

government. He had before denied that the proposed transfer of powers to Congress would annihilate the state governments. But he here lays aside the masque and avows the fact. For, the truth of the charge against them must entirely rest on such consequence of the new plan. For if the state establishments are to remain unimpaired, why should officers, peculiarly connected with them, be interested to oppose the adoption of the new plan. Except the collector of the impost, judge of the admiralty and the collector of excise (none of whom have been reckoned of the opposition) they would otherwise have nothing to apprehend. But the charge is unworthy, and may with propriety be retorted on the expectations of office and emolument under the intended government.

*The opposition is not so partial and interested as Mr. Wilson asserts. It consists of a respectable yeomanry throughout the union, of characters far removed above the reach of his unsupported assertions. It comprises many worthy members of the late convention, and a majority of the present Congress, for a motion made in that honorable body, for their approbation and recommendation of the new plan, was, after two days animated discussion, prudently withdrawn by its advocates, and a simple transmission * of the plan to the several states could only be obtained*

* Upon the last motion being made, those who had strenuously and successfully opposed Congress giving any countenance of approbation or recommendation to this system of oppression, said, "We have no objection to transmit the new plan of government to the several states, that they may have an opportunity of judging for themselves on so momentous a subject." Whereupon it was unanimously agreed to in the following words, viz. "Congress having received the report of the Convention lately assembled in Philadelphia, Resolved unanimously, That the said report, with the resolutions and letter accompanying the same, be transmitted to the several legislatures, in order to be submitted to a Convention of delegates, chosen in each state by the people thereof, in conformity to the resolves of the Convention, made and provided in that case."

tained ; yet this has been palmed upon the people as the approbation of Congress ; and to strengthen the deception, the bells of the city of Philadelphia, were rung for a whole day.

Are Mr. W——n, and many of his coadjutors in the late C——n, the disinterested patriots they would have us believe ? Is their conduct any recommendation of their plan of government ? View them the foremost and loudest on the floor of Congress, in our assembly, at town meetings in sounding its eulogiums : view them preventing investigation and discussion, and in the most despotic manner endeavouring to compel its adoption by the people, with such precipitancy as to preclude the possibility of a due consideration, and then say, whether the motives of these men can be pure.

My fellow citizens, such false detestable patriots in every nation, have led their blind confiding country, shouting their applauses, into the jaws of despotism and ruin.—May the wisdom and virtue of the people of America, save them from the usual fate of nations.

CENTINEL.

C E N T I N E L.

N U M B E R III.

To the PEOPLE of PENNSYLVANIA.

John iii. ver. 20th.—“ For every one that doeth evil, hateth light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reprov'd.”—But “ there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed ; neither hid that shall not be known. Therefore, whatsoever ye have spoken in darkness, shall be heard in the light : and that which ye have spoken in the ear in closets, shall be proclaimed on the house tops.”—St. Luke, chap. xii. 2d and 3d verses.

Friends, Countrymen, and fellow-citizens,

THE formation of a good government, is the greatest effort of human wisdom, actuated by disinterested

ested patriotism ; but such is the cursed nature of ambition, so prevalent in the minds of men, that it would sacrifice every thing to its selfish gratification ; hence the fairest opportunities of advancing the happiness of humanity, are so far from being properly improved, that they are too often covered with the votaries of power and domination, into the means of obtaining their nefarious ends. It will be the misfortune of America to add to the number of examples of this kind, if the proposed plan of government should be adopted ; but I trust, short as the time allowed you for consideration is, you will be so fully convinced of the truth of this, as to escape the impending danger ; it is only necessary to strip the monster of its assumed garb, and to exhibit it in its native colours, to excite the universal abhorrence and rejection of every virtuous and patriotic mind.

For the sake of my dear country, for the honour of human nature, I hope, and am persuaded, the good sense of the people will enable them to rise superior to the most formidable conspiracy against the liberties of a free and enlightened nation, that the world has ever witnessed. How glorious would be the triumph ! How it would immortalize the present generation in the annals of freedom.

The establishment of a government, is a subject of such momentous and lasting concern, that it should not be gone into without the clearest conviction of its propriety ; which can only be the result of the fullest discussion, the most thorough investigation and dispassionate consideration of its nature, principles, and construction. You are now called upon to make this decision, which involves in it, not only your fate, but that of your posterity for ages to come. Your determination will either ensure the possession of those blessings, which render life desirable, or entail those evils which make existence a curse : that such are consequences of a wise or improper organization of government, the history of mankind abundantly testifies. If you viewed the magnitude of the object in its true light, you would join with me in sentiment, that the new government ought not to be implicitly admitted. Consider then, duly, before you

leap, for after the Rubicon is once passed, there will be no retreat.

If you were even well assured, that the utmost purity of intention predominated in the production of the proposed government, such is the imperfection of human wisdom and knowledge, that it would not be wise in you to adopt it with precipitation *in toto*, for all former experience must teach you the propriety of a revision on such occasions, to correct the errors, and supply the deficiencies that may appear necessary. In every government, whose object is the public welfare, the laws are subjected to repeated revisions, in some by different orders in the government, in others by an appeal to the judgments of the people, and deliberative forms of procedure. A knowledge of this, as well as of other states, will shew, that if every instance where a law has been passed without the usual precautions, it has been productive of great inconvenience and evils, and frequently has not answered the end in view, a supplement becoming necessary to supply its deficiencies.

What then are we to think of the motives and designs of those men who are urging the implicit and immediate adoption of the proposed government? Are they fearful, that if you exercise your good sense and discernment, you will discover the masked aristocracy that they are attempting to smuggle upon you, under the suspicious garb of republicanism? When we find that the principal agents in this business, are the very men who fabricated the form of government, it certainly ought to be conclusive evidence of their insidious design to deprive us of our liberties. The circumstances attending this matter, are such as should in a peculiar manner excite your suspicion; it might not be useless to take a review of some of them.

In many of the States, particularly in this and the northern States, there are aristocratic juntas of the *well-born few*, who had been zealously endeavouring since the establishment of their constitutions, to humble that offensive *upstart, equal liberty*; but all their efforts were unavailing, the *ill-bred churl* obstinately kept his assumed station.

However, that which could not be accomplished in
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the several states, is now attempting through the medium of the future Congress. Experience having shewn great defects in the present confederation, particularly in the regulating of commerce and maritime affairs, it became the universal wish of America to grant further powers, so as to make the federal government adequate to the ends of its institution. The anxiety on this head was greatly increased, from the impoverishment and distress occasioned by the extensive importations of foreign merchandize and luxuries, and consequent drain of specie since the peace: thus the people were in the disposition of a drowning man, eager to catch at any thing that promised relief, however delusory. Such an opportunity for the acquisition of *undue* power, has never been viewed with indifference by the ambitious and designing in any age or nation, and it has accordingly been too successfully improved by such men among us. The deputies from this state (with the exception of two) and most of those from the other states in the union were unfortunately of this complexion, and many of them of such superior endowments, that in an *ex parte* discussion of the subject, by specious glosses, they have gained the concurrence of some well-disposed men in whom their country have great confidence, which has given great sanction to their scheme of power.

A comparison of the authority under which the convention acted, and their form of government, with these that they have despised their delegated power, and assumed sovereignty; that they have entirely annihilated the old confederation, and the particular governments of the several states, and instead thereof have established one general government that is to pervade the union; constituted on the most *unequal* principle, destitute of accountability to its constituents, and as despotic in its nature as the Venetian aristocracy; a government that will give full scope to the magnificent designs of the *well-born*; a government where tyranny may glut its vengeance on the *low-born*, unchecked by an *odious bill of rights*, as has been fully illustrated in my two preceding numbers; and yet as a blind upon the understanding of the people, they have continued the forms of the particular governments, and termed the whole a confederation.

confederation of the United States, pursuant to the sentiments of that profound, but corrupt politician Machiavel, who advises any one who would change the constitution of a state, to keep as much as possible to the old forms ; for then the people, seeing the same officers, the same formalities, courts of justice, and other outward appearances, are insensible of the alteration, and believe themselves in possession of their old government. Thus Cæsar, when he seized the Roman liberties, caused himself to be chosen dictator (which was an ancient office) continued the senate, the consuls, the tribunes, the censors, and all other offices and forms of the commonwealth ; and yet changed Rome from the most free, to the most tyrannical government in the world.

The convention, after vesting all the great and efficient powers of sovereignty in the general government, insidiously declared, by section 4th of article 4th, " that the United States shall guarantee to every state in this union, a republican form of government ;" but of what avail will be the *form* without the *reality* of freedom ?

