

"Truth will ever be unpalatable to those, who determine not to relinquish error."

TO deceive fools, and flatter knaves, is a line of conduct, that the art or the indolence of men may induce them to adopt. A crafty man may conceal the truth from sinner views; an indolent man may impose on himself as well as others, because he does not wish the trouble of knowing or communicating the truth. There are various pretences and various forms, under which a professed politician pursues his object; while his real motive of action is generally kept out of sight. But I know of no pretence, that is more commonly or more plausibly urged by designing men, than that they desire to act agreeably to the voice of the people. It has been acknowledged, that to oppose the public opinion, when right, is imprudent; but it has also been asserted, that to cherish it, when wrong, is dishonest. To ascertain the public opinion, should be the first aim of a legislator; to coincide with it, as far as it is well grounded, is good policy; but to reform old abuses and to introduce new subjects for public reflection, is a still greater duty and a conspicuous honor.

It is often asked by sensible and honest men, whether government should controul the public opinion, or be controuled by it? The truth is, they have a reciprocal influence upon each other. Many people will say, that the formation of the new Constitution was directed, in some degree, by public opinion: This position can hardly be admitted. It is well known, that while the general Convention were in session, scarce any person ventured to predict, what would be the result of their deliberations. I mention this circumstance, to prove that there was no definite public opinion, relative to that object.—When the proceedings of the Convention were published, they were rather unexpected by the public mind, than contrary to it. There was no general sentiment pre-conceived in the matter. The weight of characters, who composed the Convention; the peculiar situation of the country, and several other causes, have rendered the new Constitution generally acceptable. But upon the supposition, that each article of it had been previously recommended by town meetings, and that it was, literally speaking, framed by the voice of the people, it would be no sufficient reason that its administration should not act with wisdom and honesty; and strive to promote the prosperity, rather than confirm the prejudices of the community.

The government of every country; when once in operation, should produce a re-action upon the public opinion. It should search for it, estimate it, trace its origin, examine its effects, endeavor to remove its errors; but what is of more importance, it should collect the scattered sentiments of the public and form them into proper shapes; and in some instances create opinions and attachments wholly anew. I do not barely confine my remarks of the re-action of government upon the public mind, to its speculative principles, but would extend my idea to a controul over the prejudices, the habits and the manners of the people.

Men are or may be, very much what the government pleases to make them. There is no fatality in the case, why people cannot be made honest, industrious and pacific; as well as turbulent, slothful and knavish. These different qualities may discover themselves, without presupposing any change or improvement in the heart. They may be the result of good political regulations. We often observe a man in some instances just and honorable; while in other respects, his conduct deserves a reverse character. The same causes, which made him partially virtuous, had they been extended, would have made him wholly so. Whenever we see a profligate man, we must conclude, either, that he was educated in a wrong manner by his parents and guardians, or that there was something wrong in the government, under which he lived. A man is not doomed, by natural necessity, to be a knave, any more than he is to be a conjurer. He may be taught both, or he may be restrained from becoming either. We must therefore conclude that a government falls short of perfection, in proportion as its citizens are deficient in the display of amiable and useful qualities. The task of a legislator, how much so ever he may have accomplished, is never finished, while his institutions have failed of producing a pretty perfect state of society. This will not be practicable perhaps in a full degree, but with proper attempts, considerable improvements will not be found inattainable.

The visionary projects of the ancient philosophers, who supposed they could subdue the passions of men, and render them subservient to reason, have beguiled many into a belief, that men always must be, just as they have been. The passions of men, it is true, can never be extinguished; but they may be diverted from objects that are hurtful to those that are beneficial. No passion of the human mind is unessential to the well being of society; and that any one is dangerous, is only because it is not properly managed. Nature furnishes passions, but it is education and government that

turn them to this or that particular object. The common remark that legislators must take mankind as they find them, does not make it excusable that they should leave men, as they find them.

From the MASSACHUSETTS MAGAZINE.

On CHESTERFIELD'S LETTERS.

IF judgment, wit, and knowledge of mankind;
A polish'd style, and manners most refin'd,
Can make a letter, or a man complete,
All these in Chesterfield united meet:
But if an upright heart, religious truth,
Morals and honor, form the perfect youth,
From purer lights catch thou the guiding ray,
And spurn the courtier, and his book away.

MANUFACTURES.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Scotland, to his Friend in Philadelphia, dated 3d Nov. 1788.

