

The Gazette.

PHILADELPHIA, FRIDAY EVENING, JUNE 9.

Printed at New York, by the Rev. Dr. S. S. Smith of Princeton, JOSIAH QUINCY, Esq. of Boston, Counsellor at Law, to Miss ELIZA S. MORTON, daughter of the late Mr. John Morton Merchant of that City.

A CURIOSITY.

MR. PENNO.

IN returning yesterday evening to my house in the country, I picked up in the road a paper, which upon inspection, appeared to be part of the proof sheet of a circular letter, written probably by one of the under door keepers of Congress to his friends in the country. As the facts therein stated are of a very curious nature, I have taken the liberty of transmitting it to you for publication.

Philadelphia, 2d June, 1797.

SIR,

WE have this day agreed to a report in answer to the President's Speech, which is all the business we have done since the meeting of Congress, and which I would send you, but it is too lengthy for a letter. It has cost the country at least nineteen or twenty thousand dollars; the daily expense of Congress being estimated at about one thousand dollars, and which neither the constitution nor laws of this country have required us, or even warranted in our opinion. It is an evil introduced by our predecessors, who wished to be aping after monarchial pomp and parade; forgetting that they were citizens, and not subjects. In the course of the debates upon this subject, amendments were brought forward which ultimately prevailed to this effect: We cherish the hope that the President will send an Ambassador, or Envoy Extraordinary to France, who shall declare to that Republic unequivocally, that the United States are willing to remove all inequalities which may exist between her and other foreign relations with the United States, and require that France would on her part make good the stipulations committed on our neutral rights. The friends to this amendment (amongst whom I was one) hesitated—Persuaded it was better to try farther negotiations, and wishing rather to conciliate than irritate the French into war. This principle was opposed by the friends to the original report from the committee. They urged that we had sufficient cause to go to war with the French, in as much as the Executive Directory refused to receive our Ambassador, and called him Anglo-American; that her pride ought to be humbled; that America was able to do it, if she would shew the firmness of the Emperor, and assume the mantle of GREAT BRITAIN; with the latter of which (as their arguments were) we ought to form an alliance offensive and defensive—then they would do great things. Again, that we had no right to tell the President that we had an opinion; it would be assuming a dictatorial station, even to tell him we had a thought or a wish about the matter; notwithstanding he had called Congress for that express purpose. Other members went still farther, whose firmness I lament, and whose politics I very much question; for I do not hesitate to declare, that I am afraid that there are many members in Congress, whose sincere desire is to involve us in a war with the most powerful nation in Europe, where we must hazard every thing, put every thing at stake without the most distant prospect of gain, and in short, where we cannot gain. What unwise policy! Instead of shewing a desire to question the public councils, to view the post conduct, and to provide for the future welfare, it appears more than ever the prevailing and exulting maxim, that government must be supported; mixed too with a considerable degree of bitterness against all those who question its proceedings.

That government must be supported, is a maxim just and incontrovertibly true, when rigidly understood. But a disposition to remove causes, under any regulations whatever, is accounted by those who even admit and lament their existence, as an attack upon the constitutional authorities, or even the constitution itself, which suffers from them. It is by this sensation that the authors of our present calamities are cherished and supported by those who condemn them; whilst, on the other hand, those who with wisdom and perseverance oppose all those measures which produce them, are discountenanced and disgraced. Hence nothing is more certain of being acceptable with the multitude than extravagant assertions in favor of that side of the question which the individual happens to espouse; the grossest allusions have in that case found credit. The truth of this remark we have a recent instance of in the Richmond paper of Mr. Davis of the 24th ult. wherein are these degrading words: "We of the Grand Jury of the United States for the district of Virginia, present as a real evil the circular letters to the Members of Congress." In answer to this, I do most sincerely lament, that most of our political disputants, newspaper writers and pamphleteers, seem to let local attachments, party spirit, or ambitious views, take preference of truth, in search of which scarcely can we find a sentence of fair, unbiased reasoning, in a whole page or pamphlet. At the same time, are not the rights of the people struck at in this mode of doing business? I would ask, how are the people to know what is doing on the floor of Congress, unless they have the information from their Representatives, if there is not a newspaper printed in every neighborhood? And as this is not the case, what better way can be devised, than for the members of each district to call from the great mass of stuff contained in the public prints, and condense it into one paper, which may the more easily be conveyed to their constituents: for it cannot be supposed that a member could write as much, and as often, as the people wish to hear from him. And again, what was the intent of speaking of letters? Was it merely for the purpose of accommodating members to write to their families? For my own part, I think otherwise. I suppose it was intended that the people should know something else besides the business of the tax gatherer when he comes. But I am afraid that

