

the cause. If we mean to have our natural rights and properties protected, we must first create a power which is able to do it, and in our case there is no want of resources, but only of a civil constitution which may draw them out and point their force.

The present question is, shall we have such a constitution or no? We allow it to be a creation of power; but power when necessary for our good is as much to be desired as the food we eat or the air we breathe. Some men are mightily afraid of giving power, lest it should be approved for oppression; this is doubtless possible, but where is it probable. The same objection may be made against the constitution of every state in the union, and against every possible mode of government; because a power of doing good always implies a power to do evil if the person or party be disposed.

The right of the legislature to ordain laws binding on the people, gives them a power to make bad laws.

The right of the judge to inflict punishments, gives him both power and opportunity to oppress the innocent; yet none but crazy men will from thence determine that it is best to have neither a legislature nor judges.

If a power to promote the best interest of the people, necessarily implies a power to do evil, we must never expect such a constitution in theory as will not be open in some respects to the objections of carping and jealous men. The new constitution is perhaps more cautiously guarded than any other in the world, and at the same time creates a power which will be able to protect the subject, yet doubtless objections may be raised, and so they may against the constitution of each state in the union. In Connecticut the laws are the constitution by which the people are governed, and it is generally allowed to be the most free and popular in the thirteen states. As this is the state in which I live and write, I will instance several things which, with a proper colouring and spice of jealousy, appear most dangerous to the natural rights of the people; yet they never have been dangerous in practice, and are absolutely necessary at some times to prevent much greater evil.

The right of taxation or of assessing and collecting money out of the people, is one of those powers which may prove dangerous in the exercise, and which by the new constitution is vested solely in representatives chosen for that purpose. But by the laws of Connecticut, this power called for dangerous may be exercised by the selectmen of each town, and this not only without their consent, but against their express will, where they have considered the matter, and judge it improper. This power they may exercise when and as often as they judge necessary! Three justices of the quorum, may tax a whole county in such sums as they think meet, against the express will of all the inhabitants. Here we see the dangerous power of taxation, vested in justices of the quorum, and even in selectmen, men whom we should suppose as likely to err and tyrannize as the representatives of three millions of people, in solemn deliberation, and amenable to the vengeance of their constituents for every act of injustice. The same town officers have equal authority where personal liberty is concerned, in a matter more sacred than all the property in the world, the disposal of your children. When they judge fit, with advice of one justice of the peace, they may tear them from the parents' embrace, and place them under the absolute control of such masters as they please; and if the parents refuse to acquiesce in their resentment, they may place him and his property under sequestration. Fifty other instances as fearful as these might be collected from the laws of the state, but I will not repeat them; my readers should be alarmed where there is no danger. These regulations are doubtless best, we have seen much good and no evil come from them. I adduced these instances to show that the most free constitution when made the subject of criticism may be exhibited in frightful colours, and such attempts we must expect against that now proposed. If my countrymen, you wait for a constitution which absolutely bars a power of doing evil, you must wait long, and when obtained it will have no power of doing good. I allow you are oppressed by the laws of the quarter that jealous and wrongheaded men would insinuate. You are oppressed by the men, who to serve their own purposes, would prefer the shadow of government to the reality. You are oppressed for want of a power, which can protect commerce, encourage business, and create a ready demand for the productions of your farms. You are become poor—oppression continued will make wife men mad. The landholders and farmers have long borne this oppression; we have been patient and groaned in secret, but can promise for ourselves no longer; unless relieved, madness may excite us to actions we now dread.

A LANDHOLDER.

Address of His Excellency BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Esquire, to the President of the late Continental Convention, was delivered by him immediately before his Signing the proposed Constitution for the United States.—It may be relied on as authentic—coming from a gentleman of respectability.

Mr. PRESIDENT,

I CONFESS that I do not entirely approve of this Constitution at present;—but, Sir, I am not sure I shall ever approve it. For having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged by better information or fuller consideration to change opinions even on important subjects, which I once thought right, but turned out to be otherwise. It is therefore the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt of my judgment, and to pay more respect to the judgment of others. Most men indeed, as well as most sects in religion think themselves in possession of all truth, and that wherever others differ from them, it is so far error. Steele, a Protestant, in a dedication, tells the Pope, that the only difference between our two churches, in their opinions of the certainty of their doctrine, is, the Romish church is infallible, and the church of England is never in the wrong. But though many private persons, think almost as highly of their own infallibility as that of their sect—few express it so naturally as a certain French lady, who in a little dispute with her sister, said, I do not know how it happens, sister, but I meet with no body but myself that is always in the right.

