rights of persons claiming the benefit of the articles of agreement above mentioned, and of this act, shall receive each a compensation of two thousand dollars for the whole of their services, the registers of the land offices excepted, who shall receive only five hundred dollars each, for their services as commissioners; the clerks of the boards of commissioners a compensation not exceeding seven hundred and fifty dollars each, and the superintendants of the public sales shall receive six dollars each, for each day's attendance on the said sales.

Sec. 14. *And be it further enacted*, That the president of the United States shall have full power to appoint and commission the surveyor, registers of the land offices, and receivers of public monies above mentioned, in the recess of congress, and their commissions shall continue in force until the end of the session of congress next ensuing such appointment.

Sec. 15. *And be it further enacted*, That a sum not exceeding twenty thousand dollars, be, and the same is hereby appropriated for the purpose of carrying this act into effect; which sum shall be paid out of any unappropriated monies in the treasury.

Sec. 16. *And be it further enacted*, That the nett proceeds of the lands which may be sold by virtue of this act, after deducting the surveying expences and other expences incident to the sale thereof, shall, and the same are hereby appropriated in the first place, towards paying to the state of Georgia a sum of one million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, in pursuance of the articles of agreement and cession entered into between the United States and that state; and the secretary of the treasury is hereby authorised and directed to pay accordingly, and from time to time, as the same shall be received in the treasury of the United States, so much of the said nett proceeds as will amount to the said sum of one million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

Sec. 17. *And be it further enacted*, That all navigable rivers within the territory of the United States, south of the state of Tennessee, shall be deemed to be and remain public highways.

NATHL. MACON,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
STEPHEN R. BRADLEY,
President of the Senate, pro tempore.
APPROVED, March 3d, 1803.
TH: JEFFERSON,
President of the United States.

THOMAS PAINE,

TO THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES
And particularly to The

Leaders of the Federal Faction.

LETTER THE SIXTH.

The malignant mind, like the jaundiced eye, sees every thing through a false medium of its own creating. The light of Heaven appears stained with yellow to the distempered sight of the one; and the fairest actions have the form of crimes in the venomed imagination of the other.

For several months, both before and after my return to America in October last, the apostate papers, stiling themselves federal, were filled with paragraphs and essays respecting a letter from Mr. Jefferson to me at Paris, and though none of them knew the contents of the letter, nor the occasion of writing it, malignity taught them to suppose it, and the lying tongue of injustice lent them its aid.

That the public may be no longer imposed upon by federal apostacy, I will now publish the letter, and the occasion of its being written.

The treaty negociated in England by John Jay, and ratified by the Washington administration, had so disgracefully surrendered the right and freedom of the American flag, that all the commerce of the United States on the ocean became exposed to capture, and suffered in consequence of it. The duration of the treaty was limited to two years after the war; and, consequently, America could not, during that period, relieve herself from the chains which that treaty had fixed upon her.

This being the case, the only relief that could come must arise out of something originating in Europe, that would, in its consequences extend to America. It had long been my opinion that commerce contained within itself the means of its own protection; but as the time for bringing forward any new system is not always happening it is necessary to watch its approach, and lay hold of it before it passes away.

As soon as the late emperor Paul of Russia abandoned his coalition with England and became a neutral power, this crisis of time, and also of circumstance, was then arriving; and I employed it in arranging a plan for the protection of the commerce of neutral nations during war, that might, in its operation and consequences, relieve the commerce of America. The plan, with the pieces accompanying it, consisted of about forty pages. The citizen Bonneville, with whom I lived in Paris, translated it into French. Mr. Skipwith the American consul, Joel Barlow, and myself, had the translation printed and distributed as a present to the foreign ministers of all the neutral nations then resident in Paris. This was in the summer of 1800.

It was entitled *Maritime Compact*, (in French *Pacte Maritime.*) The plan, exclusive of the pieces that accompanied it, consisted of the following preamble and articles.

MARITIME COMPACT.

Being an unarmed association of nations for the protection of the rights and commerce of nations that shall be neutral in time of war.

Whereas, the vexations and injuries to which the rights and commerce of neutral nations have been, and continue to be, exposed during the time of maritime war, render it necessary to establish a law of nations for the purpose of putting an end to such vexations and injuries, and to guarantee to the neutral nations the exercise of their just rights.

We, therefore, the undersigned powers, form ourselves into an association, and establish the following compact as a law of nations on the seas.

Article the First.

Definition of the rights of neutral nations.

The rights of nations, such as are exercised by them in their intercourse with each other in time of peace, are, and of right ought to be, the rights of neutral nations at all times; because,

First, those rights not having been abandoned by them remain with them.

Secondly, because, those rights cannot become forfeited, or void, in consequence of war breaking out between two, or more other nations.

