Eraſtus Lyman,

HAS for ſale, W.I. and N. E. Rum, French Brandy, Genevа, Porter, Sherry, Cape Madeira and Malaga Wines, Maſtaſſes, Loaf and Brown Sugars, Hyſon and Bohea Tea, Coffee, Chocolate, Rice, Ginger, Indigo, Souff, Loaf and Paper Tobacco, Codfiſh, by quintal or lb. Salmon and Mackerell, by the bbl. or lb. Herring, Ruſſia Iron, 10d. and 4d. Nails, Rock and Liſbon, Salt, Lemons, Chalk, &c.

N. B. Moſt kinds of produce received in payment, alſo, Caſh and a generous price given for PORK, on delivery.

Northampton, Dec. 1794.

To be ſold,

A SMALL FARM, in Goſhen, of excellent land, well-watered with a fine Brook running through it, about 50 acres under improvement, and a very handſome Wood Lot, and a pleaſant ſituation, near the meeting-houſe—with a very profitable Stock. Enquire of Mr. Timothy Lyman in ſaid Goſhen, or of Adam Collſon, Northampton, who has for ſale, an excellent Chaiſe Horſe, with a new, ſtrong and handſome Chaiſe, as any in the county—alſo, a good ſecond hand Coach harneſs. Likewiſe, a very handſome aſſortment of Engliſh GOODS, a very large aſſortment of Womens Leather and Cloth Shoes and Slips of the beſt kind. Tea, Coffee, and Sugar equal to any—And as he ſells for money only, ſhall put them ſo cheap, as to make it worth while for thoſe who with to purchaſe to call on him.

Northampton, Dec. 15, 1794.

Paul Chapman,

INFORMS the public, that he is now carrying on the SHOE and BOOT-MAKING buſineſs, a few rods from the meeting houſe, in Southampton—thoſe Perſons that want ſhoes made at his ſhop may have them on the uſual terms. The ſubſcriber wants to collect, a ſmall ſum of money in a few weeks—thoſe perſons who will favour him with their cuſtom, by paying the caſh, may have them on terms that will ſuit themſelves.

Said CHAPMAN, will receive, in a few days, a good aſſortment of Bootee and Boot legs, and other Boot leather—thoſe who want to purchaſe Boots may have them on as good terms as can be had of any boot maker in the State.

Caſh and the higheſt price given for TANNING HIDES.

Southampton, Dec. 1794.

TO be ſold, at Public

Vendue, (by order of the Court of Commonpleas, holden at Northampton, in and for the County of Hampſhire, on the ſecond Tueſday of November laſt,) at the houſe of Lt. LAVIN SACKET, Innholder, in Norwich, in ſaid County of Hampſhire, on Thurſday, the 8th day of January next, at one o'clock P. M. the real eſtate of Mr. JAMES BOLTON, late of Blanford, Deceaſed, containing 40 acres of land, lying in Blanford, Norwich and Cheſter, all in ſaid County of Hampſhire, conſiſting of Orcharding, Plowland and Mowing, with a houſe and barn on the premiſes: the terms of ſale to be made known at the time of ſale.

MARTHA BOLTON, Adminiſtrator to ſaid Eſtate.

Blanford, Dec. 10, 1794.

Ran away from the ſub-

ſcriber on Wedneſday night laſt, a BOY, indented to the Taylor's buſineſs, named THOMAS CURTIS, 17 years old, 5 feet ſeven or eight inches high, his complexion, rather reſembling the American Native, roguiſh eyes and dark hair—Whoever will return ſaid run away to the ſubſcriber ſhall be handſomely rewarded by the public's humble ſervant,

HEMAN POMEROY.

All Perſons are cautioned againſt harbouring or truſting ſaid Boy, on the penalty of the law.

Northampton, Dec. 16, 1794.

Strayed from the Sub-

ſcriber, laſt Spring, near Williamſburgh, a light red yearling STEER, marked with a half penny cut the upper ſide of the right ear. Whoever has taken up ſaid creature, and will return him, or give information, ſo that the owner may have him ſhall be well rewarded.

