

He has the honour to represent, turned out a single man in the support of government during the pressing exigencies of the last winter? and whether the principal part who were able to bear arms did not oppose government, and were made prisoners in the county of Hampshire in attempting to join Shays, by the friends of government? However, the world by gentlemen does not pretend to extend his views beyond his own town—no wonder this gentleman should be of contrary opinion from the other members from that country—it is a mere miracle that such a trifling town should be so militated as to make choice of so respectable a man, as it seems they have, to represent them—but never, militiamen, if such as may be called, will often turn to the infinite advantage of those who adopted it; and this singular instance shows a singular display of the interpretation of Providence in directing their choice in such a manner, as may finally be a means of establishing peace and good order, and an unfeigned tribute to the dignity of government, and our excellent constitution.

But even admitting their good disposition to embrace an act of mercy, come in and return to their duty and allegiance, this would not strengthen the arguments made use of by their advocates. For it is a fact well-known that they have hitherto flattered themselves that this present General Court would grant all they ever asked for, and even much more; that this present house would consist of members whose sentiments, in general, would be similar to their own. Should we now grant an act of mercy before we show our determination to support the constitution, they would, and indeed with a great deal of propriety, think themselves not disappointed—This would very much confirm, and materially strengthen their former opinion—Puffed up with these ideas, they would think themselves justified should they again rise in arms; and the first opportunity that appeared favourable, they would again, firmly relying on the court for protection, reaffirm their authority, draw the sword, proceed with vigour and indiscriminate revenge, and spread fire and desolation through the country, with impunity—A scene of slaughter and bloodshed, most horrible to behold, must inevitably ensue! And let them experience the authority of government and their determined zeal to support that constitution, which is the sole basis of American liberty, in the erecting of which, besides the vast expense of it, many thousands of valuable lives have been sacrificed—Draw the sword, and twine the olive branch of peace around it—let the sword precede that of the olive branch, as this is the likeliest means to establish a dynasty in government, and security to the lives and liberties of the people.

Indeed some have the boldness to affirm, and I am sorry to have occasion mentioned that because the voice of the people are for lenient measures, and even for overthrowing the constitution, it must be done; and that there is not the least trace of a republican government unless the power and authority of constituting and making laws is lodged in the hands of the people. All this I readily grant. But how shall we dispense with the obligations we first laid ourselves under to bind and protect the constitution during the next fifteen years?—And, indeed, suffer me to say, that although two thirds of the people are for abolishing the present constitution, the other third have a right to take up arms in its defence, and support it at the risk of every thing dear and sacred, even at the expence of their precious blood and treasure—Mercy has been my great delight; it has been extended to them; what has been the consequence? they have assembled in arms, and bid defiance to the power of government!

During the last winter, a period big with the fate of our dear new constitution, we assembled a small, though determined, band of heroes, to repel the invaders, and put a stop forth to the inundation, which seemed to break forth from every quarter. After we had collected, sensible of their inferiority, they declined attacking us in the field, but wan only gave themselves up to a blind infatuation, in preceding devastations? Inflicting, delousing, and plundering the faithful inhabitants—Was this all? No, outrage succeeded outrage, and a number of the lives of our faithful citizens fell a prey to a horrid banditti of internal rebels. But happily we have hitherto succeeded a miraculous manner, confounding our numbers—That's a memorable event, the action at Sheffield, will fully demonstrate a savage brutality, that may be more easily conceived than expressed. Those respectable characters, whom they the day before made prisoners, were placed in their front for a brash-walk, and forcibly drove up before them; most exposed to our fire, and one of them, a promising young gentleman, fell a sacrifice to their inhuman purposes, and expired in the field.—We are daily hearing of the ravages they are making, and the depredations they are committing—we have letters from several gentlemen of character laying before us, who all agree that it is absolutely necessary that a body of troops should be immediately raised for their defence and safety. Not only this, but a petition from a number of inhabitants tells

their danger; and that they are obliged to quit their habitations, and repair within the guards for safety, during the night. Painting themselves like savages, they now take the woods, and are continually firing upon the garrisons, and peaceable citizens of this commonwealth. Scarcely a night passes, but they are entering houses and executing their cruelty. The house of a worthy member now in this house, has been plundered since his absence, to a very considerable amount. Can we, when we reflect for a moment, refuse sending troops to the relief of our friends in that quarter? what ingratitude do we come to! what violation of the sacred ties of nature and interest do we stand chargeable with! moderate republicans gratitude indeed! The members from that quarter, have signified their absolute necessity of withdrawing from this house, should this question terminate in the negative, in order to secure their wives, their children and property, against the expiration of the time for which the troops now in the field are engaged; who, on the troops being discharged, will be exposed to every kind of danger, insult and plunder, from those abandoned lawless men.

