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## THE TABLET.—No. XI.

"There is scarce any thing more common, than animosities among parties, that cannot subsist, but by their agreement."

SOME persons, who read my last number, complain that a few of the strokes were drawn too hard. Part of the image is said to be too bold; and the picture, in some respects, is raised beyond the life. If it is meant as a portrait, where shall we look for an exact original? If it is a fancy piece; why is the figure allowed to exhibit, what facts will contradict?

It must be confessed, and it is an happy circumstance, that in the present age, the evils of faction have not run their full length. They have been controuled by several causes; but they are capable, when unchecked of reaching all the extremes I have described. The present state of society, in America, and some parts of Europe, is unfavorable to the success of head-strong, turbulent incendiaries. A few individuals, how much soever disposed, cannot easily blow up a flame, that will spread over any large district of country. Most people are so intent upon their occupations, and so desirous of pursuing private objects in life, that they are averse to disorder and contention. The mild influences of commerce have diffused a spirit of moderation and order. As the love of gain is now a very predominant passion, and as that is best gratified in pacific times, it operates as a strong guard against restless, clamorous men, who are ambitious of kindling factions. This love of money is not confined to the mercantile profession alone. All denominations of men are more or less under its influence. Those, who are aiming at the acquisition of property by the regular steps of honest industry, will only be feeble instruments in party rage and animosity. There are not wanting characters, at the present day, to throw society into confusion and quarrels; but they do not easily find materials. The great bulk of mankind are otherwise employed.

Among the individuals, I have observed, who had a contentious spirit, no one has combined all the qualifications, or accomplished so extensively his designs, as leaders of parties used to do, in a more imperfect and outrageous state of society. People in general, though they may be individually unconnected, are yet so relatively situated with respect to each other, that an injury done to any particular class of the community, impedes the prosperity of the rest. The dissensions between the landed, mercantile and manufacturing interests can never proceed to any detrimental lengths; because each party will itself feel the evil it is levelling against the other, before it can be pushed to any injurious extreme. The whole system is so complicated that it must stand or fall together. Disputes, between the different orders of society, are as unnatural, as the sedition between the members of the human body, which the old Roman fable so aptly represents.

In proportion, as the relative interests of men are examined, will it be found that mutual harmony and prosperity should be promoted. Indeed they will in some measure promote and regulate themselves. Some jealousy and jarring are far from producing a bad effect. The spirit of competition is indispensable.—In some cases it may bear too hard upon certain individuals, and even one branch of the community may get an undue advantage over others; but in a general way, the system will take care of itself.

The subject is not yet finished, though I intended this number should have closed it.

## NATIONAL FINANCIERING.

A LETTER on the Public and Private DEBT of AMERICA—The means of facilitating the payment thereof—and converting it into a source of WEALTH and PROSPERITY for the United States.

By SIR JOHN DALRYMPLE, Bart.

THE Americans owe at present four millions sterling of debts to British subjects; various plans have been proposed to effectuate payment—they all fail in this respect, that they suggest no provision for putting the Americans in a capacity to pay. The chief use of history is to shew men what they are to follow and what to avoid, by the experience of their ancestors, and therefore I submit the following plan, founded on Mr. Montague's principles, to the consideration of both countries. America is now in a similar situation

## NOTE.

The Mr. Montague here alluded to, was Chancellor to the Exchequer, A. D. 1696, and who, with the assistance of Sir Isaac Newton, and Mr. Locke, established the present system of the British funds.

with that of England, during the first year of King William's reign, in four respects.

1st. She owes an external debt of four millions to British subjects, in the same way England owed five millions to her soldiers and seamen who were mostly abroad.

2dly. She owes an internal public debt, contracted during the war; England owed a similar debt, but with this difference, that the American debt is small in comparison of what the English debt was.

3dly. America requires annual supplies of taxes to carry on her government: England required them also; but with this difference, that the supplies required by America, at present, to carry on her government, are a trifle, whereas the demands of England were great, because there was a great war to maintain.

Lastly, America has but little coin; England at that time had not much, and yet had vast demands upon her for to carry on her commerce, to pay the interest of her debts, to maintain an expensive civil government, about forty thousand seamen, and about eighty thousand troops, and to subsidize foreign Princes. The supposed dishonesty of Americans to their British creditors, or rather perhaps their real inability to do what they wish to do, arises from their want of coin, or of a substitute for coin; for, to expect them to pay a great external and internal debt, and carry on their government without coin, or a substitute for coin, that is, to pay without an instrument of payment, is one vision; and to expect America with her poverty, to pay the principal sum of her external and internal debt, when England, France, and Holland, with all their wealth, cannot, is another vision. But if the American States, (with or without the intervention of British commissioners, to attend to the interest of British creditors in the liquidation of their debts) will apply Mr. Montague's principles and practice to the present condition of their country, they will find the remedy for the evil, even in the evil itself, for the benefit of the British creditors; and they will find a certain good to spring out of that remedy, for the benefit of America herself.

