

to resist usurpation; without being driven to an appeal to arms.—An act of usurpation is not obligatory, it is not law, and any man may be justified in his resistance. Let him be considered as a criminal by the general government, yet only his own fellow citizens can convict him—they are his jury, and if they pronounce him innocent, nor all the powers of Congress can hurt him;—and innocent they certainly will pronounce him, if the supposed law he resisted was an act of usurpation.

P. M.
As soon as the Convention met this afternoon, Mr. Nelson, in a short speech introduced a motion to this effect:—"That this Convention, so far as concerns their former vote to discuss the Constitution by paragraphs, as to leave the subject at large open for consideration." This motion met with a warm opposition from several parts of the house.

Mr. Wadsworth said, that the time which had been spent in the discussion, had been well spent—and that he was much surprised to see gentlemen willing thus to hurry the matter.

Mr. Wedgery said, that necessity compelled them to hurry.
Mr. Dison, Mr. President, we have been but six or seven days in the discussion of the constitution. Sir, has not paragraph after paragraph been considered and explained? Has not great light been thrown on the articles we have considered.—For my part, I profess to have received much light on them.—We are discussing the powers of Congress.—Sir, shall we pass that over? Shall we pass over the article of the judiciary power, without examination.—I hope, Sir, it will be particularly enquired into.—I am sorry to hear gentlemen allege that they have been a long time from home; and that the want of money necessitates them to wish for an early decision.—Sir, have not the General Court provided for payment of the members of this Convention?—And the Treasurer, I am informed, is collecting money to comply with that provision.—There are many parts which ought to be explained.—I hope we shall attend to them with deliberation—and that for the sake of saving a little money, we may not pass over the Constitution, without well considering it.

Judge Sumner with the motion might be withdrawn.
Mr. Nelson said he would withdraw his motion for the present—but mentioned his intention, of again making it at 10 o'clock, to-morrow.

Thursday January 24, A. M.
Mr. Nelson renewed his motion for "reconsidering a former vote to discuss the Constitution by paragraphs, so that the whole might be taken up."

The Hon. Mr. Adams said he was one of those who had had difficulties and doubts respecting some parts of the proposed Constitution.—He had, he said, for several weeks after the publication of it, laid by all the writings, in the public papers, on the subject, in order to be enabled leisurely to consider them. He had, he said, fill some difficulties on his mind; but that he had chosen rather to be so auditor, than an objector, and he had particular reasons therefor.

As this was the case with him, and as others, he believed, were in a similar situation, he was desirous to have a full investigation of the subject; that thereby faith might be confirmed, either in favour of, or against the Constitution; and was therefore against the motion. We ought not to be in a hurry to settle our opinions, or the public opinion, when so important an object demanded them.—and the public expect that we will not. He was sorry, he said, for gentlemen's necessities—but he would rather support the gentleman, who were thus necessitated, or lead them money, to do it, than they should hurry to give a subject.—He therefore, hoped that the question would be put, and that we should proceed as we began.

Hon Mr. Pitts said it was impossible to consider the whole until the parts had been examined.—our constituents, said he, have a right to demand of us the reasons which shall influence us to vote as we shall do.—He said, he said, therefore oppose the motion.

The Hon. Mr. King, Col. Smith, and several other gentlemen, spoke against the motion.

Mr. Wedgery opposed the motion's being waked out of sight.—he wished, he said, the question might be put, that the sense of the Convention respecting it, might be taken.

Gen. Thompson said, it was not essential how the matter was considered—but he wished to have the whole subject at large open to discussion, so that every body might speak to it.—A member, says he gets up and speaks—but he is called to order, as not confining himself to the paragraph under debate, and this puts him out.—In his opinion, he said, the Constitution, and the reasons which induced gentlemen to frame it, ought to have been sent to the several towns to be considered by them.—My town, says he, considered it seven hours—and after this, there was not one in favour of it.—If this had been done, we should have known the mind of the people on it:—and should we dare, he asked, to act different from the sense of the people? It is strange he said that a system which is planned

say is to plain, that he that runs may read it, should want so much explanation.
(The question being generally called for, the motion was put—and negatived without a renia of the house. The conference gentlemen being to discuss a final box of congratulation, among a few enemies in the gallery, being mistaken by some of the Members for a list, created a momentary agitation in the Convention: which however, after a short conversation (succeeded.)

