

of the army and the common defence against the common enemy; it would be in my opinion like the separating man and wife, or like amputating limbs from the body; I cannot see where the found part ends, and the gangrene, which is to be cut off, begins.

Mr. Bland hoped he had satisfied his colleagues and the house that his vote on this occasion was not the effect of caprice or singularity, but was founded on principle, both as it related to the general good and the good of the state from whence he came, and that he would be justified in voting that the assumption of the state debts, so far as it went to that incurred during the war for the general defence, should take place. He said he disliked long speeches, and should not have troubled the house on this occasion so long had he not been fully convinced in his own mind and conceived himself called upon from the peculiar predicament he stood in, in differing from all his colleagues on a matter of so much moment to the union and to the state of Virginia.

Mr. Burke said he had a few observations to offer to the committee, in order to satisfy some gentlemen whose principal objections to the assumption of the State debts were the S. C. frigate and the Penobscot expedition; these two objections remaining to be moved away, it seems, as a sort of rubbish, before we can lay the foundation. When the subject of the State debts was formerly before the committee of the whole, Mr. Burke was sorry he omitted to enter into the history of the transactions relating to the frigate, not thinking that gentlemen would avail themselves of that affair to embarrass the measure of assumption. He begged the indulgence of the committee while he gave a detail of it, as he had no doubt of giving such a satisfactory account as would convince the committee that the motives and reasons of that business flowed from pure patriotic principles, and principles connected with the general interests of the Union. There is not a gentleman on the floor who is a stranger to the feeble situation of our State, when we entered into the war to oppose the British power: We were not only without money, without an army of military stores, but we were few in number, and we were likely to be entangled with our domestics in case the enemy invaded us. When the British fleet and army arrived on our coasts in 1776, so small was our quantity of powder that we could not trust but a very little part of it in Fort-Moultrie, the first post in front of the enemy—a precaution very fortunate to them, for had the garrison had a sufficiency of powder, through that auspicious day, the British ships must have left their bones in the channel. And as to the article of lead, it is a fact which has never been related, that the citizens of Charleston were called on, and did actually furnish the lead used in their window-shutters: such was the desperate situation for want of stores. As to small arms, those of the regular troops were generally indifferent, and the militia were miserably armed. The administration, however, made every effort, in the years 1776 and 1777, and spared no expense to obtain those articles of defence from Europe and the West-Indies: but so guarded and lined were our coasts with British cruizers, that our attempts often proved vain; many vessels with those articles on board were captured, often in sight of the town, and the few escaping had to run the gauntlet through the enemy's fires. In the latter end of 1777 (I think it was) a Mr. Galvan prevailed on our government to employ him to go to France for arms; he went accordingly, charged with this commission, and with produce to purchase them. He returned with those arms. Whether he was imposed on in the contract, or not, we could not tell; but most of them burst in proving them. The whole importation was not, I believe, worth one farthing for substantial use.

In 1778 our circumstances, for want of the means of defending ourselves, were truly wretched, and we had rumours and reason to expect that our situation would again invite the enemy to invade us. The means of procuring military stores and clothing for our standing forces, or for the militia when called out, was an object of such magnitude as to occupy the attention of the patriots of that country, and finally the mind of the legislature, who, taking into consideration the want of all kinds of necessaries requisite for our situation, viewing the unfortunate disappointments met with by our small vessels falling into the hands of the enemy's cruizer frigates: our legislature, in that year, resolved upon a bold enterprising attempt to furnish the country with supplies. This attempt was to purchase in Europe, and equip for sea, three frigates, whose united efforts might give us a greater chance of their reaching our coasts in safety. It was an arduous undertaking; but it was such a one as was worthy of gallant men, undertaking for liberty. And here I have to make one observation respecting the State I belong to—I have not the honor of being a native of it, so that I shall not be charged with vanity or ostentation—Such was the native generosity of that people, that they thought no expense too great; such their gallantry and spirit of enterprise, that though comparatively few in number, yet they deemed no danger or undertaking too arduous for them in the common cause. For the business of the frigates they provided the enormous sum of upwards of 70,000. sterling; and to go to Europe, to make the purchase and take the command of them, they appointed a gentleman, Commodore Gillon, who, besides his being an able seaman, possessed bravery and talents. Indigo was purchased and shipped to France for that purpose; but a misfortune soon presented itself, which proved the source of all the embarrassments which that gentleman had to contend with in Europe, and of all the trouble and expense afterwards attending the frigate South-Carolina.

