

maintain a state of anarchy and disorder—and contract every system which promises safety and defence to the peaceable citizen.

Thirdly, avarice and iniquity will prompt their votaries to oppose the establishment of government in all its forms, lest they shall be compelled to resign their ill gotten gains—to discharge their honest debts—to pay their just and necessary taxes, and prevent their vile intentions to defraud and oppress the innocent and industrious.

Fourthly, the ambitious, whose inordinate eagerness for promotion will create in them an aversion to a constitution, the principles of which are unfavourable to the advancement of men of their character, to high and important places of trust. Under this head may be ranked, lovers of novelty, whose restless, fickle and unstable tempers provoke them to an insatiable fondness for innovations and changes—divisions and subdivisions of States, counties and towns. They never find contentment in their present circumstances—are ever zig-zagging for that which is uncertainly by them. In vain will you tender for the approbation of such, any kind of permanent government under heaven.

The ignorant and misled, possibly it may be thought, will constitute a fifth class of opposers; but these being generally under the influence of innocent motives—well wishing to mankind in general, and friendly to peace and good order, you may by due information, excite them to accede to all such measures as you can convince them will be conducive to the good of the community at large. I flatter myself that you will be virtuous, and I think upon good grounds that you will readily accept the recommendations of the late federal convention—that you will zealously oppose its enemies, and do all that within you lies to convince your deluded friends. It is of high concernment that you should accept it; for (to adopt the words of an inspired prophet: "It is not a vain thing for you, it is your life." I have heretofore pointed out to you its necessity and excellency, together with the happy fruits of your embracing it, as well as the ill effects of the contrary: and now its opposers, their characters, machinations, aims, ends and designs, have cautioned you against their devices, and expect that you will fall in with it. For it is already so far completed, that a convention is to be held in this, and several other States, by order of their respective assemblies; and you will soon be called on to give in your suffrages for delegates to represent you; and I am confident that you will offer wisdom to direct you to the choice of persons of knowledge and uprightness, whose deliberations shall be governed, and final result determined by the most disinterested motives—a strong objection for you, and a high regard for your dearest interest; and then I have not the least doubt remaining, but the fore-mentioned recommendations will be confirmed and ratified, which will wholly disappoint and baffle the plots and purposes of your malicious adversaries, to ruin and destroy you—and gratify the wishes of the

MONITOR.

The following Letter, containing the objections of the Hon. ELBRIDGE GERRY, Esq. against his signing the National Constitution, we lay before our Readers for their serious perusal.

NEW-YORK, 18th October 1787.

GENTLEMEN,

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

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

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

My principal objections to the plan, are, that there is no adequate provision for a representation of the people—that they have no security for the right of election—that some of the powers of the Legislature are ambiguous, and others, indefinite and dangerous, and that the Executive is blended with and will have an undue influence over the Legislature—and that treaties of the highest importance may be formed by the President with the advice of two-thirds of a quorum of the Senate—and that the system is without the security of a bill of rights. These are objections which are not local, but apply equally to all the States.

As the Convention was called for "the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions as shall render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the union," I did not conceive that these powers extend to the formation of the plan proposed, but the Convention being

of a different opinion, I acquiesced in it, being fully convinced that to preserve the union, an efficient government was indispensably necessary; and that it would be difficult to make proper amendments to the Articles of Confederation.

The Constitution proposed has few, if any federal features, but is rather a system of national government: Nevertheless, in many respects I think it has great merit, and by proper amendments may be adapted to the "exigencies of government and preservation of liberty."

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

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

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

Others may suppose, that the Constitution may be safely adopted, because therein provision is made to amend it: But cannot this object be better attained before a ratification, than after it? And should a free people adopt a form of government, under conviction that it wants amendment? And some may conceive, that if the plan is not accepted by the people, they will not unite in another: But surely whilst they have the power to amend, they are not under the necessity of rejecting it.

