

Connecticut Courant,

AND

WEEKLY INTELLIGENCER.

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PRICE'S OBSERVATIONS, continued. Of EDUCATION.

SUCH is the state of things which I wish to take place in the united American States.—In order to introduce and perpetuate it, and at the same time to give it the greatest effect on the improvement of the world, nothing is more necessary than the establishment of a wise and liberal plan of EDUCATION. It is impossible properly to represent the importance of this. So much is left by the author of nature to depend on the turn given to the mind in early life and the impressions then made, that I have often thought there may be a secret remaining to be discovered in education, which will cause future generations to grow up virtuous and happy, and accelerate human improvement to a greater degree than can at present be imagined.

The end of education is to direct the powers of the mind in unfolding themselves; and to assist them in gaining their just bent and force. And, in order to this, its business should be to teach *how* to think, rather than *what* to think; or to lead into the best way of searching for truth, rather than to instruct in truth itself.—As for the latter, who is qualified for it? There are many indeed who are eager to undertake this office. All parties and sects think they have discovered truth, and that they alone are its advocates and friends. But the very different and inconsistent accounts they give of it demonstrate they are utter strangers to it; and that it is better to teach *nothing*, than to teach what they hold out for truth. The greater their confidence, the greater is the reason for distrusting them. We generally see the warmest zeal, where the object of it is the greatest nonsense.

Such observations have a particular tendency to shew that education ought to be an initiation into candour, rather than into any system of faith; and that it should form a habit of cool and patient investigation, rather than a servile attachment to any opinions.

But hitherto education has been conducted on a contrary plan. It has been a *contraction*, not an *enlargement* of the intellectual faculties; an *injection* of false principles hardening them in error, not a *discipline* enlightening and improving them. Instead of opening and strengthening them, and teaching to think *freely*; it hath cramped and enslaved them, and qualified for thinking only in *one* track. Instead of instilling humility, charity, and liberality, and thus preparing for an easier discovery and a readier admission of truth; it has inflated with conceit, and stuffed the human mind with wretched prejudices.

The more has been learned from *such* education, the more it becomes necessary to *unlearn*. The more has been taught in this way, of so much the more must the mind be emptied before true wisdom can enter.—Such was education in the time of the first teachers of christianity. By furnishing with skill in the arts of disputation and sophistry, and producing an attachment to established systems, it turned the minds of men from truth, and rendered them more determined to resist evidence, and more capable of evading it. Hence it happened, that this heavenly instruction, when first communicated, was *to the Jews a stumbling block, and to the Greeks foolishness*; and that, in spite of *miracles themselves*, the persons who rejected it with most disdain, and who opposed it with most violence, were those who had been educated in colleges, and were best versed in the false learning of the times: And had it taught the true philosophy instead of the true religion, the effect would have been the same. The doctrine "that the sun stood still and the earth moved round it," would have been reckoned no less absurd and incredible, than the doctrine of a *crucified Messiah*. And the men who would have treated such an instruction with most contempt, would have been the *wise and prudent*; that is, the proud sophists and learned doctors of the times, who had studied the *Ptolemaick* system of the world, and learnt, by cycles and epicycles, to account for all the motions of the heavenly bodies.

In like manner, when the improvement of Logic in Mr. LOCKE'S *Essay on the Human Understanding* was first published in Britain, the persons readiest to attend to it and to receive it were those who had never been trained in colleges; and whose minds, therefore, had never been perverted by an instruction in the jargon of the schools. To the deep professors of the time, it appeared (like the doctrine

taught in his book on the reasonableness of christianity) to be a dangerous novelty and heresy; and the University of OXFORD, in particular, condemned and reprobated the author.—The like happened, when SIR ISAAC NEWTON'S discoveries were first published. A romance (that is, the Philosophy of DESCARTES) was then in possession of the philosophical world. Education had rivited it in the minds of the learned; and it was twenty-seven years before NEWTON'S *Principia* could gain sufficient credit to bring it to a second edition.—Such are the prejudices which have generally prevailed against new lights. Such the impediments which have been thrown in the way of improvement by a narrow plan of education.—Even now the principal object of education (especially in divinity) is to teach established systems as certain truths, and to qualify for successfully defending them against opponents; and thus to arm the mind against conviction, and render it impenetrable to farther light. Indeed, were it offered to my option which I would have, the plain sense of a common and untutored man, or the deep erudition of the proud scholars and professors in most universities, I should eagerly prefer the former, from a persuasion that it would leave me at a less distance from real wisdom. An unoccupied and simple mind I think infinitely preferable to a mind warped by systems; and the entire want of learning, better than a learning, such as most of that is which hitherto has been taught and admired.—A learning which puff up, while in reality it is nothing but profounder ignorance and more inveterate prejudice.

