

Remarker, *Boston Independent Chronicle*, 17 January 1788

The PEOPLE, who in all good governments are the source of power, are not here permitted to put their hands to the wheel of government. The nobility move the machine as they please. They are not responsible, nor do they know of any authority that can call them to an account. None dare say unto them, why do ye thus, or so? But, my fellow-citizens, for a moment call to mind the origin, the mode of existence, and the power of the Senate in this Constitution. Their very being is derived from the people, their power is limited, and after all, they are obliged to render an account to the *people* for their conduct, and may at any time be impeached for malpractices. Beware of false pretensions, and trust not to the crafty insinuations of designing men. Think and believe for yourselves. Judge not because there are many performances against the Constitution, that spring solely from malicious depravity, that therefore it is bad in itself. It is a very easy matter for persons wickedly inclined to object to any thing. The christian religion itself has had its opposers. It discovers neither genius nor wisdom to object. Does it express much sagacity or penetration to declaim largely against egregious defects that may exist in any Constitution, without showing that they are to be found in that which is proposed? Or is it not rather easy to excite the suspicions and stir up the fears and jealousy of the people, by telling them that they will lose their liberties, if they grant this, that, and the other power? Am one can cry out to a multitude, that the great fish will eat the little ones up, when in fact there is no danger at all of it. This is paying a very poor compliment to the States indeed. It is impossible that these States, should lose their liberties. Let only the imagination and the feelings be kept quiet, and reason preside, and this Constitution will receive what is due to it, *universal approbation*. . . .

There is one more objection, and that by much the most common, which may possibly arise from its being the best founded, viz. That the constitution tends to reduce the several States to one grand whole, and that their individual *sovereignties* will be done away.

The idea of separate independent sovereignties hath been the canker worm of this union. In determining the propriety, or impropriety of this, the only question which need be asked is, whether *we are to unite or not*; for this once answered in the affirmative, will leave no room to doubt the propriety and necessity of constituting a supreme uncontrollable power some where. The idea of thirteen independent sovereignties is perfectly contradictory to that of union. We can never receive any advantage from any public measure devised, or any plan fallen upon by Congress, if after all each State has the liberty of pronouncing its own will upon it. The futility of this hath often lashed us severely. The absurdity of this is apparent. The original intent in delegating members of Congress is nullified entirely. The representatives of the several States are met in Congress for the purpose of discerning more clearly the collective interests of the whole, so that they may be enabled to adopt such measures as may tend upon the general scale, to the advantage of the *nation*. Once admit this, and then give to each State the power of chusing or refusing, which it can do only from its own local interests and concerns, what an absurd confusion of power arises to our view. It amounts to neither more nor less than this, that each State constitutes two supreme

authorities, both invested with equal, and the same powers. Do, my fellow citizens, in the name of our liberty, our happiness, and our independence, let us no longer content ourselves with seeing such a profusion of evils scattered o'er our land, barely from the obstinate negative which the frenzy or the selfishness of any one State may lead it to impose on the wisest measures of *Congress*.

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