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Doctor ADAMS's DEFENCE of the CONSTITUTIONS of GOVERNMENT of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA.

[CONTINUED.]

ANCIENT REPUBLICS, AND OPINIONS OF PHILOSOPHERS.

DOCTOR FRANKLIN.

LETTER XXV.—Continued.



ET now return to Mr. Turgot's idea of a government consisting in a single assembly.—He tells us, our republics are "founded on the equality of all the citizens, and therefore orders and equilibriums, are unnecessary, and occasion disputes."—But what are we to understand here by equality? Are the citizens to be all of the same age, sex, size, strength, stature, activity, courage, hardiness, industry, patience, ingenuity, wealth, knowledge, fame, wit, temperance, constancy, and wisdom? Was there, or will there ever be, a nation, whose individuals were all equal, in natural and acquired qualities, in virtues, talents, and riches? The answer of all mankind must be in the negative.—It must then be acknowledged, that in every state, in the Massachusetts for example, there are inequalities which God and nature have planned there, and which no human legislator ever can eradicate. I should have chosen to have mentioned Virginia, as the most ancient state, or indeed any other in the union, rather than the one that gave me birth, if I were not afraid of putting suppositions, which may give offence, a liberty which my neighbours will pardon: yet I shall say nothing that is not applicable to all the other twelve.

In this society of Massachusetts then, there is, it is true, a moral and political equality of rights and duties among all the individuals, and as yet no appearance of artificial inequalities of condition, such as hereditary dignities, titles, magistracies, or legal distinctions; and no established marks, as stars, garters, crosses, or ribbons: there are, nevertheless, inequalities of great moment in the consideration of a legislator, because they have a natural and inevitable influence in society. Let us enumerate some of them. 1. There is an inequality of wealth: some individuals, whether by descent from their ancestors, or from greater skill, industry, and success in business, have estates both in lands and goods of great value; others have no property at all; and all the rest of the society, much the greater number, are possessed of wealth, in all the variety of degrees, between these extremes: it will easily be conceived, that all the rich men will have many of the poor, in the various trades, manufactures, and other occupations in life, dependent upon them for their daily bread: many of smaller fortunes will be in their debt, and in many ways under obligation to them: others, in better circumstances, neither dependent nor in debt, men of letters, men of the learned professions, and others, from acquaintance, conversation, and civilities, will be connected with them, and attached to them. Nay farther, it will not be denied, that among the wisest people that lives, there is a degree of admiration, abstracted from all dependence, obligation, expectation, or even acquaintance, which accompanies splendid wealth, ensures some respect, and bestows some influence. 2. Birth. Let no man be surpris'd, that this species of inequality is introduced here. Let the page in history be quoted, where any nation, ancient and modern, civilized or savage, is mentioned, among whom no difference was made between the citizens, on account of their extraction. The truth is, that more influence is allowed to this advantage in free republics, than in despotic governments, or than would be allowed to it in simple monarchies, if severe laws had not been made from age to age to secure it. The children of illustrious families, have generally greater advantages of education, and earlier opportunities to be acquainted with public characters, and informed of public affairs, than those of meaner ones, or even than those in middle life; and what is more than all, an habitual national veneration for their names, and the characters of their ancestors described in history, or coming down by tradition, removes them farther from vulgar jealousy, and popular envy, and secures them in some degree the favour, the affection, and respect of the publick. Will any man pretend that the name of Andros, and that of Winthrop, are heard with the same sensations in any village of New-England? Is not gratitude the sentiment that attends the latter, and disgust the feeling excited by the former? In the Massachusetts then, there are persons descended from some of their ancient governors, counsellors, judges, whose fathers, grandfathers, and great grandfathers, are remembered with esteem by many living, and who are mentioned in history with applause, as benefactors of the country, while there are others who have no such advantage. May we go a step farther—Know it, is as useful a precept to nations as to men,—

Go into every village in New-England, and you will find that the office of justice, of the peace, and even the place of representative, which has ever depended only on the free election of the people, have generally descended from generation to generation, in three or four families at most. The present subject is one of those which all men respect, and all men deride. It may be said of this part of our nature, as Pope said of the whole:

Of human nature, wit her worst may write,
We all revere it, in our own despite.