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

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

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

E. GERRY.

The Hon. SAMUEL ADAMS, Esq. President of the Senate; and The Hon. JAMES WARREN, Esq. Speaker of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts.

LONDON, Sept. 2. Sunday last a party of the artillery, with two waggons, laden with proper implements, marched to Dover, with orders to mount the cannon which were dismounted at the peace.

Commodore Corby's Squadron in the Mediterranean is to be immediately re-enforced, in consequence of the rupture between Russia and the Turks.

The differences which subsisted between the Court of Portugal and Madrid, on account of the detention of dollars, to a great amount, have been amicably accommodated.

Sept. 17. We have not been remiss, or much negligent, in representing the transactions and deliberations at home—but we nevertheless shall be glad if our frequent predictions of a General War, are not speedily, and woefully verified.

The crisis, however, is arrived, which will confirm or confound our determined opinion.

The calamities of war, in which Britain must be involved, seem at present totally inevitable.

Holland is the great stake for which England and France will probably contend.

Saturday last was the limitation for an answer to be given to the memorial of the King of Prussia. That expressive and pointed memorial has been answered with evasion; we have reason, therefore, to expect, that by this time, or in a few days, the Prussian troops will be in the heart of Holland.

The Dutch look up to, and depend on France for support—that support must be granted—or France will not only forfeit her alliance, but tamely resign the coveted interests and attachments of Holland, to the disposition and friendship of Great Britain.

On what plan of policy can the Court of Versailles be suspected of being governed by such a conduct—especially as it is well known that they have foisted the Dutch subsidies; and the expense of upwards of three millions of money;—that they have, during the pretended season of mediation, been augmenting their army at Givet;—that for several months past they have also been withdrawing their officers from the Turkish army;—and considering that all the recent negotiations have hitherto tended only to gain time, in order to gain strength—it is not likely or even possible, that France can without her promised support—nor is it more likely that England will submit to the dominion of France being established in Holland.

Farther procrastination is therefore incompatible with the policy and bravery of the Prussian troops, who are prepared and impatient for action. From these and a variety of other considerations, we suggest—immediate hostilities.

Sept. 18. Private correspondence from Holland, by yesterday's mail, say, The Prussian troops have penetrated into Holland, under the command of the Duke of Brunswick. They are said to amount to 15,000.

The sluices are opened, by the patriotic party, to prevent the progress of the Stadtholders, with a promise of indemnification to the neighbouring inhabitants; for any damage they may sustain.

A very considerable reinforcement of French troops is already arrived at Givet, and the whole army there under—marching orders.

If the Dutch and Drabanders do liberally give way, and the Porcycild up all its pretensions on Russia, war must soon be kindled in Europe, of which the flames will spread from the extremity of the Caspian Sea to the English Channel. The greatest part of the Northern Hemisphere will be involved, and a scene of destruction exhibited, beyond any thing that has been known in the annals of mankind.

Sept. 21. An order was yesterday sent out to the Commissioners at Plymouth, to get three more ships of the line ready for sea with the utmost dispatch.

Last night press warrants were sent down from the Admiralty Office to every sea-port for the impression of men into his Majesty's service; and early this evening a general sweep was made on the River here, by which upwards of 1000 men were obtained. The press was also very hot.

Authentic intelligence is received of a vessel from Holland, that Utrecht, Gorcum, Schoonhoven, Oudenarde and Woerden, has surrendered to the Prussian troops; that the town of Dott and other places were taken; that Rotterdam had hoisted the Prince of Orange's flag; and that the Free Corps had retired to Amsterdam. All this was effected quietly, and without bloodshed.

RICHMOND, October 20.

At a meeting of the respectable inhabitants of Berkeley county.

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

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

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

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

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 7.

Extract of a letter from Charleston, South Carolina, dated October 9, 1787.

"We are in continual fear every night, from the frequent attempts to lay this city in ashes, not a week passes over, without our narrowly escaping the devouring flames.