"WE have got a mill to go by water, for spinning flax and hemp; and I am informed, that a mechanic here, has just invented a *jeanie* or hand-mill, that will spin flax or hemp: It can be made of any number of heads or spindles, from forty to one hundred: A woman and girl will be able to spin twenty spinell of yarn on it, every week. Mills to go by water, have also been erected at Glasgow, Derby, Nottingham, &c. for spinning long-wool, commonly called *combed-wool*. The cotton-mills, with a little alteration spin short or uncombed wool. Mills have lately been erected in England for grinding wheat, corn, &c. where little or no water can be had, to go by steam engines: there is one of those mills, worked by steam engines, that drives thirty-two mill stoncs. These improvements, would certainly be very beneficial in a country thinly peopled, and where wages are high. Models of all new and useful improvements in husbandry, if kept at some town in a central part of the State, where all might have access to see them, might tend to accelerate improvement in the cultivation of the ground; this certainly ought to be done at the expense of the State. *Brewing of malt liquors*, will, I think, be providing the best market for your farmers; and *protecting duties*, on all articles imported from other countries will enable your manufacturers to proceed, with vigor, spirit and success: There cannot be a more certain way of giving encouragement to agriculture, than by providing, a sure, constant and steady market, for the produce of the earth: And undoubtedly manufactures at home, in this view, are a more sure and steady market than any foreign nation, who may cut of your market with them all at once. It behoves you, therefore, to ENCOURAGE MANUFACTURES; and the government ought, certainly, to lay on heavy duties, and to give bounties upon your home manufactures: But I hope your new government will rectify all these things."

NATIONAL MONITOR.

NUMBER III.

"Common consent, gives currency to many errors."

It has been observed, that a proper sense of the importance of government, diffused generally among the people, would prove a most powerful principle to perpetuate their freedom and happiness.

The more this idea is revolved in the mind, the stronger will be the impression of its truth; and the more extensive its application to the circumstances of human nature, the greater will be the conviction of its competency to produce the most salutary effects upon society.

It is a given principle, that the first step towards the acquisition of any object, is a feeling sense of its being necessary to our happiness: Government has been too long considered as the harbinger of human weakness, and depravity, rather than the result of the best and most exalted reasoning. Hence it is respected upon, as "a necessary evil," when in fact, it is part of the divine economy in the plan of human nature.—"Order is Heaven's first law."—A deviation from this Economy, produces the great complaint of evils in the system of morals and of humanity.—Government then is of divine origin—the divine government is absolute—is perfect; and for this reason—because it is founded in infinite wisdom, and all its operations are perfectly wise, just and good: And for this reason also, human governments never should be absolute; because the imperfections of our natures render it impossible, that a perfect government should ever be founded and administered by imperfect beings.

From this idea has mankind been inspired to devise a balance in Government, or mutual checks; by which in a gradual way such a degree of perfection may be attained in legislation, and that security in society, for which government was originally intended by Heaven. These observations may serve in some degree to impress the necessity and importance of government upon our minds—in our next, its competency to its design, will be attended to.

GAZETTE of the UNITED STATES.

A NATIONAL PAPER.

To be published at the SEAT of the FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, and to comprise, as fully as possible, the following Objects, viz.

I. EARLY and authentick Accounts of the PROCEEDINGS of CONGRESS—its LAWS, ACTS, and RESOLUTIONS communicated so as to form an HISTORY of the TRANSACTIONS of the FEDERAL LEGISLATURE, under the NEW CONSTITUTION.

II. IMPARTIAL SKETCHES of the DEBATES of CONGRESS.

III. ESSAYS upon the great subjects of Government in general, and the Federal Legislature in particular; also upon the national and local Rights of the AMERICAN CITIZENS, as founded upon the Federal 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 publick attention to Objects that have an important reference to domestic, social, and publick happiness.

V. The Interests of the United States as connected with their literary Institutions—religious and moral Objects—Improvements in Science, Arts, EDUCATION and HUMANITY—their foreign Treaties, Alliances, Connections, &c.

VI. Every Species of INTELLIGENCE, which may affect the commercial, agricultural, manufacturing, or political INTERESTS of the AMERICAN REPUBLICK.

VII. A CHAIN of DOMESTICK OCCURRENCES, collected through the Medium of an extensive Correspondence with the respective States.

VIII. A SERIES of FOREIGN ARTICLES of INTELLIGENCE, so connected, as to form a general Idea of publick Affairs in the eastern Hemisphere.

IX. The STATE of the NATIONAL FUNDS; also of the INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENTS—Courses of Exchange—Prices Current, &c.

CONDITIONS.

I.

THE GAZETTE of the UNITED STATES shall be printed with the same Letter, and on the same Paper as this publication.

II.

It shall be published every WEDNESDAY and SATURDAY, and delivered, as may be directed, to every Subscriber in the city, on those days.

III.

The price to Subscribers (exclusive of postage) will be THREE DOLLARS pr. annum.

IV.

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To the PUBLICK.

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 PUBLICK 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 encreasing 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 publick 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 publick's humble servant,
JOHN FENNO.

New-York, April 15, 1789.

TWO YOUNG SPRIGHTLY LADS ARE wanted, as APPRENTICES to the Business of Printing.

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