

From the AMERICAN DAILY ADVERTISER.

No. VI.

VINDICATION OF MR. JEFFERSON.

I DID not expect, after my last paper, that the public would have been longer wearied, at least upon the same terms, with a continuation of those invectives which have for some time past been issued, through the Gazette of the United States, from a writer under the signature of Catullus. I thought I had placed the point in controversy between us in such a light, as must compel him to bring it immediately to a close. But this writer has disappointed my reasonable expectations, in this respect, by shewing that he was capable not only of a malignant aspersions, of the character in question, but likewise of a shameless effrontery in the mode of conducting the discussion.

The impartial public will however take into view, on each side the object of this controversy. They will mark its commencement, and its several stages; the nature of the charges exhibited and of their support, together with the present dilemma of the writer. They will likewise pardon the trouble I shall give them, in pursuing him through every shift. A strict analysis of his performance may perhaps render some service, otherwise than by the mere exculpation of the citizen assailed. The merits of the assailant are now likewise before them, and of which it may tend eventually to fix a more precise estimate, than has heretofore been furnished.

Whether it would be prudent for the author of Catullus to give his name to the public, and take on himself the credit of those performances, which bear that signature, he alone should decide. He possesses the right to act in this respect as he pleases, and no person can deprive him of it. There is a difference between a suspicion and the confession of guilt, which every culprit may avail himself of. To submit to the judgment of his peers, after the charge shall be fairly established against him, by evidence he has endeavored to repel, is all that can be required from even the most profligate of men.

Yet if truth had been the sole object in view, in the immediate point of discussion between us, I was, and still am persuaded, I had placed it within the reach of fair and easy attainment. And the mode suggested in my last seemed to be proper, as it might respect either the putative or any other author of those pieces. Were the public interested in the charges exhibited against the Secretary of State, supposing they contained in them any thing culpable? If they were not, why trouble them with what, in that view, must be deemed the effect of a mere personal animosity? And if they were, will it be honorable for the author, when his facts are denied, his veracity questioned, and a fair mode of investigation pointed out, to crouch behind a mask, and deny himself to any one, even the most humble of his fellow-citizens? All that can be deemed necessary for the establishment of truth is, that some person, in whom the public can confide, should be announced, that he might accompany the author, whether Mr. Hamilton, or any other person, to the proper source, for the purpose of obtaining from it an authentic copy of the original. Would the grade or station of the character thus notified, be it what it might, encrease or diminish the confidence of the public in the result, provided it were suitable in other respects? and in the situation of the author, asserting at one time one thing, and at another yielding it up, perpetually shifting his ground and owning himself guilty of palpable inaccuracy, and of course of misrepresentation, might it not rather have been expected, he would have caught with avidity at the opportunity furnished, of establishing what was in reality the truth, as the means of preserving in some degree the appearance of candor with the public?

And will the author of these pieces leave us in suspense, upon the important concerns of his veracity and fame, until they shall have gained the attention of the character, at whom they have been principally pointed? Would it be proper for the Secretary of State, to lay bare the files of his department, and publish a secret document even in his own defence? For although perhaps of but little importance in the present instance, circumstanced as things now are, yet in relation to those rules, which should be observed in the government of a public office, might it not subject him to the imputation urged with such propriety against the Secretary of the Treasury, in case these publications have proceeded from him? Can no other mode then be devised that might tend to relieve him from this painful embarrassment? I can suggest none; perhaps his own ingenuity may be more fertile; but to me it appears probable that unless this delicacy with respect to rank should be dispensed with, his situation must continue to be an unpleasant one. The mind of man is naturally active, and disposed to pursue its object; it will form some conclusion relative to this attack and its author. To the claims of fair and honorable indulgence it will yield its prompt and ready assent; but when charges are exhibited against the character of a respectable citizen, facts asserted which are not supported, and the obvious means of proof when pointed out shrunk from, upon a mere point of etiquette, fashionable as is the age in which we live, they must recoil with accumulated force upon the assailant. I have I presume, shewn in a former paper that upon any statement yet given, if its true import only were regarded, there was in reality no