is not all that is meant by that famous sentiment, of that famous man. It is not intended to hoodwink the people into something worse? Have the people been told that there ever was an attempt to the constitution to mould a Kingly government? If they have not, let them take this as a warning, and be upon their guard. In the mean time, I request such gentlemen as disapprove of this mode of writing, to submit my letters to their neighbors, and to signify their displeasure by writing me a letter; for this is in my opinion the most direct communicative channel through which we can correspond with our constituents, and especially when it is remembered what a great distance we are from them, and the amazing extent of territory they are dispersed over."

MR. PENNO.

The following extract, on the authenticity of which you may rely, as well as on the truth of the matter contained in it, deserves notice: as it proves that if the British impresses seamen from us, we are more than even with them by enticing a much greater number from them. It may teach us to moderate our anger for aggressions, which tho' not justified, are certainly in a very great measure provoked, by the improper acts of our own citizens.

Extract of a letter from Antigua dated 21st October 1796.

Mr. Penno wrote by me, and I hope has furnished you that his sentiments coincide perfectly with yours on the subject of your correspondence. I know he has had a great deal of trouble, during this whole war, in refusing Americans improperly detained by the officers of the navy, and a very troublesome part of his duty it must have been—Justice requires however that what can be said in palliation of the conduct of those rough sons of the ocean, towards the Americans, should not be omitted: The Americans have exerted wonderful industry in freeing and carrying away deserters from our Navy; you may judge of their diligence by what they have done, during the horrid months in this small Island; one twenty four and five frigates, lying at English Harbour, have lost since the month of August above three hundred men by desertion; a very large reward has been granted by the legislature of the Island for apprehending these men, and after the most diligent search not above thirty of them can be found in the whole country: we have had no vessels of our own here to convey them away, for our ships all failed before the commencement of the Hurricane season: they have doubtless been carried off by the American vessels that are constantly coming and going, and all these seamen are a loss to Great Britain at least for the remainder of the war. I think some pains should be taken by the American Government to prevent British seamen from being smuggled in a manner so improper: or some arrangement should be made between the two countries, by which proper officers might be authorized on the part of Great Britain and the United States to go on board of American vessels immediately on their entry into British ports, and examining the number of their seamen; another examination to take place when they are quitting the port: this, if properly conducted, would not only effectually prevent them from carrying off British Seamen, but be the means of preserving their own from the violent hands of the Navy Officers.

Extract of a letter from Holland, Feb. 7, 1797.

Since I wrote you last, I am informed that the French Directory have ordered Mr. Pinckney to leave France, and he has determined to come into this country and wait here for the orders of his government. At the time when the refusal to receive him took place, an intimation was given him, that it was expected he would depart, but he refused to go, without a written order. This was delayed until the Directory received their last dispatches from the United States and the most recent statement of the election of President and Vice-President. I have already written you in what manner they consider this event—with what mortification they have found their influence insufficient to turn the choice, and how much they are inclined to persist in their system by their proximity to success. This last incident strongly corroborated the opinion.

