

situated for smuggling; and that it had been found necessary to restrict British India ships to the port of London, to prevent frauds upon the revenue.

Many other observations were made—when the question on the amendment proposed by Mr. FITZSIMONS being taken, it passed in the affirmative.

The vote being then taken on the whole, it passed also in the affirmative.

The ports to be established by this clause are not yet named.

Further progress was made in the bill, and several amendments agreed to.

The committee then rose, and the House adjourned.

FRIDAY, JUNE 12.

The House formed into a committee of the whole, on the bill to regulate the collection of the impost on goods, wares, and merchandize imported into the United States.

Mr. TRAUBALL in the chair.

Considerable progress was made in the bill this day, by passing many of the clauses, chief of them with amendments.—The committee was proceeding in the discussion, when a message from the Senate was announced.—The Secretary then appeared on the floor of the House, and informed, that he had in command from the Senate, to inform the honorable House, that they had concurred with amendments, in the bill for laying an impost on goods, wares, and merchandize, imported into the United States—and hoped for the concurrence of the honorable House in those amendments.—He then delivered in the bill, with a draft of the amendments, and withdrew.—These amendments were read to the House—and then the Chairman of the Committee having refused his place, further progress was made in discussing the bill.

At three o'clock the committee rose, and the House adjourned till to-morrow.

*The following are the Amendments to the New Constitution, proposed by the Hon. Mr. Madison—as mentioned in our last—viz.*

**Resolved**, That the following amendments ought to be proposed by Congress, to the legislatures of the States, to become, if ratified by three fourths thereof, part of the Constitution of the United States.

**First**, That there be prefixed to the Constitution a declaration—That all power is originally vested in, and consequently derived from the people.

That government is instituted, and ought to be exercised for the benefit of the people; which consists in the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the right of acquiring and using property, and generally of pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

That the people have an indubitable, unalienable, and indefeasible right to reform or change their government, whenever it be found adverse or inadequate to the purposes of its institution.

**Secondly**, That in article 1st, section 2, clause 3, these words be struck out, to wit, "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." And that in place thereof be inserted these words, to wit, "After the first actual enumeration, there shall be one representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that the number shall never be less than nor more than but each State shall after the first enumeration, have at least two representatives; and prior thereto"

**Thirdly**, That in article 1st, section 6, clause 1, there be added to the end of the first sentence, these words, to wit:—"But no law varying the compensation last ascertained shall operate before the next ensuing election of representatives."

**Fourthly**, That in article 1st, section 9, between clauses 3 and 4, be inserted these clauses, to wit: "The civil rights of none shall be abridged on account of religious belief or worship, nor shall any national religion be established, nor shall the full and equal rights of conscience be in any manner, or on any pretext infringed."

The people shall not be deprived of the right of free speech, to write, or to publish their sentiments; and the freedom of the press, as one of the great bulwarks of liberty, shall be inviolable.

The people shall not be restrained from peaceably assembling and consulting for their common good; nor from applying to the legislature by petitions, or remonstrances for redress of their grievances.

The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed; a well armed, and well regulated militia being the best security of a free country: but no person religiously scrupulous of bearing arms, shall be obliged to render military service in person.

No soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house, without consent of the owner; nor at any time, but in a manner warranted by law.

No person shall be subject, except in cases of impeachment, to more than one punishment, or one trial for the same offence; nor shall be compelled to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor be obliged to relinquish his property, where it may be necessary for public use, without a just compensation.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

The rights of the people to be secured in their persons, their houses, their papers, and their other property from all unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated by warrants issued without probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, or not particularly describing the places to be searched, or the persons or things to be seized.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the cause and nature of the accusation, to be confronted with his accusers, and the witnesses against him; to have a compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

The exceptions here or elsewhere in the Constitution, made in favor of particular rights, shall not be construed as to diminish the just importance of other rights retained by the people; or as to enlarge the powers delegated by the Constitution; but either as actual limitations of such powers, or as inserted merely for greater caution.

**Fifthly**, That in article 1st, section 10, between clauses 1 and 2, be inserted this clause, to wit:

No State shall violate the equal rights of conscience, or the freedom of the press, or the trial by jury in criminal cases.

