

# Gazette of the United States.

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WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1792.

[Whole No. 374.]

For the GAZETTE of the UNITED STATES.

**A** PUBLICATION upon the ensuing election of Vice-President of the United States, under the signature of LUCIUS, has appeared in the public papers. The writer introduces the subject with some remarks upon the importance of the office and the necessity of filling it with a person of competent qualification; The only competitors whose merits he investigates and between whom he supposes the decision rests, are John Adams, Esq. and Governor Clinton; he declines a view of the positive merits of the respective candidates, and inquires only against whom there are the fewest exceptions; these he reduces to a single head, against each—To Mr. Adams, the presumption of his attachment to a government by King, Lords and Commons; To Governor Clinton, his opposition to the constitution of the United States.—The former he conceives to be a serious objection and to remain in its full force; the latter he concludes is done away by the amendments, and is at any rate the least weighty of the two. After magnifying the one and diminishing the other, agreeable to his wishes, he concludes as if his premises were fully established, that if the United States wish to preserve their government as in its present form elective and limited in its powers they cannot hesitate to decide in favor of Governor Clinton. This I take to be a fair statement of the publication in question. The mode he has adopted of ascertaining the merits of the competitors is singular; instead of contrasting their talents and characters, he takes a negative view of them and gives him the preference against whom least is objected.

This mode of investigation is perhaps the least certain of any that could have been devised—It was long since observed that scandal is a tax in which man pays for his reputation; an uniform system of principles and conduct generally invites the reproaches of malice and envy; and a man's talents and independence of character often expose their subjects to obloquy and detraction. I shall at present however wave a development of their characters and a comparison of their merits, and confine myself to what Lucius has advanced.

To corroborate the objection against Mr. Adams he observes, "that his writings entitled a defence of the American Constitution and disproofs of the British democracy." Several that an Ambassador from the United States, of the first improvement and best acquainted with the nature of their constitutions, should write a book expressly in their defence and vary so much from his object as to produce an eulogium on a government of King Lords and Commons. Does this comport with the principles of common sense? Surely Lucius must have very defective optics or his vision would be more perfect.—I can recommend him to a certain character whose skill might be of service to him in a second prospect; but I apprehend there is a weakness otherwise than in his eyes, and beyond the reach of medicine, or perhaps he claims in politics what a certain sect claims in religion—the interpretation of texts by a certain light within, to which no other can have access or of course form a competent judgment. But the gentleman observes, that "if it could be supposed that doubts existed upon this point, extracts from those publications should be furnished;" and extracts only can be furnished for this purpose. How partial, how ungenerous a way of judging of ones sentiments, to select a few detached sentences from different parts of his works, and marshal them in array in defence of a doctrine which the author abhors. What cannot be proved from this mode of scrutiny? any sentiment whatever may be palmed upon an author at this rate.

It is the part of a candid critic to judge of a work in the aggregate when he hazards a general opinion of a writer; and the same rule will hold in judging of the sentiments of an author as in estimating the merit of his work.

The injustice of the construction put upon the writings of Mr. Adams will be evident to all who peruse them; the character of the author and the professed design of his works may have some influence with others. Mr. Adams was a native of the United States and warmly attached to the interests of his country; of irreproachable moral character; a strenuous advocate for the equal rights of men and among the first in disclaiming the pretensions of the British Parliament. He was a delegate to the first continental Congress and by his enlightened reason and unaffected zeal contributed much to disappoint the designs of our enemies and to increase the number and consequence of our friends. He was afterwards ambassador from the United States to different powers in Europe.—While there, his conduct was such as ensured him the affections of his acquaintance as a man, and their esteem and respect as a public officer. The professed design of his writings was to combat the idea of concentrating the whole power of a State in a single House of Representatives; this had been made an objection to the constitutions of the American States; Our author undertook their defence, and proposed to shew that a balance in the distribution of the power of any State is essential to good government; to obtain this balance he alleges that the plan upon which the greater part of the constitutions of the United States are formed, is more eligible than any which has hitherto been devised; to illustrate this he exhibits the various governments in which the principles of liberty have been in any measure

recognized, with a particular view of their construction; in which performance there is more literature and political knowledge than in any work which had then been published in this country—the result of his researches is conformable to his design, and every rational and candid examiner will acknowledge it.—Shall this be made an objection to his re-election to the Vice-Presidency? So far from it, that in my opinion the United States are indebted to him for this as well as his other labors. I am not at present disposed to say much upon Gov. Clintons competency to the office. Whoever contrasts the two characters, either as men and citizens, patriots, politicians, or men of talents and information—must differ very widely from me in judgment, or decide in favor of Mr. Adams. As to the performance of Lucius—it bears the genuine marks of its origin; it appears to be the effusion of party spirit intended to embarrass the election by creating a diversion in favor of Governor Clinton.

Beware my countrymen of those temporizing politicians, who under pretence of advancing your interest are seeking their own consequence; do not distrust those of your fellow-citizens whose virtue you have experienced and of whose talents you are sufficiently apprized. Though Lucius, like his predecessor among the Romans sacrifice the principles of honor to the gratification of his ambition—like him I trust he will be disappointed in his designs, and should he prosecute them the same length meet a similar fate.

