

PRICES CURRENT. Philadelphia, Oct. 28.

Table listing various commodities and their prices, including items like ANCHORS, Flour, Sugar, and various oils. Columns include item names and prices in dollars and cents.

The Subscribers have for sale The following GOODS: Claret in bottles, Do. of the first quality, in bottles, Malaga wine, Old red Port do, Madeira (London particular) fit for immediate use.

October 27. LOST, yesterday afternoon, A BUNCH OF KEYS, the owner of which will be thankful to any person who may have found the same, to have them with the printer. Oct. 27.

WANTED, A WOMAN who is capable of taking care of a Child and who will occasionally do other service in a small family; a good character will be necessary. Apply at No. 100, Spruce-street. Oct. 27.

University of Pennsylvania, October 25, 1796. The Medical Lectures will commence the first Monday in November. 1493W

For the GAZETTE of the UNITED STATES.

PHOCION—No. XI.

THE opinions of Mr. Jefferson, relative to the present constitution of the United States, are next in order to be considered.

If he is not antifederal, it will not be denied that he entertained very considerable objections to the constitution, and that his advice to call a second convention, if adopted, would have prevented our having ever obtained a good one.

Some of his opinions, relative to the constitution, are to be found in a series of letters, written from Paris, in the years 1788 and '89. Partial extracts from these letters were published in 1792, by a friend of Mr. Jefferson, as a vindication of his federalism. How far they established it will now appear.

In a letter, dated 20th December, 1787, after expressing his approbation of some of the features of the new constitution, which had been generally approved of, and which he could not well object to, he says, "I will now add what I do not like: first, the omission of a bill of rights, &c. &c. The second feature I dislike, and greatly dislike, is, the abandonment, in every instance, of the necessity of rotation in office, and most particularly in the case of the President. Smaller objections are, the appeal in fact as well as law, and the binding all persons, legislative, executive, and judicial, by oath, to maintain that constitution. I do not pretend to decide what would be the best method of procuring the establishment of the manifold good things in this constitution, and of getting rid of the bad. Whether by adopting it in hopes of future amendment, or, after it has been duly weighed and canvassed by the people, after seeing the parts they generally dislike, and those they generally approve, to say to them, "we see now what you will: send together your deputies again; let them frame a constitution for you, omitting what you have condemned, and establishing the powers you approve." Even these will be a great addition to the energy of your government.

At all events, I hope you will not be discouraged from other trials, if the present one should fail of its full effects. The late rebellion in Massachusetts, has given more alarm than I think it should have done. Calculate, that one rebellion in thirteen states, in the course of eleven years, is but one for each state in a century and a half; nor will any degree of power in the hands of government, prevent insurrections. France, with all its despotism, and two or three hundred thousand men in arms, has had three insurrections in the three years I have been here; in every one of which, greater numbers were engaged than in Massachusetts, and a great deal more blood spilt. Compare again the ferocious depredations of their insurgents, with the order, the moderation, and the almost self-extinguishment of ours." In another letter, of 6th of July, 1788, he says, "I am glad to hear the new constitution is received with favour: I sincerely wish, that the nine first convention may receive, and the four last reject it. The former will secure it finally; while the latter will oblige them to offer a declaration of rights, in order to complete the union."

In another of the 31st same month, he says, "The abandoning the principle of necessary rotation in the senate, has, I see, been disapproved by many—in the case of the President, by none. I readily, therefore, suppose my opinion wrong, when opposed by the majority; as in the former instance, and the totality, as in the latter." In a letter of the 18th November, 1788, he says, "As to the bill of rights, however, I still think it should be added; and I am glad to see, that three states have at length considered the perpetual re-eligibility of the President, as an article which should be amended. I should deprecate with you, indeed, the meeting of a new convention."

How far these extracts may have been altered or mutilated, is liable to question and doubt, from the manner of their appearance. It is observable, that the extract of the letter of the 6th July, though it was intended as part of the one which is mentioned in the debates of the Virginia convention, does not answer to the description given of it by Mr. Pendleton, who professes to have seen it; for he expressly states, with regard to that letter, that Mr. Jefferson, after having declared his wish, respecting the issue of the deliberations upon the constitution, proceeds to enumerate the amendments which he wishes to be secured. The extract which was published, speaks only of a bill of rights, as the essential amendment to be obtained by the rejection of four states, which by no means agrees with the account given of it by Mr. Pendleton.

Such nevertheless as they are, these extracts fully prove, that Mr. Jefferson advised the people of Virginia to adopt the constitution or not to adopt it, upon a contingency; and that he was opposed to it in some of its most important features, so much so, as, at first, to discountenance its adoption altogether, without previous amendments. He greatly disliked the abandonment of the principle of necessary rotation in every office and most particularly in the case of the President: he wished the principle of rotation to extend not only to the executive, but to the other branches of the government, to the senate at least, as is explained in a subsequent letter. This objection goes to the very structure of the government, in a very important article, and while it justifies the assertion that he was opposed to the constitution, in some of its most important features, it is a specimen of the visionary system of politics of its author. Had it been confined to the office of chief magistrate, it might have pretended to some little plausibility; by being extended to other branches of the government, it assumes a different character, and evinces a mind prone to projects, which are incompatible with the principles of stable government, and disposed to multiply the outworks, while it leaves the citadel weak and tottering.

