

gent to roll the whole truth. They might have shown how nearly inhumanity and tyranny are allied—that they who will not be governed by reason must submit to force—that demagogues, in all free governments, have at first held out an idea of extreme liberty, and have seized on the rights of the people, under the mask of patriotism. They might have shown us a republic in which wisdom, virtue and order, were qualities for which a man was liable to punishment—and on the other hand, boasting, sedition and falsehood the sure road to honor and promotion.

I am sorry that it hath been hinted by some gentlemen in this House, as if there were a combination of the rich, the learned, and those of liberal professions, to establish and support an arbitrary form of government—Far be it from me to resort to uncharitable and unchristian a suggestion. I doubt not the gentlemen who are of different sentiments from myself are actuated by the purest motives. Some of them I have the pleasure to be particularly acquainted with, and can safely pronounce them to be men of virtue and honor. They have, no doubt, a laudable concern for the liberties of their country; but I would beg them to remember, that extreme jealousy and suspicion may be as fatal to freedom as security and negligence.

With respect to myself, I am conscious of no motive which guides me in this great and solemn question, but what I could justify to my own heart, both on the bed of death, and before the tribunal of Omnipotence. I AM A POOR MAN—I HAVE THE FEELINGS OF A POOR MAN.—If there are honors and emoluments in this proposed Constitution, I shall by my profession and circumstances in life, be forever excluded from them. It is my wish and prayer, that in the solemn verdict we are soon to pronounce, that we are directed to that measure, which will be for the glory, freedom and felicity of my country.

I shall trouble this House no farther, than by joining sincerely in the wish of the hon. gentleman from Topham, that the people, in this their day, may know the things which belong to their peace.

Major Lusk concurred in the idea already thrown out in the debate, that although the insertion of the amendments in the Constitution, was devoutly wished, yet he did not see any reason to suppose they ever would be adopted.—Turning from the subject of amendments the Major entered largely into the consideration of the 9th sect.—and, in a most pathetic and feeling manner, described the miseries of the poor natives of Africa, who are kidnapped and sold for slaves—with the brightest colours, he painted their happiness and ease on their native shores; and contrasted them with their wretched miserable, and unhappy condition in a state of slavery. From this subject, he passed to the article dispensing with the qualification of a religious test—and concluded by saying, that he flattered at the idea, that Roman Catholics, Papists, and Pagans might be introduced into office—and that Popery and the Inquisition may be established in America.

(To be continued.)

#### For the HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE.

Mr. PARMENTER,  
WE the Subscribers being of the number, who did not assent to the ratification of the Federal Constitution, under consideration in the late State Convention, held at Boston, to which we were called by the suffrages of the corporations to which we respectively belong—beg leave, through the channel of your paper, to lay before the public in general, and our constituents in particular, the reasons of our dissent, and the principles which governed us in our decision of this important question.

Fully convinced, ever since the late revolution, of the necessity of a firm, energetic government, we should have rejoiced in an opportunity to have given our assent to such an one; and should in the present case, most cordially have done it, had we at the same time been happy to have seen the liberties of the people and the rights of mankind properly guarded and secured. We conceive that the very notion of government carries along with it the idea of justice and equity, and that the whole design of instituting government in the world, was to preserve men's properties from rapine, and their bodies from violence and bloodshed.

These propositions being established, we conceive must of necessity produce the following consequence, viz. That every constitution or system, which does not quadrate with this original design, is not government, but in fact a subversion of it.

Having premised thus much, we proceed to mention some things in this constitution, to which we object, and to enter into an enquiry, whether, and how far they coincide with those simple and original notions of government before mentioned.

In the first place—as direct taxes are to be apportioned according to the numbers in each state, and as Massachusetts has none in it but what are declared freemen, to the whole, blacks as well as whites, must be numbered; this must there-

fore operate against us, as two fifths of the slaves in the southern states are to be left out of the enumeration; consequently, three Massachusetts infants will increase the tax equal to five sturdy, full grown negroes of theirs, who work the day in the week for their masters, saving the Sabbath, upon which they are allowed to get something for their own support. We can see no justice in this way of apportioning taxes; neither can we see any good reason why this was confined to us on the part of our delegates.

