

From the TOWN and COUNTRY MAGAZINE, printed in London.
A BEGGAR's professional Advice to his Children on his retiring from Buhells. My dear children,

THE good fortune with which it has pleased heaven to bless my industry in this our calling, has given me an opportunity to retire with a handsome fortune, which will be divided among you when I am no more. In the mean time, as it is your duty to get all you can for yourselves, in the way you have been brought up, that you also may make a comfortable provision for old age, I will give you a few directions, supplemental to those which you have already received from me, for the guidance of your future conduct, by observing which you will, most probably, be as successful in your occupation as I have been.

Beggars, my dear children, like people of all other professions, live upon the necessities, the passions, or the weakness of their fellow creatures. The two great passions of the human breast are vanity and pity; both these have great power in men's actions, but the last the greater far, and he who can attract this the most successful, will gain the largest fortune.

Be not less friends because you are brothers, or of the same profession: the lawyers herd together in their inns, the doctors in their college, the mercers on Ludgate hill, and the old clothes men in Monmouth street. What one has not among those another has, and among you, the heart of him who is not moved by one lamentable of j. e., will probably be so by another, and that charity which was half awakened by the first, will receive a second or a third.

Remember this, and always people a whole street with objects skilled in the scenes of different distresses, placed at proper distances; the tale that moves not one heart, may surprise the next.

Remember, that where one gives out of pity to you, five gives out of kindness to themselves, to rid them of your trouble-some application; and for that reason goes out of real compassion, five hundred of it out of ostentation. On these principles trouble people most, who are most fully, and ask relief where many may, see it given, and you will succeed in every attempt.

Remember, that the streets were made for people to walk and not to converse in. Keep up their ancient usages, and whenever you see two or three gathered together let them hear not the sound of their own voices till they have bought off the noise of yours. When self love is thus satisfied, remember social virtue is the next duty, and tell your next friend, where he may go and obtain the same relief by the same means.

Trouble not yourself with the nobility, prosperity has made them vain and insatiable; they cannot pity what they never can feel: but above all avoid the men in black: the clergy never give, except under one circumstance only, if you may hit on that you may succeed! Attack them as they come out of the church among their parishioners, and the credit of base violence may urge them to do handsomely by you.

The talkers in the street are to be tolerated on different occasions, and at different prices: if they are tradesmen, their conversation soon ends, and may be well paid for by a halfpenny; if an inferior clinging to the skirt of a superior, he will give two pence rather than be pulled off; and when you are happy enough to meet a lover and his mistress, never part with them under six pence, so you may be sure they will never part with one another.

So much regards commodities, of which what you buy and sell, the great game of all is to be played. However much you ramble in the day, it is to have some force there is necessary for us, and but a small pine is necessary. What this should be I will not undertake to say. I will only say it should be no means less great as we are able to make it. Supposing the million of dollars, or 300,000, sterling, which Virginia could annually spare without distress, be applied to the creating a navy. A single year's contribution would build, equip, man, and tend to sea a force which would carry 300 guns. The rest of the confederacy, exerting themselves in the same proportion, would equip 2500 guns more. So that one year's contribution would set up a navy of 1800 guns. The British ships of the line average 70 guns; their frigates 30, so 1800 guns then would form a fleet of 30 ships, of which may be of the line, and 12 frigates. Allowing eight men, the British average, for every gun, their annual expense, including subsistence, cloathing, pay, and ordinary repairs, would be about twelve hundred and eighty dollars for every gun, 2,340,000 for the whole. I state this only, at one year's possible exertion, without deciding whether more or less than a year's exertion should be thus applied.

Has another just recovered peace by losing his wife, let another sagged friend instead of him a farthing to help to buy a glass of good liquor to revive his spirit, that he may not die just as he entered upon a new life by the death of a vixen that had plagued the very skin off his bones: the widower must have very little fellow feeling in his joys, if he does not reply, "Poor devil, I give thee joy, here's a fixtence for thee."

Is the master of a third house sick, lay his bosome from morning to night, if he lay good for any thing, tell his wife you will pray morning, noon, and night, for his recovery, or if he be as most husband's are, tell her you beat the doctor lay as he came out that he could not hold it long. The devil must be in that woman who would not give six pence a day either towards the keeping her husband, or the getting rid of him. If he dies, grief is the reigning passion for the first fortnight, let him have been what he would

grief leads naturally to compassion. Do let your sister thrust a pale under her coat, and tell her she is a poor discontented widow left with seven small children, and that she is the best husband in the world, and you had three considerable gains.

Notice is given of the non-resident proprietaries

of unimproved land lying in Hertfordshire, in the county of Lancashire, and in Cheshire, and that after payment of the rent, a sum

is to be paid to the American naval forces.

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should meet an European enemy,

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sea, but such circumstances will render

the stronger ones weak as to us.

Evidence has placed their riches and most de-

fendable possessions at our door, has obliged

them to withdraw their troops, and to

make their preparations to attack us.

