B O S T O N, February c. The SPEECH of His ExcellenCT

AMES BOWDOIN, Etc.

Paremor of the Commonwealth of Maffachu-

rested with contempt, and imputed by them to

bit acts have been added to their lift of griev-

Souther clearest and more unequivocal evidence

But the clearest and most unequirocal evidence of their perfeverance, in opposition to Government, is deduced from their proceedings, refreching the Judicial Course, in feyeral of the counter, fince the last fession of the General Court They sprice, with an armed force, stopped those Courts in Worcetter; and would not faise them to lopen in Hampshire. They attempted it, though unfacets folly in Middle-spring the spring of the arment, strength

At the laft time of their affembling in Wor-

mfter, there were nearly a thousand of them in

the inflargents, were perpetuated after the publi-

specting them; and demonstrated not only a total different of those acts, and the authority

by which they were enacled, buf a contempt of

all conflitutional government, and a fixed de-termination to perfevere in measures for subvert-

then in those counties; and by the oral refli-ment of many investigent persons from thence; who all agreed in the necessity of speedy and vi-

prefervation, be obliged to join them ; and the

een innal florms of that week

HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1787.

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

ever to intro fuse a king, thuck me when I read it very diffagreeably, but as that was not a matter in dispire, I palled it over. His next attempt was to the x, "that the prefent form of government is a follome covenant of the people of this Commonwealth, to dwell together as a body policie, and to be governed according to the principles of the prefent conflictation for a term not left than fitteen years, and forever after, until two-thirds of the freeinen thall fee fit to alter or amendit." In the fettee of which, he goes on such each of the proceeding and foremative of the free of which, he goes on the proceeding and foremative of amend it." In the feries of which, he goes on to have the nature, needley, and locamity of the conditioning in andwer to which I would alk, whether the people's altering the confliction would deprive it of its folermity, or make it lef. farred and binding? If not, then it can be no argument why the people insulf not alter it when they think it needlary. Furthermore, he rells us that our confliction cold us much time and those they for it.

comp. 2 : but how does that agree with his formcomp. A: but how does that agree with fits form-erafer nion, " that we are bound as a body po-line for fift-en years, and forever after smill wo-think of the freemen agree to alter or amend it," plants indicating, that after the time appointed by the first compact is past, that twothe of the neople may alter it at pleafure. In

the next place, my opponent goes on to repeat the sime and manner specified in the conflicution for the legiflature to call upon the people in-dividually, to fee if they think it necessary to aldividually, to let it they think it necessary to alter or amend the confliction, chap, vi. art. 10, and then alks," what is the conclusion we should and then sike," what is the contention we have a naturally decay from this paragraphs of our conditioner?" why this, fays he, "that gov-ernment is to be maintained and protecked for the" fafety of the citizens. And as they have the title right to fraim, foit lies with them

have the lade right to fraim, for thes with them to after ain the grinciples and continuance of their government. Having ordained a free government, it is in their breafts to desermine how lone is that continue, and to fossify the time for the continue, the standard of the continue for the continue of on final die called a governno permanency, but in its forms and charged. y year undevery month, which have reinder the hands of the

For the bound of the reflefs perfors to differ the contents," &c. May we not draw to the contents, and that with the fame profile reflection the laws made by the General Cour. I fapp for they thould make a law and challith it fur to ven years, and should that law operate centrally to the damage of the people at layer, but in favour of a few individuals, and should the needle reflection to have it recorded or nt tayer, but in Livour of a tew individuals, and flood the people petrition to bare it repealed or officed, might not the Old Republican, with the form property, plead, that as it, is their fole right to make and ellabilith laws, fo it lies with

right to make and citabilith laws, to it lies with them to fay how long they thall continue, and hove they not citabilithed that for feven years. It is a Rupid idea for any to suppose that a law could be made for the fecutity of individuals and the body politics, which has no permanency, but may be repealed, shifted and changed every year and every month, which like the clay is forever under the hands of the potter, and will allow resides persons to disjust the community. Set. Can any man suppose the laws of our land are no engineering the suppose the laws of our land are no engineering the suppose the laws of our land are no engineering the suppose that it is necessary for the good of the community? I er can any suppose that our constitution is not permanent.

