

Massachusetts Legislature.

REMONSTRANCE.

(CONCLUDED FROM OUR LAST.)

The doctrine of natural allegiance is too well founded, has been too long established & is too consonant with the permanent interest, the peace and independence of all nations, to be disturbed for the purpose of substituting in its place, certain visionary notions, to which the French revolution gave birth, and which, though long since exploded there, seem still to have an unhappy influence in our country.

Having thus found the avowed causes of the war, and especially the motives for a perseverance in it, so wholly inadequate, to justify the adoption of that policy, we have been obliged to resort to other and more concealed motives. We cannot, however, without the most conclusive evidence, believe, although the measures and language of some high publick functionaries indicate the fact, that ambition, and not justice, a lust of conquest and not a defence of endangered rights are among the real causes of perseverance in our present hostilities.

Must we then add another example to the catalogue of Republicks, which have been ruined, by a spirit of foreign conquest? Have we no regard to the solemn professions we have so often repeated, none to the example, none to the precept of Washington? Is it possible, either to acquire, or to maintain, extensive foreign conquests, without powerful standing armies? And did such armies ever long permit the people, who were so imprudent as to raise and maintain them, to enjoy their liberties?

Instances of military oppression have already occurred among us; and a watchful people, jealous of their rights, must have observed some attempts to control their elections, and to prostrate the civil, before the military authority. If the language of some men high in office—if the establishment of a chain of military posts, in the interior of our country—if the extensive preparations which are made in quarters, where invasion cannot be feared, and the total abandonment and neglect of that part of our country where alone it can be apprehended; have excited our anxiety and alarm, as to the real projects of our rulers, these emotions have not been diminished, by the recent invasion, seizure and occupation of the territory of a peaceable unoffending neighbor.

If war must have been the portion of these United States—if they were destined by Providence, to march the downward road to slavery, through foreign conquest and military usurpation, your remonstrants regret, that such a moment, & such an occasion should have been chosen, for the experiment—that while the oppressed nations of Europe are making so magnanimous and glorious efforts against the common enemy of free States, we alone the descendants of the pilgrims—sworn foes to civil and religious slavery, should voluntarily co-operate with the oppressor, to bind other nations in his chains; that while diverting the forces of one of his enemies from the mighty conflict, we should endanger the defenceless territories of another, in whose ports the flag of our independence was first permitted to wave, now struggling for existence, beneath his iron grasp.

Permit the legislature of this commonwealth, whose citizens have been ever zealous, in the cause of freedom, and who contributed their utmost efforts, for the adoption of that constitution under which, in former times, we enjoyed so much prosperity, most respectfully, but earnestly, to entreat and conjure, the constituted authorities of the Nation, by the regard due to our liberties, to our Union, to our civil compact, already infringing—to pause before it be too late.

Let the sober, considerate, and honourable Representatives of our sister States, in which different councils prevail, ask themselves:

Were not the territories of the United States sufficiently extensive, before the annexation of Louisiana, the projected reduction of Canada, and seizure of West Florida?

Had we not millions upon millions of acres of uncultivated wilderness, scarcely explored, by civilized man?

Could these acquisitions be held, as conquered provinces, without powerful standing armies? and would they not like other infant colonies, serve as perpetual drains of the blood and treasure of these United States? Or is it seriously intended to adopt the dangerous project of forming them into new states, and admitting them into the Union, without the express consent of every member of the original confederacy. Would not such a measure have a direct tendency to destroy the obligations of that compact, by which alone our Union is maintained?

Already have we witnessed the formation and admission of one state, beyond the territorial limits of the U. States, and this too, in opposition to the wishes and efforts, as well as in violation of the rights and interests, of some of the parties to that compact—and the determination to continue that practice, and thereby to extend our republick, to regions hitherto unexplored, or peopled by inhabitants, whose habits, language, religion and laws are repugnant to the genius of our government, is openly avowed.

Against a practice, so hostile to the rights, the interests, the safety of this state, and so destructive to her political power; so subversive of the spirit of the constitution, and the very principles upon which it is founded; your remonstrants, in the name and behalf of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, feel it their duty to enter their most deliberate and solemn protest.

If an extensive, confederated republick is to be maintained, and we most fervently pray that it may, it can only be, by a free communication of the grievances felt, and the evils apprehended, by any of its members; and by a prompt and liberal remedy. The same spirit of concession which dignified the formation and adoption of the constitution, should be kept in a permanent and perpetual exercise.

The blessings of government, its vigilance, its protection, its rewards, should be equally and impartially distributed, and its burthens as equally and fairly imposed. No portion of the Union ought to be sacrificed to the local interest, pas-

sion, or aggrandizement of others. It cannot, however, be denied, that causes have occurred to disturb the balance, which when adjusted, was intended to form the principal security of our present compact. But the remedy is in the power of congress, and we look to their wisdom for its efficacious and speedy application.

