

ment and the common welfare requires, the temptation is evidently on this hand; and so prevalent, that none but the man of spirit, integrity and heroic virtue, is able to withstand its force. Few men have on trial themselves possessed of that noble prudence and patriotism as to be able to oppose themselves to the popularity, and sacrifice the dignity and emoluments of office, to the good of their people: such fitting cases are not uncommon: we have near at hand instances on both sides, in which the truth of these observations has been realized.

No doubts we have more to fear from this quarter, than from all the frightful things that Brutus points out; but even this evil is in some degree wisely guarded against, in the federal government, by the unfixed elections.

On the whole, it is evident, that this publication is skillfully, if not intentionally, planned to alarm the fears, and prejudice the minds of the people against the new constitution; and that instead of cherishing fears that the federal government, by an extension of its powers, will ultimately subvert and annihilate all the authority of the States, facts and experience teach that we have much more to dread from the other extreme.

Until we are furnished with more convincing evidence of the truth of his first position, viz. that "the federal government, if executed, would certainly and infallibly reduce the thirteen United States into one single government, and annihilate all the state governments," with Brutus's good leave, we think an answer to him on his second question would be altogether impertinent and futile.

A. B.

For the HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE.
Mr. Butler.

The following observations respect a question, recommended to consideration by its novelty and importance. If you think what I have written worthy the notice of the public, I will vouch to give it a place in your Gazette.

THE frequent change of chief magistrates in a commonwealth is productive of extensive benefits. Literature and the arts feel its enlivening influence; and genius is awakened, by the rare improvements it occasions in modes of policy, to make vigorous efforts to comprehend their language. The present year has originated a question new in the world, and one for its eminence worthy the discussion of learned pens. It arises from comparing two events, said to have taken place at Northampton, in the county of Hampshire; one on the 21st of June, the other on the 6th of December.

The question is this—How does the punishment inflicted by a man's being executed differ in law from that of persons being LIKE to be hanged? and of what importance is the use of the rope in a capital modes of punishing criminals was experienced on the 21st of June, it was taken to be the modernest fashion of treating men condemned to die. But the latter event of December 6th has taught that the use of the rope is not laid aside altogether, when men receive the punishment at the gallows. It cannot however be admitted that the first of these executions is less significant than the other.

The men, who had like to have been hanged, were convicted of the highest crime known in law, and of the most delective nature to society and government. And in these persons it was attended with special aggravations. In pronouncing their sentence of condemnation and death, the Hon. Chief Justice told them they had forfeited their lives, and added, *By the way, by the laws of God and man, can your numerous injuries be atoned for, and your guilt be done away? And now the solemn sentence and judgment of the law which the court have awarded for your offence, and must be pronounced against each of you—painful to us, but fatal to you or to this world—it is: You shall go from hence to the prison from whence you came, and thence to the place of execution, and there be each of you hanged by the neck, till you are dead. And God Almighty have mercy on each of your souls! Can the suffering of this sentence be less than to undergo the pains of death? To see it executed, at a time appointed, a large assembly convened, Jason Parmenter and Henry M'Colloch were brought forth and carried to the house of God, to take their final leave, of his earthly sanctuary, and enjoy its last rites to prepare their spirits for their immediate entrance into the unknown world. These solemnities attended, they were led in awful parade to the place of execution. The coffins and the gallows in their view, and a dread silence in every wretch of death! Afterwards the men were reconducted to prison. The question may be asked again, Was all this parade of death to signify any thing less than that the men were hanged with impunity? If so, religion is not usually made a part of mock traditions. And can the thought be admitted, that in a Christian country, a public minister of justice should pronounce a solemn assembly; let man on high in the house of God, as immediately to be put to death; and call the Ambassadors of Christ,*

