

the oldest citizen of this State.—Regard to our individual interest, peace and safety, to our national honour and reputation, respect to the memory of our ancestors, to that of those heroes who died in the late war, and who at a vast expense of blood and treasure, obtained for us the privileges we now do and may enjoy—duty to our posterity, who will claim as their birth-right the liberties we have received from our forefathers, loudly call upon us, to preserve inviolate that constitution, which is the pride of every patriot of Massachusetts and the envy of the world. This constitution is now in danger; and much, very much, depends on those whom we elect into the offices of Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, whether it shall yet remain a blessing to us or whether it shall be sacrificed to the villain of men. A review of our past dangers, a consideration of the present, and the characters of those who have supported the administration, may lead us to such choice, as will redound to our tranquillity, happiness and honour.

The idle, the profligate and abandoned have been unremitting in their exertions to overthrow the constitution, in the western parts of the State, they have been but too successful: Tendencies in the government to the lives of her citizens, a wish to believe that the conduct of their opponents, was founded in want of information; in the errors of the head, rather than the insensations of the heart, induced the Legislature to adopt the mildest measures, against the Insurgents; while severe and certain punishments were held out as the consequence of future rebellion. This conduct was decided by the rebels as weak and pusillanimous, and by them was considered as an argument of their own strength, and inability or disinclination to employ force to oppose them.—In the counties of Hampshire, Berkshire and Worcester, they completely overthrew the courts of the commonwealth; and without opposition began to arrange and officer the militia. The leaders promised their deluded followers, a distribution of the property and possessions of the rich and indigent, and assured them, that in a short time, the capital and the various parts of this State, should be invaded, and the property found therein, delivered to them as plunder, and a reward for all their toil and fatigue.

Such was our situation in the month of December last, when every friend to religion, to peace, and good government, justly troubled for his own safety, and that of his neighbour. At this period, our worthy first magistrate came forward, and by his unremitting exertions, obtained a vote to call forth the militia, to oppose their lawless and plundering. By subscribing liberally to the support of the militia, for obtaining supplies for the militia, he induced others to do the same, and thus effected a loan, by which the troops were provided with the necessities and comforts of life. The command of this army, was given to a General, brave and intrepid in the field; wise and prudent in council, a precise adherent to the privileges of civil life, and an ardent lover and promoter of the rights of mankind. The arrangement of this force, the intention, and object to which it was pointed, and the execution of this intention, was exactly such as might have been expected from the known prudence, wisdom and military skill of these two gentlemen who originated, conducted, and executed the orders of government.

At this time, when it was the indispensable duty, every man in office, unequivocally to oppose the Insurgents to the extent of his power, and thereby attempt to save the constitution, there were people ready to sit in the chair of government, who, either from habits of inaction, or from constitutional want of firmness, or a will to accommodate themselves to all parties, and thereby secure a future election, constantly opposed every exertion against the rebels. To think from the duties of an office, from the responsibility of a character, to which our country has appointed us; and to which appointment, with all its consequences, we assent, on our acceptance, is at all times a crime of great magnitude; but he, who, at times like the present, means to prefer resigning in place, to the duties of his office, not only commits a crime against himself and the people, whose servant he now is, but involves posterity, in the greatest delicts. If any like the characters last described, are candidates for the office of first or second magistrates, by giving them our votes, we not only take part with them, but are in fact guilty of a political suicide. The question then applies, to whom shall we give our votes, for these great offices of Governor and Lieutenant-Governor? Fifty—were not to consider, who would be most gratified by the office, who has the most engaging address, and whose manners are most winning, on our affections; nor who had the office, and wants the emoluments thereof, to maintain himself and family; but, we are seriously to examine, who are most capable of serving the community at this critical period, and to such men we are bound in conscience to give our votes.—Critical, I say, because, although the Insurgents are not now embodied; yet they are strong and

