

# Gazette of the United States.

A NATIONAL PAPER, PUBLISHED WEDNESDAYS AND SATURDAYS BY JOHN FENNO, No. 69, HIGH-STREET, PHILADELPHIA.

[No. 39, of Vol. IV.]

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1792.

[Whole No. 361.]

FROM THE AMERICAN DAILY ADVERTISER.

No. II.

Continued from the Gazette of the 9th ult.

BY the extracts from Mr. Jefferson's letters lately published, his sentiments on the constitution have been unfolded to his countrymen. The circumstances under which they were written, already noticed, furnish the most satisfactory demonstration they were the genuine dictates of his heart. That they became at the time, the subject of public discussion, must have given him surprise; but that they should now be referred to for the purpose of crimination, even if his judgment, upon that great subject, had wandered from a sound decision, is still more extraordinary. They are however fully before the public, and whether they deserve commendation or censure, his fellow-citizens will determine for themselves.

If the political querist sought, as an object of curious speculation, a more concise and summary exposition of them, I am persuaded he would concur with me in the following, founded on these extracts. "That he had become sensible of the wise and happy direction of the affairs of his country, required some great change in her political institutions; and when he first saw the constitution, the result of those able and experienced councils, to whose care the modification had been committed, he considered it like all other human productions, containing much good, but not without a considerable alloy of evil. That he prized its good qualities too high to urge any step that might possibly tend to hazard the system, and therefore wished its immediate adoption by nine States and establishment as a government. That he wished the four other States to hold out, and thereby form on each side an independent head, between whom the necessary amendments might be amicably adjusted. That afterwards and for the sake of greater safety, confiding in the virtues and patriotism of his countrymen, he even advised amendments in the mode proposed by the instrument itself."

Let the American shew the passage in these or any other letters written by him, which should give offence to the most active republican supporter of the constitution, in that or any subsequent stage: which denounces him the foe to good government, the friend to anarchy and licentiousness. Let him point out the sentiment which has not in a great measure been verified, by the President in his introductory speech to Congress, the subsequent acts of that body, and those of the several States. Unhappily for mankind the annals of nations prove, that persons in this station too often err in the opposite extreme. That those who possess wealth and power, and even where these gifts have been conferred by the confidence and favor of their countrymen, are too apt to feel for themselves a different interest, separate from, and look with an eye of jealousy and scorn upon those of their fellow men, to whom the goods of fortune have been dispensed with a less liberal hand. In this respect indeed the tone of character displayed in these letters may be deemed in some measure peculiar to their author. Such an unfeigned and benevolent regard for mankind in all their classes; such an anxious solicitude for their welfare, and vigilant attention to their rights, are rarely to be found united in any one person. With feelings and sentiments like these, if I mistake not the man, the selfish, narrow, and vain-adoring heart of the American never glowed.

The change then of hostility to the government in that early stage, so far as it depended on the secret operations of his mind, has been shown to be without foundation. His subsequent conduct has been traced for further evidence of disaffection, and however light and contemptible the circumstances are on which it rests, I will pursue it, the more fully to demonstrate the impurity of the motives which dictated the attack.

The freedom with which he has spoken of some public measures, being a principal servant in the executive department, has been relied on as a circumstance of unequivocal proof of such hostility. The object and extent of this position perhaps I do not fully comprehend: does the author mean, that a wisely framed government cannot in its administration adopt an injudicious and improper measure; or that a man cannot be friendly to the one and disapprove of the other? If this is the idea and the principle should be recognized, the field of enquiry upon any future occasion would be much abridged, and the labour of all parties proportioned.

The following extract has been since furnished me by the gentleman from whom I obtained the former. It was overlooked upon that occasion, or would have been then inserted.

Paris, July 6, 1788.