It may be worth adding here, that a narrow education (should it ever happen not to produce the evils now mentioned) will probably produce equal evils of a contrary nature. I mean, that there will be danger, when persons so educated come to see the absurdity of some of the opinions in which they have been educated, that they will become prejudiced against them *all*, and, consequently, throw them *all* away, and run wild into scepticism and infidelity.—At present, in this part of the world this is a very common event.

I am by no means qualified to give a just account of the particular method in which education ought to be conducted, so as to avoid these evils: That is, so as to render the mind free and unfettered; quick in discerning evidence, and prepared to follow it from whatever quarter and in whatever manner it may offer itself. But certain it is, that the best mode of education is that which does this most effectually; which guards best against silly prejudices; which enflames most in the love of truth; which disposes most to ingenuity and fairness, and leaves the mind most sensible of its own need and farther information.—Had this been the aim of education, mankind would now have been farther advanced.—It supposes, however, an improved state of mankind; and when once it has taken place, it will quicken the progress of improvement.

I have in these observations expressed a dislike of systems; but I have meant only to condemn that attachment to them as standards of truth which has been too prevalent. It may be necessary in education to make use of them; or of books explaining them. But they should be used only as guides and helps to enquiry. Instruction in them should be attended with a fair exhibition of the evidence on both sides of every question; and care should be taken to induce, as far as possible, a habit of believing only on an overbalance of evidence; and of proportioning assent in every case to the degree of that overbalance, without regarding authority, antiquity, singularity, novelty, or any of the prejudices which too commonly influence assent.—Nothing is so well fitted to produce this habit as the study of *mathematics*. In these sciences no one ever thinks of giving his assent to a proposition till he can clearly understand it, and see it proved by a fair deduction from propositions previously understood and proved. In these sciences the mind is inured to close and patient attention; shewn the nature of just reasoning; and taught to form distinct ideas, and to expect clear evidence in all cases before belief. They furnish, therefore, the best exercise for the intellectual powers, and the best defence against that credulity and precipitation and confusion of ideas which are the common sources of error.

There is, however, a danger to be avoided here. Mathematical studies may afford the attention too

much; and when they do, they contract the mind by rendering it incapable of thinking *at large*; by disqualifying it for judging of any evidence except mathematical; and, consequently, disposing it to an unreasonable scepticism on all subjects which admit not of such evidence.—There have been many instances of this narrowness in mathematicians.

But to return from this digression.—I cannot help observing on this occasion, with respect to CHRISTIANITY in particular, that education ought to lead to a habit of judging of it, as it is in the code itself of Christianity; that the doctrine it reveals should be learnt only from a critical and fair enquiry into the sense of this code; and that all instruction in it should be a preparation for making this enquiry and a communication of assistance in examining into the proofs of its divine original, and in determining to what degree of evidence these proofs amount, after allowing every difficulty its just weight.—This has never yet been the practice among Christians. The New Testament has been reckoned hitherto an *insufficient* standard of Christian Divinity; and, therefore, formularies of human invention *pretending* to explain and define it (but in reality misrepresenting and dishonouring it) have been substituted in its room; and teaching *these* has been called teaching *Christianity*. And it is very remarkable, that in the *English* Universities no Lectures on the New Testament are ever read, or even suffered to be read; and that, through all Christendom, it is much less an object of attention than the *systems* and *creeds* which have been fastened upon it.

I will only add on this subject, that it is above all things necessary, while instruction is conveyed to convey with it a sense of the imbecility of the human mind, and of its great proneness to error; and also a disposition, even to points which seem the most clear, to listen to objections, and to consider nothing as involving in it our final interest but an HONEST HEART.

Nature has so made us, that an attachment must take place within us to opinions once formed; and it was proper that we should be so made, in order to prevent that levity and desultoriness of mind which must have been the consequence had we been ready to give up our opinions too easily and hastily. But this natural tendency, however wisely given us, is apt to exceed its proper limits, and to render us unreasonably tenacious. It ought, therefore, like all our other natural propensities, to be carefully watched and guarded; and education should put us upon doing this. An observation before made should, in particular, be included, "that all mankind have hitherto been most tenacious when most in the wrong, and reckoned themselves most enlightened when most in the dark."—This is, indeed, a very mortifying fact; but attention to it is necessary to cure that miserable pride and dogmatism which are some of the worst enemies to improvement.—Who is there that does not remember the time when he was entirely satisfied about points which deeper reflection has shewn to be above his comprehension? Who, for instance, does not remember a time when he would have wondered at the question, "why does water run down hill?" What ignorant man is there who is not persuaded that he understands this perfectly? But every improved man knows it to be a question he cannot answer; and what distinguishes him in this instance from the less improved part of mankind is his knowing this. The like is true in numberless other instances. One of the best proofs of wisdom is a sense of our want of wisdom; and he who knows most possesses most of this sense.

