

HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1787.

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

For the HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE. POLITICAL AND MORAL ENTERTAINMENT.

NUMBER VII.

IT is not the least source of my trouble that many tell me I labour in vain. The joint efforts of the wife and virtuous to succour a falling State will prove fruitless. The body of the people are corrupt that the fire of judgment only can purge away their dross. The wilest measures of the wilest men have been already for years fruitlessly tried: and like a falling dome the constitution falls with a motion continually increasing. Cease then your work of love. Though well intended it is not profitably directed. The people will not hear your voice, weigh your reasons and believe the consequence. Bind to their own interests, and deaf to the experience of other nations they will not rest till they have verified the words of their enemies, lost their friends and sacrificed all which they lately obtained, all which they desired and all which any nation ever enjoyed to their own folly: their discontent, jealousy and credulity, their aversion from righteousness and law will terminate in the overthrow of the Government of the Massachusetts and likely in general confusion. Let it. We never shall we never be happy until we give the commonwealth a master whose little finger will be heavier than the loins of their late rulers; whom they could not bear, refused them their suffrages and bestowed them upon numbers who had little to recommend them but that they were attached to popular phrenzy; ingratious as they were violent; who ought to have remained in that obscurity which heaven originally designed. Do you, Nations, imagine that such multitudes of the night, whose views have ever been confined to the small limits, who revolt at every sacrifice for the public good and hold virtuous that propose them in abhorrence, will read you with candour and to advantage? Rather look for a miracle. They will plunge themselves into ruin. The sooner the better for the rest and for themselves too. When that is effected they will cease from troubling.

The possibility, the probability of this is a burden which I can scarcely sustain. But as others have given their opinion, I will now give mine. Since they have afforded me their friendly advice, they must leave me, after carefully weighing it, to reject or adopt it as appears right. For years it has been my practice to believe nothing merely because a wise or a great man said it. Being unalterable for those sentiments which influence my passions and actions I must see whether they will stand the trial.

I own that my fears are strong. Still I have and ever have had hopes of a happy issue: that the time will come and is not now far distant when my countrymen will obey the voice of reason.

I have more than once recollected with what unanimity the first Congress was chosen; with what respect they were treated; what confidence was reposed in them; what expectations were indulged, and with what readiness and ardor their recommendations were observed.

If I have any talent at discerning the feelings of the people are in many respects as they then were. I am disposed to look for the same effects from the same cause. I wish and mean now to request my countrymen to attend to this subject. In the day of our distress we have chosen a Federal Convention. This step was taken from the fullest conviction that there was not a better, perhaps no other which could be adopted in this trial of our public affairs. Many put confidence in them. They have great dependence on them. Both are natural. The members are as much distinguished for knowledge and moderation, liberality of mind and firmness, for patriotism and love of virtue and attachment to government as possibly any of our citizens. No wonder under heaven we look to them as healers of breaches and the saviours of a distracted country. Millions should flock wisdom for them of him who gives liberally. They will if they love themselves. For in the public safety is included that of every individual.

I scarcely need tell you that Congress is but a name; that her resolutions are cyphers. She is fallen into contempt. Our union is slender: exist rather in idea than in reality—in the imagi-

tion than in the substance. Her present state is the grief of the friends of the union, the source of the fears of strangers and the subject of the ridicule of enemies. It is an acknowledged point that without a federal government which binds, collects and consolidates the wisdom, wealth & strength of the states, the union is dissolved, our national existence is destroyed, and the world knows us not. Without a government which can employ and improve the power of the whole to national purposes we are an headless trunk; a mass of incoherence. Thirteen bodies without one soul to inspire, pervade and move the complicated, unwieldy and nameless machine.

A federal constitution is essential to bestow dignity on the nation, to control our finances, to regulate commerce, to make treaties, to establish the government of the individual states, secure property to the citizens, protect from foreign invasions, and secure the establishment of our credit abroad, provide for the discharge of our debts, discover and apply right the means in our power for this end, banish discontent, effect a union of wills and designs, and preserve to us and our posterity the blessings of independence.