impropriety in the sentiment ascribed to Mr. Jefferson. Let it be admitted, for the sake of argument, that he advised Congress upon the prospect of the failure of punctuality, in the payments, to agree to the transfer of the debt from the French court, to the Dutch company; that he even originated the proposition, and presented it to their view, without an alternative, wherein was the impropriety? Is a nation inhibited by any principle of morality, from borrowing money for the most necessary purposes, in case there is a possibility of failing in the repayment, precisely at the time stipulated? If this were the case, how can the original loans, of the whole foreign debt from France and Holland, be justified? The prospect of ultimate reimbursement, whilst the issue of the contest, and our independence were at stake, was certainly more distant and equivocal, than after that happy event was accomplished, and the whole resources of one of the most extensive, fertile and productive countries in the world, under our command. Yet although doubts may have existed whether, under those circumstances any person would lend, I believe no one ever hesitated, whether if we could, we would borrow. How can the practice of our own government in borrowing money in Holland, from one set of men to pay the interest becoming due to another at the very period of this letter be justified? In short I take it to be well established, that if there be a moral competency, at the time a proposition for a loan is made, for fulfilling the proposed stipulations, there cannot be any impropriety in the measure. The turpitude consists in not doing afterwards what we have it in our power to do. Did Mr. Jefferson give any admonition to his countrymen to this effect? Did he advise them not to pay the debt, or to relax in any degree, in their efforts, for that purpose?

In fact, a change of the debt in some shape or other, either by the negotiation of the French court, or the Congress, with money-lenders in Holland, seemed to be the necessary consequence of the relative situation and interests of the several parties. France was distressed for money. Nearly exhausted by a laborious effort, in favor of our independence, and daily impoverished by an expensive court and profligate minister, the grasped with avidity at every resource, however trifling, to support her declining credit. Our debt was becoming due by large instalments. To indulge us was beyond her power; to have claimed it, would have stained our national character with ingratitude. On the other hand, we were at the time unable to pay. Our requisitions were slighted—our government was feeble and without resource. But we possessed beyond a doubt, under wise arrangements, the means of fulfilling more extensive engagements, and the sage and deliberate councils of our country, were rapidly maturing that important change in our system, which must give us the command of those resources. Holland, therefore, in this situation, became the object of both parties. To the exigencies of France she could yield relief; to us she could give time. Was it not then natural, we should look to that quarter, for the means of satisfying our ally, and relieving us from embarrassment?

In the proposition for a new arrangement with another party, the door would be open for stipulations in every respect more suitable to us. The reimbursement of the principal, which was becoming due by great instalments to France, was the true cause which endangered our punctuality. With the Dutch, this inconvenience might be guarded against. To protract the repayment to a distant day, has been heretofore as desirable to them as eligible for us. And that this was the object contemplated by Mr. Jefferson, no reasonable man can doubt. In this point of view, his conduct was not only strictly proper, but highly laudable; and nothing but the most fallacious statement could throw the smallest shadow of doubt on it.—This has been attempted in the instance before us, by suppressing the essential difference between the time, at which the old debt was, and that at which the new debt might be made payable; and like every other attempt dictated by the motives which govern Catullus, must recoil on the author.

To me it has appeared perfectly immaterial, which of the expedients was that of Mr. Jefferson—for I can conceive no possible impropriety in either; nothing but what was warranted by the most delicate sentiment of honor, and the practice of our government, from the declaration of independence to the present day. Upon principle, therefore, I should not have noticed a difference. I did it for the sake of truth, and to shew, that whilst he wished the accommodation of his own country, it was in a manner that might do justice, and evince our gratitude to the French nation. I did it likewise, for the purpose of shewing the fallacy of the writer, and his eagerness to wound that gentleman's fame, by every plausible misrepresentation in his power. Upon the whole, therefore, I must consider this, as one of the most illiberal and contemptible efforts, to injure the character of a respectable citizen, that has occurred. That the ground has been in every respect the most trifling and frivolous that could be, and that nothing but a great deal of malice against principles, as well as the person entertaining them, could have given birth to it; unless Catullus shall demonstrate that malice cannot exist in the same mind against both, at the same time. I shall conclude this paper by observing, how much it is to be wished, this writer would exhibit himself to the public view, that we might behold in him a living monument of that immaculate purity, to which he pretends, and which ought to distinguish so bold and arrogant a censor of others.

For the GAZETTE of the UNITED STATES.

MR. FERRO,

WE have seen in a late paper, under the conspicuous article of COMMUNICATIONS, some general remarks which appear designed by their author to excite suspicion in the minds of the people, with regard to their servants acting under the general government. Such

vague insinuations are not likely to answer any valuable purpose, and evidently proceed from the painful passion of envy, that rankles in the mind of him who is grieved at the success of certain public measures, and the well-earned fame of those who planned them. If this mighty honest patriot knows of any abuses committed by the servants of the public, why does he not point them out, and speak in language that can be understood?