From the INDEPENDENT CHRONICLE

To the ELECTORS.
THE present state of public affairs, calls for the sober consideration, and steady exertions of every man. The frenzy of unprincipled and ignorant men, has in the course of the year past brought us into an unhappy situation, and a steady performance in support of order and government, can alone preserve us from ruin as a people. At a period so big with our fate, we are seriously reflect, before we give our votes for Governors, Senators and Representatives. I think it must strike every mind with full conviction, that we ought to continue that confidence, who have with steady firmness and ability supported government in the late convulsions of our unhappy case, and be contented with your government. This would injure and weaken government in all its springs.—It would check the exertions of the new elected rulers, taking away all ground of confidence in support from the people. For, who as a ruler, would undertake the painful task of subduing rebellion, and supporting government, if he was conscious the people, for whom he was elected, would frown upon his conduct, by withholding him, so soon as his work was done? For my own part I hold no office in the late, nor any of my relations or connections, but I think those that were in the first departments of government the year past, knowing the painful nature of the duty of office imposed on them, and considering the difficulties which would necessarily attend government the ensuing year, I am persuaded that many of our first and best men in office would wish to be excused from serving a critical year, longer, were it not for the interests in the property of the Commonwealth, which it makes it a duty to serve. It would also be disagreeable to the feelings of any good man, to receive the disapprobation of his countrymen by being neglected at a time like the present, when neglect is a crime. The experience of all ages has left this great truth on record, for the instruction of all.—That unless a people are highly civilized, and influenced by a principle of honour and virtue, they cannot maintain a free government. We are now on probation. If we as electors, improve our liberty to appoint the virtuous, wise and firm, to the high offices in the executive and legislative departments, we may hope for tranquillity in government, and public prosperity; but should we desert from this line of duty, by neglecting the worthy only, who have served us, and introducing the worthy only, who have served none, and introducing men who have not established any uniform character, worshippers of their own noses; or embracing bigots; we may never expect to see an end of political evils.

ONE OF THE PEOPLE.
For the HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE.
Mr. Printer.
BECAUSE "the liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom, and it cannot be restrained in this Commonwealth," must the public be held to read or the printers publish the productions of every noxious and inveterate, who may take it upon him to write for the newspaper? It is true that the printer must maintain his character for impartiality, by refusing to publish articles, as far as they maintain purity and good breeding in their writings; and even he should strain a point where a cause flows to labour for want of argument, by publishing those things which are really trivial and impotent. But while these writers find quarter from the press, the public ought to have as much liberty as they do laugh at their folly and from their abuse. Several writers in the Hampshire Gazette who have lately made their appearance, deserve censure for their ignorance, their breeding, their want of decency or cleanliness, and for an entire destitution of sentiment which runs through their publications.—What entertainment have public from a writer, who so vilely abuses himself, A Friend to Government, unless they can be entertained by scolding and ribaldry; with his calling his opponents, who are men of honour, piety, industry and sensibility, a couple of intolerable, ill-bred, scoundrels, and vilifying bullies. This writer is not suited to public life, and the press might have remained free had he kept his bad blood within his own veins.

Another writer, by the name of, Redoubt, has stepped upon the stage, No. 26, but let us neither wit, humour, sentiment, or good breeding in any part of his exhibition. And I think the public has as much reason to feel the abuse as the gentleman against whom he leveled his feeble artillery. That writer might have kept his quill until he had fallen into a fit of good nature, or had borrowed a little wit of heaven, and the press would have received no injury, nor the public have lost any entertainment. I am heartily vexed with a writer in the

paper, No. 26, under the signature of, Bombardier. It was intolerable that a person of no ability, more consequence than Mr. Grover, after his publication had been properly and sufficiently published, should take up a sixth part of the paper, to discuss a subject had been treated with more genius, wit or argument. Shall the author insist on collect his low wit and dirty images, which ought not to be borrowed by any pure and chaste writer. No, Bombardier, take your staid Glomdullitch, and retire to the fountain of stained wit and cleanly sentiment, and wash yourself from his filthiness before thou tread the public stage again.

