tions of weather nor any other accident shall excuse him. Pray for prosperous gales, mariners, for a storm is destruction, even if you escape with your lives; look out market men, for a favourable time of tide to come through Hell Gate, or the Highlands, for if your boat should happen to be stove or sunk, or go ashore, you must not only be ruined by the loss of perhaps all you are worth, but your bonds are to be put in suit, and your ruin to be extended to those innocent friends also who are your sureties.—Our rulers in the rage of their experiments have made dreadful inroads upon our liberties but they seem determined to confound the meaning of language, and at length break down all moral distinctions They have been labouring for some time past to make us believe that the most palpable and abject *submission*, meant a noble spirited *resistance*, and here they have made no scruple to convert misfortune and innocence into a high crime and misdemeanour.

Sec. 9. 'Merely places registered or sea letter vessels in the same predicament with the poor coasting vessels.

'Sec. 10. This section demands the attention, the severe attention of every man in the United States, who may be possessed of any property, and particularly of all the Banking Institutions. But a want of room compels me to postpone the exposure of its frightful provision till the next.

The section which we are now to examine, calls upon the attention of every man in this country, and it behoves him well, particularly every man, who is possessed of property, to consider its import. It empowers the several Collectors in the United States to *seize upon specie or any articles of domestick growth or manufacture, which they may find in unusual places, or in unusual quantities, or in places from which they suppose it may be intended to be exported, or if on board a vessel, or in a cart, waggon or sleigh, or other carriage, going or apparently going towards the territory of a foreign nation, or towards the neighbourhood of a foreign nation, or towards a place whence such articles might be exported.*" And the collector having so seized them, is empowered to demand from the owner a *bond with sufficient sureties that he will deposit the same in some such place in the United States, as the collector shall direct*. It is to be seen, however, in the collector's opinion, and to *put it beyond any danger of being exported*. Such are the provisions of this section. Let us examine them. And in the first place who can tell me what is an *unusual place* for depositing specie! *Usual* places may be more easily mentioned: If in very large quantities, the vaults of the Banks are the usual places; if in less, desks, escritoirs, or a strong box. One man, for instance, as a security, places all sums above a certain amount in the bank, another puts it in the desk; a third carries it about him, while a fourth puts it in his strong box. But in all such cases it lies with the collector to say whether the place is *usual* or *unusual*. Suppose either of the banks should choose by curtailing discounts to double the specie in their vaults, surely this would be an *unusual* quantity of money, even for such a place, and would come directly within the provision of the statute and be liable to seizure. Next to *unusual places*, comes *unusual quantities*: specie, or articles of dom. stick produce or manufacture, if found in *unusual quantities*, are also marked out for suspicion and seizure. This is more vague and uncertain than the former. What is an *unusual quantity* of specie, or grain, or flour, or flaxseed, or cotton, or potash, or tobacco! Is there any man, I ask, in the U. States, who can tell me what quantity of any of these enumerated articles it takes to make an *unusual quantity*? How much money is an *unusual quantity*? At what particular sum does it cease to be a *usual*, and at what become an *unusual* quantity? Who can tell! And how many pounds weight of grain, or flaxseed, or potash, or cotton, or tobacco, may a man buy, before he begins to become a trespasser against this law, or liable to have his property seized by the collector! But supposing that you & I, being conversant with such subjects, should agree that this or that was only a usual quantity, it must be recollected, that it is not your or my opinion that in this case is to form any standard, but the opinion of the collector himself! say the opinions of the several collectors; so that we have not only the uncertainties of the act itself, but that arising from these many various opinions of the many various collectors in the several seaports of the United States. One judges this sum or quantity, or place to be *unusual*, another thinks! Thus we have a statute which makes one thing law at New York another thing, law at Boston, a something different from either law at Philadelphia, or Baltimore and something still different from all the rest, law at Charleston or Savannah. What sort of a law is this?

But the section, not content with exposing our property to these broad and vague grounds of seizure, proceeds to enumerate two other equally broad and vague. It authorizes the collectors to seize specie or articles of domestick growth or manufacture, if he finds them "in vessels, carts, sleighs or other carriages *apparently on their way towards* a foreign nation." And here I cannot but remind the reader that this phraseology is borrowed *verbatim* from the French Emperor's decree against our vessels sailing *towards* England or any of her dependencies. What is to be understood by going "*towards a foreign nation?*" Certain it is that I cannot proceed a single step towards any point of the compass, without being "apparently going towards some foreign nation" or other; unless, indeed, I go towards the ocean; and then it might be a question, we at least it might have been, had not the statute expressly provided against it, which it does in the same sentence, by the words "*towards a place* whence such articles are intended to be *exported*" it being left, however, exclusively to the collector to say whether such was the intention or not.

