

**Pantheon,**  
AND RICKETTS'S AMPHITHEATRE,  
FOR EQUESTRIAN AND STAGE PERFORMANCES,  
Corner of Chestnut and Sixth-streets

THIS EVENING, Wednesday, November 16,  
Will be presented,  
A VARIETY OF

**Pleasant and Novel Entertainments;**

ACT I.  
**Tight Rope Dancing,**  
By Mr. Spinacuta.  
Clown to the Rope, Mr. Durang.

ACT II.  
**Horsefanship,**

By Mr. Ricketts, Mr. F. Ricketts, Mr. Franklin,  
Master Franklin, Master Hutchins, the Young  
American, and Mrs. Spinacuta.  
Clown to the Horsefanship, Mr. Sully.

ACT III.  
**A Ballet Dance,**

Under the direction of Mr. Durang, called  
**Poor Jack; or, the Benevolent Crew.**

Poor Jack, Mr. Durang.  
Ned Haulyard, Mr. Sully.  
Boatwain, Mr. Coffie.  
Sailors' Lasses, Mrs. Tompkins.  
Miss Robinson.

Mrs. Caley, Wapping Landlady, Mr. Tompkins.  
And Orange Girl, Mrs. Durang.

ACT IV.  
**Equestrian Exercises,**

By the Equestrian Groupe.

The whole to conclude with the Splendid Panto-  
mime of

**Don Juan; or the Libertine Destroy'd.**

Under the Direction of Mr. Sully.

As performed at Covent Garden Theatre, forty  
nights, with unbounded applause.

Don Juan, Mr. Sully.  
Commandant, Mr. Tompkins.  
Lover, Mr. Durang.  
Fisherman, Mr. Coffie.  
Sailor, Mr. F. Ricketts.  
And Scaramouch, Mr. Spinacuta.

1st Fishwoman, Mrs. Durang.  
2d Ditto, Miss Robinson.  
Donna Anna, Mrs. Spinacuta.

An accurate description of the Pantomime to be had at  
the Ticket-Office

Mr. RICKETTS takes this opportunity of inform-  
ing the Ladies and Gentlemen who attend the Riding-  
School, that he has, at considerable expense, engaged  
Mr. Franklin, to give lessons in the art of riding and  
managing Horses, as he finds it impossible to attend to  
it himself, in consequence of a variety of business  
which he is at present engaged in.

\* The Ladies and Gentlemen who secure seats  
the day time, are requested to attend punctually at 7,  
as the performances are so arranged as to conclude  
10 o'clock—the doors will open at 6.

Box, 7s. 6d.—Pit, 3s. 9d.

Tickets to be had of Mr. Ford, at the ticket office in  
Chestnut-street, from ten to three o'clock each day.

Silver Tickets, to admit for the season, to be had  
by applying to Mr. Ricketts at the Pantheon, or at Oel-  
ler's Hotel.

Days of Performance to be Monday, Wednes-  
day, Thursday and Saturday.

**The Elephant**

IS RETURNED FROM BALTIMORE.

THE public are respectfully informed, that  
this animal is to be seen every day, from 8  
o'clock in the morning till sun down, in Market-  
street, No. 106, south side, between Third and  
Fourth-streets.

Admittance a quarter of a dollar, that every citi-  
zen may see him.

At the request of many persons it will be  
exhibited on evenings from five to eight o'clock,  
at half a dollar each.—The room will be well  
lighted.

November 7.

**Robert Smith & Co.**

No. 58, South Front-street,

Have received by the late arrivals from London, Liver-  
pool, and Hull, and by the Ohio arrived at N. York  
from Glasgow,

**A large & general assortment of Goods,**

Suitable for the Season, consisting of

Duffle, Point and Rose Blankets	Checks, in small packages
White, Red, and Yellow Flannel	Oznaburgs and Brown Hol- lands
Becking and other Faizes	Brown and white Russia Sheetings
Second and coarse Cloths	Drillings and Diapers
Plain and mixed Cassimeres	Calicoes and Chippizes
Plain, twilled, and striped Coatings	Jaconet and Book Mullins
Plains, Kerseys, and Half- ticks	Do. do. Tamboured
White & spotted Swanskins	Do. do. Handkerchiefs
Lainet and swan-down vest shapes	Printed linen and check do.
Carpets and Carpeting	Romal and Madras do.
Calimancoes and Durants	Muffin and Chintz Shawls
Morcens and Taboreens	Bed Ticks
Joans Spinning and Crapes	Table Cloths
Camblets and Wildbores	Laces and Edgings
Bombazens & Bombazets	Fashionable Ribbons
Ratines and Shalloons	Do. Hats and Bonnets
Plain, Genoa and printed Velvets & Thickets	Cotten & Worsted Hosiery
7-8, 4-4, and 11-8 Cotton	Gloves and Mitts
Tapes, Bindings, Pits, &c.	White & coloured Threads
They have on hand a large assortment of India Mullins and Calicoes, black and coloured Perfians, Bandanna and Pullicat Handkerchiefs, &c. and a quantity of Nutmegs and Mace.	Italian Sewing Silks
	Ivory and Horn Combs

