

tainments, their furniture and their equipage. Idleness, extravagance and dissipation of every kind, should be banished from our borders. It is from the industrious alone that we can gather strength. The virtues now recommended, are those which prepared infant Rome for all her greatness. It is only from the practice of them, that we can expect to attain that rank among nations, to which our growing numbers, and extensive territory, entitles us to aspire.

While we celebrate this day, we should call to recollection those who have nobly fallen in support of independence. Time would fail to do them justice individually. To mention the names of some, seems a species of injury to others, who are equally deserving of our praise. It is the business of the historian to recite their names and to tell their gallant deeds. Let us, while we recollect their virtues, be animated with the love of our country, that like them, when called upon, we may die in its defence.

Many of those tried friends, who bravely fought our battles, or who wisely conducted our civil affairs, through the late revolution, have taken their leave of this earthly stage, and a new generation has nearly grown up in their places. On them it depends to finish what their fathers have begun. Much is still wanting to perfect our internal police. As our government rests on the broad base of the people, every exertion should be made to diffuse virtue and knowledge among them. The uninformed and misinformed, are fit tools to subvert the views of the turbulent and ambitious. Ignorance is the enemy of liberty, and the nurse of despotism. Let it, therefore, be our study to multiply and facilitate the means of instruction, through every part of our country.

This would be a safe and constitutional antidote to aristocracy. In these states, where the rights of primogeniture are abolished—where offices are open to all—where elections are frequent, and the right of suffrage is universal and equal; if we go one step further, and give the poor the means of education, as well as the rich, our yeomanry can have nothing to fear from any man, or any association of men, however distinguished by birth, office, fortune or abilities.

Had I a voice that could be heard from New Hampshire to Georgia, it should be exerted in urging the necessity of disseminating virtue and knowledge among our citizens. On this subject, the policy of the eastern states is well worthy of imitation. The wise people of that extremity of the union, never form a new township, without making arrangements, that secure to its inhabitants the instruction of youth and the public preaching of the gospel. Hence their children are early taught to know their rights, and to respect themselves. They grow up good members of society, and staunch defenders of their country's cause. No daring demagogue—no crafty Cataline—no ambitious Cæsar, can make any impression on the liberties of such an enlightened people.

To France is assigned the task of defending republicanism by arms; but our duty is of a different kind. Separated by the wide Atlantic from the bloody dissensions of the old world, we should study to cultivate every useful art—to enjoy in peace with all mankind, the numerous blessings which providence has thrown in our way—to transmit them to posterity, and to extend them to all within our reach. This ought to be the ambition of Americans, and not to seek an enlargement of their dominion, or to build their advancement on the degradation of others.

We should above all things, study to promote the union and harmony of the different states. Perish the man who wishes to divide us into back country, or low country, into a northern and southern, or into an eastern and western interest. Forming one empire, we will be truly respectable, but divided into two, or more, we must become the sport of foreign nations, and peace will be forever exiled from our borders. The unity and indivisibility of the republic is an essential part of the French Constitution, so it ought to be with us. We should consider the people of this country, from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, from New Hampshire to Georgia, as forming one whole, the interest of which should be preferred to that of every part. Even the prejudices, peculiarities, and local habits of the different states, should be respected and tenderly dealt with.

The art of government has never yet been brought near to that degree of perfection of which it is capable. It is lamentably true, that it seldom or never has been administered with any express view to its proper object, the happiness of the governed. We should be

fired with the generous ambition of teaching mankind, by our example, that the people are capable of governing themselves to better purpose, than ever has been done by kings and privileged orders. Men of high rank in Europe, have asserted, that a government formed at noon, on the equal principles we have adopted, would terminate before the setting of the sun. This day begins the nineteenth year of ours, and it is now stronger and more firmly established than it ever was. We know, by experience, that the costly pageantry of kings and courts, is not essential to political happiness. From the vigor of our free government, and essentially from its answering every purpose, that a government ought to answer, the world may learn, that there is no necessity in the nature of things for man to lord it over man. Inferences may be fairly drawn from our present happy political situation, which lead to the extirpation of despotism from the face of the globe. Let us forward this desirable revolution, not by officiously intermeddling with the internal polity of foreign countries, but by exhibiting such an accumulation of private virtue and public happiness, that other nations, struck with the fruits of our excellent Constitution, may be induced, from free choice, to new model their own, on similar principles.

