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FOR THE GAZETTE.

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

THE purpose of the following observations is not either to criminate or panegyric the measures of the national government respecting the Indians; it is to suggest some considerations relative to Indian affairs, with views very different from those of party. But, as my soul revolts against the slavish doctrines that militate against liberal discussion, I purpose to express my sentiments in the spirit of freedom; while I respect that decorum which is due to the enlightened mind of America. And I shall first advert to measures which have already been proposed or adopted for maintaining peace with the Indians.

1. The giving of presents to the Indians, is a measure which has been sometimes employed. Perhaps particular circumstances may, in certain cases, advise its adoption. But it may be questioned whether this measure, although the practice of European powers should seem to recommend it, is, on the whole, beneficial. Its advantages are at least temporary and precarious;—and perhaps it tends in the event to encourage in the Indians a disposition to depredation.

The measure of sending clerical missionaries among the Indians has had its patrons. The zeal with which this measure has been in some instances patronized, may be considered as arguing more goodness of intention than reach of thought, or acquaintance with the history of society. I do not however object to the measure, but only to the miscalculation of its relative place and importance. Of itself, it appears inadequate at present, to the object of maintaining peace with the Indians.

3. Negotiation is one of the resources. This may be a valuable auxiliary, as conducive to the eventual establishment of peace. But considered in any other light, it may disappoint the hopes of the public. I will mention a single consideration, as authorizing a distrust of the efficiency of treaties with the Indians. After the war in which the French are now engaged had extended to the principal Maritime Powers of Europe, and had consequently become immediately interesting to the American commerce, the President of the United States announced to his fellow-citizens, that national disposition which is declared in the national treaties and laws; publicly proclaiming, for the information and benefit of the citizens, the importance of abstaining from all acts inconsistent with that friendship and impartiality, which the faith of treaties and the authority of the law enjoined: And in the same proclamation, he gave public notice of that determination which principle dictates, the determination to execute his official and sworn duty. Yet even this measure has not escaped animadversion, and the language of censure. Such animadversions, when proceeding from misguided zeal, and not from personal disappointment, may indeed be regarded with a peculiar indulgence and generous compassion, as being the erratic effusions of an ardent passion for liberty. But, when a measure clearly constitutional, and wisely adapted to guard against the infraction of treaties and the public law, is censured, even in a country so enlightened and liberal as the United States, and by persons claiming the character of American citizens; can it be rational to repose implicit confidence in the effect of treaties over such persons as Indians—persons so ignorant, so suspicious, so irritable, so prone to plunder, so destitute of regular government? Are the majority of the Indians less adverse to the restraints of moral order, than the persons who traduce the President's proclamation?

4. The Troops of the United States are intended for the protection of peace on the frontier. But in case of hostilities on the western borders, the extent of frontier, the distance of the respective posts, and the delatory attacks incident to an Indian war, are among the causes which render it difficult, or impossible, to completely protect the rights of the United States by adopting a system merely defensive. And in sending a regular army into the Indian country, various difficulties present themselves, as obstacles to the complete success of such a plan: the natural obstacles which impede the march of a regular army through an uncultivated country; the multiplied difficulties, as well as the expense of furnishing the army with the requisite supplies; the difficulty of ever overtaking the enemy and fighting him on equal ground; the inability to surprise and defeat. And temporary excursions of volunteers, however honorable they may be, at times, to the participants, are of such a nature as to want that systematic arrangement which appears requisite to the establishment of permanent peace with the Indians.

5. The advancement of cultivation among the Indians is an object contemplated by some of the late treaties; and ought never to be forgotten. Yet this purpose, if pursued alone, must be slow in its progress: Although when fully attained it must be of eminent utility. This purpose, however, may, it is imagined,

be accelerated by a measure which is yet to be suggested.

The preceding remarks point to the principal expedients which have been relied on for keeping the Indians in peace. And taken singly, or in connection, they do not appear to promise that prompt and complete establishment of peace which is desirable for the United States. These general remarks argue the difficulty of accomplishing this desirable object; as well as the propriety of adopting such further expedients as the importance and the difficulty of the object may demand.

Is there then no other measure which may be adopted, and which will aid and accelerate the main object of the arrangement now in operation? Before suggesting a specific answer to this question, I will succinctly mention some general ideas.

To establish universal peace with the Indians, it appears important that order, government, civilization, should take place among them. This consideration immediately opens into an extensive field of enquiry. I do not purpose at this time to survey and particularly delineate the whole; but simply to point to some of the main objects of attention. I shall only sketch something of an outline without even pretending to complete the representations. Persons conversant in comprehensive views of human affairs must be sensible of the variety of particulars that would require attention in minutely investigating the subject! But, as the present design is to throw out only some hints for public consideration, the observations will be of a general nature, omitting a multitude of particulars.

An opinion has, in some measure obtained, that it is impracticable to civilize the red people on the borders of the United States. But the small effect of past attempts for this purpose does not appear to warrant the opinion. The progress of mankind from rudeness to humanization is usually slow, much slower than a partial observer of society would be apt even to imagine.

