

# Gazette of the United States.

PUBLISHED WEDNESDAYS AND SATURDAYS BY JOHN FENNO, No. 69, HIGH-STREET, BETWEEN SECOND AND THIRD STREETS, PHILADELPHIA.

[No. 98, of Vol. II.]

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 6, 1791.

[Whole No. 202.]

## Discourses on Davila.—No. 29. (Continued.)

THE Court, seeing that the Hugonots did not execute the conditions under which they had been promised an oblivion of the past, attempts to take off the Prince of Condé and the Admiral, who had retired well accompanied, to Noyers in Burgundy. They are advertised of their danger and escape to Rochell, reassemble their forces, and make themselves masters of Saintonge, Poitou and Touraine. The King orders the Duke of Anjou to march against them. The two armies meet at Janfeneuil, without engaging: they meet again at Loudun; the rigor of the season prevents a battle. The excessive cold obliges them to march at a distance from each other. Distempers break out in both armies and carry off vast numbers. They open the next campaign in the month of March. The Hugonots pass the Charente, break down the bridges, and guard all the passages. The Duke of Anjou, by the means of a stratagem, passes the river. The battle of Jarnac ensues. On the sixteenth of March, 1569, this famous action, so fatal to the Protestant cause and to liberty of conscience in France, as to have annihilated or at least to have oppressed both for two hundred and fifty years, took place. The young Duke of Guise distinguished himself on that day, by attacking the left wing of the Calvinists, commanded by the Admiral and Dandilot at the head of the nobility of Britany and Normandy, and gave proofs of a courage, and talents capable of performing as much good, or committing as much evil as his father had done.

The Prince of Condé who commanded the main body, opposed to the Duke of Anjou, supported with intrepidity the shock of the enemy, and when abandoned by his right and left, charged on all sides by the conquerors and surrounded by a whole world of enemies, he and those who accompanied him, fought, with desperation. In arranging his squadrons, he had been wounded in the leg by a kick of the Duke de la Rochefoucault's horse, and in the combat his own was killed and overthrown upon him. This Prince, thus dangerously wounded put one knee to the ground and continued to fight, until Montesquiou, Captain of the guards of the Duke of Anjou, shot him through the head with a pistol. Robert Stuart, who had killed the Constable at the battle of St. Dennis, and almost all the gentlemen of Poitou and Saintonge, were cut in pieces, by the side of the Prince.

The Duke of Anjou, fought in the first ranks of his squadron with a valour above his years, had an horse killed under him, and ran great risks of his life. The Hugonots lost, near seven hundred noblemen or knights of distinction. The soldiers, in derision, with scoffs and insults, brought the body of the Prince of Condé, upon an ass or pack-horse to the Duke of Anjou at Jarnac.

L'an mil cinq cens soixante & neuf  
Entre Jarnac & Chateau-neuf  
Fut porté mort sur une ânesse,  
Le grand ennemi de la Messe.

Young Henry, Prince of Navarre begged the body of the Duke of Anjou, who sent it to Vendome to the tombs of his ancestors. Thus lived and died Louis of Bourbon, Prince of Condé, whose valour, constancy and greatness of soul, distinguished him above all the greatest Princes and most famous Captains of his age. I shall reverse the reproaches of Davila, and say that he deserves to be canonized as one of the proto-martyrs to liberty of conscience, instead of that croud of bloody tyrants with which the calendar has been disgraced.

FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

PHILADELPHIA, APRIL 6.

### REVIEW

Of Mr. BURKE's Philippic against the Revolution Society in London, and the National Assembly in France—in a Letter from a Gentleman in Hartford to one in this City, dated March 20.

I HAVE just been reading the Philippic of Edmund Burke, against the Revolution Society in London, and the National Assembly in France. It has started a croud of ideas in my mind, of whose propriety I submit to your judgment.

This work presents itself in two points of view—as the declamation of the first of English Orators, and as the result of the collected wisdom of an old and experienced Statesman.

I acknowledge that in either view, I am disappointed in the

performance. As a Philippic, it undoubtedly contains many highly labored passages, expressed in forcible and pompous language, abounding in brilliant allusion, and full of satirical wit, indignation and contempt. But where is the sublimity and pathos, tho' often attempted, which can establish him as the rival of Cicero, or Demosthenes?