A war of nation against nation being exclusively the act of the nations that make the war, and not the act of the neutral nations, cannot, whether considered in itself or in its consequences, destroy or diminish the rights of the nations remaining in peace.

Article the Second.

The ships and vessels of nations that rest neuter and at peace with the world during a war with other nations, have a right to navigate freely on the seas as they navigated before that war broke out, and to proceed to, and enter, the port or ports of any of the belligerent powers, *with the consent of that power*, without being seized, searched, visited, or any ways interupted, by the nation or nations with which that nation is at war.

Article the Third.

For the conversation of the aforesaid rights, WE, the undersigned powers, engaging to each other our sacred faith and honor, *declare*,

That if any belligerent power shall seize, search, visit, or any ways interrupt any ship or vessel belonging to the citizens or subjects of any of the powers composing this association, then each, and all of the said undersigned powers will cease to import, and will not permit to be imported into the ports or dominions of any of the said undersigned powers, in any ship or vessel whatever, any goods, wares, or merchandize, produced or manufactured in, or exported from, the dominions of the power so offending against the association hereby established and proclaimed.

Article the Fourth.

That all the ports appertaining to any and all of the powers composing this association shall be shut against the flag of the offending nation.

Article the Fifth.

That no remittance or payment in money, merchandize, or bills of exchange, shall be made by any of the citizens, or subjects, of any of the powers composing this association, to the citizens or subjects of the offending nation, for the term of one year, or until reparation be made. The reparation to be times the amount of the damages sustained.

Article the Sixth.

If any ship or vessel appertaining to any of the citizens or subjects of any of the powers composing this association shall be seized, searched, visited, or interrupted, by any belligerent nation, or be forcibly prevented entering the port of her destination, or be seized, searched, visited or interrupted, in coming out of such port, or be forcibly prevented from proceeding to any new destination, or be insulted or visited by any agent from on board any vessel of any belligerent power, the government or executive power of the nation to which the ship or vessel so seized, searched, visited or interrupted belongs, shall, on evidence of the fact, make public proclamation of the same, and send a copy thereof to the government, or executive, of each of the powers composing this association, who shall publish the same in all the extent of his dominions, together with a declaration, that at the expiration of days after the publication the final articles of this association shall be put in execution against the offending nation.

Article the Seventh.

If reparation be not made within the space of one year, the said proclamation shall be renewed for one year more and so on.

Article the Eighth.

The association chuses for itself a flag to be carried at the mast-head conjointly with the national flag of each nation composing this association.

The flag of this association shall be composed of the same colours as compose the rain-bow and arranged in the same order as they appear in that phenomenon.

Article the Ninth.

And whereas it may happen that one or more of the nations composing this association may be, at the time of forming it, engaged in war, or become so in future, in that case, the ships and vessels of such nation shall carry the flag of the association bound round the mast, to denote that the nation to which she belongs is a member of the association and a respecter of the laws.

N. B. This distinction in the manner of carrying the flag is merely for the purpose, that neutral vessels having the flag at the mast-head, may be known at first sight.

Article the Tenth.

And whereas it is contrary to the moral principles of neutrality and peace, that any neutral nation should furnish to the belligerent powers, or any of them, the means of carrying on war against each other; we, therefore, the powers, composing this association, declare, that we will, each one for itself, prohibit in our dominions the exportation or transportation of military stores, comprehending gun-powder, cannon, and cannon-balls, fire-arms of all kinds, and all kinds of iron and steel weapons used in war, excluding therefrom all kinds of utensils and instruments used in civil or domestic life, and every other article that cannot, in its immediate state, be employed in war.

Having thus declared the moral motives of the foregoing article, we declare also the civil and political intention thereof, to wit:

That as belligerent nations have no right to visit or search any ship or vessel belonging to a nation at peace, and under the protection of the laws and government thereof, and as all such visit or search is an insult to the nation to which such ship or vessel belongs, and to the government of the same; we, therefore, the powers composing this association, will take the right of prohibition on ourselves, to which it properly belongs, and by whom only it can be legally exercised, and not permit foreign nations, in a state of war, to usurp the right of legislating by proclamation for any of the citizens or subjects of the powers composing this association.

It is therefore, in order to take away all pretence of search or visit, which, by being offensive, might become a new cause of war, that we will provide laws, and publish them by proclamation, each in his own dominion, to prohibit the supplying, or carrying to, the belligerent powers, or either of them, the military stores, or articles before mentioned, annexing thereto a penalty to be levied or inflicted upon any persons within our several dominions, transgressing the same. And we invite all persons, as well of the belligerent nations as of our own, or any other, to give information of any knowledge they may have of any transgression against the said law, that the offenders may be prosecuted:

By this conduct we restore the word contraband (*contra* and *ban*) to its true and original signification, which means against law, edict, or proclamation; and none but the government of a nation can have, or can exercise, the right of making laws, edicts, or proclamation, for the conduct of its citizens or subjects.