Generally speaking, the number of reformers for each of the states, is about equal to those who wish to get into places of public trust; and in order to effect their purpose, they set themselves up as the organs of the people. Your writer appears to be of this class, and whatever his pretensions may be to the contrary, he has discovered himself to be no great friend to the government or to the union, by the following sentence—"A delegate three or four, or seven or eight hundred miles off, at a place seldom visited by an acquaintance, scarcely ever by a rival, escapes much of the responsibility felt by members of a local legislature."

From the nature of the union, and the real or supposed separate state interests, there is little reason to fear that the movements of the general government will not be carefully watched; and it is not probable that the vigilance so much recommended, is likely to be changed into supineness.

We shall not be displeased if the members of the legislature of the United States will watch one another; and the organization of the Treasury Department is known to excel any thing of the kind in the individual states, with respect to guards and checks on the conduct of the persons immediately concerned.

It is believed that the people have much more to fear from mal-administration in the state, than in the national government; but our busy politicians are so much engaged in taking care of the latter, that they appear to neglect the former.

These gentlemen are constantly finding fault with the provision made for the public debt; notwithstanding every state had a funding system under the old confederation, that taken together, cost the people double the expense of the present one. They endeavor to make us believe they speak the sentiments of the people; but the fact is otherwise, and there is reason to believe that such men have no just ideas of credit, either public or private.

The National Bank is also a terrible eye-sore, and is to destroy every thing; yet if we may judge of the opinions of the people from the acts of their legislatures, the business of banking does not appear unpopular, but directly the contrary; for almost every state in the union has authorized such establishments.

How the public "gave away four millions" that is said to have been made by the bank subscription, and which it is acknowledged they never possessed, is a matter that requires explanation.—Your's,  
AN ENEMY TO MOONSHINE POLITICIANS.

Foreign Affairs.

R O M E, September 20.

IN this place the friends of the French are more numerous than you can imagine, and the people want nothing but a leader to crush the Papal authority, and rescue themselves from superstition and oppression.

Four thousand men were last week raised, and ordered to the banks of the Tyber. They desired to know for what purpose they were embodied, but their requisition was denied. However, having come to the knowledge that they were to embark for the purpose of assisting the Austrians to fight against the liberties of France, those Citizen Soldiers to a man laid down their arms, and sold their regimentals to the Jews.

The statue of St. Peter, in St. Peter's church has been stripped of its gorgeous and costly apparel, in which the Saint is annually dressed, in compliment to the birth day of his Holiness the Pope. He now appears in deep mourning, lamenting the misfortunes of Louis!—The Pope and his Cardinals have put on sackcloth and ashes, and the statue of Pasquin is covered daily with satirical poems against his Holiness and his friends, which in days of yore would have been by the ignorant pronounced—blasphemous!

L I S L E, October 10.

The fire of the enemy ceased on the morning of the 6th, but they did not abandon the villages of Fives, Helemms, Anappe, and other places in the neighborhood till the 8th.

They began their entrenchments, on Tuesday, Sept. 25th. Nothing could be more beautiful or better disposed than their works, and every one who has seen them is astonished that they were able to form them in such a short space of time. The batteries rose one above another in gradation, at the distance of 100 paces from each other, and they were so strong, that 15,000 men could not have flooded the Austrians. The loss which they have occasioned to this city is estimated at six millions.

P A R I S, October 12.

M. Manuel visited Louis XVI. the day before yesterday, and informed him that he was no longer a King. "I notified to him (says he) the foundation of the republic, and told him, that although he ceased to be a sovereign, he might still be a good citizen. He did not appear to be in the least shocked at his situation.—Louis is no more affected with his lot as a prisoner, than he was as that of a King.

"I spoke to him of our conquests: I told him of the capture of Spire; of the surrender of Chamberry, Nice, &c. and I announced to him that the fall of Kings was as near at hand as that of the Laws.

"I also told him, that every precaution should be taken for his safety; but that he might depend upon being treated with all that humanity which a free nation ever exhibits towards a citizen, who is unfortunate enough to be a prisoner." This triumph over fallen royalty is contemptible, and betokens a mean and ungenerous mind.

NATIONAL CONVENTION.

GAUDET, PRESIDENT.

Read an Address from the Society of the Friends of Liberty and Equality, formed at Chamberry:—

Legislators of the World!

The Society of the Friends of Liberty and Equality assembled at Chamberry, proud of the rights which they have recovered; liberated by your genius, and the courage of your warriors; tender you their thanks and their acknowledgments. Like you we have loved republicanism—Like you we are inflamed with all the fires of citizenship—Like you we excrete the memory of kings; and like you we have sworn never again to acknowledge their authority.