He has written on the sublime and beautiful—he affects to be a sublime and beautiful writer—but he mistakes the bent of his genius. His predominant talent is wit—a sprightliness of allusion, and brilliance of metaphor, well calculated to figure in the productions of a Swift or a Butler, but which loses its principal grace when tortured into sublimity, and obscured by the affected roundness of pompous period. Examine a sample.—“The anodyne draught of oblivion, thus drugged, is well calculated to preserve a galling wakefulness, and to feed the living ulcer of a corroding memory. Thus to administer the opiate potion of amnesty, powdered with all the ingredients of scorn and contempt, is to hold to his lips, instead of the *batn of hurt minds*, the *cup of human misery* full to the brim, and to force him to drink it to the dregs.”

Is this style?—is it sense?—is it English? But let us view him in the light of an able politician.

He is undoubtedly right in asserting that France has at present no permanent constitution, and that government cannot long subsist in the National Assembly. He is right in his idea that the revolution to this period has been the work of destruction, that it has annihilated the power, and seized the revenues of the King, the Clergy, and the Nobility—that it has raked to the ground the Bastille of despotism, and has not yet erected the fair edifice of constitutional and well balanced government on its ruins. He may be right in deriding the loss of public credit in France, and the instability of their paper assignats. He is right in censuring many wild resolves of the National Assembly, many acts of unbounded licentiousness in the populace, and many needless indignities offered to the persons of their sovereign and his family.

Did it require the talents of a great statesman to discover that in the French revolution much was wrong, and all was incomplete?

Can this calumniator of France, be the same EDMUND BURKE, who exhausted all his tropes in praise of America during her late contest with Britain? At the very period of his panegyrics, would not our total want of a constitutional government, the weakness of our confederation, the depreciation of our currency, our public distresses, the wild ideas of licentious liberty, and the unbridled insolence of our populace against the dignity of a Sovereign, happily indeed for himself, beyond the reach of personal insult, have afforded him themes equally plausible and just, for contemptuous Philippic and melancholy prognostication? No—he then asserted that we had performed miracles—that we had tried anarchy, and found it tolerable—and that society was well regulated in America, by a Congress without power, and a government without resource. He has since discovered that such miracles are incompatible with the climate of France!

But whence all his fury against philosophers, who have asserted the rights of mankind, and his frequent ridicule of *this enlightened age*. On the subjects of religion, of government, and of humanity, is not this age more enlightened than the preceding? I grant that many of the philosophers whom he attacks were inaccurate in their ideas, and wild in their theories. Awakened (to express myself in Burke's manner) from the midnight darkness of despotism, their eyes were dazzled by the orient light of liberty, and instead of discerning objects in their native reality, their unaccustomed optics were pleasingly overstrained by a confused glare of visionary splendor.

But have they done no service to mankind, and was no innovation necessary to human happiness?

I am accustomed to view things on the brighter side, and am pleased with every bold effort of the mind, and every attempt to assert the rights and dignity of man.

Government, morality and religion, are too august in themselves, too well supported by reason, and too necessary to the existence of rational society, to be overthrown by the attacks even of anarchy, sophistry, and infidelity. The world may perhaps reap eventual advantage from the labors of philosophers, whose tenets in many particulars deserve abhorrence—from the prophane ridicule of VOLTAIRE, the wild reveries of ROUSSEAU, and the immoral sophistry of HUME. Such writers can never destroy the citadel of government, but they will demolish the bulwarks of tyranny—they cannot raze the temple of religion, but they will level the outworks of superstition and enthusiasm.

But what must be the view of a writer, who could overlook the merits of a MONTESQUIEU, a RAYNAL, a MABLY, and the long list of amiable assertors of the rights of mankind, and blend them with the factious and the infidel, in one undistinguishing censure on philosophers?

What was the situation of France before the revolution—an unconnected group of provinces, regulated by separate and contradictory laws and customs of jurisprudence, and only held together as a nation, by the undefined and despotic power of the sovereign. Her religion, bigotry in the lower ranks, deism in the higher, and intolerance in all. Her King, a despot in name; her nobility infinitely too numerous for a Senate, and possessed of no legislative powers; and her parliaments not even the shadow of a house of representatives. Her military force in the hands of the crown, her commerce degraded, her revenues collected by extortion, and a great part of her lands mortgaged to support the indolence of her clergy, her nuns, and her friars.

Amid the present diffusion of science, and with the example of British freedom at her door, and American independence among her allies, it was impossible she could have continued long in so mortifying a situation. Though the only power of her sovereign was despotism, her sovereign could be a despot no longer. No spring was left of sufficient force to move the wheels of a government at once so complicated and disjointed. A revolution, if not immediately necessary in theory, must appear to every reflecting mind, at least unavoidable in fact.

