

HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 16, 1788.

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

The LANDHOLDER, No. 18.
To the Rhode Island Friends of PAPER-MONEY, TENDER-ACTS and ANTIFEDERALISM.

THE singular system of policy adopted by your state, no longer excites either the surprize or indignation of mankind. There are certain extremes of inquiry, which are beheld with patience, from a fixed conviction that the transgressor is inveterate, and that his example from its great-injustice hath no longer a seducing influence. Milton's lapse of the angels and their expulsion from Heaven, produces deeper regret in a benevolent mind, than all the evil tricks they have played, or torments they have suffered since the botchless pit became their proper home. Something similar to this is excited in beholding the progress of human depravity. Our minds cannot bear to be always pained, the Creator hath therefore wisely provided, that our tender sentiments should subsid, in those desperate cases where there is no longer a probability, that an effort to which we may be excited, will have a power to reclaim. — But though our benevolence is no longer distressed with the injustice of your measures, as philosophers above the feelings of passion, we can speculate on them to our advantage. The sentiment thrown out by some of our adventurous divines that the permission of sin is the highest display of supreme wisdom, and the greatest blessing to the universe, is most successfully illustrated by the effects of your general policy.

In point of magnitude, your little state bears much the same proportion to the united American empire, as the world doth to the immense intelligent universe; and if the apostasy of man hath conveyed such solemn warning and instruction to the whole, as your Councils have to every part of the union, no one will doubt the usefulness of Adams fall. At the commencement of peace, America was placed in a singular situation. Fear of a common danger could no longer bind us together—Patriotism had done its best and was wearied with exertions rewarded only by ingratitude.—our federal system was inadequate for national government and justice, and from inexperience the great body of the people were ignorant what consequences should flow from the want of them. Experiments in public credit, though ruinous to thousands, and a disregard to the promises of government had been pardoned in the moment of extreme necessity, and many honest men did not realize that a reputation of them in an hour left critical would make the existence of society. Men full of evil and of desperate fortune were ready to propose every method of public fraud that can be effected by a violation of public faith and depreciated promises. This poison of the community, was their own preservative from deserved poverty, and from prisons appointed to be the reward of indolence and knavery. An easement of the poor and necessitous was plead as a reason for measures which have reduced them to more extreme necessity. Most of the states have had their prejudices against an efficient and just government, and have made their experiments in a false policy; but it was done with a timorous mind, and feeling the evil they have receded. A sense of subordination and moral rights was their check. Most of the people were convinced—and but few remained who wished to established inquiry by law. To silence such opposition, as might be made to the new constitution, it was fit that public injustice should be exhibited in its greatest degree and most extreme effects. For this end Heaven permitted us your apostasy from all the principles of

godd and just government. By your system we see unrighteousness in the effence, in its effects, and in its native miseries. The rogues of every other state blush at the exhibition, and say you have betrayed them by carrying the matter too far. The very naming your measures is a complete refutation of antifederalism, paper money and tender acts, for no man chooses such company in argument.

The distress to which many of your best citizens are reduced—the groans of ruined creditors, of widows and orphans demonstrates that unhappiness follows vice, by the unalterable laws of nature and society. I did not mention the things of conscience, but the authors of public distress ought to remember, that there is a world where conscience will not sleep.

Is it not at length time to consider. The great end for which your infatuation was permitted is now become complete. The whole union has seen and fears, and while history gives true information, no other people will ever repeat the studied process of fraud. You may again shew the distorted features of injustice, but never in more lively colours, or by more able hands than has been done already. As virtue and good government have derived all possible advantage from your experiment, and every other state thanks you for putting their own rogues and fools out of countenance, begin to have mercy on yourselves. You may not expect to exist in this course any longer than is necessary for public good; and there is no need that such a kind of warning as you set before us should be eternal. Secure as you may feel in prosecuting what all the rest of mankind condemn, the hour of your political revolution is at hand. The cause is within yourselves, and needs but the permission of your neighbours to take its full effect. Every moral and social law calls for a review, and a volume of penal statutes cannot prevent it. They are in the first instance nullified by injustice, and five years hence not a man in your territories will presume their vindication. Passion and obsequy, which were called in to aid injustice, have had their reign, and can support you no longer. By a change of policy give evidence that you are returned to manhood and honour. The inventors of such councils can never be forgiven in this world, but the people at large who acted by their guidance may break from the connection and restore themselves to virtue.