The eyes of the world are fixed on this country and on France. The abettors of tyranny are anxiously looking for opportunities to discredit the new doctrines of the rights of man. They, on every occasion, represent them as leading to confusion and anarchy. Equality of rights, and equality of property, is, in their opinion, one and the same thing. Let the wisdom of our laws, and the orderly conduct of our citizens, disappoint their wishes, & give the lie to their calumnies. Let us teach them, by our example, that genuine republicanism is friendly to order and a proper subordination in society—that it is hostile to mobs and licentiousness of every kind, but the firm supporter of constituted authorities—the guardian of property, as well as of the rights of man.

France is daily proving, that a handful of citizens, fighting under the banners of liberty, is more than a match for an host of mercenaries, engaged in support of tyranny. It remains for us to recommend free governments, by the example of a peaceable, orderly, virtuous and happy people. We should press forward in accomplishing every thing that can add to the common stock of public good. While war, with its horrid attendants, is the pastime of kings, let it be the study of republicans, to make unceasing advances in every thing that can improve, refine, or embellish society. Animated with this noble ambition, the superior happiness of our country, will amply repay us for the blood and treasure which independence has cost. May that ambition fire our breasts, and may that happiness increase, and know no end, till time shall be no more.

PHILADELPHIA,

JULY 29.

The following is said to be a statement of the captures from the convoy under *La Concorde*, bound from the Delaware to France.

By the Resolution, 1	merchant ship.
Thetis, 5	do.
Argonaut, 4	do.
L'Oiseau, 5	do.
Africa, 1	do.

Exclusive of a sloop of war taken by the *Oiseau*.

The degree of credence due to transmarine reports may be determined by the following article which was published in *April* last.

Reports were yesterday current in this city, which we believe well founded.—That the English have been severely drubbed in the West Indies. The brave Gen. Rochambeau having totally repulsed them from Fort Bourbon, Martinique, and dispatched 3000 to a "position" which they will not shortly "change"—further that a French fleet had arrived, and taken possession of Cape Francois and its dependencies.

Capt. Lawson in the brig *Fanny*, from C. Nichol Mole, arrived on Friday last in 17 days, and brings intelligence, that markets were low, except for fresh provision, which were extremely scarce; beef could not be procured, and flour, was a glut owing to the immense influx from the United States. The British troops had possession of the town, but the republicans were under its walls in great force. The fleet rendezvoused there to attack Port de Paix, but sailors could not be found to man them. A

second message, however, had been sent to general Lavaux, from Col. Whitlock to surrender the place, and he received for answer, that no attempt would be made to prevent the landing of the British troops, but that they all might expect never to return.

The schooner *Swallow*, of Philadelphia, had arrived at the Mole, but not finding the market to answer, cleared out for Fort Dolphin, and altered his mind and went to Port de Paix. Information being received of this at the Mole, the name of the vessel and that of the master were registered in the Custom-House books, and a privateer sent out to take her.

Santhouax had fled from Jamaica, in a Danish vessel, and frequent excursions were made by the republicans, into Port-au-Prince in the night, and they had carried off considerable plunder.

From the *General Advertiser*.

It is surprising with what inveteracy the faction combat every sentiment advanced in favor of the supremacy of the people. In the *Gazette* of the United States of Friday last, under the model head of detached observations we find a new definition, truly, of what has hitherto been understood by THE PEOPLE. By this definition all are excluded from the class, from a vote in the choice of Representatives, from a right of censuring the proceedings of government who are not proprietors of the soil or owners of some other visible property. It is only in a country where the most insignificant has a right to the expression of his opinion, that sentiments like these would go unpunished. Again, in the same paper, on Saturday, the Omnipotency of the people in this government is denied, in a paragraph advertising upon some observations on the subject of the Pittsburgh riots which appeared in our last. But here those gentlemen cap at words; we asserted that all power is in the hands of the people, explaining at the same time that they have the power to chuse and change their representatives, to instruct them, to remonstrate on their conduct, even to alter or annul their constitution; we could not be supposed to mean, that the American people should in a body make their laws and execute them, yet this is the meaning the gentlemen have chosen to apply.