LUTHER CLARK.

Northampton, Dec. 1794.

STRAYED from the

Subſcriber, about the firſt of November laſt, a dark red HEIFER two years old, ſuppoſed to be branded on the horn, I. COOK. Whoever will return ſaid Heifer to the owner, or give information where ſhe may be found, ſhall be handſomely rewarded.

JOSEPH COOK.

Northampton, Dec. 15, 1794.

SETH WRIGHT,

HAS juſt received from New-York, a freſh ſupply of European and India

GOODS,

Which make him a univerſal aſſortment, among the numerous articles he would mention a few, viz: A large quantity of Callicoes and Chintzes, Shawls of all ſizes, Bandanno, and other handkerchiefs, Stuff Goods of all kinds, alſo, a great variety of Woolen and Cotton Goods, Linen do. Likewiſe a large quantity of London, Briſtol, and this Country Pewter, Braſs Kettles of all ſizes, and a large aſſortment of Hard Ware. W. I. Goods as uſual—as he is dealing altogether for ready pay, he flatters himſelf that the above goods will come ſo low as to meet the approbation of his cuſtomers.

Northampton, Dec. 3, 1794.

For SALE,

and poſſeſſion given next May.

A VALUABLE Home-Lot, containing three acres, ſituated half a mile north of the Meeting Houſe, on the main road, with a near and commodious dwelling-houſe, two ſtories; a large barn and other convenient out houſes, and a good orchard ſtanding on the ſame. The ſituation, is well adapted for a Farmer, Merchant or Mechanic—Credit, if requeſted, may be given for part payment, and the terms, it is hoped, will be acceptable to the purchaſer. For particulars enquire of

JOSEPH LYMAN.

Hatfield, Dec. 10, 1794. 432 13w.

JOSEPH CLAP, Jun.

HAS juſt received a variety of European and India

GOODS,

Among which are an elegant aſſortment of the moſt faſhionable India and European Luteſtrings and Chintzes.

ALSO, Swedes Iron, Steel, Pewter, Braſs, Lead, Powder, Shott, Hollow-Ware, Croſſcut Saws, Carpenters, Joiners, Sadlers and Shoemakers tools and Utenſils—Tea, Coffee, Pepper, Allſpice, Ginger, Raiſins, Indigo.

JUST COME TO HAND,

Choice Coniac Brandy, W. I. Rum, St. Croix Sugar, by the bbl. or leſs—Loaf Sugar, Liſbon and Malaga Wine, &c. &c.

The above goods, will be ſold at a very low rate, for caſh in hand, or ſhort credit.

Thoſe, whoſe notes and accounts are now become due, will be ſued in February next, without diſtinction, unleſs prevented by payment.

N. B. Pork, Hogs Lard, Tallow, Butter, Bees wax, and moſt kinds of country produce taken in payment.

Eaſtampton, Dec. 10, 1794.

ELIPHAZ MOODY,

PROPOSES to carry on the MALTING buſineſs in South Hadley, the enſuing Winter, at the Malt-Houſe formerly occupied by Mr. JOSIAH MOODY.

December 15, 1794.

BROKE into the incloſure of the Subſcriber, on the 18th ult. a light forrel MARE, and ſucking Colt, three years old laſt ſpring, ſhod before trots all. The owner is deſired to prove property, pay charges, and take her away.

JOEL RUST.

Weſtampton, Dec. 2, 1794.

Taken up on the 15th

ult. a red lined HEIFER, one year old, without any artificial mark. The owner is deſired to prove property, pay charges and take her away.

DANIEL RUST.

Northampton, Dec. 3, 1794.

TAKEN up in Northampton meadow, a red Heifer Calf, her ears appear to have been frozen off. The owner is deſired to prove property, pay charges and take her away.

CHARLES STARKWEATHER.

Northampton, Dec. 3, 1794.