In these sentiments, Sir, I agree to this Constitution, with all its faults if they are such;—because I think a general government best for us, and there is no form of government but what may be a blessing to the people, if well administered.—and I believe farther, that this is likely to be well administered for a course of years, and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall become corrupted as to need despotism, being incapable of any other.

I doubt too whether any other Convention we can obtain, may be able to make a better Constitution. For when you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men, all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views.—From such an assembly, can a perfect production be expected?—It therefore astonishes me, Sir, to find this system approaching so near to perfection as it does. And I think it will astonish our enemies who are waiting with confidence to hear that our councils are confounded like those of the builders of Babel, and that our States are upon the point of separation—only to meet hereafter for the purpose of cutting one another's throats. Thus I consent, Sir, to this Constitution, because I expect no better, and because that I am not sure that it is not the best. Much of the strength and efficacy of any Government in procuring and securing happiness to the people, depends on opinion—on the general opinion of the goodness of that government, as well as the wisdom and integrity of its governors.—I hope therefore, that for our own sakes as a part of the people, and for the sake of our posterity, we shall act heartily and unanimously in recommending this Constitution, wherever our influence may extend, and turn our future thoughts and endeavours to the means of having it well administered.

On the whole, Sir, I cannot help expressing a wish, that every Member of the Convention who may still have objections to it, would, with me on this occasion, doubt a little of his own infallibility, and to make manifest our unanimity, put his name to this instrument.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

WHEREAS the General Court, by their resolution of the seventh day of July last, among other things provided, that the Comptables and Collectors of the tax granted in March, 1786, be empowered and directed to continue receiving Army Notes, and indentures, or certificates, agreeably to the provision made in the said tax act; and that the Treasurer should govern himself accordingly: And whereas doubts have arisen, to what length of time the powers and directions aforesaid, given to Comptables and Collectors, should extend; to remove which doubts: Be it

Resolved, That the Comptables and Collectors of the said tax, be, and they are hereby empowered and directed, to continue receiving Army Notes, indentures or certificates, agreeably to the provision made in the said tax act, until they have completed the collections to them respectively committed; and the Treasurer is hereby directed to receive the same accordingly, as well of the said Comptables and Collectors, as of the several counties in discharge of executions, issued for arrearages of the said tax.

Sent up for concurrence.
JAMES WARREN, Speaker.
In Senate November 3, 1787.
Read and concurred.

Approved.
SAMUEL ADAMS, President.

A true copy—Attest.
JOHN HANCOCK.
JOHN ABBAY, jun. Secretary.
Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

In the House of Representatives, November 17, 1787.

RESOLVED, That the Sheriff of the several counties within this Commonwealth, be, and they hereby are directed, to release from confinement, all such collectors of taxes, previous to tax No. 4, as may be committed to prison;—and the executions issued against such collectors, and all other collectors of the said taxes, are hereby revived and made returnable on the fifteenth day of January next.

Provided always, That no Sheriff shall be obliged to release any collector of the said taxes, who may be committed as aforesaid, unless the Treasurer of the town, to which such collector may belong, shall by direction of the town, recognize before some Justice of the Peace, for the payment of such tax or sums of money, as may be due upon the executions against such collector, on the said fifteenth day of January, which recognitions and proceeds thereon, shall be agreeably to a law passed the 19th day of October, 1783, entitled, "An Act providing a speedy method of recovering debts, and for preventing unnecessary costs attending the same;—any law or resolve to the contrary notwithstanding."

Sent up for concurrence.
JAMES WARREN, Speaker.
In Senate, November 22, 1787.
Read and concurred.

Approved.
SAMUEL ADAMS, President.

A true copy—Attest.
JOHN HANCOCK.
JOHN ABBAY, jun. Secretary.
Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

WHEREAS the time has expired wherein the Secretary was directed to give certificates relative to the payments made upon the beef tax, to called;

Resolved, That the Secretary be, and he hereby is ordered and directed, to give certificates of the payments made as aforesaid, and that the said certificates be received at the Treasurer's office, and credited as heretofore; any law or resolution to the contrary notwithstanding.

Sent up for concurrence.
JAMES WARREN, Speaker.
In Senate, November 21, 1787.
Read and concurred.

Approved.
SAMUEL ADAMS, President.

A true copy—Attest.
JOHN HANCOCK.
JOHN ABBAY, jun. Secretary.
Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

LONDON, September 28.
The Turkish minister has declared the minister of her majesty the empress of all the Russias an enemy to the empire of the Crescent.

