

MINERVA; OR, ANTI-JACOBIN.

PUBLISHED (WEEKLY) BY WILLIAM BOYLAN.

TWO DOLLARS PER ANN. Paid in Advance.

Vol. 8.]

RALEIGH, (N. C.) MONDAY, AUGUST 8, 1833.

[No. 383.]

"A ROD FOR THE FOOLS BACK."

Proveba, Ch. 26, V. 2.

OR

An Examination of a Pamphlet entitled *Republican Economy*.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

A Pamphlet under the title of *Republican Economy* has just now fallen into my hands, which I am informed has been privately circulated through the District for some weeks past.—Had you before you the means of detecting the falshood of its assertions, and its malicious misrepresentation of facts, it would be unnecessary to notice it, for you could not be deceived by it. But, as the documents of our public officers may not be in your possession, and the passing affairs of the day may have driven from your recollections many of the transactions which are the subject of its remarks, it may not be unimportant to the cause of truth, that the deceptive arts of this impudent impostor, should be detected, and "things as they are" explained to you.—The insidious manner in which this piece of designing imposition is conveyed to you, is damning proof that its author and its circulators were conscious of the knavery and baseness of their conduct.—When, with frank and upright views, a man who feels an honest concern for the welfare of his country, wishes to inform the understandings of men, and carry conviction home to their senses, he publicly proclaims his sentiments and urges his arguments, and is solicitous that all who have an interest in ascertaining the truth, should have the means of doing it.—But the cause which this Pamphleteer would support, is a cause which shuns the light, a free, open and candid discussion of its tendency and influence is carefully avoided—unblushing falshood, designing misrepresentation, and impudent invective are the characteristics of his work—by garbling extracts from democratic newspapers, and statements from the circular letters of Theodoras Bailey, and other violent jacobins, who with designs like his own, spread falshood through the country to deceive the weak & the uninformed, he has put upon a work that sufficiently displays the malignity of his intentions, but cannot with the candid and rational part of the community have the effect he wishes, when errors are explained, its misrepresentations detected, & its falshoods laid open to your view.—As I do not, like this champion of Democracy mean to make assertions or statements without proof, I shall, after a few preliminary observations, examine the several items in which he charges the federal administration with waste of public money, and those where he attempts to prove the success of Mr. Jefferson's plans, which are by his party styled schemes of Economy. This examination shall be made with the official documents before me, and that you may have an opportunity of testing its correctness, the originals will be lodged with the printer of this Pamphlet.

No Government, of which we read in the history of mankind affords an example of a Constitution, so well calculated to preserve to those who live under it, the objects of all political establishments (the happiness and security of its Citizens,) as the admirable instrument which guards the rights and protects the persons, liberty and property of the Citizens of the United States; but as in all human institutions the good to be produced by them, depends on the support they obtain, so, the acquisition of the objects to be preserved by our Constitution, depends on the enlightened virtue of the Citizens, and the integrity and wisdom of those who are delegated by the people (its origin and head) to administer it.—In the administration of Government and the fabrication of laws, different men will form different opinions, and altho' they may be all in pursuit of the same end, different means may offer themselves; a candid and fair discussion of variant opinions is of important utility; but when we find a party uniform in opposing every thing, and proposing nothing, we may rationally seek for some other motive for their conduct than difference of opinion.

When our Constitution was framed, the collected wisdom of our most enlightened statesmen was employed: it was received and adopted by the people after a mature examination of its principles and its tendencies. When it was put in operation, the same careful selection of the most distinguished men in our country, was delegated to administer it, a great variety of causes occurred to create difficulties and danger in the execution of their task, internal and external foes assailed our peace, yet the skill of our pilots conducted us through the threatening storm. In all these manures, which rested so much honor on the wisdom and virtue of our leaders, a party was found in our country who steadily opposed every plan devised by our beloved Washington and his friends, to preserve our Independence. Compare the state of our country at the period when our Constitution was established, with its situation at the close of Mr. Adams' Administration and exult, every true American, in its prosperity, its wealth and its dignity. If this enviable peace and prosperity arose from the measures of those who then conducted our affairs, how much ought we to fear the views and detect the principles of those who in every step of our advancement, made efforts to impede our progress. The men, who during our Revolution left all the tender and social joys of domestic life to achieve our Independence, & who with