There are among you characters eminent through the union for their wisdom and integrity. Penetrated with grief and astonishment they stand in silence, waiting the return of your reason. They are the only men who can remove the impassible gulph that is between you and the rest of mankind. In your situation there must be some sacrifice.—It is required by the necessity of the case, and for the dignity of government. You have guilty victims enough for whom even benevolence will not plead; let them make the atonement and save your state. The large body of a people are rarely guilty of any crime greater than indiscretion, in following those who have no qualification to lead but an unblushing assurance in fraud. Acknowledge the indiscretion and leave those whom you have followed into the quicksands of death to the infamy prepared for them, and from which they cannot be relieved. You situation admits no compounding of opposite systems, or halving with justice, but to make the cure there must be an entire change of measure. The Creator of nature and its laws, made justice as necessary for nations as for individuals, and this necessity hath been sealed by the fate of all obstinate of-

fenders. If you will not bear your own groans, nor feel the pangs of your own torture it must continue until removed by a political annihilation. Such as do not pity themselves cannot be long pitied.

Determined that our feelings shall be no longer wounded by any thing to which despair may lead you, with philosophic coolness we wait to continue our speculations on the event.

A LANDHOLDER.

To be SOLD,

AN excellent lot of LAND, lying in Ashfield, two miles and three-quarters south of the meeting-house. Containing fifty acres, twenty of which are under good improvement. Said lot is well watered, and lays on a country road leading from Northampton through Ashfield, and may be had on reasonable terms. For particular enquire of the subscriber, living in Conway, or Capt. Robert Manton living near the premises.

FRANCIS MANTON.

N. B. There is good conveniences of the above mentioned lot for a clothier or tanner, both of which are very much wanted.

Conway, March 25, 1788.

Wanted to sell Cover this season of the stable of the following horses, viz. one known by the name of BLACK DREAD, the other a DAPPLE GREY. The Dread is an imported horse, full blooded, of a good size and lofty carriage; said by the best judges to be as complete a horse, perhaps, as ever was imported, and that his colts exceed any that was ever raised in the parts where he has been kept or even in New-England, and is very pure. The Dapple Grey was brought from Canada last winter, said to be part English and part French, is good for the saddle, and very excellent for the draught; he is a nervous, firm, strong, well built horse. Said horses will be kept for the above purpose and let on very reasonable terms. Good pasturing for mares may be had, and good attendance will be given.

SAMUEL WARE, jun.
Conway, April 1, 1788.

NOICES is hereby given to the non-resident proprietors of unimproved land lying in Colrain, in the county of Hampshire, that their several lots herein after mentioned, are to be sold in a State, Town and County tax, for the year 1788, as follows, viz.

Second Division.		Town and county tax.	
No. lots.	acres.	State tax.	Town and county tax.
33	200	4	6
41	200	4	6
Third Division.			
22	200	4	6
34	200	4	6
36	200	4	6
38	200	4	6
40	200	4	6
42	200	4	6
44	200	4	6
46	200	4	6

The farm lately owned by Samuel Short State tax, 41. The farm lately owned by Samuel Newell, deceased, State tax, 11. 3d. Town tax, 21. 6d. Unless said taxes are paid to the subscriber on or before the 15th day of April next, for each lot, the same will be sold at public vendue, at the house of Robert Miller, landholder in Colrain, at 3 o'clock P. M. as will be sufficient to discharge the same, with intervening charges.

JONATHAN MOORE, Collector.
Colrain, March 7, 1788.

WHEN the subscribers being appointed. Commissioners by the Hon. Judge of Probate for the county of Hampshire, to receive and examine the claims of the creditors of the estate of MOSES CLARK, late of Southwick, deceased, appointed in virtue of a writ of the Hon. Judge of Probate, to bring in and support their claims; We hereby give notice, that we shall attend said business at the house of Capt. Thomas French, in Conway, on the first Tuesday of April and July next, from nine to four o'clock on each day. No accounts will be allowed after said term.

GILES HARRY, PETER GATES.
Conway, March 22, 1788.

TO be SOLD, at PUBLIC VENDUE. On Monday the 24th day of April next, at one o'clock P. M. at the house of Messrs. G. DICKINSON, in Conway, to much of the real ESTATE of Elijah Wells late of said Conway, deceased, as will produce the Sum of 264. £THAN BILLINGS, Executor.
Conway, March 25, 1788.

For the HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE.
Conclusion of Messrs. ARMS', MAYNARD's and FIELD's Reasons for giving their Dissent to the Federal Constitution.

