

Gazette of the United States.

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1792.

[Whole No. 351.]

Certificates Lost.

MISSING, Five New-Jersey Certificates, signed by Silas Condit, viz.

No. 740 for £. 75	0	0	
1978	11	12	9
715	1	0	0
3482	1	4	6
829	0	12	9

The subscriber supposes the above Certificates are stolen. Whoever will discover the Thief, or Certificates, and leave information at the Treasury or Loan-Office in New-Jersey, or in the County Collector's Office at Morris-Town, shall be handsomely rewarded by

Morris-Town, **JOSEPH LEWIS.**
New-Jersey, July 12, 1792. (1aw7w)

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June 1. (ep1m & 1aw2m)

WANTED—TO RENT,

From the last of October next,

A convenient House, in or near the centre of the City.—Enquire of the Editor.

FROM THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

REFLECTIONS on the STATE of the UNION.

Concerning the Foreign Debts of the United States.

AT the commencement of the present government, in 1789, the United States were indebted to France, Holland, and Spain, and to the foreign officers of the late army, in a sum amounting to near twelve millions of dollars. Near a million and two-thirds of this sum was due for arrears of interest, inattention to which, would have been too disgraceful to have admitted of a hope of public credit, until measures were taken for its discharge. Above a million and one-third of the principal sum had become due, and the time of other instalments was coming round. The resources of the country had been examined and considered, but not tried. The claims of these foreign creditors, were, originally, the most delicate in themselves; and in the case of France, the state of her revolution in the summer of 1790, placed her demand in a situation peculiarly interesting. It was perceived that the adoption of the Federal Constitution and the measures taken to restore public credit, had made strong and favorable impressions on the European money-lenders: and it was not doubted, that the arrears of interest and the principal due, might be discharged by loans, upon terms which would produce very little loss. The requisite authorities were given by the Legislature, which resulted in the borrowing of a sum equal to the discharge of all the exigible debts. But as the occasions of the French were likely to be emergent, and there was reason to confide, that a firm and steady pursuit of the financial system, which had by that time been adopted, and an adherence to the upright spirit of the Constitution, would rapidly meliorate the credit of the United States, it was deemed expedient to extend the authorities to borrow, to a sum equal to the whole of the foreign debt, provided the instalments not due could be discharged by means of loans advantageous to the United States. The interest of above seven millions of the foreign debt, being at the rate of five per cent. per annum, it was not doubted that the money might be obtained so as to render the discharge of the part, not exigible, really advantageous. It has accordingly happened, that a sum adequate to the principal and interest due, has been borrowed within the terms of the law, so as to support the credit and good faith of the United States, and critically to accommodate the people of France. The further expectations of Congress have also been fulfilled; a considerable loan at four and one-half, and two loans at four per cent. having been effected, so as to realize an advantage in the discharge of a large part of the principal, which was at an interest of five per cent. The United States having thus commuted their foreign debt, further than is due, with honor, and, on a medium of the whole, with advantage, are relieved by these operations from any possibility of pressure to perform the remainder of their European engagements. The friends of our public credit, of our national safety and respectability, and of the revolution of France, among the citizens of the United States, will reflect upon this actual course of events with cordial satisfaction.

The conclusion: being miscellaneous thoughts on the government.

The people of the United States enjoy a peculiar felicity in the possession of principles of government and of civil and religious liberty, more found, more accurately defined, and more extensively reduced to practice, than any preceding republicans. There is not one iota of delegating or delegated power, which is not possessed, or may not be acquired by every citizen. It is true, that there are in practice, several deviations in the distribution of powers to the various sub-divisions of the country, and to the proprietors of certain descriptions of property; but these are acknowledged departures from principle, and are known to have risen out of the antecedent state of things. They could not be immediately corrected without violent struggles and disorders, and without injury to the property of descriptions of citizens, too great for the country at any former period to compensate. Mild remedies are, however, daily applied to these partial diseases; and it is manifest, that the course of time is diminishing, and will finally remove them. The right of legislative interposition, on the part of the chief magistrate, which, in the practice of another country, has been commuted for an unlawful and injurious influence, is here wrought into the essence of the constitution, and is not only exercised in the independent and uncontrolled consideration of every resolution and bill, but by the practical application of the negative.