They proceed to explain their doctrine which is that so long as the government exists, the power of the people is delegated and the moment that power is refused by the people the government is extinct. Now we will ask the government extinct when the people exercise the right of remonstrating, or even is the constitution annulled the moment the people exercise their power to bring about a reform. [NO.]

Remarks on the Above.

Well was it said, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of"—Experience every hour is testifying that the most violent pretensions to a love of liberty often cover the most despotic designs. It has more than once been proposed in the *General Advertiser* to suppress all freedom of opinion, by measures the most summary. A bare perusal of the sentiments alluded to in the above paragraphs, will serve to convince every candid reader, that no opinion was offered of a nature or tendency to justify the construction put on them by this truly intolerant paragraphist. But, can that mind be irradiated by one particle of the glorious flame of freedom which would suggest that the "most insignificant being" should be punished for sentiments? It is to the intelligence, the good sense of the people alone that we are to trust for our being preserved from the power of men who would soon make their will the sovereign law. That intelligence and good sense, led the people to adopt the constitution which is now the political ark of safety to their rights and privileges; the hope of the present and future generations—and odious only to those who can see beauty in anarchy and crimes.

FROM THE N. Y. DIARY.

To the Democratic Society of the City of New-York.

GENTLEMEN,

Since you have undertaken, and with astonishing avidity and perseverance to inspect into the conduct of Aristocrats and Tories who do not belong to your excellent institution, I think it my indispensable duty as a true and tried abig, to communicate to you every abuse and infringement committed on your institution, and which is contrary to the true intent and meaning of all Democratic Societies. It is reported in this City, and I believe with good foundation, that one of your members (and more for what I know) have made a visit on board the *Thetis* frigate, while laying in this harbor, where it is said they were very politely used; and after pal-

ling the glass freely, the officers very politely toasted the President of the United States, with a view, no doubt, to learn, whether there did still remain a spark of love to his most Gracious Majesty in this once rebellious land, they succeeded, and the *Heroes* toasted the *Idiot*; and, what is more vexing, one of them had the impudence to make his boast, "that he had the honor to drink *King George's health*."

If these gross insults pass with impunity, I am apprehensive that you are deviating very far from the objects you had in view.

WIGWAM.

New-York, July 22, 1794.

Mr. Paine's Dedication of his late work entitled "AGE OF REASON."

To my fellow Citizens of the United States of America.

I PUT the following work under your protection. It contains my opinion upon Religion. You will do me the justice to remember, that I have always strenuously supported the Right of every Man to his own opinion, however different that opinion might be to mine. He who denies to another this right, makes a slave of himself to his present opinion, because he precludes himself the right of changing it.

The most formidable weapon against errors of every kind is Reason. I have never used any other, and I trust I never shall.

Your affectionate friend and fellow citizen, THOMAS PAINE. Luxembourg, (Paris) 8th Pluviôse, Second year of the French Republic; one and indivisible. January 27, 1794. O. S.

INTRODUCTION.

It has been my intention for several years past, to publish my thoughts upon Religion, I am well aware of the difficulties that attend the subject; and from that consideration, had reserved it to a more advanced period of life. I intended it to be the last offering I should make to my fellow citizens of all nations; and that at a time, when the purity of the motive that induced me to it could not admit of a question, even by those who might disapprove the work.

The circumstance that now takes place in France, of the total abolition of the whole national order of priesthood, and of every thing appertaining to compulsive systems of religion, and compulsive articles of faith, has not only precipitated my intention but rendered a work of this kind exceedingly necessary; left in the general wreck of superstition, of false systems of government, and false theology, we left sight of morality, of humanity, and of the theology that is true.

To the above work is added, an abridgement of *FREQUENTS DESTROYED* By J. M. Lequinio.

Member of the National Convention of France and Citizen of the Globe.

Mr. L. dedicates this extraordinary work, not to any particular nation, but to the whole universe! A future race may bless him for assailing the prejudices of the present, yet he aims not to procure their applause, but to ascertain their happiness and their liberty.

