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SATURDAY, MAY 29, 1790.

[WHOLE No. 118.]

DISCOURSES ON DAVILA.

No. VII.
CONCLUDED.

The Senate's thanks, the Gazette's pompous tale,
With force refulgent, o'er the brave prevail;
This power has praise, that virtue scarce can warm
Till fame supplies the universal charm.

NATURE has taken effectual care of her own work. She has wrought the passions into the texture and essence of the soul—and has not left it in the power of art to destroy them. To regulate and not to eradicate them is the province of policy. It is of the highest importance to education, to life and to society, not only that they should not be destroyed, but that they should be gratified, encouraged, and arranged on the side of virtue. To confine our observations at present to that great leading passion of the soul, which has been so long under our consideration: What discouragement, distress and despair, have not been occasioned by its disappointment? To consider one instance, among many, which happen continually in schools and colleges. Put a supposition of a pair of twin brothers, who have been nourished by the same nurse, equally encouraged by their parents and preceptors, with equal genius, health and strength, pursuing their studies with equal ardor and success. One, is at length overtaken by some sickness, and in a few days the other, who escapes the influenza is advanced some pages before him. This alone will make the studies of the unfortunate child, when he recovers his health, disgustful. As soon as he loses the animating hope of pre-eminence, and is constrained to acknowledge, a few others of his form or class, his superiors, he becomes incapable of industry application. Even the fear of the ferule or the rod, will after this be ineffectual. The terror of punishment, by forcing attention, may compel a child to perform a task—but can never infuse that ardor for study, which alone can arrive at great attainments. Emulation really seems to produce genius, and the desire of superiority to create talents. Either this, or the reverse of it, must be true; and genius produces emulation, and natural talents, the desire of superiority—for they are always found together, and what God and nature have united, let no audacious legislator presume to put asunder. When the love of glory inkindles in the heart, and influences the whole soul, then, and only then, may we depend on a rapid progression of the intellectual faculties.—The awful feeling of a mortified emulation, is not peculiar to children. In an army, or a navy, sometimes the interest of the service requires, and oftener perhaps private interest and partial favor prevail, to promote officers over their superiors, or seniors. But the consequence is, that those officers can never serve again together.—They must be distributed in different corps, or sent on different commands. Nor is this the worst effect: It almost universally happens, that the superseded officer feels his heart broken by his disgrace. His mind is enfeebled by grief, or disturbed by resentment—and the instances have been very rare, of any brilliant action performed by such an officer. What a monument to this character of human nature is the long list of yellow Admirals in the British service!—Consider the effects of similar disappointments in civil affairs. Ministers of State, are frequently displaced in all countries—and what is the consequence? Are they seen happy in a calm resignation to their fate? Do they turn their thoughts from their former employments, to private studies or business? Are they men of pleasant humor, and engaging conversation? Are their hearts at ease? Or is their conversation a constant effusion of complaints and murmurs, and their breast the residences of resentment and indignation, of grief and sorrow, of malice and revenge? Is it common to see a man get the better of his ambition, and despise the honors he once possessed—or is he commonly employed in projects upon projects, intrigues after intrigues, and manœuvres on manœuvres to recover them? So sweet and delightful to the human heart is that complacency and admiration, which attends public offices, whether they are conferred by the favor of a Prince, derived from hereditary descent, or obtained by election from the people, that a mind must be sunk below the feelings of humanity, or exalted by religion or philosophy far above the common character of men, to be insensible, or to conquer its sensibility. Preventions to such conquests are not uncommon; but the sincerity of such pretenders is often rendered suspicious, by their constant conversation and conduct, and even by their countenances. The people are so sensible of this, that a man in this pre-

dicament is always on the compassionate list, and, except in cases of great resentment against him for some very unpopular principles or behavior, they are found to be always studying some other office for a disappointed man, to console him in his affliction. In short the theory of Education, and the science of government, may be reduced to the same simple principle, and be all comprehended in the knowledge of the means of activity, conducting, controlling and regulating the emulation and ambition of the citizens.

FROM THE UNITED STATES CHRONICLE.