The extracts from Mr. Jefferson's letters, partial as they are, prove then that he, at first, discountenanced the adoption of the constitution, in its primitive form. Any person acquainted with his manner, and with the force of terms, will not hesitate to pronounce that he wished to recommend recurrence to a second convention. The pains which he takes, while recommending a second convention, to remove the alarm naturally inspired by the insurrection in Massachusetts, which had recently occurred, are a strong confirmation of this opinion.

It is not easy to understand what other object his comments on that circumstance could have, but to obviate the anxiety which it was calculated to inspire in the people for an adoption of the constitution, without a previous attempt to amend it, and to remove all apprehension of internal convulsions from the dangerous experiment of a second convention.

It is not possible to avoid remarking, by the way, that these comments of Mr. Jefferson on the rebellion afford a curious and characteristic sample of logic and calculation. "One rebellion in thirteen states, in the course of eleven years, is but one for each state in a century and a half," while France it seems had had three insurrections in three years. In the latter instance, the subdivisions of the entire nation are confounded in one mass, in the former, the subdivisions are the ground of calculation, and thus a miserable sophism is gravely made a basis of political consolation and conduct: for, according to the data stated, it was as true that the United States had had one rebellion in eleven years, endangering their common safety and welfare, as that France had had three insurrections in three years.

Thus it appears from the very documents produced in exculpation of Mr. Jefferson, that he in fact discountenanced, in the first instance, the adoption of the constitution, favoring the idea of an attempt at previous amendments by a second convention. It will be remarked that there appears to have been no want of veracity in his opinions; they kept pace tolerably well with the progress of the business, and were quite as accommodating as circumstances seemed to require."

When the adoption of the constitution was known, the various and weighty objections of March 1787, had resolved themselves into the simple want of a bill of rights, and even that defect alarming as it had been, might be supplied at a future period, when it should be found necessary. In November following, on the strength of the authority of three states (overruling, in that instance, the maxim of implicit deference for the opinion of the majority) that lately solitary defect acquires a companion, in a proposal of the objection to the re-eligibility of the President. And another convention, which had appeared no very alarming expedient, while the entire constitution was in jeopardy, became an object to be deprecated, when partial amendments to an already established constitution were alone in question.

From the fluctuations of sentiment, which appear in the extracts that have been published, it is natural to infer that had the whole of Mr. Jefferson's correspondence on the subject been given to the public, much greater diversities would have been discovered. But in order to determine with accuracy whether or not Mr. Jefferson was a friend to the constitution, we should refer to his opinions, while the result was doubtful, and not to his opinion, when after its adoption, his station and love of popularity made it expedient to acquiesce in the will of the majority.

It appears from the debates in the convention of Virginia, that Patrick Henry, at that time the champion of the antifederal party in Virginia, and the principal opponent of the constitution, quoted Mr. Jefferson's opinion, as an authority for rejecting the constitution. Mr. Pendleton attempted to explain away Mr. Jefferson's opinion; he stated it to be "a wish that the first nine conventions might accept the constitution, because it would secure the good it contained, and that the four last might refuse to accede till they compelled the others to accept certain amendments." Mr. Henry replied, "the gentleman man has endeavoured to explain Mr. Jefferson's opinion, into an advice to adopt. He wishes nine states to adopt, and that four states may be found somewhere to reject it. Now, if we pursue his advice, what are we to do? to prefer form to substance? for give me leave to ask, what is the substantial part of his counsel? it is, that four states should reject: they tell us that, from the most authentic accounts, New Hampshire will adopt it; where then will four states be found to reject, if we adopt it?"

What says Mr. Madison in reply to this—"It is come to this then that we are not to follow our own reason? is it proper to adduce the opinions of respectable men, not within these walls? if the opinion of an important character were to weigh on this occasion, could we not adduce a character equally great on our side? are we who (in the gentleman's opinion) are not to be guided by an arising word, now to submit to the opinion of a citizen beyond the atlantic? I believe, that were that gentleman now on this floor, he would be for the adoption of this constitution; I wish his name had never been mentioned; I wish every thing spoken here relative to his opinion, may be suppressed, if our debates should be published. I am in some measure acquainted with his sentiments on this subject; it is not right for me to unfold what he has informed me; but, I will venture to assert that the clause now discussed is not objected to by him."

It is observable that Mr. Madison neither advocates the accuracy of Mr. Pendleton's comment, nor denies the justness of that of Mr. Henry; his solicitude appears to be to destroy the influence of what he implicitly admits to be the opinion of Mr. Jefferson, to prevent out of sight the authority of that opinion, and to get rid of the subject as fast as possible.