The Hon. Mr. Sedgwick went into a general answer to the objections, which had been started against the power to be granted to Congress, by this sect.—He argued the absolute necessity there was that the body which had the security of the whole for their object, should have the necessary means allowed them to effect it—and in order to secure the people against the abuse of this power, the representatives and people, he said, are equally subject to the laws, and can therefore have but one and the same interest—that they never would say unnecessary burthens, when they themselves must bear a part of them; and from the extent of their object, their power ought necessarily to be illimitable. Men, says he, rarely do mischief for the sake of being mischievous. With respect to the power in this sect to raise armies, the hon. gentleman said, although gentlemen had thought it a dangerous power, and would be used for the purpose of tyranny, yet they did not object to the confederation in this particular; and by this, Congress could have kept the whole of the late army in the field, had they seen fit. He asked if gentlemen could think it possible, that the legislature of the United States should raise an army unnecessarily, which, in a short time, would be under the control of other persons; for if it was not under their control, would object could they have in raising it. It was, he said, a chimerical idea, to suppose a country like this, could ever be enslaved.—How is an army for that purpose to be obtained? From the treasury of the United States? They certainly, says he, will know to what object it is to be applied.—Is it possible, he asked, that an army could be raised for the purpose of enslaving themselves and their brethren; or if raised, whether they could subdue a nation of freemen, who know how to prize liberty, and who have arms in their hands? He said, it was a deception in gentlemen to say, that this power could be thus used. The hon. gentleman said, that in the constitution every possible provision against an abuse of power was made—and if gentlemen would candidly investigate for themselves, they would find that the evils they lament cannot issue therefrom.

Mr. Daves observed, upon the authority of Congress to raise and support armies, that all the objections which had been made by gentlemen against standing armies, were inapplicable to the present question; which was, that as there must be an authority somewhere, to raise and support armies, whether that authority ought to be in Congress. As Congress are the legislature upon the proposed plan of government, in their only, said he, should be lodged the power under debate. Some gentlemen seem to have confused ideas about standing armies: That the legislature of a country should not have power to raise armies, is a doctrine he never heard of. Charles II. in England, kept in pay an army of five thousand men, and James the II. augmented that to thirty thousand. This occasioned a great and just alarm through the nation; and accordingly when William III. came to the throne, he was declared to be unconstitutional to raise or keep a standing army in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature. Most of our own State constitutions have borrowed this language from the English declaration of rights; but none of them restrain their legislatures from raising and supporting armies. Those who never objected to such an authority in Congress, as vested by the old confederation, surely ought not to object to such a power in a Congress, where there is to be a new branch of representation, arising immediately from the people, and which branch alone must originate those very grants that are to maintain the army. When we consider that this branch is to be elected every two years, there is great propriety in its being refrained from making any grants in support of the army for a longer space than that of their own existence. If the election of this particular branch were for seven years, as in England, the same men who would make the first grant, might also the second and third, for the continuance of the army; and such an acquiescence might exist between the representatives in Congress and the leaders of the army, so might be unfavourable to liberty. But the wisdom of the late Convention has avoided this difficulty. The army must expire of itself in two years after it shall be raised, unless renewed by representatives, who at that time will have just come fresh from the body of the people.—I shall raise the same fact as that of the temporary law, which dies at the time mentioned in the act itself, unless revived by some future legislature.

Capt. Deuch said, it had been observed, and he was not convinced that the observation was wrong, that the grant of the powers in this sect, would produce a consolidation of the States, and the moment it begins, a dissolution of the late governments commences. If mistaken, he withheld to be set right.
(To be continued.)

WARSAW (Poland) Oct. 14.
Letters from Moldavia confirm the news, that a Turkish Squadron which sailed from Orzakov, attempted the beginning of last month to make a descent on the coast of Russia, between the fords of Kimbure and Jenikale, where the Russians were surprized, and at first obliged to retreat; but their camp being reinforced, they bravely obliged the Turks to retreat with a considerable loss, leaving behind them 2000 killed and wounded.

CONSTANTINOPLE (Turkey) Sept. 10.
We have received accounts of a dreadful rebellion having broke out at Smyrna; in consequence of which a horrid massacre had taken place, in which upwards 7000 schismatic Greeks and 400 Turks, were killed. The origin of the insurrection is not certainly known; but the reason that so many Greeks were killed was, that the Turks in their fury ran through the streets, cutting every one they met to pieces, whether innocent or guilty. Other accounts say, that in Wallachia, through treachery on the part of the Turks against the schismatic Greeks, 5000 of them, and almost as many Turks, have been killed. The general opinion among the Turks is, that the Greeks are more attached to Russia by interest than by religion.