To gain such valuable and essential objects, every state must relinquish some privileges of every nature. The separate interests of the states, viewed upon a large scale, are small objects and must be given up for the public good. When all is at stake, it will not be wise nor reputable to grasp too tight, and dispute too obstinately about claims which do not belong to us in a federal capacity. On the generous relinquishment of which our political happiness stands. Demolish the dagon of state sovereignty which you have too long worshipped. Guard against selfishness the bane of public bodies as well as individuals. Beware of those local views which would draw every thing into their own narrow vortex. Rise not on the ruin of a sister state. Make not a sacrifice of the country. Study the principles of true republicanism. Regard your own particular interest under the influence of a noble benevolence.

Since persons are chosen to form a federal government, let the several Legislatures be prepared after its revival and approbation by Congress, to consider and ratify it when submitted to them. Let all be impressed with the necessity of it. Nourish a spirit of candour. Reason dispassionately. Embrace it with gratitude, and support it with fortitude: receive it as heaven's rich gift, if it justify the general confidence reposed in the delegation, equal the objects of our union, remove the evils which we experience, and secure to us the permanent enjoyment of the best civil blessings.

To give energy to these thoughts, call into view your uncomfortable situation for years; the quarter whether your troubles have principally originated. Look forward and reflect upon the various evils which await you in this disjointed and distracted state. There is no other measure which you can take.

Bear in mind that the nations of the earth, from the rising to the setting sun, wait for the result. Your foreign friends, who flew to your relief and afforded essential services, hate their fears. They tremble for the issue, lest wisdom should be hidden from you; lest you profit not by the lessons of others; lest you hate your friends, listen to flatterers and love your enemies, and involve yourselves in those miseries which the councils and arms of Britain could not effect. While there is no efficacy in your public councils, they fear lest they have helped you to ruin; when without that help you might have sunk in the hardy contest: lest you will prove ungrateful and perfidious as the last.

Disappoint, my countrymen, these fears: prove that they are unfounded. Convince them that you can and that you will stand: that you will establish a government from which they will have nothing to dread; where hope may have unlimited scope. Do honour to yourselves. Be just to your allies. Confide in your friends. Reward the patriotism of those whose abilities have been devoted to your service. Spurn from your pretence those who would wheedle you out of your liberties, rivet your chains and condemn you to everlasting infamy. Nobly disdain the bondage of state prejudices and narrow politics. Honour yourselves as men, as Ameri-

cans, as citizens of the freest governments on earth. Invest Congress with power. Enroll them with your national prosperity. You have those in whom you can safely trust. Be virtuous yourselves. You need not fear. Until you are inspired by indolence, enervated by luxury, and alienated from all that is good, your rulers can't long oppress you, and never enslave you. Away with that jealousy which is inconsistent with your own peace and the tried and known integrity of many among us. It is indeed possible by your groundless jealousies, you may convert some honest men into knaves; verifying the ancient proverb, that the readiest way to make a man an enemy, is to treat him as one. But I hope better things of you. Bewildered yourselves. No great will then be unfavourable. Hear what the Convention say to you.

It has been said, that foreigners remark a certain moderation of temper as characteristic of Americans. This disposition introduces happiness and honour into domestic life. It does the same into public life. It has its effect on a nation. Under its influence her councils will be wise and her measures decisive. In trouble her patience will be conspicuous: in danger her courage will be unbroken. Unhurt because unacquainted with those violent storms which convulse other parts. Qualified for public exertions her sons will be renowned in the earth. While nations around her become the seat of discord, fighting, passion, and exchange of rage and prosperity for war and tyranny, she will live heretofore in wisdom and moderation. It will fire itself by a careful obedience to them that rule well. If foreigners entertain a just opinion of you, now is the time to prove it. Avail yourselves of the advantages which this temper yields. Let your wisdom shine; let your moderation display itself in your treatment of the continuation which is soon to be laid before you.

Pals it not that except you form such a constitution and that speedily, (and can it be ever more needed, or any time preferable to the present?) you may believe it will be too late. You may justly suppose, that if you forge those who forsake you their property, they will not so forget themselves; that if you are callous to obligation they will do themselves justice; that if you have forfeited their friendship, they will cast you off and let you reap the harvest which you prefer. And will you break that friendship which was formed in the hour of danger, cemented by the blood of both parties, and which has yielded the most substantial fruit?