"I am glad to hear that the new constitution is received with favor. I sincerely wish that the nine first conventions may receive and the four last reject it. The former will secure it finally, while the latter will oblige them to offer a declaration of rights in order to complete the union. We shall thus have all its good, and cure its principal defect. You will of course be so good as to continue to mark to me its progress. I will thank you, also for as exact a state as you can procure of the impression made on the sum of our domestic debt, by the sale of lands and by federate and state exertions in any other manner."

tionally diminished. Let its measures be what they might, however repugnant to the authority under which it acted, or subversive of the rights of those who made and for whose benefit it should be administered, no controversy upon these points could be sustained; no critical comparison could be made, no line of partition drawn between the one and the other. If this doctrine should be established, the people of these States would find themselves reduced to a strange dilemma: the constitution they had adopted and planned with so much care, as the boundary of a limited authority, would be considered as the absolute surrender of all their rights. By legitimating every possible measure which in the progress of time a venal and unprincipled majority might carry, its acts would become more oppressive than those of any existing tyranny, because its administration would be more daring, under the delusion practised on the people, by seeming to rest on their suffrage.

Or does the author mean that a person by accepting an office in the executive department, should lose in the spirit of the corps, the native rights of a freeman? that he should abandon his own sentiments, except at private consultations, and cling to those of the majority? that a man of great worth, in whom for past services his countrymen reposed an high confidence, should throw the weight of his character, into the scale, to support a measure which in his conscience he disapproved and in his station had opposed? that the members of the administration should form together a close and secret combination, into whose measures the profane eye of the public should in no instance pry? If this is his idea let it be avowed; it involves a principle which upon public considerations should be disowned; for I consider it subversive of those upon which the government itself was founded. That mask of secrecy adopted in arbitrary governments, for the most oppressive purposes, and which by some good men has been deemed necessary to cover executive operations, has in most instances when applied to us been over-rated. Few cases only and those purely executive, and for which the chieftain himself should be held responsible, can require it. In general, if it does not cover gross and shameful malversations, and which should be exposed for wholesome correction to the public view, the most favorable light in which it can be held, is that of an empty, frivolous, and pageant ceremonial of office. But it may be positively affirmed that whenever it interferes with the spirit of responsibility, the life and soul of republican government, its tendency is vicious, and should be abandoned. So far then from deeming him censurable, for the freedom of his discourse upon public measures, to the extent that I am persuaded he has carried it, I honor and respect him for it. It marks a firm and virtuous independence of character, which assures me I may still confide in him with safety. The principles he acknowledges, and the language he uses, are his own; not formed upon those of the majority of the corps to which he may occasionally belong: they are the same I know that he possessed before he commenced the career of public trust.

FROM THE SOUTH CAROLINA GAZETTE. (PRINTED AT COLUMBIA.)

A correspondent, who lately made a tour across the Carolinas and Georgia, has obliged us with the following observations, taken down at Salem, the principal Moravian town in North-Carolina.

THE most elegant aspect of this place is exhibited to the traveller approaching it from the West along the heights which arise between Salem and Shoebur's paper mill. While in this point of view the town presents to the eye fifty chimney tops. This place, though not incorporated by law, is well guarded against the fatal effects of fire. A mighty watch is supported for the purpose from ten o'clock to four.

You will be treated with no rudeness by the Moravians. They never play tricks of wagery upon travellers. It seems to afford their principal pleasure to walk with you, converse with you, shew you the several businesses which are conducted amongst them, and explain to you the philosophical principles of their machines; and all this without discovering the slightest symptom of jealousy, impatience, or reserve.

They waste no flatteries nor congees upon you. They will not ask you to eat, or drink, or smoke, or play with them. They affect no compliments; and yet you shall feel yourself treated with much attention and civility. Were the Moravians to keep open doors and free tables, spongers would make a prey of them, and the inn would be robbed of its business and support.

Their young women collect and worship very early in the morning. A Piano Forte enlivens their devotions. About the same time their young men are employed in the same manner. The whole community worship together in the evening—men and women—old and young—strangers and servants. Here the organ is put in blast to accompany their Hallelujahs!