BUT we pass on to another thing, which (judic from every other consideration) was, and still is an insupportable friction in the way of our dissent. This we find in the 9th Section, under the head of religious opinions. Congress, viz. the migration or imposition of such persons as any of the States may exclude, shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by any Congress, prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, &c. It was not controverted in the Convention, but owned that this provision was made purely that the Southern States might not be deprived of their profits arising from their most important trade of enslaving the Africans. The Hon. Mr. King himself, who was an assiduous in forming this constitution, in discussing upon the slave trade, in the late Convention at Boston, was pleased to design it by this epithet, *infernal*, which carries with it the idea of something peculiarly wicked and abominable: and indeed we think it deserving of this and every odious epithet which our language suffers, descriptive of the iniquity of it. This being the case, we were naturally led to enquire why we should establish a constitution, which gives licence to a measure of this sort, if it is possible we could do it consistent with our ideas of government? consistent with the principles and documents we endeavour to inculcate upon others? It is a flaming law in the kingdom of Heaven, Do unto others as ye would have others do unto you. This is the royal law, that we often hear inculcated upon others. But had we given our affirmative voice in this case, could we have claimed to ourselves that consistent line of conduct, which marks the path of every honest man? Should we not rather have been guilty of a contumelious repugnancy, to what we profess to believe is equitable and just? Let us for once bring the matter home to ourselves, and summons up our own feelings upon the occasion, and hear the simple bold verdict of our own hearts, were we in the place of those unhappy Africans—this is the test, the proper touchstone by which to try the matter before us. Where is the man, who under the influence of sober dispassionate reasoning, and not void of natural affection, can lay his hand upon his heart and say, I am willing my sons and my daughters should be torn from me and doomed to perpetual slavery? We presume that man is not to be found amongst us. And yet we think the consequence ought to be such, that this is what every man ought to be able to say, who voted for this constitution. But we dare say this will never be the case here, so long as the country has power to repeal force by force. Notwithstanding this we will professe this upon those who are delinquents of the power of repulsion: from whence we conclude it is not the tincture of a skin, or any disparity of features that necessarily connected with slavery, and possibly may therefore fall to the lot of some who voted it, to have the same fate measured unto them, which they have measured unto others. If we could once make it our own case, we should soon discover what distress & anxiety, what poignant feelings it would produce in our own breasts, to have our infants torn from the bosoms of their tender mothers—indeed our children of all ages, from infancy to manhood, arrested from all the laws of humanity, and carried to a country far distant, without any hopes of their return—attended likewise with the cutting reflection, that they were likely to undergo all those indignities, those miseries, which are the usual concomitants of slavery. Indeed when we consider the deprecations committed in Africa, the cruelties exercised towards the poor captivated inhabitants of that country on their passage to this—crowded by eleven into the holds of ships, suffering what might naturally be expected would result from scanty provisions, and insalubrious air, and after their arrival, drove like brutes from market to market, branded on their naked backs with hot iron, with the initials letters of their masters names—led upon the entrails of beasts like swine in the slaughter-yard of a butcher; and many other barbarities, of which we have documents well authenticated; which put to the blush of labour, and to perform the gilet of Congress—their milder (or a less cruel) by far

left kind and benevolent to them, than to their horses and their hounds. We say, when we consider these things (the recollection of which gives us pain) conscience applauds the decision we have made, and we feel that satisfaction which arises from acting agreeable to its dictates. When we hear those barbarities pled for.—When we see them voted for, (as in the late Convention at Boston) when we see them practised by those who denominate themselves Christians, we are presented with something truly heterogeneous—something monstrous indeed! Can we suppose this line of conduct keeps pace with the rule of right? Do such practices coincide with the plain and simple ideas of government before mentioned? By no means. We could wish it might be kept in mind, that the very notion of government is to protect men in the enjoyment of those privileges to which they have a natural, therefore inalienable right; and not to be made an engine of rapine, robbery and murder. This is not establishing iniquity, by law founded on usurpation. Establishing the most ignominious kind of theft, man-stealing, and so heinous and aggravated as this crime considered, by ONE who cannot err, that under the Jewish theocracy it was punished with death. Indeed what can these men scarcely more hardened, than being guilty of this crime? for there is nothing else they will lick at in order to perpetrate this.

The question therefore—Why should we vote for the establishment of this system? recoils upon us armed with treble force—force which sets at defiance, the whole power of sophistry, employed for the defence of those, who by a "curled thirst for gold," are prompted on to actions, which cast an indelible stain upon the character of the human species.—Actions of which certain quadrupeds, were they possessed of Organs for the purpose, would discover a BLUSH.