If, as Harrington says, the ten commandments were voted by the people of Israel, and have been enacted as laws by all other nations; and if we should presume to say, that nations had a civil right to repeal them, no nation would think proper to repeal the fifth, which enjoins honour to parents; if there is a difference between right and wrong; if any thing can be facted; if there is one idea of moral obligation; the decree of nature must force upon every thinking being, and upon every feeling heart, the conviction that honour, affection, and gratitude are due from children, to those who gave them birth, nurture, and education. The sentiments and affections which naturally arise, from reflecting on the love, the cares, and the blessings of parents, abstracted from the consideration of duty, are some of the most forcible and most universal. When religion, law, morals, and affection, and even fashion, thus conspire to fill every mind with attachment to parents, and to stamp deep upon the heart their impressions, is it to be expected that men should reverence their parents while they live, and begin to despise or neglect their memories as soon as they are dead? This is in nature impossible; on the contrary, every little unkindness and severity is forgotten, and nothing but endearments remembered with pleasure.

The son of a wife and virtuous father, finds the world about him sometimes as much disposed as he himself is, to honour the memory of his father; to congratulate him as the successor to his estate; and frequently, to compliment him with elections to the offices he held. A sense of duty, his passions and his interest, thus conspiring to prevail upon him to avail himself of this advantage, he finds a few others in similar circumstances with himself; they naturally associate together, and aid each other. This is a faint sketch of the source and rise of the family spirit: very often the disposition to favour the family is as strong in the town, country, province, or kingdom, as it is in the house itself. The enthusiasm is indeed sometimes wilder, and carries away, like a torrent, all before it.

These observations are not peculiar to any age: we have seen the effects of them in St. Marino, Biscay, and the Grisons, as well as in Poland, and all other countries. Not to mention any notable examples, which have lately happened near us, it is not many months since I was witness to a conversation between some citizens of Massachusetts: one was haranguing on the jealousy which a free people ought to entertain of their liberties, and was heard by all the company with pleasure; in less than ten minutes the conversation turned upon their governour; and the jealous republican was very angry at the opposition to him. "The present governour," says he, "has done us such services, that he ought to rule us, he and his posterity after him forever and ever." Where is your jealousy of liberty? demanded the other. "Upon my honour," replies the orator, "I had forgot that; you have caught me in an inconsistency; for I cannot know whether a child of five years old will be a son of liberty or a tyrant." His jealousy was the dictate of his understanding; his confidence and enthusiasm the impulse of his heart.

The pompous trumpery of ensigns, armorials, and escutcheons, are not indeed far advanced in America. Yet there is a more general anxiety to know their originals, in proportion to their numbers, than in any nation of Europe; arising from easier circumstances and higher spirit of the common people; and there are certain families in every state, as attentive to all the proud frivolities of heraldry. That kind of pride which looks down on commerce and manufactures as degrading, may indeed, in many countries of Europe, be a useful and necessary quality in the nobility: it may prevent, in some degree, the whole nation from being delivered up entirely to the spirit of avarice: it may be the cause, why honour is preferred by some to money: it may prevent the nobility from becoming too rich, and acquiring too large a proportion of the landed property. In America, it would not only be mischievous, but would expose the highest pretensions of the kind to universal ridicule and contempt. Those other hautes, of keeping the commons at a distance, and disdain to converse with any but a few of a certain race, may in Europe be a favour to the people, by relieving them from a multitude of assiduous attentions and humiliating compliances, which would be troublesome; it may prevent the nobles from caballing with the people, and gaining too much influence with them in elections and otherwise. In America, it would justly excite universal indigna-

tion; the vainest of all must be of the people, or be nothing. While every office is equally open to every competitor, and the people must decide upon every pretension to a place in the legislature, that of governour and senator, as well as representative, no such airs will ever be endured. It must be acknowledged still, that some men must take more pains to deserve and acquire an office than others, and must behave better in it, or they will not hold it.

