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## THE TABLET.—No. XLVII.

The author of the Tablet presents the following Speculation from a friend, for the forty-seventh number.

"The diversity of interests in the United States, under a wise government, will prove the Cement of the Union."

FORMERLY, it was the policy of Great Britain to disseminate the idea, that the several colonies were too much divided by religion, manners and customs, by different interests, and prejudices more obstinate than interest, to assimilate and form a government of their own. It is not remarkable that Britain should cherish and diffuse an opinion so favorable to her power. And tho' we have reason to lament, we have none to wonder at, the degree of success which attended her truly maternal endeavors. The intercourse of the colonies with her was much greater than with one another. It is known that people are very susceptible of the opinions of those with whom they have dealings. Our dealings were with Britain almost exclusively, and we adopted many of her favorite doctrines with a docility and confidence which in fact, her conduct was calculated to inspire. The leading men, who gave a tone to the public sentiment in this country, were Britons, or colonists as ardently attached as Britons themselves to the connection with the mother country. There was an apparent utility in this error, which not only made it plausible, but stifled enquiry. Indeed the subject at that time, would better stand the test of disquisition than at present. The colonies were filling with new people, who were so far from having adopted the habits and manners of the more ancient settlements, that they had not sufficiently assimilated with one another, to assume a national character.

But it is unnecessary to enumerate all the causes which concurred to produce in the colonists a spirit of mutual alienation and distrust. It is not to be doubted that, in a long course of time, the product of this cursed seed would have been abundant.—With infinite mischiefs, the war brought this good, it blasted its vegetation. However, some of these poisonous plants still infest our fields, and are mingled with our harvests.

When we express our surprize that these repulsive prejudices continue to exist, we are desired to attend to the facts which it is pretended will render them perpetual.

It is asserted, that there is, at this day, so great a diversity between the different States in point of religion, manners, habits and interests, as to render the administration of a general government inconvenient, and perhaps impracticable. Certainly this doctrine has not novelty to recommend it. For ever since the jealousy of Britain adopted the maxim, *divide et impera*, it has been inculcated by her missionaries and prophets with all imaginable zeal and solemnity.

Many appeal to the supposed fact, that the eastern and southern States have opposite interests. Undoubtedly a diversity of interests is one of the most fruitful sources of contention and hatred. Too much stress however, is generally laid upon it. For such interests, tho' different are not always repugnant. The great modern improvement in government, is to leave individuals at liberty to seek their advantage their own way—partial to none but protecting all. We cannot subdivide a society sufficiently to avoid this supposed diversity. The smallest will be found to comprehend jarring interests, and to be formed by a congeries of heterogeneous and repulsive materials, which, merely in consequence of being accumulated, tend to fermentation and dissolution. Indeed, we shall perceive that the interest of each individual is exclusive of that of all others, until government combines them, and makes it the advantage of each one to advance the prosperity of the whole.

Uniformity of faith is an useless chimera. Uniformity of interests is equally so. Diversity in both produces discussion. Men respect one another's opinions, and become liberal, they enquire and perhaps find truth: The tendency is, to rouse them from an indolent neglect of public business, and to check the natural proneness of all parties to excess.

It is very certain that the employments of the southern and eastern States are different: But it is denied that their interests are incompatible. If the wealth and power of one does not tend to make the other weak and poor, it is difficult to conceive, why they should be mutually jealous. Admitting the idea of separate and hostile powers, the aggrandisement of one State might well be alarming to her neighbors. But thanks to the good sense of our countrymen, the new Constitution has banished a principle of state policy

which should make a patriot shiver with horror. In every other respect, each has an interest in the prosperity of the whole. If rice and indigo produce wealth, the people and the taxable property are encreased. The consumption of dutied articles encreases. The New-Hampshire man is as much relieved and benefited as if the tax was raised from his next county. The navigation and fishery of the States will furnish the means of a navy to protect the export of the staple articles.

England and France are rivals in trade as well as power, because each endeavors to supplant the other in the sale of the like commodities. England would excel France in the silk manufacture. And France endeavors to beat her rival out of the woolen and hard ware branches. Their vindictive regulations have, perhaps, mutually injured each other infinitely more than either has benefited herself. But what foundation is there for such a competition in America. Virginia raises tobacco. New-England never can become her competitor in that culture. The rice, indigo and cotton are confined by nature to the more southern States. The culture of corn admits of no rivalry. The consumers will grow up to the market. For the human species will encrease in every country in proportion to the regular means of subsistence.