A circumstance which cannot escape observation, is the treatment at this time experienced from the same quarter by Mr. Monroe. He has been upon a tour through this country. He came strongly recommended to an influential member of the committee of foreign affairs, and to the secretary of that committee, who as well as the French minister here, paid him the greatest attentions. This member of the committee is devoted totally to France. He gave a splendid entertainment to Mr. Monroe, at which were present other members, and the secretary of the committee, and the American minister. After dinner while they were sitting at table, he accented Mr. Monroe, and the American minister by name, and gave for toast, "The people of America." The secretary upon whom the American minister instantly turned his eye, was apparently confuted, and instead of repeating the toast as given, substituted in its stead "the United States." Mr. Monroe said neither the one nor the other.

This anecdote may appear trivial, but is a clear indication of things far otherwise. I saw Mr. Monroe almost every day while he was here, he conversed with me upon our public affairs, but with great reserve, particularly concerning our situation with France. His deportment evidently discovered an exasperated and strongly agitated mind, though his conversation was in every particular extremely guarded. He went from the Hague to Amsterdam, where he stayed only a few days, and from whence he very suddenly set out for Utrecht on his return to Paris, on the same day when the news arrived here of the order to depart given to Mr. Pinckney.

In this country the name of the Vice-President (Mr. Adams) is remembered with respect and attachment by the people of all parties. The proofs of it, which I have observed, are innumerable, and most particularly since the recent American elections, have become an object of immediate notice and attention. There is however a power extant in this country, which overrules all attachment and will either silence respect, or render its voice unavailing. To an order signed from the French Directory—be it what it may, no resistance can be made, and never is attempted.—If, therefore, they should require of this government to suspend all intercourse, commercial or political, or both with the United States, they could not refuse the demand, although fully sensible it would be a measure extremely odious to the people, and that in consequence of such a difference, and that would suffer much more injury than America. If, therefore, the American minister should be ordered away from hence, as Mr. Pinckney has been from Paris, you will not be surprised. There is not at present any reason to expect it, but how from the directory may exact it is impossible to say; and if exacted, it cannot be refused. This opinion is supported by an example which has already taken place with regard to Portugal.

You will see by the papers that the new emperor of Russia has determined to adhere to the treaties, concluded by his mother with Great Britain and Austria, but not to conclude the

treaty which she was upon the point of signing at the time of her death, and in virtue of which she was to furnish 60,000 men for the next campaign. He has not, as was pretended, renounced the French Republic; but the death of the late empress is followed by so remarkable and important a change of system, that it cannot be supposed to have happened in the common course of mortality.

The French army in Italy has obtained another splendid victory. It may give them Mantua, but probably will not reconcile the emperor yet to the sacrifice of the Netherlands. This is now the great apparent obstacle to a peace, and for this the nations of Europe are to bleed at every artery for years perhaps to come. You will undoubtedly see the accounts of Lord Malmebury's negotiations, and will find in the conversation of Delacroix, the present system of the Directory. You see how coolly they are resolved to sacrifice this country—to give up the Cape of Good Hope and Trincomalee to Britain as a compensation for the annexation of the Netherlands to France. The Batavian republic will still be obliged to return thanks; and glory in holding its Liberty under the tenure of French bounty. [N. Y. D. id.]

The Address in answer to the Speech of the President of the United States, passed the House of Representatives by a majority of TWENTY-SIX. Sixty-two Ayes and thirty-six Noes. This Address solemnly assures the President of the United States, that they believe that the conduct of the Government has been just and impartial towards Foreign Nations.

It is true that the majority against striking out these words was only 8. The fact however is, that on the final decision there was a GREAT MAJORITY in favor of the Address containing the sentiment.

To suppose that any of that majority would act counter to this solemn declaration, may square with the politics of a foreign nation, but would be a gross reflection on the honor and integrity of any man who pretends an attachment to the interest of the United States.

BACHE'S PREDICTION.—7TH APRIL LAST.

Notwithstanding the appearances of animosity subsisting between the United States and the Republic of France, we have the best founded reasons for believing that the misunderstanding will be of a very short standing, after the business shall have been laid before Congress by the President.

APPOINTMENT.

Jacob Lewis of Dorchester, Massachusetts, Consul at the Isle of France.