ANTONIUS.

From The AMERICAN DAILY ADVERTISER.

### PRO AND CON.

Arguments against the Re-election of Mr. ADAMS.

First. **T**HE federal constitution, and the spirit of the people, are republican. Mr. Adams is for a government of king, lords, and commons.

Second. Since the constitution was adopted, since his election and oath to support it, his writings have laboriously endeavored to disgust his constituents with republican government, and prepare their minds for a government of king, lords, and commons.

Third. In his latest writings he has declared his attachment to a well ordered government, by which the whole scope of his writings, since he visited the courts of Europe, shews, that he means a government of king, lords, and commons.

These objections, more particularly at the present juncture, when the spirit of monarchy is every where waging open or secret war on the spirit of freedom, must sink deep in the mind of every true American. That they are founded in truth is well known to all who have read the several publications of Mr. Adams, on the subject of government. The quotations from these works, in the excellent pieces signed *Lucius*, have demonstrated, from Mr. Adams's own mouth, that he is a decided adversary to republican government; and if the constitution is to be deemed the criterion of federalism, that he is more of a real operative antifederalist, than any citizen of the United States, out of the party attached to the same monarchical tenets.

Arguments for the Re-election of Mr. ADAMS.

First. The name of Adams has been subscribed, along with the name of Washington, to the laws of the union—a circumstance of more real weight with an enlightened people, than any little difference between the republican principles of the one, and the monarchical principles of the other.

Second. If he is not re-elected, it may be owing partly to votes in Virginia, who, having the good fortune to furnish the citizen elected by all the states for the President, ought to have no voice in the election of a citizen of some other state for Vice-President.

Third. If he is not re-elected, it may be owing partly also to the votes of North-Carolina and South-Carolina. Now it has been very clearly, as well as very kindly shewn, by the best friends to the dignity and magnanimity of those states, that they ought to vote against their own republican principles; lest they should be falsely and impudently taxed with conforming to the opinions of other states.

Fourth. If he is not re-elected, it will betray what every man, who considers the federal constitution as a promising essay towards a higher government, ought most carefully to smother; namely, that the people are in their hearts attached to free republican government, and cannot be brought, by any art or management whatever, to give a direct or indirect countenance to the slavish principles of monarchy and aristocracy.

These arguments, in favor of Mr. Adams, are deduced from several late strictures in the newspapers, and particularly from a very curious publication signed *Marcus*. They will doubtless have all the influence they merit, on the suffrages which are to decide the competition for the Vice-Presidency of the United States.

MUTIUS.

For the GAZETTE of the UNITED STATES.

### NOTA BENE.

**A** PUBLIC debt corrupts the people, and therefore it should not be suffered in a republic. This has been proved by certain newspaper writers, and is daily proving in conversation. But this corrupting influence began only when the debt began to have credit. Had the new Congress have let the debt alone as the old Congress did, because they had no funds, in a few years it would have let us alone—we should have had no trouble, and be at this moment out of all danger of being spoiled and corrupted by a public debt. The virtue and purity of a government that should thus have purged off this great mass of foul matter, would never hereafter prove the worse for temptation, nor the worse for the wear. The conduct of several of the states had furnished the new Congress an useful lesson—yet the teaching, even of experience, has been lost upon that body. While the states kept this giant vice of a public debt under the conquering foot of the law, the certificates did no more harm than to many chips. Was such a thing as speculation known at that time? Did any man buy certificates till the debt was put in train of being provided for by Congress? Some persons pretend that Congress is not to be accused of causing speculation, as they say the temptation to buy was greatest when paper was at the cheapest, and in that state the price of paper was the most subject to fluctuation. This, however, cannot be true—for the cry against speculators, it is well known, began with the funding act. No clamor was raised against the states for leaving the debt unprovided for, subject to be purchased up by foreigners—the mystery arising from the nature and number of the certificates, was not remarked, nor the frequent shuffling of the laws making the notes payable for land or taxes. The Secretary perceiving there were 60 or 80 sorts of paper, proposed to have them funded and reduced to three only—the six per cent. three per cent. and deferred stock. Who cannot see in this a scheme to puzzle buyers and sellers? Then speculators crept out of their holes, because the darkness favored them, and watched for prey. The state laws, it is to be observed, were so few, so plain, and so unchangeable, that the holders of notes, the widows and orphans, like sheep in a fold, were secure from the rapacious wolf. But the funding law has broke down the fence, confusion has entered, the widows and orphans are eat up, the patience of the newspaper patriots is gone, and the republican virtue of our country is going as fast as its lame and decrepit condition will permit.—*Hinc illa lacryma!*—Let the halcyon days of state power and state simplicity come again, and come quickly, before our money is all gone, and the work of corruption quite accomplished.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 28.

On Monday the 19th inst. the following Memorial was read in Congress.

To the President, Senate, and House of Representatives of the United States.

