(XLIIId YEAR.) THE (No. 2168.)

MARYLAND GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, JULY 31, 1788.

BRUSSELS, *March* 25.

THERE are in the service of his imperial majesty, three general Daltons; they are Irishmen and brothers, and are highly spoken of throughout the army; the eldest of the brothers, who is our commander in chief, has been all his life distinguished for intrepidity, and has often been employed on the most important occasions with equal success to his adopted sovereign, and credit to himself. The appointment of a man of his character to the supreme command, at such a crisis, speaks the sentiments of the cabinet of Vienna, for he has been accustomed to use but one argument, and that has been the sword.

LONDON, *May* 16.

A letter from Paris, of late date says, never were military preparations carried on with greater assiduity by most of the powers of Europe, than at the present. Our cabinet has its eye on all sides; nor let it be imagined they are idle in naval or military stores. Yet a new lesson has been learned from some of our neighbours; no parade is made, but every thing conducted on a plan of as great secrecy as possible.

NEW-YORK, *July* 12.

Extract of a letter from Poughkeepsie, dated July 9.

"Whatever may have been said against the opposers of the new government, now in our convention I believe no men upon a point so very important and interesting to America, ever behaved with more candour, fairness, consistency and patriotism—and while they are anxious for the welfare of their country, and jealous of any grant of power, whereby the liberties and freedom of the people may be in the least endangered, their zeal will do them honour, and however they may be branded with the epithets of anti's, enemies to their country, &c. they will rise superior to these little prejudices, and among the sensible and discerning part of mankind, will be considered as the guardians of their country. They have opposed the federalists with that spirit, freedom and openness, which the consciousness of rectitude naturally inspires, and now lament the expediency of following the example of the sister states. They will adopt the constitution without any previous amendments; but a bill of rights, alterations, &c. will accompany the ratification, which probably will take place some time this week. I shall send you the result of their doings."

July 17. By a gentleman who arrived here on Monday last from Poughkeepsie, we are informed, that the anti-federalists had met frequently in the course of the last week, and that in these meetings there was much warm debate; some were for rejecting the constitution; but the majority, more moderate, insisted on an adoption, with certain conditions; and this at length was agreed on, as the extreme point of concession. The plan was accordingly formed, and brought forward in convention.

A motion was then made for an informal committee to be chosen from both parties, in order to organize more completely the amendments, and to fix on some accommodating scheme for an adoption.

A committee was accordingly appointed, and having met, instead of entering mutually on the business, the anti-federal budget was immediately produced and opened, and a complete plan of adoption was presented as a single proposition, for the assent of the federalists, attended with a declaration that this was their ultimatum. No room then remained for any general reasonings, but the matter was reduced to a point, and the propositions were only to be assented to or disapproved. Mr. Jay, judge Hobart and others, strongly opposed the measure; urged most forcibly that the proposition led to a virtual and total rejection of the constitution; and declared they could not consult with them at all, if they insisted upon that point. Both parties were firm, and the committee dissolved without coming to any agreement.

On Friday Mr. Jay came forward with a statement from the informal committee; representing, that no plan of conciliation had been formed, and no measure taken, in consequence of the anti-federalists adhering rigidly to the principle of a conditional adoption, which was inadmissible and absurd. He went into a consideration of the nature and tendency of such an adoption; compared it with the powers delegated to this convention; and the powers of the future congress; and inferred, that it would amount in result to a total rejection. He called on the opposition repeatedly to answer his arguments.—He was replied to by Mr. Smith and Mr. Lansing, who attempted to prove that the convention, as the representatives of a sovereign people, had a power to agree to the constitution, under any restrictions and qualifications which should be thought expedient. They insisted that the congress would have a right to restrain the exercise of any power given them by the constitution; that it was in the power of any legislature to apply a different mode of imposing burthens on different parts of a state, according to circumstances.

The chancellor, in the course of this debate, assumed a mode of reasoning a little different, but not less impressive, than that of his worthy colleague. He appealed to the apprehensions and passions of the convention—pointed in the most glowing colours the unavoidable convulsions of our state—the depreciation of our currency—the great loss arising from the removal of congress from our capital—and the various disadvantages of being deprived of a voice in the counsels of the union.

On Saturday morning, Mr. Jay opened the business by representing the unfairness of the proceedings in the informal committee. He complained that when met for mutual discussion, they had been insulted by a complete set of propositions presented in a dictatorial manner for their passive acquiescence. He was soon followed by Mr. Hamilton, who, in a most argumentative and impassioned address, demonstrated that the propositions before the committee would be a total rejection of the constitution. He opened with a beautiful exordium, in which he described in a delicate but most affecting manner, the various ungenerous attempts to prejudice the minds of the convention against him. He had been represented as an ambitious man, a man unattached to the interests and insensible to the feelings of the people; and even his supposed talents had been wrested to his dishonour, and produced as a charge against his integrity and virtue. He called on the world to point out an instance in which he had ever deviated from the line of public or private duty. The pathetic appeal fixed the silent sympathetic gaze of the spectators, and made them all his own.