October 17.

mwfm

**Just Landing,**

And for Sale, a quantity of

**BOURDEAUX BRANDY,**

FROM on board the schooner Lydia & Polly, Oliver  
Jenkins master, lying at Wilcock's wharf. For  
terms, enquire on board said schooner.

November 14th.

51w

**Gaspard Cenas**

Will open his Dancing School

On the 1st of November, at 10 o'clock in the morning,  
at Oeller's Hotel. O.A. 17. mwf4

**City Dancing Assembly.**

The first Assembly will be held on Thursday next, the  
7th November, at Oeller's Hotel.

By order of the Managers.

Nov. 14.

For the GAZETTE of the UNITED STATES.

**PHOCION—No. XXIII.**

NOTWITHSTANDING the influence of the  
passions which raged with so much fury at the time  
Mr. Jefferson sent in his commercial report, and  
the artful manner on which he and his partizans  
seized on those partizans to direct them to the sup-  
port of their dangerous purposes, yet the enlight-  
ened discussions which took place in Congress and  
the public alarm which was naturally excited at the  
impending danger united to defeat the views of the  
Secretary: after a debate of several weeks, his  
friends, being unable to carry more than one reso-  
lution, which Mr. Madison\* himself con-  
sidered as altogether insignificant, gave up the con-  
test in despair; the country escaped at the same  
time from the horrors of war and Mr. Jefferson's  
schemes.

Before we take leave of this famous report, the  
theme of so much panegyric, it will be proper to re-  
capitulate, that—although it contained only fifteen  
short pages, near three-fourths of which consisted  
of facts, taken from books of rates and commer-  
cial documents, and was the labor of almost three  
years—yet it teemed with blunders; that whenever  
it attempted to reason, its principles were false, in-  
consistent or inapplicable to our situation; that the  
means recommended were pernicious in the extreme,  
and the end proposed dishonorable to the United  
States; and that the time, selected for carrying it  
into effect, evinced a reliance more on the passions  
and prejudices than on the judgment and patriotism  
of the legislature.

It will be proper also to shew, in this place,  
that although Mr. Jefferson recommended hostile  
measures on the presumption that Great-Britain  
was not disposed to enter into a commercial treaty  
with the United States, yet that soon after he quit-  
ted the office of secretary of state, a commercial  
treaty was concluded with that country, on terms  
similar to those, which he had suggested in his re-  
port, as the basis of such treaty.

In page 14, he says—"Such being the restric-  
tions on the commerce & navigation of the United  
States, the question is, in what way they may best  
be removed, modified and counteracted? As to  
commerce, two methods occur, 1st. By friendly  
arrangements with the several nations with whom  
these restrictions exist; or, 2d. By the separate  
act of our own legislature for countervailing their  
effects. There can be no doubt, but that of these  
two, friendly arrangement is the most eligible." In  
p. 19, he says—"Still it must be repeated that  
friendly arrangements are preferable with all who  
will come into them, and that we should carry in-  
to such arrangements all the liberality and spirit of  
accommodation, which the nature of the case will  
admit." He then immediately adds—"France has,  
of her own accord, proposed negotiations," &c.—  
and immediately after, "Proposals of friendly ar-  
rangement have been made, on our part, by the  
present government to that of Great Britain; but  
being already on as good a footing in law, and a  
better in fact, than the most favored nation, they  
have not, as yet, discovered any disposition to have  
it meddled with." It is evident then that he here  
professes to prefer friendly arrangement on the most  
liberal terms, and only recommends the other alter-  
native, because Great-Britain had declined such  
friendly arrangement.

Mr. Jefferson resigned in January, 1794, and  
Mr. Jay was instructed in the April following,  
to revive with the British government the commercial  
negotiations, which the coolness of Mr. Jefferson  
had interrupted.

Let us now take a view of the principal causes of  
complaint, which the report stated to exist against  
Great-Britain, and see whether Mr. Jay's treaty  
does not remove them.