STRAYED from the

Subſcriber, ſome time in June laſt, a forrel Horſe COLT one year old laſt ſpring, with a ſtar in his forehead and a ſmall white ſtreak juſt below the ſtar, one hind foot white, trots and paces. Whoever will take up ſaid Colt and return him to the owner or give information ſo as he may find him, ſhall be handſomely rewarded and all neceſſary charges paid—by

ISAAC HATCH.

Whateley, Dec. 5, 1794.

Strayed, a red HEIFER,

and STEER, both marked with a tenon, in the near ear—the Heifer two years old, the Steer two coming. Whoever will inform the Subſcriber of the ſaid creatures, ſhall be well rewarded, and will oblige

SAMUEL HOPKINS.

Hadley, Dec. 9, 1794.

Williams and James,

BEG leave to inform all thoſe that are indebted to them, on Book, or Notes of hand, that unleſs they come and ſettle on or before the 20th of December next, they will be called upon in a more diſagreeable manner, without any further notice.

N. B. They call on all thoſe that have any demands on them to come and receive their pay—they will take moſt kind of produce in payment.

Goſhen, November 25, 1794.

NOTICE is hereby given to the non-reſident Proprietors of land, lying in Hawley, (formerly called No. 7.) that their lands are taxed in State, Highway, Town, County, Miniſter, and School Taxes, committed to the Subſcriber to collect, for the year 1793, as follows:

	No. Lot.	ſ.	d.	q
Half Lot,	47	2	6	1
S. Leonard,	112	3	8	3
D. Harris,	44	5	4	2
½ Lot, Worthington,	41	2	10	1
D. Harris,	32	4	6	2
Half Lot, Cooley,	103	2	0	0
do. do. do.	116	2	8	1
S. Hitchcock,	131	1	10	1
S. Leonard,	62	4	11	2
S. Hitchcock,	94	4	11	2
D. Harris,	122	10	9	2
T. Chapin,	53	4	11	1
S. Leonard,	84	4	11	2
1ſt. Diviſion, Hatfield Equivalent.				
	47	6	3	1
Dickinſon,	48	1	10	2
	56	3	2	2
S. Bond, 40 acres	59	10	9	0
Dickinſon,	22	3	4	3
	26	6	4	3
2nd. Diviſion,	69	7	2	0
	47	5	4	0
	51	2	3	1
Graves,	53	2	8	1
	56	6	4	1
Dwight,	57	2	8	1
J. Wair,	58	2	9	2
N. Sadler,	59	2	2	2
S. Dickinſon,	60	1	9	2
	83	1	8	3
	81	0	10	3
Woodbridge,	79	7	2	0
	76	1	6	0
	74	2	8	0
T. Edger's Grant,	2	8	9	0

Unleſs ſaid taxes are paid on or before the laſt Monday in January next, ſo much of ſaid Lands will be ſold at public vendue, at the dwelling houſe of Mr. Hezekiah Warriner, in ſaid Hawley, at 9 o'clock, A. M. as will be ſufficient to diſcharge the ſaid taxes with intervening charges.

DAVID PARKER, Collector.

Hawley, Dec. 1, 1794.

To the Hon. Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives in General Court aſſembled, The petition of DAVID MORLEY of Weſt Springfield, in the County of Hampſhire,

HEREBY ſhews, that a Bridge over *Weſtfield River*, near the houſe formerly occupied by Stephen Nobles, would be of eſſential ſervice to the public, and eſpecially to thoſe who travel up and down Connecticut River; as it would not only ſhorten the travel from Northampton to Suffield four miles, but the road would alſo be vaſtly better than any of the other roads: That the building of a Bridge in this place has been contemplated for many years, but the expence and riſk of erecting one there, has prevented the county from doing it; and has hitherto diſcouraged any private adventurer from engaging in ſo neceſſary a work—That your petitioner, being willing to take the burden and riſk upon himſelf, humbly prays the Hon. Court to give him leave to erect a Bridge there, and to indemnify him by granting to him, his heirs and aſſigns ſuch a toll as your honors ſhall think reaſonable, and he as in duty bound ſhall ever pray

DAVID MORLEY.

Weſt Springfield, May 1794.