The late convention, in the majesty of its assumed omnipotence, have not even condescended to submit the plan of the new government to the consideration of the people, the true source of authority, but have called upon them by their several conventions, " to assent to, and ratify" * *in toto*, what they have been pleased to decree ; just as the grand monarch of France requires the parliament of Paris to register his edicts without revision or alteration, which is necessary previous to their execution.

The authors and advocates of the new plan, conscious that its establishment can only be obtained from the ignorance of the people of its true nature, and their unbounded confidence in some of the men concurring, have hurried on its adoption with a precipitation that betrays their design ; before many had seen the new plan, and before they had time to examine it, they, by their

* See a resolution of Convention accompanying the instrument of the proposed government.

their ready minions, attended by some well-disposed, but mistaken persons, obtained the subscriptions of the people to papers, expressing their approbation of, and wish to have it established; thus precluding them from any consideration, but lest the people should discover the juggle, the elections of the state conventions are urged on at very early days; the proposition of electing the convention of this state in nine days after the date of the resolution, for all the counties east of Bedford, and supported by three or four of the deputies of the convention, and who were also members of the then assembly, is one of the most extravagant instances of this kind; and even this was prevented by the secession of nineteen virtuous and enlightened members. †

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† *The message of the president and council, sent into the present general assembly, on the 27th of October last, discloses another imposition. The board sent to the house the official transmission of the proposed constitution of the United States, inclosed in a letter from the president of Congress, which proves that the paper produced to the last house on the day before the final rising of the same, was a surreptitious copy of the vote of Congress, obtained for the purpose of deluding the legislature into the extravagance of directing an election of Convention within nine days.*

The provisions made by the Convention of Pennsylvania, which sat in 1776 for amending the Constitution, is guarded with admirable wisdom and caution. A council of censors is to be holden every seven years, which shall have power (two thirds of the whole number elected agreeing) to propose amendments of the same government, and to call a Convention to adopt and establish the same propositions; but the alterations must be "promulgated at least six months before the day appointed for the election of such Convention, for the previous consideration of the people, that they may have an opportunity of instructing their delegates on the subject." The present measures explain the conduct of a certain party of Censors who sat in 1784, (much fewer than two thirds of the whole) that proposed to abolish the 47th article of the constitution, whereby the manner of amending the same was regulated.

In order to put the matter beyond all recall, they have proceeded a step farther, they have made the deputies nominated for the state convention, of this city, and elsewhere, pledge their sacred honour, previous to their election, that they would implicitly adopt the proposed government, *in toto*; thus, short as the period is, before the final fiat is to be given, consideration is rendered nugatory, and conviction of its danger or impropriety unavoidable. A good cause does not stand in need of such means; it scorns all indirect advantages and borrowed help, and trusts alone to its own native merit and intrinsic strength: the lion is never known to make use of cunning, nor can a good cause suffer by a free and thorough examination. It is knavery that seeks disguise. Actors do not care that any one should look into the tiring room, nor jugglers or sharpers into their hands or boxes.

Every exertion has been made to suppress discussion by shackling the press; but as this could not be effected in *this* state, the people are warned not to listen to the adversaries of the proposed plan, lest they should impose upon them, and thereby prevent the adoption of this blessed government. What figure would a lawyer make in a court of justice, if he should desire the judges not to hear the counsel of the other side, lest they should perplex the cause and mislead the court? Would not every by-stander take it for granted, that he was conscious of the weakness of his client's cause, and that it could not otherwise be defended, than by not being understood.

All who are friends to liberty are friends to reason, the champion of liberty; and none are foes to liberty but those who have truth and reason for their foes. He who has dark purposes to serve, must use dark means; light would discover him, and reason expose him: he must endeavour to shut out both, and make them look frightful by giving them ill names.

Liberty only flourishes where reason and knowledge are encouraged; and wherever the latter are stifled, the former is extinguished. In Turkey printing is forbid, enquiry is dangerous, and free speaking is capital; because they are all inconsistent with the nature of the government.

vernment. Hence it is that the Turks are all stupidly ignorant, and are all slaves.

I shall now proceed in the consideration of the construction of the proposed plan of government — By sect. 4th of art. 1st, of the proposed government, it is declared, “ that the times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; *but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the place of choosing senators.*” Will not this section put it in the power of the future Congress to abolish the suffrage by ballot, so indispensable in a free government. — Montesquieu, in his Spirit of laws, vol. 1, page 12, says, “ that in a democracy there can be no exercise of sovereignty but by the suffrages of the people, which are their will; now the sovereign’s will is the sovereign himself. The laws, therefore, which establish the right of suffrage, are fundamental to this government. In fact it is as important to regulate in a republic, in what manner, by whom, and concerning what suffrages are to be given, as it is in a monarchy to know who is the prince, and after what manner he ought to govern. This valuable privilege of voting by ballot, ought not to rest on the discretion of the government, but be irrevocably established in the constitution.

Will not the above quoted sect. also, authorize the future Congress to lengthen the term for which the senators and representatives are to be elected, from 6 and 2 years respectively, to any period, even for life? as the parliament of England voted themselves from triennial to septennial; and as the long parliament under Charles the 1st became perpetual?

Sect. 8th, of art. 1st, vests Congress with power “ to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions; to provide for the organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.” —

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This sect. will subject the citizens of these states to the most arbitrary military discipline ; even death may be inflicted on the disobedient ; in the character of militia, you may be dragged from your families and homes to any part of the continent, and for any length of time, at the discretion of the future Congress ; and as militia, you may be made the unwilling instruments of oppression under the direction of government ; there is no exemption upon account of conscientious scruples of bearing arms ; no equivalent to be received in lieu of personal services. The militia of Pennsylvania may be marched to Georgia or New Hampshire, however incompatible with their interests or consciences ; in short, they may be made as mere machines as Prussian soldiers.

Sect. the 9th begins thus—“ The migration or importation of such persons, as any of the states, now existing, shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to the year 1808, but a duty or tax may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.” And by the 5th art. this restraint is not to be removed by any future convention. We are told, that the objects of this article are slaves, and that it is inserted to secure to the southern states the right of introducing negroes for twenty-one years to come, against the declared sense of the other states to put an end to an odious traffic in the human species ; which is especially scandalous and inconsistent in a people, who have asserted their own liberty by the sword, and which dangerously enfeebles the districts, wherein the labourers are bondmen. The words are dark and ambiguous ; such as no plain man of common sense would have used, are evidently chosen to conceal from Europe, that in this enlightened country, the practice of slavery has its advocates among men in the highest stations. When it is recollected that no poll tax can be imposed on five negroes above what three whites shall be charged ; when it is considered, that the impost on the consumption of the Carolina field negroes, must be trifling, and the excise, nothing, it is plain that the proportion of contributions, which can be expected from the southern states under the new constitution, will be very unequal ; and yet they are to be allowed, to enfeebles themselves by
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the further importation of negroes till the year 1808. Has not the concurrence of the five southern states in the convention, to the new system, been purchased too dearly by the rest, who have undertaken to make good their deficiencies of revenue, occasioned by their wilful incapacity, without an equivalent ?

The general acquiescence of one description of citizens in the proposed government, surprise me much, if so many of the Quakers have become indifferent to the sacred rights of conscience, so amply secured by the constitution of this commonwealth ; if they are satisfied, to rest this inestimable privilege on the discretion of the future government, yet, in a political light, they are not acting wisely ; in the state of Pennsylvania, they form so considerable a portion of the community, as must ensure them great weight in the government ; but in the scale of general empire, they will be lost in the balance.

I intended in this number to have shewn from the nature of things, from the opinions of the greatest writers, and from the peculiar circumstances of the United States, the impracticability of establishing and maintaining one government on the principles of freedom, in so extensive a territory ; to have shewn, if practicable, the inadequacy of such government, to provide for its many and various concerns ; and also to have shewn, that a confederation of small republics, possessing all the powers of internal government, and united in the management of their general and foreign concerns, is the only system of government by which so extensive a country can be governed, consistent with freedom : But a writer under the signature of Brutus, in the New-York paper, which has been republished by Messrs. Danlap and Claypoole, has done this in so masterly a manner, that it would be superfluous in me to add any thing on the subject.

My fellow citizens, as a lover of my country, as the friend to mankind, whilst it is yet safe to write, and whilst it is yet in your power to avoid it, I warn you of the impending danger. To this remote quarter of the world has liberty fled. Other countries, now subject to slavery, were once as free as we yet are : therefore, for your own

sakes, for the sake of your posterity, as well as for that of the oppressed of all nations, cherish this remaining asylum of liberty.