If this sketch be justly drawn, what will become of all the eloquent periods of BURKE's declamation, in which he advises them to guard against innovations, and only endeavor to amend their ancient constitution. What was their ancient constitution, but an arbitrary and unlimited monarchy? From their early history he might indeed have revived some unacknowledged clerical and aristocratical claims, but he could not find a trace of popular freedom. His amendments to the constitution of France must have been only made by adding some props and braces to the tottering pillar of despotism.

If a thorough reformation was necessary in France, were not most of the measures, which are the subjects of his censure, equally necessary for the attainment of that end? Was it not necessary to annihilate arbitrary power, that they might pave the way for a limited monarchy? Was it not necessary to destroy the exorbitant

claims of too numerous a nobility, before they could establish a well-chosen and well-regulated house of Lords? Might it not be necessary to raise the representative power, which never before existed, above its proper balance, that it might gain sufficient force and energy to hold its just rank in a permanent constitution?—Might it not be necessary to melt down the whole people into a general mass, previous to the new casting and organizing a well-balanced government? Can the negative to these questions be proved true, and till proved, may we not check at least the feverity of our censures?

BURKE dwells principally on *minutiae*: He catches the picture of the present moment, but seems not to possess the talent of retrospect and prospect, which accompanies a great mind.

He indeed justly censures the capital error of the National Assembly—their ideas of pure democracy, and their apparent ignorance of the necessity, the indispensable necessity, of the different orders in government; but he seems not to dwell on the subject as a matter of importance: He throws it out as a vague sentiment arising in a mind, aiming its artillery at more essential objects, at Parisian triumphs, proscriptive injustice, Dr. Price, and the Revolution Society.

Whether the establishment of a well-balanced government, and a free constitution in France will be effected, as in America, by the united wisdom of a National Convention; or whether it must be preceded by the horrors of a civil war, and finally be established in a treaty of accommodation, time alone can determine.

But I think we may venture to predict that France will never again be subject to arbitrary government, and that she will at no very distant period reap an ample harvest from those seeds of liberty already planted in her soil, but which a BURKE could not discover among the broken furrows.

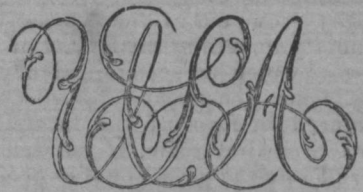
The advantages gained by France in the present revolution must be extensive and permanent—the errors of the National Assembly will be transitory in effect—and posterity speaking of them hereafter, may perhaps invert the sentiment of Shakespeare, and say,

“The good that they have done lives after them,  
“The evil lies interred with their bones.”

Thus, sir, I have in a very hasty manner given way to my feelings on the first perusal of Mr. BURKE's pamphlet. I pretend not to sufficient information to enter into minute disquisitions. I will turn to a more agreeable subject.

The first Congress has now completed its sessions. If they do not retire with a loud clamour of universal applause, they may receive sufficient consolation from the general happiness which they have diffused over our country.

In no nation, by no legislature, was ever so much done in so short a period for the establishment of government, order, public credit and general tranquility. I only fear that the manifold increase of our circulating coin, together with the additional resources of millions of paper securities so rapidly appreciating, and the circulation of bank notes, may injure those general habits of industry and economy, introduced by former years of penury and distress: it will, unless drained off in more extensive and beneficial channels of commerce.



## CONGRESS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SATURDAY, Feb. 7.

The BANK BILL under consideration.

MR. GILES'S SPEECH CONCLUDED.

A GENTLEMAN from Massachusetts (Mr. Sedgwick) finding the usual import of the terms used in the constitution to be rather unfavorable to the doctrines advanced by him, has favored us with a new exposition of the word (*necessary*) he says that necessary as applicable to a mean to produce an end, should be construed so as to produce the greatest possible quantum of public utility. I have been taught to conceive that the true exposition of a necessary mean to produce a given end, was that mean, without which the end could not be produced.

The gentleman's reasoning however if pursued will be found to teem with dangerous effects, and would justify the assumption of any given authority whatever: Terms are to be construed as to produce the greatest degree of public utility—Congress are to be the judges of this degree of utility; this utility when decided on will be the ground of constitutionality, hence any measure may be proved constitutional which Congress may judge to be useful; these deductions would subvert the constitution itself and blot out the great distinguishing characteristic of the free constitutions of America—as compared with the despotic governments of Europe, which consists in having the boundaries of governmental authority clearly marked out and ascertained. The exclusive jurisdiction over 10 miles square has been adverted to by one gentleman (Mr. Ames) as a specified authority, to which the one contended for is suggested to be incidental; he has reasoned in this manner, Congress possess jurisdiction over 10 miles square, &c. Congress may therefore establish a bank, within the 10 miles square—and as principle is not applicable to place, Congress may exercise the same autho-