We cannot presume that a man is good or bad, merely because his father was one of the other; and should always inform ourselves first, whether the virtues and talents are inherited, before we yield our confidence. Wise men beget fools, and honest men knaves; but these influences, although they may be frequent, are not general. If there is often a likeness in feature and figure, there is generally more in mind and heart, because education contributes to the formation of these as well as nature. The influence of example is very great, and almost universal, especially of parents over their children. In all countries it has been observed, that vices, as well as virtues, run down in families, very often, from age to age. Any man may run over in his thoughts the circle of his acquaintance, and he will probably recollect instances of a despotism to mischief, malice, and revenge, descending, in certain breeds, from grandfather to father and son. A young woman was lately convicted at Paris of a trifling theft, barely within the law, which decreed a capital punishment. There were circumstances, too, which greatly alleviated her fault; some things in her behaviour that seemed innocent and modest; every spectator, as well as the judges, was affected at the scene, and she was advised to petition for a pardon, as there was no doubt it would be granted. "No," says she, "my grandfather, father, and brother, were all hanged for stealing; it runs in the blood of our family to steal, and be hanged; if I am pardoned now I shall steal again in a few months more inexorably: and therefore I will be hanged now."—An hereditary passion for the halter is a strong instance, to be sure, and cannot be very common; but something like it too often descends, in certain breeds, from generation to generation.

vice and infamy are thus rendered less odious, by being familiar in a family, by the example of parents, and by education, it would be as unhappy as unaccountable, if virtue and honour were not recommended and rendered more amiable to children by the same means.

There are, and always have been, in every state, numbers possessed of some degree of family pride, who have been invariably encouraged, if not flattered in it, by the people. These have most acquaintance, esteem, and friendship, with each other, and mutually aid each other's schemes of interest, convenience, and ambition. Fortune, it is true, has more influence than birth; a rich man of an ordinary family, and common decorum of conduct, may have greater weight than any family merit commonly confers without it. 3. It will be readily admitted, there are great inequalities of merit, or talents, virtues, services, and, what is of more moment, very often of reputation. Some, in a long course of service in an army, have devoted their time, health, and fortunes, signalized their courage and address, exposed themselves to hardships and dangers, lost their limbs and shed their blood, for the people. Others have displayed their wisdom, learning, and eloquence in council, and in various other ways acquired the confidence and affection of their fellow citizens, to such a degree, that the publick have settled into a kind of habit of following their example and taking their advice. 4. There are a few, in whom all these advantages of birth, fortune, and fame, are united.

These sources of inequality, which are common to every people, and can never be altered by any, because they are founded in the constitution of nature; this natural aristocracy among mankind, has been dilated on, because it is a fact essential to be considered in the institution of a government. It is a body of men which contains the greatest collection of virtues and abilities in a free government; is the brightest ornament and glory of the nation; and may always be made the greatest blessing of society, if it be judiciously managed in the constitution. But if it is not, it is always the most dangerous; nay, it may be added, it never fails to be the destruction of the commonwealth. What shall be done to guard against it? Shall they be all massacred? This experiment has been more than once attempted, and once at least tried. Guy Faux attempted it in England; and a king of Denmark, aided by a popular party, effected it once in Sweden; but it answered no good end. The moment they were dead, another aristocracy instantly arose, with equal art and influence, with less delicacy and discretion, if not principle, and behaved more intolerably than the former. The country for centuries, never recovered from the ruinous consequences of a deed so horrible, that one would think it only to be met with in the history of the kingdom of darkness.

There is but one expedient yet discovered, to av

OKJ

POETRY.

From the NEW-BRUNSWICK GAZETTE, &c.
Lines for the FOURTH of JULY, 1787.

A Muse unknown, her feeble voice would raise,
And join the chorus of this country's praise;
Yet while we thus her willing praise would pay,
Her strains, ignoble, take that praise away.