CENTINEL.

Philadelphia, Nov. 5th, 1787.

C E N T I N E L.

N U M B E R I V.

To the PEOPLE of PENNSYLVANIA.

Friends, Countrymen, and fellow-citizens,

THAT the present confederation is inadequate to the objects of the union, seems to be univervally allowed. The only question is, what additional powers are wanting to give due energy to the federal government? We should, however, be careful in forming our opinions on this subject, not to impute the temporary and extraordinary difficulties that have hitherto impeded the execution of the confederation, to defects in the system itself. Taxation is, in every government, a very delicate and difficult subject; hence it has been the policy of all wise statemen, as far as circumstances permitted, to lead the people by small beginnings, and almost imperceptible degrees; into the habits of taxation; where the contrary conduct has been pursued, it has ever failed of full success, not unfrequently proving the ruin of the projectors. The imposing of a burdensome tax at once on a people, without the usual gradations, is the severest test that any government can be put to; despotism itself has often proved unequal to the attempt. Under this conviction, let us take a review of our situation before and since the revolution. From the first settlement of this country, until the commencement of the late war, the taxes were so light and trivial as to be scarcely felt by the people; when we engaged in the expensive contest with Great Britain, the Congress, sensible of the difficulty of levying the monies necessary to its support, by direct taxation, had recourse to an anti-
cipation

depletion of the public resources, by emitting bills of credit, and thus postponed the necessity of taxation for several years; this means was pursued to a most ruinous length: but about the year 1780 or 1781, it was wholly exhausted; commerce had been suspended for near six years; the husbandman, for want of a market, limited his crops to his own subsistence; the frequent calls of the militia, and long continuance in actual service, the devastations of the enemy, the subsistence of our own armies, the evils of the depreciation of the paper money, which fell chiefly upon the patriotic and virtuous part of the community, had all concurred to produce great distress throughout America. In this situation of affairs, we still had the same powerful enemy to contend with, who had even more numerous and better appointed armies in the field, than at any former time. Our allies were applied to in this exigence, but the pecuniary assistance that we could procure from them, was soon exhausted; the only resource now remaining, was to obtain by direct taxation, the monies necessary for our defence; the history of mankind does not furnish a similar instance of an attempt to levy such enormous taxes at once, of a people so wholly unprepared and unaccustomed to them—the lamp of sacred liberty must indeed have burned with unsullied lustre, every sordid principle of the mind must have been then extinct, when the people not only submitted to the grievous impositions, but cheerfully exerted themselves to comply with the calls of their country; their abilities, however, were not equal to furnish the necessary sums—indeed the requisition of the year 1782, amounted to the whole income of their farms and other property, including the means of their subsistence; perhaps the strained exertions of two years, would not have sufficed to the discharge of this requisition; to whom then, can we impute the difficulties of the people to a due compliance with the requisitions of Congress to a defect in the confederation, for any government, however energetic, in similar circumstances, would have experienced the same fate. If we review the proceedings of the states, we shall find that they gave every sanction and authority to the requisitions of Congress, that their

laws

laws could confer ; that they attempted to collect the sums called for, in the same manner as is proposed to be done in future by the general government, instead of the state legislatures.

It is a maxim, that a government ought to be cautious not to govern over much, for when the cord of power is drawn too tight, it generally proves its destruction ; the impracticability of complying with the requisitions of Congress has lessened the sense of obligation and duty in the people, and thus weakened the ties of the union ; the opinion of power in a free government is much more efficacious than the exercise of it ; it requires the maturity of time and repeated practice to give it due energy and certainty to the operations of government, especially to such as affect the parties of the people.

The thirteen Swiss Cantons confederated by more general and weaker ties than these United States are by the present articles of confederation, have not experienced the necessity of strengthening their union by vesting their general diet with further or greater powers ; this national body has only the management of their foreign concerns, and in case of a war can only call by requisition on the several Cantons for the necessary supplies, who are sovereign and independent in every internal and local exercise of government ; and yet this rope of sand, as our confederation has been termed, which is so similar to that, has held together for ages without any apparent chafe.

I am persuaded, that a due consideration will evince, that the present inefficacy of the requisitions of Congress is not owing to a defect in the confederation, but the peculiar circumstances of the times.

The wheels of the general government having been thus clogged, and the arrearages of taxes still accumulating, it may be asked what prospect is there of the government resuming its proper tone, unless more compulsory powers are granted ? To this it may be answered, that the produce of imposts on commerce which all agree to vest in Congress, together with the immense tracts of land at their disposal, will rapidly lessen and eventually discharge the present incumbrances ; when
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this takes place, the mode by requisition will be found perfectly adequate to the extraordinary exigencies of the union. Congress have lately sold land to the amount of eight millions of dollars, which is a considerable portion of the whole debt.

It is to be lamented that the interested and designing have availed themselves so successfully of the present crisis, and under the specious pretence of having discovered a *panacea* for all the ills of the people, they are about establishing a system of government that will prove more destructive to them, than the wooden horse filled with soldiers did in ancient times to the city of Troy; this horse was introduced by their hostile enemy the Grecians, by a prostitution of the sacred rites of their religion; in like manner, my fellow citizens, are aspiring despots among yourselves, prostituting the name of a Washington to cloak their designs upon your liberties.

I would ask how is the proposed government to shewer down these treasures upon every class of citizens as is so industriously inculcated and so fondly believed?— Is it by the addition of numerous and expensive establishments? Is it by doubling our judiciaries, instituting federal courts in every county of every state? Is it by a superb presidential court? Is it by a large standing army? In short, is it by putting it in the power of the future government to levy money at pleasure, and placing this government so independent of the people as to enable the administration to gratify every corrupt passion of the mind, to riot on your spoils, without check or control?

A transfer to Congress of the power of imposing imposts on commerce, and the unlimited regulation of trade, I believe is all that is wanting to render America as prosperous as it is in the power of any form of government to render her; this properly understood would meet the views of all the honest and well meaning.

What gave birth to the Continental Convention?— Was it not the situation of our commerce, which lay at the mercy of every foreign power, who from motives of interest or enmity could restrict and controul it, without risking a retaliation on the part of America, as Congress

gress was impotent on this subject? Such indeed was the case with respect to Britain, whose hostile regulations gave such a stab to our navigation as to threaten its annihilation, it became the interest of the American merchant to give a preference to foreign bottoms; hence the distress of our seamen, ship-wrights, and every mechanic art dependent on navigation.

By these regulations too we were limited in markets for our produce, our vessels were excluded from their West-India islands, many of our staple commodities were denied entrance in Britain; hence the husbandmen were distressed by the demand for their crops being lessened, and their prices reduced. This is the source to which may be traced every evil we experience, that can be relieved by a more energetic government. Recollect the language of complaint for years past, compare the recommendations of Congress founded on such complaints, pointing out the remedy; examine the reasons assigned by the different States for appointing delegates to the late convention, view the powers vested in that body; they all harmonize in one sentiment, that the due regulation of trade and navigation was the anxious wish of every class of citizens, was the great object of calling the convention.

This object being provided for by the proposed constitution, the people overlook, and are not sensible of the needless sacrifice they are making for it. Of what avail will be a prosperous state of commerce, when the produce of it will be at the absolute disposal of an arbitrary and unchecked government, who may levy at pleasure the most oppressive taxes; who may destroy every principle of freedom; who may even destroy the privilege of complaining.

If you are in doubt about the nature and principles of the proposed government, view the conduct of its authors and patrons, that affords the best explanation, the most striking comment.

The evil genius of darkness presided at its birth, it came forth under the veil of mystery, its true features being carefully concealed, and every deceptive art has been and is practising to have this spurious brat received as the genuine offspring of heaven-born liberty. So
fearful

fearful are its patrons that you should discern the imposition that they have hurried on its adoption with the greatest precipitation; they have endeavoured also to preclude all investigation, they have endeavoured to intimidate all opposition; by such means as these have they surreptitiously procured a convention in this town, favourable to their views; and here again investigation and discussion are abridged, the final question is moved before the subject has been under consideration! An appeal to the people is precluded even in the last resort, lest their eyes should be opened; the convention have denied the minority the privilege of entering the reasons of their dissent on its journals. Thus despotism is already triumphant, and the genius of liberty is on the eve of her exit, is about bidding an eternal adieu to this once happy people.