This day must determine the fate of the empires! and I am bold to say, should not the question be cast, we cannot boast of a constitution six weeks longer. We shall have rebellion enough to contend with. Civil war, fire, slaughter and bloodshed, are its consequent attendants, and one promiscuous carnage must inevitably overspread the land. Do we wish for arguments drawn from example and woful experience of a singular nature? let us turn our eyes to the history of our mother country—What do we find but a rapid succession of almost every kind of government during a long series of the most astonishing events, wherein rivers of blood were spilt by contending usurpers, ambitious tyrants, and haughty despots? Let us view the gradual rise of that once potent republic of Rome, who obtained her greatness by a strenuous adherence to her constitution—her veneration for justice—her readiness to protect her citizens from danger and insult, and her spirited decision of matters which reflected the safety of the commonwealth—But at last, like ourselves, she began to be enervated, and her decline was hastened by a most astonishing rapidity, which ended in the final ruin and overthrow of that once renowned republic. If we compare the causes which gave rise to violence and insurrection between this and that republic, we shall find them similar; and the same cause will ever invariably produce the same effect. And now can we hesitate in adopting decisive measures, the only security left us? or will we be so wanting as to suffer for the page of the American history, to be blackened with this, that we worship our liberties for the jaws of an oppressive tyrant, after a most arduous conflict, in which many thousands of valuable lives have been sacrificed—Draw the sword, and twine the olive branch of peace around it—the sword precedes that of the olive branch, as this is the likeliest means to establish a dynasty in government, and security to the lives and liberties of the people.

Indeed some have the boldness to affirm, and I am sorry to have occasion mentioned that because the voice of the people are for lenient measures, and even for overthrowing the constitution, it must be done; and that there is not the least trace of a republican government unless the power and authority of constituting and making laws is lodged in the hands of the people. All this I readily grant.

But how shall we dispense with the obligations we first laid ourselves under to bind and protect the constitution during the next fifteen years?

—And, indeed, suffer me to say,

July 9, 1787.

satisfies me the idea was the result of a wise direction given the mind in youth—it must try to promote the population and increase of its inhabitants. Certainly upon this principle, it cannot be wise to take the life of a man, because he has been the instrument of another's death. Shall the State forfeit two, because it has lost one? What destruction and depopulation would this soon produce? It might even check the inclination to propagate our species—the fatal effects of which would be too manifest; in me the old law, that he who steals man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed. This no times, and very well suited the then police of that nation; but I presume, if the Officer will throw aside his old prejudices, and give fair play to his understanding, that his canon will be adapted, at all, to the present situation of our affairs. You seem, Sir, to have brought some ideas which you imbibed under a monarchical government, and would ingraft them into the wild olive of our republic—they never will unite and grow together. Such punishments will answer a good purpose in a government where great parade and show is necessary, to preserve its dignity; but can never comport with the purity and simplicity of republicanism.—Terror in a monarchical government must be considered as a horrid crime, for it endangers the safety of the kingdom, and the peace and happiness of every individual of it. Under such a form of government, the laws must comprehend a multitude, and high penalties must force mankind to be happy; but in a republic, let the multitudinous infelicities, and what under another form of government, would be called overfalls of treason, be never so many and violent, the evil must and will be cured by new elections and forever preclude the necessity of punishment. Mankind were never pleased with whipping, and it is necessary that every individual should be pleased, otherwise the government shaks to the foundation, till new choice.—You may think my sentiments rather singular; but I really am of the opinion that we have not arrived at the highest perfection in republicanism, and never so long as our laws have penalties annexed. Why should the minds of the good people be chafed with the idea of punishment, when without it every man may sit quiet, and without infelicity taste the fruits of his labour, and go collector or sheriff distract his peace and tranquility?—Happy I am that so many good efforts preface the rapid approach of this blessed state of things.—This is the country, Mr. Observer, you enquire after, and the state of things that will secure to you all your wishes. Under such a form of government you may speak and write, and make such statement of facts as you please, with impunity—I hope, Sir, you will not be offended at my difference in opinion—the last year, your sentiments and mine perfectly harmonized—this year, I think I have good reason to change them. Abusive coul and epiphany, reasoning, I presume will again bring you into the sentiments of your humble servant.

THE VICAR O'BRIAY.

In the House of Representatives, June 27, 1787.

ORDERED, That Mr. Jones, Mr. Head, Mr. Manning, (of Salem) Dr. Kilham, and Mr. Davis, (of Plymouth) with such as the Honourable Senate may join, be a committee to wait upon His Excellency the Governor, with the following address.

Scot up for concurrence.

J. WARREN, Speaker.

In Senate June 28, 1787.

Read and concurred.

And Charles Turner, Ebenezer Bridge, Thompson, J. Skinner, and Benjamin Austin, jun. Esquires, are joined.