The last clause in the section is not the least curious. It does not absolutely compel the property at once, but the owner must give a bond with sureties to transport his property at his own expense, and deposit and store it in such place as shall be ordered by the Collector, but it must be a place whence there is no danger of exportation. The collector, therefore, may seize a sack of dollars or a bale of flour, or tobacco or cotton, or potash, whenever he may find it *going* towards any point of the compass, and compel the owner to give bond with surety to transport the same to the city of Washington, or even to Carter's Mountain, and there leave it stored at his own expense, no one can tell how long, for the act does not provide.

Sec. 11. In the preceding section the Collector is made the only active agent; he is the judge and the officer to execute. And I must confess, that till some very late discoveries, made since the Embargo, I have always supposed that when a man was enjoined to exercise his discretion as to doing or not doing a certain thing, it of necessity supposed him to be a free agent. This section, however, with a view to sanction what has been the practice at Washington, and to deprive the injured of all redress from the laws, takes the collector, whom it had just existed and dignified as a judge over the land, and turns him into a mere speaking figure. It provides that the power of the collector, (that of judging and executing) shall be exercised *in conformity with such instructions as the President may give*, and such general rules as *he may prescribe*. The former section, as we have seen, authorizes and compels the collector to exercise the faculty of judging, that is of computing his own ideas, and forming a conclusion on which he is to act in a very important case; but then comes this section and obliges him to conceive, and to reason and decide, by the conceptions and reasonings and decisions of Mr. Jefferson. The section concludes with exempting him from all responsibility in law or equity for any injuries he may do, or trespasses he may commit, which, however hard and unjust, and abominable as respects the sufferers, is I must say no more than fair as respects the wooden collector. *(To be continued.)*

The Repertory.

"INCORRUPTA FIDES, NUDAQUE VERITAS."

BOSTON, *TUESDAY*, JANUARY 3, 1809.

LATEST FROM EUROPE.

The latest news from the Continent of Europe is contained in the letter of Capt. Connel, who arrived in the river Delaware, on the 27th December, from Bordeaux, which he left the 2nd November.

By this it appears that Bonaparte passed through Bordeaux, post haste, on the morning of the 2nd. on his way to Bayonne and Spain.—From the preparations which have been announced, it appears probable that this destroyer of the human race has entered that kingdom before this, with an army of from 150, to 200,000 men, determined on nothing short of enslaving a nation which has rendered him innumerable services, merely to extend his own power, and place a worthless, pusillanimous vassal of a brother on the throne. We may next, and soon, expect to hear of monstrous scenes of carnage.

The backwardness of the Spaniards, in not having attacked the 50,000 Frenchmen already in Spain, before they were reinforced, is incomprehensible, and augurs unfavourably with respect to the next events to be anticipated. Why the British should land at Corunna, so far from the scene of action, is another mystery. There is little probability of their reaching the patriot army, before Bonaparte will enter Spain with a large force.

Amidst all our anxiety for the fate of a brave and oppressed people, it is a consolation to reflect that the ultimate destiny of the nation does not depend on the issue of the conflict which appears to be immediately approaching. Let them preserve their determination to perish or maintain their independence, and 200,000 men, will march from fortress to fortress, and even to Madrid, in vain.

THE SEASON:

Though in the course of our publication a day behind the fair, we beg leave to present our numerous, generous, and increasing Patrons the compliments of the season. We have good reason for supposing our labours have not been unfavourably received, by our fellow citizens, and we feel justified in promising that the sixth Volume of the Repository shall exhibit an extension of editorial labour.—We have fought the battle with fidelity and pursued our course with an unrelenting regard to the publick good. We now rejoicing at the calamities of our country, but we rejoice in the rapid progress of reformation which promises an eventual return of patriotick measures and nations prosperity.

CONGRESS.

The pitiful, insulting temper, which the majority of this body feel and exhibit towards the minority, is strongly displayed in the proceedings of last Friday week. The federalists had proposed to postpone the consideration of Giles's bill, as it contemplated very important measures until the Monday following. But no; this was negatived by a large vote, and it was determined to take up the subject on Saturday. Soon after, a *democratick* member proposed that when the house adjourned, it should adjourn to Monday and this was carried!