After so recent a triumph over British despots, after such torrents of blood and treasure have been spent, after involving ourselves in the distresses of an arduous war, and incurring such a debt, for the express purpose of asserting the rights of humanity, it is truly astonishing that a set of men among ourselves should have the effrontery to attempt the destruction of our liberties.— But in this enlightened age to hope to dupe the people by the arts they are practising, is still more extraordinary. How do the advocates of the proposed government combat the objections urged against it? Not even by an attempt to disprove them, for that would the more fully confirm their truth, but by a species of reasoning that is very congenial to that contempt of the understandings of the people that they so eminently possess, and which policy cannot even prevent frequent ebullitions of; they seem to think that the oratory and fascination of great names and mere sound will suffice to ensure success;— that the people may be diverted from a consideration of the merits of the plan, by bold assertions and mere declamation. Some of their writers for instance, paint the distresses of every class of citizens with all the glowing language of eloquence, as if this was a demonstration of the excellence, or even of the safety of the new plan, which notwithstanding the reality of this distress, may be a system of tyranny and oppression; other writers

ters tell you of the great men who composed the late convention, and give you a pompous display of their virtues, instead of a justification of the plan of government; and others again urge the tyrants plea, they endeavour to make it a case of necessity, now is the critical moment; they represent the adoption of this government as our only alternative, as the last opportunity we shall have of peaceably establishing a government; they assert it to be the best system that can be formed, and that if we reject it we will have a worse one or none at all; nay, that if we presume to propose alterations we shall get into a labyrinth of difficulties from which we cannot be extricated, as no two states will agree in amendments, that therefore it would involve us in irreconcilable discord. But they all sedulously avoid the fair field of argument, a rational investigation into the organization of the proposed government. I hope the good sense of the people will detect the fallacy of such conduct, will discover the base juggle, and with becoming resolution resent the imposition.

That the powers of Congress ought to be strengthened all allow, but is this a conclusive proof of the necessity to adopt the proposed plan; is it a proof that because the late convention in the first essay upon so arduous and difficult a subject, harmonized in their ideas, that a future convention will not, or that after a full investigation and mature consideration of the objections, they will not plan a better government, and one more agreeable to the sentiments of America; or is it any proof that they can never again agree in any plan? The late convention must indeed have been inspired, as some of its advocates have asserted, to admit the truth of these positions, or even to admit the possibility of the proposed government being such a one as America ought to adopt; for this body went upon original ground foreign from their intentions or powers, they must therefore have been wholly uninformed of the sentiments of their constituents in respect to this form of government, as it was not in their contemplation when the convention was appointed to erect a new government, but to strengthen the old one. Indeed they seem to have been determined to monopolize the exclusive merit of the discovery,

necessary fate of the people under such a government ; his words are so remarkable, that I cannot forbear reciting them ; they are as follows, viz. " The extent of country for which the new constitution was required, produced another difficulty in the business of the federal convention. It is the opinion of some celebrated writers, that to a small territory, the democratical, to a middling territory, as Montesquieu has termed it, the monarchical, and, to an extensive territory, the despotic form of government is the best adapted. Regarding, then, the wide and almost unbounded jurisdiction of the States, at first view the hand of despotism seemed necessary to controul, connect, and protect it ; and hence the chief embarrassment arose. For, we knew, that although our constituents would cheerfully submit to the legislative restraints of a free government, they would spurn at every attempt to shackle them with despotic power." See page five of the printed speech. And again in page seven, he says, " Is it probable, that the dissolution of the state governments, and the establishment of one consolidated empire, would be eligible in its nature, and satisfactory to the people in its administration ? I think not, as I have given reasons to shew, that so extensive a territory could not be governed, connected, and preserved, but by the supremacy of despotic power. All the exertions of the most potent emperors of Rome, were not capable of keeping that empire together, which, in extent, was far inferior to the dominion of America."

This great point having been now confirmed by the concession of Mr Wilson, though indeed it was self evident before, and the writers against the proposed plan of government, having proved to demonstration, that the powers proposed to be vested in Congress, will necessarily annihilate and absorb the legislatures and judiciaries, and produce from their wreck one consolidated government, the question is determined. Every man therefore who has the welfare of his country at heart, every man who values his own liberty and happiness, in short, every description of persons, except those aspiring despots who hope to benefit by the misery and vassalage of their countrymen, must now concur in rejecting

rejecting the proposed system of government, must now unite in branding its authors with the stigma of eternal infamy. The anniversary of this great escape from the fangs of despotism, ought to be celebrated as long as liberty shall continue to be dear to the citizens of America.

I will repeat some of my principal arguments, and add some further remarks, on the subject of consolidation.

The legislative is the highest delegated power in government; all other are subordinate to it. The celebrated Montesquieu establishes it as a maxim, that legislation necessarily follows the power of taxation. By the 8th section of article the first of the proposed government, "the Congress are to have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States." Now, what can be more comprehensive than these words? Every species of taxation, whether external or internal, are included. Whatever taxes, duties, and excises, that the Congress may deem necessary to the general welfare, may be imposed on the citizens of these states and levied by their officers. The Congress are to be the absolute judges of the propriety of such taxes, in short they may construe every purpose for which the state legislatures now lay taxes, to be for the general welfare, they may seize upon every source of taxation, and thus make it impracticable for the states to have the smallest revenue; and if a state should presume to impose a tax or excise, that would interfere with the federal tax or excise, Congress may soon terminate the contention, by repealing the state law, by virtue of the following section; "To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department thereof." Indeed every law of the states may be controuled by this power. The legislative power granted by these sections, is so unlimited in its nature, may be so comprehensive and boundless in its exercise, that this alone would be amply sufficient to carry the coup de grace to the state governments,

vernments, to swallow them up in the grand vortex of general empire. But the legislative has an able auxiliary in the judicial department, for a reference to my second number will shew, that this may be made greatly instrumental in effecting a consolidation; as the federal judiciary would absorb all others. Lest the foregoing powers should not suffice to consolidate the United States into one empire, the convention, as if determined to prevent the possibility of a doubt, as if to prevent all clashing by the opposition of state powers, as if to preclude all struggle for state importance, as if to level all obstacles to the supremacy of universal sway, which in so extensive a territory would be an iron handed despotism, have ordained by article the 6th, "*That this constitution, and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.*"

The words, "*pursuant to the constitution,*" will be no restriction to the authority of Congress; for the foregoing sections give them unlimited legislation; their unbounded power of taxation does alone include all others, as whoever has the purse strings will have full dominion. But the convention has superadded another power, by which the Congress may stamp with the sanction of the constitution every possible law; it is contained in the following clause: "To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof." Whatever law Congress may deem necessary and proper for carrying into execution any of the powers vested in them, may be enacted; and by virtue of this clause, they may controul and abrogate any and every of the laws of the state governments, on the allegation that they interfere with the execution of any of their powers; and yet these laws will "*be made in pursuance of the constitution,*" and of course will "*be the supreme law of the land,*"

land, and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state, to the contrary notwithstanding.

There is no reservation made in the whole of this plan in favour of the rights of the separate states. In the present plan of confederation made in the year 1778, it was thought necessary by article the 2d to declare, that *each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.* Positive grant was **not** thought sufficiently descriptive and restrictive upon Congress, and the omission of such a declaration now, when such great devolutions of power are proposed, manifests the design of consolidating the states.

What restriction does Mr. Wilson pretend there is in the new constitution to the supremacy of despotic sway over the United States? What barrier does he assign for the security of the state governments? Why truly a mere cobweb of a limit! By interposing the shield of what will become mere form, to check the reality of power. He says, that the existence of the state governments are essential to the organization of Congress, that the former is made the necessary basis of the latter, for the federal senators and president are to be appointed by the state legislatures; and that hence all fears of a consolidation are groundless and imaginary. It must be confessed, as reason and argument would have been foreign to the defence of the proposed plan of government, Mr. Wilson has displayed much ingenuity on this occasion; he has involved the subject in all the mazes of sophistry, and by subtil distinctions he has established principles and positions, that exist only in his own fertile imagination. It is a solecism in politics for two co-ordinate sovereignties to exist together; you must separate the sphere of their jurisdiction, or after running the race of dominion for some time, one would necessarily triumph over the other; but in the mean time the subjects of it would be harrassed with double impositions to support the contention; however, the strife between Congress and the states could not be of long continuance, for the former has a decisive superiority in the outset, and has
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moreover the power by the very constitution itself to terminate it when expedient.

