

the many conspicuous interpositions of Divine Providence to rear up the building. It will be little left than a fore of Archaon to attempt the demolishing of it. And whether this is an object of God or not, is evident that such popular tumults which tend to weaken the hands of a people, bid fair, (if continued) to destroy our liberties and to subject us either to a foreign or a domestic tyranny.

(Concluded in our next.)

From the WORCESTER MAGAZINE.

The following is a true copy of the Petition which was sent to his Excellency the Governor, and the Hon. Council, on the 17th inst. To his Excellency JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq. Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the Hon. COUNCIL of the same.

WE as a Committee from the several counties of Hampshire and Worcester, beg leave to inform your Excellency and Honours, that we, having had two several meetings, have agreed not to obstruct the fitting of the Courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace, in the county of Worcester, which stands adjourned to the 23d inst.—Provided, your Excellency and Honours will be pleased to withhold your troops from marching; and that the people who have taken an active part in the late rising, remain unmolested in their persons and property, being in full expectation that the next session of the General Court will redress all our real grievances, and restore peace and harmony to this commonwealth.

S. SLOCOMB, Chairman of the Committee.

Rutland, Jan 17, 1787.

CADIZ, (Spain) August 23.

We have account from Algiers, that during the last month a conspiracy was formed against the life of the Dey, whose cruel and despotic character has excited the hatred of the Algerines; the plot was, however, discovered before it could be put into execution, and most of the conspirators, to the number of twelve, were taken up, and confined in a dark dungeon; eight of them were immediately executed, the other four, though condemned to the same punishment, were not to be put to death at the same time, but kept as it was supposed, to see if the torture could extract any discovery from them; but it is likely they remained firm, as they were executed soon after their accomplices. Some imagine that this severity will extinguish this conspiracy; but let it be remembered, that a tyrant has as many enemies as subjects; and as it is not very probable that the Dey of Algiers can extirpate all his people, and not very likely that he will amend his mode of governing them, it seems probable that a revolution is in embryo that may prove fatal to him.

CHARLESTON, (S. C.) Dec. 18.

On the 14th instant, being the anniversary of the British army evacuating this State, the Frey Council, the Judges, the Confessors of the Holy Church, the Ministers, and the United Netherlands, with the officers of civil department and of the militia of the Charleston militia, dined with his Excellency the Governor; when the following Toasts were given, viz.

1. The United States,
 2. Congress,
 3. General Washington,
 4. His Most Christian Majesty,
 5. The United Netherlands,
 6. His Most Catholic Majesty,
 7. The King of Sweden,
 8. The King of Prussia,
 9. The Legislature of the State,
 10. To the memory of General Greene,
 11. To the memory of Baron de Kalb, and the brave soldiers who fell in defence of the State,
 12. Articular and trade,
 13. The patriotic Ladies of South Carolina.
- When the 10th toast was given, the drums and the fife struck up a dead march—the character of which is worthy man, so well known, and whose loss is to be universally regretted, coming fresh on the minds of every one present, together with the filicinity of the music, had an effect upon the company as sudden as surprise from the height of a cliff—the whole at once became as still as the grave—not a whisper was heard—and thus remained until the music ceased; wondering at the sudden transition from mirth to silent attention, which each, as by a charm, was impressed with!

NEW YORK, Jan. 20.

Paragraph from a Virginia Gazette (printed at Richmond) of the 23th ult.

By a letter from Danville, of the 20th of November, we learn, that the Spaniards were claiming the country as far up the east side of the Mississippi as the Ohio, and are fortifying along

the river, having ordered the Americans away. Some of them have arrived at that place.

On the authority of a gentleman just arrived in this city, who was present at the confederation, we communicate to our readers the melancholy intelligence, that, on Monday the 8th instant, at four o'clock in the morning, a fire broke out at Richmond, Virginia, in a store near Mr. Anderson's tavern, in that part of the town called Shokae; which in a short time made such dreadful progress, as to burn every effort to extinguish it. Before it ceased seventy-two houses on each side of the street, fell victims to the fury, as also the state ware-house, said to have contained 170 only of which were saved. It is very astonishing that so capital a town, and of so many buildings are so numerous, the only efficacious means of extinguishing a fire, is one engine, which, on the above occasion, was little used, supposed to be owing to the individual exertions of the inhabitants to remove their property.

NEWPORT, Jan. 15.