Hail happy day, whose all suspicious morn
Proclaim'd fair freedom to Columbia born;
Let ev'ry heart and ev'ry tongue unite,
In songs of melody, of sweet delight—
To celebrate this day—let mirth abound,
With social pleasure let this glass go round.

We will not now recount the deeds of war;
Our enemies proclaim them—e'en afar:
'Tis not for us to sing of what is past,
Of a long seven years war—I sing the last,
Which brought sweet peace into this favour'd land,
Long since decreed by the supreme command:
Come then, my muse, and sing of peace with joy,
What better subject can my muse employ?
A theme like this inspires spontaneous lays,
PACES, and the best effects of peace, I praise.

Constant alarms no longer shall amuse
Or fright this town with found of bloody news
No longer now shall thundering cannon roar,
Nor din of arms be heard from shore to shore;
But harmless squibs in air-mirth rockets play,
To celebrate this anniversary.
Now we can tell our feats in each campaign,
And talk of battles in a mirthful strain;
These are some sweet effects of peace we know,
And many others which we soon might show;
But now a serious theme demands my lays,
To invoke a blessing on our future days.

Genius of power, spread thy guardian shield
O'er this lov'd country, and thy sceptre wield;
Thy sacred wisdom on that body shower,
Who're now assembled—concord to restore:
Point out the way that we may yet regain
That long lost faith of which we now complain,
For want of public faith has been our bane.
Keep this august assembly from the grave,
Since 'tis by them thou mayst an empire save;
Pour on Columbia's wounds thy healing balm,
Destroy her faction, and her discords calm;
Her sacred rights, oh! teach her to defend,
And scorn that foe the cannot make her friend;
Touch every heart with thine of honest praise,
And love of honour more than length of days;
Not fond of peace—if peace would but enslave,
Nor dreaming war—if war can only save;
Thus prays a feeble citizen, both night and morn,
For his country's glory, though an alien born.

FOREIGN ADVICES.

SPAIN.

TARAGONA, April 14. One of our coasting pilots being at the distance of two leagues from this port, encountered with a fish of an enormous size, which did some damage to his vessel; but having, by great perseverance and address, and the assistance of another vessel, taken and secured it, they drew it ashore, where it excited infinite wonder, as if it was supposed to be of the whale kind; no person could ascertain its species. It was 37 spans and a half in length, and 17 in circumference, in the thickest part; of the colour of an elephant; it had a most prodigious throat, sharp teeth and small eyes; it was supposed to weigh about 75000 pounds.

IRELAND.

DUBLIN, May 31. Notwithstanding the English papers continually set forth, with such avidity, the distressed situation of America, the general want of money, and the insufficiency of American credit, for the purposes of carrying on trade, &c. we however find by the latest accounts from India, (brought by the Cornwallis Indianman, from China) that the five following ships were then in that country, and in all likelihood would make very great returns:

The Experiment, Deane, of Philadelphia,
The Canton, Truxton, Ditto,
The Hope, Bell, New-York,
Empress of China, Green, Ditto,
The Grand Turk, Nicholson, Boston.

These vessels make the number of eleven sail of Indianmen already fitted out from different ports in the United States, (since the commencement of the year 1783, for China and India. Besides which, there are two vessels gone from Maryland to the isles of Mauritius, and one from Philadelphia to Cooke's-river, or the Great River of the West, situated near the north-west extremity of that continent, and purposely fitted out for the fur trade from that quarter to China and Japan, as described to very beneficially by captain Cooke.

LONDON, May 31.

HOUSE OF PEERS.

Mr. Burke attended by several members of the House of commons, presented the remaining articles of impeachment against Warren Hastings, esq. from the eighth to the twentieth inclusive.

Mr. Hastings, attended by the usher of the blackrod,

and Mr. Plumer, one of his counsel, came to the bar, and having knelt, was desired by the lord chancellor to rise, to hear the remainder of the articles read, which was shortly done by the clerk. He was then asked if he had any thing to offer to the consideration of the house? Mr. Hastings said, that he requested a copy of the articles, and that he might be allowed such time to answer, or to plead to them, as their lordships might think reasonable. He was then ordered to withdraw.