He confesses a knowledge of Mr. Jefferson's sentiments, but prudently avoids disclosure, wrapping the matter in a mysterious reserve. Enough how-

ever is seen to justify the conclusion, that if Mr. Jefferson's advice had prevailed, Virginia, North-Carolina, New-York and Rhode-Island, would have then thrown themselves out of the union. And whether, in that event, they would have been at this day reunited to it, or whether there would be now any union at all, is happily a speculation which need only be pursued, to derive from it the pleasing reflection, that the danger was wisely avoided, by not pursuing Mr. Jefferson's advice.

We may now fairly pronounce that, while the constitution was depending before the people of this country, for their consideration and decision, Mr. Jefferson was opposed to it in some of its most important features, that he wrote his objections to some of his friends (leading and influential men) in Virginia; and at first, went so far as to discountenance its adoption, tho' he afterwards, having it received in the United States with favor, recommended it on the ground of expediency, in certain contingencies.

It may be added that some of his objections, which went to the very structure of the principal parts of the government, have not been removed by the proposed amendments.

PHOCION. FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MR. FENNO, AS Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson are held up as the candidates for the Presidency of the United States, and as the advocates of the latter are taking the most active measures to ensure success, by circulating hand bills, containing libels on Mr. Adams, and by all the other devices which the ingenuity and malice of the democratic societies can invent, the friends of that citizen and of good order, are seriously called upon to exert themselves, and have a right to expect from every candid and impartial printer a circulation to their trictures on the opinions of Mr. Jefferson, that the people may be well acquainted with the characters of both candidates before the election takes place for filling a station so important and on the properly filling of which the future happiness and peace of America so essentially depend.

I herewith transmit, with that view, the opinions of Mr. Jefferson on the subject of American manufactures. A FRIEND TO MANUFACTURES.

EXTRACT From Mr. JEFFERSON'S NOTES ON VIRGINIA, PAGE 174.

"The political economists of Europe, have established it as a principle, that every state should manufacture for itself: and this principle, like many others, we transfer to America, without calculating the difference of circumstances which should often produce a different result. In Europe, the lands are either cultivated, or locked up against the cultivator. Manufacture must, therefore, be resorted to, of necessity, not of choice, to support the surplus of their people. But we have an immensity of land, courting the industry of the husbandman. Is it best, then, that all our citizens should be employed in its improvement, or, that one half should be called off from that, to exercise manufactures and handicrafts for the other? Those who labour in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever he had a chosen people, whole breasts he has made his peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue. It is the focus, in which he keeps alive that sacred fire, which otherwise might escape from the face of the earth. Corruption of morals in the mass of cultivators, is a phenomenon of which no age nor nation has furnished an example. It is the mark set on those who, not looking up to heaven, to their own soil and industry, as does the husbandman, for their subsistence, depend for it on the capriciousness and caprice of customers. Dependence begets servitude and quality; suffocates the germ of virtue, and prepares fit tools for the designs of ambition. This, the natural progress and consequence of the arts, has, sometimes, perhaps, been retarded by accidental circumstances; but generally speaking, the proportion which the aggregate of the other classes of the citizens bears, in any state, to that of its husbandmen, is the proportion of its unround to its healthy parts, and is a good enough barometer, whereby to measure its degree of corruption. While we have land to labour, then, let us NEVER wish to see our citizens occupied at a work-bench, or twirling a distaff. Carpenters, masons, linens, are wanting in husbandry; but, for the general operation of manufacture, LET OUR WORK-SHOPS REMAIN IN EUROPE. It is better to carry provisions and materials to workmen there, than bring them to the provisions and materials, and, with them, their manners and principles. The loss, by the transportation of commodities across the Atlantic, will be made up in happiness and permanence of government. THE MOBS OF GREAT CITIES, add just so much to the support of pure government, as sores do to the strength of the human body."

The above, Mr. Fenno, is a complete condemnation of commerce, manufactures and all the arts, the sources of employment and wealth to many thousands of our fellow citizens, who are here likened to the sores of the human body. Will not the raising a man, who entertains such opinions, to the Chief Magistracy of the Union, be a death blow to all our infant manufactures?

NEW-YORK, October 25.

The removal of the elegant statues and paintings from Italy to Paris, instead of honouring France and exalting emulation, will have the contrary effects. Lord Kaims remarks, that Newton's improvements in mathematics, had a great effect in rendering that science stationary for a time in Great Britain, by destroying competition—for who could hope to exceed him? The mately monuments of arts, removed to Paris, will have the same effect. All will languish under the blaze of Italian glory.

The Argus this morning lets out a hint of an insurrection in Canada, and an expectation of further news. The arrangement then seems to be well understood by our patriots. A line of agency between New-York and Canada is doubtless established by the fountain of the insurrection.

The Minister at Paris, with his wonted political sagacity, might well calculate, that the nine adopting States (in Congress) would soon recall an antifederalist.