As this necessary connexion, as it has been termed, between the state governments and the general government, has been made a point of great magnitude by the advocates of the new plan, as it is the only obstacle alledged by them against a consolidation, it ought to be well considered. It is declared by the proposed plan, that the federal senators, and the electors who choose the president of the United States, shall be appointed by the state legislatures for the long period of six and four years respectively; how will this connexion prevent the state legislatures being divested of every important, every efficient power? may not they, will not they dwindle into mere boards of appointment, as has ever happened in other nations to public bodies, who in similar circumstances have been so weak as to part with the essentials of power? does not history abound with such instances? And this may be the mighty amount of this inseparable connexion which is so much dwelt upon as the security of the state governments. Yet even this shadow of a limit against consolidation may be annihilated by the imperial fiat, without any violation of even the forms of the constitution; section 4th of article 1st has made a provision for this, when the people are sufficiently fatigued with the useless expence of maintaining the forms of departed power and security, and when they shall pray to be relieved from the imposition. This section cannot be too often repeated, as it gives such a latitude to the designing, as it revokes every other part of the constitution that may be tolerable, and as it may enable the administration under it to complete the system of despotism: It is in the following words, viz. "The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may by law at any time make or alter such regulations, except as to the place of choosing senators." The only apparent restriction in this clause is, as to the place of appointing senators, but even this may be rendered of no avail; for as the Congress have the controul over the time of appointment of both senators and representatives, they

they may, under the pretence of an apprehension of invasion, upon the pretence of the turbulence of what they may stile a faction, and indeed pretences are never wanting to the designing, they may postpone the time of the election of the senators and the representatives from period to period to perpetuity: Thus they may, and if they may they certainly will, from the lust of dominion so inherent in the mind of man, relieve the people from the trouble of attending elections by condescending to create themselves. Has not Mr. Wilson avowed it in fact? Has he not said in the convention that it was necessary that Congress should possess this power, as the means of its own preservation; otherwise says he, an invasion, a civil war, a faction, or a secession of a minority of the assembly, might prevent the representation of a state in Congress.

The advocates of the proposed government must be hard driven, when they represent, that because the legislatures of this and the other states have exceeded the due bounds of power, notwithstanding every guard provided by their constitutions; that because the lust of arbitrary sway is so powerful as sometimes to get the better of every obstacle, that therefore we should give full scope to it, for that all restriction would be useless and nugatory. And further, when they tell you that a good administration will atone for all the defects in the government, which, say they, you must necessarily have; for how can it be otherwise, your rulers are to be taken from among yourselves. My fellow citizens, these aspiring despots must indeed have a great contempt for your understandings, when they hope to gull you out of your liberties by such reasoning; for what is the primary object of government, but to check and controul the ambitious and designing: How then can moderation and virtue be expected from men who will be in possession of absolute sway, who will have the United States at their disposal? They would be more than men who could resist such temptation! Their being taken from among the people would be no security, tyrants are of native growth in all countries; the greatest bashaw in Turkey has been one of the peop'le, as Mr. Wilson tells
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you the president general will be. What consolation would this be, when you shall be suffering under his oppression.

CENTINEL.

CENTINEL,

NUMBER VI.

To the PEOPLE of PENNSYLVANIA.

“ Man is the glory, jest, and riddle of the world.”
POPE.

INCREDIBLE transition! The people who, seven years ago, deemed every earthly good, every other consideration as worthless when placed in competition with liberty, that heaven-born blessing, that zest of all others; the people who, actuated by this noble ardor of patriotism, rose superior to every weakness of humanity, and shone with such dazzling lustre amidst the greatest difficulties; who, emulous of eclipsing each other in the glorious assertion of the dignity of human nature, courted every danger, and were ever ready when necessary, to lay down their lives at the altar of liberty: I say, the people who exhibited a spectacle that commanded the admiration, and drew the plaudits of the most distant nations, are now reversing the picture; are now lost to every noble principle, are about to sacrifice that inestimable jewel liberty to the genius of despotism. A golden phantom held out to them by the crafty and aspiring despots among themselves, is alluring them into the fangs of arbitrary power; and so great is their insatiation, that it seems as if nothing short of the reality of misery, necessarily attendant on slavery, will rouse them from their false confidence, or convince them of the direful deception; but then, alas! it will be too late, the chains of despotism will be fast rivetted, and all escape precluded.

For years past the harpies of power have been industriously inculcating the idea, that all our difficulties proceed from the impotency of Congress, and have at length succeeded

ceeded to give to this sentiment almost universal currency and belief: The devastations, losses and burthens, occasioned by the late war, the excessive importations of foreign merchandize and luxuries, which have drained the country of its specie and involved it in debt, are all overlooked, and the inadequacy of the powers of the present confederation is erroneously supposed to be the only cause of our difficulties; hence persons of every description are reveling in the anticipation of the balcyon days consequent on the establishment of the new constitution. What gross deception and fatal delusion! Although very considerable benefit might be derived from strengthening the hands of Congress, so as to enable them to regulate commerce, and counteract the adverse restrictions of other nations, which would meet with the concurrence of all persons; yet this benefit is accompanied in the new constitution with the scourge of despotic power, that will render the citizens of America tenants at will of every species of property, of every enjoyment, and make them mere drudges of government. The gilded bait conceals corrosives that will eat up their whole substance.

Since the late able discussion, all are now sensible of great defects in the new constitution, are sensible that power is thereby granted without limitation or restriction;—yet such is the impatience of the people to reap the golden harvest of regulated commerce, that they will not take time to secure their liberty and happiness, nor even to secure the benefit of the expected wealth; but are weakly trusting their every concern to the discretionary disposal of their future rulers; are content to risk every abuse of power, because they are promised a good administration, because moderation and self-denial are the characteristic features of men in possession of absolute sway. What egregious folly! What superlative ignorance of the nature of power does such conduct discover!

History exhibits this melancholy truth, that slavery has been the lot of nearly the whole of mankind in all ages, and that the very small portion who have enjoyed the blessings of liberty, have soon been reduced to the common level of slavery and misery. The cause of this general vassalage may be traced to a principle of human nature, which is more powerful and operative than all the others combined;

It is that lust of dominion that is inherent in every mind, in a greater or less degree; this is so universal and ever active a passion as to influence all our ancestors; the different situation and qualifications of men only modifies and varies the complexion and operation of it.

For this darling pre-eminence and superiority, the merchant, already possessed of a competency, adventures his all in the pursuit of greater wealth; it is for this, that men of all descriptions, after having amassed fortunes, still persevere in the toils of labour; in short, this is the great principle of exertion in the votaries of riches, learning, and fame.

In a savage state, pre-eminence is the result of bodily strength and intrepidity, which compels submission from all such as have the misfortune to be less able; therefore the great end of civil government is, to protect the weak from the oppression of the powerful, to put every man upon the level of equal liberty; but here again the same lust of dominion by different means frustrates almost always this salutary intention. In a polished state of society, wealth, talents, address and intrigue are the qualities that attain superiority in the great sphere of government.

The most striking illustration of the prevalence of this lust of dominion is, that the most strenuous assertors of liberty in all ages, after successfully triumphing over tyranny, have themselves become tyrants, when the unsuspecting confidence of an admiring people have entrusted them with unchecked power: Rare are the instances of self-denial, or consistency of conduct in the votaries of liberty, when they have become possessed of the reins of authority; it has been the peculiar felicity of this country, that her *great deliverer* did not prove a *Cromwell*, nor a *Monk*.

Compare the declarations of the most zealous assertors of religious liberty, whilst under the lash of persecution, with their conduct when in power; you will find that even the benevolence and humility inculcated in the gospels, prove no restraint upon this love of domination. The mutual contentions of the several sects of religion in England some ages since, are sufficient evidence of this truth.

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The annals of mankind demonstrate the precarious tenure of privileges and property dependent upon the will and pleasure of rulers; these illustrate the fatal danger of relying upon the moderation and self-denial of men exposed to the temptations that the congress under the new constitution will be. The lust of power or dominion is of that nature, as seeks to overcome every obstacle, and does not remit its exertions, whilst any object of conquest remains, nothing short of the plenitude of dominion, will satisfy this cursed demon: Therefore liberty is only to be preserved by a due responsibility in the government, and by the constant attention of the people; whenever that responsibility has been lessened, or this attention remitted, in the same degree has arbitrary sway prevailed.

The celebrated *Montesquieu* has warned mankind of the danger of an implicit reliance on rulers; he says, that "a perpetual jealousy respecting liberty, is absolutely requisite in all free states," and again, "that slavery is ever preceded by sleep."

I shall conclude this number with an extract from a speech delivered by lord *George Digby*, afterwards earl of *Bristol*, in the English parliament, on the triennial bill in the year 1641, viz. "It hath been a maxim among the wisest legislators that whoever means to settle good laws must proceed in them, with a sinister opinion of all mankind; and whosoever is not wicked, it is for want only of the opportunity. It is that opportunity of being ill, Mr. speaker, that we must take away, if ever we mean to be happy, which can never be done, but by the frequency of parliaments.