The report complains—1st. That our commerce  
and navigation were not secured by fixed laws.—  
2dly. That there was a want of reciprocity in the  
duties imposed on the commerce and navigation of  
the respective countries. The treaty with Great-  
Britain completely removes both these grievances;  
for our commerce and navigation are now secured  
by treaty, a greater security than even an act of  
parliament, and a perfect reciprocity is established  
in respect to the duties on the imports and shipping  
of the two nations.

He observes—"That where the circumstances  
of either party renders it expedient to lay a re-  
venue by way of import, on commerce, its freedom  
might be modified, in that particular, by mutual  
and equivalent measures, preserving it entire in all  
others. Some nations, not yet ripe for free com-  
merce, in all its extent, might be still willing to  
mollify its restrictions and regulations for us, in  
proportion to the advantages which an intercourse  
with us might offer: particularly, they may con-  
cur with us in reciprocating the duties to be levied on each  
side, or in compensating any excess of duty, by  
equivalent advantages of another nature." Now,  
the treaty is predicated altogether on these very  
principles. Had Mr. Jefferson, then, been disposed  
to negotiate with Mr. Hammond, there is no rea-  
son to doubt, that a treaty of commerce might  
have been concluded between them, on the princi-  
ples which Mr. Jefferson stated in his report, as the  
true basis of a commercial treaty.

As to the complaint in the report, concerning  
the non-admission of our vessels into the British

\* "The first resolution, which is immediately the  
subject in debate, decides nothing with respect to a dis-  
crimination between different nations; it declares only,  
in general, that the situation of the United States re-  
quires something to be done, in the way of commer-  
cial restrictions and duties, and yet it has been com-  
bated, as if it would involve embarrassing prefer-  
ences." Madison's speech, p. 39.

† Those who have read the correspondence between  
Jefferson and Hammond must well remember that the  
latter, so far from declining to enter into friendly ar-  
rangements, expressly wrote to this effect, in his let-  
ter, 6th December, "Although I am not as yet em-  
powered to conclude any definitive arrangement with  
respect to the commercial intercourse between the two  
countries, I still mean it to be understood that I am  
fully authorized to enter into a negotiation for that pur-  
pose, on a basis of reciprocal advantage," and that  
Mr. Jefferson waived the subject, to discuss the infrac-  
tion of the treaty of peace.

West-Indies, it is true, that the terms of the trea-  
ty were not such as we wished; but had as they  
were, they were certainly better than any we have  
been able to obtain from Spain or Portugal, in  
respect to which countries, the report had even re-  
commended a cessation of our existing regulations,  
on the presumption that they would concur in doing  
whatever justice and moderation dictated.

From the foregoing remarks it clearly results,  
that, although Mr. Jefferson artfully professed a de-  
cided conviction that it was more for the interest of  
the United States to enter into friendly arrange-  
ments with other nations, than to wage a commer-  
cial warfare with them; and although it appeared  
from Mr. Hammond's letters, and the treaty so  
soon after concluded, that a commercial treaty  
might have been concluded with Great-Britain on  
the very principle established by the report as the  
proper basis of a commercial treaty; yet the secre-  
tary, after waving himself a negotiation, took ad-  
vantage of the existing passions and prejudices, to  
press forward a system of commercial hostility,  
which, had it succeeded, must have soon involved us  
in misery and war.

The secretary's reports on the fisheries and on  
weights and measures, still remain for examination.

**PHOCION.**

From the CENTINEL of LIBERTY.

October 30, 1796.

Messrs. Green and English,

I send for publication in your paper, a letter ta-  
ken from the Alexandria Gazette of the 25th Inst.  
The author Mr. John Taylor was lately a Senator  
of the United States, and is a decided friend to Mr.  
Jefferson. This is the gentleman so often quoted as  
having heard the declaration of Mr. Adams, in fa-  
vour of kings, lords, &c. but who has not yet, that  
we know of, favored the world with the certificate  
so long threatened.\* It will not be difficult for a dis-  
cerning public to discover in this letter, the real  
cause of his enmity to Mr. Adams, and his friend-  
ship for Mr. Jefferson.

Caroline, July 11, 1796.

DEAR SIR,

It being understood that Gen. Washington will  
not be a candidate for the presidency of the United  
States, my personal acquaintance with all whom I  
have heard named as candidates for that office, and  
for the Vice-Presidency, has determined me to of-  
fer my services, as an elector to one district, because  
this acquaintance enables me to estimate accurately  
their political principles.