The chief motive which influenced the eastern states to abolish the old confederation, and to surrender a greater share of their own sovereign powers, as appears by the recent history of those times, was the expectation that their commerce would be better protected by the national government.

The hardy people of the North stood in no need of the aid of the South to protect them in their liberties. For this they could safely rely, as they always had done, on their own valour. But it was an important object with them, that every aid, facility, and encouragement should be given to that commerce upon which their prosperity almost exclusively depended.

To ensure this great object, a very unequal proportion of political power was conceded to the southern states. The representation of slaves was the price paid by the northern states for the stipulated protection and encouragement of their trade, and for an agreement of the southern members of the union, that the publick burthens should be apportioned according to representation. Experience, however, has proved, that, although the contract on our part has been faithfully fulfilled both these considerations have utterly failed.

Indications of a spirit hostile to commerce were early visible, among some of those who now control the destinies of our republick. But the father of his country then presided in our councils, and this spirit was vanquished. Under the influence of the wise and liberal, and magnanimous system adopted and pursued by his administration, commerce was indeed cherished, extended and protected; and the stipulations of the constitution were fulfilled, in sincerity and good faith.

Since that period, however, the same spirit has arisen, and has exhibited an unrelenting severity in the exercise of its sway, until at length, by a series of restrictions, utterly destructive of the calculations of the merchant, by prohibitions and double duties, by embargoes and non-intercourse, and lastly by war, the poor remains of that commerce that once covered the ocean with its sails, have been nearly annihilated.

Nor has the other part of the consideration been better fulfilled. Taxation has never, except in a single instance, and that to one hundredth part only of the revenue raised under the constitution, been apportioned according to representation; and with what reluctance it was then submitted to by the southern states, and with what tardiness it was even partially collected, publick records will determine.

Of the two hundred and fifteen millions of dollars, derived by the United States, under the operation of the Federal government, Massachusetts has paid upwards of forty millions—an amount beyond all proportion to her political weight in the Union.

If therefore, the revenues, derived from this Commonwealth, and paid into the national treasury, had been preserved in her own, she would have been fully competent to her own defence, and would not have been obliged to solicit, nor experience the injustice of a refusal, of the arms, for which she has long since paid, and which were her due, from the general government. What good cause can be assigned, for this refusal, your Remonstrants are wholly unable to determine. No discretion is, by law, vested in any officer of the government, in relation to this subject. Its provisions are simple, plain, and peremptory. Your Remonstrants therefore, cannot but express their astonishment, that the State of Massachusetts, possessing a sea-coast more extensive and populous, than that of any other State in the Union, and a defenceless frontier by land, should not only be entirely abandoned by the government whose duty it is to protect her, but should also be refused the arms, for her own defence, to which she is by law entitled. They cannot however, permit themselves to doubt, that Congress will forthwith adopt such measures, as will render to this Commonwealth, that justice which the executive department has refused.

If the war, in which we have been rashly plunged, was undertaken to appease the resentment, or secure the favour of France, deep and humiliating must be our disappointment. For although the emperor is lavish in his professions of "love for the American people," applauds our ready self-devotion, and declares "that our commerce and our prosperity are within the scope of his policy," yet no reparation has been made or offered, for the many outrages, indignities and insults he has inflicted on our government, nor for the unnumbered millions, of which he has plundered our citizens. And when we consider the course of policy pursued by our rulers, in their external relations, and commercial restrictions, from the prohibition of our trade to St. Domingo, to the declaration of "war against Great Britain—that this course often received his open approbation; and was not unfrequently, conformable to the system which he himself had adopted—when we consider also, the mysterious secrecy which has veiled the correspondence of the two governments from our view—and above all, when we consider, that in many instances, the most important measures of our government have been anticipated, in Paris, long before they were known to the American people, we cannot conceal our anxiety and alarm, for the honour and independence of our country. And we most fervently pray, that the sacrifices we have already made like the early concessions of Spain and Portugal, of Prussia, and Sweden, may not be the prelude, to new demands and new concessions; and that we may be preserved, from all political connexion with the common enemy of civil liberty.

To the constituted authorities of our country we have now stated our opinions and made known our complaints.—Opinions the result of deliberate reflection, and complaints, wrong from us by the tortures of that cruel policy, which has brought the good people of this commonwealth to the verge of ruin. A policy which has annihilated that commerce, so essential to their prosperity—increased their burthens while it has diminished their means of support—provided for the establish-

ment of an immense standing army, dangerous to their liberties, and irreconcilable with the genius of their constitution—destroyed their just and constitutional weight, in the general government—and by involving them in a disastrous war, has placed in the power of the enemy the control of the Fisheries; a treasure of more value to the country than all the territories for which we are contending, and which furnished the only means of subsistence to thousands of our citizens—the great nursery of our seamen—and the right to which can never be abandoned by N. England.