LONDON Nov. 6.
By letters from Peterburgh, we are informed, that a dreadful famine prevails in the southern parts of Russia, which has not lately been indubitably concealed from public notice. Thousands of people are to be seen on the plains south of Moscow, begging, with the most piteous supplications for bread. The calamity has been occasioned by the failure in the crops for three years past, and must unavoidably suggest for a time the warlike preparations of the empire.

CHARLESTON (S. C.) Feb. 7.
On Tuesday evening a fire was discovered in the Senate Room, at the State-house, which in a few hours reduced that building to a pile of ruins. This building was begun in 1753, the first stone thereof was laid by J. Glen, Esq. then Governor, on the 24d of June, attended by the Council, the General Assembly, &c. The expense amounted to 59,121 lbs. sterling.

NEW-YORK, Feb. 15.
In consequence of the intelligence from Boston, of the ratification of the Federal Constitution by the State Convention of Massachusetts, the Federalists of New-York yesterday testified their joy on the pleasing event. At Santerica Coffee House, in which were invited the following words—"The Constitution, September 17, 1787." And at noon another flag was displayed at the same place, in which were exhibited the figure of a pine tree, and these words—"February 6, 1822, Boston."—The standard of the Union was likewise displayed at the For, and the American vessels in the harbour hoisted their colours on the occasion. At twelve o'clock, five times thirteen guns were discharged, in honour of the six States that have already ratified the Constitution, which were answered by 13 guns from the ship Jenny, Capt. Thompson, bound for the East-Indies.

The joy and satisfaction exhibited by a great majority of the inhabitants of New-York, on this auspicious event, will certainly convince our brethren of the sister States, that this State cherishes in her bosom many virtuous citizens, who most ardently wish for a government, calculated to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

Private accounts from Portsmouth and Plymouth say, that the British fleet was not dispersed on the 11th of December; that there had been recruited 40,000 men for the sea service, who were then actually under pay; that the press had not ceased; and that the late negotiations between the Court of Versailles and London, was thought a fiasco.

BOSTON, February 25.
Yesterday agreeably to Proclamation, the Hon. General Court of this Commonwealth, convened at the State-House, in this town—and a quorum of both Branches being assembled, a joint Committee was appointed to wait on his Excellency the Governor, to inform him, that they were ready to receive communications, &c.—Accordingly at 1 o'clock, his Excellency met both Branches, convened in the Representatives' chamber, and delivered the following

SPEECH.
Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

The Letters which I have received by your receipt, the Secretary will lay before you, they are not of such importance, as to claim any particular notice from me at this time. The adjournment of the General Court, for the space of one week, became necessary, in order to give the members who were also members of the late Convention; an opportunity of returning home before the meeting of the legislature. I could have wished that the Proclamation of adjournment had been of an earlier date, but the Session of the Convention, by its

importance of the business before that body, was protracted beyond what was expected. I flatter myself that this will be a satisfactory, as well as useful adjournment, who having not heard those of you gentlemen, have been some days waiting in town, as those who may be apprehensive that the business of the present Session will demand a longer time, than can be conveniently afforded at this season of the year.

I have nothing of more importance at this time, to recommend to your deliberation, than the friends of the Commonwealth. It is scarcely necessary to remark that this State, in its particular situation, as well as from the noble ardor of its citizens in defence of their liberties and independence, hath accumulated a very heavy debt; the interest of which arises to ninety thousand pounds annually; this consideration alone, Gentlemen, should induce us by every possible exertion consistent with the peace of the Commonwealth, to diminish the principal. In order to this, the great quantities of unappropriated territory both in the eastern part of the government, as well as the immense tract lately ceded to us by the State of New-York, afford ample resources, if wisely and expeditiously improved by that spirit of unanimity and disinterestedness which I flatter myself will always distinguish your conduct, when the interest of the people is so deeply and essentially engaged in the result of your deliberations.

I am sorry that my duty urges me to mention to you the necessity of a small tax, but the Treasury is so far exhaustered, that the business of the government must cease its progress unless a tax is granted.

Since the last Session, Luke Day, one of those persons for whose arrest a bounty was offered in consequence of an act of the Legislature, has been taken by some of the citizens of New-Hampshire, to whom one hundred pounds has been paid, upon their delivering him into the custody of the Sheriff of the county of Suffolk. Could the late unhappy commotions be thrown into oblivion, consistently with the honour of government, and the safety of the people, I persuade myself it would give satisfaction.