I shall rely upon yourself and Mr. J—s (to  
whom I have also written) for its being known to  
the citizens of Hanover. And as I wish every man  
to vote in pursuance of his own uninfluenced judg-  
ment, this is all that can be proper for me to do. If  
candor compels me to add, that the current of my  
political opinions is unfriendly to the chief measures  
of the federal government—justice allows me to as-  
sert, that it proceeds from a disinterested conviction  
of these measures, having violated the most valuable  
principles of the constitution, [Q. What princi-  
ples?] and that they threaten to result in a revolu-  
tion. My wish is to see the government placed in  
the hands of administrators, who wish to bring it  
back to the republican ground, from which it has  
so widely wandered. [Q. From what republican  
ground has the government widely wandered?]

I am yours, &c.

Strange to tell, it is thought that with these prin-  
ciples, this Mr. Taylor will be elected! It is not  
surprising that he, as well as other leading men in  
Virginia should entertain them, for that was before  
known; but it is really matter of astonishment and  
regret, that a majority of the voters in any district  
in the United States, should be found to give their  
approbation to the man who so publicly avows them.  
This could never be, if the majority of the  
freemen had the right of suffrage in Virginia. Un-  
til this right (without which no government can be  
free) be imparted to the great body of the people  
in that state, instead of being confined, as at pre-  
sent is the case, to free-holders, making but a small  
minority, not more perhaps than one sixth of the  
whole people, we may continue to be amused with  
their boast of exclusive pretensions to republicanism—  
but we must not forget, that the government  
where the few govern the many is an aristocracy.

Mr. Taylor, it seems, wishes to be an elector,  
that he may get men for the offices of the Presi-  
dency and Vice-Presidency, who like himself dis-  
approve of the chief measures of the federal go-  
vernment, and who will bring it back to the repub-  
lican ground, from which, he says, it has widely  
wandered—in other words, he will vote for Mr. Jef-  
ferson, and I presume for Mr. Burr. Now, the  
people of Maryland, who are really republicans in  
rights, as well as principles, do not believe that the  
government has wandered from republican ground—  
nor do they wish to see changed, the wise and just  
system of policy adopted by that great and good  
man, our President. Consequently, they will never  
be induced to vote for men, as electors who avow  
Mr. Taylor's doctrines, or who will vote to the first  
office of the United States, a man who is believed  
to be at the head of the party, whose political opi-  
nions and views, the candidate for Hanover has ho-  
nestly, but incautiously proclaimed.

A Friend to equal Rights.

\* This is also the gentleman, who passed most  
of the time he was senator of the United States,  
in writing pamphlets against the government, and  
particularly against the funding system, which he  
was delirious of overthrowing. Being asked whe-  
ther he suspected the late Secretary of the Treas-  
ury's integrity; he answered not in the least, he  
believed him to be perfectly pure and honest, but he  
thought his abilities dangerous in a republic. Here  
was an ostracism!—Citizen Fauthet, who was a  
good deal in the secrets of the pretended patriots—  
says in his intercepted letter, "that Mr. Taylor, a  
republican member of the senate, published three  
pamphlets, in which he asserted that the decrepid  
state of our affairs, resulting from the funding sys-  
tem, could not but presage, under a rising govern-  
ment, either a revolution or a civil war."

For the Gazette of the United States.

**No. IV.**

To the Electors of the President of the United States.

Respectable Fellow-Citizens,

MERE verbal disputes have been often the  
causes of the greatest confusion, danger, and in-  
jury. Verbal sophisms have frequently dishonored  
and injured the most interesting topics of business,  
politics and science, and are peculiarly dangerous on  
constitutional subjects. It is therefore of no small  
importance to take some notice of the manner in  
which the term "republic" is used, throughout  
"The Defence of the American Constitution." What-  
ever may be the sense in which a few book politi-  
cians have occasionally used the word, in mere dis-  
cussions upon paper, the public style of Great-Bri-  
tain, for example, has always been to call itself a  
kingdom. A British minister, who should have pre-  
sented to the king a draught of a proclamation, or  
other official act, terming that government "a re-  
public," or, "a commonwealth," would certainly  
be exposed to very serious consequences. A mem-  
ber of their legislature, who should move an address  
to the king, or a bill for confederation, styling Great-  
Britain "a commonwealth," or, "a republic,"  
would be very fortunate, particularly in these times,  
if he escaped with being called and compelled to or-  
der. Some writers, who have used the word "re-  
public," since the restoration of the second Charles,  
have been treated with the most acrimonious criti-  
cism; and the house of commons, even on the op-  
position side, has been the public theatre of sar-  
casms and denunciations against "republics." The  
members of the minority itself, have repelled the  
charge of "republicanism," as a damning imputa-  
tion. It is the appropriate name for the most ex-  
treme hostility to the British constitution.