In thinking of myself I derive some encouragement from this reflexion. I now see, that I do not understand many points which once appeared to me very clear. The more I have enquired, the more sensible I have been growing of my own darkness; and a part of the history of my life is that which follows.

In early life I was struck with Bishop BUTLER'S *Analogy of religion natural and revealed to the constitution and course of nature*. I reckon it happy for me that this book was one of the first that fell into my hands. It taught me the proper mode of reasoning on moral and religious subjects, and particularly the importance of paying a due regard to the imperfection of human knowledge. His sermons also, I then thought, and do still think, excellent. Next to his works, I have always been an admirer

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of the writings of Dr. CLARK. And I cannot help adding, however strange it may seem, that I owe much to the philosophical writings of Mr. HUME, which I likewise studied early in life. Though an enemy to his Scepticism, I have profited by it. By attacking, with great ability, every principle of Faith and reason, he put me upon examining the ground upon which I stood, and taught me not hastily to take any thing for granted.—The first fruits of my reading and studies were laid before the public in a Treatise entitled *A REVIEW of the principal Questions and Difficulties in Morals*. This publication has been followed by many others on various subjects.—And now, in the evening of a life devoted to enquiry and spent in endeavours (weak indeed and feeble) to serve the best interests, present and future, of mankind, I am waiting for the GREAT TEACHER, convinced that the order of nature is perfect; that infinite wisdom and goodness govern all things; and that Christianity comes from God: But at the same time puzzled by many difficulties, anxious for more light, and resting with full and constant assurance only on this one truth—That the practice of virtue is the duty and dignity of man; and, in all events, his wisest and safest course.

Of the *Dangers*, to which the American States are exposed.

IN the preceding observations, I have aimed at pointing out the means of promoting the progress of improvement in the United States of America. I have insisted, particularly on the importance of a just settlement of the federal union, and the establishment of a well-guarded and perfect liberty in speculation, in government, in education, and in religion.—The United States are now setting out, and all depends on the care and foresight with which a plan is begun, which hereafter will require only to be strengthened and ripened. This is, therefore, the time for giving them advice; and mean advice (like the present) may suggest some useful hints.—In this country, when any improvements are proposed, or any corrections are attempted, of abuses so gross as to make our boasts of liberty ridiculous, a clamour immediately arises against innovation, and an alarm spreads, lest the attempt to repair should destroy.—In America no such prejudices can operate. There abuses have not yet gained sacredness by time. There the way is open to social dignity and happiness; and reason may utter her voice with confidence and success.

(Continued in the fourth Page.)

* The majority of the British House of Commons is chosen by a few thousands of the dregs of the people, who are constantly paid for their votes.—Is it not ridiculous to call a country governed free?—See a striking account of the state of the British Parliamentary Representation, in Mr. Burgh's Political Disquisitions, Vol. I. p. 39, &c.

L O N D O N, December 4.

This morning Christopher Atkinson, Esq. was brought up to the Court of King's Bench, when Judge Willis pronounced the following sentence on him, viz. To pay a fine of 2000l. to stand once on the pillory and to be imprisoned in the King's Bench twelve calendar months.

Copy of a letter from the right honorable Lord George Gordon, President of the Protestant Association, to the right honorable Mr. Pitt, First Lord of the Treasury.

"S I R,
Several hundred seamen have addressed me to day; many of them, lately arrived from India, came in coaches. Acting lieutenants, mates, and midshipmen of the royal navy are among them. The following is the copy of the generality of their addresses:

"To the right honourable Lord George Gordon, President of the Protestant Association.

"May it please your Lordship,
We, the seamen, whose names are underwritten, are able, willing, and ready, to serve the United Protestant States of Holland against the King of the Romans, and all their Popish enemies. And your petitioners will ever pray for your Lord George Gordon.

"Signed by Edward Robinson, and 34 other seamen, at the Kettle Drum, Radcliff Highway, November 17, 1784.

"Several officers of distinction in the land service have also applied to me, and offered their services to the States General, particularly a field officer of Connecticut line, in the province of Massachusetts, and an officer who has lately left the Irish brigade of France, who wished to enter into a service more agreeable, and congenial to his sentiments and principles. Many of the guards have requested to go volunteers. Some Athole Highlanders are on their way to town, who, I make no doubt, will engage in the good Protestant cause of their High Mightinesses. I acquaint you, as Prime Minister, with those matters, that you may convince Baron Van Lynden of the general good disposition of the people of those kingdoms to comply with his Excellency's request, and to renew again their old friendship with Holland upon the righteous and solid foundation of the Protestant Interest.