the prince of peace and life, to preach to them and pray for their souls, making appeal to the great God, that they were instantly to be sent by a judgment of an earthly court, to appear before his infinitely more awful tribunal;—all this, and it be only a farce, a mimic execution, a feint to try the strength of government? Religion abhors the idea! The warrants also read at the place of execution are equally repugnant to this supposition. As they were published to view the officer's power to conduct as he did, it must be supposed that he read his whole authority for the freedom of the day; all which was that he would carry into effect the sentence of the law upon the criminals, and cause them to be hanged by the neck till they are dead. The warrants were of three dates; one previous to the execution the sentence as a time to the other, at a future season. The first and last of them commanded nothing to be done at that time. The second must therefore be taken as the warrant for what was then transacted; and it commanded the prisoners then to be hanged; so that unless the judgment of law were infused, the officer did nothing in obedience to his orders, nothing as he was commanded in the warrants which he published as the power by which he acted.

Men that advise new modes of policy, and those that exhibit them in action should be supposed to understand their meaning. Their opinion is therefore worthy to be noticed. One, distinguished in conducting the scenes I have mentioned, observed after the return of the parade, New government may hang men if it please. And a Councillor has since flattered by his Excellency, that even this measure was adopted in a way, which effectually tried the strength of government, for every preparation, in the county of Hampshire at least, was made for a serious execution; but this parade of death was so far from exciting opposition to legal authority, that a gloomy silence and solemn awe, at the power of government, was universal exhibited. These declarations ascribe to this scene all the importance I have supposed. For the power of government to hang rebels does not appear in fact till the event is accomplished; neither is the strength of it ascertained in the execution of its laws against rebellions, till those laws are executed.

Rebellion having been driven out of the Commonwealth, some months before the 21st of June, all the hindrance it could place in the way of government was that of private mischief and threats of retaliation. To give these force, two of the friends of government had been taken, on a former occasion, as hostages for the lives of the persons now carried to execution; leaving behind a declaration that if these rebels should be hanged, the friends of government should experience the same fate. In this situation the question, with those that made a question about it, was, whether the strength of government were sufficient to punish rebels with safety to her good citizens. And this was the question decided on the 21st of June. Till that day many disaffected persons would not believe that government dared to execute the laws, or had power to do it, in the death of her rebellious sons. And had not the event shown her resolution and power, to this day they would not have believed.

Will any rational persons then say that this parade of death was a mere feint? That the liberties with its deputies, attended by a general and other military officers, some companies of militia troops, and a detachment of militia, paraded to the gallows with prisoners condemned to death, and returned, only to know whether government had power to perform the march unmolested? Will any say further, that a reprieve for the prisoners was carried in the sheriff's pocket, to proclaim the merciful intent of government not to hurt her condemned sons, but to give them hope, if all should be quiet a little time, that they should be fully pardoned? For whom then were the prayers specially made, in the house of God? For men in safety, or for those whose lives were hazarded in the transactions of the day? These considerations make it necessary to view the law as having its full operation, in the parade of death of the 21st of June, though the use of the rope was accidentally omitted, and *Jason Parmenter and Henry M'Colloch only had like to have been hanged.*

GRAPTEER.

From the Independent Chronicle.

To the P U B L I C.

MR. WILSON observes, in his late celebrated speech, "that after a lapse of six thousand years, America has now presented the first instance of a people assembled to weigh deliberately, and calmly, and to decide leisurely, and peaceably, on a form of government, by which they shall bind themselves and their posterity." Has he not here suggested the strongest reason that can be urged, for postponing the adoption of the new system? If the objection is

