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FROM THE AMERICAN DAILY ADVERTISER.

VINDICATION OF MR. JEFFERSON.  
No. IV.  
Continued from the Gazette of the 13th ult.

A DISREGARD for the public credit, or to use terms more correspondent with the idea of the writer, a desire to extirpate it, is the remaining article, in the list of charges which have been brought forward by the American against Mr. Jefferson. In the notice I first took of these allegations, this had escaped me. It shall however now receive the attention to which it is entitled.

To support this charge, a paragraph stated to be an extract from one of his letters to the former Congress, containing some communication relative to a proposed transfer of the French debt, to a company of Dutch merchants, has been submitted to the public view. Upon this single document it has been rested, and upon this of course must the demonstration depend.

The extract in question has been represented to be as follows. "If there is a danger of the public payments not being punctual, I submit whether it may not be better that the disbursements which would then arise, should be transferred from a court of whole good offices we have so much need, to the breasts of a private company." By this Mr. Jefferson is exhibited, if not as the author of this proposition, yet as submitting it singly to their consideration, and pressing its adoption by Congress. And from the manner of the publication, and his comments on it, the honor and credit of the writer become pledged, not only for its truth and accuracy but likewise for its impartiality, in presenting before the public, a full and candid statement of whatever was necessary to enable them to form a just estimate of its merit.

To exculpate him from this dishonorable imputation, even the extract furnished, false and deceptive as it is, upon a sound construction, would have been sufficient. The sole question it involves is, whether the Congress would consent that the French debt should be assigned to a company of private merchants; whether they would agree, to pay the latter at the same time, and under the same conditions, precisely the same sum we owed the former. If Mr. Jefferson had advocated this idea, wherein does the turpitude consist? Debts between individuals have this property, and assignments of them are daily supported in the courts of law and equity. Those from the public to individuals likewise have it: indeed the greater part, perhaps by this time the whole, of the American debt has undergone this process. Upon what principle then refuse it to that due to France? Does morality distinguish between the cases? Or were the claims of that magnanimous nation, for past advances, and at a period of great distress, less to be regarded? or those, who were to profit by the transaction, less the favorites of our government, than others who have since infested its seat, and preyed upon individuals.

But the vindication of Mr. Jefferson against this charge does not rest upon the above principle. The contents of his letter, even in the extract published, have been shamefully misrepresented; other parts, absolutely necessary for the full comprehension of it suppressed; and the proposition

which he discountenanced, imposed on him as his own. I have lately seen an extract, in possession of a gentleman, who was at that time a member of the Congress, and whose authenticity cannot be questioned, which verifies what I have here advanced. The only proposition which he made to Congress, was to borrow the money in Holland, and discharge the French debt. This alone was his wish. With respect to the project of the transfer he was only the vehicle of communication, and at the particular request of the agent of the company; hazarding transiently only, in presenting it to the view of that body, an idea which occurred, and which must have occurred to any other person, that it might be better to have for creditors, those from whom no friendly offices had been received, than a powerful nation who had already conferred, and from whom we might hereafter have occasion to solicit, the most important services.

Mr. Jefferson never sought to injure France: that court, and the whole nation would exculpate him from the charge. And the imputation of intending any deception on the mercantile company, is equally false and groundless. By them the contract was solicited of France; and for the deposit of twenty millions of livres, they were to have become entitled to twenty-four, making thereby a clear gain of four millions, with the high rate of interest stipulated by the loan. Our assent was only desired for its consummation. Is it to be presumed that this company were ignorant of the actual state of the debt or of our ability to pay it? and was it in such event his duty to interfere, in derogation of the character of his country, to warn them of the danger of our probable failure?

The person who published the mutilated extract possesses I presume the true one. The whole was deposited in the quarter from whence it is believed to have been taken. I now therefore call upon him to produce the entire paragraph in his defence. In contempt of official duties, as heretofore suggested and not denied, the veil of secrecy has been torn from it. Whatever detriment, if any, could be sustained from the exposure of a confidential paper, has been already rendered. It only remains by the publication of the truth, to fix the stigma on him who deserves it. Let this likewise proceed from the same party thus notably distinguished, in gratification of private revenge, for the pernicious example of a gross violation of the duties of a public trust, and a glaring outrage on the delicacy of a foreign correspondence.