On review before us. To protect this, or to

assail us, a small part only of their naval

force will ever be refused acids the At-

lantick. The dangers to which the en-

emies expose them here are too well known

and the greater danger to which they

would be exposed at home, were any gen-

eral calamity to involve their whole fleet.

They can attack us by detachment only,

and it will suffice to make ourselves equal

to what they may detach.

Even a smaller force than they may detach will be

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MARCH 1783.

THE

NUMBER 79.

HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 5, 1783.

NORTHAMPTON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM BUTLER, A FEW RODS EAST OF THE COURT-HOUSE.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

PROCEEDINGS OF CONVENTION.

(Continued from our last.)

WEDNESDAY, January 21, A. M.
THE 8th sec. of art. 4th containing the
POWERS OF CONGRESS, still under
debate.

Mr. Parsons, (of Newbury-Port) Mr. Pres-
ident. A great variety of supposed objections
have been made, against vesting Congress with
some of the powers defined in the 8th sec. Some of the objectors have considered the pow-
ers 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
hastily consider them. And as it is my intention
to avoid all repetition, my observations will ne-
cessarily be unconnected and desultory.

It has been said, that the grant in this sec. in-
cludes all the petitions of the people, and re-
fuses 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 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 compos-
ite 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 Con-
gress 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,
it means any thing, must mean a depriving
the people themselves of their own resources.
But if gentlemen will still insist, that these pow-
ers are a grant from the people, and consequently
improper, let it then be observed, that it is now
no less in dispute in the grant—it is already com-
pleted—the Congress, as far as the Confederation
are invested with it, by solemn compact—they
have power 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 referred to
the several states, they have a check upon Con-
gress by refusing a compliance with the require-
ments. 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? Is it this check that
has embarrassed at home, and made us contemptible
abroad—and will any honest man plume
himself upon such a check which an honest man would
blush to exercise?

It has been objected, that the Constitution
provides no religious test upon oath, and we
may have no power unprincipled men, atheists
and pagans. No man can wish 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 atheist or a pagan dread the ven-
geance of the Christian God, a being in his
executive capacity, in making treaties and con-
ducting the nation? Is it a solemn expression. No man is so illiberal
as to wish the commanding places of honour or
power 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 will
decline that the christian religion is only an illus-
tration of natural religion, and that he is a
christian; another christian will affirm, that all
men must be happy hereafter in spite of them-
selves; a third christian reveres the image, and
worships, 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 uses any force
for 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 prob-
ably conduct honourably 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 representa-
tion, and where the States, the great and the
small, States, are equally represented; and all
the checks the States have, it is returned to the
people, who by their speaker, present it to the
King, as the gift of the commons.—But every
supposed control the Senate by this power may
have over money-bills, they can have without
it, for private communications with the rep-
resentatives, they may as well inflict upon an
increase of the supplies, or salaries, as by official
communications.—But had not the Senate this
power, the representatives, might tack any con-
tract 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 rep-
resentatives, rather than sustain the edict of
embarrassing the affairs of the nation.—The bal-
ance between the two branches of the legislature,
would be in this way be endangered, if not
destroyed; and the Constitution naturally injured.
This subject was fully considered by the Con-
vention for forming the Constitution of Massa-
chusetts, and the provision made by that body
after mature deliberation 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 con-
current 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 incon-
veniences resulting from the want of a declaration
of rights, I think they would soon satisfy them-
selves that the objection has no weight.

If there is singular natural right we enjoy, uncon-
trolled by our own legislature, that Congress
can infringe? Not one. Is there a single politi-
cal right secured to us by our Constitution, a
right which we have a concurrent right with each State,
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It has been objected, that the Senate are made
too independent upon the State legislatures. No
bulwarks under the Constitution of the federal
Convention, could have been more embarrassing,
than the contriving the Senate—as that body
must control our foreign negotiations, and es-
tablish and preserve a system of national poli-
cies, which can alone induce other nations to negotiate with us.—It is certain that 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 em-
barrassment. 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
will an atheist or a pagan be engrossed by an
assembly of the several legislatures, executive and judicial
officers of the several States, take it to support
the federal Constitution, as effectual a
securing against the usurpation of the general go-
vernment, as it is against the encroachment of
State governments. For an increase of the pow-
ers by usurpation, is as clearly a violation of the
federal Constitution, as a diminution of these
powers by private encroachment—and that can
obliges the officers of the several States, as vi-
gorously 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 usurpa-
tion, it will not be upon the farmer and the
merchant, employed and attentive only to their
several occupations, it will be upon the rich
gentlemen, completely organized, & possessed of the
confidence of the people, and having the means
as well as inclination, successfully to oppose it.
Under these circumstances, not but men even
would attempt an usurpation.—But Sir, the peo-
ple themselves have it in their power effectually

The Hon. Gentleman from Boston, has stated
at large most of the checks, the people have a
great usurpation, and the abuse of power, under
the proposed Constitution: but from the abun-
dance of his matter, he has, in my opinion,
omitted two or three, which I shall mention.—

The oath the several legislatures, executive and judi-
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Evidence has placed their riches and most de-

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On review before us. To protect this, or to

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