The vessel in which a great part of the indigo was shipped, was manned with British seamen, picked up as they could be got in our necessity; they mutinied at sea and the vessel and cargo, which they conducted into England, was the reward of their treachery, under British encouragement. Congress, about the commencement of the war, by way of retaliation, gave a similar incentive to British seamen to run away with British West-India ships, into the ports of the Continent, which they often did, and relieved our wants of West-India produce. Destitute of seamen we were obliged to employ men whose perfidiousness was felt by their friends and enemies. I mention it as a specimen of the honest frankness and integrity of British tars, often boasted of.

Commodore Gillon met with every difficulty and embarrassment. It became impracticable for him to execute his commission fully; but well knowing the fervent zeal and expectation of the country he served, respecting the business he came upon, he determined to procure and equip a vessel of force, and was destitute of the resources sufficient for the purchase, and as the credit of a State, liable to the calamities of a desperate war, must have been at a low ebb, an honorable member now of the Senate (Mr. Izard) being then in Europe, warm with a patriotic zeal to promote the service of his country, advanced his personal credit, which Commodore Gillon also did, for the purchase and equipment of the frigate South-Carolina. Those gentlemen, at that day, not only believed they were taking a measure which would be acceptable to their countrymen, but they thought they were doing what was wise and expedient for the public service, or they never would have embarked their private fortunes in it as they did. The ship putting to sea made several prizes, and so far performed service by distressing the common enemy. At the Savannah she was employed by the Spanish government to cover the expedition against New-Province, a place which the Commodore and his officers and crew were chiefly instrumental in reducing. Any profit arising from those services we are willing to account for.

So the business of that frigate had its source in the generous breasts of our countrymen, in their honest warm fervor, for the liberties and independence of the United States.

In order to put arms into the hands of our citizens, to supply clothing, powder, and other military stores, to put us on a footing with our enemy, should they again invade us, and to redeem us from the miserable defenceless situation we were plunged in in the beginning of 1778.

Mr. Burke added a few other observations, and concluded by apologizing to the committee for having trespassed on their time. He had other things to advance; but would stop for the present,

and reserve himself for another occasion to shew the policy and justice of assuming the State debts.

Mr. Jackson replied to Mr. Bland and Mr. Burke. Although he conceived the subject matter, respecting Georgia, foreign to the point before the committee, yet, as it had been brought forward, he thought himself called on to perform his duty by a reply.

The gentleman (Mr. Bland) had declared Georgia to have sucked the life's blood of Virginia, but that she had not acted as a dutiful child in return. He did not know that Georgia was to do as she was bid; but admitting the force of what the gentleman had advanced, and that Virginia was the mother of Georgia, still Georgia could not be called an undutiful daughter; for the representatives of the State of Georgia were of the same opinion with the body of the representatives of Virginia, on the subject of the assumption of the State debts.

The gentleman had brought forward estimates of debts and the losses of their respective States. If the losses of Georgia were to be compared, those of Virginia, or any other State, would be comparatively small. Not to enumerate others, the losses of the whole crops of rice, indigo, and corn, &c. of that State for the years 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, and 1782, would far overbalance any estimate which could be produced; and the loss of so many crops was an instance which could not be equalled by any State in the union.

Mr. Jackson then added a few words in reply to Mr. Burke, and concluded by observing that he was still against the assumption, nor did he think the house bound for it; the exertions of the different States has been unequal; the house had only pledged itself for a provision for the debts of the union, and that he hoped would take place.

To be continued.

FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MR. FENNO,

AMONG the various phenomena which now and then make their appearance, none has ever struck my mind so forcibly as the present political phenomenon which the rejection of the ASSUMPTION exhibits. Could any thing add to the astonishment which it has excited, it would be the very extraordinary reasons, which ostensibly occasioned it.

Had a state demagogue, apprehensive of losing his influence in a state assembly, endeavored to alarm the members with the terrors of a too-powerful Congress, and to persuade them that the public welfare depended upon exalting the state legislatures and depressing the national one, while we pitied the weakness of persons who were misled by such reasoning, we should not be surprised if finding it employed by those whose purposes it answered; but that similar arguments should be adduced in a certain great assembly, by gentlemen specially appointed to administer the national government, selected for that purpose from the mass of the people, and under the obligation of every sacred tie to protect it against every attack which might prevent its operating for the general good; is to me most unaccountable. Are there not in the several States men in abundance whose expectations are confined to a seat in the state legislature, and who for that reason alone will gladly embrace every opportunity of thwarting the measures of the general government? Are there not in every part of the continent enemies to the Constitution who will eagerly grasp at every occurrence which may turn to their advantage? Nay, are there not in the very bosom of this country, men who detest the American people, who sicken at the sight of our growing prosperity, whose breasts still rankle with disappointment, and rage at our glorious independence, and who yet remember that we were once part of the British empire? Is it forgotten that we are encompassed with foes, that Great Britain holds our posts and refuses to deliver them up; that her civil officers are now making encroachments on our frontiers, and violating the rights of jurisdiction of a respectable state; that while we may be involved in hostilities in the North and in the East, in consequence of these proceedings, a very gloomy and lowering atmosphere presents itself to the South, and to the West—is not the situation of Georgia alone sufficient to arouse our attention and excite our alarms? Embroiled with the Creeks in a fierce and vindictive war, not likely to terminate but by the destruction of one or the other people—she is now embroiling herself with her British creditors, whose debts she confiscated during the war by a law which had been long obsolete, but which has been recently called into active operation, and should Great Britain consider this an infraction of the treaty, the consequences may be readily anticipated: what then will be the deplorable situation of that unfortunate state? Attacked in the year by the Creeks, (who it is well known are supported by Spain) her vessels and produce seized in the ports of Great-Britain in retaliation for the confiscation of the debts due to its subjects; she will loudly call on Congress for protection, and protection she will undoubtedly be entitled to: Should Congress withhold it, Georgia must be utterly and completely ruined: Should Congress afford it, we are immediately involved in a war with Great Britain, Spain, and the Creeks. These are serious considerations, and should make some impression on the minds of our civil rulers! What assistance are we to expect from abroad? None: Our allies are not in a condition to afford us any: We must depend on our own strength alone; but what will that avail, disunited as we are, pulling in different directions, and tearing the machine to pieces, instead of drawing it forward! Nor is this all we have to contend with, the situation of Rhode Island, tho' in itself not very alarming, yet, as connected with other circumstances, may well justify disingenuous apprehensions. The emnity of that State will considerably injure the revenue: She will be a nest of smugglers: Her position is admirably calculated to enure wealth and safety to those who may engage in that profitable speculation, and the precautions which the government may resort to for the protection of the revenue will probably cost a larger sum than will be obtained from them.

Such being then the precariousness of our situation, having ample cause of uneasiness from a view of the North Western posts, the contentions about the Eastern limits, Vermont, the Western country, the Indians in every quarter, and the Creek nation more particularly, Rhode Island, the British and Spanish empires, and the commotions in Georgia, each of which ought alone to cause some anxiety; but all of which combined should excite the greatest apprehensions, and promote the utmost harmony in the government, having nothing to depend on but our own resources, which will be ineffectual without unanimity: Ought we not to execrate those, who under the sanctified garb of liberty are sowing the seeds of disunion, that we may become a prey to the first invader.