We suppose it next to impossible that every individual in this vast continental union, should have his will with regard to every single article, composing a frame of government; and therefore, although we think it more agreeable to the principles of republicanism, that elections should be annual; yet as the elections in our own state government are long, we did not view it to dangerous to the liberties of the people, that we should have rejected the constitution, merely on account of the biennial elections of the representatives, had we been sure that the people have any security, even of this; but this we could find. For although it is said, that "the House of Representatives shall be chosen every second year, by the people of the several states;" &c. and that "the times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof;" yet all this is wholly superseded by a subsequent provision, which empowers Congress at any time to enact a law, whereby such regulations may be altered, except as to the places of choosing Senators. Here we conceive the people may be very materially injured, and in time reduced to a state of absolute vassalage, as any people were under the control of the most mercenary despot, that ever tarnished the pages of history. The depravity of human nature, illustrated by examples from history, will warrant us to say, it may be possible, if not probable, that the Congress may be composed of men, who will wish to burden and oppress the people. In such case, will not their inventions be fruitful enough to devise occasions for postponing the elections? And if they can do this once, they can do it twice—if they can twice they can thrice; so by degrees render themselves absolute and perpetual. Or, if they choose, they have another expedient; they can alter the place of holding elections. They can say, whatever the legislature of this state may order to the contrary, that all the elections of our representatives shall be made at Mechanics, or at Williamstown; consequently, nine-tenths of the people will never vote. And if this should be thought a measure favourable to their re-election, or the election of some tool for their mercenary purposes, we doubt not it will be thus ordered. But says the advocates for the constitution, "it is not likely this will ever happen;" we are not to expect our rulers will ever proceed to a wanton exercise of the powers given them." But what reason have we more than past ages, to expect that we shall be blessed with impeccable rulers? we think not any. Although it has been said that every generation grows wiser and wiser, yet we have no reason to think they grow better and better. And therefore the probability lies upon the dark side. Does not the experience of past ages teach, that men have generally exercised all the powers they had given them, and even have usurped upon them, in order to accomplish their own selfish and avaricious designs, whenever they thought they could do it with impunity? The same reasoning will not be denied. And it appeared to us that the arguments made use of by the favourers of the constitution, in the late Convention at Boston, proceeded upon the plan of right conduct in those who are to rule over us, by virtue of this new form of government. But these arguments, we conceive, could have no weight with us, whilst we judged them to be founded altogether upon a slippery perch.

We are sensible, that in order to the due administration of government, it is necessary that certain powers should be delegated to the rulers, from the people. At the same time we think they ought carefully to guard against giving so much as will enable those rulers, by that means, at once, or even in process of time, to render themselves absolute and despotic. This we think is the safe way of government lately submitted to our consideration. We could not, therefore, acting uprightly, consulting our own good and the good of our constituents, give our assent unto it. We could not then, we will confess, that because people are many times guilty of crimes, and deserving of punishment, that it from thence follows the authority ought to have power to punish them when they are not guilty, or to punish the innocent with the guilty without discrimination, which amounts to the same thing. But this we think in fact to be the case as to this federal constitution. For the Congress, whether they have prosecution or not, can at any time order the elections in any of the states, to be conducted in such manner as wholly to defeat and render entirely nugatory the intention of those elections, and convert that which was considered and intended to be the palladium of the liberties of the people—the grand bulwark against any invasion upon them, into a formidable engine, by which to overthrow them

all, and thus involve them in the depth of misery and distress. But it was pled by some of the ablest advocates of the constitution, that if Congress should exercise such powers to the prejudice of the people (and they did not deny that they could if they should be disposed) they (the people) would not suffer it. They would have recourse to the *ultima ratio* the *divine* retributions of the offended—heaven.