**Sixthly**, That in article 3d, section 2, be annexed to the end of clause 2d, these words, to wit: but no appeal to such court will be allowed where the value in controversy shall not amount to dollars: nor shall any fact triable by jury, according to the course of common law, be otherwise re-examinable than may conflict with the principles of common law.

**Seventhly**, That in article 3d, section 2, the third clause be struck out, and in its place be inserted the clauses following.

The trial of all crimes (except in cases of impeachment, and cases arising in the land or naval forces, or the militia when on actual service in time of war or public danger,) shall be by an impartial jury of freeholders of the vicinage, with the requisite of unanimity for conviction, of the right of challenge, and other accustomed requisites; and in all crimes punishable with loss of life or member, presentment or indictment by a grand jury, shall be an essential preliminary, provided that in cases of crimes committed within any county which may be in possession of an enemy, or in which a general insurrection may prevail, the trial may by law be authorized in some other county of the same State, as near as may be to the seat of the offence.

In cases of crimes committed not within any county, the trial may be in such county as the laws shall have prescribed. In suits at common law between man and man, the trial by jury as one

of the best securities to the rights of the people, ought to remain inviolate.

**Eighthly**, That immediately after article 6th, be inserted, as article 7th, the clauses following to wit:

The powers delegated by this Constitution, and appropriated to the departments to which they are respectively distributed: So that the legislative department shall never exercise the powers vested in the executive or judicial; nor the executive exercise the powers vested in the legislative or judicial; nor the judicial exercise the powers vested in the legislative or executive departments.

The powers not delegated by this Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively.

**Ninthly** That article 7th, be numbered as article 8th.

NEW-YORK, JUNE 13, 1789.

*Extract of a letter from Virginia, dated June 1, 1789.*

"I never supposed Congress would hurry over the objects committed to their deliberations. They are too important to be acted upon without being discussed; and they are too numerous and intricate to be discussed in a moment. But when I make these remarks, I do not mean to insinuate that it is not possible Congress may not in some instances attend too minutely to the detail of business. I know that the habit of discussion, like all other habits, has an imperceptible effect, and that men fall into the snare before they think of it. Those who discuss a great deal upon important subjects forget to drop a temper of discussion when they are upon points less interesting. You ask me if the patience of people this way is not exhausted, that so much time has elapsed, and so little business accomplished?—I am happy to assure you, that people do not yet complain, as they are disposed to make allowances for the difficulties that attend the first organization of the government. But how long this patience will continue is uncertain. Impatience is a weakness to which the mind of man is extremely liable; and it may, no doubt, be discovered in this as in many other instances where it ought not to be."

"Were mankind but as innocent, as blind, they would in their fondness for fashionable follies, luxuries, and extravagancies, completely resemble the lamb described by the poet:

The lamb that riot dooms to bleed to day,  
Had he thy reason, would he skip and play?  
Pleased to the last, he crops the flowery food;  
And licks the hand that's rais'd to shed his blood.

The cure of evils that have taken deep root in a community requires time, patience, and resolution.—Complaints are unavailing—and perhaps in no country is it more difficult to select proper subjects, on which a general odium can be fixed with propriety, than in America: Every man would therefore do well to lay his hand on his heart, and say, "IS IT I?"—for a general reformation, and universal happiness, must begin with INDIVIDUALS.

While we are obliged to delve and toil to make remittances to the merchants of Britain for manufactures, many of which we pay for, at 50 per cent. more than we could furnish them from among ourselves, we are but a little removed from a state of tributary slavery.

The young Gentlemen under the care of Mr. HARDIE, will be examined on the Greek and Latin languages, on TUESDAY next, in his school-room, near the Baptist Church, in Gold-Street. The examination will begin at 10 o'clock, forenoon, and at 4, afternoon, when their parents and guardians, and the friends of literature are earnestly requested to attend.

**THEATRICALS.**—*John-Street.*

Last night the *School for Soldiers*, an elegant, tender, sentimental, and well conducted Dramatic Entertainment, written by a citizen of the United States, was performed, amidst repeated bursts of applause, to a crowded house. The principal characters were extremely well supported by Messrs Henry, Hallam, and Harper—while Mrs. Henry and Mrs. Harper, added greatly to the interest of the action, and often dissolved the audience in tears. A more profound attention was never known to be given to any piece through the whole performance. A circumstance, which indicated the real interest which the gallery took in the fate of the Defenter, ought not to be omitted: as soon as the soldiers on the stage demonstrated their joy, by huzzaing, for the pardon which was announced to have been obtained from the late Commander in Chief for the Defenter, the audience in the gallery spontaneously gave the same proof of sensibility and satisfaction.