The execution of the office of the chief magistrate has been attended through a term of almost four years with a circumstance, which to this nation and to the surrounding world requires no commentary—a native citizen of the United States, elevated from private life to that station, has not, during so long a term, appointed a single relation to any office of honor or emolument.

The senatorial branch of the government has been created and continued in a mode preferable to that which is pursued in any other nation.

The representative branch of the government is equally well constituted.

The military code for the government of such troops as are occasionally raised and employed, is well calculated to produce discipline and efficiency, when time is allowed for the purpose, and consequently to render the United States respectable in the eyes of foreign nations.

All christian churches are so truly upon an equal footing, as well in practice as in theory, that there are and have been in the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the general government, persons of the following denominations:—episcopalians, presbyterian, independent or congregational, quaker, Lutheran, reformed Roman, and probably others, which do not occur. There have been, and indeed yet are, a few ecclesiastical distinctions in the state governments, which reason and time are rapidly destroying. It is easy to perceive that religious liberty supported by the National Constitution, and a great majority of the state constitutions, cannot but attain, in a very short time, the same theoretical and practical perfection in the remainder, which it has acquired in them.

(To be concluded in our next.)

FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES

No. VI.

REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS.

IN a despotic government the slaves and tools of power affect to treat the people with contempt; for though a sovereign without subjects, implies an absurdity—and the multitude of the people really constitutes the glory of a Prince, yet so inconsistent and befitted have the tyrants of the earth been, that the people by whom they reign, and from whom they derive all their support, are too often considered in no better a light than beasts of burden: hence their obedience to the laws is a blind spontaneous submission, without sentiment, and consequently never to be depended on.—In a free government the case is far otherwise; a wife and virtuous people, in respecting their rulers, honor their own character—and the magistrates, while executing the laws, consider themselves as agents of the people and organs of the public will.—The name of citizen is the highest political appellation—and the approbation of the virtuous majority, the highest reward of an honest ambition. There are various currents in the tide of human affairs, to precipitate nations to ruin. History and experience afford abundant testimony to prove, that free States as well as individuals, have been carried down the smooth stream of flattery to the gulph of slavery and despotism: we need only refer to that notable instance, Julius Cæsar; if the Roman people had been invulnerable to the flattery, adulation and largesses of that usurper, they would not have fallen the victims of his artifices, the slaves of absolute authority. The duties of governors and of the governed, are reciprocal; when all impressions of respect from one to the other are obliterated—on the one hand government becomes contemptible, and is inevitably considered as tyrannical—on the other, the people become supine and invite misrule and oppression; factions succeed, and these overturning the free government, open the door to anarchy, confusion and despotism.

There is a public magnanimity of character which always accompanies a superior state of civil liberty; the loss of this magnanimity generally precedes the loss of freedom. This noble sentiment should inform, enlighten and animate the great public will; it is this alone which can make a people superior to the adulation of those base minds, who flatter, to deceive and betray—and at the same time equal to sustaining the electrifying power of truth. For it may safely be asserted, that truth and freedom are so intimately allied, that whenever the former is found to offend, the latter very soon takes its departure.

In selecting their civil rulers, a wife people will not be deluded by the siren song of unprincipled flatterers; of all attainments, a proficiency in the arts of adulation is the easiest of acquisition; at the present day the world abounds with models on which persons of the most slender abilities may form their characters; and it is too much to be lamented that those who never had honesty enough to propose an unpalatable truth to the public consideration, are considered as patriots. How differently mankind conduct in matters of religious concern, from those of a political nature! The popular preacher is he who draws the most degrading picture of our species;—in politics some modern patriots apply a certain doctrine to the people, which republicans justly reprobate as applied by the people of England to their chief magistrate, viz. That the King can do no wrong; this is daubing with untempered mortar, unless it can be demonstrated that the popular opinion, however variable, is always right. We have seen in our country a variety of changes in the sentiments of the people—amidst them all, truth has never shifted sides; and the inflexible patriot who makes her d'ètats his supreme monitor, will never be found enrolled under the banners of party.

"Unbrib'd, unaw'd, he dares impart,

"The honest dictates of his heart—

"No party smiles, or frowns he fears,

"But in his virtue perseveres."