But it appeared to us as a piece of *superstition* incongruously intended to the people, whilst in the full and indefensible possession of their liberties and privileges, should be so very profuse, so very liberal in the disposal of them, as consequently to place themselves in a predicament miserable to an extreme—so wretched indeed, that they may at once be reduced to the sad alternative of yielding themselves up into the hands of a real and corrupt administration, whose only wish may be to aggrandize themselves and families, to wallow in luxury and every species of dissipation, and riot upon the spoils of the community, or take up the sword and involve their country in all the horrors of a civil war—the consequence of which, we think, we may venture to step will more firmly rivet their shackles, and end in the entailment of vassalage to their posterity. We think this by no means can fall within the description of government before mentioned: Neither can we think these suggestions merely chimerical, or that they proceed from an overheated enthusiasm in favour of republicanism; neither yet from an ill-placed detestation of aristocracy; but from the apparent danger the people are in by establishing this constitution. When we take a forward view of the proposed Congress, seated in the federal city, ten thousand square, fortified and replenished with all kinds of military stores, and every implement with a new army at command on one side, and a land army on the other. We say, when we view them thus possessed of the sword in one hand and the purse strings of the people in the other, we can see no security left for them in the enjoyment of their liberties; but what may proceed from the bare possibility, that this supreme authority of the nation may be possessed of virtue and integrity sufficient to influence them in the administration of equal justice and equity among those whom they shall govern. But why should we voluntarily choose to trust our all upon so precarious a tenure as this? We conceive it gives us pain to anticipate the future scene: a scene presenting to view miseries so complicated and extreme, that it may be part of the charms of idleness to extenuate, or the power of art to deceive.

**CONSIDER ARMS,**  
MALICIOUS MAYNARD, } Conway.  
SAMUEL FIELD, } Deerfield.  
(To be concluded in our next.)

#### For the HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE.

*Miscellaneous Maxims and Aphorisms.*  
Contentment depends more upon the temper of our minds, than on our outward circumstances.

Contentment is better than wealth. Dissatisfied is worse than poverty.

Imaginary wants create more uneasiness than real ones.

Industry and prudence lead to wealth and contentment; idleness and luxury to discontent and poverty.

Those who have most care and vexation, who are most eagerly engaged in the pursuit of riches and honour.

It is the humbler and folly of mankind, to be always straining to overtake those who have got the start of them in wealth and honour.

Men are generally delighted with praise, though it comes from a weak person.

Those who take most pleasure in censuring others, are generally most worthy of censure themselves.

Those who are most apt to ridicule others, are generally most ridiculous in their own conduct.

Those who take no pleasure in reproaching others, take no pleasure in hearing others reproached.

In this life happiness arises from satisfying our desires; in the next it will arise from gratifying them.

Too great rigour in rulers procures odium; too great lenity breeds contempt of authority.

A proper regard to dignity, order and justice, joined with modesty and civility, is the best way to acquire respect and reverence.

When, through prejudice and mistrust, men of ability and integrity are neglected by the people; ignorant and designing men are introduced to places of power and trust to the ruin and great prejudice of the State.

A pretence of patriotism is frequently the specious cover to ambition, and the foulest disguise to open enmity.

A mechanic representative is a collection in pocket.

#### PHILADELPHIA, March 10.

Seven persons who were some time ago committed to Castle penit, for riotous behaviour in attempting to disturb the federal institution

of that body, in their rejoicings on the ratification of the American Constitution, were a few days since liberated. A short history of the affair is—the 21st ult. a considerable number of antirepublicans met, some armed with guns, others with sticks, &c. The federalists also assembled—and in order to prevent a quarrel, a committee from each party was appointed to wait on the High Sheriff, requesting him to liberate the prisoners, which he accordingly did, and the committee have since joined in a petition to the supreme executive Council, praying them to direct the Attorney-General to enter a *non prosequi* to the prosecution.

#### B. O. S. T. O. N., April 3.

*Extract of a letter from a Gentleman, in one of the Southern States, to his friend in this town, dated March 17, 1788.*

"The present calm in Europe, I am well satisfied, will not be of long duration. All accounts agree that the people of Great-Britain, are much dissatisfied with the advantages France gained of them in the late contest, and that they were very much in a temper for war; and will it not be extremely difficult for us to remain neutral and pursue our true interest, unless we shall have a federal government established adequate to the regulations of our national affairs and to controlling effectually the conduct of our own citizens."

Capt. Thomas Webb, who lately arrived at Salem, in 39 days from Cape-Francois, informs, that two days previous to his sailing, a packet arrived there in 29 days from France, and brought advice, that the English ministry had demanded of the French the entire demolition of the works carrying on at Cherbourg; which, (as Louis XVI was not disposed to comply) was expected to produce a speedy WAR.

Tuesday agreeable to the request, his Excellency the Governor was adjourned, to prosecute the Hon. General Court of which, on Monday, the Tuesday next proceeded on Wednesday of May next.

The General Court, prior to their adjournment, completed the sale of the Western Territory, lately ceded by the State of New-York, being about Five or Six Million of Acres, to the Hon. Nathaniel Gorham, and Oliver Phelps, Esqrs. for 300,000 POUNDS; in Consolidated securities.