"No state can wisely be confident of any public minister's continuing good longer than the rod is held over him.

"Let me appeal to all those that were present in this house at the agitation of the petition of rights: and let them tell themselves truly of whose promotion to the management of public affairs do they think the generality would, at that time, have had better hopes, than of Mr. Noy, and sir Thomas Wentworth; both having been at that time and in that business, as I have heard, most keen and active patriots, and the latter of them, to
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the eternal aggravation of his infamous treachery to the commonwealth be it spoken, the first mover, and insister, to have this clause added to the petition of rights, viz.

“ That for the comfort and safety of his subjects, his majesty would be pleased to declare his will and pleasure, that all his ministers should serve him according to the laws and statutes of the realm.

“ And yet, Mr. speaker, to whom now can all the inundations upon our liberties, under pretence of law, and the late ship-wreck at once of all our property, be attributed more than to Noy, and all those other mischiefs whereby this monarchy hath been brought almost to the brink of destruction, so much to any as to that grand apostate to the commonwealth, the new lieutenant of Ireland, sir Thomas Wentworth? Let every man but consider these men as once they were.”

British Liberties, page 184 and 185.

CENTINEL.

Philadelphia, Dec. 22, 1787.

CENTINEL,

NUMBER VII.

To the PEOPLE of PENNSYLVANIA.

Friends, Countrymen, and fellow Citizens,

THE admiring world lately beheld the sun of liberty risen to meridian splendor in this western hemisphere, whose cheering rays began to dispel the gloom of even transatlantic despotism; the patriotic mind, enraptured with the glowing scene, fondly anticipated an universal and eternal day to the orb of freedom; but the horrifon is already darkened, and the glooms of slavery threaten to fix their empire. How transitory are the blessings of this life! Scarcely have four years elapsed since these United States, rescued from the domination of foreign despots, by the unexampled heroism
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and perseverance of its citizens, at such great expence of blood and treasure, when they are about to fall a prey to the machinations of a profligate junto at home, who, seizing the favourable moment, when the temporary and extraordinary difficulties of the people have thrown them off their guard, and lulled that jealousy of power so essential to the preservation of freedom, have been too successful in the sacrilegious attempt; however I am confident that this formidable conspiracy will end in the confusion and infamy of its authors; that, if necessary, the avenging sword of an abused people will humble these aspiring despots to the dust, and that their fate, like that of Charles the First of England, will deter such attempts in future, and prove the confirmation of the liberties of America until time shall be no more.

One would imagine, by the insolent conduct of those harpies of power, they had already triumphed over the liberties of the people; that the chains were rivetted, and tyranny established. They tell us all farther opposition will be in vain, as this state has passed the Rubicon. Do they imagine the freemen of Pennsylvania will be thus trepanned out of their liberties; that they will submit without a struggle? They must indeed be inebriated with the lust of dominion, to indulge such chimerical ideas. Will the act of one sixth of the people, and this too, founded on deception and surprise, bind the community. Is it thus that the altar of liberty so recently crimsoned with the blood of our worthies, is it to be prostrated, and despotism reared on its ruins? Certainly not. The solemn mummery that has been acting in the name of the people of Pennsylvania, will be treated with the deserved contempt, it has served, indeed, to expose the principles of the men concerned, and to draw a line of discrimination between the real and affected patriots.

Impressed with an high opinion of the understanding and spirit of my fellow citizens, I have in no stage of this business entertained a doubt of its eventual defeat; the momentary delusion, arising from an unreserved confidence placed in some of the characters whose names sanctioned this scheme of power, did not discourage me: I foresaw that this blind admiration would discover its native deformity.

Already

Already the enlightened pen of patriotism, aided by an able public discussion, has dispelled the mist of deception, and the great body of the people are awakened to a due sense of their danger, and are determined to assert their liberty, if necessary, by the sword; but this mean need not to be recurred to, for who are their enemies? A junto, composed of the lordly and high minded gentry, of the profligate and the needy office hunters, of men, principally, who, in the late war, skulked from the common danger. Would such characters dare to face the majesty of a free people? No: All the conflict would be between the offended justice and generosity of the people, whether these sacrilegious invaders of their dearest rights should suffer the merited punishment, or escape with an infamous contempt.

However, as additional powers are necessary to Congress, the people will no doubt see the expediency of calling a convention for this purpose as soon as may be, by applying to their representatives in assembly, at their next session, to appoint a suitable day for the election of such convention.

CENTINEL.

Philadelphia, Dec. 27th, 1787.

CENTINEL,

NUMBER VIII.

TO THE PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Friends, Countrymen, and fellow-citizens,

UNDER the benign influence of liberty, this country, so recently a rugged wilderness, and the abode of savages and wild beasts, has attained to a degree of improvement and greatness, in less than two ages, of which history furnishes no parallel; it is here that human nature may be viewed in all its glory, man assumes the station designed him by the creation, a happy equality and independency pervades the community; it is here the human mind, untrammelled by the restraints
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of arbitrary power, expands every faculty : as the field to fame and riches is open to all, it stimulates universal exertion and exhibits a lively picture of emulation, industry and happiness. The unfortunate and oppressed of all nations fly to this grand asylum, where liberty is ever protected, and industry crowned with success.

But as it is by comparison only, that men estimate the value of any good, they are not sensible of the worth of these blessings they enjoy until they are deprived of them; hence, from ignorance of the horrors of slavery, nations that have been in possession of that rarest of blessings, liberty, have so easily parted with it: When groaning under the yoke of tyranny, what perils would they not encounter, what consideration would they not give to regain the inestimable jewel they had lost; but the jealousy of despotism guards every avenue to freedom, and confirms its empire at the expence of the devoted people, whose property is made instrumental to their misery; for the rapacious hand of power seizes upon every thing, despair presently succeeds, and every noble faculty of the mind being depressed, and all motive to industry and exertion being removed, the people are adapted to the nature of the government, and drag out a listless existence.

If ever America should be enslaved, it will be from this cause, that they are not sensible of their peculiar felicity, that they are not aware of the value of the heavenly boon committed to their care and protection; and if the present conspiracy fails, as I have no doubt will be the case, it will be the triumph of reason and philosophy, as these united states have never felt the iron hand of power, or experienced the wretchedness of slavery.

The conspirators against our liberties have presumed too much on the maxim, that nations do not take the alarm, until they feel oppression. The enlightened citizens of America have, on two memorable occasions, convinced the tyrants of Europe, that they are endued with the faculty of foresight, that they will sedulously guard against the first introduction of tyranny, however speciously glossed over, or whatever appearance it may assume: It was not the mere amount of the duty on
stamps,

stamps, or tea, that America opposed; they were considered as signals of approaching despotism, as precedents whereon the superstructure of arbitrary sway was to be reared.

Notwithstanding such illustrious evidence of the good sense and spirit of the people of these united states, and contrary to all former experience of mankind, which demonstrates, that it is only by gradual and imperceptible degrees that nations have hitherto been enslaved, except in case of conquest by the sword; the authors of the present conspiracy are attempting to seize upon absolute power at one grasp; impatient of dominion, they have adopted a decisive line of conduct, which if successful would obliterate every trace of liberty. I congratulate my fellow citizens, that the insatuated confidence of their enemies has so blinded their ambition, that their defeat must be certain and easy; if imitating the refined policy of successful despots, they had attacked the citadel of liberty by sap, and gradually undermined its outworks, they would have stood a fairer chance of effecting their design; but in this enlightened age thus rashly to attempt to carry the fortress by storm, is folly indeed. They have even exposed some of their batteries prematurely, and thereby unfolded every latent view; for the unlimited power of taxation would alone have been amply sufficient for every purpose; by a proper application of this, the will and pleasure of the rulers would of course have become the supreme law of the land; therefore there was no use in portraying the ultimate object, by superadding the form to the reality of supremacy in the following clauses, viz. that which empowers the new congress to make all laws that may be necessary and proper for carrying into execution any of their powers by virtue of which every possible law will be constitutional, as they are to be the sole judges of the propriety of such laws; that which ordains that their acts shall be the supreme law of the land, any thing in the laws or constitution of any state to the contrary notwithstanding; that which gives congress the absolute controul over the time and mode of its appointment and election, whereby, independent of any other means; they may establish hereditary despotism; that which authorises

rises them to keep on foot at all times a standing army ; and that which subjects the militia to absolute command. And to accelerate the subjugation of the people, trial by jury in civil cases, and the liberty of the press are abolished.