Say, my fellow citizens, is this a time to cripple the national government when all its strength is necessary for our protection? Is this what you expect from those who were delegated to administer it? At a time when a host of surrounding dangers should press the States into the most compact union, would he be your friend who should promote disunion, and anarchy, by warning the States to be jealous of the government, to suspect its motions, to arrest its progress, and to strip it of its strength and resources? Say rather, such a man would be wholly swayed by some little grovelling interest, instead of expanding his mind to embrace the great objects of the federal government: He would be hankering after popularity at home, frightened at the shadow of some state demagogue, and securing another election by gratifying the state prejudices of a few constituents, whose situation disqualified them from foreseeing the miseries attendant on a vote at which their ignorance might induce them to rejoice.

I sincerely hope my fears are imaginary, and that there is not in our councils any person of that description. Should however any such person offer himself to you as a candidate at the approaching election, tell him my fellow citizens, that his mind is too little, his nerves too weak, his ideas too contracted, his views too narrow, to justify your placing him in the great council of the nation; advise him to confine his abilities to the little circle of a corporation, or at furthest to a state assembly, where he may give full scope to his rhetorical powers, and please all his constituents, without doing any injury to the other States: Should he however by the smoothness of his tongue, and the plausibility of his manners overcome your repugnance, or should your vanity be gratified in being represented by a man of brilliant talents, remember that you will be answerable for all the consequences; and be assured, that notwithstanding a man may be possessed of splendid abilities or extraordinary eloquence, yet if he carries into Congress state interests, and illiberal prejudices, and cannot in national questions contemplate the good of the whole, such a man will be a curse to the people, and his abilities and eloquence will only contribute to make him more dangerous than he otherwise would be.

I have been drawn into these observations by a consideration of the present awful crisis, which threatens the very existence of a government which

was the last refuge of the American patriot, and which has scarcely commenced its career. The violent division in the H. of R. on a great national question, which has been once decided in the affirmative, and once in the negative by small majorities, and the uncertainty of the ultimate decision are circumstances which must depress the spirits of our friends, while they present a subject of joy to our enemies. Let us however hope, that while there appears (from the debates which have been published) so much justice, policy, fairness, equity, liberality, and federalism on one side, and so much state interest, partiality and injustice on the other, that the reason, good sense, and virtue of the majority will triumph, and that some plan of accommodation will be devised, which at the same time that it will remove any real objection which might have embarrassed the measure, will restore harmony to the States, and lay the foundation of public credit and national prosperity. A FRIEND TO THE UNION.

FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MR. FENNO,

I send you the extract of a letter, which you will publish, containing a more particular and authentic account than has hitherto appeared of the REVOLUTION IN THE BELGIC STATES.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Brussels, to his correspondent in New-York, dated Dec. 25, 1789.

YOU are sensible Sir that bickerings and disputes have arisen and subsisted for several years between the Belgic provinces and the emperor, which in the year 1787 induced the people to arm and discipline themselves under the title of volunteers; and in one instance they came to blows with the emperor's troops; several people were killed in the grand place in this city, and the patriots were quelled for the moment; their affairs were not ripe.

The beginning of last summer, their leader, Mr. Vandennoot, and the committee of the provinces assembled in the Barony of Breda, where their deliberations could not be interrupted by the Austrian government, and from this place they corresponded with the patriots in the different provinces. They collected as many men as possible to form an army, but in so secret a manner did they conduct their business, that the government gave no credit to the accounts which were daily circulated through the country, they affected to call them the army in the moon; the army imagined, and however this army in the moon defended and surprised the fort of Lillo, where they found a few cannon and some small arms; the panic of the government was instantly visible, the gates of Brussels were shut, the inhabitants disarmed, 60 persons of the first rank and consequence imprisoned, all clubs and societies prohibited from meeting, and the streets broken up to form barriers and ditches all over the city; the cannon were placed upon the ramparts, and the garrison consisting of more than five thousand men constantly employed in repairing the works, and four thousand men collected from the different posts formed a flying camp, and marched up and down the country, under the command of General Schroeder.