In the beginning of your last Session, I laid before you, the Constitution and Frame of Government for the United States of America, agreed upon by the late General Convention, and transmitted to me by Congress. As the system was to be submitted to the people, and to be decided upon by their Delegates in Convention, I suppose to make any remarks upon it. The Convention which you appointed to deliberate upon that important subject, have concluded their Session, after having adopted and ratified the proposed plan, according to their resolution, a copy whereof, I have directed the Secretary to lay before you.

The obvious imbecility of the Confederation of the United States, has too long given pain to our friends, and pleasure to our enemies; but the forming a new System of Government, for so numerous a people, of very different views, and habits spread upon such a vast extent of Territory, containing such a great variety of soils, and under such extremes of climate, was a task, which nothing less than the dreadful apprehension of losing our national existence, could have compelled the people to undertake.

We can be known to the world, only under the appellation of the United States; if we are robbed of the idea of our Union, we immediately become separate nations, independent of each other, and no less liable to the depredations of foreign powers, than to wars and bloody contentions amongst ourselves.—To pretend to exist as a nation without possessing those powers of coercion, which are necessarily incident to the national Character, would prove a fatal foetism in politics. The objects of the proposed Constitution, are defence against external enemies, and the promotion of tranquillity and happiness amongst the States.—Whether it is well calculated for those important purposes, has been the subject of extensive and learned discussion in the Convention which you appointed. I believe there was never a body of men assembled, with greater purity of intention, or with higher zeal for the public interest. And although when the momentous Question was decided, there was a greater division than some expected, yet there appeared a candour, and a spirit of Conciliation, in the minority, which did them great honour, and afforded an happy presage of unanimity amongst the people at large. Tho' so many of its members of the late Convention could not feel themselves convinced that they ought to vote for the ratification of this System, yet their opposition was conducted with a candid and manly frankness, and with such marks of integrity and real regard to the public interest, as did them the highest honour, and leaves no reason to suppose that the peace, and good order of the Government is not their object.

The amendment proposed by the Convention, are intended to obtain a constitutional security of the principles to which they refer themselves, and must meet the wishes of all the States. I feel myself assured that they will very early become a part of the Constitution, and when they shall be decided to the proposed plan, I shall consider it the most perfect System of government,

as to the objects it embraces, that has been known amongst mankind.

Gentlemen, As the DEBATE, in whose hands the government of all the nations of the Earth, and who pathe'd down one and raised up another according to His Sovereign Pleasure, has given to the People of these States, a riot, and an extensive country; has in a marvellous manner, given them a name and a standing among the nations of the World—has blessed them with external Peace, and internal Tranquillity.—I hope and pray, that the gratitude of their Hearts may be expressed by a proper use of those inestimable blessings,—by the greatest exertions of Patriotism,—by forming and supporting Institutions for cultivating the human Understanding, and for the greatest Progress of the Arts and Sciences,—by establishing laws for the support of Piety, Religion and Morality, as well as for punishing Vice and Wickedness,—and by exhibiting on the great Theatre of the World, those focal public and private Virtues, which give more Dignity to a People, possessing their own Sovereignty, than Crowns and Diadems afford to Sovereign Princes.

Every matter of a public Nature, which may occur worthy of your notice, shall be communicated by Message, and in every concern tending to promote the public welfare, I shall be happy to concert with you, and be ready at all times to give every possible dispatch to the business that may come before you.

JOHN HANCOCK.
Council-Chamber, February 27, 1788.

Thursday last the Convention of the State of New-Hampshire finished debating upon the federal Constitution by paragraphs. Every objection that could possibly be invented was made use of by the gentlemen opposed to the Constitution, which were ably answered by those in favour of it, who were increasing in explaining such parts as the opposition affected to consider dark and mysterious, tyrannical and oppressive.

On Friday the Hon. Mr. Langdon made a motion, That the Convention do adjourn to some future day,—which was postponed, in order to give such gentlemen as chose, an opportunity of entering into the general debate.—When Mr. Atherton rose, and in a speech of considerable length, pointed out all the disadvantages which he conceived, would result to the State from adopting the new Constitution; tyranny in the extreme, and despotism with a vengeance! &c. &c.

He was answered by the Rev. Mr. Thirlton. The question was then put for adjournment, and after considerable opposition from the gentlemen who in the course of the debates strongly opposed the adoption of the Constitution, it passed in the affirmative—for adjourning—56 against adjourning, 51.