Legislators, our hearts yet bleed with the torments we have suffered; the shocking captivity in which we have groaned, which is constantly in our remembrance, and which will serve as the eternal ailment of our patriotism.—O King of Jerusalem and of Cyprus! too long thy satellites have weighed down our hearts, with their iron yoke: it is broken, thanks to the French; we have trampled it under our feet; and to thee we send it as a present, to whom it belongs; though fugitives and base slaves may dare in the mean time to dishonor by their presence this land of liberty: they shall prove what Freemen can do, united with the terrible phalanx of the French Republic, with whom they will, ere long, form but one and the same family.—Thou art appalled without doubt, VICTOR AMADEUS, at the news of their victory—Thy throne is tottering, and well mayest thou tremble—It will soon fall, like those of other despots, and thy projects will disappear with thy scepter. We no longer consider ourselves as thy subjects—we will have no more kings—we will have no more masters. We have sworn to be free, and we will be so; for we prefer death to a return to slavery.

French Legislators, Savoy, liberated by your goodness, expresses a supreme desire for her union with the French Republic. Already the Society, composed of more than twelve hundred citizens, has deputed one hundred of its members, who, armed with the light of reason and of liberty, go to congratulate all the inhabitants of the towns and the country on their regeneration, and their imprescriptible rights.—Soon the faithful interpreters of their sentiments will assemble at Chamberry, there to express their mind; their vow, without doubt will be the same as ours; to place themselves under the protection of the French Republic, and to have in future no other concerns with them than as a nation of brothers. As to our Legislators, we swear it.

The President and Secretaries of the Society, DOPPET, MORAS, and BERNIER.

The convention ordered it to be printed in German, English, and Spanish.

A letter from the commissioners of the convention, dated at Verdun, the 16th of October, says, that the city has abounded with traitors, and that the convention ought to make a grand example; but they have seen with pleasure, that there were found among them some good patriots.

Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Oct. 20.

I have received a dispatch from General Montcignon, in which he gives me the result of several conferences which he has had with the city and Republic of Geneva. This result is as satisfactory as we could wish it to be; and I haste to anticipate to you, that the General has announced to me, a very speedy success to his negotiation. LE BRUN.

N A M U R, October 11.

Some people are arrived from the army of Gen. Clairfayt, such as commissaries, sutlers, &c. They say, that the troops have undergone the greatest distress, that they were four days without eating, that at last they killed and eat their horses, and that if a truce had not been made, they must all have surrendered; out of 6000 cavalry, which composed this army, not above 400 will return; the rest are all either killed, taken, or the horses eat! The remains of Gen. Clairfayt's army have already passed the French frontier.

B R U S S E L S, October 17.

We hear from the provinces of Namur and Luxemburg, that the army of their Royal Highnesses Monsieur and the Duke D'Artois, is disbanded, as well as that under the command of the Duke de Bourbon; the individuals of which these armies were composed, are in the greatest distress, wandering and dispersed, without knowing where to go, or what is to become of them; many without money, others selling their horses, watches, and even their clothes.

V I E N N A, October 6.

The Police of Vienna redoubles its utmost attention, to watch foreigners as well as the subjects of the Emperor, who may be infected with the spirit of Liberty.

According to the observations which have been some time making, it has been discovered, that those citizens whose attachment to the country was most depended upon, are the declared enemies of Monarchical government, and have every where endeavored to make profelytes to this opinion. It is found that persons of all classes and conditions are in these clubs; it is feared therefore, that the tempest, which must burst upon them, will be the more dreadful.

L O N D O N, October 9.

On Friday night, his Excellency Baron Jacobie, the new Prussian Envoy, arrived at Lothian's hotel, in Albemarle-street, from Berlin. He will be presented to-morrow to the King, at the levee, and on Thursday to the Queen.

Yesterday the Imperial Envoy, and M. Calonne, transacted business with Lord Grenville, at his office, Whitehall.

Oct. 16. The Assembly of the Ministers of the different powers of Europe, is, it seems, to commence its functions about the 20th inst. For some of these Ministers, the Austrian government has prepared lodgings. As a preliminary step to the holding of a Congress, an ordinance has been published, commanding all the French Emigrants to quit Luxemburg, under the pretext, however, of the speedy arrival of troops.

\* This, it is to be hoped, will be deemed a sufficient apology to the public, for departing from the resolution which the last number was closed.