ry for the good of the community? or can any suppose that our conditiution is not permanent breast? It refls upon the flowlders of the people, and may be altered by them at any time, "the standard in refls upon the flowlders of the people, and may be altered by them at any time, "the standard in the s

gated power of the legislature is in like manner gated power of the legislature is in like manner in the hands of the legislature to alter or reform, just as it shall appear to them to be for the good of the commonwealth. May I not say that it is of the commonwealth. May I not fay that it is a fund id dea for any one to suppose, that the laws formed by the people at large are not in their own hand, to alter or reform at any time when they see it for their own good, as much as those formed by the legislature are in the hands of the large term. The near a hefersting I shall resident. legiflature. The next observation I shall notice is where he says, that the people's binning themis where he fays, that the people's binoing them falves to abide by their Continuous flices years, is not an abridgement, but the perfection of the people's right to govern themfelves. If that is the people this right contiles in their depriving themfelves of their right, and by that rule they may introduce a King. "I hope to be fo happy as to convince" the Gld Republican and others, that if his confellion had but extended fo far ast occuprehend this error, it would have been at felves, for language is imperfect and will be required. comprehend this error, it would have been at-tended with a degree of the fame propriety. If comprehend this error, it would have been at tended with a degree of the fame propriety. If various contructions, though not down right the people have a right of inflitted government, and then to alter or reform it at any time when their happinels requires it, which is a demonstration or inflitted for the people to put it out of their poor that right for one moment, would be unrighterous, therefore it is an abridgement of their rulers should employ or referred Old Respublicant and monthly and the propriets and monthly and the responsable to the rulers should employ or referred Old Respublicant and monthly and the responsable to the rulers should employ or referred Old Respublicant and monthly rights.
The Old Republican complains of being "frequently faluted with art, vii. in the bill of rights,

and labour, therefore it feems we must conclude to keep it a great while without any alteration; whether it fuits the people yea or nay. Again he rays, "that it is in the power of every individual to hold the body politic to their agreement, not ro amend nor after the continuion between the way preferribed by the fift compact, it would be lovered out of their power to the proper of the prope the article, and then his definition, and fee how far they agree or difagree,—the article is as fal-lows, viz. "Government is infiltrated for the common good, for the protection, fafety, prof-periry and happiness of the people, and not for the profit, honour or private interest of any one man, family or class of men. Therefore the people alone have an incontestible, unalienable, and indefeasible eight to institute government, and to reform, after or totally change the fame, when their projection, fafety, profperity & happiwhen their prorection, fafety, protective & happi-ness require it. "In interpreting the above article my opponent, amongst other observations, has the following, viz. that "the article says to this effect, the people may institute govern-ment for one, fifteen or an, hundred years, as they please." If that was meant by the enticle, why was it not expressed intelligibly? why did why was it has the people base a right to infilture government, and then to refer m and alter it only at flated periods, in order that the confliction might be permanent? why did it speak in such a patheric manner, that they have an "unalicnable, indefeatible and incontestible right" to do avie, macreaupie and incontentible right, to do
it at any time, "when their peace, prosperity and
happiness required it?" I conteste, instead of
giving the least toleration for such construction, it possible the relation of the arricle, a tar and literal description of the article, give me leave to lay down one obvious rule rodefine the article by, and likewife to give a literal definition of those three words by which the quality of the right is expersed. The rule is this, that the predicate of the concluding part of this, that the predicable of every species or part of the right raken separately; therefore I stall now apply it only to that part of the right now in dispute, viz. whether according to that right the apply it only to that pan the dispute, viz. whether according to that right the people may bind themselves and posterity; to abide by their government fifteen or an hundred abide by their government unter a rain intered years, without having the power to alter or re-form it during that time, yea or may,—the three words are, viz. 1ft, incontestible, which figniwords are, viz. 1st, incontentione, which bern-fies not to be disputed,—2st, unalien-be, which fignifies not to make over,—3d, indefeasible, which fignifies not to be reacred: Therefore, according to the foregoing rule and definitions, the article will fland as follows, viz. that the

that he when it will.