Commonwealth of Maſſachuſetts.

In the Houſe of Repreſentatives, June 4, 1794.

On the petition of DAVID MORLEY, praying for leave to build a toll Bridge over *Weſtfield River* in the County of Hampſhire.

ORDERED, That the ſaid petitioner notify all perſons concerned, to appear on the ſecond Wednedſay of the next ſitting of the General Court, (by publiſhing his petition, and his order thereon, three weeks ſucceſſively in the newſpapers printed at Springfield and Northampton), and ſhew cauſe, if any they have why the prayer of ſaid petition ſhould not be granted.

Sent up for Concurrence.

EDWARD H. ROBBINS, *Speaker.*

In SENATE, *June* 11, 1794.

Read and concurred.

SAMUEL PHILLIPS, *Preſident.*

True copy—Attect.

SAMUEL COOPER, *Clerk, Senate.*

Cheap Winter Goods,

AT THE VARIETY STORE in CHESTERFIELD,

Joſeph S. Bailey, & Co.

INFORM their Cuſtomers and the public, they have juſt received a large and very general ſupply of Engliſh and W. I.

GOODS,

Together with an aſſortment of Glaſs, Crockery and Hard Ware, which they offer for ſale on their uſual low terms.

Pork, Butter, Cheeſe, Flax, Wheat, Rye, Indian Corn, and White Beans will be received in payment—and the ready Caſh will not be refuſed.

Cheſterfield, December 9, 1794.

Tappan and Fowle,

HAVE lately received a freſh aſſortment of Engliſh and India

GOODS,

Which they will diſpoſe of to the ſatiſfaction of their Cuſtomers for ready pay.

Northampton, Dec. 1794.

Juſtus Clark,

HAS juſt received, an aſſortment of GOODS, which he will ſell at the loweſt market price, for Caſh, moſt kinds of grain, or ſhort credit.

He requeſts all thoſe indebted to him who have had a reaſonable credit, to make payment immediately—thoſe who neglect a compliance, will be called upon in a diſagreeable way without further notice.

Whatley, December 5, 1794.

Jonathan Judd, Jun.

HAS juſt received a very general aſſortment of Engliſh and Hard Ware GOODS, of the kinds moſt commonly required for in a country Store—Likewiſe, Weſt India Goods and Groceries, of various kinds, Brandy, Wine, Caſſia, Ram, Iron Hollow Ware, Stone and Crockery Ware, Nails, Brads, German Steel, alſo Braſs Kettles, Spaniſh Brown and White, Linſeed Oil, Looking Glaſſes of various ſizes, Whalebone, Dying Woods, Allum, Copperas, Brimſtone, Rufus, Cordus, and a variety of other articles, too tedious to be inſerted in an adverticement—For which he receives all kinds of Grain, Beef, Pork, Tallow, Lard, Cheeſe Butter, Bees Wax, Flax-Seed, Flax, and moſt other kinds of produce—CASH, or ſelled on credit.

Clean Cotton and Linen Rags, wanted.

Southampton, Dec. 8, 1794.

The Subſcriber, feels

himſelf obligated to the public, but eſpecially his cuſtomers, for their favor the year paſt—but wiſhes to have his book accounts ſettled ſoon while his preſent Clerk continues with him—thoſe people who have notes or accounts that have become payable, muſt expect ſeverity if not called ſettled without loſs of time. He has no means to have GOODS as uſual, if not more. The public's humble ſervant,

ABNER WILLIAMS.

Williamſburgh, Dec. 2, 1794.

☞ All Perſons indebted to WILLIAM EDWARDS, either by Book or Note, whoſe debts are now due, are requeſted to make immediate payment, or their accounts will inſtantaneouſly be put into the hands of a collector, without further notice.

Northampton, Dec. 10, 1794.

Broke into the incloſure

of the Subſcriber, a dark red HEIFER, one year old paſt, annicually marked. The owner is deſired to prove property, pay charges and take her away.

SOLOMON FERREY.

Eaſtampton, Dec. 9, 1794.