We have received Monday's paper, but not Monday's proceedings. The Whig says they adjourned to eat pies.

GENERAL WILKINSON'S ARMY.

The publick, at least in this section of the Union, have lately surprised, by the report that General Wilkinson is assembling a large force at New Orleans, to be joined by a considerable naval expedition, and at the vote of Congress to add 2000 to the number of our seamen, in publick service, who are likewise said to be intended for that quarter. This news is the more singular, as we have heard of no new or recent appearance of danger, hostility or disaffection, in or near that place.

There is a solution of all these mysterious proceedings, which we presume will strike every reflecting mind, as having considerable weight. Heaven grant we may be mistaken in our suspicions.

It must have been observed, that for some time past, nothing has so vexed and perplexed our administration as the pacifick policy of Great Britain, towards our country. It has been found that neither the Non-importation act, the interdiction of British national vessels, the rejection of Mr. Rose's embassy, a language uniformly bitter and provoking nor the mighty coercive Embargo, can provoke even a resentful word from the Government of Great Britain. The mortification of Administration on this account has been more than once betrayed, and particularly by the National Intelligencer's declaring that *the government of Great Britain had united by their policy, with the opposition in this country, to make the conduct of administration unpopular, and odious to the people!* But what can they do, as Great Britain adheres to her pacifick tone? The fidelity of that nation to her allies is notorious. It may be thought, perhaps, she may be driven into hostilities by our engaging in war with them. While Spain and the colonies of Spain were under the control of Bonaparte, no wrongs could provoke our government to any thing like resentment. But Spain has now declared independence and is the ally of England It will now not offend Bonaparte, but do him a signal favour to quarrel with her colonists. On the other hand, by hostilities with them, we may thus indirectly compel Great Britain to change her system and declare herself our enemy.—General Wilkinson too is now free—his obligations and the reward of his Treachery were bestowed under the ancient regime; and he has nothing to expect from the Supreme Junta of Madrid, or the loyal subjects of Ferdinand in Mexico.

This view of these preparations forces itself irresistibly on our minds, and we believe, we seriously fear, it will be found correct.

Political Memoranda.—No. I.

Under this head, it is our present purpose to collect a few political papers, which ought never to be forgotten by those who take any considerable interest in the political history of our country. Every federalist ought to be familiar with them, as they strip certain great men, of the present day, of the false guise they have assumed, and exhibit them in their original and true character.

On the approach of popular elections, in particular, we find imposters uniting the name of WASHINGTON and JEFFERSON as characterizing one system of policy! We find the supporters of the present administration pretending the highest respect for the Federal Constitution and placing Mr. Jefferson among its early and sincere friends! We find a party who have either been active in rebellion or the friends and abettors of rebels and violators of the laws, pretending to hold every degree of insubordination and disaffection in the utmost abhorrence.

In a few numbers we shall refresh the memories of our friends, by republishing certain documents, which will enable them to check such imposition, and to have at all times, at hand, an antidote against the hypocrisy of those, who by deceiving the people have brought our country to the verge of ruin, and who attempt by means no less vile than those by which they rose to power, to retain their pernicious ascendancy.

Mr. JEFFERSON's LETTER TO MAZZEI.

From the PARIS MONITOR, *of Jan. 25th 1798*

FLORENCE, JANUARY 1.

From Mr. JEFFERSON, *late Minister of the United States to France, and* Secretary to the Department of Foreign Affairs, to a citizen of Virginia.

This letter, literally translated, is addressed to M. MAZZEI, author of Researches, historical and political, upon the United States of America, now resident in Tuscany.

"Our political situation is prodigiously changed since you left us. Instead of that noble love of liberty, and that Republican government, which carried us through the war, an Anglo, Monarchico Aristocratick, party has risen. Their avowed object is to impose on us the *substance* as they have already given us the *form* of the British Government. Nevertheless the principal body of our citizens remain faithful to Republican principles. All our proprietors of lands are friendly to those principles as also the much of talents. We have against us (republicans) the *Executive Power*, the *Judiciary Power*, (two of three branches of our government) all the officers of Government, all who are seeking offices, all timid men who prefer the calm of despotism to the tempestuous sea of liberty, the British merchants and the Americans who trade on British capitals, the speculators, persons interested in the bank and public funds (establishments invented with views of corruption, and to assimilate us to the British model in its corrupt parts.)

"I should give you a fever, if I should name the apostates who have embraced these heresies; men who were Solomons in council and Sampsons in combat, but whose hair has been shorn by the whore of England. [In the original, probably alluding to the woman's cutting off the hair of Sampson and his loss of strength thereby.]