Advices have been received of the Russian squadron, consisting of twelve men of war, 8 of which are line of battle ships, having sailed ten days ago; so that they may be expected in the Channel in a few days.

The immense project of the two imperial courts is now beginning to be developed. The Porte has declared war; but it is neither expected, nor have they caught the Russians unprepared. The grand plan of Peter the great, which the empress has embraced and extended, will, in all human probability, be soon and easily accomplished. The Russian squadron will be joined in the Mediterranean by that of Venice; and we can assert, upon unquestionable authority, that the latter consists of twelve ships, of which the majority are new, and in excellent order. This combined fleet will be superior to any that the Porte can oppose to them. The diversion made by the emperor, will make them equally inferior by land; and the emperor will not be inactive on the Danube. The conflict is unequal, that the Turks must be vanquished, unless they have foreign assistance.

We are informed, that a few days ago one of our frigates, which was stationed off Brest, to watch the motion of the French, came up with a large transport, which the English captain hailed, but to which the captain of the French ship paid no attention; on this the frigate ran alongside of her, and boarded her; she Frenchman immediately threw her papers overboard. On examination, she proved to be one of a fleet that had sailed from Brest the day before. It is confidently said, that M. de Bouille has

sailed for the West-Indies in a single ship, to take the command of the French troops.
October 2. Yesterday an express arrived from Mr. Granville at Paris: As to the purpose of the dispatches brought, nothing particular has transpired; all we have been able to learn in general is, that they are not so favourable as former reports gave us reason to expect; and some, who pretend to know more than others, do not hesitate to say, that from the tenor of the advice received, a war seems almost inevitable.

In consequence of the express from Mr. Grenville yesterday, orders were issued from the ministry, for impressing seamen in a more strict and peremptory manner than before.

SAVANNAH, (Georgia) Nov. 1.
The honourable the house of assembly of this state, we are informed, have recommended the election of delegates to a convention, for taking under consideration the new federal constitution, on the first Tuesday in December next, at the same time that members are chosen for the general assembly.

Saturday last Charles Wellmore and John Stewart were executed on the fourth common, pursuant to their sentence, for counterfeiting the paper medium of South-Carolina. They both behaved in a manner becoming men in their unhappy and awful situation. The former declared that he had never passed or signed a counterfeit bill of the currency of the aforesaid state; and before he left the prison, we are informed, he told the Rev. Mr. Minniford that his name was Murray, and not Percel or Westmore, by both of which he had got different times passed.

Kelly, who was taken up and confined with the above two men, was fasted his life by undergoing the aforesaid trial, was on Sunday last, committed again to goal, for being concerned with them in coining counterfeit dollars, the mold for which was found in his possession.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 21.
Yesterday sixty-one members of the convention met at the state-house, and chose for their President the Hon. Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg. No other business was done, except the adjournment until nine o'clock this morning.

On the first of June, 1787, at Amsterdam, his Excellency John Adams, esq. in behalf of the United States of America, negotiated a loan of One Million of Guilders, of sundry persons in Holland, to be paid in fifteen years from the date of the negotiation—this contract on the 13th of October last, was approved of and ratified by Congress, and declared obligatory on the United States of America.

An article in the contract for the above loan, is as follows, "For the accomplishment and performance of all the above written, the honorable apper binds, in the aforesaid quality, and thus in the names and on the part of the aforesaid mentioned United States of America, the said United States of America, jointly and each of them in particular, together with all their lands, chattels, revenues and products; and also the imposts and taxes already laid and raised and to be laid or to be raised in time to be laid and raised; and thus of all the United States of America, jointly and each of them in particular, and for their heirs."

It is currently reported that there are only six men in Virginia, who are not in debt, to be found among the enemies of the federal constitution. Debtors, speculators in paper, and false demagogues, are incessantly in opposing it. It will reduce them to a level with their fellow citizens, and prevent their thriving any longer by the distresses of their country.

BOSTON, December 6.
Capt. Smith, in the ship Jenny, arrived at New-York last week from Cork, Ireland, and the accounts received of the inextinguishable European war.

A London news-paper received by captain Smith, dated October 5, says, "Just as this paper was going to press, we received the mails from Holland and Flanders, by which we learn, that the negotiation between the duke of Brunswick and the Amsterdam deputies has failed of success, the deputies of the city of Amsterdam on Monday last, at three o'clock, attacked the Prussian troops; that about five in the evening was very brisk, and continued until seven, the Prussian troops were repulsed in three or four places, and retreated in disorder; that six thousand, however, as well as that of the Amsterdamers, was not known; that the city was not out of danger, and that all the citizens were their arms."

