

# The National Intelligencer,

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## WASHINGTON ADVERTISER.

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PAID IN ADVANCE.

### NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

The appearance of the NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER has been protracted to this day, by the unavoidable, though unanticipated embarrassments attending the removal of a Printing Office. The vessel, which contained the greater part of the materials, sailed from Philadelphia on the 20th of September; but did not arrive in this City till the 25th inst. owing to her having been driven on shore by the violence of the late storm. This information is given to remove any censure that may have been thrown upon the Editor for his unexpected delay.

The Editor, at the commencement of his duties, considers it as not improper to state the nature of the plan, which he intends to pursue, and concisely to notice the principles by which he proposes to regulate his own conduct, as well as those by which it is expected that Correspondents will regulate theirs.

Various political opinions divide the civilized world. These opinions in some cases are diffused by the press; in others by the sword.

Amidst this collision of hostile sentiments no surer safeguard of human happiness exists, than the liberty of the press.

There is truth in the declaration the venerable CONGRESS of 1774, who in their address to the Inhabitants of Quebec, speaking of the freedom of the press, say "The importance of this constitution, besides the advancement of truth, science, morality, and the arts in general, in its diffusion of liberal sentiments on the administration of government, its ready communication of thoughts between subjects, and its consequent promotion of union among them, whereby oppressive officers are shamed or intimidated into more honorable and just modes of conducting affairs."

But while the Editor clings with our dearest right, the Liberty of the Press, he is decidedly inimical to its licentiousness.

As on the one hand, the conduct of public men and the tendency of public measures will be fully examined, so, on the other, private character will remain inviolable, nor shall indelicatitudes or expressions be admitted, however disguised by satire or enlivened by wit.

No sentiments whatever, on the prevalence of which the general good depends, will be excluded from enquiry and discussion. Guided by this principle, the editor need not caution the public against ascribing to him, a belief in all the opinions which may occasionally be supported, or a disbelief of those which may be opposed. For as he means not to surrender his own sentiments, so he does not expect that those who write for the National Intelligencer will surrender theirs.

In the admission of compiled as well as original articles, it will be his object to be impartial, and to exhibit, as they exist, the varying opinions and actions of men. Let it, however, be considered, that impartiality does not consist in the actual admission of as much political matter on one side as the other; but in a readiness to insert articles of merit on either side.

Aware of the equivocal character of professions, and convinced that the public judgment will be formed, as it ought to be, from the manner in which the National Intelligencer shall be conducted, the Editor will add only one remark. His Paper will be PURELY AMERICAN. It will be his effort to promote the true interests of his own Country, uninfluenced either by foreign attachments or enmities.

The following are the terms on which the National Intelligencer will be published, subjoined to which is the address which accompanied the Proposal Papers.

1. The NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER shall be printed three times a week on good semi paper, and with a new type.

2. The annual subscription shall be FIVE DOLLARS paid constantly in advance by all subscribers not residing in the City of Washington, and SIX DOLLARS paid by those who reside in the City; in which case the payment shall be half yearly. It being understood that subscribers, residing at a distance from the City of Washington, are invariably to pay for a year in advance, and in every such case the transmission of the Paper will cease as soon as the period shall expire for which payment shall have been made. No paper will be forwarded in any instance until the money is actually paid.

3. All Letters to be post paid.

The Editor of the NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER, impressed with the great importance of the present crisis, and with the strong necessity of having conducted, at the seat of the General Government, a newspaper, that may claim the reputation of being useful, by diffusing unperverted facts, and correct political ideas, has determined to enter upon the arduous duties which such an object involves. He is well apprised of the expense and exertion which such an establishment requires. But he confides in the prompt and energetic co-operation of the friends of truth and of their country in the different parts of the Union. As it is his firm determination, that nothing shall be admitted into the NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER, which shall wound national, or calamitate private character, so it is his unalterable purpose freely to insert, and earnestly to invite, whatever shall promote the general welfare. This, and thus only, shall be the motive by which his professional department shall be guided.

Hitherto, in the management of the UNIVERSAL GAZETTE, the Editor has confined himself, agreeably to the original plan, to recording events as they occurred, with but little animadversion on their causes or effects; and as far as opinions were involved, so relating those of others rather than his own. The Universal Gazette will still be continued on the same plan; the only change that takes place, will arise from its being printed at the seat of government at Washington, instead of Philadelphia; whereby its value will be appreciated rather than impaired.