"They would wrest from us that liberty which we have obtained by so much labour and peril; but we shall preserve it. Our mass of weight and riches are so powerful, that we have nothing to fear from any attempt against us by force. It is sufficient that we guard ourselves and that we break the *bilpinhin ties* by which they have bound us, in the first slumbers which succeeded our labours. It suffices that we arrest the progress of that *system of ingratitude* and *injustice* towards *France*, from which they would alienate us, to bring us under the British influence."

MR. JEFFERSON'S LETTER TO T. PAINE.

Washington, March 18, 1801.

DEAR Sir,

Your letters of October 1st, 4th, 6th, 16th, came duly to hand, and the papers which they covered were, according to your permission, published in the newspapers and in a pamphlet, and under your own name. These papers contain precisely our principles, and I hope they will be generally recognized. Determined we are to avoid, if possible, wasting the energies of our people in war and destruction, we shall avoid implicating ourselves with the powers of Europe, even in support of principles which we mean to pursue. They have so many other interests different from ours that we must avoid being entangled in them. We believe we can enforce those principles as to ourselves by peaceable means, now that we are likely to have our publick councils detached from foreign views. The return of our citizens from the phrenzy into which they had been wrought partly by ill conduct in France, partly by artifices practiced among them, is almost extinct, and will, I believe, become quite so. But these details, too minute and long for a letter, will be better developed by Mr Dawson the bearer of this, a member of the late Congress, to whom I refer your for them. He goes in the Maryland sloop of war, which will wait a few days at Havre, to receive his letters to be written on his arrival at Paris. You expressed a wish to get a passage to this country in a publick vessel—Mr. Dawson is charged with orders to the Captain of the Maryland to receive and accommodate you back if you can be ready to depart at such a short warning. Robert R. Livingston is appointed minister plenipotentiary to the republick of France, but will not leave this, until we receive the ratification of the convention of Mr. Dawson. I am in hopes you will find us returned generally to sentiments worthy of former times. In these it will be your glory to have steadily laboured and with as powerful effect as any man living. That you may long live to continue your useful labours and to reap the reward in the thankfulness of nations is my sincere prayer. Accept assurances of my high esteem and affectionate attachments.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

The above letter was often mentioned in the publick papers, previous to Paine's return to America in 1802, but was then asserted by some of Mr Jefferson's friends to be spurious. Paine has settled that matter by publickly attesting to its authenticity, and at the same time declaring that it was a correspondence which reflected great honour on Mr. Jefferson

Was Mr Jeffrson the friend of Washington? There was no act of Paine's life ever more notorious than his letter addressed to President Washington, dated Paris, July 30, 1796, and published in a pamphlet by Benjamin Franklin Bache, Duane's predecessor, to aid the purposes of Mr. Jefferson's party! As soon as Mr. Jefferson had the power he immediately offered the writer of that letter a passage in a publick ship, and urged his return.

Extracts from T. Paine's letter to General Washington, dated

Paris, July 30th, 1796.

"As censure is but sukwardly softened by apology, I shall offer you no apology for this letter. The eventful crisis to which *your double publick* have conducted the affairs of your country requires an investigation unvamped by ceremony".

"It was only the absolute necessity of establishing some federal authority, extending equally over all the States that an instrument, *so inconsistent as the present federal constitution is*, obtained a suffrage."

"I declare myself opposed to several matters in the constitution, particularly to the manner in which, what is called the Executive is formed, and to the long duration of the Senate; and if I live to return to America, I will use my endeavours to have them altered. *I also declare myself opposed to almost the* WHOLE OF YOUR ADMINISTRATION; for I know it to be deceitful if not perfidious, as I shall shew in the course of this letter."

"Some vices make their approach with such a splendid appearance, that we scarcely know to what class of moral distinctions they belong. They are rather virtues corrupted than vices originally. But meanness and ingratitude have nothing endowed in their character. There is not a crime in them that renders them doubtful. They are so originally vile that they are generated in the dung of other vices, and crawl into existence with the filth upon their back. The fugitives have found protection in you; and the levee room is their place of rendezvous."

"You slept away your time in the field, till the finances of the country were completely exhausted, and you have but little share in the glory of the final event."