See, you come a fourth in his masque. Who is this? he is a peaceable, meek, quiet spirited man, a Friend, No. 24 and 27. Not that the public will be hurried at once. But hold! he has drawn a spear in his hand, and he lays about him, like a madman, quarrelling with every man in his way who has not a green bulb in his hat. Hear him talk.—"Conventions is the only way for redress of grievances, and I am bold to say it is the only constitutional way." For individuals, for towns, for corporations to seek for a redress of grievances; for the General Court to redress grievances, is therefore illegal and unconstitutional. Hark again! he speaks as his spirit moves him—"the legislative, the judicial and the executive powers of government must be kept distinct and separate." Therefore no judges, justices, sheriffs, lawyers, constables, Deacons, High-reeves, field-drivers, grand-juries, and juries to hangmen, wardens, and surveyors of highways, and collectors of taxes and duties, may be chosen to go to the General Court, because these are all either judicial or executive officers. It is not enough to attend to the fiction of incompatibility of offices in the choice of your rulers; it is not enough to have judges neglect to make laws, and representatives as such to execute them; but all must be kept separate as to persons as well as exercises. But we leave some body else to reason with him, for we are viewing him merely in the character of a writer. He says he will abide by the truth; hence the story which nobody believes, concerning the injury and the green bulb in his hat. Meek spirited follower of Barclay! I hope gently he means his civil talents for discriminating between the laws of fiction and the partitions of justice, law and government.—How thankfully he acknowledges their liberality and forbearance in sparing to the delinquents their lives; their generosity, and the protection of the law, when they had forfeited these as well as their prerogative in declining and being elected to offices in the State. How he compliments the justice and wisdom of the legislature. Friend, thou shouldst remember, that while the constitution has provided for a free press, that the laws have provided also for the punishment of all inflammatory and seditious publications, by which the safety and tranquillity of the State is endangered. Let the light of nature have thine into thine inward man, let thou again to rail at the civil authority, who are God's ministers; for the public good, that thou be called to fear, or to declare that thou wilt be true and faithful to a government which thou lovest not, although it guards thee from harm. Friend, thou hast hit upon one truth in thy last publication, though thou liked it not. Thou sayest, "that the arguments in the Hampshire Gazette, which are predominant, are on the side of government." And I will teach thee the cause and reason thereof; even because the government have got the light of truth and the government have got the light of truth and the government have got the light of truth; and therefore the writers for the regulators, as thou callest them, are the more to be borne with, in their making much noise and abusing their opponents; for thou, Friend, knowest that you have nothing else which ye can do. When ye want arguments and have not strength within to make, false ones seem true, then ye must loudly complain, and loudly revile those who are your opponents. But Friend, let me admonish thee and those who write in like manner with thee, that if ye cannot contain yourselves in your obscurity, ye wait at least until ye can gain some semblance of argument, or if not, that ye try to be wise or good humoured; otherwise the men of the world will think that your publishing in newspapers is a grievance, and that the light that is in your mind is darkness.

THE CENSOR.
Communicator of Massachusetts.
In the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, March 7, 1787.
RESOLVED, That all Pay-masters of the Massachusetts line of the late Continental War, who have not delivered to the Secretary the Certificates of the balances, which upon a final settlement were found due to that part of the Aid Army, for which they are respectively Pay-masters, be, and they are hereby required, to make returns of the whole of said final settlements, which they have remaining in their hands,

into the Secretary's office, on or before the first day of June next, taking duplicate receipts therefor, one of which, to be lodged with the Treasurer of the commonwealth.
And it is further Resolved, That those Pay-masters who neglect to comply with this resolve shall not be entitled to receive an allowance of pay for their services in the trust in which they have been employed.—And the Secretary is directed to publish the above resolves three weeks successively, in the public news-papers, as by law directed.
Sent up for concurrence.
In Senate, March 5, 1787.
Read and concurred.
SAMUEL PHILLIPS, jun. President.
Approved.
JAMES BOWDOIN.
A true Copy Attest.
JOHN AVERY, jun. Sec'y.

Communicator of Massachusetts.
In the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, March 7, 1787.
WHEREAS by an Act for appropriating the revenue arising from the duties of import and excise, passed the 17th of November, 1785, it is provided, "That one third part thereof shall be annually paid into the Treasury of this Commonwealth, for the exigencies of government." And whereas the demands of government are now such as to make it necessary that the specie part of said duties be paid into the Treasury as soon as possible:

RESOLVED, That the several Collectors of import and excise within this Commonwealth, shall receive one third part of all duties of import and excise that may have become due since the first day of January, 1786, or may hereafter become due, in specie only; and the other two thirds in orders or certificates of the Treasurer of this Commonwealth, if they are presented; provided that the one third part be paid in specie at the same time, and not otherwise.
Sent up for concurrence.
ARTEMAS WARD, Speaker.
In Senate, March 5, 1787.
Read and concurred.
SAMUEL PHILLIPS, jun. President.
Approved.
JAMES BOWDOIN.
A true copy.
JOHN AVERY, jun. Sec'y.