There are some hopes that the Moravians will found a new settlement in the next, if not the current year, on the waters of Long Canes in South Carolina. Their handicrafts must make them eminently useful to a country so remote from the ocean. Moravian establishments, at proper intervals, through the interior parts of the United States, must operate as nurseries for the Republican Virtues of Industry, Economy, Temperance and systematic Habits of Life.

For the GAZETTE of the UNITED STATES.

THE REPUBLICAN.—No. III.

WHATEVER effect the preceding observations may have made, the reader still believes that the provision for the public debt has increased the number of the friends and supporters of the government. There is no doubt those who hold the paper will be persuaded that their property would fall with the government. Their interest is connected with the preservation of the laws. If this be the corrupt influence which is pretended to have arisen with the funding law, no friend of the union will hesitate to avow it. For it may be demanded, what property would be safe if the government should fall? The torrent of a revolution sweeps every thing away, and our clamourers may expect to pick up something valuable adrift. Every man who has property will therefore deem it his interest, as well as his duty, to preserve the laws, which are to preserve him and his possessions. The funded stock is the most easily destroyed of a blow—but when the work of such monstrous iniquity shall begin, what right or what possession will be safe, till the rage or the avarice of the perpetrators shall be weary or fatigued?

The corrupt influence complained of by the party-writers, is therefore the influence of property. Those who have nothing, and whose principles are as light as their purses, talk of a revolution as of a holiday.

Bad impressions are not unfrequently made by neglecting to trace what we hear to its principles. We shall not on reflection allow much force to the suggestion that Congress has a secret influence that can neither be explained nor resisted. Admitting the whole tale to be true, as its inventors have told it. What is this mighty influence that operates unseen like magic? Can a few creditors govern a nation? They tell us they are few—and this is the burden of their song—for it would destroy their argument to make them very numerous. They tell us too they are imprudently ostentatious, generally worthless and odious. Their influence, according to the party writers, must therefore be very little.

How much then will these men, so few and so odious, weigh against the multitude of independent freemen?

But if these public creditors are governed by interest only, we have the means of judging how their influence will be used: their interest will lead them to preserve public order, but not to invade equal liberty. The laws protect their property. They have only to maintain the laws. They have something to preserve, but nothing to gain. If a despot therefore should arise, would he find the holders of the public debt his friends? Certainly not. The change of government would shake their funds. They of all men could compute the loss of liberty in pounds, shillings and pence. It is manifestly their interest to have the administration conducted on popular and reasonable principles: for any opposition to the laws, or even any strong symptoms of discontent, would alarm their fears and reduce the value of their stock.

The public creditors are bound to support liberty by all the duties which bind other citizens. Besides which, their property is made to depend upon its being supported. If they act a part the most purely selfish, they will oppose the oppressions of the government, and the insurrections of the multitude. They will hate confusion, but they will love equal liberty. They will keep things as they are, and resist change.

It has already been remarked, that general laws are favorable to equal liberty, by placing the rich and poor impartially on a footing. It may be added, that while such laws are maintained, great men cannot rise up to destroy republican equality.

In the eye of law, all citizens have equal rights. Carry the laws strictly into execution, and they will enjoy them with equal security. But let down the laws, and the natural distinctions among men, in point of property and knowledge, find room to operate without restraint. The citizens are no longer equal. The man who has a great plantation, and many slaves and dependents, rises high above the common level. He seizes a portion of that supreme authority which has been wrested from the laws, or more properly from the whole people. The part he thinks fit to espouse, is followed by all the district over which he reigns, as a petty king. We, in America, have known the laws so feeble, that the authority of individuals of great influence seemed to be the only means of preventing the evils of extreme anarchy. It will not be said that this influence was not frequently used, in the times alluded to, virtuously, and even in conformity with the general sense of the people. But power is often well used, but rarely laid down with good will. As the stable and equal laws of the union rose, the influence of great men, and leaders of parties declined. The people however may be said to have risen in authority with the laws. The laws of Congress treat the citizens, whether rich or poor, with equal favor. Those who are properly to be called great men, because in unsettled times they had more power than their neighbors, have seen with no small mortifica-