SAMUEL ADAMS, President.

May it please your Excellency,

YOUR Excellency's messages of the 21st instant containing an offer of three hundred pounds, to be deducted from your salary, as Governor, for the present year, has been attended to, and considered by the two branches of the Legislature, not only as a proof of your Excellency's generosity, but as a mark of your attention to the peculiar situation of the people, and the embarrassed state of our public affairs.

The patriotism and benevolence of your Excellency having been so often experienced in your various stations, we are convinced of the sincerity of the sentiment expressed in your message, that it always gives you the highest pleasure, when consistent with your idea of the public good, to meet the wishes of the people.

The embarrassed situation of this state, pleads in behalf of our constituents to accept your generous and unfeigned favour, though at the same time, we would not wish to have it operate as a precedent to influence any successor in office, to relinquish any part of his yearly salary.

The constitutionality of the question relative to the Governor's salary, being undetermined,

we shall, at present, wave our sentiment, on this

subject, as this decision, without doubt, will claim the attention of the Legislature when they shall think expedient.

CHARLESTOWN, (S. C.) May 20.

The order from the court of Spain for the British settlers to retire from the Honduras country on the second of February last, was looked upon by the latter to be horribly cruel, as the settlers do not only run the risk, but have their crops nearly ready for gathering in, at that time of the year. The last article of the definitive treaty of peace (signed Sept. 3d, 1783) with his most Christian Majesty, could not be supposed (say the British) to cause Spain the province of Honduras, it was only meant by the British inhabitant to give up their claim to the country and remove their settlers, but by no means to confine it as Spanish property. In all probability the country on this part of the continent will be the cause of a war between Great-Britain and Spain, and at no great distance from the present period.

NEW-YORK, June 23.

Extract of a letter of late date from a gentleman in one of the back counties of Virginia, to his friend in Philadelphia.

I have recent advices from the territory of Kentucky, Hallifax, Bedford, French Broad, the Cherokee nation, and as far south as the Oconee, and am well assured that there is more peace, good order and contentment in the Cherokee nation, than there is among their white neighbours, who are obliged to employ a set of men they call regulators to crush the idle vagabonds and buccaneers that come among them. This plainly demonstrates the necessity of the present Constitution. May the Governor of the universe judge them with wisdom and unanimity.

A LBANY, June 21.

We learn from Washington, that the magnates of Safety, on the evening of the 14th instant, receiving intelligence that Shays was lurking near the easternmost part of that settlement, at one Wilson's in Sandgate, recommended to Lieutenant Martin immediately to collect a sufficient force, and apprised him and his assistants, at all events, Col. Martin, with a secrecy and dispatch which did him honour, immediately distributed the necessary orders, and at sunrise the next morning about 16 of the Hebron militia, under the command of Capt. Shepherd, and an equal number of light-infantry under Captain Clap, of Salem, marched up the place where Shays was said to be concealed.—After searching every suspected place, and making the strictest inquiries of persons who were taken up, they returned disappointed in the object of their expedition.—It appears that Shays had for some days past been concealed in a log-house, which he chose, it is presumed, partly on account of his equivocal situation, it being on the borders of Vermont, and possibly within the limits where it exercises jurisdiction: he decamped the preceding night, and left word that he meant to return to Canada, convinced he could no longer remain in these parts with safety.—They were not able to learn whether Shays had received any notice of this excursion, though it is highly probable. Upon the whole, we are happy to inform the public, that the authority of Washington are determined to proceed in the most vigorous manner against any person or persons that may have given such intelligence, if he or they can be discovered.

N E W H A VEN, June 27.

Monday last was committed to the jail in Litchfield, for trial at the next Superior court, Eliza Foote of Southwick, and Joseph French of Chester, states of Massachusetts, for counterfeiting and uttering the paper currency of the state of New-York.

P R O T S M O U T H, June 26.

The General Assembly have elected the Hon. John Langdon, John Pickering, Nicholas Gilman and Benjamin Bellows, Esquires, Delegates to represent this state in the Congress of the United States, for the term of one year, from and after the 1st Monday in November next. Two of the above gentlemen are authorized to represent this State at the Grand Federal Convention, now sitting in Philadelphia.

During the present session, the General Assembly have passed an act, complying with the treaty of peace agreeable to the requisition of Congress.

BOSTON, July 5.