In the Farce of *Who's the Dupe*, Mr. Morris distinguished himself—and the whole performance was unusually correct and spirited.

**LITERARY ARTICLE.**

*This Day is published,* (Price 2/6)

And to be sold by BERRY & ROGERS, Hanover-Square, by ROBERT HODGE, Corner of King and Queen-Street, and by the Editor hereof;

**TWENTY-SIX  
LETTERS,  
UPON INTERESTING SUBJECTS,  
RESPECTING THE REVOLUTION OF AMERICA.**

*Written in Holland in the Year M,DCC,LXXX.*

By HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN ADAMS, WHILE HE WAS SOLE MINISTER PLENIPOTIENTIARY FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, FOR NEGOCIATING A PEACE, AND A TREATY OF COMMERCE, WITH GREAT-BRITAIN.

*Never before published.*

**ADVERTISEMENT.**

*Prefixed to the Letters.*

DR. CALKOE, an eminent Civilian at Amsterdam, to whom these letters were written, composed, by the means of them, a comparison between the revolt of the Low Countries from Spain, and the revolution of the United States of America; in which he concluded, upon the whole, that "as it was a kind of miracle that the former succeeded, it would be a greater miracle still if the latter should not."—This composition was read by him to a Society of gentlemen of letters, about forty in number, who met sometimes at Amsterdam; and by its means just sentiments of American affairs began to spread in that country, and to prevail over the continual misrepresentations of certain gazettes and emissaries.—The publications of General HOWE and BURGOYNE, in vindication of themselves, were procured to be translated into French, and propagated; together with many other pamphlets, which assisted in the same design, and contributed to excite the citizens to those applications, by petition to the regencies of the several cities, which finally procured the acknowledgement of American Independency, the Treaty of Commerce, and a Loan of Money.

JOHN ADAMS.

The first of these Letters contains a concise account of American Affairs before, during, and after the commencement of the late war. DR. CALKOE'S propositions and enquiries are as follow.

1. "To prove, by striking facts, that an implacable hatred and aversion reigns throughout America."

2. "To shew that this is general, at least so general, that the torities are in so small a number, and of such little force, that they are counted as nothing."

3. "To shew that America, notwithstanding the war, daily increases in strength and force."

4. "Whether America, in and of itself, by means of purchasing or exchanging the productions of the several provinces, would be able to continue the war for six, eight, or ten years, even if they were entirely deprived of the trade with Europe; or their allies, exhausted by the war, and forced to make a separate peace, were to leave them?"

5. "Whether a voluntary revolt of any one or more of the States in the American confederation is to be apprehended: And if one or more were to revolt, whether the others would not be able to defend themselves?"

6. "That no person, in America, is of so much influence, power, or credit, that his death, or corruption by English money, could be of any nameable consequence."

7. "Whether the common people in America are not inclined, nor would be able, to find sufficient means to frustrate, by force, the good intentions of the skilful politicians?"

8. "What England properly ought to do, to force America to submission, and preserve her in it? How much time, money, and how many vessels, would be wanted for that purpose?"

9. "How strong the English land force is in America? How strong it was at the beginning? And whether it increases or diminishes?"

10. "How great is the force of America? The number of men? Their discipline, &c. from the commencement of the troubles? Is there a good supply of warlike stores? Are these to be found, partly or entirely in America? Or must they be imported?"

11. "How great is the present debt of America? What has the occasion for yearly to act defensively? Are these wants supplied by the inhabitants themselves, or by other nations? If in the latter case, what does America lose of her strength by it? Are they not, in one manner or other, recompensed again by some equivalent advantage? If so, in what manner? What would be required to act offensively, and by that means shorten the war?"

12. "What countenance have the finances? How much does the expense exceed the yearly income? Does the annual revenue, derived from the taxes, increase or diminish, in the whole, or in any particulars? And what are the reasons to be given for it?"

13. "Of what resources might America hereafter still make use of?"

14. "What is the quantity of paper money in circulation? What credit the inhabitants have for it, in their business? What designs the inhabitants have by maintaining its credit? What by preventing its increase? And in what manner do they realize it?"