The cause of the negotiation proving unsuccessful, is said to have been occasioned by the duke of Brunswick's insinuating upon the immediate submission of the city of Amsterdam to the articles of the last memorial delivered by the Russian minister."

NORTHAMPTON, December 12.
By a gentleman who passed through town on Saturday last, from New-York, we are informed, that the Convention of Pennsylvania have, a considerable majority, adopted the new constitution.

On Thursday last William Clark, a native of Ireland, was executed in this town pursuant to his sentence for burglary.

The following gentlemen are chosen Delegates to the State Convention, viz.

Charleston, Hon. Nathaniel Gorham, Esq.
Milton, Rev. Nathaniel Robbins.
Braintree, Hon. Riebard Cranck, Esq. and Rev. Anthony Wibert.
Andover, Capt. Peter Olsgood, Dr. Kitteridge, Symmes, Esq.
Ipswich, Michael Farley, Esq. John Choate, Esq. Daniel Noyes, Esq. Jonathan Cogswell, Esq.
Newbury, Hon. Tristram Dalton, Esq. Enoch Sawyer, and Ebenezer Marsh, Esqs.
Falmouth, Major Daniel Hiley, and General John K. Smith.—The town of Falmouth consents to accept the new constitution, with amendments.
Saco, Hon. William Cushing, Nathan Cushing, and Charles Turner, Esqs.
Newbury-Port, Hon. B. Greenleaf, Esq. Theophilus Parsons, Esq.—Hon. Jonathan Titcomb, Esq. Hon. Rufus King, Esq.
Pembroke, Mr. John Turner, and Mr. Josiah Smith.
Barnstable, Shegajstubb Bourne, esq. Mr. Martin.
Stoughton, Elijah Dunbar, esq. and Mr. Southwick.
Norton, Hon. Abraham White.
Taunton, Brigadier James Williams.
Dighton, Hon. William Baylies, esq. and Col. Sylvanus Richmond.
Rockport, Israel Washburn, esq.
Beverly, Samuel Tobey, esq.
Attitash, Hon. Eliza May, esq. and Capt. Wilkinson.
Haverhill, Bayley Bartlet, esq. and Mr. Nathaniel Marlh.
Lancaster, Joseph Sprague, esq.
Ware, Samuel Curtis, esq. and Mr. David Bigelow.
Peabody, Jonathan Grout, esq. and Mr. Samuel Peckham.
Helen, Mr. Davis, formerly minister of that town.
Beylton, Mr. Jonas Temple.
Greaford, Dr. Wood.
Princeton, Mr. Timothy Fuller.
Springfield, Capt. Isaac Harrington.
Springfield, William Pyncheon, esq.
Andover, Elisha Porter, Esq.
Dorchester, Capt. Agrippa Wells.
Amherst, Mr. Daniel Cooley.
Belchertown, Mr. Juitus Dwight.
Greenfield, Mr. Bakham.
Colrain, Mr. Eddy.
Haverhill, Hon. John Hastings, esq.
Ware, Mr. Josiah Allis.
Warefield, Mr. Samuel Field.
Southampton, Capt. Lemuel Pomeroy.
Weymouth, John Ingersoll, esq. and John Phelps, esq.
Warehoring, Nahum Egur, esq.
Wilmington, Mr. William Bodman.
Suggerland, Capt. Crocker.
Middletown, Mr. Severence.

The following are the heads of the Acts passed the last session of the General Court, viz.

An act in addition to an act, entitled "An act declaring void the citizenship of John Gardner, esq. barrister at law; a Mutual Assurance Society, John Sylvester John Gardner, and William Gardner, their children;" passed in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven.

An act for regulating Bartholomew & Gregoire, Maria Theresa de Gregoire, his wife, and their children.

An act for enabling proprietors of private ways and bridges to repair them to equal proportion.

An act for incorporating a number of the inhabitants of Worcester, into the company of Worcester, into a separate parish.

An act for the further regulating the office of basted beef and pork.

An act in addition to an act, entitled "An act to raise a public revenue by excise."

An act for establishing public lights on the south end of Plum Island, in Ipswich Bay, in the county of Essex.

An act to regulate the duty of Worcester, from one town to another.

An act to enable Jonathan Richardson to turn the water in Richardson's river, so called, in Woburn, in the county of Middlesex.