"I am, Sir, with all due respect,
Your humble servant,
G. GORDON."

Welbeck-street, Nov. 17, 1784.
Copy of a letter from the right honorable Mr. Pitt, First Lord of the Treasury, to the right honorable Lord George Gordon.

Downing-street, Nov. 19, 1784.

"My Lord,
I have hitherto returned no answer to the letters I received from your Lordship on the 17th and 18th instant, because I did not think it my duty to enter into a correspondence with your Lordship on the subject. But having been informed that many seamen have been induced to quit their occupation, in the expectation of being employed to serve against the Emperor, I think it proper to remind you, that whatever steps you have taken, have been without the smallest degree of authority or countenance from his Majesty's Ministers, and that it is for your Lordship to consider what consequences may be expected from them. I am, my Lord,
Your Lordship's obedient humble servant,
W. P I T T."

"Right hon. Lord G. Gordon."
Lord George Gordon's answer to Mr. Pitt.

"S I R,
I received your letter of to-day just now. It was very rude in you not to answer my two letters sooner. I am glad to hear you say that "many seamen have been induced to quit their occupation, in expectation of being employed to serve against the Emperor." This shews the seamen's hearts are warm towards the states of Holland, and that they wish to lend a hand to assist them against their enemies. As soon as you, and the rest of his Majesty's Ministers, are pleased to authorise and countenance these honest endeavors of the seamen to support those Protestant states, I will make proposals to the Dutch Ambassador and to the states of Holland to take them into immediate pay. The consequences may fall on the heads of the King's servants if they advise their sovereign to take a part against the Protestant interest.

"I am, Sir, your humble servant,
G. GORDON."

Welbeck-street, Nov. 19, 1784.

C I T Y of H A R T F O R D.

A By-Law for appointing the time and place of holding Annual Meetings of the City of Hartford.

It is ordained, by the Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council and Freemen of the city of Hartford, That a meeting of said city shall be annually holden at the State House in said city, on the last Monday in March, at nine o'clock in the forenoon, for the purpose of choosing all the annual officers of said city.

A By-Law for appointing a Clerk of the Court of Common Council of the City of Hartford.

It is ordained, by the Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council and Freemen of the city of Hartford, That the Clerk of the said city for the time being shall be called, be Clerk of the Court of Common Council; whose duty it shall be to attend the meetings of said Court of Common Council, and make due entries and records, of all the orders and proceedings of said Court of Common Council, and deliver true and attested copies of the same so often as required, and the records by him kept shall be the true and correct copies in point of evidence, both in court and country; and when either Sheriff of said city shall receive an order, duly issued for the warning a meeting of the Court of Common Council, he shall notify the Clerk of said court thereof in like manner as by the By-Laws of said city, it is ordered the members of said court shall be warned and notified.

A By-Law for preserving the Buildings in the City of Hartford from Fire.

It is ordained, by the Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council and Freemen of the city of Hartford, That for the preservation of said city from fire, the same shall be divided into five wards, viz. The first ward to begin at the north line of the city, and to extend as far south as Talcott's lane, including said lane, and from said lane a due west course to the city line. Second ward to begin at Talcott's lane, and to extend as far south as the street at the house of Mr. Haynes Lord, including said house, and from thence to extend east to the great river, and west to the city line. Third ward, to include all the houses on the north of the little river not within the before mentioned wards. Fourth ward, all the houses east of a straight line drawn from the west end of Jonathan Butler's dwelling house, south to the limits of said city. Fifth ward, all west of said last mentioned line, within said limits.

That one Fire Warden shall be chosen in each of said wards, by the Court of Common Council of said city, so often as they shall judge necessary, and to continue in office during the pleasure of said Court, whose duty it shall be, to make and keep a complete list of all the male inhabitants dwelling within his said ward, from the age of fifteen years to the age of sixty years.—And every male inhabitant contained in said list, upon every alarm that may be made on account of fire in said city, shall forthwith personally repair with a good bucket to the place where such fire shall have broken out, and obey the directions of the Fire Wardens then and there present; the Fire Warden of the ward in which such fire shall happen, if present to have the chief direction and management in the suppressing the same, and to be obeyed in his orders accordingly.

And in case of an alarm of fire in said city, every Fire Warden in said city who shall neglect to attend and use proper exertions for the suppressing of the fire, shall forfeit and pay to the Treasurer of the city for the use of said city, the sum of five pounds lawful money for every instance of such neglect, unless prevented by sickness, absence out of said city, or want of notice.

