The National Intelligencer,

AND

WASHINGTON ADVERTISER.

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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 conſiſts, 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 conſequential 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 claſſes 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 freely examined, ſo, on the other, private character will remain inviolable, nor ſhall indelicate ideas 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.

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

2d. 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.

3d. 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 new paper, 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 expence 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 calumniate private character, ſo it is his unalterable purpoſe freely to inſert, and earneſtly to invite, whatever ſhall promote the general welfare. This, and this only, ſhall be the motive by which his profeſſional deportment 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, to 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 laviſh 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. 1. 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 perſiſted 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 a new 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 Weſtminiſter-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 ſuſpecting, 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