

Gazette of the United States.

[No. LVII.]

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1789.

[Published on Wednesday and Saturday.]

PLAN OF THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES. (A NATIONAL PAPER.)

Published at the SEAT of the NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.
CONTAINING,

I. EARLY and authentic Accounts of the PROCEEDINGS of CONGRESS—its LAWS, ACTS, and RESOLUTIONS, communicated so as to form an HISTORY of the TRANSACTIONS of the NATIONAL LEGISLATURE.

II. IMPARTIAL SKETCHES of the DEBATES of CONGRESS.

III. ESSAYS on the great subjects of Government; also upon the national and local Rights of the AMERICAN CITIZENS, as founded upon the National or State Constitutions; also upon every other Subject, which may appear suitable for newspaper discussion.

IV. A SERIES of PARAGRAPHS, calculated to catch the LIVING MANNERS AS THEY RISE; and to point the public attention to Objects that have an important reference to domestic, social and public happiness.

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X. The STATE of the FUNDS—Courses of Exchange—Prices Current, &c.

CONDITIONS.

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Published every WEDNESDAY and SATURDAY.

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The price to Subscribers (exclusive of postage) THREE DOLLARS per annum.

III.

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Will be received in all the capital towns upon the Continent; also at No. 9, Maiden-Lane, near the Oldfego-Market, New-York.

To the PUBLIC.

AT this important Crisis, the ideas that fill the mind, are pregnant with Events of the greatest magnitude—to strengthen and complete the UNION of the States—to extend and protect their COMMERCE, under equal Treaties yet to be formed—to explore and arrange the NATIONAL FUNDS—to restore and establish the PUBLIC CREDIT—and ALL under the auspices of an untried System of Government, will require the ENERGIES of the Patriots and Sages of our Country—Hence the propriety of increasing the Mediums of Knowledge and Information.

AMERICA, from this period, begins a new Era in her national existence—"THE WORLD IS ALL BEFORE HER"—The wisdom and folly—the misery and prosperity of the EMPIRES, STATES, and KINGDOMS, which have had their day upon the great Theatre of Time, and are now no more, suggest the most important Mementos—These, with the rapid series of Events, in which our own Country has been so deeply interested, have taught the enlightened Citizens of the United States, that FREEDOM and GOVERNMENT—LIBERTY and LAWS, are inseparable.

This Conviction has led to the adoption of the New Constitution; for however, VARIOUS the Sentiments, respecting the MERITS of this System, all GOOD MEN are agreed in the necessity that exists, of an EFFICIENT FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

A paper, therefore, established upon NATIONAL, INDEPENDENT, and IMPARTIAL PRINCIPLES—which shall take up the premised Articles, upon a COMPETENT PLAN, it is presumed, will be highly interesting, and meet with public approbation and patronage.

The Editor of this Publication is determined to leave no avenue of information unexplored:—He solicits the assistance of Persons of leisure and abilities—which, united with his own assiduity, he flatters himself will render the Gazette of the United States not unworthy general encouragement—and is, with due respect, the public's humble servant,
THE EDITOR.

POSTSCRIPT.

SIX Months have now elapsed since this paper was ushered into existence—how far the spirit of the plan has been exhibited, and adhered to, is not for the Editor to say.—A generous and candid public has awarded its approbation, by a subscription which is said to be more extensive than usual on similar occasions.—An acknowledgement of the favor is therefore due from the publisher.—The expense attending an undertaking of this kind is always great; in the present instance, it has not been counterbalanced by any of the customary receipts on account of advertisements—the object being an extensive circulation, the Editor conceiving that their insertion would have counteracted that part of his plan, has never admitted any. This consideration if it was necessary to be suggested, would point out the importance of punctuality on the part of the subscribers—it appears to have been very generally attended to, as the payments have been unusually prompt.

It is necessary to observe that the number of names which have honored the subscription, is not sufficient to defray the expense of the publication, and to afford the Editor a competent support, on a supposition that the whole should be collected.—Additional subscriptions are therefore solicited; and when it is considered, that the paper is new in its construction; contains intelligence of the most interesting nature; abounds with more originality than any other periodical publication; and, viewed as a miscellany, is cheaper than any magazine, register, &c. it can not be doubted but that it will receive an adequate patronage.