unceasing solicitude had preserved our liberty and lodged it (as they had hoped safely) in the Ark of our Constitution, are basely traduced as traitors to their country; while, the artful hypocrite, the designing knave, and the voracious foreigner are invited to the confidence of our fellow citizens, and batten on the spoils of virtue and of honor.—An hypocritical affectation of concern for the people's rights, and a pretended anxiety for their interests, have been the means by which the anti-federal party have created a spirit of distrust of the men in our country most distinguished for their virtue and talents, and elevated to the first offices in our government, an insidious band, hostile to our Constitution, and whose favorite views are to gratify the ambition of a few individual states to the destruction of our empire. This party, well knowing the influence of names, and confident in their address and perseverance, have with unceasing assiduity and by every means which impudence or cunning could devise, contrived to impress the public mind with opinions of the anti-republican views of those who have been the firm friends and steady supporters of our Republican Constitution; they have vainly assumed to themselves the exclusive appellation of republicans, & attempt to deceive the people by false assertions on those, whose attachment to the federal Constitution had obtained them, the designating appellation of federalists. With insidious design, they claim, with equal effrontery and hypocrisy, to be considered as the party of the people, and exclusively their friends. In a government so entirely dependant on public opinion, and exercised by officers delegated to directly by the people as ours, it is of the utmost importance that the Citizens should form correct opinions of men and measures; our unhappily for our country the enemies of our Constitution, have with such address succeeded in abusing the public mind, that their confident and reiterated assertion is received as truth, and the deluded multitude are led to place confidence in a party whose measures are ruin, and whose views are derogatory to the dignity and security of their country.

The pamphlet which is the subject of the following remarks, is an instance of the most nefarious attempt, to deceive the unsuspecting and the uninformed, that was ever made; the party stand on the shilable ground of deception and fraud, and sooner or later you will discover and reject with merited detestation their claims to your confidence; when you shall have read the following brief examination of the impudent misrepresentation of facts you will no doubt feel a just abhorrence of the design, to deceive you under handlings and create prejudices against those who have deserved well of their country.

The inconsistency with which this party has conducted, must strike the mind of every man who has paid the smallest attention to their conduct. During the twelve first years of the operation of our Government, they kept up an incessant clamour about executive influence, secret proceedings and grants of money; but since the Government has fallen into their hands, the will of the executive has had more influence over the proceedings of Congress, more secret discussions have been held and secret acts passed, and more money appropriated to executive disposal, than during the whole period of the federal administration. The government was organized and put in operation by the federalists, our financial arrangements, and our provisions for the administration of justice were all made by them, and since their opponents have assumed the direction of our public affairs, they have been employed only in seeking for those circumstances in the federal conduct that had the prejudices of the people opposed to them; and flattering public whim with an obsequious and artful acquiescence.

My fellow Citizens! examine for yourselves; read both sides of the question with impartiality, and you will certainly discover that on the one hand, those who have been tried in the cause of your country, those whose understandings have been enlightened by enquiry, and whose interests bind them most strongly to the fate of their country, have enlisted under the banners displayed by one of the greatest and the best men of any age, our regretted Washington, and that the cunning and address of their enemies does not find them practising the crooked arts of misrepresentation and falshood. While the party of whom the Author of "Republican Economy" is an advocate, have used every subterfuge, and availed themselves of every art to rouse your prejudices, and excite your apprehensions of the views of men, whose virtue, and patriotism, you had experienced "in times that tried mens' souls."

There is no part of the conduct of those entrusted with the administration of a government, regarding which the people should keep a more jealous eye, than of the application of their money—since no charge more readily obtains attention, or more readily excites indignation, than the abuse of this trust. The writer of the pamphlet under consideration charges positively, that Mr. Adams borrowed 11,300,000 dollars, that he wasted this money, and that he increased the public debt to the same amount. If these charges are true, Mr. Adams was certainly unworthy of confidence, if on the other hand they appear to be false, the writer of these false

charges, merits all the contempt due to the propagation of falshood. Mr. Adams is charged with having borrowed four sums of money.