["Then of Mr. Adams] "John Adams has said (and John, it is known, was always a speller after places and offices, and never thought his *little services* were highly enough paid) John has said, that as Mr. Washington had no child, the Presidency should be made hereditary in the family of Lund Washington. *John* might then have counted upon succession for himself and a provision for his descendants. He did not go so far as to say also, that the Vice Presidency should be hereditary in the family of John Adams He prudently left that to stand upon the ground, that one good turn deserves another. John Adams is one of those men, who never contemplated the origin of government, or comprehended any thing of its first principles," &c.

["Then of Mr. JAY] "John Jay has said, and this John was always the sycophant of every thing in power, from Mr. Girard in America, to Grenville in England—John Jay has said, that the Senate should have been appointed for life, and should then be in danger of never wanting a lucrative appointment for himself nor have had any fears about impeachment"

"[Again of Washington] Mr. Washington owed it (some inquiries about me) to me on every score of private acquaintance, I will not now say of friendship; for it has for some time been known, by those who knew him, that he has no *friendships*; that he is incapable of forming any such connexion; that he is a man or a cause with constitutional indifference; and it is this *cold hermaphrodite faculty* that imposed itself upon the world, and was credited for a while by enemies as by friends, for prudence, moderation and impartiality."

"Prudence is a very cautious and calculating virtue, of neither good nor evil tendency. It is, in many cases, a substitute for principle, and is so nearly allied to hypocrisy, that it easily slides into it."

"But when we speak of military character, something more is to be understood than the Fabian system of doing nothing. The nothing part can be done by any body. Old Mrs. Thompson at Kinderhook in the neighbourhood of Albany threatened to make the sun and wind shine through Rivington's (of New York) would have done it as well as Mr. Washington. Deborah would have been as good as Barak."

"This is the ground upon which America now stands. All her rights of commerce and navigation have to commence anew, and that with loss of character to begin with. If there is sense enough left in the heart to call a blush into the cheek, the Washington Administration must be ashamed to appear. *And as to you, Sir, treacherous in private friendship* (for so you have been to me and that in the day of danger) *and a hypocrite in publick life, the world will be puzzled to decide, whether you are an apostate or an impostor; whether you have abandoned good principles, or whether you ever had any.*

"THOMAS PAINE."

It was after the circulation of this letter through the United States, that Mr. Jefferson arose to the Presidency, and wrote the above affectionate letter to its author. We request the reader to preserve this paper. It will be of service when we again see a "*Washington and Jefferson Ticket.*"

THE ANALYSIS.

These papers, of which we have nearly completed the republication in the Repertory, are now issued in the form of a pamphlet, by Messrs RUSSELL & CUTLER, and for sale at the several Bookstores.

It is the most masterly specimen of perspicuous argument we have ever seen, on any recent political subject; and sets all the cavillers of Administration at defiance. It will do infinite service, if generally read; and we hope, from the heartfelt interest every citizen must now experience, as to the prominent measures of our government towards Great Britain, France and ourselves, that it will be sought and perused with attention. If democrats are not determined to follow and applaud the Administration, right or wrong, to our ruin, let them read this production. We ask not for candour. Let them read it with all their prejudicies, and we defy any man to lay his hand on his heart and say, it does not produce conviction.

COMMUNICATION.

DR. PARK,

Will it require 50,000, or even 50, or even 5 men, in arms, to "coerce the Embargo." The 50,000 Volunteers, commanded by *Bobadils*, like Wilkinson, may attempt to *enforce* the Embargo, if they can "screw their courage to the sticking place," "at the point of the Bayonet;" but to *coerce* [restrain, or check it, by force] such an army will not be requisite.

A letter from St. Croix, dated Nov 19' says—"In a few weeks Martinique will be added to the number of captured islands, as it is supposed little opposition will be made—A force of from 8 to 10,000 men go against them"

LATEST FROM FRANCE.

On the 27th, arrived in Philadelphia, the ship Charlestons Packet, captain Connell, from Bordeaux.—While off New Castle, he forwarded the following letter to the Editor of the The American which contains the most material, of his intelligence:—

Ship Charleston Packet, off New Castle Dec. 27.

The present will serve to inform you of my arrival from Bordeaux, which place I left on the 2d Nov. by special permission of his Majesty the Emperour, through the interference of our minister, for the purpose of bringing home the distressed seamen of our country, belonging to vessels condemned and sequestered; these in their latter situation, the Council of prizes have some time since received orders to suspend the trials of.—A general embargo continued on all neutrals throughout the pots of France. I have on board a number of passengers, one of which is a bearer of Despatches from our Ambassador at Paris for the American government.