15. "Does not the English army lay out its pay in America? At how much can the yearly benefit be calculated? Are not the prisoners provided for in America? Who has the care of their maintenance? How was Burgoyne's army supplied?"

16. "Who loses most by desertion? Do the English and German deserters serve voluntarily and well in the American army? How can those who do not enter into the army subsist?"

17. "Whether we have any information that we can rely on, concerning the population? Has it increased or diminished, since the war?"

18. "Does sufficient tranquility, contentment, and prosperity, reign in those places where the war does not rage? Can one sufficiently subsist there without feeling the oppression of the taxes? Does plenty abound there? Is there more than is necessary for consumption? Are the people well affected and encouraged to pursue the war, and endure its calamities? Or is there poverty and dejection?"

19. "Is not peace very much longed for in America? Might not this desire of peace induce the people to hearken to proposals appearing very fair, but which really are not so; which the people might be too quick in listening to, and the government forced to accept?"

20. "Have there not been different opinions in Congress, with regard to this (i. e. to proposals appearing fair, which were not so) from whence animosities have arisen?"

21. "Are there no mal-contentments in America, against the government, who are otherwise much inclined for the American cause, who may force the nation, or congress, against their resolutions and interests, to conclude a peace?"

22—23 "General Monk repaired the King's government in England: Might not one American General or another be able, by discontent or corruption, to do the same? Would the army follow his orders on such an occasion? Could one or more politicians, through intrigues, undertake the same with any hopes of success, should even the army assist him in such a case?"—24.

"The revolution must have made a great change in affairs, so that many people, though at present free of the enemy's incursions, have lost their daily subsistence. Have the occupations, which come instead of their old ones, been sufficient to supply their wants?"

25—"Do they who have lost their possessions and fortunes by the war, endure it patiently, as compatriots, so that nothing can be feared from them?"—26. "How has it gone with the cultivation of the land, before the troubles, at the commencement, and at present? What change has taken place?"

27—"How was the situation of manufactures, manual arts and trade in general, at the beginning of this war? What change have they suffered?"

28. "Has America gained, or lost, by the mutual capture of ships? How much is the benefit, or prejudice, of it, by calculation?"

29. "What are the real damages sustained, or still to be suffered, by the loss of Charleston? And what influence it has had upon the minds of the people?"

**TO PACIFICUS.**

IF I have appeared at any time to favour any particular sect, or religious tenets, it is, probably, for the same reason that you appear an advocate for some other; because each thinks himself right—which may be true, if it be admitted that "as a man thinks, so is he." But as in a publication, in the "Gazette of the United States," No. V. "on religious toleration," I have admitted the possibility of doubt, in all cases not mathematically demonstrable, it cannot be rationally supposed, that I should so soon after conclude, that every man was in an error who should differ from me in opinions notoriously problematical;—I will, therefore, presume, that the inferences which you have drawn from the publication to which you refer, do by no means necessarily follow:—But no consideration should induce me to engage in religious disputes; because they have been rarely found, as appears from history, and the experience of ages, to tend to the conviction of either party; but on the contrary, have only served, in general, to irritate, to inflame, and to rivet prejudices, which never fail to warp the judgement, mislead the unwary, and frequently to produce those evils, which maugre your suspicions—no man can hold in greater abhorrence than I do.—Persecution of every species, disqualification, or even discrimination for difference of opinion in religious matters, appear to me in every view totally repugnant to the great purposes of religion, as well as to justice, reason, and good policy; and would probably soon evince to America, that she had spent her blood and treasure to no good purpose:—But while you appear to be jealous, and tenacious of your particular tenets, permit me to urge a due and decent regard to those which I may possibly think of equal importance, and deserving equal reverence and respect from those who profess the same opinion; but, at the same time, I hope never to see those, or any other religious opinions, supported, defended, or inculcated, but with a spirit of meekness, and by a conduct perfectly consistent with the genuine principles of toleration; with the most liberal candor, unbounded charity, universal philanthropy, and every moral virtue.

E. C.

In the sketch of Mr. MADISON'S Speech in our last, in 26th line from top of middle column 3d page, for "out of the power of the Legislature to infringe" read out of the power of the State Legislatures to infringe, &c.