Thus we continued several weeks, till last Schroeder entered the small town of Tournhout, without having duly examined it, and was attacked from all sides, from the cellars, the windows, the roofs, from mills and from churches by the inhabitants: He lost 600 men and five pieces of cannon, and was himself wounded. He made a shameful retreat or rather flight, and notwithstanding the hurry, so alert were his soldiers at pillage, they plundered several houses, where they massacred the inhabitants men, women and children, to the number of 40, which was nearly all that fell on the side of the patriots.

After this defeat they marched to Ghent and joined the garrison under the command of General D'Arbery, where a terrible scene was exhibited, but as you will see it detailed in the pamphlet, I shall pass it over with only saying I believe that account to be very just, and come to the affair of Brussels, of which I have been a witness.

Whether from a conviction in the government that they were pursuing a wrong mode with the people, or whether it was in consequence of orders from Vienna not known, but the beginning of this month the gates were set open, the people were informed their arms would be returned upon application, (few however applied) and this was followed by the removal of the barriers and the discharge of the 60 persons who had been confined.

The people were exasperated to madness by the influence of the soldiery, which was neither checked nor punished by Dalton, who commanded them, he had given out that he was provided for a three months siege, and that he was determined to sustain it, and if at last he should be obliged to leave the place, he would yield it to plunder and reduce it to ashes; nothing better could be expected from this fable, who some years ago commanded in Wallachia, where he destroyed the poor wretches without mercy, and hung some hundreds of the first nobility; in one instance thirty at a time upon the same tree, without any form or process; for this and other proofs of his ferocity he was sent here to supercede General Murray who old Kaunitz thought was too mild: but as Generalie is the infernal companion of cruelty, Mr. Dalton has proved that he possessed the one in as great a degree as the other, as will appear from what I shall add, which you may depend upon being the real truth of the matter: When the government barriers, return in their severities, to open the gates, remove the barriers, relax the arms and release the prisoners, to publish humiliating placards two or three in a day; the people perceived that they had found their mistake, and were actually afraid of the consequences, and those measures instead of having the effect expected, operated quite differently upon the people, they served to convince them of the weakness and fear of the government, and gave them a proper idea of their own strength, and this added to what they felt before prepared them for the event which was to follow.

It is usual on Thursdays to perform grand mas at the principal church called St. Gudule, and most of the city go there on that day to perform their devotions; it happened the tenth of December was Thursday, and after mass a person took a cockade from his pocket, and putting it upon a stick held it up to the people, they took the hint, it spread like wildfire, and before eight not a person was to be seen without one. However every thing remained quiet, Dalton fired his alarm guns, and put his troops under arms, and thus they continued till four o'clock next day, when the people assembled from all quarters to take two pieces of cannon from the main guard, which was on the grand place, this guard consisted of 100 men under the command of an captain and two subs—there are seven streets that come into the grand place, the patriots had by this time collected about two hundred people armed, but without order or command, and at five o'clock the attack commenced, the two pieces of cannon were played alternately at each of those seven streets, not with grape or any thing that is usual, but with rivets, nails, old iron, broken bottles, &c. &c. and the soldiers fired through the same stuff from their muskets, which is proved by the cartridges found in their boxes, many of which I have seen. The firing continued seven hours without a moments intermission. When Dalton having made a truce with the Baron Vanderhagen (who was called upon during the night by the patriots to command them) for the purpose, sent three hundred men to bring off the guard, which they did about two o'clock in the morning, the firing then ceased and all things were quiet—About 10 o'clock the 12th, Dalton having drawn all his troops together upon the square called the place Royale, proposed to quit the town, provided the Patriots, who were now preparing to attack him, would engage to let him depart in peace, but while his officers were negotiating with Mr. Vanderhagen and the committee, the panic came stronger upon him, and he went off suddenly towards Namur, so that when the officers returned to the place Royale they found it void; and as soon as the troops passed the gate the desertions commenced, and before the next night one half of his army were returned to Brussels who were kindly received.—Thus ended all the threats of Richard Sans Peur, which named his parishers had given him; the remains of his army about 12,000 men molly Germans got to Luxembourg but he withdrew