

# Gazette of the United States.

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## FOR THE GAZETTE.

### Hints respecting a project for establishing universal peace with the Indians.

[CONCLUDED.]

THE first public magistrates, known among rude nations, are their military leaders. Their first public laws are military orders. Their first ideas of regular government are those of military discipline. Their first ideas of national character, and national union, arise from national exigencies that refer to war or hunting. The ideas of acting in concert, the ties of public union, are first felt and recognized by them during the operations of war, or the kindred employments of the chase. Their first sensibility to public opinion and honor, is impressed by such scenes—and, in such scenes they acquire their first ideas of public character, of order, government, subordination, regularity. Survey the history of the universe! Is there a single nation that ever became civilized before they were habituated to a system of military order? The feudal system, which is the basis of European government, and of which strong resemblances have obtained in Asia, was clearly of a military nature; although the pay of the troops, instead of being pecuniary, was territorial: For it was a fundamental principle of the feudal tenure, that the stipendiary property allowed the feudatory, should be enjoyed by him, in consideration of his conforming to the orders of his superior officer and performing the services commanded by his military chief, or head warrior.

The red people who border on the United States, have not however, been as yet habituated to a regular system of military subordination.—Although in the space of the last forty, or even twenty years, they appear to have made a perceptible advance towards such a system. Among other considerations, the degree of regularity with which they planned and executed their operations in 1791, argues, that they are advancing from the state of savages to that of barbarians; and that, as such, the Indians are a more formidable enemy than they were before the American revolution. But as yet they have not acquired such habits of property, union, order, and resource, as to maintain of themselves a regular system of military subordination. Yet, like barbarians, the red people are distinguished by some of the strong traits of character which marked the earlier stages of the feudal policy.—Such are the aversion to labor; contempt of the mechanical and commercial arts—the propensities to plunder—and the passion for war and warlike exercises and sports. These traits strongly mark the character of the Indian warrior. They present his ruling passion. And by this passion, it is projected to seize him—and attach him to his own interest, to the true interest of his tribe, and to the interest of the United States.

Could his passion for war be so converted as to be made the instrument of peace and civilization, the important point would be gained. Instead therefore of giving presents to an Indian warrior, let him be allowed pay! Instead of being urged to labour, let him know that he may omit it! Let him also be indulged in his contempt of the mechanical and commercial arts, until time shall have corrected his prejudices! Let a main incentive to plunder be taken away, by allowing him a regular and comfortable subsistence! And instead of telling him to abandon the character of a warrior, and thus at once to eradicate the strongest passion of his soul, tell him that he shall be a more formidable warrior than can be found in any of the tribes that are at variance with his own! tell him that he shall be a regular warrior! tell him to be a good soldier!

The project therefore which is suggested is in substance, that the United States should engage in service and maintain a body of red troops, allowing them such pay and emoluments as military principles may require.—That a proper portion of their officers, especially of the higher grades, should be American citizens, as affording a security for their conforming to the authority of the Union.—That these troops should not exceed a certain proportion, say one half, of the whole military establishment of the United States, so that the rest of the forces, being white troops, might with other cautions, completely secure the obedience of the Indians! And although it might at first be somewhat difficult to make them conform to the minutiae of military arrangement, yet it is imagined, that they might be gradually habituated to a discipline which should be liberal, yet eventually exact, nervous, solid.

Could this measure be carried into full effect, it might undoubtedly be attended with important consequences.

The red troops might serve in lieu of the same number of white men: and it is presumed, that the expense of maintaining them need not much exceed, if even equal, the expense of maintaining a like number on the present establishment. For the purposes of the partisan war, the services of the red men, in

co-operation with the more regular force of the white troops, might also be of material advantage. And the suggested project, if completely executed would operate at least, in a duplicate ratio against Indian hostilities: It would not only furnish men for the service, without taking the citizens from the productive occupations of peace; but it would also prevent the tribes to which the red troops belonged, from making war against the union—since their warriors would be in the United States service. And further, this measure would tend to secure a compliance with treaties on the part of the Indians; would retrograde among them habits of subordination and government—and would thus facilitate the advancement of regular industry, the advancement of the agricultural, mechanical and commercial arts; hereby accelerating the progress of civilization, and moral improvement.

The peace of a tribe or nation, being secured by means of military regularity, the Indians might be advised to assemble and deliberate on their own affairs. Different towns might be persuaded to consult together for their common interest, and to extend their views beyond such objects as principally occupy their attention in the councils already known among the Indians. They might be gradually taught to elect persons who should represent them in such consultations. And they might be told, that the young men ought not to determine on any measure that concerned the nation without the concurrence of the old men. Thus they might eventually be habituated to the art of legislation; and to the institution of a public council, consisting of Representatives possessing the ardour of youth, and of Senators distinguished by maturer age and capacity.

The extensive views of civilized society now begin to open upon the mind. And we might look forward to the mode of administering justice; the eventual establishment of a regular system of civil government; and the introduction of education and science; the prevalence of government, laws, liberty, industry and the arts of peace among the Indians!