He then proceeded to refute the fallacious reasonings of opposition—and to describe the nature and tendency of a provisional adoption. He proved, in the first place, from the series of papers on which the authority of the present convention was founded, that it had no possible decisive power, but to adopt or reject absolutely—that it had indeed a power to recommend, because this was a natural right of every free man; but it had none to dictate to or embarrase the union by any restrictions or conditions whatever—that the committee was not a body commissioned to tender stipulations or form a compact, but to dissent from or agree to a plan of government, which could be altered either in its form or exercise only by an authority equal in all respects to the one which gave it existence. Having made this point clear, he went on to shew that the future congress would have no authority to receive us into the union on such terms—that this conditional adoption included evidently a disagreement to and rejection of a part of the constitution—that congress, which would hold all the powers it possessed under the constitution as a simple plan, must consider such a partial rejection in the light of a total one.

That a declaration by any legislature that such and such constitutional powers should not be exercised, was in its own nature a nugatory one—that these provisions, making no part of the constitution, and when accepted by congress, having, even if consistent with the constitution, no other than a legal force, would be subject to immediate repeal; that it was indispensably necessary to good government that the discretion of the legislature should be uncontrolable, except by the constitution: But by the proposed measure, the discretion of congress would be limited and controled by a provision not only foreign from, but totally inconsistent with, the constitution; a provision coming from a part of the union without the consent of the other parts; a provision most preposterously calculated to give law to all the sister states. He adduced other arguments to prove that restraining the exercise of a power, or exercising it in a mode different from that pointed out in the form of government, was utterly anti-constitutional, especially when the restraint was only to respect a part of the community.

Mr. Hamilton then urged many forcible reasons to prove that even if it were consistent with the constitution to accept us on these terms, it was entirely improbable that the other states would submit to it. Their interests and their pride would be opposed to it. Their pride, because the very proposal is an insult; and the animosity of some states, embittered as it is by what they deemed a kind of commercial tyranny, and a system of selfish, partial politics, would receive most pungent gratification from a diminution of our fortune and our power. Their interests would be opposed, because the misfortunes of one powerful state commonly contribute to the prosperity of its neighbours.

Mr. Hamilton, after recapitulating his arguments in a concise and cogent manner, entreated the convention in a pathetic strain to make a solemn pause, and weigh well what they were about to do, before they decided on a subject so infinitely important.—The orator then closed his address, and received from every unprejudiced spectator the murmur of admiration and applause.—Very different was the effect upon his opposers. They sickened at the splendor of his triumph. Inspired by jealousy and wounded by conscious disgrace, they retired with malice still more embittered, and an obstinacy more confirmed than before.

Even the man who of all others should set the first example of magnanimity; the man from whom our country should expect the most finished proofs of exalted virtue—even he was incensed, and freely expressed the spleen that corroded his heart.

This man, immediately after the adjournment, made a public declaration to this effect:—I see the advocates of the constitution are determined to force us to a rejection. We have gone great lengths, and have conceded enough—but nothing will satisfy them. If convulsions and a civil war are the consequence, I will go with my party.

July 21. In our convention, on Wednesday last, the 16th inst. the honourable judge Hobart, seconded by his worship the mayor of New-York, made the following motion, after having prefaced it with an excellent speech:

"WHEREAS since the time of electing the delegates now in convention assembled, the constitution submitted to their consideration hath been so far ratified as to become a system of government for ten of the United States, and the necessary measures are now pursuing for organizing and carrying the same into operation. And whereas at the time of the said election, the citizens of divers parts of this state were opposed to certain articles of the said constitution. And whereas from the important change, which hath, since the meeting of this convention, taken place in the situation of public affairs, it is desirable that an opportunity should be given to the said delegates, to know fully the sentiments at present entertained by their constituents on a subject so interesting to them, and which may so deeply affect the public peace and tranquillity:

"Therefore, *Resolved*, That this convention do adjourn until the ——— day of ——— next, then to meet at ———"

This motion engaged the attention of the house all that day.

The next day, (Thursday) previous to taking the question on this motion, Mr. Hamilton made another display of those great abilities for which he is justly distinguished; he was powerful in his reasoning, and so persuasively eloquent and pathetic, that he drew tears from most of the audience.

When he sat down, the question was called for, and the division of the house was as follows:—Affirmative 22—Negative 40—Majority 18.

The convention then went into a committee of the whole.

A proposition of Mr. Smith, that had been moved as an amendment to Mr. Jay's motion of the 15th inst. for adopting the constitution; and a motion of Mr. Hamilton as an amendment to Mr. Smith's, were then read.

The hon. Mr. Duane then moved, That the consideration of Mr. Smith's propositions should be postponed, in order to take up Mr. Hamilton's.

On this motion a division was called. Affirmative 20—Negative 41—Majority 21.

The committee then took up the proposition of Mr. Smith, as the principle on which they would proceed;—after some time had elapsed, in which nothing particular was urged, Mr. Smith got up, and with much candour confessed that the arguments that had been offered against his proposition, were not only weighty, but such as had induced him to relinquish it; and that he wished to withdraw that, in order to make the following. He begged that he might be excused for many incorrections that were in it, as it had been drawn up in great haste, and hoped that he might have an opportunity of amending it. It was such a proposition, he said, as he thought would remove the objections of the federal party, while at the same time it would afford to the opposition, all that security for the consideration of the amendments which they wished.

Mr. Lansing said, if Mr. Smith withdrew his another proposition, he should again move it;—and of