Broke into the incloſure

of the ſubſcriber, on the 17th ult. 3 SHEEP, two of them white and the other black, painted on the back. The owner is deſired to prove property, pay charges and take them away.

JOHN HOWARD.

Worthington, Dec. 6, 1794.

Taken up in November

laſt, a large red COW, about 7 or 8 years old, ſome white in her face, and ſome artificial marks—The owner is deſired to prove property, pay charges, and take her away.

ELIJAH ALLEN.

Northampton, Dec. 6, 1794.

Taken up by the Sub-

ſcriber, a laſt Spring heifer CALF, without any artificial mark. The owner is deſired to prove property, pay charges and take her away. Alſo, Strayed from the Subſcriber, a heifer CALF, of the ſame age, without any artificial mark.

ENOCH CLARK.

Northampton, Dec. 9, 1794.

Hampſhire Gazette.

NORTHAMPTON, (*Maſſachuſetts*) PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM BUTLER.

[Vol. IX.] WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1794. [NUMB. 435.]

MR. AMES'S SPEECH.

In a committee of the whole, on the ſubject of the Preſident's address, the clauſe, relative to ſelf-created ſocieties, was ſtrongly diſcuſſed: in the courſe of the debate,

MR. AMES began with expreſſing his pleaſure that he had ſat down, to give way for Mr. Scott to ſpeak; but this, *every one* muſt ſee, was attended with a perſonal ſacrifice; as it was manifeſtly a diſadvantage to bring forward his obſervations, immediately after thoſe of that gentleman, becauſe they were too remarkable for their pertinence and ſtrength, to encourage the attempts of their oppoents to invalidate, or his own to enforce them.

He requeſted Mr. Giles, and he urged it ſtrongly on the houſe, to conſider maturely how large a part of the argument he had to anſwer. Mr. Giles had been accuſtomed to aſſuming that nobody had aſſerted, and to proving what nobody had denied. It would appear to every perſon, at a glance, that, after ſo large a deduction ſhould be made, the advocate of the amendment would be left almoſt without an adverſary.

He obſerved, it would be amuſing, and not without its uſes, to turn a moment from the debate, to inquire what would be ſaid yeſterday's deciſions. Fame already boats it on all her wings, and proclaims it with all her tongues, that congreſs has been engaged in trying the democratic clubs; and curioſity ſtands a tiptoe, on all our poſt roads, for the anſwer, which is ſhortly gone forth. Forty-ſeven members vote for the clubs, and forty-five againſt them, ſo that the clubs gained the victory.

Is this true? "I dare appeal," ſaid Mr. Ames, "to you, Sir, and to every other patriotic boſom, that it is *not true*; a large majority, and, I may even ſay, with pride and pleaſure, almoſt *all* the members, who hear me, deſpiſe and abominate the clubs, as ſincerely as the words of the Preſident's ſpeech, the anſwer of the ſenate, in reply to them, or the amendment now before us, can imply it.

How happens it, that the real ſentiments of the houſe are ſo much miſrepreſented by the vote? I ſhall be perplexed, if I undertake to explain this enigma. Two miſtakes have been ſuggeſted, in private converſation, as well as in debate, which will account for the vote of yeſterday, and which, on being ſtated and ſo examined, will afford good cauſe for changing it to day. The firſt is, that we have nothing to do with the clubs. We hold them in too much contempt to have any thing to ſay to them, or about them. They are not worth notice. This contempt had the appearance, yeſterday, of countenance and patronage.

The other motive ſuppoſed is, if the words, *ſelf created ſocieties*, ſhould be ſtruck out, the amendment will ſtill contain the eſſence of the propoſition contended for: which is, to repreſent the *ſelf-created ſocieties* as againſt laws. This deſcription will include the clubs, as well as any other wicked combinations, that have had any agency in the inſurrection.

How far the one or the other of theſe motives ought to influence thoſe who have entertained them, to vote againſt the amendment for inſerting the words, *ſelf created ſocieties and*, will appear by a ſurvey of the true poſture of the queſtion.