And every other male inhabitant of said city, who shall, in case of such alarm, neglect to attend and obey the directions of said Fire Wardens, as herein before mentioned, shall forfeit and pay to the Warden of that ward in which said inhabitant shall reside, for the use of said Warden, the sum of six shillings for every instance of such neglect, unless such inhabitant shall be prevented from attendance by absence out of the city, sickness, or want of notice.

And every owner of a house in this city of the height of one story, shall at his own expence provide, and at all times keep in good repair and readiness in said house, one good leathern bucket, containing not less than two gallons, and every owner of a dwelling house of the height of two stories or more, shall provide and at all times keep as aforesaid two good leathern buckets of the aforesaid dimensions, and every owner of a dwelling house of the height of three stories or more, shall provide and keep as aforesaid three good leathern buckets of the above dimensions and in manner aforesaid.—And every

person who shall neglect to provide or keep a good bucket or buckets as aforesaid, shall for every month he shall neglect to provide and keep a bucket or buckets as aforesaid, forfeit and pay to the Warden of such ward in which such house stands, the sum of three shillings lawful money to and for the use of said Warden; and it shall be the duty of the Fire Wardens to prosecute all breaches of this paragraph of this act in their respective wards.

And every owner of a dwelling house, within this city, shall provide and at all times keep in good repair upon his said dwelling house, a good and sufficient ladder, reaching from the ground to the top of the roof of said house, and every such owner, who shall neglect to provide or keep on his said house a good and sufficient ladder as aforesaid, shall for each and every month during which he shall so neglect to provide and keep the same, forfeit and pay to the Warden of that ward within which such house shall stand, the sum of five shillings lawful money, the one moiety to the use of the Treasury of said city, and the other to the use of said Warden; and it shall be the duty of said Warden to prosecute all breaches of this paragraph in their respective wards.

And be it further ordained, That every person who shall occupy any dwelling house or shop in said city, shall at all times hereafter, once in every term of two months, either by sweeping or burning at suitable seasons, sufficiently cleanse every chimney in his occupation, in which fires are usually kept, and whoever shall neglect to do the same as aforesaid shall for every instance of such neglect, forfeit and pay to the Warden of that ward wherein such house or shop stands, for the use of such Warden, the sum of five shillings lawful money.

And be it further ordained, That the Parent, Master, or Guardian of every Minor who shall be guilty of any breach of this by-law, or any part thereof, shall pay and satisfy the penalty for such breach incurred, and judgment shall be rendered against him accordingly.

Provided always, That this by-law shall not be in force to subject any person to any penalty for the breach of the same or any part thereof before the first day of June, A. D. 1785.

At a Court of Common Council, holden by adjournment, at the State House within and for the City of Hartford, on the 21st day of February 1785, the foregoing By-Laws were read and passed.

Tell, WILLIAM ADAMS, Clerk.

At a Meeting of the Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council and Freemen of the City of Hartford, holden at the State House within and for said City, on the 22d day of February 1785, the foregoing By-Laws were read and approved.

Tell, WILLIAM ADAMS, Clerk.

THE subscriber hereby gives notice to the resident and non-resident proprietors of the town of New Hartford, who are by law required to pay State taxes in said town, which was granted by the General Assembly, on the 11th 1780, that on the 26th day of April next will be held at public vendue, at the sign-post in said New-Hartford as the law directs, such part of the estates of the following persons as will pay their taxes due to the subscriber, unless prevented by payment, viz. Isaac Cornwell, Stephen Colter, Oliver Colter, Gabriel Flowers, Stephen Gillet, Blakim Merrell, Stephen Merrell, Thomas Merrell, Thomas Goodman, John Nicholson, Samuel Pike, Jesse Payne, William Peas, Martin Smith, Amariah Watson, Daniel Collyer heirs.

JOSEPH MERRILL, 2d. State & Town Collector.
New-Hartford, Feb. 26, 1785.

With the subscribers being appointed commissioners by the Hon. Court of Probate for the district of Hartford, to examine the claims of the creditors to the estate of Richard Seymour, late of Hartford, deceased, represented insolvent. Do hereby give notice, that we shall attend on the business of our appointment at the dwelling-house of Richard Seymour, in said Hartford, on the second Monday of March, and last Mondays of April and May next, and the 2d Mondays of September and October next, from one o'clock till night; after which no accounts will be allowed.—All accounts must be properly attested.

JONATHAN BULL,
BARNABAS HINSDALE,
Hartford, Feb. 28, 1785.

THE proprietors and non-resident proprietors of the town of Windsor are hereby notified, that a tax of 6d. payable in Interest Certificates, and 1d. in Hard Money, is granted on the 11th 1783, which is in my hands;—for the convenience of collecting the same, I shall attend on said business at the house of Mr. Robert Sanford in Wintonbury, on the second, third and fourth Mondays in March next; on the Tuesdays following said Mondays at George Griswold's, inholder; and on the Wednesdays at Oliver Mather's, inholder; and on each Thursday following at my own house, and on the third Friday of said March at the house of Nathaniel Mather, inholder. Those who neglect to meet me and attend on said business, must not expect I can ride to their houses without some acknowledgment for my trouble.

