NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER,

AND

WASHINGTON ADVERTISER.

VOL. V. WASHINGTON CITY, PRINTED BY SAMUEL HARRISON SMITH, PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE. DCXLIII.

FIVE DOLLARS PER ANNUM. MONDAY, NOVEMBER 19th, 1804. *PAID IN ADVANCE.*

For the NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

TO THE PEOPLE, THE DEFENCE.

No. XX.

(Subject of Foreign Relations, Continued.)

This treaty, like every other measure of the administration, was vehemently opposed by the minority. With a temerity, unprecedented, even in the versatile region of politics, they *unsaid* all that they had a short time before so solemnly and eloquently affirmed: and under the talisman of party, the paradise of Louisiana was converted into a howling wilderness; and in the late nursery of national strength and glory nothing but thorns and thistles and briars were now seen. Let us fly from this degrading spectacle; and in answer to the numerous allegations of party, concisely view the benefits and evils which may be expected from the possession of Louisiana.

In the *first* place, it has averted war with the most powerful nation of Europe, from which we could not possibly have acquired more than the treaty gives us, and in which we should have expended in a single year more than the price of the purchase.

Secondly, we have gained the *entire*, instead of the limited, navigation of the largest river in North America.

Thirdly, we have secured the unmolested enjoyment of a trade, already of great, and every year of growing importance.

Fourthly, we have removed many sources of collision on our frontier, and thereby diminished the only serious causes of future wars that threatened us.

Fifthly, we have acquired the most fertile region on earth, in which we may raise, it is believed, every production of consequence which our wants or comfort require.

For these great results the price paid is murmured at. With what justice the following statement will shew. Of the fifteen millions, 3,750,000 dollars are to be paid to our own citizens for debts due by the French Government, and 11,250,000 dollars are to be paid to France at the expiration of fifteen years, allowing in the mean time an interest of six per cent.

Supposing that the whole sum will assume the shape of a loan at six per cent. the United States will have to pay thereon the following sums for fifteen successive years, being the amount of interest paid on the principal, calculated in a compound ratio; viz.

In 1804	900,000
1805	954,000
1806	1,011,000
1807	1,078,000
1808	1,142,000
1809	1,210,000
1810	1,283,000
1811	1,320,000
1812	1,439,000
1813	1,525,000
1814	1,617,000
1815	1,714,000
1816	1,823,000
1817	1,932,000
1818	2,048,000
	20,996,000
When there will be due the principal of	15,000,000
Whole sum paid	35,996,000

According to an official document presented to Congress at the opening of the last session the annual imports of Louisiana then averaged the amount of two millions and a half of dollars, and the exports amounted to about the same sum. This was under the injurious regulations of an arbitrary government. We have already, in some degree, ascertained the effects of a milder government; and we may estimate the imports without the least fear of exaggeration, at three millions and a half. Should these imports only keep pace with those of the United States generally they will increase at the rate of above ten per cent. a year. But there can be no doubt of their increasing with much greater rapidity. The population of the western country doubles in five years, and the importations have uniformly in our country increased in a quicker ratio. It will be a very moderate computation, to consider them as destined to advance at the rate of fifteen per cent. The average duty paid on imported articles is twenty-five per cent. From these data, it will result, that the following duties will be received.

	Dollars.	*Consolidation of principal and interest.*
In 1804	875,000	
1805	1,006,000	1,934,000
1806	1,156,000	3,206,000
1807	1,329,000	4,727,000
1808	1,527,000	6,537,000
1809	1,755,000	8,684,000
1810	2,018,000	11,223,000
1811	2,319,000	14,212,000
1812	2,666,000	17,730,000
1813	3,065,000	21,858,000
1814	3,424,000	26,693,000
1815	3,937,000	32,231,000
1816	4,526,000	38,690,000
1817	5,200,000	46,110,000
1818	5,984,000	54,860,000
	40,787,000	

The first column exhibits the sums received for duties; the second those sums with the addition of the accruing interest, in order to compare the probable profit with the probable expence; from which it follows that during a period of fifteen years duties will be received, which may be valued at dolls. 54,860,000
And an expence incurred of 35,996,000

Leaving a profit of 18,864,000

which exceeds, by three millions, the whole price of the purchase.