Here Mr. Ames ſtated, that it was the duty of the Preſident, by the conſtitution, to inform congreſs of the ſtate of the union. That he had accordingly, in his ſpeech, ſtated the inſurrection, and the cauſes that (he thought) had brought it on. Among them, he explicitly reckons the ſelf-created ſocieties and combination, of one, to be one. The ſenate as plainly charge *that*, as one of the cauſes. The Preſident, in his reply to the ſenate, expreſſes his high ſatiſfaction that they concur with him in opinion. Here Mr. Ames read the paſſages in the ſpeech, addreſs, and anſwer to the addreſs. He ſaid, ſurely, that an amendment was now offered to the houſe, expreſſed, as nearly as may be, in the very words of the Preſident—an objection is urged againſt this amendment, that the propoſition contained in it, is not true in fact. It is alſo ſaid that although it were true, it would be dangerous to liberty, to aſſent to it in our anſwer to the ſpeech. It is, moreover, ſay they, improper, unneceſſary, and, indeed, to mention the ſelf-created ſocieties. The amendment, now ſtaged upon the ſtage, has been put to the vote in the committee of the whole houſe, and rejected. What will the world ſay, and that too from the evidence of our own records, if we ſhall it again in the houſe? Will it not be proclaimed, that we reject the motion, and give force and validity to the objections? Do we adopt ſuch objections? Are the houſe conſenting to the ſhame of having them charged upon them as the principles by which they have guided our deciſion? We are not, Mr. Ames was ſure we are not; for, with a very few exceptions, "I with ſilence were none," both ſides have united in repudiating the ſelf-created ſocieties. Surely then, gentlemen will not hesitate to reſcind a vote which is not *leſs deceptive* than it is *pernicious*? For, if we adopt the amendment, it will appear, that all the branches of the government are agreed in ſentiment. If we reject it, what will it proclaim, leſs than imbecility and diſcord? What will nation interpret it to import, ſhort of this? "The Preſident and ſenate have denounced the *ſelf-created ſocieties*, alluded to in the ſpeech, and this houſe has dropped ſore and for their protection." Beſides the unſpeakable diſhonor of this patronage, is it not rekindling the fire-brands of ſedition; is it not unchaining the demon of anarchy?

Few are the apologiſts of the clubs have been, the ſolemnity and preſervance of their appeal to principles, demand for it, an examination.

The *right* to form political clubs has been urged, as if it had been denied. It is not, however, the *right* to meet, it is the *abuſe* of the right, *after they have met*, that is charged upon them. Two meetings are authorized by law, yet they may be called for ſeditious or treaſonable purpoſes. The legal right of the voters in that caſe, would be an aggravation, not an excuſe for the offence. But if perſons meet in a club, with an intent to obſtruct the laws, their meeting is no longer innocent or legal; it is a crime.

The neceſſity for forming clubs, has been alledged, with ſome plauſibility, in favor of all the ſtates, except New England, becauſe town meetings are little known, and not practicable in a thinly ſettled country. (Mr. Ames alluded to what had been yeſterday ſaid by Mr. Parker.) But, if people have grievances, are they to be brought to a knowledge of them only by clubs? Clubs may find not more complaints againſt the laws, than the ſufferers themſelves had dreamed of. The number of thoſe, which a man will learn from his own and his neighbor's experience, will be quite ſufficient for every ſalutary purpoſe or reform in the laws, or of relief to the ſufferers.

Are we to petition Congreſs, the ſelf-Repreſentative will not fail to advocate, or, at leaſt, to protect and explain his memorial. As a juror, he applies the law; as an elector, he officiouſly controls the legiſlators. A really aggrieved man will be ſure of ſympathy and aſſiſtance within his body, and with the public. The moſt diſtreſſed advocate of clubs may think them uſeful, but he will not inſiſt on their being indiſpenſably ſo.