The first in the year 1797 stated to be,	Doll. 800,000
2d in the same year, stated to be the amount of the direct tax, the whole of which says the pamphlet was borrowed from the bank,	2,000,000
Now upon the authority of a report of a committee of the House of Representatives, made February 6, 1801, and upon an examination of the statements of receipts of the Treasury in these years, I assert that neither of those sums were borrowed, or came into the Treasury—the authority to borrow in those instances was never exercised.	
The 3d sum in the year 1799, a loan of 5,000,000 was borrowed for the purpose of carrying into effect the measures of preparation and defence then authorized.	
The 4th sum charged to be borrowed in May 1800 is stated at \$5,000,000 dollars, from the account of the Government it appears that of this sum authorized to this amount, there was borrowed only 1,481,700 dollars less than half the sum charged—the error in this charge therefore is	2,018,300
Thus of four charges, three are clearly false, and the sum stated by the pamphlet to have been borrowed, is ever charged the sum of 4,818,300	
It also appears that instead of borrowing 13,300,000 dollars, the sum actually borrowed was	6,481,700

Perhaps some one not acquainted with the affairs of Government may ask, why give no authority to borrow? if it be not used? or why borrow at all? To this I answer, that the government knowing the uncertainty which attends our revenue drawn from trade, particularly at times when circumstances threatened us with war—knowing that the arrival of a fleet on our coast would completely destroy that source of Revenue, frequently think it prudent to guard against such a failure of revenue, by authorizing the officers of Government to borrow money. Should the money happen to be in the Treasury, the loan is not necessary—should the revenue however fail, the money is borrowed, and the object for which it was appropriated, accomplished. The grant of this power to borrow has been already made to Mr. Jefferson, even during the short continuance of his administration. The act of Congress providing for the payment of the "whole public debt" authorizes the borrowing, in case of need, of the parts of the Dutch debt which become due, until the year 1806, a sum of about ten millions of dollars. The dark and secret act of last session which appropriates two millions of dollars, to the inexplicable and mysterious purpose of "expending attending foreign intercourse," authorizes the President to borrow that sum. Now is the pamphlet writer, silent positively that Mr. Adams did borrow and waste the money, and refers as his proofs to the acts of Congress giving him power to borrow—he must certainly be convinced that Mr. Jefferson has borrowed and wasted 12 Millions of dollars! But why borrow at all? the answer is ready, and I trust clear. It frequently happens that a nation, as well as an individual, has occasion for more money than it has in its chest—a farmer wants a barn, but he has no ready money to build with, shall he suffer his crop to rot for want of a shelter: shall he sell his property, when perhaps he can spare none, to raise money, or shall he use his credit, borrow the money & pay it at his convenience? Common prudence will advise to borrow. So it happened to our Government, they were hard pressed by French ships of war and privateers which infested every sea, swarmed on our coast, and even penetrated our rivers—our citizens crowded the jails of the West India Islands and even our Independence was threatened by an insupportable demand of tribute. At the same time an insurrection in Pennsylvania, fomented by Albert Gallatin, his accomplices in which principally were outcasts from Europe, whom God in his wrath has permitted to create discord in our land, took arms in opposition to the execution of the laws.—The Government might have submitted to all this—they might have smiled philosophically at the ruin of our trade, and the imprisonment of our citizens and bowed in humble submission to France. But John Adams and his federal friends detested a French, as much as they had a British chain—they prized as "the world's best hope" the Constitution they had established, and beheld with horror, the attempts of a Banditti of foreigners to overturn or impair it—They resolved to defend those rights and interests which the people had placed in their hands. But for this purpose a Navy was wanting, Arms, Ammunition, Forts and Men were necessary, and to obtain all these, money was indispensable—the money was borrowed—it was borrowed for these purposes, and a report of a Committee of the House of Representatives made the 6th of Feb. 1801, of which Committee Messrs. Nicholas, Stone and Nicholson, three decided and intelligent friends of Mr. Jefferson, were members, reported unanimously "that the loan was had, on the most advantageous terms, and that the money had become necessary by the measures of defence lately directed." If this application of money was wrong, if it was extravagance to defend our Citizens, their personal liberty, their property and the Independence and Constitution of our Country—then was this money wasted. But the man who has dared to make this declaration, has a French, and not an American heart—He is a traitor to

the Independence and happiness of America.