MR. WHEELER,

LOOKING over some English Magazines, I was struck with the following Extract from a Pamphlet published in the year 1781, by the Dean of Gloucester, entitled "An Enquiry, what benefits can arise to the English, the Americans, &c. from the greatest victories or successes in the present war." The predictions of the Dean concerning our country are so far from being fulfilled, that the very reverse has taken place—America is now UNITED under a firm, efficient government, administered by her choicest Sons—her inhabitants are happy,—Agriculture, Commerce and Manufactures are encouraged and increasing—and in no country in the known world are there less enemies to the established Government, or more warm supporters and friends to it.

A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

Rehoboth, May 13, 1790.

AS to the future grandeur of America, and its being a rising empire, under one head, whether republican or monarchical, it is one of the idlest and most visionary notions, that ever was conceived even by writers of romance. For there is nothing in the genius of the people, the situation of their country, or the nature of their different climates, which tends to countenance such a supposition. On the contrary, every prognostic that can be formed from a contemplation of their mutual antipathies, and clashing interests, their difference of governments, habits, and manners, plainly indicate, that the Americans will have no centre of union among them, and no common interest to pursue when the power and government of England are finally removed. Moreover, when the interfections and divisions of their country by great bays of the sea, and by vast rivers, lakes and ridges of mountains; and, above all, when those immense inland regions beyond the back settlements, which are still unexplored, are taken into the account, they form the highest probability, that the Americans never can be united into one compact empire, under any species of government whatever. Their fate seems to be, a *disunited People*, till the end of time. In short, the only probable supposition that can be formed of them at present is this: that being so very jealous in their tempers, so suspicious and distrustful of each other, they will be divided and subdivided into little commonwealths, or principalities, according to the above mentioned natural divisions, or boundaries of their country; and that all of them in general will be more intent on prosecuting their own internal disputes and quarrels, than desirous to engage in external wars and distant conquests. They will have neither leisure, nor inclination, nor abilities, for such undertakings."

FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

ON EMIGRATION.

AGRICULTURE should be the main object of industry in such a country as ours.—Lands, uncultivated, are like gold sleeping in the mines—it is only culture that makes them valuable.—Why then should our citizens spread themselves over so immense a territory—why should they emigrate to the wilderness, and leave extensive regions behind them, in the neighbourhood of their friends; conveniently situated to export the products of their labor, and to acquire the necessaries and comforts of life—those various articles they have long been accustomed to, and which constitute the richest ingredients in the composition of animal existence.—"Why shouldst thou die before thy time?" is an old enquiry.—What is death but a privation of the company, friendship, and conversation of our old acquaintance and associates?—The sensations of an ingenious mind on abandoning his former residence, to retire beyond the mountains to pass the remainder of life, are little short of those which rack the soul on the near prospect of nature's dissolution.—Spirit and industry in cultivating the numerous tracts of fertile country in the neighbourhood of the old states, would prevent the distress of individuals, and supercede the necessity of distant emigrations for centuries to come.—

CONGRESS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, MAY 10.

On the proposition to increase the duty of Tonnage, on foreign bottoms.

MR. JACKSON said, that he was one of the committee on the petition before the House, but that by some accident or other he had not notice of their sitting when they concluded on the report. He would not however tax the members with any design, but suppose it to have proceeded from the neglect of the messenger.

The object of the report terminated with him in three points of view—It might be considered in the light of an addition to the revenue—It might be taken as a prohibitory or retaliating law—or it might be considered as an additional encouragement to American shipping.

If it was to be considered as an object to produce revenue, the House should be careful not to overcharge it, by overcharging any article of revenue. It was an old maxim and a very just one, that frequently instead of two and two making four, two and two made but one—This operated with the House the last session, when a higher tonnage was proposed—The revenue on tonnage is in fact no other than a revenue on customs, for the freight is added to, or deducted from the sale of the article paying that freight; and the higher this tonnage is made the fewer vessels will enter your ports, and of course the less will be the revenue coming into your treasury.