The plea, for their uſefulneſs, ſeems to reſt on their advantage of meeting for political information. The abſurdity of this pretence, could be expoſed in a variety of views. I ſhall decline, ſaid Mr. Ames, a detailed conſideration of the topic. I would juſt aſk, however, whether the moſt ſtaunch party-men, who uſually lead the clubs, are the beſt organs of information? Whether they meet in darkneſs, whether they hide their names, their numbers, and their doings, whether they ſhut their doors to *admit* information?

A laudable zeal for inquiry, need not ſhun thoſe who could ſatiſfy it; it need not bluſh in the day light. With open doors, and an unlimited freedom of debate, political knowledge might be introduced, even among the intruders.

But inſtead of expoſing their *aſſiſted* purſuit of information, it will be enough to ſhew hereafter what they actually ſpread among the people—whether it is information; or in the words of the Preſident, "jealouſies, ſuſpicions and accuſations of the government;" whether diſregarding the truth, they have not fomented the daring outrages againſt ſocial order and the authority of the laws. (Vide the Preſident's ſpeech.)

They have arrogantly pretended ſometimes to be *the people*, and ſometimes the guardians, the champions of the people. They affect to feel more zeal for a popular government, and to, enforce more reſpect for republican principles, than the real Repreſentatives are admitted to entertain. Let us ſee whether they are ſet up *for* the people, or in oppoſition to them and their inſtitutions.

Will any reflecting perſon ſuppoſe, for a moment, that this great people, ſo widely extended, ſo actively employed, could form a common will, and make that will law, in their individual capacity, and without repreſentation? They could not. Will clubs avail them as a ſubſtitute for repreſentation? A few hundred perſons only are members of clubs, and if they ſhould act for the others, it would be an uſurpation, and the power of the few over the many, in every view, infinitely worſe than deſpotiſm itſelf, will repreſent this government.

To avoid this difficulty, ſhall the whole people be claſſed into clubs? Shall every ſix miles ſquare be formed into a club ſovereignty? Thus we ſhould guard againſt the abuſe of truſt, becauſe we ſhould delegate none, but every man might go and do his buſineſs in his own perſon. We might thus form ten or twenty thouſand democracies, as pure and ſimple as the moſt diſorganizing ſpirit could wiſh for—But who could keep this fair horizon unclouded? What could prevent the whirlwinds and ſtorm of diſcord, internal and foreign, from ſcattering and ſcuttling theſe ſlitters and rags of the ſociety, like the dry leaves in autumn? Without reſpectability, without ſafety, without tranquility, they would be like ſo many cave of Eolus, where the imprſoned ſtorms were ſaid to ſtruggle for a vent. If we look at Greece, ſo famed for letters and more for miſery, we ſhall ſee their ferocious liberty made their petty Commonwealths, wolves' dens—that liberty, which poetry repreſents as a goddeſs, hiſtory diſcribes as a cannibal.

Repreſentative government, therefore, is ſo far from being a ſacrifice of our rights, that it is their ſecurity: it is the only practicable mode for a great people to exerciſe or have any rights. It puts them in full poſſeſſion of the utmoſt exerciſe of them. By clubs, will they have ſomething more than all? Will ſuch inſtitutions operate to augment, to ſecure, or to enforce their rights, or juſt the contrary?

Knowledge and truth will be friendly to ſuch a government, and that, in return, will be friendly to them. Is it poſſible for any man to wiſh, or, even to ſuppoſe that the ſure aſſiſt for government, on the part of the ſupporters of this amendment, would prompt them to deſtroy, to attempt the obſtruction of the liberty of ſpeech, or the genuine freedom of the preſs? Impoſſible! That would be putting out the eyes of government, which we are ſo zealous to maintain. The abuſes of theſe privileges may embarraſs and diſturb our preſent ſyſtem; but, if they were aboliſhed, the government muſt be changed. No friend, therefore, of the conſtitution, could harbor the wiſh, to produce the conſequences which, it is inſinuated, are intended to enſue. Mr. Ames reſumed the remark, that the government reſts on the enlightened patriotiſm of an orderly and moral body of citizens. Let the advocates of monarchy, boaſt, that ignorance may be made to ſleep in chains; that even corruption and vice may be enliſted as auxiliaries of the public order. It is, however, a ſubject of exultation and confidence, that ſuch citizens as we repreſent, for enlightened, for generally virtuous and uncorrupted, under the preſent mild republican ſyſtem, practicably, are ſafe—nay, more, it is evidently the only ſyſtem that is adapted to the American ſtate of ſociety. But ſuch a ſyſtem remains within itſelf two indeſcribable elements of deſtruction, two enemies with whom it muſt conflict for ever; whom it may diſarm, but can never pacify; vice and ignorance. Thoſe who do not underſtand their rights, will deſpiſe, or confound them with wrongs, and thoſe, whoſe turbulence and licentiouſneſs find reſtraints in equal laws, will ſeek gratification, by evaſions, or combinations to overawe or reſiſt them.