There remains to be considered the incalculable value of from two to four hundred millions of acres.

Viewed, then, in a pecuniary point of light, this event will be productive of a great national gain.

But we are told that this immense acquisition of territory will destroy the political importance of the Eastern states, and is therefore unjust, and that our enlarged domains will prove destructive of republican governments.

It is impossible to do justice to these points without descending into an extensive detail. Not attempting this, we shall satisfy ourselves with offering a few considerations that evince the incorrectness of these fears.

The Eastern states, viewed in the aspect of their numbers, had, before the cession, lost their comparative importance. In the year 1800, when the present census was taken, they were entitled to thirty-five representatives, while the middle states were entitled to fifty, the southern to forty six, and the western to ten. It follows that, considering the confederacy as composed of certain great local sections, and the local interests of these sections as under the guaranty of their political power, the eastern section was already greatly inferior to either the middle or the southern. How then can it be said that this section will lose hereafter an importance, which it does not at this time possess. The only local competitors for power will be the middle, the southern and the western states. At present the middle states about balance the southern, and in a few years the western states will rise to an equality. And so far from the power of New-England suffering from these different interests, it will constitute a kind of umpire in their rivalries. The most active rivalries will unquestionably arise between the southern and western states, while there will be no source of jealousy between the states of the east and those of the west. Add to this the fact that the greater part of the population of the western country will arise out of emigrations from New England; and it will become apparent that the power of the western states, so far from uniting itself with that of the southern states, will be most apt to unite with that of the eastern. In this point of view, if our eastern brethren do really entertain the lively alarms, they express, of their southern brethern, they ought to hail this as the most auspicious event which has ever occurred for them.

CURTIUS.

FROM THE ENQUIRER.

A SUMMARY VIEW OF THE *RIGHTS OF BRITISH AMERICA.*

Set forth in some Resolutions intended for the inspection of the present Delegates of the People of Virginia now in Convention.

BY THOMAS JEFFERSON.

[*Concluded.*]

But in what terms, reconcileable to majesty, and at the same to truth, shall we speak of a late instruction to the governor of the colony of Virginia, by which he is forbidden to assent to any law for the division of a county, unless the new county will consent to have no representative in assembly? That colony has as yet fixed no boundary to the westward. Their western counties, therefore, are of indefinite extent; some of them are actually seated many hundred from their eastern limits. Is it possible, then, that his majesty can have bestowed a single thought on the situation of those people, who, in order to obtain justice for injuries, however great or small, must, by the laws of that colony, attend their county court, at such a distance, with all their witnesses, monthly, till their litigation be determined? Or does his majesty seriously wish, and publish it to the world, that his subjects should give up the glorious right of representation, with all the benefits derived from that, and submit themselves the absolute slaves of his sovereign will?—Or is it rather meant to confine the legislative body to their present numbers, that they may be the cheaper bargain whenever they shall become worth a purchase.

One of the articles of impeachment against Tresilian, and the other judges of Westminster Hall, in the reign of Richard the second, for which they suffered death, as traitors to their country, was, that they had advised the king that he might dissolve his parliament at any time; and succeeding kings have adopted the opinion of these unjust judges.—Since the reign of the Second William, however, under whom the British constitution was settled on its free and ancient principles, neither his majesty, nor his ancestors, have exercised such a power of dissolution in the island of Great Britain; and when his majesty was petitioned, by the united voice of his people there, to dissolve the present parliament, who had become obnoxious to them, his ministers were heard to declare, in open parliament, that his majesty possessed no such power by the constitution.(*) But how different their language and his practice here! To declare, as their duty required, the known rights of their country, to oppose the usurpations of every foreign judicature, to disregard the imperious mandates of a minister or governor, have been the avowed causes of dissolving houses of representatives in America. But if such powers be really vested in his majesty, can he suppose they are there placed to awe the members from such purposes as these? When the representative body have lost the confidence of their constituents, when they have notoriously made sale of their most valuable rights, when they have assumed to themselves powers which the people never put into their hands, then indeed their continuing in office becomes dangerous to the state, and calls for an exercise of the power of dissolution. Such being the causes for which the representative body should, and should not, be dissolved, will it not appear strange to an unbiassed observer, that that of Great Britain was not dissolved, while those of the colonies have repeatedly incurred that sentence?