It is, I acknowledge, no easy matter to form a true estimate of the space of time which, in the general course of events, must elapse, before any people having no connection with the more civilized part of mankind, would emerge from the rudeness of savage life and advance to the civilization, the arts and humanities of polished society. Perhaps the space of a thousand years is considerably short of the truth. Let a person consider the rudeness of nations on the continent of Europe late as the fifteenth century, and even later—then recur to the accounts to be found relative to the same nations in the writings of Tacitus, or Caesar; and further consider the length of time which those nations must have existed, at the periods to which these writers refer! This view of only a part of mankind may abundantly evince the very slow, and almost imperceptible progress of the human race from savage rudeness to civilized conditions.

It also appears credible, that this progress in its earlier stages is much less perceptible than in its subsequent periods.

And there is one general consideration which applies very universally to the progress of civilization:—As far as my recollection now extends, history has not recorded any people that ever were civilized without the intervention of military subordination.

(To be continued.)

FROM THE COLUMBIAN CENTINEL.

MR. RUSSELL,

THE Citizens whose names appeared in the letter published in your paper of Wednesday last, from the Ambassador of France, to the French Citizens in this place, do not think themselves intitled to such particular notice for any trifling assistance they may have lent to the unfortunate French seamen, who escaped from Miquelon, and landed here.—Besides, it ought to be known, that the small amount that was collected for the relief of these distressed men, was aided equally by the contribution of a number of other Citizens of the town, whose feelings are warmly interested for the success of the French Revolution, and who embraced with avidity an opportunity that would evince their sincere and grateful attachment to the patriot citizens of that great and generous nation, which had the courage to afford comfort and relief to America in the hour of her affliction and distress—and there is now sufficient evidence to believe, that had it only been hinted to the Citizens of the town, that their aid to the contribution would have been necessary, nineteen, in twenty, would have seized upon the occasion, to have manifested their friendship and affection to the children of the only true and faithful friend of the United States.

[See Gazette, 6th inst.]

Boston July 3, 1793.

NEUTRALITY.

OUR neutral Flag is in all climes unfurled—And fails to see while terrors rock the world; O how supremely cast, the wretch who tries To wrest from commerce such a glorious prize.

FROM THE WESTERN STAR,

Published at Stockbridge (Mass.) by L. ANDREWS.

IT has been justly observed, that the terms "LIBERTY and EQUALITY" have been flagrantly perverted, by the construction given to them by some who make great pretensions to patriotism and political sagacity—Liberty gives the privilege of enjoying in peace and security the fruits of industry—it opens wide the door to honorary preference, to those who pursue the paths of integrity and political rectitude—it favors the dissemination of that knowledge which enables the community to distinguish between real and pretended merit, and which directs the public attention to the former, whether found in the low wall'd cottage, or in the lofty edifice of wealth and affluence.—Liberty invests a people with the right of electing their own rulers, whose task is to enact laws for the general good—and it enjoins upon the community a strict and punctual obedience to them, without which, neither private nor public happiness can long be considered in any other view than as empty sounds.—The aforementioned are among the many privileges which are allotted to a nation whose citizens rightly observe and use the advantages which freedom and independence place within their reach.—For such liberty our heroes fought—for such liberty our martyrs fell—for such liberty our patriots have performed the duties of the cabinet, and such liberty may it long be our happiness unmolested to enjoy.—Equality constitutes a barrier against the assumption of undelegated power—it gives the same security for the protection of the middling and lower class, in the exercise of their rights, as it does to the rich and affluent, and renders the seat of justice accessible to all ranks of citizens.—Some honest but weak and uninformed characters, propagate an idea that liberty consists in every man's doing that which is most agreeable to the dictates of inclination, whether conformable to the laws, or not—that national regulations, calculated for the wisest purposes, must, without giving time to experience their effects, be rendered subservient to the whims and caprice of a set of complainers, who have sufficient art to deceive the unwary, and baseness enough to endeavor to render the public discontented with the operation of a free and just government. The views of the last mentioned are, to introduce disorder and confusion, that, amidst its raging, they may themselves seize the helm of power—this effected, their tone would alter—and while they fought principally their own aggrandizement, the people would be called on to obey their mandates, as the infallible oracles of political rectitude. What these demagogues, before their exaltation, would stile liberty and equality, viz. the right of the populace to assemble and overawe the proceedings of the freely elected legislators of the nation, they would afterwards declaim against as unlawful and seditious. But the former ideas, when once generally disseminated, especially among an uninformed multitude, are apt to carry their influence beyond the controul of reason, and finally produce the most alarming consequences.—Unhappily, this line of conduct has been too much pursued by our Gallic allies, whose noble struggles in the cause of human nature cannot but be interesting to every American.