COMMUNICATION.

The Aurora of Wednesday last acknowledges, in plain language, Mr. Jefferson's FATHERING the letter to Marzei. This is an important—A PRECIOUS CONFESSION. The friends of the government will act accordingly. The intelligence ought to be communicated from Maine to Georgia, that the REAL sentiments of the Vice-President may be generally known.

The Aurora of Wednesday last asserts, "that some members of Congress dined at the British ministers, on the 4th of June, to celebrate the birthday of the British Monarch."—We are authorized, by a gentleman who was present at that dinner, to contradict positively the assertion in the Aurora, and to assert that there was not present any member of the federal government, nor any member of Congress. The above attempt in the Aurora to deceive the public by lies is worthy of notice.

One of the Aurora-men asserts, that the letter from New-York, published in this Gazette, relative to the election in that city, is a fabrication. The original letter is in the hands of the editor hereof.

In one of the French Gazettes published in this city (not Aurora) the speech of Ned Froth is thus eulogized:

"After having proved with equal energy and TRUTH! the justice of most of the accusations of France, he (Froth) reproached the United States with forgetting the services which the French nation have rendered them."

"I am, cried he, one of those whose number is daily diminishing."—"A precious confession!"—It is high time that such patriots should become scarce.

To meet the decided approbation and even eulogium of an enemy, must be regarded as rather lame evidence of the patriotism of the object of it.

Improbis laudari vituperari est.

The repeated accounts we receive of misrepresentations circulated in France by our Jacobins, must convince the Americans that the differences between the Government of that country and of the United States, has proceeded mostly from the arts and treachery of our citizens. When we see such abominable falsehoods as those contained in Mr. Jefferson's letter, propagated through Europe by those characters who have held high offices in America, we are tempted to apologize for the resentment of a nation exposed to those deceptions. The evil is deep rooted among ourselves—and unless some mode can be adopted to restrain these traitorous correspondencies, between the factious of our own citizens and foreign governments, we shall never be represented to Europeans in our just character.

We have taken pains, since the opening of Spring, to make enquiries of gentlemen from different parts of the country, respecting the state of the public mind in the interior. We find but one opinion, as to public affairs, the farmers, who constitute the strength of our Republic, and who belong to no party, as a body with for a continuance of Peace. At the same time, they are extremely irritated at the injuries we suffer from France, and if no honourable means can be found to preserve peace, they will, with perfect unanimity, and great spirit, encounter the perils of war. Such we may be assured is the unanimous sentiment of the Eastern States. N. Y. Paper.

A Correspondent observes—that at the late reviews in the several Counties of this District, the same noble spirit pervaded the whole body of people, with respect to the unpleasant situation of this country with France. All declare themselves willing to take up arms in defence of the Independence of their Country, and against any Nation that would dare to interfere with their internal Government—or attempt an insidious distinction between them and those whom they have freely chosen as their rulers—that they are enemies to all Foreign influence—and that France, by her late conduct, has rendered her friendship suspicious to the people of the United States.

What pleasurable sensations must it create in the breasts of genuine Americans, to find that the mass of our fellow-citizens know how to appreciate their dear bought liberties; and that they with one voice declare themselves ready to defend their country against all attacks. (Wilmington, N. C. paper—MAY 25.)

The "Quotidienne" a Paris paper, makes the following interesting remarks on the late Proclamation of the Executive Directory, relative to the Primary Assemblies: "The Directory formally invites all citizens not to choose those who regret the ancient regimen. I beg to ask," says the writer "what it means by the words ancient regimen. Does it wish to exclude those who regret the tranquility we enjoyed under our kings? No; the Directory has no intention to perpetuate disorders. Does it allude to those, who regret the time when our property was held sacred? No; the Directory will not protect and encourage pillage. Does it speak of those who regret the day when no blood was shed on the scaffold, but that of robbers and assassins? No; the Directory seeks the return of the reign of justice. Does it mean to point out those, who regret the Lettres de Cachet? No; the Revolutionary Committees have made us forget them. Or does it perhaps allude to those who regret the reign of Religion? No; Government has formally proclaimed the liberty of religious worship. What then do you mean by ancient regimen? A king, no doubt; but he was murdered by you. Besides, the word king is void of sense, and a Republic of frogs alone can demand a king without making mention of a government. A king may be as well at the head of a Republic, as at the head of a Monarchy. The Spartans were certainly stout republicans, and yet they had two kings. Poland was a Republic, and yet Poland had a king. The word king is therefore a bug bear to frighten children and nurses. The word ancient regimen consequently implies an absurdity, and should not be found in a Proclamation of the Directory. London paper.