Yesterday arrived here the sloop Illinois, Capt. Story, in 68 days from l'Orient. On his passage, in lat. 36, 30, 70 leagues westward of the island of St. Mary, spoke an Algerine frigate, of 28 guns on a line, who ordered him to hoist out his boat and come on board; he made a disposition for hoisting out his boat until he got past her guns under her stern, and observing he had no stern chaces, and being very unwilling to go to Algiers, he thought best to try which vessel had the best seals by the wind; the corlar observing Capt. Story's design, wore ship and fired at him to bring him to, until the shot got over the bows of the enemy's guns, when the corlar hauled down her Algerine colours and hoisted French, made sail, and chased him 5 hours, in which time the sloop had gained 3 leagues of the frigate; the night approaching, she gave over the chase.

NORTHAMPTON, January 31.

An attack was made on Thursday last by a party of Insurgents under Shays, upon the troops commanded by General Shepherd, at Springfield—previous to the attack, upon the approach of the Insurgents, General Shepherd sent messengers to them at three several times, informing them that if they advanced he should assuredly fire on them.—Mr. Shays replied, he was resolved to proceed and sleep that night in the barracks, and continued to advance.—General Shepherd then ordered several cannon to be discharged on their right and left, but they still advanced; he then ordered the pieces to be levelled against the insurgents, at which time they were within 55 rods; as soon as they were discharged, the insurgents fled with the utmost precipitation.—One of the men who managed the cannon, was by accident dangerously wounded.—Four of the insurgents were killed, and a number wounded.—As General Shepherd's orders extended no farther than merely to defend the post, he did not pursue the insurgents, the greater part of whom might probably have been killed or taken.—Shays retreated that night to Ludlow, and the next day marched to Chicabee.—On Friday and Saturday the troops under General Lincoln arrived at Springfield, and in the afternoon of Saturday, marched to West-Springfield, where Day and his party had taken their station; but on the approach of General Lincoln the insurgents retreated with expedition and arrived the same evening at Northampton.—Shays retreated the same night from Chicabee to Amherst, and his men in their rout took from the house of Major Goodman, at South-Hadley, two barrels of rum, his account books, divers articles of household furniture, stripped the beds, broke the windows, &c.—they also broke open the house of Col. Woodbridge, and took divers articles from others in the neighbourhood; but it is said that Shays endeavoured to prevent several of the outrages committed by his party. On Sunday, in the afternoon, Day marched from Northampton to Amherst with his party, which was then reduced to 240 men.—On Monday General Lincoln, with his troops which came from the lower counties, marched from Springfield towards Amherst, but finding, when he came near that place, that Shays had retreated to Pelham, the troops turned off and took up their quarters at Hadley, from that place General Lincoln went yesterday to the leaders of the insurgents, advising them to disband their deluded followers, and engaging that the private, if they would immediately lay down their arms, should be recommended to the General Court for mercy.—General Putnam was charged with the letter who has returned, but what answer he brought, or whether any, we have not been informed.

The Assembly of Rhode-Island have granted liberty to a number of private gentlemen to establish a mint in that State, for coining silver and copper money, agreeable to the Resolves of Congress on that subject.

Copy of a letter from Gen. Lincoln, to Capt. Shays.

Hadley, Jan. 30, 1787.

To Captain Shays and the Officers commanding the men in arms against the Government of this Commonwealth.

WHETHER you are convinced or not of your error, in flying to arms; I am fully persuaded that before this hour, you must have the fullest conviction upon your own minds, that you are not able to execute your original purposes.

Your resources are few, your force is inconsiderable and hourly decreasing from the diffidence of your men; you are in a post where you have neither cover nor supplies, and in a situation in which you can neither give aid to your friends, nor discomfirt to the supporters of good order and government. Under these circumstances you cannot hesitate a moment to disband your deluded followers. If you should not, I must approach and apply the most influential characters among you. Should you attempt to fire upon the troops of government, the consequences must be fatal to many of your men the least guilty. To prevent bloodshed you will communicate to your privates, that if they will instantly lay down their arms, surrender themselves to government, and take and subscribe the oath of allegiance to this Commonwealth, they shall be recommended to the General Court for mercy. If you should either withhold this information from them, or suffer your people to fire upon our approach, you must be answerable for all the ills which may ensue in consequence thereof.

B. LINCOLN, commanding the forces of Government.

The following is a copy of a letter from Gen. Lincoln, to a person who applied to him in behalf of some of the insurgents, requesting his aid to obtain their pardon.

Hadley, Jan. 29, 1787.

SIR,

YOU may assure the private, not only of your town but those from the several towns now in arms against government, that if they will come in and surrender themselves to fame Justice of the Peace within either of the counties of Hampshire or Worcester, deliver up their arms, and before him take and subscribe the oath of allegiance to this State, in three days from this date, they will be recommended to the General Court for a pardon of their past offences, in appearing in arms against the government of this Commonwealth.