A correspondent observes, that it must give the highest satisfaction to every friend of the Commonwealth, to see measures adopted by government evidently calculated to expedite the sale of the public lands—as thereby we shall not only have the pleasure of beholding the number of our industrious citizens daily increasing, but the public debt, (that source of national calamity) yearly lessened.

Friday last, Archibald Taylor, and Joseph Tyler, whom we mentioned in a late paper, as having been convicted of Highway Robbery, were brought into the Hon. Supreme Judicial Court, and Sentence of Death was pronounced against them. Twenty other culprits, were for various crimes sentenced to receive corporal and other punishments.

#### NORTHAMPTON, April 6.

On Monday last the inhabitants of this town assembled in legal town meeting, for the choice of Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Senators—and at the close of the poll, the votes were as follows, viz.

- For Governor.  
His Excellency John Hancock, Esq. 133  
Hon. Elbridge Gerry, Esq. 13  
Lieutenant-Governor.  
Hon. Benjamin Lincoln, Esq. 130  
Hon. James Warren, Esq. 13  
Hon. Samuel Adams, Esq. 12  
Senators.  
Hon. John Hattings, Esq. 128  
Caleb Strong, Esq. 126  
John Bitt, Esq. 124  
David Secaton, Esq. 124  
Hon. Samuel Foster, Esq. 117  
Hon. Oliver Phelps, Esq. 116  
Hon. William Bodman, Esq. 114  
Col. William Eymars, Esq. 114  
Mr. Samuel Field, Esq. 114

The votes in the town of Hatfield, for the above-mentioned officers, were as follows:

- For Governor.  
His Excellency John Hancock, Esq. 116  
Hon. Elbridge Gerry, Esq. 16  
James Bowdoin, Esq. 3  
John Adams, Esq. 3  
Lieutenant-Governor.  
Hon. Benjamin Lincoln, Esq. 116  
James Warren, Esq. 114  
Samuel Adams, Esq. 114  
Elbridge Gerry, Esq. 114  
Nathaniel Gorham, Esq. 114  
Senators.  
Hon. Caleb Strong, Esq. 114  
John Bitt, Esq. 114  
David Secaton, Esq. 114  
John Hattings, Esq. 114  
William Burgh, Esq. 114

His Excellency John Hancock, Esq. 116; Hon. Elbridge Gerry, Esq. 116; For Lieutenant-Governor, Hon. Benjamin Lincoln, Esq. 116; Hon. James Warren, Esq. 116; Hon. Samuel Adams, Esq. 116; Hon. John Hattings, Esq. 116; Hon. John Bitt, Esq. 116; Hon. David Secaton, Esq. 116; Hon. William Bodman, Esq. 116; Col. William Eymars, Esq. 116; Mr. Samuel Field, Esq. 116.

Gosden—for Governor,  
His Excellency John Hancock, Esq. 413  
Hon. Elbridge Gerry, Esq. 217  
For Lieutenant-Governor, Hon. Benjamin Lincoln, Esq. 408  
Hon. Elbridge Gerry, Esq. 217  
For Senators, Hon. Caleb Strong, John Hattings, John Bitt, and David Secaton, Esq. 72 each  
Northampton—for Governor,  
His Excellency John Hancock, Esq. 69  
Lieutenant-Governor, Hon. Benjamin Lincoln, Esq. 69  
Caleb Strong, John Hattings, John Bitt, and David Secaton, Esq. 24 each  
Chesterfield—for Governor,  
His Excellency John Hancock, Esq. 465  
Hon. Elbridge Gerry, Esq. 377  
For Lieutenant-Governor, Hon. Benjamin Lincoln, Esq. 465  
Hon. Elbridge Gerry, Esq. 377  
For Senators, Hon. Caleb Strong, John Hattings, John Bitt, and David Secaton, Esq. 74 each  
Deerfield—for Governor,  
Governor Hancock, 387  
Hon. Mr. Gerry, 37  
Lieut. Gov. Lincoln, 443  
Gen. Warren, 217  
For Senators, Hon. Mr. Strong, Mr. Hattings, and Mr. Bitt, 139 each, and Mr. Secaton 37  
Hon. Oliver Phelps, Col. Eymars and Mr. Bodman, 28 each, and Mr. Samuel Field, 17  
Montague—for Governor,  
Governor Hancock, 413  
Hon. Mr. Gerry, 217  
For Lieutenant-Governor, Hon. Benjamin Lincoln, Esq. 413  
Hon. Elbridge Gerry, Esq. 217  
For Senators, Hon. Caleb Strong, John Hattings, John Bitt, and David Secaton, Esq. 72 each  
Whately—for Governor,  
Governor Hancock 413  
Hon. Mr. Gerry 217  
For Lieutenant-Governor, Hon. Benjamin Lincoln, Esq. 413  
Hon. Elbridge Gerry, Esq. 217  
For Senators, Hon. Caleb Strong, John Hattings, John Bitt, and David Secaton, Esq. 72 each  
Westampton—for Governor,  
Governor Hancock, 443  
For Lieut. Gov. Lincoln, 443  
Hon. Mr. Strong, and Mr. Hattings, 44 each; Hon. Mr. Bitt 413  
Hon. Mr. Secaton 37