imposed away by the duplicity and the ingratitude of those, who never participated in her suffering;—Or by the machinations of such as have no pole star for their guide, but the mad ambition of a mind ready to sacrifice the finest feelings of humanity for its gratification? Forbid it Heaven, and may the people awake from a kind of apathy which seems to pervade them, before they are aroused by the thunder of arms, or the influence of disorganizing parties, to arrest from the peasant and the mechanic, the last farthings of their hard earnings, to the splendid selfishness of Mr. Wilson's Federal Republic. What an insidious term! But this people are too wise to be long deceived by the extortion, or misapplication of words. Let the youth of America who are yet ignorant of the characters, and the causes that occasioned the dismemberment of the United States from the crown of Britain, read for themselves the many excellent publications on the origin of government and the rights of human nature, that appeared between the years 1763 and 1775.—And instead of indulging a rapturous admiration for the modern superficial specifiers in favour of an American monarchy; let them examine the principles of the late glorious revolution, and see how far they comport with the opinions in vogue. And before they embrace the chains of servitude, let them scrutinize their own hearts, and enquire if their pride and their independence of spirit, will suffer them to lick the hand of a despotic master. And may the delegates for the ensuing convention consider well the importance of their decision: they will be applauded by the admiring world for making a stand at this critical conjuncture; or they will be execrated by a posterity for co-operating with the ambitious and intriguing spirit, who will for the sake of their own advancement, to manacle a free and independent people, who have made the most astonishing and successful exertions to support their own rights, and to establish their rank among the nations. And when they shall have time to look round and be convinced, even Mr. Wilson acknowledges, "that they will then spurn at every attempt to shackles them with despotic power."

B O S T O N , Jan. 3.

By late accounts from Jamaica, we learn, that a severe shock of an earthquake was felt at that island, about the 20th of Nov. last. By the severity of the shock, the town clock at Kingston, and many private ones were stopped, and the church bell was observed to strike differently two or three times; the inhabitants were also considerably alarmed by the rattling of houses, &c.

Saturday a vessel arrived at Marblehead from France. A letter by this arrival to a gentleman in Salem, dated at l'Orient, October 24, has the following: "I suppose you will have heard, before you receive this, that War is likely to be proclaimed between France and England, with several other powers in the northern parts of Europe. All English vessels were ordered out of Bourdeaux this month; and two French frigates, now in l'Orient, were ordered out on a cruise to lay down from which we conclude war will soon commence."

Let them call for the name of the seditious man, who dared to say to his associates in the late convention, "that unless they hurried the constitution through before the people had time for consideration, there was no probability that it would ever be adopted." And let him be stigmatized with the odium that is due to the base betrayer of the rights of his country, and not absurdly trusted, though he may artfully have obtained an election, to decide a second time on a question in which he is so manifestly interested.

It is obvious there is not the smallest propriety that any of the members of that body, who have held out a system for the people to judge of, should themselves set in any of the late conventions, and have a voice to enforce their own alarming proposals.

Let the old patriots come forward, and instead of secretly wrapping up their opinions within their own breasts, let them lift up their voice like a trumpet, and show the people their folly, and the trembling *Columbia* her impending danger. Let none of them fear the arbitrary frown of either Oibo, Galba, or Vitellius, nor the fate of HELVIDIUS PRISCUS.

P H I L A D E L P H I A , Dec. 26.

EXTRA of a letter from Charles M. Thurston, Esq. one of the representatives for Frederick county, Virginia, to the mayor of Winchester, dated at Richmond the 15th ult.

"Every person, who has the least pretence to a knowledge of politics or government; is engaged here on the important subject of the new Federal Constitution, and the most respectable names appear in the number of the *pro's and con's.*"—That you and the good people of the town may from some idea of the question, as it stands at present, I will take the liberty of giving you a short list of those said to be on one side and the other. I will place at the head of those for it, Judge Pendleton, who is looked up to as the president of the convention to be held in June, Nicholas, Wythe, Blair, the Pages, Johnsons, Stuart, Harvie, Jones, Wood, and a multitude of others. Against it—First, as the leader of this party, Henry, Maton, governor or Randolph, Lawson, John Taylor, with most of the general court lawyers, and many of the judges, the Nelsons, H. H. Lee, (in many instances father against son) and many others. In a word, the division of the multitude is great; but, after all, it appears to me, that the party in favour of the constitution must prevail; in the signature and approbation of our great WASHINGTON, will give it a preponderancy to which down all opposition."

N O R T H A M P T O N , January. 9.

We hear, that Luke Day, some time last week, was made prisoner at Westmoreland, in the state of New Hampshire, and conveyed from thence to Boston.