How the Old Republican can reconcile that
article, to as not to have it forbid his explanation,
I know not, much less how he can make it print I know not, much lefe how he can make it print it our. If the can tell urshow the people can make over that right for fifteen years, and yet rerain it indispitably in their own hands, and how they can vacates he right fifteen years without having any racation in it. I say if he can do that, I must confeis in my view of it, he has got above "the chair of infallibility at Rome," for I dare fay they never attempted to reconcile

pleafure : and those that are made by the dele- and so bind themselves and posterity under one particular form of government, let it become as-ver to difagreeable—let time and circumflages make it never fo grievous and burdenfome; they make it never to grievous and purgentome, there is no remedy for them—the law was made by their prediceflors long before they were bon, and that like that of the Medes and Perfact, unaltetable; let it do never fo much injuffice, they must groan contentedly under their buden they mult groan contentedly under iner burden. Are thele, my brethren, your maxims of liberty! Are they not rather the maxims of tyranty! Mankind naturally incline to gain a fopetion; publicans to mifconftrue and turn their mazini and laws by degrees upfide down, and inthe way captivate their liberties. Do you my fel. civizens, think that fuch confiructions at low citizens, think that fuch confluctions at have, been arguing againft, for to be put upon the declared rights of the people, if perified in will not as ablobutely fubvert this republicant infurrections of the people, though perhaps no fo fuddenly if Therefore Id. Republican "Jp. fo (uddenly ? Therefore Mr. Republican "fge-culare, fir, if you pleafe: but as you regard is obligations of a good citizen, and a man who fears the oath of God, do not after the wad that has gone out of the people's mouth," treat your opponent fairly—daub him not with mud of your own diging—beg not the compa fentiments of others to whip him with—differe his afcertions and then trim him if you pleafe.
To conclude for, as you are femble, according to the preamble of the conflictation, which you quoted, that in effabiliting the conditution, early individual covenants with the whole people, and the whole people with every individual, ign confequently you have agreed not to diput the people's right to reform government at any time when their peace, professing and happinels required it; for it appears that was agreed upon on all bands, to be an indisputable right of their Therefore it feems you have been gully of a breach of the conflitution, and if justice should :ver walk our fireers again (except you get reconciled to her) doubtlef the will frize upon you with her " iron claws."
One of the COMMUNITY

The following is a PETI1 ION feat from

Shays to Gen. Lincoln. To the Hon. Major General LINCOLN. S 1 R.

TNWILLING to be any way access. ty to the shedding of blood, and greatly defirous of reftoring peace and har-mony to this convulted Commonwealth, we propose that all the troops on the past of government be difbanded immediately, and that all and every person, who has bren acting, or any way aiding or affifting in any of the late rifings of the people may be indemnified in their person and property, until the fetting of the next Ge neral Court-and no person be taken, molefted, or injured, on account of the sbove faid rilings of the people, ustil a fair the article will fland as follows, viz. that the people alone have a right to aiter or reform government, which rights not to be disputed, nor made over, nor even vacated, and that when their peace, peoplerity and hoppiness requires it, let that he when it will.

How the CVI opportunity can be had for a hearing in , ment be released without punishment. The above conditions to be made fure by Proclamation, affued by his Excellency the Governor : On which conditions, the perple now in arms, in defence of their lives and liberties, will quietly return to their respective habitations, patiently waiting and hoping for constitutional relief from the insupportable burders they now labout DANIEL SHAYS. under. Per Order, DANIEL GRAY, Chairmat.

Wilbrabam, Jan. 25, 1787.

of the falety and well-being of the commonweelth being thus in hazard, and the lentent, contiliating meafures of the General Court, having been rejected by the infurgents, I conceived ing been rejected by the intergents, it concreted myfelf under every obligation of honour and duty, to exert the powers rested in me by law and the conflictation, for the protection and defence of the commandeath, against the hostile and nefarious attempts of these lawless men.