*Extract of a letter from his Excellency General Washington, to a gentleman in Boston, dated Mount Vernon, Feb. 29, 1788.*

"The candid and conciliatory behaviour of your minority, places them in a more favourable point of view, than the debates of the Convention gave room to expect, and sufficiently shews the good effects which were produced by a full and fair discussion of the subject."

"The adoption of the constitution by Massachusetts, will, I presume, be greatly influential in obtaining a favourable determination upon it in those states where the question is yet to be agitated."

"No person can, at this moment, pretend to say what will be the fate here—but from I can collect, I have no doubt of its being accepted."

By order of Congress, the postage of letters was to be reduced 25 per cent on the 1st inst.

#### Commonwealth of Massachusetts

By His Excellency  
**JOHN HANCOCK, Esq.**  
Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

#### A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS a resolution passed the General Court the eighth day of February, 1787, offering a reward for the apprehending Daniel Shays, of Pelham; and Luke Dos, of West-Springfield, in the county of Hampshire, Adam Wheeler, of Hubbardston, in the county of Worcester; and Eli Parsons, of Adams, in the county of Berkshire, the principals in and abettors and supporters of the late Rebellion, against the dignity, authority and government of the said Commonwealth; and in pursuance of the said resolution a Proclamation issued, and the Governor of said Commonwealth, offered a reward of one hundred and fifty pounds for each of the following persons, viz. Luke Day, Adam Wheeler and Eli Parsons; and whereas the reasons which then operated for offering such reward do not now exist:

I have therefore thought fit, at the request of the General Court, to issue this Proclamation, giving notice that the resolution on which said reward was offered, is repealed; and that the same, together with the Proclamation issued in consequence thereof, is reversed and annulled.

GIVEN at the Council-CHAMBER, in Boston, the Second Day of April, in the Year of LORD, one Thousand seven hundred and Eighty-Eight, and in the seventh Year of the INDEPENDENCE of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA.

**JOHN HANCOCK.**  
By His Excellency's Command,  
With the Advice and Consent of Council,  
**JOHN AVERY, jun. Secretary.**

#### Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

In the House of Representatives, March 28, 1788.

WHEREAS by a resolve past the General Court on the tenth day of March, in the year of our Lord 1787, requiring Town-Officers that shall be chosen in office, to take an oath of allegiance, within seven days from the time of their being chosen, it hath been found by practice that the time is too short for persons in many instances to comply therewith. Therefore

Resolved, That any person chosen into any Town-Office, within this Commonwealth, that does within forty days next ensuing, from the time of their being elected into any Town-Office, take and subscribe the oath of allegiance, shall be considered as the legal Officer of any such Town the next ensuing year, any law or resolve to the contrary notwithstanding, and all the doings of such Officer or Officers, as shall not have taken the oath between the time of the election, & the time provided by this resolve, shall be as valid and effectual as if he had taken the oath as prescribed by any former law or resolution.

Resolved, That any person chosen into any Town-Office, within this Commonwealth, that does within forty days next ensuing, from the time of their being elected into any Town-Office, take and subscribe the oath of allegiance, shall be considered as the legal Officer of any such Town the next ensuing year, any law or resolve to the contrary notwithstanding, and all the doings of such Officer or Officers, as shall not have taken the oath between the time of the election, & the time provided by this resolve, shall be as valid and effectual as if he had taken the oath as prescribed by any former law or resolution.

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