It is the object of the business, perhaps the art of civilizing and humanizing the ruder part of mankind, might be ascertained with a precision, and carried to a degree of perfection, of which history can furnish no example. For it is suggested, that the United States should lay the basis of a system for civilizing the whole continent of America. Simple in principle, seizing the rude warrior by his ruling passion, this project proposes to conduct him by the instrumentality of this passion from a state of ferocity, to a state of liberal government, moral order, industry, humanity, peace.

To this project, there may, I know, be opposed one general objection which will perhaps comprehend the mass of objections that might be urged in the detail! It may be objected, that the project is new, bold, extensive. But was there ever any improvement that was not new? Is cowardice, in the most favorable view, any thing but a negative quality, that does no good, and prevents improvement? And at the worst is not cowardice in literature, science or politics, as well as in war, a rascally quality, that is fatal to the accomplishment of any thing difficult and useful? Has not the idea of reforming criminals and making them useful members of society been derided by cowardice, as being the mad project of visionaries, until the American magnanimity dared to prove its propriety by carrying it into effect? And is not the constitution of the United States one of the noblest, boldest, sublimest projects ever executed by man? And has any man of sense ever considered it as a defect in some of the most eminent characters in America, that they were distinguished by daring and enlarged views, as well as by accurate maturity of judgment?

If a measure be in principle useful and friendly to humanity, its novelty, boldness, and extent, are considerations that should recommend it to the true American. And it is worthy the American glory, by their example, to teach mankind, not only the art of framing republican governments and thus serving liberal order among themselves, but also the art of civilizing and humanizing the whole world.

ALFRED.

## FOR THE GAZETTE.

### TO JUBA.

[See National Gazette of Wednesday last.]

THE origin of declaimers and remonstrators is of very high antiquity. If you will have reference to an old book, held in great veneration by our ancestors, and which for that very reason has been denounced by some modern patriots, as containing aristocratical doctrines, you will find that Balaam's Ass is the first remonstrator upon record!

It would have been fortunate perhaps for the citizens of the United States, if the numerous successors of that singular orator had possessed the philanthropy and taciturnity of their long-earred progenitor—for it is said, that Balaam's Ass made but one speech in the course of his

life, and that for the avowed purpose of preventing the effusion of blood—whereas you, JUBA, and your immaculate coadjutors, are braying from morning till night, in order to involve this happy country in all the horrors inseparable from a state of warfare.

You ask "why our executive was so passive when the brig Little Sarah was arming here, although a British bottom, and why all this bustle since the change of property?" I answer, that there is not the least similitude between the two cases. In the first instance it is well known, that the President had no knowledge of the transaction; and besides, that the vessel in question was a merchantman, deeply loaded with American produce, and had no commission or letters of marque—whereas in her present state, it is equally true, that she is equipped not only to cruise against the British, but against other powers with whom we have been always at peace. Do you really imagine, Sir, that we have so soon forgot, that we are more or less under obligations to all the continental powers in Europe? The assertion, perhaps, may be new to many—but the wonder will cease when we reflect, that during our struggle for liberty, we were often obliged to receive pecuniary assistance—witness the loans made to us by Spain and Holland. Are we then wantonly and treacherously to relinquish the reputation which we have so honorably acquired among the nations of the earth, in order to gratify you and your faction? I trust that your disappointment will be equal to the wickedness of your attempts.

Republican governments are not new in the history of mankind, and if they are so obnoxious to kings, as to induce them to undertake crusades for the sole object of extirpating them, how happens it that there was no combination of despots against us, when it would have been so easy to have crushed us to atoms? If you are at a loss for the true cause, I will tell you. It was because there was nothing unreasonable in separating from a country, who had denied us a participation of the rights common to all the empire. It was because our local situation pointed to the expediency of independence—it was because we rejected with horror the idea of making ourselves political opinions by fire and sword. And further, it was because we conducted ourselves with that magnanimity, moderation and virtue, as would, if imitated by those who really wish for liberty, insure success to their efforts.

Your address to the militia of Philadelphia, is an insult to their understandings. I have the pleasure of being acquainted with a number of that respectable body of citizens, and can therefore assure you, that they know well how to discriminate between what is the cause of France, and what is the cause of a few selfish individuals, who, in open violation of the laws of the United States, are embarked in the disgraceful business of fitting out privateers, which neither properly commissioned or manned, can be regarded as pirates. The virtuous yeomanry of America are equally proof to your seditious doctrines. If this meritorious class of citizens submitted with patience to the evils resulting from the late lengthy but just war, it does not follow that they are prepared in the present instance to join in provoking a rupture with all the maritime powers in Europe, in order to sell their wheat to JUBA and his associates, at eighteen pence per bushel, and take any kind of plunder in payment, at a thousand per cent advance!!!—May I not go further and say, that the enlightened people of this country are not so weary of the inestimable privilege of chusing their own rulers, as to relinquish it for Commissioners, Ministers Plenipotentiary, Agents ad hoc, Secretaries pro temp. &c. &c. armed with revolutionary powers to convert us into an 85th department, by the same gentle means as were employed in Brabant, or send us on board of prison ships, in case of resistance to their sovereign will. This kind of government, however it may suit JUBA and his friends, is not calculated as yet for the meridian of the United States.