Those who delight in the diffusion of that happiness concomitant on the establishment of wise and wholesome laws, must heartily wish that the original principles which induced France to throw off the fetters of tyranny, may yet inspire them to the pursuit of those measures which are necessary to secure liberty and its blessings on a just and permanent foundation.—There are those who condemn as Aristocrats, all who do not join in the huzzas of a Paris mob, and unhesitatingly approve the proceedings in toto of the French Jacobin club—but many, very many, who think that the conduct of the former is disgraceful, and that of the latter hostile to all true principles of liberty, pray with more honest hearts for the success of the great cause of freedom, than those who accuse them with being favorers of Aristocracy, &c. &c.—But these declaimers must have a cant phrase, and Aristocracy will answer their purpose as well, and perhaps better, than any other.—Ask some of this class for a definition of their favorite word, and they will be as likely to tell you it means one thing as another—but the definition is of no consequence.—Aristocracy is the rallying sound, the cue word of the party, and that is sufficient.—Those who, through honest ignorance, assign to themselves the part of prejudicing the public mind against such whole political opinions as are consistent as their own, claim the indulgence of pity—while some who, from less honest motives, employ their time to answer similar ends, deserve, in some instances, the severest censure, in others, contempt.

That the mist of ignorance, which has so long darkened and overspread the greatest part of the habitable globe, may speedily vanish before the bright rays of the sun of freedom, and the whole human race participate in the rich blessings of equal liberty, law and justice, must be the fervent desire of every philanthropic heart.

FOR THE GAZETTE.

FRANCE, the rival time immemorial of Great-Britain, had in the course of the war, which ended in 1763, suffered from the successful arms of the latter the severest losses and the most mortifying defeats. Britain from that moment had acquired an ascendant over France in the affairs of Europe, and in the commerce of the world, too decided to be endured without impatience, or without an eager desire of finding a favorable opportunity to destroy it, and repair the breach which had been made in the national glory. The animosity of wounded pride conspired with calculations of the interest of the State to give a keen edge to that impatience and to that desire.

The American Revolution offered the occasion. It attracted early the notice of France, though with extreme circumspection. As far as countenance and aid may be presumed to have been given prior to the epoch of the acknowledgment of our independence, it will be no unkind derogation to assert, that they were marked neither with liberality, nor with vigour; that they wore the appearance rather of a desire to keep alive disturbances, which would embarrass a rival power, than of a serious design to assist a revolution, or a serious expectation that it would be effected.

The victories of Saratoga, the capture of an army, which went a great way towards deciding the issue of the contest, decided also the hesitations of France. They established in the government of that country a confidence in our ability to accomplish our purpose; and as a consequence of it produced the treaties of alliance and commerce.

It is impossible to see in all this any thing more than the conduct of a rival nation, embracing a most promising opportunity to repress the pride and diminish the dangerous power of its rival; by seconding a successful resistance to its authority, and by lopping off a valuable portion of its dominions. The dismemberment of this country from Great-Britain was an obvious and a very important interest of France. It cannot be doubted, that it was the determining motive, and an adequate compensation for the assistance afforded us.

Men of sense, in this country, deduced an encouragement to the part which their zeal for liberty prompted them to take in our revolution, from the probability of the co-operation of France and Spain. It will be remembered, that this argument was used in the publications of the day; but upon what was it bottomed? Upon the known competition between those powers and Great-Britain, upon their evident interest to reduce her power and circumscribe her empire; not upon motives of regard to our interest, or of attachment to our cause. Whoever should have alleged the latter, as grounds of the expectation held out, would have been then justly considered as a visionary, or a deceiver. And whoever shall now ascribe the aid we received to such motives would not deserve to be viewed in a better light.

The inference from these facts is not obscure. Aid and co-operation founded upon a great interest, pursued and obtained by the party affording them, is not a proper flock upon which to engraft that enthusiastic gratitude, which is claimed from us, by those who love France more than the United States.

This view of the subject, extorted by the extravagancy of such a claim, is not meant to disparage the just pretensions of France upon our good will. Though neither in the motives to the succours which she furnished us, nor in their extent (considering how powerfully the point of honor in such a war reinforced the considerations of interest when she was once engaged) can be found a sufficient basis for that gratitude which is the theme of so much declamation: Yet we shall find in the manner of affording us those succours just cause for our esteem and friendship.

France did not attempt, in the first instance, to take advantage of our situation to extort from us any humiliating or injurious concessions, as the price of her assistance; nor afterwards in the progress of the war, to impose hard terms as the condition of particular aids.

Though this course was certainly dictated by policy; yet it was an honorable and a magnanimous policy; such a one as always constitutes a title to the approbation and esteem of mankind; and a claim to the friendship and acknowledgment of the party, in whose favor it is practiced.

But these sentiments are satisfied on the part of a nation; when they produce sincere wishes for the happiness of the party from whom it has experienced such conduct, and a cordial disposition to render all good and friendly offices which can be rendered without prejudice to its own solid and permanent interests.

To ask of a nation so situated, to make a sacrifice of substantial interest; to expose itself to the jealousy, ill will, or resentment of the rest of the world; to hazard in an eminent degree its own safety, for the benefit of the party, who may have observed towards it