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FROM THE AMERICAN DAILY ADVERTISER.

MR. DUNLAP,
 THE public have been lately amused with some criticisms in the United States Gazette, upon the political character and conduct of the Secretary of State. The charges exhibited against him, in substance, amount to this: 1. That he was always inimical to the present government, and has in a particular manner shewn it since he came into office, by the freedom with which he has censured public measures. 2. That he has abused the trust reposed in him, by conferring the appointment of translator of foreign languages, in the department of State, worth 250 dollars per annum, upon Mr. Freneau, Editor of the National Gazette. This appears to be the sum of the charges: whatever else they contain is the figurative amplification of the writer only, and reducible to no distinct head.

To that respectable tribunal to whom they have been submitted, upon the facts and illustrations given, partial as they are, so far as it respects himself the decision might be left without a comment. His countrymen have been too long and too well acquainted with his talents, virtues, and services, to suffer loose and equivocal charges of this kind to lessen him in their estimation. But this attack has obviously something further in view, than simply to wound the fame of one deserving citizen. It is levelled at that free and manly spirit of enquiry, which has lately developed the principles, and demonstrated the mischievous tendency of some of the measures of government, and which it seeks to crush, a spirit of enquiry which the author supposes has been fostered and cherished by him. If a person of his note in the republican list, could be destroyed in the public confidence, its cause would be humbled, and the friends of monarchy triumph. An attack, therefore, upon this gentleman, must be deemed a direct but artful one upon principles, and in this view it becomes a matter of public concern, and merits particular attention.

What was his political conduct in early life, through the revolution, and to the adoption of the present government, though the period was momentous and eventful, and the several stations which he occupied, such as presented him perpetually to the view of his countrymen, seems of no importance upon the present occasion. This long and honorable career has escaped the censure of the American, and I shall not review it for the sake of applause. I have alluded to it merely to shew, that if he has not kept pace, in all the revolutions of opinion, practised by those who now censure him, he has notwithstanding been always consistent with himself.

Before I proceed in reply to the first charge, to furnish the documents which it is presumed, will place his political sentiments in a satisfactory point of view, a previous general question should be noticed, which though not particularly connected with him, may be deemed of importance to the community: "Wherein was the merit or offence of a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the constitution, and to whom rendered?" It was a proposition of great extent, submitted as of right to every free citizen, and upon which he was bound to decide; to have shrunk from it would have been dishonorable, and a shameful abandonment of his duty. By what rule then, or upon what principle, shall a man be rewarded or punished, for the fair exercise of his judgment, especially when called on to give it, by obligations he could not resist, and upon a point, in which in preference to all others, the most unbounded freedom should be used? I had supposed that if his decision was a wise one, the benefits of the system were to be his compensation; if he erred, his own and the calamities of his country, the punishment; that the question involved in it, neither in the origin, nor its consequences, considerations of a personal nature, and that of course the conduct of no man, in relation to this object, be it what it might, merited reward or punishment. I could wish that those political casuists, who are acquainted with the transactions on the great theatre, would solve this problem; for to me it seems indispensably necessary that those who arraign a fellow-citizen, before the bar of the public, should at least demonstrate that the charge with which he is accused, contains in it something criminal.

It will be remembered that at the time the constitution was formed, and whilst under discussion in the State conventions, Mr. Jefferson was in France the minister of America. That of the train of events which brought about the important crisis of a general convention, as of those which followed it, he was an interested, but a distant spectator. The nature of the trust reposed in him by the public confined him to the spot. The only part he could bear in the cares of that momentous period, was to unite with his fellow citizens in the most fervent wishes, that their labors might be successful, and redound to the advantage of their common country.

What his sentiments were on the subject of the constitution, and that of government generally as connected with it, will be seen by the following extracts taken from his letters addressed to a particular friend, at the time of their respective dates, and in the course of a

very interesting and confidential correspondence. As he could not have foreseen that in any possible event, they would be laid before the public, they must be considered as the free and spontaneous effusions of his heart. From that friend I have received them, and will if any doubt should be suggested of their authenticity, immediately make them accessible to others. To Mr. Jefferson, whose approbation to this measure, has neither been asked nor obtained, some apology for the freedom is due: to the confidence however which his own conduct has inspired, that it was never his wish, his sentiments, upon this or any other subject of a public nature, should be withheld from his countrymen, it is to be attributed.

Paris, Dec. 20, 1787.

