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WEDNESDAY, JUNE 23, 1790.

[WHOLE No. 125.]

FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

ON THE MEANS OF PRESERVING THE UNION OF THE AMERICAN STATES.

THE present Constitution of the United States appears to be excellent in contemplation; and if the harmony of the States should not be disturbed by groundless jealousies, it bids fair to be durable and efficient in practice. It is however very doubtful whether several jurisdictions within a jurisdiction, wheels within a wheel, will not produce some jarring in their movements. The experiment is curious, and much wisdom and prudence may render it successful.

What then are the probable means of perpetuating our present establishments? Patriotism and the sword are not the means. I conceive the means to consist solely in a union of interests.

I.—All debts contracted during the late war, and in the common cause, must be made a common charge against the Union, and the creditors must all look to the same authority for payment, must depend on the same resources, and have the offer of equal compensation. Divide the debts, divide the resources, leave the different State legislatures to make various unequal provisions for payment, and a hostility will immediately commence between the general and particular governments, and between the different descriptions of creditors.—To sever our Union forever, nothing is wanted, but to set three or four States contending with Congress about the sources of revenue; and unless the debts should be assumed and made a common charge, nothing but infinite power could prevent such a contention.

II.—There should be no exclusion of persons who hold seats in the national government from a capacity to hold, at the same time, offices under the state governments. However distinct the powers of the governments may be, their interests are the same. Both are designed to promote the welfare and happiness of the same citizens. If two offices are incompatible, whether under state governments or the national government, common sense will dictate that they should not be lodged in the same hands. But a proposition for a total exclusion of members of Congress and federal officers from any seat or office in a State government, indicates a jealousy of our national government, to a high degree alarming. Such a proposition, like the exclusion of Clergymen from civil offices, supposes an enmity between the two governments or two orders of men, which requires each to fortify against the other, by erecting an impassable barrier. It is a declaration of hostilities between parties whose very existence depends on peace and union. The federal government stands on the State governments, as on pillars; and without the national government's guaranty, the independence of a State could not be secure for a year. What madness thus to wage war with the national government! What insatiation to create separate interests, when the whole business of this generation is, UNION!

Consolidation, that bug-bear of antifederalism, has spread terrific apprehensions, and made honest men dread the influence of the national government. But in the name of common sense, let me ask, was ever a nation too firmly consolidated for the purposes of good government? Never, it may be answered, never was a political society too closely united for strength, harmony, and happiness. Ancient Greece and all modern Europe can testify, that half the calamities of mankind have grown out of the rivalships, pride, and discordant views of petty sovereignties; nay, we ourselves should bless God for a federal constitution, which, by abridging the independence of the States, extinguished the sparks of civil war, that, in 1785, lay scattered through the States, just ready to be blown into a flame. There is no physical certainty that the state governments will ever be melted down into the general government; centuries at least must elapse, before this event can take place, in the ordinary progress of political changes. If it ever should, it will probably be the effect of pre-disposing causes which will render it necessary for public happiness. But by dividing the interests of the States, and detaching the officers of the national government from their interest in the State governments, the most effectual bonds of union will be dissolved, our national laws will be without energy, and America may expect to be scourged with factions, war and conquest. It is a sentiment most deeply impressed on my mind, that the whole business of the present age is, UNION.

DISCOURSES ON DAVILA.—No. XI.

Heroes proceed! What bounds your pride shall hold?
What check restrain your thirst of power and gold?

THE answer to the questions in the motto, can be none other than this, that as nature has established in the bosoms of heroes no limits to those passions; and as the world, instead of restraining, encourages them, the check must be, in the form of government.

The world encourages ambition and avarice, by taking the most decided part in their favor. The Roman world approved of the ambition of Cæsar; and, notwithstanding all the pains that have been taken with so much reason, by moral and political writers to disgrace it, the world has approved it these 17 hundred years; and still esteems his name an honor to the first empire in Europe. Consider the story of the ambition and the fall of Cardinal Wolfey and Archbishop Laud; the indignation of the world against their tyranny has been very faint; the sympathy with their fall has been very strong. Consider all the examples in history of successful ambition, you will find none generally condemned by mankind; on the other hand, think of the instances of ambition unsuccessful and disappointed; or of falls from great heights, you find the sympathy of the world universally affected. Cruelty and tyranny of the blackest kind must accompany the story, to destroy or sensibly diminish this pity. That world, for the regulation of whose prejudices, passions, imaginations and interests, governments are instituted, is so unjust, that neither religion, natural nor revealed, nor any thing, but a well ordered and well balanced government has ever been able to correct it, and that but imperfectly. It is as true in modern London, as it was in ancient Rome, that the sympathy of the world is less excited by the destruction of the house of a man of merit, in obscurity, or even in middle life, though it be by the unjust violence of men, than by the same calamity befalling a rich man, by the righteous indignation of heaven.