In the present number, the publication of the Journals of the Senate is commenced. As there is no gallery to the Senate Chamber, all that can be known of the proceedings of that Most Honorable branch of the National Legislature, is from their Journals; in this view of the subject, it is supposed they will be interesting to the public. The price of the Laws and the Journals of the two Houses only, which will be given in the course of one year, amounts to more than the subscription.

The Editor is determined to prosecute the publication, upon its original principles: He hopes to make it more interesting, by the communications of his ingenious correspondents; He solicits the aid of every friend to science, freedom and government: And such speculations as bear a friendly aspect to the peace, honor and prosperity of our rising nation, will be received with gratitude by the public's humble servant,
JOHN FENNO.

New-York, October 14, 1789.

WANTED, to complete Files of this paper, numbers 30, 40, 42, 44, 46, and 48: Six pence each will be paid for either of those numbers at the office of the Editor.—October 24.

THE TABLET.—No. LVII.

"The instinct of sovereignty in our nature, and the waywardness of infants which is the consequence of it, discover themselves with the least glimmering of understanding; and those children, which are most neglected and the least taught, are always the most stubborn and obstinate; and none are more unruly or fonder of following their own will, than those that are least capable of governing themselves."

I HAVE, in more than one of my speculations, offered remarks much of the same nature with those contained in this number. The subject, in my apprehension of it, is an interesting one. Wherever we turn our eyes, we behold striking demonstrations, that all men are in nature tyrants. It is so universal and instinctive a propensity, as justly to be denominated one of the strongest characteristics of human nature. If I am enquired of, why I endeavor to enforce so evident a truth, I will inform the reader, that it is not so much to fix the doctrine itself, as to deduce some useful inferences.

Men are perpetually calling government a necessary evil. The epithet is not fairly applied. Government is instituted as a remedy against an unavoidable evil, which exists in the natural constitution of man. It is true the remedy does not always produce the full effect intended; but it is only because the evil is too deeply fixed to admit of a cure. Government must not therefore itself be called an evil, merely because there are some evils, which it has not power to remove. If society is oppressed with tyranny, or agitated with sedition, it only shews that the lusts and passions of men are not altogether restrained by civil institutions. Men are acting agreeably to the impulse of their nature. The government under which such mischiefs happen is not capable of controlling entirely the excesses to which men are naturally prone. The enormities however would be far greater, were they not subject to some restraint, by the operation of the government. We are too fond of paying compliments to human nature, and therefore transfer the blame from ourselves to causes where it should not be fixed.

Man must be made an artificial being before it can be safe living with him. This inculcates the necessity of education. Ignorance is the foundation of most of the political calamities which ever overwhelmed the world. I do not mean that ignorant men have done the mischief. They have only suffered it to be done. Wicked and artful men, which are always to be found in all situations of society, can give scope to their inclinations, where the people are untaught in moral duties and civil privileges. Unless men are ignorant and unenlightened, no monstrous mischief can take place; and in this view, ignorance may be said to be the foundation of all political evil.—There can be no danger of losing liberty where the people have knowledge. A wise community guards itself equally against tyrants and incendiaries; and it like wise guards individuals against the oppressions which they are, by nature, prone to exercise over one another. In such a situation the positive blessings of government are apparent; because civilized, well-informed men are capable of being well-governed. In a worse state of society, men are a greater evil to each other, and therefore they call the government an evil, by way of compliment to themselves.

It is of importance that mankind become sensible of this truth; that bad men can never have a good government, and that men always will be bad, till laws and education make them good.—Nothing places the advantages of good laws and institutions in a stronger point of light, than that they are capable of increasing the desire to possess property, at the same time that they create an abhorrence to acquire it unjustly. In a state of nature, the desires of a man are few, and it is well they are so; for few as they are, he often commits terrible outrages to gratify them. In a state, any degree civilized, it is true the appetites of a man are more keen, and the objects of his wishes more numerous, and they safely may be so; for he will seldom dare or desire to lay violent or unjust hands on the property of another, for the sake of increasing his own. And yet there are many people who are incessantly stigmatizing government with odious epithets. If men will look into the subject, and trace effects to their proper source, they will know better by what names to call things.