Mr. Adams perfectly well knows the sense in  
which the practical and theoretical politicians of A-  
merica and at least the practical politicians of En-  
gland understood and use the words Republican and  
Republic. They all consider a Republic and a  
Monarchy as diametrically opposite. In England  
a published book, approving of and persuading to  
a Republican form of government, would be con-  
sidered not only as highly offensive, but seriously pun-  
ishable. When our learned and enlightened conven-  
tion framed our Federal Constitution, they certainly  
considered an hereditary limited monarchy, as  
no republic. They meant representative and electi-  
ve government and not hereditary government. In  
this intention truly, and in no other the people a-  
dopted the Constitution. An opposite intention  
would have been fatal to the instrument itself. It  
is sincerely and faithfully in the representative and  
elective sense, that the Federal Constitution pro-  
mises, that it will guarantee to every state in the  
American Union a Republican form of government.  
As no such act of guarantee has been yet consider-  
ed or accomplished, it is of consequence to observe,  
that in the 15th page of the American edition and  
in the 22d of the London edition in the preface to  
volume I, Mr. Adams expressly affirms that "a  
limited Monarchy, especially when limited by two  
independent branches, an aristocratical and a demo-  
cratical power in the constitution, may with strict  
propriety be called by that name," viz. "a Repu-  
lic." Hence it will clearly follow, that if an at-  
tempt should be made, in future, to convert the  
several states into hereditary governments, with  
kings and nobles, Mr. Adams would deem such a  
measure "arbitrary, improper and in truth" within  
the meaning of the terms of the Constitution. In  
the 34th letter, he exemplifies this general asser-  
tion, too plainly to be misunderstood, by an ex-  
isting favorite example, for he affirms that "the con-  
stitution of England is in truth a Republic, and has  
ever been so considered by foreigners, and by the  
most learned and enlightened Englishmen, although  
the word commonwealth has become unpopular and  
odious, since the unsuccessful and injudicious at-  
tempts to abolish monarchy and aristocracy between  
the years 1640 and 1660." (See page 208 Lon-  
don edition.) Considering how ingenious, bold  
and tenacious the possessor of power often are, we  
cannot but see in those two kindred and connected  
assertions of Mr. Adams, an ample foundation for  
a serious, dangerous and fatal verbal sophism, by  
which the high and strong barrier against heredita-  
ry power, contained in that part of the constitu-  
tion, may be got over, without the trouble of  
breaking it down.

This 34th letter merits very particular attention.  
Mr. Adams begins by saying, he had promised to  
state the ideas of Sir Thomas Smith concerning the  
mutability of governments. Sir Thomas had pub-  
lished, in the remote reign of queen Elizabeth, a  
book, entitled, "the Commonwealth of England." But  
after a few lines, which have not the least rela-  
tion to the promised statement of the mutability of  
governments, Mr. Adams dismisses Smith's work,  
with these words, "But as there is nothing re-  
markable, either in favor of our system or a-  
gainst it, I should not have quoted the book in  
"this place, but for the sake of its title." And  
Mr. A. then goes on to say, "the constitution of  
England is in truth a republic!" Here we see Mr.  
Adams purposely introduces in an author's meta-  
phorical page, tho' he mentions that his book has no-  
thing in it of any consequence to his "defence,"  
(on purpose it must be again said) to have an oppor-  
tunity of giving a good name, the name of repub-  
lic to his favorite government. Surely, Mr. Adams  
cannot expect the world to believe, that the British  
constitution is either like ours, because it was called  
a commonwealth in the title page of an antique  
book, written two hundred and twenty years be-  
fore; or that it is in any degree the better, in sub-  
stance, because that name was then given to it, or  
that we ought to consider as less, the immense dif-  
ference between our representative government,  
and that real and indisputable compound of aristo-  
cracy in two thirds, and of monarchy in one third,  
unmixed with even a virtual representation of the  
people. This statement of the British government  
is forced upon us by every volume, by the whole  
scope and spirit of Mr. Adams's work. It was  
wished to avoid the remarks here made, and those in  
the close of our last paper, but it is impossible to do  
justice to this deeply interesting discussion, without  
treating explicitly of that government, which is  
erroneously held up as the great exemplar for Am-