Such are the characters to whom the public attention ought to be drawn—persons of this description will make the public good their object; their preferences and advice may be sometimes unpalatable, but their judgment will save the body politic—the laws and the liberties of their coun-

try.—When the people are solicitous to elect only those "who prophesy smooth things," their true glory may be said to be on the eve of its departure; but so long as they can bear the discipline which truth and freedom prescribe, their happiness will be secure.

It is sometimes fashionable to speak favorably of public credit; to extol the virtues of temperance; to support the cause of the mechanic and manufacturer, &c. Then again, it is discovered that public credit is a bubble, that public debts are public curses, and ought to be annihilated—that taxes on ardent spirits are oppressive—and that a land tax, which never can be laid, ought to be substituted; or in other words, that no provision should be made for the public debt; that protecting duties ought not to be laid—that the manufactures of our country ought to be left to shift for themselves, &c. &c. On these topics, the candidates for the suffrages of the people have often given their opinions; and while those who appear to have formed competent and consistent ideas, and have uniformly supported their systems, ought to meet with the approbation of the people: those who have whiffled and veered to every different point, that appeared to suit their personal interest and the company they were in, should be marked with neglect by every free elector. This advice is freely given; for it will be found on examination, that the real friends of the constitution of the United States are those, who have uniformly supported the united and inseparable interests of the farmer, the manufacturer, the mechanic, and the merchant. C.

FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MR. FENNO,

If yourself and your brother Printers through the Continent, who have published certain strictures on the conduct of Mr. Jefferson, which appeared in your Gazettes of the 4th and 11th of last month, under the signature of "AN AMERICAN," will now publish the following, it will evidence your impartiality and regard to justice.

ARISTIDES.

Philadelphia, September 4, 1792.

MR. FENNO,

IN your Gazettes of the 4th and 11th of last month, there appeared two publications under the signature of "AN AMERICAN," replete with the most virulent abuse of Mr. Jefferson; and containing charges against him, founded in the basest calumny and falshood. The intemperance of this writer, and his utter disregard of truth and candor, will be readily perceived by an impartial public, when they refer to one of his concluding suggestions in the first publication, to wit—that Mr. Jefferson is the patron and promoter of national disunion, national insignificance, public disorder and discredit;—a suggestion, made on no better foundation, than his being opposed to some of the principles of the funding system, of the national bank, and of certain other measures of the Secretary of the Treasury; an offence, which, I fear, if criminal, will involve a great majority of the independent yeomanry of our country in equal guilt. How long Mr. Jefferson has been distinguished as the Cataline of the day, or as the ambitious incendiary, who would light a torch to the ruin of his country, may be matter of useful speculation; and whether he is now, for the first time, thus distinguished, because of the manly freedom with which he declares his abhorrence of some of the leading principles of Mr. Hamilton's fiscal administration; or, that because of his known attachment to republicanism, he is feared, as the decided opponent of aristocracy, monarchy, hereditary succession, a titled order of nobility, and all the other mockpageantry of kingly government, will be the subject of future enquiry; in which it will be considered, how far the distinguishing traits I have glanced at, form the appropriate and prominent features in the character of another political luminary, and of the measures of his administration. An enquiry like this may be useful, has been invited by the writer I refer to, and, as the invitation will not be refused, may, in the test of comparative merit, disclose facts and principles in relation to public men, which, however important for the public to know, are now concealed in the arcana of a certain convention, or remain involved in all the obscurity of political mystery and deception. At present my sole purpose is, by a reference to certain facts, of which I have been possessed by a gentleman in this city, to exonerate Mr. Jefferson from the two principal charges made against him, and, in so doing, to prove the malignity and falshood of them.—The first charge is, "that Mr. Jefferson was opposed to the present constitution of the United States"—and the other is, "that Mr. Jefferson, when Minister to the Court of France, advised Congress to negotiate a transfer of its debt due to the French nation to the hands of individuals in Holland, upon the idea, that if the United States should fail in making a provision for the debt, the discontents, to be expected from the omission, may honestly be transferred from a government able to vindicate its rights, to the breasts of individuals, who may first be encouraged to become the substitutes to the original creditors,