Yester day being the Anniversary of American Independence, the same was celebrated, with uncommon marks of joy and felicity. The dawn was announced by a discharge of artillery, and by a peal from all the bells in the several churches of the town. At ten o'clock, the Supreme Executive of the Commonwealth, attended by the Independent Cadets, commanded by Col. Bradford, proceeded to the Senate Chamber, from whence they marched in procession, attended by the Hon. Senate and the Hon. House of Representatives, the French and Dutch Consuls, the Sheriffs, Secretary, and many other gentlemen of distinction, to the Stone-Chapel, where a prayer suited to the occasion was addressed to the Throne of Grace, by the Rev. Mr. Thacher, Chaplain to the Legislature. After

which an elegant and pertinent Oration was delivered by Thomas Dawes, jun. Esq; at the request of the inhabitants; which we presume to say, was received with the utmost satisfaction by a numerous and splendid audience.

N E W P O R T, June 28.

A correspondent observes, that it is impolitic for a citizen of this State in his travels abroad to acknowledge his country, unless he can prove a uniform and decided opposition to *Know-Your-Man and Measures*.—So great dispute and contention are we held by our Sister States, that Rhode-Island Faith is become a proverbial term of reproach when one violates his engagement. If a rebel or pirate escapes from justice here, if language fails of odious epithets to portray the finished villain, he is compared to a *Know-Your-Man* judge.—Unhappy State! thy government is discredited, thy trade ruined, and thy character is filled by merited reprobation—if an enemy had brought us to the precipice of annihilation, our innocence would have invigorated the efforts to rescue, but when we reflect that the calamities we feel are deliberately introduced by those who ostentatiously profess to relieve the distressed, their perverseness, advances with rapid strides in the prosecution of a system, which was to render our country richer than Eldorado—now can we too strongly execrate the policy of such measures—how can we too bitterly curse the men who have dictated them.

NORTHAMPTON, July 11.

On the night of the 7th instant, the gaol in Great-Barrington was, by the assistance of the Indians, broken open, by which means eleven prisoners made their escape.

We are informed, by a gentleman who left Lake Champlain the 18th ult. that the British have fitted out a ship of 20 guns, in order to cruise on that lake; that she was three miles from the line, within our territories, when he came away from thence; that he had taken one vessel, said to have been on the smuggling business, belonging to the United States; and that the British were also fitting out a gun-boat, which was to accompany the ship in cruising on the lake. This ship, it is said, was taken from us during the late war.

* * * The sale of the Land belonging to the estate of Joshua Winslow, Esq; deceased, lying in Cushing, was held the 26th of July, instead of the 4th, as advertised in this and the two preceding papers.

GENERAL ORDERS throughout the Commonwealth.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts, June 22, 1787.

THE OFFICERS of the Militia, and other corps,

of this Commonwealth, are requested to take notice, that when they appear in their uniforms, all General and Field Officers will be permitted to wear one platter on each shoulder. All officers with the rank of Captain one on the right shoulder; and all subaltern Officers one on the left shoulder.

By order of His Excellency the Governor and Commander in Chief,

ISRAEL KEITH, Adj. Genl.

NOKE-Great-Barrington gaol, in the County of Berkshire, on the night of the 7th instant, the following persons, viz.

James McClelland, about 5 feet 6 inches high, light complexion, committed for coverts.

Ezra Allen, about 5 feet 8 inches high, dark complexion, committed for stealing and coverts.

Timothy Daffy, about 22 years old, light complexion, about 5 feet 7 inches high, committed for burglary.

Benjamin Chapman, about the same height, dark complexion, committed for the same offence.

Squire Horton, about 44 years old, light complexion, yellowish hair, a fiddler, committed for an assault and battery.

John Dublin, a negro, a large well set fellow, committed for theft.

Robert Bridger, a short thick set fellow, committed to the castle for one year.

Daniel Spencer, about 23 years old, about 5 feet 6 inches high, dark hair and eyes, committed for horse-stealing.

Ezra Crittenton, about 5 feet 10 inches high, darkish hair, dark sharp eyes, very talkative, and has a double share of impudence—he is excepted in the general pardon.

Abel Holman, about 24 years of age, about 5 feet 7 inches high, light complexion, light short curled hair, committed for breaking out Austin and Wilcox, prisoners under sentence of death.

Polly Maxwell, about 27 years of age, light complexion, grey eyes, more than middling stature for a girl.

Whoever will take up said prisoners, and return them to the gaol in Great-Barrington, shall have the following rewards, viz. For McClelland, 1 dollar; Allen, 3 dollars; Daffy, 8 dollars; Chapman, 8 dollars; Horton, 4 dollars; Dublin, 6 dollars; Bridger, 5 dollars; Spencer 6 dollars; Crittenton, 15 dollars; Holman; 12 dollars; Miss Maxwell, 10 dollars.

EBENZER BEMENT, Gaoler.

Greenfield, June 25, 1787.

For Sale at this Office,

Regulations for the Order and Discipline

of the Troops of the United States;

By Baron STEUBEN.

Cash, Writing-Paper, &c.

given for clean Linen and Cotton

RAGS, at the Printing Office in

Northampton.