The Convention is to meet at Concord, the 2d. Wednesday in June next.

The reason which induced many of the members to adjourn was, their being tied up to instructions, to vote against the constitution, of which they could not divest themselves without incurring the displeasure of their constituents.

We hear from Jeffrey, State of New-Hampshire, that on the night preceding the 12th. inst. the dwelling-house of the Rev. Mr. Ainsworth, was consumed by fire, together with all his household furniture, &c. A promising youth of about eight years old, son of Deacon Spafford, of that town, student with Mr. Ainsworth, perished in the flames. Mr. Ainsworth and his wife, providentially escaped by leaping out of a chamber-window, by which Mrs. Ainsworth unfortunately received a dangerous wound.

NORTHAMPTON, March 5.
The General Assembly of Georgia, have nominated 34 gentlemen, to constitute a convention, to be convened by the executive after nine states have adopted the federal constitution, to take under consideration the alterations and amendments that are necessary to be made in the constitution of that state.

The numbers in the different States, according to the most accurate accounts which could be obtained by the Federal Convention, were as follows:

In New-Hampshire,	102,000
In Massachusetts,	300,000
In Rhode Island,	58,000
In Connecticut,	202,000
In New-York,	238,000
In New-Jersey,	130,000
In Pennsylvania,	360,000
In Delaware,	37,000
In Maryland,	218,000

(including three-fifths of 80,000 negroes)

In Virginia,	420,000
(including three-fifths of 28,000 negroes)	
In North-Carolina,	200,000
(including three-fifths of 60,000 negroes)	
In South-Carolina,	150,000
(including three-fifths of 80,000 negroes)	
In Georgia,	90,000
(including three-fifths of 40,000 negroes)	

many untoward spirits and contentions; who know not what they want, and have grown impatient for want of a regular government.—The other fruit of the untimely independence they were taught to contend for, before they foresaw the consequences.

DIED, at Bolton, on Thursday morning last, in the 62d year of his age, His Honour THOMAS CUSHING, Esquire, LL. D. and A. S. Lieutenant-Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

At Windham, in Connecticut, Mr. ALEXANDER BIRNEY, aged 110 years.—He was remarkably healthy and cheerful through life, and his mental faculties continued to his death.

Mr. BUTLER, Pleasie in the Court General, the following INSTRUCTIONS to a Delegate to the late Convention, and you will oblige many of your readers in Somerset.

To Captain ZACHARIAS CROCKER.
SIR,
AGREABLE to a resolution of the General Court, you are elected to one of the most important offices which are capable of exposing in you; in whom is deposited a power, by your constituents, to add a part of the highest importance to the proceedings of this State, and on which depends the existence of the United States. You are to take into your consideration the proposed Federal Constitution. For as you are to approve or reject what has been the production of those wise and patriotic Worthies, who with uncommon diligence and industry have employed their talents in its deliberations, and permanent the growing liberties of America.

We are sensible the parts you are to take is nearly interesting, but anxious, and in some instances, perhaps, to be more so, than any other, that a Delegate to the Convention, and you will oblige many of your readers in Somerset.

When Mr. Atherton rose, and in a speech of considerable length, pointed out all the disadvantages which he conceived, would result to the State from adopting the new Constitution; tyranny in the extreme, and despotism with a vengeance! &c. &c.

NOTICE is hereby given to the following non-residents proprietors of land in the town of Haldley, in the county of Hampshire, that their lands are assessed in the usual manner, and in a town tax for the year 1787, as follows:

Name	Rate	Town Tax
Timothy Mendenhall,	1 1 4	1 4
Linnæus John Field,	0 3 0	2 9
William Ames,	0 16 0	1 0
Joseph Crafts,	0 3 3	0 3

NOTICE is hereby given to the following non-residents proprietors of land in the district of Northampton, in the county of Hampshire, that their lands are assessed in the usual manner, and in a town tax for the year 1786, and town tax for the year 1787, as follows, viz.

Name	Rate	Mill Rate	Town Tax
Samuel Maden, Esq.	6 4 0	0 7 0	3 1
Samuel Snodgrass, Esq.	0 7 4	0 1 0	3 8
Lieut. Gideon Clark,	16 3 3	2 4 0	4 1

ALMANACK,
For the Year 1788.
WANTED, as an apprentice to the Printing business, an active sturdy Boy, about 14 years of age.
Enquire at this Office.