MR. PENNO, AS the right of a Neutral Nation to protect its commerce by convoys, is now agitated, I inclose a quotation from Puffendorf on that subject, and wish you to insert it in your Gazette. A. B. In the year 1692 the celebrated Mr. Puffendorf was consulted on the free navigation of the Northern Powers of Europe, during a war between the English, Dutch and French, when he gave the following opinion: "If the Northern Princes can maintain their trade with France by sending strong convoys with their fleets, I see nothing to blame in it, provided their vessels do not carry contraband goods. The laws of humanity and equity between nations do not extend so far as to require, without any apparent necessity, that one people should give up its profits to another."

CONGRESS. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Wednesday, June 7. Conclusion of Mr. S. Smith's remarks. If the latter amendment was agreed to, he should be for striking out the whole, leaving it general, because with West Indies in it, it would be particularly pointed.

They had been told of the loss sustained by spoliation, and where it fell. He believed it fell upon the great body of the people of America, and that the fall in the price of produce had been occasioned principally by the British admiral having forbidden the carrying of our provisions to Hispaniola. The British fleet, in the West Indies, he said, was supplied with provisions from Ireland, whilst the French depended upon this country for supplies, so that they were our best customers there.

The gentleman from S. Carolina (Mr. W. Smith) supposed the cry of war would have no effect in the country; but let us refer back to the British treaty, said he, when that gentleman was so loud in his cry. But that was a war with Great Britain, and not with France. At that time there was not a British tear which was not called forth by the appeals which were made on this ground. But, Mr. S. said, he did not then fear war, nor did he now, if they took prudent measures. The gentleman said, his plan was to prevent war, and yet he proposed to go to fight and sink the vessels of a particular nation. This was a way of preserving peace peculiar to himself.

If merchant's vessels were armed, they would serve the purpose of privateers, which might be used against our own vessels. This was a risk he did not chuse to run. But it was a curious fact, that at the same time we are proposing to permit the merchants to arm, they express a disinclination to it; because they love their country better than their own interest. But the gentleman had said that the expense of insurance would be lessened by this arming. On the contrary, he (and he was an underwriter) should consider the risk greater from their having guns. Indeed he found the Insurance Offices were all against the measure.

But the gentleman says, let the French know we are preparing. He trusted we should prepare a defence which could not offend any one. Let us do all we can to promote peace; let the negotiations go on. It would be a fine story, indeed when a reconciliation was about to take place between our negotiators and the French government that they should hear we were sinking her privateers in the West Indies. They would doubtless fend them about their business. The gentleman from S. Carolina seemed to think it was right for our vessels to go into Rebel ports in the West Indies; and told them of our men being taken by Victor Hugues, considered as pirates and hung (Mr. W. S. denied having said our citizens were hung) Mr. S. read Victor Hugues's proclamation, (though he said he had no more respect for him than that gentleman, as he had lost 6 or 7,000 dollars by him) and showed that those persons were only considered as traitors who failed out of rebel ports, and not citizens of the United States. Nor were those ports considered as rebel ports which were taken by the English, (Cape Nicholas Mole was one of those) but merely those which were in a state of rebellion, to which, if we were determined to trade, it would certainly lead to war.