JOSIAH BISSELL, Collector.
Windsor, Feb. 23, 1785.

THE subscriber being appointed by the Hon. Judge of Probate for the district of Stafford, administrator on the estate of Jeremiah Udey, late of Tolland, deceased, six months being allowed from the first of March 1785, for the creditors to bring in their claims against said estate: There are therefore to give notice to all persons that have any just accounts against said estate to bring them in to me the subscriber within the time limited, at my dwelling-house, in Coventry, on the last Monday's of March, April and May next.—All accounts must be properly attested, or they will not be allowed.—No accounts will be allowed after said six months.

BENJAMIN CARPENTER, jun. Collector.
ALL persons indebted to said estate are desired to make speedy payment.
Coventry, February 1785.

THE Hon. Court of Probate for the district of Hartford, having allowed six months from the date hereof, to those who have demands on the estate of Deacon Daniel Hinsdale, late of Hartford, deceased, to bring in their claims against said estate: The Executor on said estate hereby gives notice, that he is ready to receive any claims against said estate, properly attested, till the expiration of six months; after which time no accounts can be received or allowed.

BARNABAS HINSDALE, Executor.
Hartford, Feb. 28, 1785.

NOTICE is hereby given to the following persons, That so much of their Lands will be sold at the sign-post in Danbury, on Monday the eleventh day of April next, as will pay their public taxes due to me the subscriber, with incident charges arising thereon, unless prevented by payment, viz. Jonathan Whitbeck, Joseph Wood, Jonathan Benedict, Thomas Starr, 2d. Thomas Starr, 3d. Francis Corty, Eleazer Hoy, John Segar, Robert Andrews, John Lopdell, Elias Taylor, Abraham Wally.

ELIPHALET BARNUM, Collector.
Danbury, Feb. 26, 1785.

Of Debts and Internal Wars.

I HAVE observed in the introduction to this Address, that the American states have many dangers to shun. In what follows I shall give a brief recital of some of the chief of these dangers.

The danger from an endless increase of public debts has been already sufficiently noticed.

Particular notice has been likewise taken of the danger from internal wars. Again and again, I would urge the necessity of pursuing every measure and using every precaution which can guard against this danger. It will be shocking to see in the new world, a repetition of all the evils which have hitherto laid waste the old world—War raging where peace and liberty were thought to have taken their abodes—The points of bayonets and the mouths of cannon settling disputes, instead of the collected wisdom of the confederation—and perhaps one restless and ambitious State rising by bloody conquest above the rest, and becoming a sovereign State, claiming impiously (as Britain once did) "full authority to make laws that shall bind its sister States in all cases whatever, and drawing to itself all advantages at their expence.—I deprecate this calamity. I shudder when I consider how possible it is; and hope those persons are mistaken who think that such are the jealousies which govern human nature, and such the imperfections of the best human arrangements, that it is not within the reach of any wisdom to discover any effectual means of preventing it, without encroaching too much on the liberty and independence of the states. I have mentioned an enlargement of the powers of Congress. Others have proposed a consolidation of the powers of government in one Parliament representing all the States, and superseding the particular parliaments by which they are now separately governed. But it is obvious, that this will be attended with greater inconveniencies, and encroach more on the liberty of the states, than the enlargement I have proposed of the powers of Congress.—If such a parliament is not to supersede any of the other parliaments, it will be the same with Congress as at present constituted.

Of an unequal Distribution of Property.

IT is a trite observation, that "dominion is founded on property." Most free states have manifested their sense of the truth of this observation, by studying to find out means of preventing too great an inequality in the distribution of property. What tumults were occasioned at Rome in its best times by attempts to carry into execution the Agrarian law? Among the people of Israel, by the direction of heaven, all estates which had been alienated during the course of fifty years, returned to their original owners at the end of that term. One of the circumstances that has been most favourable to the American states in forming their new constitutions of government has been the equality which subsists among them.