Nil habuit Cædus; quis enim negat? et tamen illud
Pendit infelix totum nihil, ultimus an em
Armonæ cumulus, quod nudum et frustra rogantem
Nemo cibo, nemo hospitio tutoque juvabit,
Si magna Arctii cecidit domus, horrida mater,
Palliat proceres, differt vadimonia Prætor.
Tunc geminus casus urbis, tunc odium ignem.
Ardet adhuc, et jam occurrit qui marmora donet,
Conferat impensas. Hic nuda et candida signa;
Hic aliquid præclarum Euphranoris et Polycleti,
Hic phœacianorum vetera ornamenta Deorum.
Hic libros dabit et forulos, mediæque Minervam;
Hic modium Argenti: meliora et plura reponit
Perficus orbem lautissimus, ut merito jam
Suspectus, tanquam ipse suas incenderit ædes.

But hark! th' affrighted crowd's tumultuous cries
Roll through the streets, and thunder to the skies:
Rais'd from some pleasing dream of wealth and power,
Some pompous palace, or some blissful bower,
Aghast you start, and scarce with aching sight,
Sustain the approaching fire's tremendous light;
Swift from pursuing horrors take your way,
And leave your little all to flames a prey;
Then thro' the world a wretched vagrant roam,
For where can starving merit find a home?
In vain your mournful narrative disclose,
While all neglect, and most insult your woe.

Should heaven's just bolts Orglio's wealth confound,
And spread his flaming palace on the ground,
Swift o'er the land the dismal rumor flies,
And public mournings pacify the skies;
The laureat tribe in vernal verse relate,
How virtue wars with persecuting fate;
With well-feign'd gratitude the pension'd band
Refund the plunder of the beggar'd land.
See! while he builds, the gaudy vassals come,
And crowd with sudden wealth the rising dome;
The price of boroughs and of souls restore;
And raise his treasures higher than before:
Now bless'd with all the baubles of the great,
The polish'd marble and the shining plate,
Orglio sees the golden pile aspire
And hopes from angry heav'n another fire.

Although the verse, both of the Roman and the Briton, is satire, its keenest severity consists in its truth.

FROM THOMAS'S MASSACHUSETTS SPY.
EULOGIUM,

By Dr. ALBIGENCE WALDO,
Delivered at the grave of the late General ISRAEL
PUTNAM.

THOSE venerable relics! once delighted in the endearing domestic virtues, which constitute the excellent neighbor—husband—parent—and worthy brother!—Liberal and substantial in his friendship—unsuspicious—open—and generous—just and sincere in dealing;—a benevolent citizen of the world:—He concentrated in his bosom, the noble qualities of an HONEST MAN.

Born a HERO—whom nature taught, and cherished in the lap of innumerable toils and dangers—

he was terrible in battle!—But—from the native amiableness of his heart—when carnage ceased—his humanity spread over the field, like the refreshing zephyrs of a summer's evening!—The prisoners—the wounded—the sick—the forlorn—experienced the delicate sympathy of this SOLDIER'S PILLAR!—The poor and the needy, of every description, received the charitable bounties of this CHRISTIAN SOLDIER!

He pitied littleness—loved goodness—admired greatness—and ever aspired to its glorious summit!—The friend, the servant, and almost unparalleled lover of his country:—Worn with honorable age, and the former toils of war, PUTNAM—“rests from his labors!”

“Till mouldering worlds, and tumbling systems burst!
When the last Trump, shall renovate his dust!
Still by the mandate of ETERNAL TRUTH,
His SOUL will flourish in immortal Youth!”

“This, all who knew him, know—this, all who lov'd him, tell.”