The Address of the People called Quakers.

**I**T is the exhortation of the Apostle Paul, that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving thanks, be made for all men; for kings and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty, for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour; conformable whereto, our minds have been brought into a religious concern, that the rulers of this land may pursue such measures as may tend to the promotion of the peace and happiness of the people.

We are sensible that the Lord's judgements are in our land, and being deeply affected with the distressed situation of the frontier inhabitants, we desire a solid and careful inquiry may be made into the cause; and are firmly persuaded that if the Counsel and Direction of the Holy Spirit is waited for and followed, the divine blessing will crown the labors of those who uprightly engage in the work of peace.

The disposition which has appeared in the government to promote pacific measures with the Indians, hath we believe been generally acceptable; and as it is consistent with our religious principles, so it has been our uniform care to admonish and caution our members against settling on lands which have not been fairly purchased of the original owners; and as far as our influence extends, we mean to maintain this our ancient testimony inviolate, which from experience has been found effectual to the preservation of peace with the natives, who, with great hospitality, cherished and assisted our forefathers in their early settlement of this country.

We feel cautious not to move out of our proper line, but being interested in the welfare of this country, and convinced of the expedience of further endeavors being used to encourage the Indians to come forward with

a full representation and statement of their grievances, and that every just cause of uneasiness in their minds may be fully investigated and removed: we apprehend it our duty again to address you on this affecting and important occasion; under a belief that nothing short of strict justice will ever be a basis of solid and lasting peace.

We respectfully submit these things to your serious consideration; earnestly desiring that through the influence of divine wisdom on your councils, you may be made instrumental to prevent the further effusion of human blood, and that the inhabitants may long enjoy the blessing of a righteous government.

Signed in and on behalf of a meeting appointed to represent our religious society in Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, Delaware, and part of Maryland and Virginia, held in Philadelphia the 17th day of the 11th month, 1792.

[Here follows a respectable list of names.]

### Foreign Affairs.

LONDON, September 16—23.

A gentleman who left Paris on Wednesday week, assures us that the terrible accounts detailed in the London papers of the dreadful cruelties transacted in that unfortunate capital, so far from being exaggerated, come very short of the truth. That 6000 people were absolutely murdered by one pretended jury of twelve, sitting in one of the prisons. That three large waggons were employed without intermission for six and thirty hours, in carrying the dead bodies out of Paris, and throwing them promiscuously into a pit dug for the purpose. The stench caused by the putrefaction of the heads and limbs scattered through the streets, was become intolerable; and plague, pestilence, and famine seemed talking on with tremendous strides to put an end to those persons whom fire and sword have hitherto spared.

In Paris, the women as usual, are among the most ardent in the display of patriotic actions. From five hundred to a thousand work during the whole day, in public places, for the army. This service is entirely voluntary, and they pursue it with steadiness, which even the frequent applauses of the populace do not divert. The wives of many respectable persons are thus employed.

During the massacre on Monday last night in Paris, an old man was brought into the hall, where a sort of tribunal was held in one of the prisons, accompanied by a young lady who had not quitted him for eight days. The man, who officiated as judge, upon seeing him, said to the people, "Innocent or guilty, it will be unworthy of us to sully our hands with the blood of this old man." A cry of "Grace, Grace," immediately arose: his young attendant fell upon his bosom, and they were carried home in the arms of the populace.

At present it is a very dubious point, whether all the blood that has been shed by many succeeding generations to unsettle the mind, has not been spilt in vain; and the success of a criminal project, whose extent infinitely surpasses what most people imagine, will not plunge the next century into the stupid superstition and odious tyranny of the feudal ages.

The Austrians, since their possession of the camp at Maulde, commit the utmost ravages in the neighborhood of Orchies and St. Amand. On the other hand, the Postmaster of St. Amand, having been discovered in a treacherous correspondence with them, has been cut to pieces, and his head was carried round the town.

Extra of a letter from Lewes, September 17.

"Upwards of 500 unfortunate emigrants were last week landed on our coast, who have had the fury of the elements to contend with, after escaping that of their countrymen. The Brighton packets, heavily laden with them, were driven by the winds far eastward of their usual track, and with difficulty made Hastings, Prevensy, and Eastbourne. At the former place on Wednesday morning 76, all Ecclesiastics, came on shore, among whom were, the bishop of Avranches, the dean of Rouen, and several other dignitaries. The bishop, with great difficulty, escaped from Avranches by the assistance of one of his grand vicars, who, with one of his domestics, accompanied him to Rouen, where they were for some days concealed. The populace however having discovered them, they were again obliged to fly. They travelled on foot in disguise to Dieppe, at which place they arrived in the night, and took refuge a few hours in an hotel. From thence, at the time appointed for the departure of the packet, they ran to the sea side, and as it was, provisionally for them, high water, they were enabled to put off, and instantly got out of the reach of the rabble, who in one minute afterwards pursued them to the shore. The bishop and his grand vicar were hospitably received at Hastings by the Rev. Mr. Whitear, who entertained them till Saturday, when they left that place, for London."