You tell us among other things, that the brig Little Sarah belongs wholly to, and was fitted out at the expense of the republic of France. There is much reason to doubt the truth of this assertion, because it is well known that she was purchased at auction by a private person—and even admitting the fact as stated, yet it does not follow from thence, that the republic can claim any right from treaties to arm vessels in our ports. The observation, that the agents or representatives of popular governments possess more integrity than those of mixed or absolute ones, can only be true when the great body of the people themselves are virtuous. But to suppose that honest men are only to be found in republics, is an idea as illiberal as false. There are individuals in all nations who do honor to human nature—and who, if they submit passively to the arbitrary mandates of one man, have been probably forced to do it, in order to avoid the greater evils of being plundered and massacred by characters of your description. This I take to have been the origin of all monarchies.

To conclude, I am clearly of opinion that the time is fast approaching, when all men who are well wishers to peace, all men who have property, and indeed all men who are not hostile to the true interest of their country, will be called upon to declare, whether they will support a government of their own choice, or submit to a new order of things forced upon them by JUBA, VERITAS, a JACOBIN, JULE BEN

BALLOE, the translator of foreign languages, and the other numerous defendants of the first declaimer and remonstrator upon record? METELLUS.

## FOR THE GAZETTE.

EXTRACT from the principal LAWS enacted for the Government of "The Associated Reformers, instituted for the universal Benefit of Mankind."

WHEREAS it hath been a subject of complaint, that the embryo projects of many meritorious geniuses are daily lost to posterity, for the want of that fostering care so necessary to embolden the timid. And experience teaches that numbers are found incapable of conducting or understanding their own immediate concerns, and others who through choice decline taking part in any active occupation. For remedy whereof, the society offer their aid to all persons laboring under these and similar embarrassments.

As a preliminary qualification, the members are to resign their temporal interests without reserve to the guidance of the society; and none shall retain any exclusive right over his personal property or inclinations, to the end that the same may be in all respects a common stock.

Admission of new members, and appointment of officers, shall be determined by a majority of votes; and in the latter instance, without too rigid a partiality to talents, or favor to popular men; as the society shall installably become possessed of an aggregate fund of intellectual treasure, to answer all purposes and circumstances.

Nevertheless, This clause shall not extend to those members who are of the committee of enterprises.

And whereas a very industrious class of citizens, commonly known by the appellation of "the Dreamers," have been hitherto neglected and discouraged: For remedy whereof, there shall be a department established, which shall be denominated "the Dreaming Department"—whose province it shall be to select the most important dreams and interesting visions which shall be communicated by the members, and other ingenious persons skilled and experienced in the art of dreaming; to the end that such communications may be made conducive to the formation of plans for useful projects.

Eighty-four members shall be elected by ballot, quarterly, who shall be denominated "the Committee of Enterprises"—To them shall be committed the execution of all arduous and hazardous undertakings. No member shall be of this committee, except he hath already signalized himself in single combat, honorably killed his man at least, or performed some action manifesting his courage and genius for arms.

There shall be made concern researches very generally of politics, by means of an extensive correspondence with foreign agents, and similar societies, which undoubtedly will spread hereafter into all civilized countries. This arrangement is designed to facilitate a principle object of the institution; which is to project new systems, or amend those that are decayed for tottering monarchies, declining empires, or deranged republics.

The society shall publish the political, happy, or lamentable situation (as the case may be) of the several states of both hemispheres; whether under the denomination of monarchies, empires, republics, dukedoms, palatinates, or electorates, &c. &c. in order that the citizens, subjects or slaves (as the case may be) may understand how far they ought to be satisfied with their ancient establishments, or whether a reform ought to be preferred.

There are many other regulations which are not necessary to be inferred here, as they contain only the ordinary rules for the preservation of order, times of recess, &c. &c.

The Printers are requested to give the above a place in their respective papers.

## FOR THE GAZETTE.

[Conclusion of PACIFICUS, No. 5, from our last.]

BUT Louis XVI. it is said, acted from reasons of State without regard to our cause; while the people of France patronised it with zeal and attachment.

As far as the assertion, with regard to the monarch is founded and is an objection to our gratitude to him, it defrays the whole fabric of gratitude to France: For our gratitude is and must be relative to the services rendered us. The nation can only claim it on the score of their having been rendered by their agent with their means. If the views with which he rendered them divested them of that merit which ought to inspire gratitude—none is due. The nation no more than their agent can claim it.

As to the individual good wishes of the citizens of France, as they did not produce the services rendered to us as a nation, they can be no foundation for national gratitude. They can