The visionary danger which threatens in the minds of some men, the public credit, has long been a theme for copious declamation. An enquiry into any proposition, sanctioned by a certain party, however unconnected with it, has been represented as seeking its destruction; and those who conduct it, though otherwise preeminently distinguished for their talents, their patriotism, their public and private virtues, as having this object solely in view. Much labor and ingenuity have also been bestowed in an effort to impress the public creditors with a belief that on the success of this enterprising faction, in all its measures, their safety depends. Can these arts long bewilder the public mind, and divert it from the true object of enquiry? Can any person who dispassionately contemplates the obvious tendency of measures, with the known and avowed principles of those who espouse them, doubt that the end to which they are intended to be made subservient, far surpasses the honest boundary of a strict fulfillment of the public faith?

DESCRIPTION OF THE THEATRE AT TURIN.

THE form is that of an egg, cut across. There are six rows of boxes, which are narrow in front, but very commodious, and hold eight persons each. The king's box is in the second row, and fronts the stage; it is 30 feet wide, Paris measure, and the back front is covered with looking glasses, which reflects the stage so, that those who happen to have their backs turned to the actors, being either conversing or at play, may see the performance in a mirror. These glasses form a partition, which may be moved whenever they choose to enlarge the box, there being a room behind. The very great breadth of the stage produces a most noble effect. The proscenium measures forty-five Paris feet. The depth of the stage one hundred and five, beyond which they can have a paved court of 24 feet. A gentle rise is contrived at the sides, by which may be introduced triumphal cars for great processions, horses, &c. They can also throw a draw-bridge across when the scene requires it, and have a contrivance for letting in water, so as to produce a jet d'eau of thirty feet high. Sixty horses at a time have been bro't on the stage, and have manœuvred with ease in representation of battles, &c. The orchestra is so curiously constructed, as, by having a place left underneath, which is concave and semicircular, to augment the sound of the instruments very considerable.

FROM THE CONNECTICUT COURANT.

IF any government has a right to be obeyed it is a republican government; the people only obey themselves—each individual submits to the whole society. It is not doing sufficient justice to republicanism to say that the people submit to authority, they in fact exercise it, they rule their rulers. In a thousand forms, in practice as well as in theory, a republican nation is the real sovereign; Americans have bled to establish this truth, and now shall they deny it? The world has profited by the lessons which have cost us so dear, and more than one great nation is now reducing them to practice, shall we, in spite of our own experience and applause, which encourage us to proceed, tread backward and lose our rank among freemen? We are led by the extraordinary nature of the resolutions of certain persons in the back counties of Pennsylvania, to ask whether in our country these truly republican principles have lost their authority? Whether like ingenious sophisms which are the fashion of one age and out of vogue in the next, they are to be admired in books and rejected in the administration of public affairs? But the people of America know, and it is a truth written with their blood, that their freedom consists in their being governed by laws of their own enacting. It is a solemn truth, and to be practised, or law and equal right, and liberty would lose half their value by losing all their obligation.—What then shall we say to the resolutions? They affect to abhor an excise law; in this possibly they may be sincere, and those will most readily believe they are so, who suppose they equally abhor all law but their own will, and all government but their own passions. It may not be a hard or difficult task for a few artful men in a country where few ministers of the gospel are to be found, and few if any schools are kept, to persuade the uninformed that an excise or any other law is unfriendly to their liberties. Any law is unfriendly to the wild liberty of an individual; but civil liberty cannot subsist an hour without law—the liberty a stronger man than I has to knock me on the head must be restrained, or I can enjoy no liberty. We think the people of the New-England States do not love liberty less than the settlers in the back parts of Pennsylvania; yet they have been long used to an excise, and submit to it cheerfully, as they see the Treasury of the United States filled with the monies arising from the duties on their distilleries. Direct taxes are by this means avoided, and the farmer is left to pursue his important calling without interruption. But are the frontiers of Pennsylvania to be defended by committees of correspondence created for the express purpose of opposing the laws? Are they to be exempt from the very taxes which cause the stream of public money to continue to flow into that country who will not pay a farthing