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

B. LINCOLN.

Several favours from our correspondents we have been obliged to omit this week, on account of our not being able to publish more than a half sheet.

A Subscription School. I. CURSON,

TEACHER of the Proprietors School, Northampton, begs leave to inform the public, that he intends to open a Subscription School at Hatfield, the first day of January next, where youths will be carefully and expeditiously instructed in various branches of useful Literature. For terms and other particulars, Gentlemen are desired to apply to Col. Chapin of Hatfield.

December 16, 1786.

WHERAS Elizabeth, wife of the subscriber, has died from my bed and board. This is to certify the may cohabit. Witness my hand.

DANIEL MEKLE.

Middlefield, Jan. 9, 1787.

Strong's & Bickerstaff's ALMANACKS, For 1787, to be sold at this Office.

FEBRUARY 1787.

THE

NUMB. 23.

HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1787.

NORTHAMPTON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM BUTLER, A FEW RODS EAST OF THE COURT-HOUSE.

TO THE PUBLIC.

(Concluded from our last.)

AS to altering or setting aside the present constitution of civil government—it is not a plain case, that as the people created the present form of civil government in an orderly peaceable manner; so the people at large, when they view this present constitution as inadequate to the ends of civil government, have an undoubted power according to the declaration of the bill of rights, to alter or set aside the same, when the period comes, which they, the people, have fixed for that purpose. What need then for rising in arms to effect a purpose which a majority may effect without it, when the object is worthy the expense and trouble it must cost? but were such a purpose even necessary, the present seems to be a very unfit time for it, when the minds of the people are in such a state of ferment; our present constitution was formed at a time when people's minds were cool and dispassionate, and was then three years in forming, and was a matter of great trouble and expense; and was it to be fairly demolished in such a time of public fears as the present, is there any rational prospect that another would be formed any other way than by the length sword, the horrors of which need not be again described? or if it could, is it probable that what would defray the expense of civil government for several years, would defray the cost of forming another constitution with any prospect of its finding a greater degree of acceptance than the present? As to the setting aside of the court of common pleas, (which is a proposed object of the present rising) it is evident that if, in the opinion of a major part of the citizens of the State, the Court of Common Pleas is a grievance, no popular rising is necessary to set them aside; if they are not so viewed by a majority of the people, no rising of a minority for that end can be warrantable. 'Tis granted that these courts are expensive, and 'tis the corruption of the people which makes them so; and if a just expense, and more efficient method of admitting justice can be introduced in their room, they well-wish to the rights of mankind must rejoice in it. But surely if it is expedient to abolish these courts and introduce another method in their room, 'tis evidently a work of time, as all the laws of the commonwealth are connected with the courts, which have existed without a material alteration for time immemorial, consequently a revival of the whole body of laws must take place, before the dropping of the courts, whereby they may be pointed to some of the modes instituted in their room. But to me it appears that if the present popular object of abolishing these courts and introducing justice courts in their room, was attained, it would not be the least advantage to the body of the people. It would enlarge the powers of single magistrates beyond what it is at present, and to cause their judgment to be relied in generally, there is undoubtedly need of a greater degree of confidence, both in the abilities and integrity of magistrates, than there is at present. Business of the most intricate nature would frequently be carried to the Supreme Judicial Court, which would consequently enlarge the business of that court, to render the effecting of it impossible in the nature of things. And supposing each magistrate were to summon a jury to his assistance, in a county where there is fifty or sixty Justices, there might be so many juries summoned once a fortnight or often, which would be a source of greater expense and trouble than the courts complained of, and as it is a natural right for a man to appear in his own case, either by himself or by counsel, as he chooses, this mode would in my opinion increase instead of lessening the number and influence of Attornies at law, which is at present complained of as a grievance. As to the establishing a paper medium, in my opinion the bad of internal debt, which we labour under, which is, in part at least, caused by the depreciations of paper emissions, together with the cries of the widow and orphan, and other defenceless members of the community, who have been reduced to wretchedness and want, by the numberless frauds practised by paper emissions, may be a final answer. But I shall not trespass upon the patience of the public by repeating observa-