Purfuantion this idea, I laid before the Council all the information and intelligence. I had collected, relative to the processings and expression before the council were unaimmostly of opinion, and accordingly adviced, that vigourous and effectively adviced, that vigourous and effectively measurements be to protect the Judicial Courts, particularly endoments on it sholls purpose shall be accordingly adviced. figns of slock men; and the - ouncil were unanimously of opinion, and accordingly adviced, that vigourous and effectual meatures thould be taken to proted the Indicial Lourne, particularly though that were then next to be holoen at Worceffel; refault the civil magniferate in executing the laws; to repel all infurgents against the government; and to apprehend all disturbers of the fluidine peace; particularly such of them as unight be named in any state warrant, or warborrmor of the Commonwealth of Marticha-ferts, to the Legislature.
Gendemen of the House of Representatives,
Twas expectation the General Court, that their proceedings at their last fession, respect-ing the indusgents, would have answered the suppose for which they were intended. By the proceedings, there were held forth to them,

pupples for which they be proved in a large state of the command the providing there were held forth to them, positionion on the one hand, and pardon on the other. Positioners, in case of perferenance in other criminal conduct; pardon and indemity, if they defilted from it; and by a given time, fould rake the oaths of allegiance. This applies fould rake the oaths of allegiance. This applies need to their feelings, and so that actualing the control of the command of the command the conduction of the command of t

smeaded would nave had a forcible influence to bring them to their duty. But unbappily, it did not produce any good effect, except a very few individuals of them. On the contisty, the leniny and, forbearance of Government were Those orders are now in operation, and will be laid before you, with the general orders, con-taining the plan of measures, by which the commonwealth was to be defended against its profeur aflailante.

fent affailants.

L congratulate you, Gentlemen, on the fue-cels of those measures hitherto; and hope it is a prelude to final success and to the re-eltablishnent of perfect tranquility. The dispatches concerning it, which I have received from Gen-eral Lincoln and General Shepard, will be laid

Thus, Gentlemen, from a principle of duty to Thus, Gentlemen, from a principle of duty, to the commonwealth, and in conformity to your refolution of the 34th of palober, in which you express a full considence "sax1 will fill perference in the exercise of such powers as are vetted in me by the constitution, for preventing any exercipts to interrupt the administration of law and suffice, and for enforcing day abedience." empted it, though unfucctfally, in Middle-fex; and in confequence of that attempt, fever-dof them were taken into cuffody, by virtue of fate warrants; in the execution of which, the heriff and other perfors to whom the warrants were directed, had the aid and support of Fram-her of sprived gentlemen of that county and and jultice, and for enforcing due obedience to the authority and laws of government," I have taken the measures above represented. I trust

taken the measures above represented. I must they will meet with your entire approbation, and with TMAT support, which is naturally to be expected from the guardians of the public fastery. On my part, I have done, in this business, what the duity of my office, and oath of qualification, indispendibly require: and I have the fullest considered, that my your part nothing will be wanning to carry into counjete effect the measures, that have been taken, or that may be further necessary, to support the present instructions; and to ensure a first obedience to the laws. This is so effential to the gasee and latery of the commonwealth, that is requires your time, what to the great annoyance and terror of that tirrity, continued embodied for feveral days after the Court had adjourned; meditating, as it was apprehended, further outrages; Their siolent and treatonable proceedings of Rews. This is so essential to the peace and fast-ty of the commonwealth, that is requires your immediate attention; and the speedy applica-tion of surface means, if those already, taken should be deemed insufficient for that purpose.

floud be deemed infulficient for that purpole.

Among those means, you may deem it need-fary to chablish some citerion, for discriminating between good citizens and insurgent, that each might be regarded according to their cheracters; the former as their country's friends, This determination, and thefe meafures, were This determination, and their creatures, were allo manifelful by their printed declarations; and by fome of the private translettions of their leaders, when the main hody of the inturgents were left affembled at Worceller; by which it che-racters; the former as their country's friends, and to be pro-ected; and the latter as public enterties, and to be effectually suppressed. At such a time as the prefert, every man ought to these his colours, and take his side; no neutral characters should be allowed; not any one fuffered to vibrate between the two.

Vigour, deciding, energy, will soon terminate this unnavital, this upprovided infurrection; and prevent the essential the commonwealth in a civil speciated, alternative war forces of the information were formed into regiments, and that a committee was appointed for each regiment, to fee that it should, withour each regimen, to be that this work of the sound each, he properly officered and equipped; and completely ready whenever called upon.