But, says the pamphlet, John Adams increased the public debt in his four years administration 11,300,000 dollars, by borrowing that sum.—The documents before me enable me to state, that in each year of Mr. Adams' administration he made payments towards the discharge of principal and interest of the public debt as follows, viz.

In 1797—	6,812,632 : 90
1798—	4,069,814 : 36
1799—	4,379,230 : 25
1800—	4,541,184 : 15
Doll.	19,195,861 : 66

While then Mr. Adams is charged with the 6,134,000 doll. borrowed by him, in common honesty, let him have credit for the sums paid by him—this state of the account, will leave a balance in his favour of 13,062,000 dollars, the sum paid by him to the debt, more than the sum he added to it by borrowing. Yet a man is found hardy enough to tell you, that John Adams increased the public debt, by borrowing 11,300,000 dollars—What a precious knave or fool this man must be.

The writer of this pamphlet, not contented with his false statements, of borrowing and wasting money, has by notes referred to, in his statements, charged the federalists with infidelity.—You all know, that in the first session of Congress under Mr. Jefferson, when Mr. Jefferson proposed to repeal the internal taxes, propositions were made by the federalists to lessen the duties on Salt, Brown Sugar, &c. necessities of life. Now this writer is himself convinced that the federalists were not sincere in the wish to reduce the taxes on salt and sugar, in preference to repealing all the internal taxes, and expects to bring you into the same opinion by this sorry argument, viz. the federalists laid those taxes in 1797, therefore, they cannot wish to take them off in 1803! because they thought them necessary at a time when we had no money, they must of course, continue to think them proper, at a time when those who administer the government tell us they have money enough! how absurd! because the government in 1797 laid taxes for objects then necessary, but which are now completed. Mr. Jefferson's friends should persist in keeping them on! Citizens, mark well these taxes on salt, brown sugar and molasses, which are placed on the front list of federal oppressions are still continued by Mr. Jefferson—kept on by him, two years after he has had the power to take them off, and in spite of the attempts of the federalists to reduce them.

Having folly exposed the misrepresentations in the charges against Mr. Adams, let us turn to the credits given to Mr. Jefferson. If on this side of the account, the pamphlet writer has given equal latitude to his imagination, if his warmth of friendship to Mr. Jefferson, bear any proportion to his malignity to Mr. Adams, we may expect the detection of many errors.

We are convinced, that the mode of reasoning, calculating and proving, adopted by the writer of the pamphlet is the most absurd, erroneous and fallacious which can be devised—but to expose it fully, to vanquish him with his own weapons, we shall proceed in his own way.

As the 1st Item of *Saving*, he tells us that in seven months after Mr. Jefferson came into office, the treasury had gained Dolls. 1,154,673—and therefore this sum was *saved*: from this it is apparent that this man by *saving* money means *keeping* it. We have had the curiosity to examine Mr. Gallatin's accounts and find the sums Mr. Jefferson received in these same 7 months, were as follows.

	D.	C.
From the duties on Impost and Tonnage,	5,862,815	12
Internal taxes,	496,579	00
The direct tax,	263,092	06
Sales of public lands,	153,077	54
Portage of letters,	23,000	00
Dividends of bank stock,	35,320	00
Sales of public ship,	86,418	83

Besides many small sums of repayments &c. Dolls. 6,224,498 35

This amount was received by Mr. Jefferson in his first 6 months, To which add the money he found in the treasury,

Doll. 8,716,543 40

Of all this money he had 1st Oct. 1801—only 2,546,718 73

The sum therefore which he had received but did not keep in the first 7 months, appear to be, Dolls. 5,767,824 67 This sum by our pamphleteer's reasoning and proving, he has wasted.

The 2d. Item of *Saving*, is the sum of Dolls. 900,000 the sum produced by the Internal taxes; this is a second, and a new way of *saving*, discovered by the pamphlet writer—by this argument, all the taxes which are collected are not saved, and if Mr. Jefferson pleases to repeal all the taxes, he can then boast of *saving* fifteen millions of dollars per year! the truth is and it has been often repeated, these taxes were necessary to raise money when they were laid—from a change of circumstances Mr. Jefferson thought they might be dispensed with, and many persons not friends of Mr. Jefferson joined him in opinion.