If it is meant as a prohibitory or retaliating law on other nations, for not permitting your vessels to enter their ports; he observed, that it should not have been brought in, in its present form.—The house should be manly and open, should act up to the American character and inform the nations complained of, why it was done. For what, he asked, could be expected from a law like the present regulation, but counter restrictions and regulations, and on whom he asked would those restrictions and regulations fall but on our own vessels? Suppose, however, that it has its full effect, and that a prohibition is the consequence, what is to become of the produce of our country—Is the hand of industry to be stayed? Is it to be arrested in the hands of its owners? Will the lumber cutter rest satisfied with your telling him that this prohibition is necessary for the encouragement of ship-building? Will not his interest compel him to complain, and sir, is not interest in some measure or other the prevailing principle? Will he be satisfied that his interest shall be neglected, and that the interest of the ship-builder shall be regarded? Will not the rice and the tobacco planter have likewise reason to complain?—For sir, if this prohibition is to take place, where is your shipping to carry off the surplus of produce? Sir, it is not in existence, the best situated state with respect to shipping, employs foreigners. That we had not shipping sufficient was conceded on all sides of the House at the last session, and particularly so, by some gentlemen of the greatest abilities and knowledge. He did not know that those gentlemen now would be of different sentiments, he hoped not—he had no authority to suppose it, but he would mention the words of one or two of them to shew the House what their opinions then were. An honorable gentleman near him from Virginia (Mr. Madison) on the tonnage law, last session, had declared, that "it was admitted on all hands, that America did not furnish shipping sufficient for the transportation of her own produce, and the apparent quantity would decrease from what it was represented to be, if gentlemen considered that the American vessels mentioned in the custom-house reports, may clear three, four or five times a year. This reduction of our shipping serves only to shew the indispensable necessity of applying means to raise it up to what it ought to be. But in doing this we ought to be careful in avoiding any sudden or violent effect upon our commerce by the rise of freight." Another gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Fitzsimons) at that time had absolutely declared a dollar too great for the trade to bear—his words were "Then we will not adopt such a duty as must deter foreigners from coming amongst us until we are in better circumstances. If we lay a duty of two-thirds of a dollar per ton on nations in alliance, we cannot propose to lay less than a dollar on those with whom we have no treaties. A ship of 200 tons will then have to pay 200 dollars, a very considerable expense, perhaps much more than our trade can bear." If then a dollar was too much for the trade to bear the last session, can we have so soon changed our situation for the better, that our trade will not feel it now—he could not suppose it.

Suppose it taken up in the last view he had mentioned as an additional encouragement to ship-building. He would ask what encouragement was wanting.—He wished the house to examine the relative situation of an American and a foreign vessel. The latter, if of two hundred tons, and entering our ports three times a year paid three hundred dollars, whilst an American vessel if she entered our ports twenty times a year paid but her six cents per ton, once in a twelve month, which would amount in a vessel of that burthen to just twelve dollars. He begged the house to view the immense difference, and then ask if the payment of three hundred dollars to twelve was not encouragement sufficient.—For his part he was at a loss to account for the application.—Fifty cents the last year was thought fully sufficient; one hundred is sought for this session, and he had no doubt but the next another petition would request two hundred. He could not tell how such people were to be satisfied, nor how far the length of such consciences would go.—He believed they would not be satisfied with any thing short of a total prohibition, and if they even possessed this total prohibition, they would be like the dog in the manger—they could not eat the hay themselves, nor would they suffer others to eat it. For the shipping it was manifest they did not possess, nor was a sufficiency to be obtained in a moment. It was not this House's declaring that American shipping only should carry the produce of America, that would produce this shipping—time alone could effect it—it was granted that America could build ships cheaper than any other part of the world—this ought to be encouragement sufficient without this tonnage, and no doubt would operate as such when merchants turned their attention that way, and which their interests would naturally lead them into.

The fact was, that the American capitals which formerly were turned to that branch had been diverted from their course during the war, and would require time to return into their proper channel, which he had not a doubt would be effected—but time and time alone could do this. Here he would observe that an honorable gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. Sherman) had on a former occasion argued directly contrary to what he had yesterday declared. That gentleman, when the tonnage was then before the house, had said "that the policy of laying a high tonnage was at best a doubtful point. The regulation, he had observed, was certainly intended as an encouragement to our own shipping, but if this was not the consequence of the measure it must be an improper one." Surely if it was a doubtful or an improper measure