Let the American States, in the first place, provide a fund of taxes, sufficient to pay more than the interest of their internal and external debts, and sufficient also to pay either the sums annually required to carry on their government, or the interest of a sum borrowed for carrying it on, if they have no taxes sufficient to raise an annual supply for that purpose; but which borrowing will not be necessary, except for a few years at the beginning, till public credit shall be established; because, after that period, it will be the fault of America herself, if she does not pay off debts, instead of increasing them. The States should, in the second place, convert the above debts, (whether internal or external, or new borrowings, to carry on for a few years their government) into public transferable securities, and make provision for the exact application of those taxes to the payment of the interest of the debts, in the same way that Mr. Montague did. Lastly. In order to give currency to these transferable securities (or, to give them a more simple name, to this paper money,) it should be received in payment of taxes to the State, and of borrowings by the State, in the same way as was provided for by Mr. Montague.

*Objection.* It may be objected, that it is unjust to make the American public pay the debts of American private persons; that the American public will be a loser by the bargain, and therefore will never agree to it.

*Answer.* Public bodies, like private persons, submit to hardships, when they are to receive benefits from them. The States will agree, if any way can be fallen upon to make the public a gainer in the end, and to save it from loss in the mean time. Now the way to compass the first of these ends, is, 1st, for the American States, in return for the transferable securities which they give for the payment of the interest of the debts of the British creditors, to be put in the place of those creditors, so as to enable the States to recover the debts in America; and 2dly, that these debts, as fast as recovered, shall be converted into a fund, to make a solid bottom for a bank of circulation, like that of England, to be the property of the American public; and which bank will gradually extend itself, for the accommodation of public and private credit, as they shall extend themselves, because the debts recovered will be gradually falling into it.

With regard to ways of saving the public of America from loss, or at least from a considerable loss, there are many. Some of the debts could be called in instantly. Securities for the payment of the interest annually, and of the princi-

pal by instalment, might be taken on the real estates of others, or upon the personal estates of them and their friends, when they had no real estates. To ease the debtors, and yet to give benefit to the public, payment of many of the debts might be taken in the produce of the country; for example, in the tobacco of Chesapeake bay, and the rice of the Carolinas; and these sold to foreign nations, with the stamp of the public upon them, to vouch the goodness of their quality, would acquire an additional value. In order to obtain the end of easing the debtor, and getting benefit to the state still farther, that produce might be exported upon a premium by the State, to respectable bodies of merchants in Britain, to be received for the behoof of the British proprietors in the American funds. This last is not difficult to be executed. All the tobacco received in France and Spain, is consigned to a few hands; and the diamonds of the Brazils go to one house in Lisbon. But above all, England might give advantage to American trade, without hurting her own, to make up the public loss, and reward the public honor of America: these are arrangements, which could be contrived in half a day, by one who has shewn that he can conduct the lightning of the skies, and who, by contriving these arrangements, would crown the good he has done to his own, and make up for the mischief he has done to this country. Such mutual concessions would tend to reconcile the humours of men to each other, whose interests in spite of those humours must long be the same. The advantages which would redound to America from adopting such views, are the following:

1st. Her empire of dominion, and her empire of commerce (for they must be blind indeed, who do not see how immense this last empire must be, if honor be made its basis) will start from the noblest of all goals, the goal of public honor, and of national fidelity of character; circumstances which support the public credit of England, and the private credit of the Spanish nation, more than any other. At present the ships of all countries stand aloof from the coasts of America, but they would then press forward to reach them. He must be a bad merchant, indeed, who does not see, that a little character is worth a little money.

2dly. America would be supplied with an immediate substitute for her want of coin, just as England was by Mr. Montague's scheme, and this relief, by the vigour which it always gives to industry and trade, would supply America with coin, just as coin was drawn into England by Mr. Montague's scheme. No bank can stand without an equivalent security within itself, for the notes which it issues. The debts recovered and sent to the bank, would form that security; and then the bank, either established at one station, or, which would be much better, divided into three or four branches, placed at great stations of America for the sake of greater convenience to business, would give new wings to the circulation of private credit, and also to public credit; for, supported by the State, the bank would for its own interest support the State. The consequence of the firm establishment of public and private credit, obtained by those operations, would be, and at no very distant period, that foreign nations would throw their money into the public funds of America with as little fear, as they do into those of their own country. And the consequence of that confidence again would be, that British merchants possessed of property, in the public funds of America, would make payment often in that property, and trade often upon it; America would remit her payment almost always in her own produce, and carry on her trade, and take her station high in the rank of nations, either for defence or offence, on the money of other countries.

## SENTIMENTAL EXTRACT.

TO distinguish men by the difference of their moral qualities, to espouse one party from a sense of justice, to oppose another even with indignation when excited by iniquity, are the common indications of probity, and the operations of an upright, animated and generous spirit. To guard against unjust partialities, and ill-grounded antipathies; to maintain that composure of mind, which, without impairing its sensibility or ardor, proceeds in every instance with discernment and penetration, are the marks of a vigorous and cultivated spirit. To be able to follow the dictates of such a spirit, through all the varieties of human life, and with a mind always master of itself, in prosperity and adversity, and possessed of all its abilities when the subjects in hazard are life or freedom, as much as in treating simple questions of interest, are the triumphs of magnanimity, and true elevation of mind.