FRENCH INSCRIPTION

TO the French Almanack for the year 1787, is a Frontispiece representing France seated on the Throne of Royalty, and Taking by the hand the Genius of America, with the following expressive motto:

Homage des Americaines à la France, sous la regne de Louis XVI. Pacificateur des deux Mondes!

MR. ADAMS'S LETTERS.

LETTER V.

AMSTERDAM, OCT. 9, 1780.

SIR,

THE fifth enquiry is, "Whether a voluntary revolt of any one or more of the States in the American Confederation is to be apprehended: And if one or more were to revolt, whether the others would not be able to defend themselves?"

This is a very judicious and material question. I conceive that the answer to it is easy and decisive. There is not the least danger of a voluntary revolt of any one State in the Union. It is difficult to prove a negative, however; and still more difficult to prove a future negative. Let us, however, consider the subject a little.

Which State is the most likely to revolt, or submit? Is it the most ancient colony, as Virginia, or the Massachusetts? Is it the most numerous and powerful, as Virginia, Massachusetts, or Pennsylvania? I believe nobody will say, that any one of these great States will take the lead in a revolt, or a voluntary submission.

Will it be the smallest and weakest States, that will be most likely to give up voluntarily? In order to satisfy ourselves of this, let us consider what has happened; and by the knowledge of what has passed, we may judge of what is to come.

The three smallest States are Rhode-Island, Georgia, and Delaware.

The English have plainly had it in view to bring one of these States to a submission, and have accordingly directed very great forces against them.

Let us begin with Rhode-Island. In the latter end of the year 1776, General Howe sent a large army of near seven thousand men, by sea, under a strong convoy of men of war, detached by Lord Howe, to take possession of Newport, the capital of Rhode-Island. Newport stands upon an island, and was neither fortified nor garrisoned sufficiently to defend itself against so powerful a fleet and army, and therefore the English made themselves masters of the place. But what advantage did they derive from it? Did the colony of Rhode-Island, small as it is, submit? So far from it, that they were rendered the more eager to resist; and an army was assembled at Providence, which confined the English to the prison of Rhode-Island, until the fall of the year 1779, when they were obliged to evacuate it, and our army entered it in triumph.

The next little State which the English attempted was Delaware. This State consists of three counties only, situated upon the river Delaware, below Philadelphia, and is most exposed to the English men of war of any of the States, because they are open to invasion not only upon the ocean, but all along the river Delaware. It contains not more than thirty thousand souls. When the English got possession of Philadelphia, and had the command of the whole navigation of the Delaware, these people were more in the power of the English than any part of America ever was, and the English generals, admirals, commanders, and all the Tories, used all their arts to seduce this little State; but they could not succeed; they never could get the appearance of a government erected under the King's authority.—The people continued their delegation in Congress, and continued to elect their Governors, Senate, and Assemblies, under their new constitution, and to furnish their quota to the continental army, and their proportion to the militia, until the English were obliged to evacuate Philadelphia.—There are besides, in this little State, from various causes, more Tories, in proportion, than in any other. And as this State stood immoveable, I think we have no reason to fear a voluntary submission of any other.

The next small State that was attempted was Georgia.—This State is situated at the southern extremity of all, and at such a distance from all the rest, and such difficulties of communication, being above an hundred miles from Charleston, in South-Carolina, that it was impossible for the neighbouring States to afford them any assistance. The English invaded this little State, and took the Capital, Savanna, and have held it to this day: But this acquisition has not been followed by any submission of the province; on the contrary, they continue their delegates in Congress, and their new officers of government. This province, moreover, was more immediately the child of England than any other; the settlement of it cost England more than all the rest, from whence one might expect they would have more friends here than any where.

New-Jersey is one of the middling-sized States.—New-Jersey had a large British army in Philadelphia, which is on one side of them, and another in New-York, which is the other side, and