Mr. S. said he was surprised to hear the gentleman from S. Carolina make one confession, viz. that the French minister had assured our government the prizes taken in the West Indies were unauthorized, because when he had asserted the same thing, on a former occasion, that gentleman denied it. Mr. S. intimated that the French trade carried on to the West Indies was a productive one, and that payments were in general made as punctual, as in any other parts, and referred to major Mountflorenc's letter for an act of generosity never shewn by the British; nay, he thought there was a better chance of getting money owing from France than there was for getting it for any spoliations committed by the British, and now under adjudication.

Mr. S. concluded by saying, he had another reason for opposing the measure. Two thirds of his constituents were farmers, and one third citizens, and they enjoined him to do all in his power to keep this country out of war; he thought the rejection of this resolution as tending to this end, and therefore he opposed it.

Mr. HARPER went into a defence of the resolution at considerable length. He denied that the French could take reasonable grounds of offence at the measure, as the power would only be given under such restrictions as must prevent it from being abused, as men would never wantonly forfeit the sums in which they were bound to obey their orders.

When Mr. HARPER sat down there was a loud call for the committee to rise (it being past three) when Mr. Livingston rose, and hoped the question would be taken. The question was put for the committee to rise, and carried 42 to 40.

A bill was received from the Senate for raising and organizing an additional corps of artillery and engineers, which was read the first time; when Mr. Macon moved that it be rejected, as he saw no necessity for increasing our army. The motion was opposed by Mr. W. Smith, who said the men would be wanted for supplying the garrisons; and in order to get rid of the question, he moved the House to adjourn. Carried.

FRIDAY, MAY 26. In committee of the whole, Mr. Dent in the chair, on the amendment of the answer to the President.

MR. DENNIS said, being unacquainted with the subject, in a manner, and newly honored with a seat in the house, he thought it most prudent to observe silence hitherto, and should still have remained so, had he not observed the ground of some gentlemen's arguments, which had roused him to a sense of his duty; he, under that impression, came forward, not merely to examine many of the arguments introduced on this occasion, but to shew his reasons why he could not vote in favor of the amendment now before the committee.

It appeared from the turn the debate had taken, as though the question was, whether America should enter into a war or not—at least it would appear so to persons attending to the debate; indeed, he said, he should not be at all surprised if at this moment wagon loads of petitions were on the road from all quarters, to refrain this body from entering into a war with the French Republic: was the question asked of a person who had not heard it, the answer must naturally be war—whether we should now declare war against the French.

In the remarks he had to make, he could not flatter himself to be able to display the talents which some gentlemen had done, he must content himself with a few desultory observations, and endeavor to direct them as much to the point as possible. It had been the practice of some gentlemen to commence their harangue to the house, on the impertinencies under which they came into the government. Notwithstanding some observations which had been made on this subject by a gentleman, (Mr. Livingston), tho' a new member, Mr. Dennis said, it would not be very extraordinary if he were to explain his impressions on first coming into the house, but he should not so take up the time of the committee. Nor should he follow the other gentleman (Mr. Freeman,) on the subject of federalism. He had no former errors to amend, nor retractions to make; he came forward perfectly unincumbered; in which he was different from the gentlemen who opened the debate (Mr. Nicholas,) who said he came forward animated with zeal in behalf of the French nation, because of the powerful combination he had to cope with, and which attempted to rob her of her liberty,—altho' on account of the indifference which seemed to pervade this country not only to the cause of the French nation but to republicanism in general. I once, said Mr. Dennis, had the same impressions—once felt with enthusiasm the cause of the French, because her situation was liberty. I rejoiced in her victories and felt her troubles: so long as her aim was liberty—defending herself against oppression, I felt in her behalf—but now, in what a situation is the now? No longer the injured, the persecuted, but her victories have made her become the aggressor—no longer is the cause of freedom her aim, but interests—aggrandizement—with her change of conduct it becomes obligatory for me to change from the approbation I formerly felt in her behalf, to now comes forward to regulate our concerns; I therefore can no longer approve her cause, and must candidly declare myself perfectly untram-