Under such circumstances silence towards the government would be treachery to the people. In making this solemn representation of our sufferings and our dangers we have been influenced, only, by the duty which we owe to our constituents and our country, to our consciences, and the memory of our fathers. And to the Searcher of all hearts we appeal, for the purity of our motives, and the sincerity of our declarations.

Far from wishing to embarrass the administration, in any of their negotiations for peace, we cannot but express our regret, that they should not have evinced a sincere desire, for this great object, by accepting some of the repeated overtures made by the enemy for the suspension of hostilities.—And permit us, in conclusion, most earnestly to request, that measures may immediately be adopted, to stay the sword of the destroyer, and to prevent the further effusion of human blood; that our invading armies may be forthwith recalled within our own territories; and that every effort of our rulers may be speedily directed, to the attainment of a just and honorable peace; that mutual confidence, and commercial prosperity may be again restored, to our distracted and suffering country; and that by an upright and faithful administration of our government, in the true spirit of the constitution, its blessings may be equally diffused, to every portion of the Union.

In the House of Representatives, June 14, 1813. Read and accepted. Sent up for concurrence.

TIMOTHY BIGELOW, Speaker. In Senate, June 15, 1813. Read and concurred. JOHN PHILLIPS, President.

BOOKS.

W. BOYLAN has just received from Philadelphia and Baltimore, a supply of BOOKS & STATIONARY, among which are the following:

- DIVINITY. Scott's Family Bible, 4 volumes Family Bibles in 1 volume, different prices Buchanan's Asiatic Researches Beattie's Evidences of Christianity Paley's ditto ditto Ditto Natural Theology Gill's Whole Body of Divinity, 3 vols Stackhouse's History of the Bible, 6 vols Blair's, Davies', Saurin's, Dana's, McWhorter's, Smith's, Jarratt's and Doddridge's Sermons Dwight's, Parkinson's and Methodist Psalms and Hymns Buck's Miscellany, 2 vols Newton's Works, 9 vols Doddridge's Family Expositor, 2 vols Josephus' Works, 6 vols Sampson's Beauties of the Bible, 1 vol Milton's Works.

LAW.

- Roberts on Fraudulent Conveyances Ditto on Frauds Digest of Chancery Reports Cowper's Equity Pleading Comyn on Contracts Newland on Contracts Baller's Nisi Prius Comyn's Digest Powell on Contracts East's Crown Law Harrison's Chancery Peake's Evidence, Swift's ditto Chitty on Pleadings American Precedents Selwyn's Nisi Prius Massachusetts Reports, 5 vols Henning & Munford's Virginia ditto, 4 vols Day's Connecticut ditto, 3 vols Harris & McHenry's Maryland ditto Caine's New York ditto, 3 vols Dallas' Pennsylvania ditto, 3 vols Johnson's New York ditto Caine's and Tidd's Practice Azuni's Maritime Law

MEDICAL.

- Richerand's Physiology Blumenbach's ditto Bichat's ditto Coxe's American Dispensatory Hooper's Medical Dictionary Thompson's Chemistry Bracken's Farriery Complete ditto Lind on Diseases in Hot Climates Harty on Dysentery Spallanzani on the Blood Ditto Tracts Cullen's Materia Medica Medical Museum, 7 vols American Medical Lexicon Bell on Ulcers, Ditto Surgery Denman and Hamilton on Midwifery Fordyce and Beddoes on Fevers Abernathy's Surgery Kinglake on the Gout Monroe's Anatomy, 3 vols Beddoes on Consumption Davidson on ditto Reed on ditto Willich's Lectures Chesselden's Anatomy Armstrong on Children Home on Ulcers Cox on Insanity Douglas on the Muscles Buxton on Coughs Fox's Medical Dictionary Wallis on Diseases Sutton on Poul Air Gooch's Surgery

MISCELLANEOUS.