But we were told by an honourable gentleman who was one of the framers of this Constitution, that the two southernmost States, absolutely refused to confederate at all, except they might be gratified in this article. What then? Was this an argument sufficient to induce us to give energy to this article, thus fraught with iniquity? By no means. But we were informed by that gentleman, further that those two states pled, that they had lost much of their property during the late war. Their slaves being either taken from them by the British troops, or they themselves taking the liberty of absconding from them, and therefore they must import more, in order to make up their losses. To this we reply they lost no property, because they never had any in them, however much money they might have paid for them. For we look upon the African man as the sole proprietor of his own liberty, and no one but himself hath a right to the punishment by some crime forfeit, and so by that means, it should be made the property of government: But this is by no means the case in the present instance. And we cannot suppose a vendor, can acquire property in any thing, which at the time of purchase, he knew the vendor had no right to convey. This is an acknowledgment, that we are constrained to make as a tribute due to justice and equity. But suppose they had lost real property; to have we; and indeed where is the man, but will tell us he has been a great loser by means of the war? And shall we from these argue that we have a right to make inroads upon another nation, pilfer and rob them, in order to compensate ourselves for the losses we have sustained by means of a war, in which they have been utterly neutral? Truly upon this plan of reasoning it is lawful thus to do, and had we voted the constitution as it stands, we must have given countenance to conduct equally criminal, given countenance to conduct equally criminal, and more so, if possible. Such arguments as they seem to be calculated and designed for idleness, we however acknowledge, we think them rather an affront, even upon that.

The Hon. Gentleman above named, was asked the question—What would be the consequence, should one or two States, upon any principle, should refuse confederating? His answer was—The consequence is plain and easy—they would be compelled to it, not by force of arms, but all commerce with them would be interdicted, their property would be seized in every port they should enter, and by law made forfeit: and this line of conduct would reduce them to the same state, as if they had been conquered. This method of procedure perhaps no one would be disposed to reprehend; and if eleven, or even nine States were agreed, could they not, ought they not to take this method, rather than to give countenance, nay ever bind themselves (as the case may be) to aid and assist them in supporting the liberties of others, and accumulating to themselves fortunes, by making thousands of their fellow creatures miserable. To annihilate upon the British measures at that time, would not fall within the compass of our present debate. But that the Africans had a right to demand, we must assert, and are able to prove it from the highest authority perhaps that this Commonwealth does of ever did afford. In a printed pamphlet, published in Boston in the year 1772, said to be the report of a Committee, and unanimously voted by said town, and ordered to be sent to the several towns in the State for their consideration. In said pamphlet we find the following *opinion*, which we will quote verbatim,—page 2d.—"All men have a right to remain in a state of nature as long as they please, and in a state of inalienable oppression, civil or religious, to leave the society they belong to, and enter into another." If it can by any kind of reasoning be made to appear, that this authority is not pertinently adduced in the case before us, then we think it can by the same reasoning be investigated, that black is white and white is black—that oppression and freedom are exactly similar, and benevolence and malignity synonymous terms.

The advocates for the constitution seemed to suppose, that this restriction being laid upon Congress only for a term of time, it was the "fair acquisition of liberty." That "it is a glorious acquisition towards the final abolition of slavery." But how much more glorious would the acquisition have been, was such abolition to take place the first moment the constitution should be established. If we had said that after the expiration of a certain term the practice should cease, it would have appeared with a better grace; but this is not the case, for even after that, it is wholly optional with the Congress, whether they abolish it or not. And by that time we presume the enslaving the Africans will be accounted by far less an inconsiderable affair than it is at present: therefore conclude from good reasons, that the "infernal practice" will be continued and increased as the inhabitants of the country shall be found to increase.

This article of enslaving mankind is in direct opposition to a fundamental maxim of truth, or which our State constitution is founded, viz. "All men are born free and equal." This is our motto. We have said it—we cannot go back. Indeed no man can justify himself in enslaving another, unless he can produce a commission under the broad seal of Heaven, purporting a licence thereof from him who created all men, and can therefore dispose of them at his pleasure.

We would not be thought to detract from the character of any person, but to us it is somewhat paradoxical, that some of our leading characters in the law department (especially in the western counties) after having (to their honour be it spoken) exerted themselves to promote, and finally to effect the emancipation of slaves, should now turn directly about, and exhibit to the world principles diametrically opposite thereto: they should now appear such strenuous advocates for the establishment of that diabolical trade of importing the Africans. But said some, it is not we who do it—and compared it to entering into an alliance with another nation, for some particular purpose; but we think this by no means a parallel. We are one nation, forming a constitution for the whole, and suppose the States are under obligation, whenever this constitution shall be established, reciprocally to aid each other in defence and support of every thing to which they are entitled thereby, right or wrong. Perhaps we may never be called upon to take up arms for the defence of the southern States, in prosecuting this abominable traffic. It is true at present there is not much danger to be apprehended, and for this plain reason, those innocent Africans (as to us) plucked upon to drag out their lives in misery and chains. Such is their local situation—their unpollished manners—their inexperience in the art of war, that those invaders of the rights of mankind, who they can, at present, perpetrate those enormities with impunity. But let us suppose for once, a thing which is by no means impossible,