Lord Wallingham then moved, that Mr. Hastings be allowed a copy of the articles of impeachment, and that he also be allowed two months, and until the second sitting day of the next session of parliament, to answer or to plead to the same, which passed in the affirmative. Mr. Hastings was again called in, and informed that his request had been complied with.—He then withdrew, and the house adjourned until Wednesday, when his majesty will prorogue both houses of parliament.

Extract of a letter from Marseilles, May 13.

"A countryman of St. Zanary came hither last week to tell the productions of his garden, as he does every market day. After having sold all he had brought, he counted his money (fourteen crowns) and put it in his pocket. A sharper took notice of the jingling purse, and soon after had address enough to filch it from him. Just as he was ranging his baskets, he perceived he was robbed of his money (perhaps the whole support of his family) and in a fit of despair, after the most lamentable cries, drew his knife with an intent to stab himself. The women who were about him, took hold of his hands, and throwing themselves around his neck, had power enough to disarm him. Jane Paschal, a gardener's wife, without speaking a word to the other women, or asking him a single question, put into his hands a little bag with fourteen crowns in it. The man was as thankful as if he had received new life; and the other market women, seeing and admiring the generous action, contributed so much a head, and having made up the above sum, insisted on Jane Paschal's receiving it. When we consider how vast a sum fourteen crowns make in this part of the country, we cannot help contemplating with pleasure the noble heart of the gardener's wife."

Extract of a letter from Leicester, May 25.

"On Tuesday, in a field near St. Sunday's Bridge, on the outside of the liberties of this borough, a battle was fought between Lydall, the noted Whitwick collier, and Dore, of this place;—it was for five guineas a side, and lasted for an hour and twenty minutes, the odds at the onset, were greatly against Lydall, from the known bardines of his adversary. So soon as the collier was striped for combat, he was addressed by his wife, as in the days of yore, with D—n thy soul, lad, if thou dost not beat him, thou had better never come home any more,"—and it may be truly said of him, that

—He many a painful bruise

Intrepid felt; and many a gaping wound
For brown Kate's sake!

During more than 50 minutes the battle was doubtful, and desperately fought on both sides; in which space there were many falls; by this time Dore had beat the collier's head almost to a jelly, but had neglected the vital parts—the fortune of the day now evidently changed; 30 minutes longer the battle was manfully maintained by the beaten combatant, till by one furious stroke the collier drove him to the earth, and put an end to the contest.—Bailey, of Sheephead, was second to the collier, and Jacob, of Nuneaton, second to Dore. It is supposed that more than five thousand people attended this fight, and all agree they both fought fair. The collier's wife, who held his clothes, won a guinea upon the event of the battle, taking the long odds.

"So soon as the battle was ended, Jacob flung his hat high in the air, and with his browny fist extended, "challenged the whole field," but nobody was found hardy enough to encounter him."

JUNE 6.

Extract of a letter from the Hague, June 1.

"The prince stadtholder has sent a letter to the States of Holland and West Friesland, setting forth in the strongest terms, that finding all his mildness and forbearance of no avail, and that not a few misguided individuals alone had endeavoured to deprive him of his rights, and privileges; but that such resolutions had been taken in Holland, and such proceedings countenanced and supported, that he could no longer tamely see himself and his house deprived of his hereditary rights, and therefore thinks it his duty to declare himself ready to use his utmost endeavours, in conjunction with the states of Guelderland and Utrecht, &c. to heal the breaches in the Union and to re-establish peace, concord and confidence, in and between all the provinces of this republic in general, as well as between their regents and inhabitants of each in particular."

Extract of a letter from Brussels, May 25.

"The troubles on the side of Holland increase every day, inasmuch as to give serious alarm to all the friends of the United Provinces. The whole confederacy seems out of joint, and such a disunion prevails as cannot but be productive of the greatest disasters in the end. Holland never displayed a situation more fair for changing her masters, and the form of government under which the inhabitants have lived more than two centuries. All the Austrian posts on that side will be considerably augmented, and reinforced in the course of the summer."