"The season admitting only of operations in the Cabinet, and these being in a great measure secret, I have little to fill a letter. I will therefore make up the deficiency by adding a few words on the constitution proposed by our convention. I like much the general idea of framing a government which should go on of itself peaceably, without needing continual revenue from the state legislatures. I like the organization of the government into legislative, judiciary, and executive. I like the power given the legislative to levy taxes. I am captivated by the compromise of the opposite claims of the great and little states, of the latter to equal, and the former to proportional influence. I am much pleased too with the substitution of the method of voting by persons, instead of that of voting by states: and I like the negative given to the executive with a third of either house, though I should have liked it better, had the judiciary been appointed for that purpose, or invested with a similar and separate power. There are other good things of less moment. I will now add what I do not like. First, the omission of a bill of rights, providing clearly and without the aid of sophisms for freedom of religion, freedom of the press, protection against standing armies, restriction against monopolies, the eternal and unremitting force of the habeas corpus laws, and trials by jury in all matters of fact triable by the laws of the land, and not by the law of nations. To say that a bill of rights was not necessary because all is reserved in the case of the general government which is not given, while in the particular ones all is given which is not reserved, is surely a gratis dictum, opposed by strong inferences from the body of the instrument, as well as from the omission of the clause of our present confederation, which had declared that in express terms. It was a hard conclusion to say because there has been no uniformity among the states, as to the cases triable by jury, because some have been so incautious as to abandon this mode of trial, therefore the more prudent states shall be reduced to the same level of calamity. It would have been much more just and wise to have concluded the other way, that as most of the states had judiciously preserved this palladium, those who had wandered should be brought back to it, and to have established general right instead of general wrong. Let me add that a bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth, general or particular, and that no just government should refuse, or rest on inference. 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. Experience concurs with reason in concluding that the first magistrate will always be re-elected if the constitution permits it. He is then an officer for life. This once observed, it becomes of so much consequence to certain nations to have a friend or a foe, at the head of our affairs, that they will interfere with money and with arms. A galloman, or an anglo-man, will be supported by the nation he befriends; if once elected, and at a second or third election out voted by one or two votes, he will pretend false votes, foul play, hold possession of the reins of government, be supported by the States voting for him, especially if they are the central ones, lying in a compact body themselves, and separating their opponents: and they will be aided by one nation of Europe, while the majority are aided by another. The election of a President of America some years hence, will be much more interesting to certain nations of Europe, than ever the election of a King of Poland was. Reflect on all the instances in history ancient and modern, of elective monarchies, and say if they do not give foundation for my fears. The Roman emperors, the Popes, while they were of any importance, the German emperors till they became hereditary in practice, the Kings of Poland, the Deys of the Ottoman dependencies. It may be said that if elections are to be attended with these disorders, the seldomer they are renewed the better. But experience shews that the only way to prevent disorder is to render them uninteresting by frequent changes. An incapacity to be elected a second time would have been the only effectual preventative. The power of removing him every fourth year by the vote of the people, is a power which will not be exercised. The King of Poland is removable every day by the Diet, yet he is never removed—Smaller objections are the appeal in fact as well as law, and the binding all persons legislative,

executive and judiciary 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 wish. 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 effect. 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 11 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 always 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 was spilt. In Turkey which Montesquieu supposes more despotic, insurrections are the events of every day. In England where the hand of power is lighter than here, but heavier than with us, they happen every half dozen years. Compare again the ferocious depredations of their insurrections with the order, the moderation, and the almost self-extinguishment of ours. After all, it is my principle that the will of the majority should always prevail. If they approve the proposed convention in all its parts, I shall concur in it cheerfully, in hopes that they will amend it whenever they shall find it work wrong. I think our governments will remain virtuous for many centuries; as long as they are chiefly agricultural; and this will be as long as there shall be vacant lands in any part of America. When they get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, they will become corrupt as in Europe. Above all things I hope the education of the common people will be attended to; convinced that on their good sense we may rely with the most security for the preservation of a due degree of liberty."

[To be concluded in our next.]

FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE writers against government, like the Pharisees of old, seem to make up a very good mouth, thanking God that they are not as other men. It is very probable they are right, and we may with good cause thank God that he has not made all other men like them—for in that case the world would be turned topsy turvy. These writers affect to be the friends of the people, champions of republican liberty, and men of more purity than those who hold offices, or who wish to support good order—that is to say, they pretend to be better than the rest of mankind. If the sun were to shine into their dark holes, their bragging pretensions would perhaps expose them to ridicule. In another country, the garret-scribblers talk big as long as they lie concealed. It would be pleasant to see their lean host marshal'd. Those who give law, as far as dictating and finding fault will go, to nations; who affect to sit in judgment on kings, and to say to power, thus far (not very far) shalt thou go, and no farther, would certainly laugh at one another, and themselves if they were brought together. The thrones of these gazette kings are placed up three pair of stairs: they descend from their power when they shew themselves in the street. This is certainly true of the greater part of the scribblers in one foreign city, and a great city it is. As our party writers have adopted the polite style of their Grubstreet progenitors, there is room to believe that they are their peers in rank and dignity. Instances are not wanting to countenance the opinion that some of the most audacious slanderers of government are not more respectable. A boy of 16 has been known to write political pieces in a gazette in which he chattered about men in high office like a magpie. Besides, men who have character, are the most cautious how they attempt to take it away from others. But the man who never had any, or having had some, has lost it, can write abusively against public men without measure, and without any feeling to check him—for he cannot make the case of the man he rails at, his own. He is more likely than a good man to believe ill of his adversary, and he can abuse him therefore with a better conscience. For when he sees a man in a public place, which is exposed to dirty temptations, he takes it for certain, judging from his own heart, that he has basely yielded to them. Let a man, having nothing to do with the government, but standing impartial, read the base aspersions which have lately been thrown on public men and measures, he will say, if he has a good heart, that he had rather be the subject than the author of them—he will say that those hearts which could nurse such suspicions, and those men who could publish them without proof, have shewn what and who they are.

FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MR. FENNO,
 I HAVE heard it remarked, and I believe with a great deal of truth, that the newspaper called the National Gazette, contains more scurrility against the general government, than all the other public papers in this city put together. And as it respects the editor of that paper, I am not at all surpris'd.—I have always considered the person as inimical to good government, who wrote for a paper called the Freeman's Journal some years ago. But must confess I feel some uneasiness for the reputation of the Secretary of State, when I see such circumstances brought forward by two of your correspondents, as must naturally induce a belief, that Mr. Freneau and his paper are probably retained by him, with the view of promoting certain political purposes. Either the Secretary supposed that these circumstances would not have been attended to, or admitting his views to be perfectly upright, he may consider them as trifles and of little consequence; but every public officer ought, if possible, on all occasions, to conduct himself in such manner, as at least to give no probable cause for suspicion. And Mr. Jefferson must certainly conclude, when he comes to reflect on this business, that some respect is due to the opinions of a people, who set a high value on that government, which is justly esteemed the best in the world: and I have therefore but little doubt, that he will oblige the interpreter either to leave the office, or to construe in better language.

AN OBSERVER.

FROM THE ALBANY REGISTER.

MR. BARBER,
 Through the medium of your paper I beg leave to put the following queries to the audacious John Cannon, chairman of a pompous meeting of some licentious characters, of the interior counties of Pennsylvania, at Pittsburgh, the 22d of August, 1792.

Query 1st. AS you avow in the face of the union—in the face of law, decency and common sense, your intention of opposing the excise system, do you seriously suppose that the whole strength of the union, in men and money, is to be devoted to the protection of the very counties you assume to represent, and that you (of all the people in America) should dare to oppose the government which protects you?

Query 2d. Do you suppose, that your stupid resolves are to influence the measures of the nation? Recollect Sir—you are not acting upon the local ideas of a State as heretofore; but compare your measures with a general national system.

Query 3d. Can you be so mean and short sighted as to suppose, that the union at large are to pay the expence of your protection (which will cost it more than all your possessions are worth) and that you are to be exempted from a share of that burthen, to say nothing of the direct advantages you receive from the vast sums of national property which are expended every campaign among you?

Query 4th. Are you so lost to all sense of shame, as to avow in the face of the world, that you are so basely attached to that filthy liquor, called "whiskey," "that if the excise continues it will bring immediate distress and ruin on the western country." In your wife preamble you jesuitically assert, that you mean to pursue no other than legal measures, to obtain what you call redress; but in your last resolve you give the lie direct to this assertion, by illegally pronouncing "your vengeance against excise officers which the laws of your country have established among you; and declaring all persons your enemies who have any dealings with them."

Finally, have you the presumption to think, that the scattering inhabitants in the wilds of two or three back counties of Pennsylvania, are to dictate laws to the rising empire of America,—G—d forbid—blush! John Cannon, and when you appear again recollect with a little modesty, that you represent, but in part, a mere speck on the map of America, and not one hundredth part of the inhabitants of the United States.

Should your daring measures pass by with impunity, I sincerely hope the rest of the union, who are paying heavy duties to protect you, will withdraw their protection, and leave you to defend your scalps and drink whiskey at your leisure. Your western counties have long enjoyed the reputation of being the most turbulent and licentious people in America. It is hoped as education increases among you, that the rising generation will not only enlarge their ideas on a national scale, but that they will become more liberal and civilized.

A NORTHERN MAN.

An electioneering address published in the Carlisle paper contains the following characteristic observations.

IT matters little to the public who presides in the Senate: They do not choose to let the public know any thing about the reasons of their political conduct; the public therefore may trouble themselves little about them, except it be to watch them with a jealousy, and try to get rid of them as soon as possible; it is but little good ever they did, and but little good they can do, but they may do much evil; there are however valuable characters shut up in their Divan. We sincerely wish them released.—Pennsylvania wanted a Senator this last session; we pray a greater evil may never befall her.