S A V A N N A H, March 11.
On Tuesday night, at 8 o'clock, a whale, supposed to be a young one, came aboard the hawser of the ship Charlotte, below Tybee, coming into the river, passed several times under the ship's bottom, and gave her sundry strokes with its tail, without doing her any damage; it afterwards flew to Capt. Higgin's pilot boat, which lay at a little distance, and after repeated strokes sunk her, a boat from the ship having just time to save the people who were on board.

N E W - Y O R K, March 14.
Saturday evening his Excellency Governor Clinton, accompanied by Col. Fish, Adjutant-General, and Col. Willet, returned to this city from the northward. On Tuesday last his Excellency had an interview with General Lincoln at New-London, with whom he afterwards went to Pittsfield (Massachusetts) in order to concert measures for the immediate suppression of the Insurgents, should any again dare to assemble in arms. In consequence of the Governor's appearance, the magistrates and military officers of the county held themselves ready to take the most active part therein; but happily no occasion offered for their exertion, as there is not (nor is there at present) the smallest appearance of disaffection in any of the inhabitants there, although from the injurious reports in circulation respecting them many were led to imagine, that several there were strongly inclined to countenance and support the Insurgents immediately after their appearance. The fact is, that the people there did not conceive it their duty to take any part on the occasion, until they should be made acquainted with the sense of government; which, as no sooner communicated to them by his Excellency's proclamation, than they unanimously shewed the utmost readiness to perform their duty to every extent of their ability, in conformity to the articles of confederation. In consequence of this general decision, the Insurgents, who flattered themselves with hopes of protection and succour, dispersed, and embraced every opportunity to escape from a fate so which they had offered a man of them to be seen in arms within the confines of our territories.
Yesterday in the House of Assembly, Col. Hamilton gave notice of his intention, to move for leave this day to bring in a bill, to declare Vermont a free and independent State: and to direct the de-

legates of this State in Congress, to move for a resolution in the United States in Congress assembled to assent to the same.

HARTFORD, March 10.
We hear from Granville, that on Friday last, a ewe, belonging to Mr. John Cowles, of that town, brought forth a lamb, and a puppy in perfect shape, except his feet which were cloven, though of an extraordinary length; it measured from the end of its nose to the end of its back two feet; its legs were proportionate; it was covered with very short sleek hair.

BOSTON, March 19.
Saturday last his Excellency Governor Bowdoin received the following letter from his Excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esq. President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.
Philadelphia, March 6, 1787.

SIR,
I RECEIVED the letter your Excellency did me the honour to write me, respecting your proclamation for apprehending several promoters of the rebellion in your State. The proclamation was immediately printed in our newspapers; and the matter being laid before the Council and Assembly, it was thought fit to make an addition to the rewards your government had offered, which will be done, though the usual forms of proceeding have occasioned some delay.

I congratulate your Excellency most cordially on the happy success attending the wife and vigorous measures taken for the suppression of that dangerous insurrection; and I pray most heartily for the future tranquillity of the State which you so worthily and happily govern. Its constitution is, I think, one of the best in the union, perhaps I might say, in the world. And I persuade myself, that the good sense and sound understanding predominant among the great majority of your people, will always secure it from the mad attempts to overthrow it; which can alone proceed from the wickedness or from the ignorance of a few, who, while they enjoy it, are insensible of its excellence.

With sincere and great esteem and respect, I have the honour to be, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,
B. FRANKLIN.
His Excellency Governor Bowdoin.

NORTHAMPTON, March 28.
A Boston paper of last Saturday, has the following.—A gentleman, who arrived in town yesterday from Rhode-Island, reports, That the General Assembly of that State, which met the 12th inst. at South-Kington, have ordered a new emission of paper money to be struck, and one quarter part of the State securities to be brought into the treasury, in 14 days, the holders to receive in lieu thereof, an equal sum in paper money; if not brought in they are to be forfeited to the State. That a motion made in the assembly, for empowering Justices to strengthen warrants from the Executive of this State, and another for requesting the Governor to issue his proclamation for apprehending Shays, &c. were negatived: That an act had passed by which no citizen can vote, at the ensuing election, until he hath previously taken an oath, that he hath not given nor received a bribe: That they have voted not to send delegates to the Federal Convention, and that the members of Congress from that State, were about returning home, the Assembly having made no provision for their support.