ALL Persons indebted to the Estate of THOMAS CHASE, Esquire, late of Bolton, deceased, are requested to make immediate Payment: And all those to whom said Estate are indebted, are desired to bring in their Accounts, in Order for Settlement, to ELIZABETH CHASE, of Bolton, ABEL ALLEYNE, of Braintree, (Admiraltrators.

(ftf)
June 6th, 1787.

ALL Persons who have any demands on the late Company of HINKLEY and KNEELAND, are desired to bring in the same, immediately to the Subscriber; and all those indebted to said Company, or the Company of PARKMAN and HINKLEY, are requested to pay their dues without delay, in order for a speedy settlement of said Companies' accounts.

(ftf)
JOHN KNEELAND, jun. surviving Partner.

TO BE SOLD,
A brick Dwelling-House,



NOW occupied by Mr. Samuel Jenks, situate at the north-end, in Middle Street, directly opposite the head of Ferry-lane.

For particulars inquire of the Printers. [eptf]

Just imported,

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James White,

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In Court-Street,

Writing-Paper, of various Sizes, Qualities, and Prices, viz.

IMPERIAL,	Thin Post, quarto,
Super-Royal,	plain and gilt,
Medium, Demy,	Extra Thin Post, plain
Thick Post, folio,	and gilt,
Thick Post, quarto,	Fool's Cap and Pot,
plain and gilt,	Marble, Blue, & Blotting
Thin Post, folio,	Paper.

Ash's, Bailey's, Barclay's, Dyche's, Entick's, Fenning's, Johnson's, Patterson's, and Perry's English Dictionaries; Ainsworth's, Cole's and Young's Latin Dictionaries; Art of Speaking, Bell's Surgery, 5 vol. Burn's Justice, Blackstone's Commentaries, Collier's Practice, Davidson's Virgil, Guthrie's Grammar, (a new edition,) Knox's Essay, Motherby's Medical Dictionary; Seamen's Books, School Books, a variety of Books in Arithmetick, Mathematicks, Book-Keeping, Account Books, Record Books, Ink Powder, Ink Cake, Writing Books, Copy-Slips. Also,

A NEW EDITION OF

WATT'S PSALMS and HYMNS,
BIBLES and TESTAMENTS,

By the Groce, Dozen or Single,
With a general Assortment of
Books and Stationary,
By Wholesale or Retail.

State of New-Hampshire.

Exeter, July 28th, 1787.

NOTICE is hereby given to the Non-Resident Owners of Land in the following Towns, viz. Amherst, for 1777 and 1779; Bath, from 1774, twelve years; Newport, from 1777, six years; Lyme, from 1775, eight years; Dorchester, from 1776, six years; Alexander and Barrington, from 1783, four years; Canaan, for 1783; Wolfborough and Peterborough-Slip, for 1784; Acworth and Alstead, for 1785; Allenstown, for 1784 and 1786; Cocker-mouth, Epfom and Barnstead, for 1785 and 1786; Ossipee Salisbury, Canterbury, Camell's-Gore, Wakefield and New-London, for 1786; Protectworth, for 1787.—That their Lands, in said Towns, are taxed; and if the Taxes are not paid within eight Weeks from the first Publication of this Advertisement, to the Collectors, or Subscriber, they will be advertised for Sale. THOMAS ODIORNE, Rec'r of Non-resident Taxes.

John Nutting,

OF SALEM, proposes to open a School, near the lower End of State-Street, to teach Reading, Writing, Arithmetick, the English Grammar, Navigation, Surveying, Geography, Astronomy, and the Longitude by Observation.

Those who wish to be instructed may apply to the Golden-Ball, Merchants'-Row.

TO BE LET,



A LARGE, commodious Building, situate in the most eligible Place for Business, at the North-West Entrance of the Square, in Charlestown, and is well calculated for the Residence of a Family, having every Accommodation necessary. For Particulars inquire of the Printers.