tions upon this head, which have been already made to better purpose than I am capable of doing; but whether the increasing of the expenditure would not be the establishing mischief by a law, I think is not difficult to determine.—As to lowering the expense of civil government, undoubtedly if there is unnecessary expense in civil government, it may be lessened in a constitutional way, and no tumults, or risings to arms are necessary for that purpose, desirable there is a load cast to frugality and economy, both public and private. 'Tis true civil government is expensive and perhaps more so than could be wished, but has not the account of the expense of it been greatly exaggerated? does it not appear, from a very fair statement of public affairs, that but a small proportion of the monies which have been paid have been applied to defray the expenses of civil government? How inconsistent then with sound policy to incur a greater expense to save a lesser. Is it not an undoubted truth, that many persons, yea many towns, have already expended more than tenfold their proportion of the annual expense of government in our late tumults? and what has it effected? why it has reduced the commonwealth to such a state of anarchy and confusion, the view of which cannot but be distressing to every feeling mind, it has irritated the minds of neighbours and even of brethren against one another, and threaten consequences still more serious. I have no part under the government neither do I ever expect to have any; but as a member of the community, who as an individual is interested in the general welfare, I would inure my friends and fellow-citizens, who have promoted the present risings candidly to review the fences which they have already caused and look forward to those which may probably ensue; and as they regard the welfare of themselves and posterity, our dear liberties and privileges, and the peace of their own consciences, to drop courses which are both unarrantable and dangerous to themselves and the public, and if they labour under grievances that is burdensome, either unnecessarily, or partially imposed by the ruling power, to seek redress only in the orderly constitutional way of petition and remonstrance, and there is not the least doubt but it may be obtained; plus we might expect to see union and harmony again restored to our bleeding land, and public burthen happily alleviated. One sure observation I find made in favour of the present risings, that is, that although the method was wrong in the first going on, yet, as it has begun, it may be perfected in. But apply this to any thing else in life, and the falsehood of the observation will appear, if the beginning was wrong the progress must be undoubtedly worse, and the further we proceed in a wrong path, the more difficult will grow still more so, and an expectation to get into a right path by persisting in a wrong one, is vain and fruitless. It will carry us still further and further from this designed haven, and what is unwarantable in the first degree of it, must undoubtedly be more so in every greater degree, but by a retreat, and a return to an orderly constitutional path, we may do an essential service to ourselves and posterity, and light may yet come out of darkness and order out of our present confusions: This is the most fervent wish of the public's humble servant.

AMICUS.

Hampshire County, Jan. 7, 1787.

For the Hampshire Gazette.

Take this as the first opportunity to present my compliments to the Old Republican, together with some observations upon his writings: one reason why I have delayed to long is because (since he wrote his last) I have had the sorrowful misfortune to be entangled with the chains of Convention: I hope my good friend will condole my misfortune, and as I have been able in some measure to shake off those cumbersome shackles, I expect his farther congratulations upon the subject.

That gentleman, in Gazette No. 17, attempts to answer the enquiry of the one of the Community in Gazette No. 14, and concludes that he has droped the claims which he first set out upon in Gazette No. 11, viz. to prove the legitimacy of conventions, but since he crowds his opponent into some further observations, I would beg the patience of the public, while I make the attempt, although it was sufficiently demonstrated in the number last mentioned. He says in No. 12, for the people to meet individually and representatively are essentially different, which I very readily grant. For a representative body to meet with full power and authority to act decisively in the name and behalf of their constituents, is very different from an individual meeting. But for a convention of committees from the people to meet without delegated power to act decisively, when their doings are properly ratified by the people, they are to all intents the same as though the people has met individually; in that way, and in that only, do I conceive conventions constitutional, according to the 10th article in the declaration of the people's rights, and in that way, their petitions or remonstrances become valid: If that is not true, then our constitution was not properly and legally formed, and therefore good for nothing; for according to his own argument (which is just in that respect) that "no man nor class of men have any right to institute, alter or reform the constitution," but that belongs alone to the people at large, and must be done in the same manner as though the people of this Commonwealth should, or had met altogether in one body; but this was compromised by conventions; therefore I conclude conventions are constitutional according to the above description, and in that way they are the same as though the people met individually, and therefore cannot be legally called a representative body, any more than a committee chosen by a town to frame instructions for their representative, can be called the representatives of the town. But if they were empowered to instruct the representative without applying to the town for concurrence, then they may be called a representative body, and their instructions would be the instructions of a representative body to their representatives: and that would be having one set of representatives (as he says) to govern and dictate another, which would be inconsistent; but on the other hand, their instructions are the instructions of the people.

Furthermore, that gentleman, in answering my enquiry, appears to me to be guilty of the same fault which he complains of in the Member of Hatfield Convention, No. 12, viz. "of raising new questions and arguing from them without an opponent." My enquiry was to know what right the people of this Commonwealth have to introduce a king in the year 1792, any more than in the year 1786? The question was not whether they have a right to introduce a king, but whether their right is not the same in one year as in another? In his answer he says, "he hopes to be so happy as to convince the One of the Community and others, that the

(See the last page.)