I have herewith enclosed you a file of Bordeaux papers, but from which, I believe but few political truths may be gathered, according to the reports from Spain and elsewhere. Bordeaux and its vicinity was crouded with sick and wounded returning from Spain, and these troops were allowed no communication with the new reinforcements from the Grand army marching that way. So unfavourable were the accounts they bring from the seat of war, it was currently reported and credited that the French had been defeated with great slaughter in late action at Catalonia, that King Joseph was pressed with great difficulty his position at Burgos and Vitoria. The grand army was daily increasing by forced marches through Bordeaux, and about 50,000 had already passed the city, as many more by other roots.

The Emperour arrived at Bordeaux the morning of my departure, he remained there only two hours and continued his route towards Spain; his haste is said to be in consequence of meeting a courier from thence with unfavourable news. The French troops under Junot who capitulated in Portugal, were daily arriving in Bordeaux and Rochefort in English transports, and it was reported were marching into the interiour of France, and not to be sent on the present campaign, for certain reasons. Previous to the separation of the Emperours of France and Russia at Erfurth, each sent a Courier with pacifick propositions to the Court of St. James, (so says the official Gazette at Paris) a report said they were not received.—Since this conference a report of his Majesties the rumour of war with Austria appeared to have subsided.

Little may be said of the commercial state of affairs, as no change has taken place except a small depreciation in Colonial produce, owing to a number of late arrivals of Letters of Marque —Many others were fitting out in the different ports which was believed would continue to reduce the markets; the absence of the American flag for so long a time, has greatly damped the spirit of enterprise, and taught them to carry on a commerce independent of us, and they boastingly say, we shall no longer monopolize the trade of their colonies.

In the Bay of Biscay, I passed to the leeward of a squadron of men of war and transports, steering towards Spain and Portugal; spoke none of them; but the next day, was boarded by a British sloop of war, who treated us politely, and permitted to proceed, without overhauling the ship's papers, but merely inquiring the news from France.

On the 23d of Oct. Napoleon delivered a speech to the Legislative corps, in which he pledges himself to establish the Monarchy in Spain, and to plant his eagles on the Forts of Lisbon—In this speech he takes the following notice of the United States: "they have, says he, preferred abandoning the Ocean, rather than submit to tyranny."

On the same day the Emperour had a grand levee, at which all the Foreign Ministers attended. Among the presentations we observe M Le Chevalier de Santivanes, minister plenipotentiary to the U. S. from Joseph king of Spain. This is the person, erroneously stated to be Ambassadour from the Spanish Junta. Mr Armstrong attended at the Levee, and presented to his Majesty Mr. Poinsett, an American gentleman.

LONDON, NOV. 1.

Despatches were yesterday received by Government from Oporto, giving an account of a disturbance in the neighbourhood of that place. Notwithstanding the baggage of the French troops embarked there was regularly searched, the resentment of the people towards the enemy was so inveterate, in consequence of some sacred articles being found in their possession, that they insisted on the whole being disarmed; and the Portuguese in their turn, committed every possible depredation on board the transports. The British commander had the greatest difficulty in restraining the violence and outrage of the people, but happily at the date of the despatches publick tranquillity had been restored.

MORE FIRE OF THE FLINT.

At a large and respectable meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Bath, *in legal town meeting assembled, on the 27th December, wit, the following spirited and patriotick resolutions were unanimously accepted.*

Resolved, That the opinion of the people of this town, the end and object of government is to secure safety and protection to the individuals upon whom it operates; and to furnish them with the power of enjoying, in tranquillity, their national rights and the blessings of life.

That whenever from defect in the form of that government, from corruption in the administration of it, or from other causes, those great and primary objects are not obtained, the individuals have a right, and their duty to themselves and their posterity require them to exercise it, to inquire into the causes of their suffering and to take measures necessary for removing their grievances and advancing their safety and prosperity.

That the people of this town and the people of the State, so far as we are acquainted with their struggle for independence; and we cannot but consider, as the causes of this suffering and calamity, the oppressive and arbitrary laws of the general Government, which prohibit all commerce with foreign nations, which have, by their multiplied restrictions, almost *abolished* it among ourselves.

That we see with dread and detestation military preparation making among us, armed men patrolling our streets, and officers of that government, under colour of these laws, arbitrarily seizing and sequestering the property of individuals without any possible benefit to the community, and greatly to our annoyance and terrour.

That the people have a right to understand the reason and intention of the laws, and none can be constitutional, or ought ever to be enacted, but such as have a tendency to promote the general good, that the strength and support of