Now, WE, the undersigned powers, declare the aforesaid articles to be a law of nations, at all times, or until a congress of nations shall meet to form some law more effectual.

And we do recommend that immediately on the breaking out of war between any two or more nations, that deputies be appointed by all the neutral nations, whether members of this association or not, to meet in congress, in some central place, to take cognizance of any violations of the rights of neutral nations.

Signed, &c.

For the purpose of giving operation to the aforesaid plan of an unarmed association, the following paragraph was subjoined:

It may be judged proper for the order of business, that the association of nations have a president for a term of years, and the presidency to pass by rotation, to each of the parties composing the association.

In that case, and for the sake of regularity, the first president to be the executive power of the most northerly nation composing the association, and his deputy or minister at the congress to be president of the congress, and the next most northerly to be vice-president, who shall succeed to the presidency, and so on. The line determining the geographical situation of each to be the latitude of the capital of each nation.

If this method be adopted, it will be proper that the first president be nominally constituted in order to give rotation to the rest. In that case the following article might be added to the foregoing, viz.—"The constitution of the association nominates the EMPEROR PAUL, to be *first president* of the association of nations for the protection of neutral commerce and securing the freedom of the seas."

The foregoing plan, as I have before mentioned, was presented to the ministers of all the neutral nations then in Paris, in the summer of 1800. Six copies were given to the Russian general Springporten; and a Russian gentleman who was going to Petersburgh took two, expressly for the purpose of putting them into the hands of Paul. I sent the original manuscript, in my own hand writing, to Mr. Jefferson, and also wrote him four letters, dated the 1st, 4th, 6th, and 16th October, 1800, giving him an account of what was then going on in Europe, respecting neutral commerce.

The case was, that in order to compel the English government to acknowledge the rights of neutral commerce, and that free ships make free goods, the emperor Paul, in the month of September, following the publication of the plan, shut all the ports of Russia against England.—Sweden and Denmark did the same by their ports, and Denmark shut up Hamburg. Prussia shut up the Elbe and the Weser. The ports of Spain, Portugal, and Naples were shut up, and in general all the ports of Italy except Venice, which the emperor of Germany held, and had it not been for the untimely death of *Paul*, a *law of nations* founded on the authority of nations, for establishing the rights of neutral commerce and the freedom of the seas would have been proclaimed, and the government of England must have consented to that law, or the nation must have lost its commerce: And the consequence to America would have been that such a law would, in a great measure, if not entirely, have released her from the injuries of Jay's treaty.

Of all these matters I informed Mr. Jefferson. This was before he was president, and the letter he wrote me after he was president was in answer to those I had written to him and the manuscript copy of the plan I had sent him. Here follows the letter:

Washington, March 18, 1801.

DEAR SIR,

Your letters of October 1st, 4th, 6th, 16th came duly to hand, and the papers which they covered were, according to your permission, published in the news-papers and in a pamphlet, and under your own name*. These papers contain precisely our principles, and I hope they will be generally recognized here. Determined as we are to avoid, if possible, wasting the energies of our people in war and destruction, we shall avoid implicating ourselves with the powers of Europe, even in support of principles which we mean to pursue. They have so many other interests different from ours that we must avoid being entangled in them. We believe we can enforce those principles as to ourselves by peaceable means, now that we are likely to have our public councils detached from foreign views. The return of our citizens from the phrenzy into which they had been wrought, partly by ill conduct in France, partly by artifices practised upon them, is almost extinct, and will, I believe, become quite so. But these details, too minute and long for a letter, will be better developed by Mr. Dawson the bearer of this, a member of the late congress, to whom I refer you for them. He goes in the Maryland sloop of war, which will wait a few days at Havre to receive his letters to be written on his arrival at Paris. You expressed a wish to get a passage to this country in a public vessel. Mr. Dawson is charged with orders to the captain of the Maryland to receive and accommodate you back if you can be ready to depart at such a short warning. Robert R. Livingston is appointed minister plenipotentiary to the republic of France, but will not leave this, till we receive the ratification of the convention by Mr. Dawson. I am in hopes you will find us returned generally to sentiments worthy of former times. In these it will be your glory to have steadily labored and with as much effect as any man living. That you may long live to continue your useful labors and to reap the reward in the thankfulness of nations is my sincere prayer.—Accept assurances of my high esteem and affectionate attachment.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

This, citizens of the United States, is the letter about which the leaders and tools of the federal faction, without knowing its contents or the occasion of writing it, have wasted so many malignant falsehoods. It is a letter, which on account of its wise economy, and peaceable principles and its forbearance to reproach, will be read by every good man and every good citizen with pleasure, and the faction, mortified at its appearance, will have to regret that they forced it into publication. The least atonement they can now offer is to make the letter as public as they have made their own infamy, and learn to lie no more.