Think besides how your enemies (for enemies you have) will feast upon your folly, fasten at your charge, and plume themselves on the success of steps which they suggested. Shall your enemies tax you? Shall Britain enrich herself at your expense? Shall your imports fill her public coffers? Will you first pay the debt which is contracted in a war upon your rights and privileges? You may perhaps defy the world to produce a parallel instance of perfect disinterestedness. All this, let me tell you, is not the dream of a distemper'd brain, nor the bogwart of a timid fancy, nor the fallacy of a bold imagination. Things are set before you as they appear to the view of sober reflection. The alarm is sounded that you may see your danger, exert yourselves in season and avert the storm.

If you are wife, you are wife for yourselves and children after you. Your conduct will always please on the recollection—when time closes you will leave an honourable testimony behind—your example may inspire or terrify, and posterity may gladly resolve the liberal sentiments and manly conduct of their fathers. If you are foolish, contentious, self-willed, opposed to government and your own good and dead to feeling, you must bear it; but, painful thought, not only you, your descendants to the fourteenth generation may and will execute your memory and be amazed at your madness; that when you might have reached the summit of national glory, freedom and improvement, you chose the depth of poverty, infamy and wretchedness.

ON MARRIAGE.

HAIL Wedlock! hail, inviolable tie! Perpetual fountain of domestic joy! Love, friendship, honour, truth, & pure delight, Harmonious mingle in the nuptial rite. In Eden first the holy state began, When perfect innocence distinguished man; The human pair, th' Almighty pontiff led, Gay as the morning to the bridal bed; A dread solemnity th' espousals grac'd, Angels the witness, and God the priest! All earth exulted on the nuptial hour, And voluntary roses check'd the bow'r; The joyous birds on every blossom'd spray, Sung Hymeneus to the important day; While Philomela swell'd th' spousal song, And Paradise with gratulation rung.

The PHYSICIAN and his PATIENT.

From the FRENCH.
"DOCTOR, for one poor moment's ease,
"Ere Death his fatal victim seize,
"Permit me to salute my life!
The Doctor shakes his sapient pate,
And gives the negative of fate.
"Allow me then, a cheerful glass,
"And converse of some social friend!
"Neither if'er you hope to mend!"
Three flasks prophetic loudly cry:
"Then, Doctor, clip my mortal wine;
"For, kept from friends, from love, from wine,
"It matters not how soon I die."

From the (N. York) Daily Advertiser, of the 25th ult.

IT is currently reported and believed, that his Excellency Governor CLINTON has, in public company, without reserve, reprobated the appointment of the Convention, and predicted a mischievous issue of that measure. His observations are said to be to this effect:—That the present confederation is, in itself, equal to the purposes of the union: That the appointment of a Convention is calculated to impress the people with an idea of evils which do not exist: That if either nothing should be proposed by the Convention, or if what they should propose should not be agreed to, the one or the other would tend to beget despair in the public mind; and that, in all probability, the result of their deliberations, whatever it might be, would only serve to throw the community into confusion.

Upon this conduct of his Excellency, if he is not misrepresented, the following reflections will naturally occur to every considerate and impartial man:

First. That from the almost universal concurrence of the states in the measure of appointing a Convention, and from the powers given to their Deputies "to devise and propose such alterations in the Federal Constitution as are to RENDER IT ADEQUATE to the purposes of government, and to the exigencies of the union," it appears clearly to be the general sense of America, that the present confederation IS NOT "equal to the purposes of the union," but requires material alterations.

Secondly. That the concurrences of the legislatures of twelve out of the thirteen states, which compose the union (accounted as they are by a diversity of prejudices and supposed interests) in a measure of so extraordinary a complexion, the direct object of which is the abridgement of their own power, in favour of a general government, is of itself a strong presumptive proof that there exists real evils; and that these evils are of so extensive and cogent a nature, as to have been capable of giving an impulse from one extremity of the United States to the other.