With respect to the National Intelligencer, another plan will be pursued. Over a faithful and comprehensive detail of facts will preside a spirit of investigation, a desire to enlighten, not only by fact, but by reason. The tendency of public measures, and the conduct of public men, will be examined with candour and truth.

In addition to the mass of information, formed by domestic and foreign events, and especially by a detailed statement of the debates and proceedings of Congress, as much original matter will be furnished as the exertions of the Editor shall be able to command. And if he be not deceived, he can promise the readers of the National Intelligencer, an organ, which shall communicate the language of truth with accuracy, with dignity, and with spirit.

### FOR THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

Friends and Fellow Citizens,

Suffer an individual, whose happiness can neither be increased by your smiles, or diminished by your frowns, to address you. Retired from public cares, & unambitious of any honour which you can confer, he stands too high to be corrupted by motives of personal gain, and too low to be dazzled by the false splendors of distinction.

Realising his situation, he dares to call himself YOUR FRIEND; and if he can gain that confidence, which friendship has a right to claim, he will obtain all he desires. His, however, is no disinterested or romantic regard. With you he feels one common interest. On the same tenure with you rest his life, his property, his liberty, and every blessing that follows in the train of equal rights and impartial laws.

Under a good government, honestly administered, it is the duty of the citizen, not only to submit to the operation of the laws, but to aid their execution by expressing his approbation of them. For laws, however good, will, in a small degree, be unequal, and in proportion to such inequality will they produce partial dissatisfaction. When this inequality is either inevitable, or arises from virtuous misconception, it becomes the intelligent citizen to hush the spirit of discontent by the mild persuasions of reason, thereby convincing those who are less informed than himself, that though in some few cases an unequal burthen may be imposed, yet that on the whole, their operation is impartial and beneficial.

Such, my friends, has heretofore been my conduct. Though I never viewed the Federal Constitution as perfect; well knowing that God only possesses the power of making any thing perfect; yet considering it as friendly to human happiness, and believing that it would be the shield of our rights, it early obtained, and has since uniformly received my cordial support.

But events fresh in the memory of all of us, have convinced me of the imbecility of the most profound system that has ever been framed, when assailed by the arts, the passions, and the interests of corrupt or mistaken men. I begin to fear that the best system of government in theory is the worst in practice. For under a good system, men, feeling themselves secure in the enjoyment of their rights, relapse into a state of fatal repose and apathy; while, under a bad one, they are perpetually on their guard to resist the encroachments of power.

I pray Heaven, that this may not be the case in the United States. If it ever should be the case, we may have nothing left us but the indulgence of SILENT and fruitless regrets.

Contemplating the measures of the Federal Government, dispassionately viewing their tendency, and observing the effect produced by them on the public mind, I have been COMPELLED to ask myself this solemn question. *Is the Government of the United States republican!* The Constitution tells me that it is; the practice under that Constitution inspires me with doubt; the language of the Chief Magistrate rends the veil, and convinces me that it is not republican.

Why is it not so?

This is the enquiry, the solemn enquiry I desire every man to make. And in making it, fellow citizens, let us not cheat ourselves with a name. Such a deception may for a moment yield us ideal happiness; but if fatally indulged, will only add to the fury of the storm, that now impending over us, may soon burst upon us with destructive terrors.

When you adopted the Constitution you distributed certain powers, with a caution the most precise, to different departments of the government.

1. To your Representatives, directly chosen by yourselves, or indirectly by your state legislatures, you confided the sacred power of making laws.

2. To the President, you entrusted the execution of those laws.

3. To the Judiciary you gave the power of deciding controversies between individuals, or certain portions of the Society, agreeably to those laws.

In vesting these powers in the different departments, your object was by a division of them to prevent that concentration in one person, or in one body of persons, which in other countries had invariably terminated in despotism. You prohibited your President from being a legislator: you prohibited your representatives in Congress from holding executive or judicial places; you prohibited your judges from participating in legislative duties. And though the Constitution does not in terms forbid a union of judicial and executive authority, this omission appears to have arisen more from accident than design.