tion the overthrow of their personal authority. They descend, loath and murmuring, to the common level of citizens. But from that grave where their power lies buried, the troubled spirit of ambition rises and walks the earth.—Look round and apply these remarks to the fiercest antifederal leaders. Are they not real aristocrats who defend their prerogatives against the equal rights of the people, as well as against the authority of the laws? They are impatient to see the people made their equals, in consequence of the laws having become their superiors. They may, and probably they do believe what they say—but human nature and experience deserve more credit than their pretences.

If the people would maintain a republican equality, let them set a mark on those false friends who would overturn the authority of the laws. The way to govern the people against public order, is to deceive them. By conspiring to take away a part of the power from government, they are deluded with the idea of having it shared among them. Nothing is less possible to happen. The leaders would engross it all. In a very numerous single assembly, no man will pretend there is an equality of power among the individuals assembled. Assemble a nation, and all appearances of equality vanish. The most persuasive speakers divide the authority. How much power can the individuals of a nation exercise in times of anarchy without even assembling at all? It is obvious that in the supposed case all the government there might be would be of men and not of laws.

It is easy to see how men may dupe themselves in regard to the nature of the laws. They will be impatient under them, because they are equal, and therefore to them unusual. They wonder to see a government so unlike that which they have been used to govern—which they could influence to make edicts or laws to exempt real estates from execution—to interpose between them and their creditors, especially foreigners, and which in effect secured them all the powers of a genuine aristocracy.

Such men would not fail to join in the cry, that the friends of the laws are no longer republicans; and the language of their impatience and disappointed ambition, would be not unlike that of disfranchised freemen. But their clamour, it is to be hoped, will make little impression. The multitude, who are too busy to judge of a government, except by what they feel, perceive that their industry is protected and encouraged since the new order of things. Men who have leisure to reason and reflect more profoundly on the human character, will not be at a loss to discover in their true colors the selfishness and ambition of those who foment opposition to the laws.

EXTRACT.

As a careful, candid examination is necessary in order to form a right judgment, so divesting ourselves of selfish views and party prejudices is necessary for a thorough, candid examination. The eye, when filled with gravel, may as well be kept open and look steadily in order to distinguish colors, as the mind, when filled with selfish views and party prejudices, can examine impartially and distinguish truth from error. Party spirit can see but one side: it not only prevents the discerning of truth, but like wise the speaking of truth. At the present day, in this time of electioneering phrenzy, there are no doubt many party zealots on both sides, of such poor narrow souls, that they are not capable of thinking on any thing but with an eye to their particular favorites. Party prejudice involves the minds of men in mists of error, and pours forth floods of calumny; in an instant it changes men's characters. We see it to be the case that men who nine months ago were thought so wise and good that their opinions were made a standard, are now called wicked and designing, or else the tools of party."

ANECDOTE.

From Vol. II. of Miss H. M. Williams' Letters from France, just published.

PARIS affords our Authors a abundant scope for observation and anecdote. Of that equality which now exists in France, there cannot be a more pleasant specimen than this:

A Gentleman, formerly one of the *Garde du Corps*, and who very narrowly escaped from the fury of the people on the 6th of October, 1789, came a few days ago to Paris, and immediately sent for a hair dresser. The officer, while he was dressing, told the man that he thought he remembered his face. "Yes, Sir," said the hair dresser, "and I recollect you perfectly—you were in the *Garde du Corps*; I saw you on the 6th of October." "Faith," said the officer, "I escaped very narrowly; I was very near being hanged."—"Yes, indeed Sir," replied the hair-dresser, "and I held the cord!"