"A duel was fought here a few days ago—the first fire proved fruitless on both sides; but on the second one, one of the parties received a ball in his forehead, and expired immediately. Another duel has been fought with swords only, and one of the parties run through the body.

"This is the eighth person who has been killed in duels since I have lived in Carolina. Extract of a letter from Salem county, West Jersey, dated October 22, 1787.

"Nothing is talked of here, either public or

private, but the new constitution. All read, and almost all approve of it. Indeed it requires only to be read, with attention, and without prejudice, to be approved of. It is true, there are a few that do not like the new form of general government; but they are only those who have not yet paid their debts; and therefore the only objection these people pretend to make against this constitution is levelled at the 13th section of the first article, which puts it out of the power of any individual state to make paper money: And here I cannot forbear to observe, that nothing in the whole federal constitution is more necessary than this very section; for we find, by woful experience, that nothing, neither the religion of nature, nor even the pure religion of Jesus Christ, which enjoins honesty in almost every page of it; can make men honest. It was therefore absolutely necessary to guard against that great instrument of fraud, viz. the emission of paper money. It is much to the credit of the people, that neither this great objection of the advocates for a paper currency, nor indeed any other that can possibly be raised, gains any ground in this part of the country. There are several petitions in this and the neighbouring counties, ready to be presented to our assembly. In these the numerous subscribers pray the assembly, earnestly as ever they did to God Almighty for the forgiveness of their sins, immediately to call a convention for the ratification of the proposed constitution. One of these petitions has the following strong and expressive sentence in it: "We are convinced, after the most serious and unprejudiced examination of the different articles, and sections of articles of this constitution, that nothing but the immediate adoption of it can save the United States in general, and this State in particular, from absolute ruin."

CARLEISLE, October 22.

About two weeks ago, the following melancholy accident happened in Franklin county—some time in the night the house of Mr. Bowen, a junior, oak fire and consumed to ashes, the wind blowing very high, the fire communicated to the house of his father, at the distance of about 20 rods, which like-wise was consumed—we are informed that a considerable part of the old man's effects were saved, but the former's wife, with four of his children and the whole of his household goods were burnt. It is hoped, that as the winter is fast approaching this may be a warning to guard against that impetuous and dreadful element—fire.

ELIZABETH-TOWN, November 7.

When the Scepticous W-thington was called on by the Scepticous to ratify the Constitution, as his President—holding the pen, after a short pause, he pronounced these words, too remarkable to be forgotten on any account—"Should the States reject this excellent constitution, the probability is, that an opportunity will never again offer to cancel another in peace;—the next will be drawn in blood!"—Great Heaven, avert the direful catastrophe! But may the rising glories of his country gild his declining horizon, and his smiling prosperity cheer his heart at striking into the embrace of death.

NEW-YORK, November 14.

Extract of a letter from a Merchant in Amsterdam, to his friend in this city, dated Amsterdam September 18, 1787.

"The continuation reigning throughout this city, and our present alarming situations prevent me from giving you so circumstantial an account as I wish to do. Certainly you never thought that our counsels would ever have been so serious. A formidable army of 30,000 Prussian troops, provided with a complete park of artillery, spreading a terrible panic through the whole country is now within our territories, and is rapidly advancing towards this city. On receiving this dreadful news, our city gates were shut and all the bridges drawn up, so that it is at present impossible for any person to leave the place or enter it. God knows what will become of us; in his power alone will it be to avert the impending calamities. How many families exposed to the utmost danger, would now be glad to repair to America and there enjoy peace and real liberty, were the extreme distance between us not so very discouraging; for in case our Patriots should be compelled to submit, we are determined to leave this, our native country."

LITCHFIELD, Nov. 5.