These barriers against the intermixture of dangerous and incompatible powers were considered as strong, as insurmountable. They were the universal boast of the system. Eloquence, no less than reason, was lavished in their praise. It was not barely understood by them that a President of the United States should not hold a seat in the legislature; it was understood that he should exercise no participation in making the laws, further than that of assenting to, or rejecting them, when submitted to him after their formation. The spirit of the Constitution cannot be doubted. Its language is equally remote from equivocation or obscurity.

ART. I. SEC. 6. "No Senator, or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall be increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house, during his continuance in office."

Yet, on a review of the measures of the Government, it will appear that every measure of importance, every measure that has agitated the feelings of the nation, emanated from executive recommendation or influence.

Such has been the mighty power of Presidential favour, such the dread of Presidential enmity, that Congress after Congress have exhibited the mournful spectacle of republican independence at the commencement of their sittings, and of servile submission at their close. Let the assumption of the state debts, the ratification of the British Treaty, the passage of the Alien and Sedition laws, the establishment of the Army and Navy, and the several loans recently made, be reviewed, and they will collectively exhibit a mass of evidence to this effect, that amounts to demonstration.

Each of these measures owes its origin to the recommendation of the Executive authority; most of them were, when first proposed, rejected with disdain; all of them were perfidiously in by the power which originated them; and all of them were finally carried by a small majority.

Citizens of America! do you require higher proof to convince you that in reality the government which you willed to be republican, has ceased to be so. For that is not a republican government in which the will of one man is every thing, and the will of the people and their immediate representatives is nothing.

If you still doubt the supremacy of executive power, I ask you to consult your own feelings. What, at this crisis, most interests you? Is it the choice of your representatives in Congress? So far is this from being the case, that you pass them by with an apparently criminal indifference. *It is the election of President* that excites all your hopes, that suggests all your fears. Accordingly, as you belong to one or the other of the great parties that divide America, is your firm conviction that *all will be right* if Jefferson or Adams be elected.

Would this election be of such gigantic magnitude, if the President had obeyed the Constitution by confining the exercise of his duties to the bare execution of the laws? Had this been the case, he would have been the servant of the legislature, instead of their master.

As it is, I leave you to judge who has assumed power denied by the Constitution, and who have surrendered power, by the same Constitution vested inherently in them.

A REPUBLICAN.

The following letter of JOHN ADAMS to TENCH COXE was published some time since. Mr. Adams on his arrival at Philadelphia received a letter from Thomas Pinckney on its contents; to which his second letter appears to be an answer. Subjoined to both are strictures made on the first letter by ALEXANDER HAMILTON in his pamphlet just published at New-York.

### A LETTER OF JOHN ADAMS.

(A COPY.)

Quincey, May 1792.

DEAR SIR,

THE first thing I have to communicate to you, must be an explanation of the date of my Letter. The Legislature of Massachusetts, last Winter, upon a petition of the North Parish in Braintree, separated it from the rest of the town, erected it into anew one, and gave it the name of Quincey. By this measure, you see, they have deprived me of my title of "Duke of Braintree," and made it necessary that my Friends should write me in future, as an inhabitant of Quincey. So much for this Brimborium.

Something that interests me much more, is your obliging Letter of the 12th of this month.

I should have been happy to have seen Mr. Pinckney, before his departure; but more from individual curiosity, than from any opinion, that I could have given him any information of importance to him. If he has the talent of searching hearts, he will not be long at a loss: If he has not, no information of mine could give it him.

The Duke of Leeds once enquired of me, very kindly, after his Class-mates at Westminster-school, the two Mr. Pinckneys; which induces me to conclude, that our new Ambassadors has many powerful old Friends in England. Whether this is a recommendation of him for the office, or not, I have other reasons to believe, that his family have had their eyes fixed upon the embassy to St. James's for many years, even before I was sent there; and that they contributed to limit the duration of my commission to three years, in order to make way for themselves to succeed me. I wish they may find as much honor and pleasure in it as they expected, and that the public may derive from it, dignity and utility. But knowing as I do, the long intrigue, and insinuating, as I do much British Influence in the appointment, were I in any Executive Department, I should take the liberty to keep a vigilant eye upon them.

Accept of my thanks, for your reflections on the state of the Union, which I have read with all the pleasure, which the intelligence, information, accuracy and elegance of the remarks on Lord Sheffield inspired.

There is one secret which you must be careful to keep: Manufactures must have good Government. They cannot exist where they are without it, much less can they be introduced where they are not. But a great part of the People of America appear to be so determined to have no Government at all, that, if you let them know the