An act for naturalizing Alexander Moore and others hereinafter named.

An act for incorporating certain persons for the purpose of building a bridge over the river, between Salem and Beverly, for the purpose of supporting the same.

An act for the relief of poor prisoners, who are committed by execution for debt.

An act to incorporate certain persons by the name of the Society for propagating the gospel among the Indians and others, in North America.

An act to prevent the destruction of Oysters and all other shell fish lying within the harbor, rivers and bays, within the limits of the town of Sandwich, in the county of Barnstable, and Wareham, in the county of Plymouth; and the towns of Dartmouth and Westport, in the county of Bristol.

An act for providing for the building and maintaining an Light House on the Sea Coast of this Commonwealth, and for raising all law hereunto made for that purpose.

An act authorizing the Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court to license the sale of retail officers; by married women, in certain cases, and for other purposes in the act mentioned.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette.
Messrs. Hall & Sellers,
A S conclusive answer to the fallacious reasoning, who have presumed not only to arraign that invaluable frame of government, the federal constitution, but to attack and defame the venerable names of Washington and Franklin, be pleased, Messrs. Printers, to insert this observation.

As in the late governments, all powers which have not been expressly reserved by the constitution, or declarations of rights, are vested in the several legislatures, whose authority is thereby rendered supreme—so the direct reverse of this proposition applies to the government of the United States, as fixed and limited by the federal constitution, and no one power or authority whatsoever, can be exercised by the Congress, which is not expressly granted by the constitution.

Where then, is the ground on which that abominable falsehood is built (published, among others, in the Independent Gazeteer) which charges the federal constitution with abolishing the liberty of the press.

How deplorable must the cause of that opposition be, which has recourse to such means to affect its purpose—how unworthy to be styled the advocates of freedom are those men, whose arguments are founded in such base falsehoods, and whose only motive to such unworthy conduct is foreign gold, or, if possible, the ill bred intention of betraying their country into anarchy, that they may neither retain their present unmerited honors, or rise upon her ruins. Let them beware—the vengeance of an injured people will not sleep forever—and they will feed its force.—Abused forbearance will be followed by

AVENGING JUSTICE.

THE Officers of the late American Army, belonging to the Society of the Cincinnati, who reside in the county of Hampshire, are requested to meet at Mr. Alahel Pomeroy's, innholder in Northampton on Tuesday the 18th day of December next, at two o'clock P. M. when business of the utmost consequence to the society will be laid before them.

JOSEPH WILLIAMS.
Springfield, Nov. 20, 1787.

TAKEN up by the subscriber, about the 1st of November last, a pale red Steer, two years old past, some white spots about him, marked with a crop on the left ear, and a half penny under the side of the same. The owner is desired to prove his property, pay charges and take him away.

W-Stampton, December 12, 1787.
Ebenzer Clark.

NOTICE is hereby given to the following, and resident proprietors of land in the towns of Leverett, the county of Hampshire, that their lands are assessed in a list and in tax for the year 1786, as follows, viz.

NAME	TOWN TAX
Major Key, 2 2 0	4 9
Thomas Thomas, 4 2 0	10 0
John Carter, 4 10 0	10 5
Capt. Moses Ayres, 4 10 0	10 5
Elijah Drakman, 1 4 0	7 2
William Dean, 4 2 0	10 5
Samuel Hickey, 3 2 0	11 2
Land lately owned by Lewis Gilbert, 3 2 0	11 2

Unless said taxes are paid on or before Thursday the 25th of February next, in each of said towns, will be then sold at Public vendue, at the house of the subscriber in Leverett, at 9 o'clock A. M. as will be sufficient to discharge the same, with interlocking charges.

WILLIAM HUBBARD, Collector.
Leverett, December 1787.

STRAVED from the subscriber the 26th of November last, a light horse foal COLLY, three years old coming, large of his age, has a white streak in his face, a large mane, no docked, a white spot on his hind end, hoof, a natural water. Whoever will take up said horse and inform the subscriber, shall be well rewarded.

NORTHAMPTON, December 1, 1787. TIMOTHY MOOT.

FOR SALE,
at the Printing-Office in Northampton, The First, Second and Third Part of
Webster's Institute.
A L S O,
STRONGS'S AND BICKERSTAFF'S ALMANACK,
For the Year 1788;
Watts's Palms, Lowth's Grammar, Primmers, Regulations for the Discipline of the Troops of the United States, by Baron Stuen, Writing-Paper and Blanks,
Dec. 12, 1787.