	800	40	68	21	6	65	24			
40	82	2	42	73	24	9	66	20 25			
41	83	10 4	44	78	26	11	69	20 26			
48	86	7	47	82	20 27	12	72	27			
52	10 92	12	51	88	28	16	76	30 10			
53	96	22	55	92	46	20	77	35			
61	99	25	56	95	47	21	80	36			
66	500	26	63	503	48	22	81	37			
68	1	27	68	4	53	24	85	39			
72	6	32	69	10 9	54	25	89	41			
76	10 38	71	16	62	26	20 93	30 43	45			
79	11	40	73	19	63	27	96	30			
83	12	43	78	20	65	34	500	51			
84	13	45	79	25	69	42	20 1	55			
85	15	46	80	26	70	43	6	58			
87	22	47	95	29	73	47	12	60			
93	10 23	50	96	10 33	78	10 49	14	62			
94	24	51	98	39	80	51	10 15	66			
95	26	52	20 99	43	82	53	18	67			
97	27	53	201	46	84	54	19	70			
99	28	63	4	48	86	57	28	71			
200	39	67	5	53	95	60	32	75	10		
1	42	80	6	56	99	64	38	78			
2	43	84	7	57	902	67	39	80			
3	48	85	13	10 58	3	68	45	82			
4	50	86	15	59	4	69	52	86			
6	53	87	16	61	5	73	57	87			
8	54	89	27	63	7	78	58	88			
10	56	92	37	66	8	80	59	99			
12	60	93	20 40	69	14	82	61	96			
15	64	95	20 41	72	17	84	65	97			
18	66	97	42	20 73	18	90	66	906			
19	69	99	43	74	19	93	73	7			
31	20 74	903	44	75	20	97	75	9			
42	76	7	48	76	10 23	202	77	11			
43	78	8	53	77	10 26	8	80	13			
53	20 80	11	54	79	27	9	83	16			
55	83	12	58	81	32	12	85	17			
62	20 84	17	61	83	35	15	90	18			
64	85	18	63	90	37	16	601	20			
66	87	19	66	91	39	19	3	21			
68	89	23	67	94	40	20	5	30 34			
70	95	24	68	10 95	44	21	10 6	36			
88	96	26	72	99	45	22	10 13	40	30		
90	97	27	73	601	46	23	15	41			
91	604	28	74	6	51	24	17	44			
92	5	29	76	14	52	25	19	45			
94	7	30	77	10 16	54	27	22	51			
97	10 38	79	18	55	28	23	24	52			
98	11	40	81	19	60	33	24	54			
303	12	41	90	21	10 63	38	26	55			
4	14	44	10 94	25	64	39	29	59			
5	19	48	95	32	65	48	30	60			
12	20	49	97	35	67	49	35	10 70			
13	24	50	301	43	68	51	37	73			
19	26	51	3	48	10 69	52	40	75			
29	29	10 52	5	51	20 72	53	43	50 80			
30	30	53	7	54	75	58	44	81			
37	32	54	8	57	77	67	45	85			
38	35	59	9	58	78	70	46	86			
41	36	61	13	62	80	74	50	95			
42	39	63	30 16	63	86	79	59	96			
46	20 43	68	17	70	30 87	80	66	98			
47	45	70	21	71	89	81	69	3000			

Prizes not demanded within Six Months, will be deemed as generously given to the Bridge, and applied accordingly.

The foregoing LIST of PRIZES in the WOONSOCKET BRIDGE LOTTERY was received by the Printer, on Tuesday, the 15th Inst. in the Evening—but previous Engagements that Week prevented its being published.—It intended to have published it last Week—but a Report having been circulated, that a Mistake had been made in the Drawing of the Lottery, he thought it prudent to omit it until he could see some of the Managers—he has since seen them, and can assure the Public, that there is not the least Foundation for the said Report.

Providence, April 28, 1788.