The happiest state of man is the middle state between the savage and the refined, or between the wild and the luxurious state. Such is the state of society in Connecticut, and some others of the American provinces; where the inhabitants consist, if I am rightly informed, of an independent and hardy Yeomanry, all nearly on a level—trained to arms—instructed in their rights—cloathed in home-spun—of simple manners—strangers to luxury—drawing plenty from the ground—and that plenty, gathered easily by the hand of industry; and giving rise to early marriages, a numerous progeny, length of days, and a rapid increase—the rich and the poor, the haughty grandee and the creeping sycophant, equally unknown—protected by laws, which (being their own will) cannot oppress; and by an equal government, which wanting lucrative places, cannot create corrupt canvassings * and ambitious intrigue.—O distinguished people! May you continue long thus happy; and may the happiness you enjoy spread over the face of the whole earth!—But I am forgetting myself. There is danger that a state of society so happy will not be of long duration; that simplicity and virtue will give way to depravity; that equality will in time be lost, the cursed lust of domineering shew itself, liberty languish, and civil government gradually degenerate into an instrument in the hands of the few to oppress and plunder the many.—Such has hitherto been the progress of evil in human affairs. In order to give them a better turn, some great men (Plato, Sir Thomas More, Mr. Wallis, &c.) have proposed plans, which, by establishing a community of goods and annihilating property, would make it impossible for any one member of a state to think of enslaving the rest, or to consider himself as having any interest distinct from that of his fellow-citizens. Such theories are in speculation pleasing; nor perhaps are they wholly impracticable. Some approaches to them may hereafter be made; and schemes of government may take place, which shall leave so little, besides personal merit, to be a means of distinction, as to exclude from society most of the causes of evil. But be this as it will; it is out of doubt that there is an equality in society which is essential to liberty, and which every State that would continue virtuous

* In this State, and also the state of Massachusetts, New-Jersey, &c. any attempt to canvass, or even the expression of a wish to be chosen, will exclude a candidate from a seat in the House of Representatives. The same is true of any stain on his moral character.

and happy ought as far as possible to maintain—It is not in my power to describe the best method of doing this.—I will only observe, that there are three enemies to equality against which America ought to guard.

First; Granting hereditary honours and titles of nobility. Persons thus distinguished, though perhaps meaner than the meanest of their dependents, are apt to consider themselves as belonging to a higher order of beings, and made for power and government. Their birth and rank necessarily dispose them to be hostile to general liberty; and when they are not so, and discover a just zeal for the rights of mankind, it is always a triumph of good sense and virtue over the temptations of their situation. It is, therefore, with peculiar satisfaction that I have found in the articles of confederation an order that no titles of nobility shall be ever granted by the United States. Let there be honours to encourage merit; but let them die with the men who have earned them. Let them not descend to posterity to foster a spirit of domination, and to produce a proud and tyrannical aristocracy.—In a word, let the United States continue for ever what it is in their glory to be—a confederation of states prosperous and happy, without Lords—without Bishops*—and without Kings.

Secondly; The right of primogeniture. The tendency of this to produce an improper inequality is very obvious. The disposition to raise a name, by accumulating property in one branch of a family, is a vanity no less unjust and cruel, than dangerous to the interest of liberty; and no wise State will encourage or tolerate it.

Thirdly; Foreign Trade is another of the enemies against which I wish to caution the United States. But this operates unfavourably to a State in so many more ways than by destroying that equality which is the basis of liberty, that it will be proper to take more particular notice of it.

* I do not mean by Bishops any officers among Christians merely spiritual; but *secular* spiritual, as distinguished from *secular* temporal, or Clergymen raised to pre-eminence, and invested with civil honours and authority by a state establishment.

I must add, that by what is here said I do not mean to express a general preference of a republican constitution of government. There is a degree of political degeneracy which unfits for such a constitution. Britain, in particular, consists too much of the high and the low, (of *sum and drag*) to admit of it. Nor will it suit America, should it ever become equally corrupt.

BALTIMORE, Jan. 10.
By the House of Delegates of the State of Maryland, January 8, 1785.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this House, that the happiness of the people, and the good order and preservation of civil government, depend upon morality, religion and piety; and that these cannot be generally diffused through a community, but by the public worship of Almighty God.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this house, that it is highly necessary, and the indispensable duty of the Legislature of this State, to discourage vice, and immorality, to enact a law for the support and encouragement of the Christian religion, as the best means of manifesting our gratitude to God for his past mercies and deliverances, and procuring his blessing and favour upon all our future endeavours, for the honor, prosperity, and happiness of this country.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this House, agreeably to the constitution and form of government, it is proper for the General Assembly to lay a general and equal tax on all the citizens in this State, of all denominations of Christians (as far as their circumstances will permit: for the support of the Ministers of the Gospel of all societies of Christians within this State, without any preference or discrimination.

By Order. W. HARWOOD,

WHOLESALE and RETAIL.

Thomas Hopkins & Co.

Have for sale at their store in Hartford, A large Assortment of Cutlery and other Hard Wares.

A L S O, Blankets, Coatings, Frizes, Baizes, Broadcloths, Ververetts and Corduroys, worsted Florentines and Sattinets, Camblers, Callimancoes, Moreens, Shalloons, Durants, worsted and cotton Hose, worsted Gloves and Mitts, silk do. Checks, Women's Shoes, Rohea Tea, Brass Kettles, German Steel, &c. &c. &c.