A government that proteſts property, and cheriſhes virtue, will, of courſe, have vice and prodigality for its foes, becauſe it will be compelled to abridge their liberty, to prevent their invading the rights of other citizens. The virtuous and the enlightened will cling to a republican government, becauſe it is congenial, no leſs with their feelings, than their rights. The licentious and the profligate are ever ready for confuſion, which might give them every thing, while laws and order deny them every thing. The ambitious and deſperate, by combinations, acquire more power and influence than their fellow citizens; the credulous, the ignorant, the raſh and violent, are drawn by artifice, or led by character, to join theſe confederacies. The more free the government, the more certain they are to grow up, for where there is no liberty at all, this abuſe of it will not be ſeen. Once formed into bodies, they have a ſpirit of corps, and are propelled into errors and exceſſes, without ſhame or reflection. A ſpirit grows upin their progreſs, and every diſappointment makes them more houſe, as to the means, and every ſucceſs, more and more immoderate in the objects of their attempts. Calumny is one of theſe means. Thoſe whom they cannot puniſh or control, they can vilify; they can make ſuſpicion go where their force could not reach, and by rumours and falſehoods, multiply enemies againſt their enemies. They become formidable, and they reaſſume upon the magiſtrate, thoſe fears, which the laws have inſpired them with. The execution of the laws is not accompliſhed without effort, without hazard. Inſtead of mildneſs, of mutual confidence, inſtead of the laws almoſt executing themſelves, more rigor is demanded in the framing, more force to ſecure the operation of the laws. The clubs and turbulent combinations exerciſing the reſident power, it is obvious that government will need more force, and more will then begiven to it.

Thus it appears, that inſtead of lightening the weight of authority, it will acquire a new *momentum* from clubs and combinations formed to reſiſt it. Turbulent men, embodied into holds, will call for more energy to ſuppreſs them, than if the diſcontented remained unembodied. Diſturbances, fomented from time to time, may unhappily change the mild principles of the ſyſtem, and the little finger then may be found heavier than the whole hand of the preſent government. For if the clubs and the government ſhould both ſubſiſt, tranquility would be out of the queſtion. The continual contact of one organized body againſt another, would produce the alternative extremes of anarchy and exceſſive rigor of government. If the clubs prevails they will be the government, and the more ſecure for having become ſo by a victory over the exiſiting authorities.

In every aſpect of the diſcuſſion, the ſocieties, formed to control and vilify a republican government, are hateful. They not only of neceſſity make it more rigorous, but they tend, with a fatal energy, to make it corrupt. By preverting the truth, and ſpreading jealouſy and intrigue through the land, they compel the rulers to depend on new ſupports. The uſurping clubs offer to faction within theſe doors, the means of carrying every point without. A corrupt underſtanding is produced between them. The power of the clubs will prevail even here, and that of the people will proportionably decline. The clubs echo the language of their protectors here; truth, virtue, and patriotiſm, are no longer principles, but names for electioneering jugglers to deceive with. Calumny will ſimulate to itſelf the offices it falls on. It will perſecute the man who dots his duty; it will take away the reward of virtue, and hollow praiſe only upon the tools of faction. By betraying his truſt, a man may then expect the ſupport of the powerful