So flagrant, so audacious a conspiracy against the liberties of a free people, is without precedent ; mankind in the darkest ages, have never been so insulted—even then tyrants found it necessary to pay some respect to the habits and feelings of the people ; and nothing but the name of a Washington could have occasioned a moment's hesitation about the nature of the new plan, or saved its authors from the execration and vengeance of the people, which eventually will prove an aggravation of their treason, for America will resent the imposition practised upon the unsuspecting zeal of her *illustrious deliverer*, and vindicate her character from the aspersions of these enemies of her happiness and fame.

The advocates of this plan have artfully attempted to veil over the true nature and principles of it, with the names of those respectable characters that by consummate cunning and address they have prevailed upon to sign it, and what ought to convince the people of the deception and excite their apprehensions, is, that with every advantage which education, the science of government, and of law, the knowledge of history, and superior talents and endowments furnish the authors and advocates of this plan, they have, from its publication, exerted all their power and influence to prevent all discussion of the subject, and when this could not be prevented, they have constantly avoided the ground of argument, and recurred to declamation, sophistry, and personal abuse, but principally relied upon the magic of names. Would this have been their conduct, if their cause had been a good one ? No : they would have invited vestigation, and convinced the understandings of the people.

But such policy indicates great ignorance of the good sense and spirit of the people ; for if the sanction of every convention throughout the union was obtained by the means these men are practising, yet their triumph would be momentary, the favorite object would still

elude their grasp, for a government founded on fraud and deception could not be maintained without an army sufficiently powerful to compel submission, which the *well-born* of America could not speedily accomplish. However, the complexion of several of the more considerable states does not promise even this point of success. The Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, New-York, and New-Hampshire, have, by their wisdom in taking a longer time to deliberate, in all probability saved themselves from the disgrace of becoming the dupes of this gilded bait, as experience will evince, that it need only be properly examined to be execrated and repulsed.

The merchant, immersed in schemes of wealth, seldom extends his view beyond the immediate object of gain; he blindly pursues his seeming interest, and sees not the latent mischief; therefore it is, that he is the last to take the alarm, when public liberty is threatened. This may account for the insatiation of some of our merchants, who, elated with the imaginary prospect of an improved commerce under the new government, overlook all danger; they do not consider that commerce is the handmaid of liberty, a plant of free growth that withers under the hand of despotism, that every concern of individuals will be sacrificed to the gratification of men in power, who will institute injurious monopolies, and shackle commerce with every device of avarice; and that property of every species will be held at the *will and pleasure* of rulers.

If the nature of the case did not give birth to these well founded apprehensions, the principles and characters of the authors and advocates of the measure ought. View the monopolizing spirit of the principal of them. See him converting a Bank instituted for the common benefit, to his own and creatures emolument, and by the aid thereof controuling the credit of the state, and directing the measures of government. View the vassalage of our merchants, the thralldom of the city of Philadelphia, and the extinction of that spirit of independency in most of its citizens, so essential to freedom. View this Colossus attempting the grasp to commerce of America, and meeting with a sudden repulse; in the midst of his immense career receiving a shock that threatens

threatens his very existence. View the desperate fortunes of many of his coadjutors and dependents, particularly the bankrupt situation of the principal instrument under the *great man* in promoting the new government, whose superlative arrogance, ambition, and rapacity, would need the spoils of thousands to gratify. View his towering aspect, he would have no bounds of compassion for the oppressed, he would overlook all their sufferings. Recollect the strenuous and unremitting exertions of these men, for years past, to destroy our admirable constitution, whose object is, to secure equal liberty and advantages to all, and the great obstacle in the way of their ambitious schemes, and then answer, *Whether these apprehensions are chimerical; whether such characters will be less ambitious, less avaricious, more moderate, when the privileges, property, and every concern of the people of the United States shall be at their mercy, when they shall be in possession of absolute sway.*

CENTINEL.

Philadelphia, Dec. 27th, 1787.

CENTINEL,

NUMBER IX.

TO the PEOPLE of PENNSYLVANIA.

Friends, Countrymen, and fellow-citizens,

YOU have the peculiar felicity of living under the most perfect system of local government in the world; prize then this invaluable blessing as it deserves; suffer it not to be wrested from you, and the scourge of despotic power substituted in its place, under the specious pretence of vesting the general government of the United States with necessary power; that this would be the inevitable consequence of the establishment of the new constitution, the least consideration of its nature and tendency is sufficient to convince every unprejudiced mind.

mind. If you were sufficiently impressed with your present favored situation, I should have no doubt of a proper decision of the question in discussion.

The highest illustration of the excellence of the constitution of this commonwealth, is, that from its first establishment, the ambitious and profligate have been united in a constant conspiracy to destroy it; so sensible are they that it is their great enemy, that it is the great palladium of equal liberty, and the property of the people from the rapacious hand of power: the annals of mankind do not furnish a more glorious instance of the triumph of patriotism over the lust of ambition, aided by most of the wealth of the state. The few generally prevail over the many by uniformity of council, unremitting and persevering exertion, and superior information and address; but in Pennsylvania, the reverse has happened; here the *well-born* have been baffled in all their efforts to prostrate the altar of liberty for the purpose of substituting their own insolent sway, that would degrade the freemen of this state into servile dependence upon the *lordly* and *great*: however, it is not the nature of ambition to be discouraged; it is ever ready to improve the first opportunity to rear its baneful head, and with irritated fury to wreak its vengeance on the votaries of liberty.

The present conspiracy is a continental exertion of the *well-born* of America to obtain that darling domination, which they have not been able to accomplish in their respective states. Of what complexion were the deputies of this state in the general convention? Six out of eight were the inveterate enemies of our inestimable constitution, and the principles of that faction that for ten years past have kept the people in continual alarm for their liberties. Who are the advocates of the new constitution in this state? They consist of the same faction, with the addition of a few deluded well-meaning men, but whose number is daily lessening.

The conspirators have come forward at a most favorable conjuncture, when the state of public affairs has lulled all jealousy of power: emboldened by the sanction of the august name of a *Washington* that they have prostituted their purpose, they have presumed to overleap the usual

usual gradations to absolute power, and have attempted to seize at once upon the supremacy of dominion. The new instrument of government does indeed make a fallacious parade of some remaining privileges, and insults the understandings of the people with the semblance of liberty in some of its artful and deceptive clauses, which form but a flimsy veil over the reality of tyranny, so weakly endeavoured to be concealed from the eye of freedom. For, of what avail are the few inadequate stipulations in favor of the rights of the people, when they may be effectually counteracted and destroyed by virtue of other clauses; when these enable the rulers to renounce all dependence on their constituents, and render the latter tenants at will of every concern? The new constitution is in fact a *carte blanche*, a surrender at discretion to the will and pleasure of our rulers; as this has been demonstrated to be the case, by the investigation and discussion that have taken place, I trust the same good sense and spirit which have hitherto enabled the people to triumph over the wiles of ambition, will be again exerted for their salvation. The accounts from various parts of the country correspond with my warmest hopes, and justify my early predictions of the eventual defeat of this scheme of power and office making.

The genius of liberty has sounded the alarm, and the dormant spirit of her votaries is reviving with enthusiastic ardor; the like unanimity which formerly distinguished them in their conflict with foreign despots, promise to crown their virtuous opposition on the present occasion, with signal success. The structure of despotism that has been reared in this state, upon deception and surprise, will vanish like the baseless fabric of a dream, and leave not a trace behind.

The parasites and tools of power in Northampton county ought to take warning from the fate of the Carlisle junto, lest like them, they experience the resentment of an injured people. I would advise them not to repeat the imposition of a set of fallacious resolutions as the sense of that county, when in fact, it was the act of a despicable few, with Alexander Patterson at their head, whose achievements at Wyoming, as the meaner instrument of unfeeling avarice, have rendered infamously no-

torius; but yet, like the election of a Mr. Sedgwick for the little town of Stockbridge, which has been adduced as evidence of the unanimity of the western counties of Massachusetts state in favour of the new constitution, when the fact is far otherwise, this act of a few individuals will be sounded forth over the continent as a testimony of the zealous attachment of the county of Northampton to the new constitution. By such wretched and momentary deceptions do these harpies of power endeavour to give the complexion of strength to their cause. To prevent the detection of such impositions, to prevent the reflection of the rays of light from state to state, which producing general illumination, would dissipate the mist of deception, and thereby prove fatal to the new constitution, all intercourse between the patriots of America is as far as possible cut off; whilst on the other hand, the conspirators have the most exact information, a common concert is every where evident, they move in unison. There is so much mystery in the conduct of these men, such systematic deception, and fraud, characterises all their measures, such extraordinary solicitude shewn by them to precipitate and surprise the people into a blind and implicit adoption of this government that it ought to excite the most alarming apprehensions in the minds of all those who think their privileges, property and welfare, worth securing.