But your majesty, or your governors, have carried this power beyond every limit known, or provided for, by the laws: After dissolving one house of representatives, they have refused to call another, so that, for a great length of time, the legislature provided by the laws has been out of existence. From the nature of things, every society must at all times possess within itself the sovereign powers of legislation. The feelings of human nature revolt against the supposition of a state so situated as that it may not in any emergency provide against dangers which perhaps threaten immediate ruin. While those bodies are in existence to whom the people have delegated the powers of legislation, they alone possess and may exercise those powers; but when they are dissolved by the lopping off one or more of their branches, the power reverts to the people, who may exercise it to unlimited extent, either assembling together in person, sending deputies, or in any other way they may think proper; and the frame of government thus dissolved, should the people take upon them to lay the throne of your majesty prostrate, or to discontinue their connection with the British empire, none will be so bold as to decide against the right or the efficacy of such avulsion. We forbear to trace consequences further; the dangers are conspicuous with which this practice is replete.

That we shall at this time also take notice of an error in the nature of land holdings, which crept in at a very early period of our settlement. The introduction of the feudal tenures into the kingdom of England, though ancient, is well enough understood to set this matter in a proper light. In the earlier ages of the Saxon settlement feudal holdings were certainly altogether unknown; and very few, if any, had been introduced at the time of the Norman conquest. Our Saxon ancestors held their lands, as they did their personal property, in absolute dominion, disencumbered by any superior, answering nearly to the nature of those possessions which the federalists term allodial. William, the Norman, first introduced that system generally. The lands which had belonged to those who fell in the battle of Hastings, and in the subsequent insurrections of his reign, formed a considerable proportion of the lands of the whole kingdom. These he granted out, subject to feudal duties, as did he also those of a great number of his new subjects, who, by persuasions or threats, were induced to surrender them for that purpose. But still much was left in the hands of his Saxon subjects; held of no superior, and not subject to feudal conditions.—These, therefore, by express laws, enacted to render uniform the system of military defence, were made liable to the same military duties as if they had been feuds; and the Norman lawyers soon found means to saddle them also with all the other feudal burthens. But still they had not been surrendered to the king, they were not derived from his grant, and therefore they were not holden of him. A general principle, indeed, was introduced, that "all lands in England were held either mediately or immediately of the crown," but this was borrowed from those holdings, which were truly feudal, and only applied to others for the purpose of illustration. Feudal holdings were therefore but exceptions out of the Saxon laws of possession, under which all lands were held in absolute right. These, therefore, still form the basis, or groundwork, of the common law, to prevail wheresoever the exceptions have not taken place. America was not conquered by William the Norman, nor its lands surrendered to him, or any of his successors. Possessions there are undoubtedly of the allodial nature. Our ancestors, however, who migrated hither, were laborers, not lawyers. The fictitious principle that all lands, belong originally to the king, they were early persuaded to believe real; and accordingly took grants of their own lands from the crown. And while the crown continued to grant for small sums, and on reasonable rents; there was no inducement to arrest the error, and lay it open to public view. But his majesty has lately taken on him to advance the terms of purchase, and of holding to the double of what they were; by which means the acquisition of lands being rendered difficult, the population of our country is likely to be checked.—It is time, therefore, for us to lay this matter before his majesty, and to declare that he has no right to grant lands of himself. From the nature and purpose of civil institutions, all the lands within the limits which any particular society has circumscribed around itself are assumed by that society, and subject to their allotment only. This may be done by themselves, assembled collectively, or by their legislature, to whom they may have delegated sovereign authority: and if they are allotted in neither of these ways, each individual of the society may appropriate to himself such land as he finds vacant, and occupancy will give him title.