That this was the flave of things in the welfern touries, was further confirmed by letters. I received from fome of the most respectable characteristics.

and prevent the effusion of blood: but the con-trary may involve the commonwealth in a civil war, and all its dreadful confequences; which may extend, not only to the neighbouring flates, but even to the whole confederate, and healty deflirely the fair tempic of American liberty; in the erecting of which, beddes the vast expense of it, many thousands of valuable citizens have here flexibled. gomes measures being taken, for the effectual laparesson of the infurgents; without which the well-affected might, from a principle of felf-

been facrificed.
There are feweral things, refulling from the meafures in operation, which require your im-

meafures in operation, which require you take mediate attention.

The money immediately wasted for carrying them into accounting, was implied by a volutionary, loss from a number of Geottement, and in a manner which foresthem much but not. I medicamently renomined to you so provide so its reimburtement, which, you only principles of religious well as justice, flowly but no local free-

the arrangement of upon a community, the arrangement of upon and the arrangement of further arrangement, will be much the expende of furth a community, will be much lefe than that of rading a new body for the fame fervice.

There are defects in our Militia and which

require an immediate remedy; and which I shall mention to you in a separate meliage.

Thefe, Gentlemen, are matters of importance; but the general futject of this address, is of the fifth magnitude, and demands your immediate and most ferious attention. If it be taken up with proper spirit—if the measures in operation be seconded with firmness and decision—and be feconded with irrmrets and decision—and if the powers of the feveral Branches of Covern-ment be united in a wife and vigorous exercion, we may reasonably expect a speedy and happy iffue to the prefent infurrection: to which hap-py iffue every exertion on my part has been, and fliall be applied.

that be applied.

But, on the contrary, if indictions, larger or diffusion thouldon his occasion persade our public councils, infurrection, though checken for the prefent, would gain new firength, and like a torrent would freep away every mound of the torrent would fe rep away every mound of the conflictation, and over whem the con-non-scaled in every species of calamity. In fact he case, if brought on by remissing, or retraction, on our part, we should be not only involved—made elentially involved, in that calamite, but globally chargeable with betraying the truth reposed in us by our follow citizens; and chargeable with ignominiously deserting the posts assigned us, as guardians of the peace, the factery and happiness of the peace, the factery and the peace of the commonwealth.

But, very happily-this is only a polible cafe : flut, very happing—this is only a point-cear; for your parionitin, your virtue, your regard for your arrivality, and for those of your similes and priferity, and find those of your similes and posterity, must induce you to call forth every power of Government time vigorous exertion for presenting such a compli-

rigorous exertion for presenting tools a Compileration, fuch an accumulation of evils.

On this occasion, it is proper, Gentlemen, to inform you, that I have received from feweral towns, petitions, directed to the Governor and Council, and all to to the General Court, relative to the Indusques. The peristons being eight in

to the Inducests. The activities being eight in number, do difference of the proceedings of Government, in regard to those people.

But as the things prayed for, were for the most part, not cognizable by the Government and Council and fush as were so, could not be granted by them, confidently with the dury they are to the commonwealth, the pertitions will be laid before you for your confidently and they will be commonwealth, in nectsiary; and they will be communicated by not five.

Jables BOWDOIN:

Council Chamber, 
Feb. 3, 1787.

For the HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE. Profile HAMPSHIRE GARRITAN ONE OF THE PRINTER, Pleafe to publish the following, fram one of thy readers Y AM's man that lives in clif unity in the frict-

thy readers

I AM's man that lives in clif with in the firstleft fense of the word; and an one of those
called friends, whese accordances is, not to
fight, or take up the food again it buman beings;
but as I have of late been a constant trader of the
news paper, I find them filled with speculations
concerning the prefent mode of socretiment, Reand although there are mony writes, as by
their fightness, yet the fulfred it one, under
different demonstrations,—the one prove call
themselves friends to government, the other rea
gutzers, Re. I shall not attempt to applied althemselves that have of the appears in the
transpline Gazette; I lighly approved out
in No. 20, figured, A Friend to Government,
they have to add, by way of supplement, that
conventions is the only legal way for the rederia
of grievances, and I am hold to sky that it is the
only constitutional way.