The same injustice they shewed to Mr. Jefferson they shewed to me. I had employed myself in Europe, and at my own expence, in forming and promoting a plan that would in its operation, have benefitted the commerce of America; and the federal faction here invented and circulated an account in the papers they employ, that I had given a plan to the French for burning all the towns on the coast from Savannah to Baltimore.—Were I to prosecute them for this (and I do not promise that I will not, for the liberty of the press is not the liberty of lying) there is not a federal judge, not even one of midnight appointment, but must, from the nature of the case, be obliged to condemn them. The faction, however, cannot complain, they have not been restrained in any thing. They have had their full swing of lying uncontradicted; they have availed themselves, unopposed, of all the arts hypocrisy could devise; and the event has been, what, in all such cases it ever will, and ought to be, *the ruin of themselves.*

The characters of the late and present administrations are now sufficiently marked, and the adherents of each keep up the distinction. The former administration rendered itself notorious by outrage, concomical parade, false alarms, a continued increase of taxes, and an unceasing clamor for war; and as every vice has a virtue opposed to it, the present administration moves on the direct contrary line. The question, therefore, at elections is not, properly, a question upon persons, but upon principles. Those who are for peace, moderate taxes, and mild government, will vote for the administration that conducts itself by those principles, in whatever hands that administration may be.

There are in the United States, and particularly in the middle states, several religious sects whose leading moral principle is PEACE. It is, therefore, impossible that such persons, consistently with the dictates of that principle, can vote for an administration that is clamorous for war. When moral principles rather than persons, are candidates for power, to vote is to perform a moral duty, and not to vote is to neglect a duty.

That persons who were hunting after places, offices and contracts, should be advocates for war, taxes, and extravagance, is not to be wondered at; but that so large a portion of the people who had nothing to depend upon but their industry, and no other public prospect but that of paying taxes, and bearing the burden, should be advocates for the same measures, is a thoughtlessness not easily accounted for. But reason is recovering her empire, and the fog of delusion is clearing away.

THOMAS PAINE.

Bordentown, on the Delaware, New Jersey, April 21, 1803.

* *The plans, with the papers accompanying of it, were published by S. H. Smith, of the Federal City.*

RICHMOND, April 20.

Mr. Wyndham Grymes, whom we mentioned in the last Gazette, being wounded in a duel with Mr. Terrell, died on Friday about two in the afternoon. The fate of this young gentleman is much and deservedly lamented, on account of his general deportment in life, and the many amiable qualifications which he possessed. While we mention these circumstances in favor of Mr. Grymes, we cannot but remark, in justice to Mr. Terrell, that in this melancholy affair, Mr. Grymes was the party who gave the challenge, that the duel took place entirely at his desire, and that it was with reluctance Mr. Terrell felt himself compelled by the false laws of honor, to fire at a person, for whom he declared on the ground, that he entertained no umbrage. It reflects in an eminent degree to the credit of Mr. Grymes that in his last moments he expressed a wish, that Mr. Terrell should not suffer any inconvenience by his death, declaring himself to be the sole cause, and that Mr. Terrell had used every means becoming a gentleman to prevent it. We hope that this, and several other similar instances which have lately occurred, will rouse the attention of the legislature to adopt some method that will put an end to a practice which had its origin in feudal anarchy, and which in this country is the only remaining, and the most barbarous custom which the feudal system introduced. It was unknown to the Grecian and Roman republics; and why should it be tolerated among the citizens of America who glory in the name of republicans, and detest every symbol of aristocracy, is not easy to conceive. Duelling has been already abolished under several of the European monarchies, and we sincerely hope the time is not far distant, when it will be unknown on this side of the Atlantic.

[*Virginia Gaz.*

THE LION OVER-MATCHED.

In countries abounding with lions, there is produced, for the preservation of mankind a breed of dogs, of astonishing boldness and strength, and which, in single combat, are a full match for the lion, the tiger, or any other ferocious beast of prey. Pliny, the natural historian, mentions a dog of this species, which was presented to Alexander, by a king of Albania. "Alexander first opposed to him a lion, which the dog presently tore in pieces. After that he ordered to let loose an elephant. The dog bristling and snarling at the elephant, wheeled about, for some time; then advanced to the attack, springing on this side and on that side, with all imaginable circumspection; now leaping up to assault; now touching to the right, then to the left, which caused the elephant to turn and wind about so frequently, that he was at last completely tired out, and fell down with a shock which made the ground tremble; on which, the dog sprung upon him and dispatched him.