CONGRESS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.
TUESDAY, MAY 25.

Mr. GERRY'S motion on the assumption of the State debts, which was inserted in this paper of the 26th, under consideration

MR. BOUDINOT then rose and said—I am one of those, Mr. Chairman, who consider the subject now before you of as much importance as any that has yet required the attention of Congress. When it was first brought forward, it was new to me; I therefore determined in my own mind, patiently to hear both sides of the question, and to weigh every argument before I drew any positive conclusion: being also a State creditor (tho' in the habit of receiving interest from the State) my fears were excited, lest self-interest might mislead my judgment.—On these accounts the committee have hitherto not received any trouble in the communication of my sentiments on this important question. I have contented myself with a silent vote, and should have still continued in the same disposition, had not the gentleman who spoke on this subject, when it was last under consideration, advanced some arguments and drew certain conclusions from them, that struck me as neither founded in fact or reason. He appealed to me to involve the subject in unnecessary perplexity, and tho' simple in itself, became obscure from the terms by which it was distinguished and the manner in which the argument was handled. It has been generally denominated “the assumption of the State debts;” from whence a *bye stander* might suppose that the States, or some individual State, had called upon us to assume a debt or debts that we owed to them; but nothing is further from the truth. What is the subject before us? It is an application of our creditors, on which a question arises, whether a certain species of debt, evidenced by certificates from an individual State, is part of the domestic debt of the United States, or whether it is the private debt of the individual State?

Let us then simplify the question and consider it abstractly on its true principles; for if it should turn out to be the first, no man can assign a good reason why a discrimination should be made among our creditors. If the last, it will be as difficult to assign a reason why we should now assume them. The honorable gentleman who spoke last against the assumption of these debts put the question on proper principles, but his arguments appeared to be exceedingly fallacious. He alleged, “that it had been contended that the State debts are in their nature debts of the United States, and that the individual creditors can of right claim payment of the same from the general government. He denied the principle, and said that if these debts be nothing more than the debts of the United States, under another denomination, and if we are bound to provide for them as for the debts of the United States, let gentlemen consider whether they are not bound to view them in this light wherever they may be found, meaning in the State treasuries.”

This state of the question necessarily leads to an investigation of the nature of the debts proposed to be funded by the amendment now moved to the bill for funding the domestic debt of the United States.

These debts consist of certificates given by the individual States for—pay to the army—depreciation of pay—militia services—supplies found, and—services rendered. As these are all on one footing, to avoid perplexity, I will take the army debt for an example. This debt was contracted by the United States in Congress assembled. When our common country was threatened with an invasion by a very powerful enemy, the necessary defence required the raising of an army.—A union of the States was formed, and a confederation entered into, that the expenses for the common defence should be paid out of a public treasury, to be supplied by the respective States according to their several abilities. Troops were accordingly brought into the field, under certain stipulations of pay and support. Several years past away, and the soldiers not only bravely fought your battles, but in the end secured your liberties, and established your independence.

The States having failed in supplying your treasury, the stipulated payments were neglected, large arrears accrued, and after a series of sufferings (unknown to any other troops) a mutiny took place, and the destruction of your army was well nigh accomplished.—By the exertions of your commander in chief, and the most judicious management on his part, this serious disturbance ended in commissioners being sent to Congress with requisitions on the part of the whole army, requesting redress in a number of instances.

Suffer me to read the report of the grand Committee of Congress and their subsequent resolutions in answer to this application. “Saturday, January 25, 1783.—The grand committee, consisting of a member from each State, report, That they have considered the contents of a memorial presented by the army, and find they comprehend five different articles.—1st. Present pay. 2d. A settlement of accounts of the arrearages of pay and security for what is due. 3d. A commutation of half pay. 4th. Settlement of accounts for deficiencies of rations and compensation. 5th. Settlement of accounts of deficiencies of clothing and compensation. Whereupon, Resolved, as to the first, that the Superintendent of the finances make payment, &c. Resolved, with respect to the second article, so far as relates to the settlement of accounts, that the several States be called upon to complete, without delay, the settlements with their respective lines of the army, up to the 1st day of August, 1780, and that the Superintendent of Finance be directed to take such measures as shall appear to him most proper for effecting the settlement from that period. As to what relates to providing