By this Day's Mail.

ALEXANDRIA, July 21.

From the *West-Indies*.

Friday last, the 18th inst. the Schooner *Harriot*, Captain Slacum, arrived here from Antigua, and St. Martins. He informs that the French were in possession of Gaudaloupe on the 28th June, that on the 25th June, the French and British forces had an engagement, in which the former were victorious, the latter having lost upwards of one hundred men and four officers—that the British fleet was lying off Gaudaloupe, and their only expectation of retaking the Island was by starving the French—that Sonerville, a notorious rascal, who had amassed a large sum by plundering the Americans, fell into the hands of the French with all his ill-gotten plunder. The French brought three "barving mills," which were employed in working up those aristocrats who were inimical to the cause of their country! That the people of Antigua were very desirous that Sir John Jervis should capitulate with the French, as it was generally believed that an attempt to retake the Island of Gaudaloupe by storm would be attended with fatal consequences—and that a fever raged in the British fleet, which carried off great numbers daily.

By a vessel arrived here from Turk's Island, we are informed that an American brig, which had lately sailed from hence, had called in there, the Capt. of which gave an account that he had a few days before fallen in with a fleet of Spanish men of war, consisting of ten

fail, bound as he was informed by one of the squadron which brought him to, to St. Domingo, with troops to cooperate with the British forces in the reduction of such part of that Island as may yet be in the possession of the French. An English officer, who was passenger on board the brig when she fell in with this fleet, stated them to be French ships of war, and the soldiery on board them wore the National uniform and red cap of liberty; and further added, that they were bound for the relief of the French Island: another vessel, however, which arrived at Turk's Island, and had fallen in with the same fleet, confirmed the American captain's information.

BALTIMORE.

Saturday, July 26.

Yesterday arrived the privateer *Sans Culotte*, Capt. Dot, from off a cruise in the West Indies. The usual success attendant upon the exertions of Frenchmen, in their contest for liberty, has likewise accompanied these intrepid Republicans. Two Spanish Brigs laden with valuable cargoes of Sugar, Cotton, Indigo, &c. have been surrendered to them. They were taken in latitude of Porto Rico.

Letters from the Isle of France advise, that the Brig *America*, an American bottom, commanded by John Owen, a citizen of the United States, was laden at and sailed from the Isle of France in August 1792, on a voyage to the North-West coast of America; that having been successful, she had arrived at Macao, near Canton, at which place (having no knowledge of the war between England and France) she was in January 1794, captured by the British ship *Lion*, and made a prize of; the cargo was sold by the captors for upwards of 55,000 dollars, and the Brig was kept to act as a tender to the devouring *Lion*.

RICHMOND, July 25.

An express having arrived here, about 2 o'clock on Monday morning, to the executive, from Major Taylor, with information of the fitting out an armed vessel in Smithfield, for the purpose of privateering under a French commission, in defiance, and contrary to the laws of neutrality, so strictly enjoined, and that the proprietors to carry this illicit undertaking into effect, had stifled the Marshal in the execution of his office to prevent the same. The Governor with his wonted decision and activity in nipping every infringement on the laws, and enforcing due obedience thereto, speedily pursued the measures necessary to be taken in such cases. The Cavalry, Infantry and Artillery companies, commanded by Captain Hicks, Richardson, and Quarrier, headed by a General Officer, were immediately dispatched to the Marshal's assistance.

Too much praise cannot be given the citizens of Richmond for their zeal and readiness on this and every other occasion, where the service of their country, and preservation of its rights are involved—and surely it must be a sensible gratification to every patriot and lover of good order to behold the military ardor and emulative discipline so prevalent here, when they reflect that its tendency must be a terror to the foes of liberty, and a curb to the career of the licentious.

It does not appear from the foregoing that the report respecting the backwardness of the militia was well founded.

TO BE SOLD,

BY THOMAS DOBSON,

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Payable by law on all Goods, Wares, and Merchandise imported into the United States of America, after the last day of June 1794, distinguishing the rates payable on those imported in ships or vessels of the United States—and the rates payable in foreign ships or vessels, including the additional duties, to which the respective articles are liable.

July 29

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July 26