That in order to enforce the arbitrary measures before complained of, his majesty has from time to time sent among us large bodies of armed forces, not made up of the people here, nor raised by the authority of our laws: Did his majesty possess such a right as this, it might swallow up all our rights whenever he should think proper. But his majesty has no right to land a single armed man on our shores, and those whom he sends here are liable to our laws made for the suppression and punishment of riots, routs, and unlawful assemblies: or are hostile bodies, invading us in defiance of law. When in the course of the late war it became expedient that a body of Hanoverian troops should be brought over for the defence of Great Britain, his majesty's grandfather, our late sovereign did not pretend to introduce them under any authority he possessed. Such a measure would have given just alarm to his subjects in Great Britain, whose liberties would not be safe if armed men of another country, and of another spirit, might be brought into the realm at any time without the consent of their legislature. He therefore applied to parliament, who passed an act for that purpose, limiting the number to be brought in and the time they were to continue. In like manner is his majesty restrained in every part of the empire. He possesses, indeed the executive power of the laws in every state: but they are the laws of the particular state which he is to administer within that state, and not those of any one within the limits of another. Every state must judge for itself the number of armed men which they may safely trust among them, of whom they are to consist, and under what restrictions they shall be laid.

To render these proceedings still more criminal against our laws, instead of subjecting the military to the civil powers, his majesty has expressly made the civil subordinate to the military. But can his majesty thus put down all law under his feet? Can he erect a power superior to that which erected himself? He has done it indeed by force; but let him remember that force cannot give right.

That these are our grievances which we have thus laid before his majesty, with that freedom of language and sentiment which becomes a free people claiming their rights, as derived from the laws of nature, and not as the gift of their chief magistrate: Let those flatter who fear; it is not an American art. To give praise which is not due might be well from the venal, but would ill beseem those who are asserting the rights of human nature. They know, and will therefore say, that kings are the servants, not the proprietors of the people. Open your breast, sire, to liberal and expanded thought. Let not the name of George the third be a blot in the page of history. You are surrounded by British counsellors, but remember that they are parties. You have no ministers for American affairs, because you have none taken from among us, nor amenable to the laws on which they are to give you advice. It behoves you, therefore, to think and act for yourself and your people. The great principles of right and wrong are legible to every reader; to pursue them requires not the aid of many counsellors. The whole art of government consists in the art of being honest. Only aim to do your duty, and mankind will give you credit where you fail. No longer persevere in sacrificing the rights of one part of the empire to the inordinate desires of another: but deal out to all equal and impartial right. Let no act be passed by any one legislature which may infringe on the rights and liberties of another. This is the important post in which fortune has placed you, holding the balance of a great, if a well poised empire. This, sire, is the advice of your great American council, on the observance of which may perhaps depend your felicity and future fame, and the preservation of that harmony which alone can continue both to G. Britain and America the reciprocal advantages of their connection. It is neither our wish, nor our interest, to separate from her. We are willing, on our part, to sacrifice every thing which reason can ask to the restoration of that tranquillity for which all must wish. On their part, let them be ready to establish union on a generous plan. Let them name their terms; but let them be just. Accept of every commercial preference it is in our power to give for such things as we can raise for their use, or they make for ours. But let them not think to exclude us from going to other markets to dispose of those commodities which they cannot use, or to supply those wants which they cannot supply. Still less let it be proposed that our properties within our own territories shall be taxed or regulated by any power on earth but our own. The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time; the hand of force may destroy, but cannot disjoin them. This, sire, is our last, our determined resolution; and that you will be pleased to interpose with that efficacy which your earnest endeavors may ensure to procure redress of these our great grievances, to quiet the minds of your subjects in British America, against any apprehensions of future encroachment, to establish fraternal love and harmony through the whole empire, and that these may continue to the latest ages of time, is the fervent prayer of all British America!

(*) Since this period the king has several times dissolved the parliament a few weeks before its expiration, merely as an assertion of the right.

STRENGTH OF FRANCE.

[*Extract from a late publication on the strength, projects, &c. of France and Russia.*]

As to the military force of France it appears to be equal to the military force of the rest of Europe, Russia excepted; "the peace of Nimeguen made the dominions of Louis XIV. the most compact and populous kingdom in Europe: that of Utrecht extended them to Spain and the Indies, and a natural consequence was the consolidation of the military preponderance of that monarchy. The present situation of Holland, Germany, Italy, was then foreseen, and the rising