to the United States? Is all the burthen to be borne by those who obey the law? What doth it signify that laws are made by representatives equally chosen, and on principles of equal justice, if they are not equally enforced? Surely if any are to be treated with partial favor it should not be the breakers of the public peace; it should not be those who conspire against law and liberty. They pretend to dread the arbitrary nature of an excise act. Who believes those understand well what liberty is who practice it so illy? What is to be the effect of these combinations—these county meetings? Are they ready to resist the will of the people expressed in the law of the land, or shall their resistance controul the government? In a word, shall the people of the United States be governed by the four western counties of Pennsylvania? or, shall those counties be governed by the people of the United States? The excise law might perhaps be wanting in many provisions to secure its due execution; but it has never been shown (and is hardly pretended) to have any thing in it more dangerous to liberty than the impost act; yet the merchants who submit to the latter, have shewn themselves eminently attached to liberty and good government. The excise law ever had many prejudices to contend against—allowances ought to be made for the first unfavorable impressions on men not much accustomed to law—such allowances were the more proper to be made, as men were not wanting who made it a business to blow up the minds of the people against the excise. Every body knows how restless and unprincipled men get power and influence, in turbulent times—for that end they seize every occasion to make the times turbulent. All these allowances have been made for the oppressors of the law—time has been allowed for their passions to subside, and their prejudices to wear out; their outrages have been winked at, and in condescension to them the law has been revised, and almost every exceptionable or obnoxious part, as far as could consist with the execution of it, has been modified. The increased and increasing expence of an Indian war which carries the solid wealth of the other parts of the United States into the wilderness, seemed to be sufficient to silence those who are so directly interested; but we behold with regret and surprise that a plan of opposition to the law has been matured into a system. A meeting of private persons assumes for the back counties of Pennsylvania, the authority of a public body. Any man who shall be so lost to a sense of right and wrong as to accept of a commission from the President of the United States to execute this law, is to be cut off from society. Like Cain, he is to become an outcast, and every man's hand is to be raised against him. What doth all this mean? the will of part of the people of a small part of Pennsylvania, is opposed to the will of the United States, that is to their law—and they let us know that their force also is opposed to that of the nation. Either this open resistance to lawful authority is to remain or to be suppressed. If it remain, then the law must be repealed, for it would be monstrous to collect taxes from those who are willing to pay, and to excuse those who defy the power of the Union, and dare you to enforce the laws. If the laws be repealed what shall be substituted? such a law as a few individuals will be pleased of their own free will to obey, or must we do as we can without any law of the kind? What law for collecting an internal revenue would be submitted to by men who pursue measures subversive of all law and order, it is not easy to conjecture. Would they not tar and feather a collector of a land or poll tax? The produce of their farms is not to be touched—Is this not saying government shall exempt our persons and property from taxes, and they are welcome to what they can get otherwise. It is a farce to conjecture what revenue law will suit them—Is it possible to repeal the law in question consistent with the public good? The money raised by it, now, must be then sought for in some other way—the impost is already great; will the farmers of America now freed from land taxes, and as it were restored to the use of their hands, submit to have them tied again, and a second time take the millstone of direct taxation about their necks, because the frontier people of Pennsylvania dislike the present mode of raising money? If no money ought under present circumstances to be obtained by dry taxes, and no more ought to be raised by impost, what other proper and adequate revenue is to be established? none is suggested. Shall the laws of the United States be opposed, and in effect set aside and repealed in the corner of one State? Perhaps they will suffer others to pay, and may hope money will thus be obtained for public exigencies. It concerns the dignity of a republican to shew that the law is really supreme. The disobedience of the minority is a wrong done the majority—Burdens are made unequal. The constitution of the United States and the laws of Congress have made provision for executing the lawful authority, and they are no more than a dead letter if it be not done. A tardy support of the law is a surrender of it. It can only embolden the opposers—it will aggravate the malady which must be destroyed or it will destroy.

\* This writer in answer to a very sensible and well written piece under the signature of ARISTIDES has confessed that the first statement made by him with so much confidence, was inaccurate; but even here he still states it in a point of view which justifies the remark I have made.