Fisher Ames' Works

- Lee's Memoirs of the War in the southern states Morse's Universal Gazetteer, 2 vols Brooks' ditto ditto I Says—Says I Thinks I to myself John Bull and Brother Jonathan Goble's search of a Wife Gillies' History of Greece, 4 vols Do. ditto of the World, 4 vols Lempriere's Universal Biography, 2 vols Ditto Classical Dictionary Cavallo's Electricity Malthus on Population Goldsmith's History of England, 4 vols. Hume and Smollet's ditto, 12 vols. Robertson's Charles 5th, 4 vols Ditto Scotland, 3 vols Ditto India, 1 vol Plowden's History of Ireland, 5 vols. Gibbon's Rome, 12 vols Ditto ditto, 8 vols Gen. Pike's Expeditions to the sources of the Mississippi and through the Western Parts of Louisiana, to the sources of the Arkansas, Kansas, La Plate and Pierre Jaun Rivers; and a tour through the Interior Parts of New Spain, during the years 1805, 6 & 7. Illustrated by maps and charts. The British Cicero, a selection of the most admired Speeches, by Thomas Browne, 3 vols Female Biography, or Memoirs of Illustrious Women of all ages, by Mary Hays, 3 vols Boswell's Life of Johnson, 3 vols Ditto Tour to the Hebrides Melmoth's Cicero, 3 vols Kendall's Travels through the Northern parts of the United States in 1807 and 8, 3 vols Schulz's Travels through the Northern and Western parts of do. 2 vols Porter's Travels in Russia Wittman's ditto in Turkey and Asia Minor Duane's Military Library, Dictionary, and Handbook for Infantry Steele's List of the British Navy to Oct. 1813 Father's Legacy—Father's Tales Dryden's Virgil, Clark's Ovid, Davidson's Virgil Leland's Demosthenes, Duncan's Caesar Webster's Elements of Useful Knowledge Webster's, Dilworth's, Murray's, Pierce's, and Fenning's Universal, Spelling Books, by the single or dozen. Tyro's Dictionary Ferguson's Rome, 8 vols

STATIONARY, &c.

- Blank Books Ditto ruled for Music Little & Smith's Music Books India Rubber, red and black Wafers, red and black Sealing Wax, red and black Ink Powder Office Tape County and Superior Court Blanks. June 25, 1813. 899/1f.

Navigation of Roanoke.

IN conformity to an Act of the last General Assembly, entitled "An act for improving the Navigation of Roanoke River, from the town of Halifax to the place where the Virginia River intersects the same," the undersigned, Commissioners named in the said act for the city of Raleigh, have opened a Book for Subscriptions for Shares in the Capital Stock for accomplishing the said undertaking, which will continue open till the 1st of October, at the Bookstores of J. Gales and W. Boylan.

The proposed Capital Stock is limited to 100,000 dollars, to be divided into shares of 100 dollars each. A general meeting of the subscribers is to be held at Halifax on the 4th Monday in October next; and if 400 shares be not subscribed before, or at said meeting, all subscriptions made to be void. But if a sufficient number of shares be then subscribed, a Company is to be organized, under the title of "The Roanoke Navigation Company," and subscribers must then pay ten dollars on every share subscribed, and the remainder when called upon, except that more than 25, 1-3 dollars on a share not be called for in any one year.

H. SEAWELL, W. BOYLAN, J. GALES.

April 10. Subscription Books are also opened at Edenton, Plymouth, Windsor, Halifax, Warrenton, Oxford, Rocksborough, Caswell C. House, Weldon, and Germantown, under the direction of three Commissioners at each place.

SHOCCO SPRINGS.

THE subscriber, living on his plantation known by the name of Poplar Grove, a very pleasant situation, one mile south of the Shocho Springs and one mile from the Stage Road, will continue his Boarding House the present season for the accommodation of Ladies and Gentlemen who may visit the said springs. Those visitors who think proper to board with him shall be furnished with every thing of the best that the season and neighborhood afford.—In consequence of the increase of his boarders in past seasons, he has lately erected a large and commodious Building, calculated to render the situation of his establishment agreeable. He is now prepared to accommodate about SEVENTY Boarders, he trusts with satisfaction to his company, and with ease to himself. The road leading to the spring will be kept in good order.

Edward J. Jones.

Warren county, June 4, 1813. BOARD, for grown persons, 75 cents per day—Children and servants half price. Horses fed at 25 cents. 896-27f.

Land for Sale.

THE subscriber offers for sale a valuable tract of LAND, containing 320 acres, situated in the county of Orange, within four miles of the town of Hillsborough; this land is well watered by a river or creek running quite through it, and the soil equal to any in the neighbourhood. It is presumed no person will purchase without first viewing the land, therefore a further description is deemed unnecessary. Any person wishing to purchase is invited to view the land, and the terms will be made known by the subscriber, living on the premises, or in his absence Mr. Levi Whitehead, whose land adjoins the aforesaid tract.

ROBERT R. READE.

June 15, 1813. 900-6f.

YANCEY & BRANSON

OFFER for sale their STOCK OF GOODS, in the City of Raleigh, for Cash or on Credit for Negotiable Paper, and on handsome Assortment for many places, and well laid in. May 6, 1813. 895-27f.