CASH MAY BE HAD FOR Bees Wax and Shipping Furs.

Enquire at the Store of ASA HOPKINS and Co. Hartford, January 1785.

WANTED as Apprentices to the paper making business, one or two active Lads, about 14 years of age. Enquire of the Printers of this paper. Feb. 22, 1785.

Law's and Brownson's Collection of MUSIC, sold by the Printers hereof

Now in the Press, and will be ready for Sale in a few Weeks, at the Book Store of

BARLOW AND BABCOCK,

Dr. Watts's Imitation

OF THE

Psalms of David,

Corrected and Enlarged,

By JOEL BARLOW,

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A Collection of Hymns.

The whole applied to the State of the Christian Church in general.

N. B. As other editions of Watts's Psalms are now selling, which many people take to be this, the public are informed, that the following Recommendation is inserted next after the title-page of this work.

At a meeting of the General Association of the State of Connecticut in June last it was thought expedient, that a number of Psalms in Doctor Watts's version, which are locally appropriated, should be altered and applied to the State of the Christian Church in general, and not to any particular country; and finding some attempts have been made to alter and apply these Psalms to America, or particular parts of America, tending to destroy that uniformity in the use of Psalms, so desirable in religious assemblies; they appointed the Rev. Messrs. Timothy Pitkin, John Smalley and Theodore Hinsdale, a Committee to confer with and apply to Mr. Joel Barlow, of Hartford, to make the proposed alterations. These, together with the additions and collection of Hymns annexed to this edition, we have carefully examined and approved; and we therefore recommend them to the use of the Church of Christ; for the purposes of public worship and private devotion.

TIMOTHY PITKIN, } Comm. of General
JOHN SMALLEY, } Association.
THEODORE HINSDALE, }

The following gentlemen appointed by particular Associations, to examine and revise, concur in the above recommendation.

NATHAN WILLIAMS.
THOMAS W. BRAY,
NATHAN PERKINS.

THE General Court of the State of New-Hampshire having passed an Act for a LOTTERY to raise a sum of money, not exceeding three thousand pounds, for the purpose of erecting an edifice in Hanover for the use and benefit of Dartmouth College; and appointed John Parker, and Joshua Wehrwein, Thomas Martin, Josiah Gillman and Thomas Odiorne, or the major part of them to be Managers of said Lottery, who are sworn to the faithful performance of their trust.

The following SCHEME is accordingly offered to the PUBLIC, which it is to be hoped, will meet with their approbation and encouragement.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE LOTTERY,

CLASS THE FIRST

Consists of 6000 Tickets at two dollars each 12,000

2009 of which are prizes, viz.

1	of	600	is	600
1		200		200
1		100		100
2		50	are	100
4		25		100
20		10		200
200		5		1000
1700		4		7120

2009 prizes 9420
3991 blanks 2576

6000 at two dollars each 12,000

* * As there are not two blanks for a prize, the Managers stater themselves with a speedy sale of the Tickets, and that they shall be enabled to draw in a short time; public notice of which will be given and a list of prizes published in the New-Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut News-Papers, and paid off (if applied for) in thirty days after drawing said Lottery.

Benefit Tickets not called for in six months after said drawing will be deemed as generously given for the purpose aforesaid. It is needless to point out the great advantage this undertaking will be to the public, the present buildings near being sufficient to accommodate the students, and having no proper rooms for the apparatus, library, &c. (which are now very complete) there is no doubt but every friend to literature and useful knowledge will promote so benevolent a design, and give all the encouragement in his power.

N. B. Tickets to be had at this Office. The Printers in this State are desired to publish the above Scheme. New-Hampshire, Portsmouth, November 12, 1784.

FOR SALE,

By Hudson & Goodwin,

At their Printing-Office, near the Bridge,

A VARIETY of BOOKS,

On Divinity, History, Physic, &c.

A L S O,

Writing Paper, Press and Bonnet Papers, Ink Powder, Sealing Wax, Wafers, Scales and Dividers, Penknives, Holland Quills, Account Books and Alphabets, Money Scales, Memorandum Books, Copper Plate Copies, Blanks of various Kinds, Rum, Sugar, Tea, Coffee, &c.

Any of the above Articles, and part Cash paid for clean Cotton and Linen RAGS of any Kind.

Surveyors & Mariners Compasses, MADE AND SOLD

By Enos Doolittle,

Who continues the Watch business, as usual. Hartford, January 1785.

The Statutes of Connecticut, As lately revised by the General Assembly of this State, To be sold by the Printers hereof.