On Wednesday last, one David Downe, was accidentally shot, at the house of Mr. Rufus Ranford, in Roxbury; the circumstance of this melancholy affair, as near as we can learn, were—A company of militia being on their way to join a general training at Southbury, halted at the door of Mr. Ranford, one of them taking up another's gun, enquired if it was loaded, and was answered by the owner, who was engaged in discourse with another man, that he believed it was not, upon which he snapped it, it went off, and shattered the head of Mr. Downe, in such a shocking manner as to scatter his brains

about the room; he expired instantly.—Mr. Downe was between forty and forty-three years of age, he has left a widow and six children to lament his loss. It might be hoped that the number of accidents of this kind would render people cautious!

S. A. L. E. M. Oct. 27.

A friend at Marblehead favours us with the following particulars of a late melancholy occurrence.

"The most astonishing scenes are continually pouring in upon our minds in that place, to strengthen and establish our belief of a governing Providence, and at the same time to keep alive every tender sensibility of the human heart."

"This day arrived from sea Mr. Anthony Jones, clothed with the melancholy tidings, that the schooner Washington, in the harbour of the 29th of August was upset and entirely lost—adding, like the messenger of Job, this most distressing part, and I only am escaped to tell you."

"The master, Capt. Samuel Gale, has left, besides a numerous family, a widow disconsolate for the loss of a child as well as a husband, in the affecting catastrophe.—Bill further heightened by the circumstance of another at home, arrived within the arms of death. The mate, Mr. William Angles, has left a parent in the bitter anguish for the loss of a son, and his only earthly support; besides a train of children, and a companion just ready to have parted him with a new pledge of their conjugal affection."

"I relate of this fearful tale in a most remarkable manner. His fall occurred so lately, by throwing himself into the sea; and his returning to the hull, upon which he clung for the space of an hour; but being washed off, his next alternative was swimming to a piece of the lost boat, not larger than a buoy, which was floating along, on which he supported himself for 12 hours more, in the midst of a tempestuous sea. The only gleam of hope which appeared upon him, arose from the appearance of a disabled brig, bearing towards him, but when arrived, not a boat was left belonging to her to take in the poor sufferer. Though faint and seemingly exhausted, his strength remained, properly to secure around his own body, a rope thrown out for the purpose, by means of which he was drawn up into the deck of safety, to the no small joy and surprise of the humane and generous strangers."

"His gratitude was augmented by seeing, in a few moments after he was received on board, a multitude of sharks, those fishes of prey, hovering around them; though not ever discovered by him, when in his former perilous situation."

"While we triumph in the goodness of God towards this man, human reason would have been for seeking a different reason for the success of the astonishing deliverance, in the room of him, who has not a single dependent. But God's ways are not our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts."

BOSTON, November 14.

Yesterday the Hon. House of Representatives non-concurred with the Hon. Senate in an amendment of the Bill (mentioned in our last) for continuing the Tender Law—providing, that the said law shall continue in force no longer than the third Wednesday of the next session of the General Court, instead of six months after the first day of January next. The Senate adhering to their amendment, the bill will of course die.—Heaven be praised!

Yesterday the Hon. House of Representatives appointed the Hon. James Warren, Esq. Commissioner for disposing of the Western Lands, belonging to this Commonwealth.

NORTHAMPTON, November 21.

Heaven (says a correspondent) seems preparing America for greatness and importance, by revolutions that no nation in the world ever was blessed with. When her rights were infringed by an ungrateful mother, it diffused a spirit of liberty and virtue. When foreign mercenaries, aided by a parent sword, threatened her with desolation, numerous armies, from hidden sources, were brought into existence and led on to victory and success. When the advice of foreign powers thwarted the natural system of commerce, and internal corruptions enervated the principles of government, and brought us to the alarming crisis of schismatically expecting some bold usurper to assume the reins and part with the invaluable rights of men, the goodness of our GOD was visibly apparent in having influenced the people to solicitate a convention to remedy these disorders, and in leading them to organize a government upon the glorious basis of liberty and order. This is the seed time of the union—the state that should be new and useful will plunge herself into merited disgrace, if not annihilation.