A man who should attempt to sow jealousy among the New-England States, or between Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, by alledging that they have jarring interests, would certainly be laughed at. His success would not be sufficiently feared to make him detested. Yet these are manufacturing States: And in every market their people are contending for a preference. These are the States whom diversity of interests should divide. The market may be over stocked with fish, oil or lumber. This will affect the dealers in those articles. But how can it affect the sale of tobacco?

The conclusion is, that no large country in the world is so little divided by opposite interests. The eastern and southern States are necessary to one another: And nature has interposed to forbid their becoming commercial rivals. What one raises, the other wants, and when one prospers, all will partake. If the great staples should fail, navigation would decline. Should our own seamen and shipping be diminished, the staple States might, and, in case of an European war, certainly would want a conveyance for their valuable exports to the market. In peace and war, their trade would be merely passive.—The markets and purchasers would be chosen for them, and they would not be in a condition to seek the best for themselves. This is evinced by the great success and rapid growth of our East India trade. By means of possessing shipping, some of the States have sought, in the extremities of the earth, new markets for the sale of their butter and salted provisions, which would never have sought them.

Without violent evidence, a patriot should not admit that the interests of the southern and eastern parts of the Union are opposite. It will require some reflection to suppress his wonder, that not only without evidence, but against the most palpable, it ever has been the creed of the country. It is time to think more justly, and more rationally, which is the same thing. The internal commerce of our country is the most to be cherished. It affords the quickest returns, and the profit is not divided, as that of foreign trade is, with strangers. We ought to look forward with pleasure to the rapid extension of our home market, already vast, and soon to become a world of our own.

(to be continued.)

## NEW-YORK, SEPTEMBER 23, 1789. PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS. IN SENATE.

The Conventions of a number of the States having, at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added: And as extending the ground of public confidence in the government, will best insure the beneficent ends of its institution—

RESOLVED, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two thirds of both Houses concurring, That the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all or any of which articles, when ratified by three fourths of the said Legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the said Constitution, viz.

ARTICLES in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth article of the original Constitution.

### ARTICLE THE FIRST.

After the first enumeration, required by the first article of the Constitution, there shall be one Representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred; to which number one representative shall be added for every subsequent increase of forty thousand, until the Representatives shall amount to two hundred, to which number one Representative shall be added for every subsequent increase of sixty thousand persons.

### ARTICLE THE SECOND.

No law, varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.

### ARTICLE THE THIRD.

Congress shall make no law establishing articles of faith, or a mode of worship, or prohibiting the free exercise of religion, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition to the government for a redress of grievances.

### ARTICLE THE FOURTH.

A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

### ARTICLE THE FIFTH.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

### ARTICLE THE SIXTH.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

### ARTICLE THE SEVENTH.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war, or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

### ARTICLE THE EIGHTH.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

### ARTICLE THE NINTH.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact, tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

### ARTICLE THE TENTH.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

### ARTICLE THE ELEVENTH.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

### ARTICLE THE TWELFTH.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

## In the HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES,

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1889.

### SKETCH of the DEBATE on the SALARIES of the JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

MR. GOODHUE moved to strike out 4500 dollars, the proposed salary of the Chief Justice, and to insert 3000.

Mr. BURKE who was one of the committee on the bill, said, that he had been opposed to the sum; but a majority being in favor of it, it was adopted: He still thought it too much.

Mr. LAWRENCE (who was also one of the committee) observed that he had been in favor of the sum, and was so still. I do not (said he) think it is too much, considering the very important nature of the duties assigned to this officer, and the high trust committed to his care. The Laws and the Constitution of the United States are in his hands. To the Judges of the Supreme Court we are to look for decisions on the most interesting points, and on those decisions causes of the greatest possible magnitude depend. The sum proposed I do not think will be considered too high; there is a predilection among the people in favor of their judges, it is the general opinion that they should be well paid. This sentiment is honorary to the people; it is productive of the happiest effects and ought to be encouraged. I am willing to risk my popularity in giving my vote for this sum. I do not think it will be considered too high. I should rather be for encreasing than diminishing it. When we consider what is paid to similar officers in other countries, we find that these salaries bear no proportion to those allowances. To induce gentlemen of the first abilities to come forward; and to place them in that situation which shall be above temptation, you cannot give them a less sum. It will be of very little consequence, that the Judges hold their places during good behavior, if you do not make them independent in their salaries. I hope therefore the sum will not be struck out.

Mr. GOODHUE observed, that he did not think there was any propriety in referring to other countries for examples on this occasion. Circumstances, said he, do not apply. We must have regard to the ideas of our own people, and to the circumstances of our own country. And the only enquiry, in my opinion, is, what has been customary, and what may be necessary in the present case. He then referred to the salaries which are given in particular States, and tho' in some instances they are below what they ought to be, yet they command the first abilities. The