It is a fact that can be established, that during almost the whole of the time that the late convention of this state were assembled, the newspapers published in New-York, by Mr. Greenleaf, which contain the essays written there against the new government, such as the patriotic ones of Brutus, Cincinnatus, Cato, &c. sent as usual by the printer of that place, to the printers of this city, miscarried in their conveyance, which prevented the re-publication in this state, of many of these pieces, and since that period great irregularity prevails; and I stand informed, that the printers in New-York complain that the free and independent newspapers of this city do not come to hand; whilst on the contrary, we find the devoted vehicles of despotism pass uninterrupted. I would ask what is the meaning of the new arrangement at the post-office, which abridges the circulation of newspapers

papers at this momentous crisis, when our every concern is dependent upon a proper decision of the subject in discussion. No trivial excuse will be admitted; the Centinel will, as from the first approach of despotism, warn his countrymen of the insidious and base stratagems that are practising to hoodwink them out of their liberties.

The more I consider the manoeuvres that are practising, the more am I alarmed—foreseeing that the juggle cannot long be concealed, and that the spirit of the people will not brook the imposition, they have guarded, as they suppose, against any danger arising from the opposition of the people, and rendered their struggles for liberty impotent and ridiculous. What otherwise is the meaning of disarming the militia, for the purpose, as it is said, of repairing their muskets at such a particular period? Does not the timing of the measure determine the intention. I was ever jealous of the select militia, consisting of infantry and troops of horse, instituted in this city, and in some of the counties, without the sanction of law, and officered principally by the devoted instruments of the well born, although the illustrious patriotism of one of them, has not corresponded with the intention of appointing him. Are not these corps provided to suppress the first efforts of freedom, and to check the spirit of the people until a regular and sufficiently powerful military force shall be embodied to rivet the chains of slavery on a deluded nation. What confirms these apprehensions, is the declaration of a certain major, an active instrument in this business, and the echo of the principal conspirators, who has said, he should deem the cutting off of five thousand men, as a small sacrifice, a cheap purchase, for the establishment of the new constitution.

CENTINEL.

Philadelphia, Jan. 5, 1788.

A P P E N D I X.

T H E
C O N S T I T U T I O N,
A G R E E D O N B Y T H E
G E N E R A L C O N V E N T I O N,

Seventeenth of September, 1787, at Philadelphia.

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

A R T I C L E I.

ALL legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.

Sec. 2. The house of representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives, and direct taxes, shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers, which

which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New-Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New-Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North-Carolina five, South-Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The house of representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECT. 3. *The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.*

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year: so that one third may be chosen every second year: and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided

The senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president pro tempore in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment, shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit, under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment according to law.

Sec. 4. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof: but the Congress may, at any time, by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the place of the first senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Sec. 5. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may, in their judgment, require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house, on any question, shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than
three

three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Sec. 6. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to, and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person, holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Sec. 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives; but the senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill, which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the president of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it.— If, after such re-consideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall be re-considered, and, if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the president within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress,

Congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the president of the United States : and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the senate and house of representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Sec. 8. The Congress shall have power,

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States ; but all duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States ;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States ;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes ;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States ;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures ;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States ;

To establish post-offices and post roads ;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries ;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court ;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations ;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water ;

To

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years ;

To provide and maintain a navy ;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions ;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of the government of the united states, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which they shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings ;—And

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the united states, or in any department or officer thereof.

Sec. 9. The migration or importation of such persons, as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder, or *ex post facto* law, shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct tax, shall be laid, unless

less in proportion to the census, or enumeration, herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another: Nor shall vessels bound to, or from one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no person, holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Sec. 10. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque or reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold or silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility,

No state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts, or duties on imports, or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state, on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and controul of the Congress. No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

A R T I C L E · II.

Sec. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with
the

the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of the electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the house of representatives shall immediately choose, by ballot, one of them for president; and if no person have a majority, then, from the five highest on the list, the said house shall in like manner, choose the president. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the president, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors, shall be the vice-president. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the senate shall choose from them, by ballot, the vice-president.

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person, except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president; neither shall any person be eligible to that office, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president, and the Congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive, within that period, any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

" I do solemnly swear, or affirm, that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States."

Sect. 2. The president shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls,

consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: But the Congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Sec. 3. He shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Sec. 4. The president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

A R T I C L E III.

S. 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

S. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this constitution the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;

party; to controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state claiming lands under the grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Sec. 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

A R T I C L E IV.

Sec. 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Sec. 2. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

A person, charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in any other state, shall, on demand of the executive authority

authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person, held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Sect. 3. New states may be admitted by the Congress into this union ; but no new state shall be formed or ere ed within the jurisdiction of any other state ; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned, as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States ; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

Sect. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every state in this union, a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion ; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions of three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress : Provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of

the first article ; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

A R T I C L E VI.

All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution, as under the confederation.

This constitution, and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution, or laws of any state, to the contrary notwithstanding.

The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States, and of the several states, shall be bound, by oath or affirmation, to support this constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office, or public trust, under the United States.

A R T I C L E VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, President,

And Deputy from Virginia.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE, { *John Langdon,*
Nicholas Gilman.

MASSACHUSETTS, { *Nathaniel Gorham,*
Rufus King.

CONNECTICUT, { *William S. Johnson,*
Roger Sherman.

NEW-YORK, *Alexander Hamilton.*

NEW-JERSEY,

NEW-JERSEY,	{	<i>William Livingston,</i> <i>David Brearly,</i> <i>William Patterson,</i> <i>Jonathan Dayton.</i>
	{	<i>Benjamin Franklin,</i> <i>Thomas Mifflin,</i> <i>Robert Morris,</i> <i>George Clymer,</i> <i>Thomas Fitzsimons,</i> <i>Jared Ingersoll,</i> <i>James Wilson,</i> <i>Gouverneur Morris.</i>
PENNSYLVANIA,	{	<i>George Read,</i> <i>Gunning Bedford, jun.</i> <i>John Dickinson,</i> <i>Richard Bassett,</i> <i>Jacob Broom.</i>
DELAWARE,	{	<i>James M^r Henry,</i> <i>Daniel of St. Thomas</i> <i>Jenifer,</i> <i>Daniel Carrol.</i>
MARYLAND,	{	<i>John Blair,</i> <i>James Madison, jun.</i>
VIRGINIA,	{	<i>William Blount,</i> <i>Richard Dobbs Spaight,</i> <i>Hugh Williamson.</i>
NORTH-CAROLINA,	{	<i>John Rutledge,</i> <i>Charles C. Pinckney,</i> <i>Charles Pinckney,</i> <i>Pierce Butler.</i>
SOUTH-CAROLINA,	{	<i>William Few,</i> <i>Abraham Baldwin.</i>
GEORGIA,	{	

Attest.

WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary.

In CONVENTION, Monday September 17, 1787.

P R E S E N T,

The Delegates of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Mr. Hamilton, from New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia:

R E S O L V E D,

THAT the preceding Constitution be laid before the United States in Congress assembled, and that it is the opinion of this Convention, that it should afterwards be submitted to a convention of delegates, chosen in each state by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its legislature, for their assent and ratification; and that each convention, assenting to, and ratifying the same, should give notice thereof to the United States in Congress assembled.

Resolved. That it is the opinion of this convention, that as soon as the conventions of nine states shall have ratified this constitution, the United States in Congress assembled, should fix a day on which the electors should be appointed by the states which shall have ratified the same, and the day on which the electors should assemble to vote for the president, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under this constitution. That after such publication, the electors should be appointed, and the senators and representatives elected: That the electors should meet on the day fixed for the election of the president, and should transmit their votes, certified, signed, sealed, and directed, as the constitution requires, to the secretary of the United States in Congress assembled, that the senators and representatives should convene at the time and place assigned; that the senators should appoint a president of the senate, for the sole purpose of receiving, opening, and counting the votes for president; and, that after he shall be chosen, the Congress, together with the president, should, without delay, proceed to execute this constitution.

By the unanimous order of the Convention,

GEORGE WASHINGTON, President.

WM. JACKSON, Secretary.

F I N I S.