"We look and behold the distresses which prevail in every part of our country. Hear the complaints of our farmers, whose unequal and oppressive taxes in every part of the country amount to nearly the

rent of their farms.—Hear to the complaints of every class of people, and see the number of our bankruptcies.—Look at the melancholy circumstances of our mechanics, who now wander up and down the streets of our towns without employment. See our ships rotting in our harbours, or excluded from nearly all the parts in the world. Listen to the insults that are offered to the American name and character in every court of Europe. See a soldier and a sailor every where prostitute in the dust, and religion, with all her attending train of virtues, about to quit our continent forever. View these things, fellow citizens, and then say that we do not require a new, a greater, and efficient federal government, if you can. The picture given you of the situation of our country is not an exaggerated one.

"America, situated by nature to be the carrier of her own goods, yet formerly suffered this valuable branch of her trade to be monopolized by foreigners. In the harbour of New York there are now 60 ships of which 35 are British. The produce of North Carolina was shipped in 170 ships, of which 100 were British: The other Southern States freight their produce in the same proportion. In addition to the loss of living carriers of our own produce, we suffer greatly by the free importation of the goods of Europe and many articles of produce. Our sheep and hogs which formerly realized a handsome price in the former, are now hawked about at an under price for a market. Such a state is not an American wish regards the interest of his country."

"It is the indispensable necessity of an efficient federal government: without it the Northern States will soon be depopulated and waste into poverty, while the Southern ones will become like wastes to till and labour of Europe."

"The sale of the Lands belonging to non-residents in Belchertown, advertised by Mr. Nathan Barton, is postponed to the 30 day of December next, in consequence of Thanksgiving being appointed on the day the sale was to have commenced."

The Subscribers for this paper in Charlestown, Buckland, Heath and No. 7, are requested to meet at the house of Col. Obadiah Taylor, in Charlestown, on Thursday the 6th of December next.

N. E. W. P. O. R. T. November 8.

On Wednesday the 31st of October both Houses of the Lower House for this last half year took their seats, and their former Speaker and Clerk. No alterations of consequence has been made in the new election; the same principles which has for almost two centuries ruled our State, still forms the ruling characteristics of the majority.

Frivolous and injudicious still stalk through our land, and such government of its brightest ornaments as the honest parts of the community of their hard earned pittance.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Subscriber being directed by the Commissary General (agreeably to a Resolove of the General Court of the 12th inst.) to dispose of the TOBACCO, (about TWENTY THOUSAND weight) he has received in payment of back taxes, either at public or private sale for any of the liquidated securities of this Commonwealth; He gives NOTICE that he shall dispose of the aforesaid Tobacco at public Auction on Friday the 30th inst. at 1 o'clock, P. M. at the house of Mr. Asahel P. Meroy, unless previously sold at private sale.

JAMES SHEPARD.

Said Shepard has Crocker, Glass, and Stone Ware (at his shop opposite the meeting-house) for sale.

Northampton, 21st Nov. 1787.

LOST About the first of April last, between Northampton and Bolton, an ORDER, on Elijah Hunt, Esq. in favour of Solomon Allen, for import and excise, to the amount of Eighty-six Pounds some odd Shillings. Whoever will produce said Order, to the subscriber, shall receive Ten Dollars reward, per me.

SOLOMON ALLEN.

Northampton, October 25, 1787.

Who has advertised in your paper, as a Clerk in the Hon. Judge of Probate for the County of Hampshire, to receive and examine the claims of the creditors to the estate of THOMAS HASTINGS, late of Amherst, deceased, represented in power, and sine sine being allowed to the creditors of said estate, from the 5th of September last, to bring in and lay out their claims. We hereby give notice, that we shall attend to said claims, at the house of the deceased, in said Amherst, on the first Tuesday of December, January February and May next, from nine to four o'clock on each day. No accounts will be allowed after said term.

B. MATTOON, jun. JOHN NICHOLSON JONATHAN EDWARDS.

Amherst, November 5th, 1787.