The State of New Jersey, by their delegates in Convention, did on the 18th inst. adopt the New Federal Constitution, proposed and agreed upon by the deputies of the United States in General Convention held at the city of Philadelphia, on the 17th of September last, as follows:

After reciting the several proceedings under which they were appointed.

"NOW Be it known, That WE, the delegates of the State of New Jersey, chosen by the people thereof, for the purposes aforesaid, having maturely deliberated on and considered the several proposed Constitution, DO HEREBY,

for and on the behalf of the People of the said State of New Jersey, agree to, ratify and confirm the same and every part thereof.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the members present, this 18th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1787, and of the independence of the United States of America, the twelfth." By letter from a gentleman of accurate observation at Pittsburgh, dated the 24th November last, it appears, that no less than 4200 people passed down the Ohio since the first of that month, and that several boats were still preparing to follow the m with more settlers, but not a word of any disturbances among the Indians.

It is reported as a fact, from Philadelphia, that the British fleet on board of vessels bound to England, are so fatigued, that the fear of being pressed, should they return to their native country, that they daily desert. This has already raised women's wages considerably. The sale of women in New York, is nearly similar to the above, but has not produced the same effect.

M A S S A C H U S E T T S . This evening, by the Rev. Mr. Hopkins, Mr. JOHN TAYLOR, of Warren, in the State of Connecticut, at Mrs. PEARCE POMEROY, of this town.

Married, on the 11th inst. the Rev. PRESBYTER SMITH, of Rowe, to the amiable Miss EDWARDS WELLS, daughter of Col. David Well of Shelburne.

G A D S M I T H , of Whately, and AARON G. MARSH, of Deerfield, having mutually agreed to dissolve their partnership, earnestly request all Persons indebted to them, or either of them, to make immediate payment, or their Notes and accounts will be put in full by the first of February next, without further notice. December 24th, 1787.

W H E A T , R Y E , AND INDIAN CORN, TAKEN by the Subscribers, at their Store; for which immediate pay will be made, one third in Cash, the remainder in English and West-India Goods.

SETH AND DANIEL WRIGHT, Northampton, Jan. 8, 1788.

N O T I C E is hereby given to the following non-resident proprietors of land in the town of Levett, in the county of Hampshire, that their lands are taxed in a town tax for the year 1787, and 1788, as follows, viz.

Name	Acres.	l.	s.	d.
Naham Fairbanks,	100	1	0	0
Joseph Perry,	200	2	0	0
Philip Keays,	100	1	0	0
Thomas Thamer,	150	1	5	0
David Wood,	150	1	5	0
Maj. Keays,	150	1	5	0
Thomas Thamer,	150	1	5	0
Jonathan Goble,	200	2	0	0
Daniel Hubbard Esq.	200	2	0	0

Levett, Jan. 1, 1788.

Name	Acres.	l.	s.	d.
Naham Fairbanks,	100	1	0	0
Philip Keays,	100	1	0	0
Maj. Keays,	150	1	5	0
Naham Fairbanks,	100	1	0	0
Benj. Fairbanks,	100	1	0	0
Thomas Turner,	100	1	0	0
Maria Kellogg,	100	1	0	0
Philip Johnson,	100	1	0	0

A Irish and large Supply of Hat-Trimmings,
For Sale, consisting of
B E V E R , Cassor and Felt Lining, of different colours.
Beaver, Cassor and Felt Buttons.
Round Logging—Silk Braid.
Shaping of all kinds—Chain Button Loops of Do. Velvet, Silk and Worsted Hat-Bindings.
Hat-Bands—Looping Needles.
Hard and Soft Hatters Brushes.
Crestle and Fine Bow-Rings—Jack Cards.
Blockading-Lines—Red Leather and Nurse-Skin.
Logwood, Coppers, &c. &c.
Calf-pat for all kinds of good Shipping Furrs, and all kinds of other Furrs, by
GEO. CALDWELL, and Co.
Hartford, Nov. 19, 1787.