Thirdly. That some of these evils are so obvious, that they do not seem to admit of doubt or equivocation;—of this description are,

First. The DEFECTIVE and DISPROPORTIONATE contributions of the several states to the common treasury, and in consequence of this, the total want of means in the United States to pay their

debt, foreign or domestic, or to support those establishments which are necessary to the public tranquillity.

Secondly. The general stagnation of commerce, occasioned no doubt in a great degree, by the exclusions and restraints with which foreign nations fetter our trade with them; while they enjoy in our ports unlimited freedom, and while our government is incapable of making those defensive regulations, which would be likely to produce a greater reciprocity of privileges.

Thirdly. The degradation of our national character and consequence, to such an extreme of insignificance, that foreign powers in plain terms, refuse to treat with us, alleging and alledging truly, that we have no government to ensure the performance of the stipulations on our part.

Fourthly. That these and many other facts and circumstances, prove to a demonstration, that the general government is fundamentally defective; that the very existence of the union is in imminent danger, and that there is great reason to dread, that without some speedy and radical alterations, these states may shortly become thirteen distinct and unconnected communities, exposed, without a common head, to all the hazards of foreign invasion, and intrigue, of hostility with each other, and of internal faction and insurrection.

Fifthly. That at this very instant the union is so far removed, that it is not only destitute of the necessary powers to administer the common concerns of the nation, but is scarcely able to keep up the appearance of existence; sunk to so low an ebb that it can with difficulty engage the attendance of a sufficient number of members in Congress, even to DELIBERATE upon any matters of importance.

Sixthly. That this state of our affairs called for the collective wisdom of the union to provide an effectual remedy; that there were only two ways of uniting its councils to that end, one through the medium of Congress, and the other through the medium of a body specially appointed for that purpose; that several reasons conspired to render the latter in preference. Congress, occupied in the ordinary administration of the government could not give so steady and undivided an attention to the national reform as the crisis demanded: The parties, which will always grow up in an established body, would render themselves likely to agree in a proper plan. Any plan they should agree upon, would have greater prejudices to encounter in its progress through the states; for the mind is naturally prone to suspect the aims of men who propose the increase of a power of which they themselves have the present possession; and, in several of the states, industrious and wicked pains have been taken by the parties unfriendly to the measures of the union, to discredit and debase the authority and influence of Congress.

In addition to these considerations, the state would have it in their power in a special Convention to avail themselves of the weight and abilities of men, who could not have been induced to accept an appointment to Congress; and whose aid, in a work of such magnitude, was on many accounts desirable. The late illustrious Commander in Chief stands foremost in this number.

Seventhly. That though it is justly to be apprehended that local views, state prejudices, and personal interests, will frustrate the hope of any effectual plan from any body of men whatever, appointed by so many separate states, yet the object was worthy of an experiment; and that experiment could not be made with far much advantage in any way, as in that which has been fallen upon for the purpose.

Eighthly. That however justifiable it might be in the Governor to oppose the appointment of a Convention, if the measure were still under deliberation; and if he sincerely believed it to be a pernicious one, yet the general voice of America having decided in its favour, it is UNWARRANTABLE and CULPABLE IN ANY MAN, in so serious a posture of our national affairs, to endeavour to prepossess the public mind against the hitherto undetermined and unknown measures of a body to whose councils America has, in a great measure, entrusted its future fate, and to whom the people in general look up, under the blessing of heaven, for their political salvation.

Ninthly. That such conduct in a man high in office, argues greater attachment to his OWN POWER than to the PUBLIC GOOD, and furnishes strong reasons to suspect a dangerous predetermination to oppose whatever may tend to diminish the FORMER, however it may promote the LATTER.

If there be any man among us, who acts so unworthy a part, it becomes a free and enlightened people to observe him with a jealous eye, and when he founds the alarm of danger from another quarter, to examine whether they have not more to apprehend from HIMSELF.

NOTICE is hereby given to the non-resident proprietors of unimproved land lying in Conway, in the county of Hampshire, that their several lots are taxed in the colonial tax list No. 1. and No. 2. and town and mill tax for 1787, and also for taxes granted in 1772 and 1773, to the state, town and mill.

No. lot.	acres.	1787.	1772.	1773.
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