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Gazette of the United States.

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SATURDAY, JUNE 26, 1790.

[WHOLE No. 126.]

TRANSLATED
FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.
ADDRESS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY to the
PEOPLE OF FRANCE.

FEBRUARY 11th, 1790.

DURING the progress of their labors, the National Assembly receives from all quarters the congratulation of the provinces, cities, and communities, the testimonies of the public joy, the acclamations of gratitude; but it likewise hears the murmurs, the clamors of those who feel hurt or afflicted at the measures taken against numberless abuses, interests and prejudices. While engaged in providing for the happiness of all, it concerns itself with the misfortunes of individuals—it pardons prejudice—spite and injustice—but it considers it as a duty, to guard you against the influences of calumny, and to destroy the vain terrors with which you are attempted to be surprised. What measures have not been taken to mislead you—to shake your confidence?—Some pretend to be ignorant, and ask what good has the National Assembly done? We will remind you. Difficulties have been thrown in the way of what has been done, which we will answer.—Doubts have been circulated, uneasiness has been excited respecting what will be done. We are going to inform you.

What has the Assembly done? It has traced with a firm hand, in the midst of storms, the principles of a Constitution, which secures liberty forever. The rights of man were forgotten—insulted for ages.—They have been re-established, in favor of humanity, by that declaration which will forever be the signal to rally against oppression, and the law of the legislators themselves. The nation had lost the right of decreeing both laws and imposts—This right has been restored to it—and the true principles of the Monarchy, the inviolability of the august Chief of the nation, and the inheritance of the throne in a family, so dear to every Frenchman, have been, at the same time consecrated. We only had the States General.—You now have a National Assembly, which cannot be ravished from you. Orders, divided by necessity, and subject to ancient pretensions, heretofore dictated decrees, and could restrain the springs of the national will—These orders exist no longer—every thing has disappeared before the honorable distinction of citizen.

Every one having become a citizen, it was necessary to have citizens for your defenders—and at the first signal we have seen the National Guard assembled by patriotism, and commanded by honor, every where maintains or restores order, and watches with indefatigable zeal over the security of each, for the interest of the whole.

Innumerable privileges, irreconcilable enemies to the public good, composed the whole of our public rights: They are destroyed, and at the voice of your Assembly, the Province most jealous of theirs, have applauded their fall—they have perceived themselves enriched by their loss—a vexatious feudal system, so powerful even in its latest ruins, spread over all France. You were subjected in the Provinces, to the regimen of an unquiet administration, from which you have been relieved—arbitrary orders, which encroached on the liberty of the citizens are annihilated.

You wished for a complete organization of the municipalities: This has just been given to you, and the creation of all these bodies, framed by your suffrages, presents at this moment, a most striking spectacle throughout France. The National Assembly has, at the same time, consummated the work of a new division of the kingdom, which alone can efface the last traces of ancient prejudices—substitute the true love of our country in the place of the selfish love of a Province—lay the foundation of a good representation, and fix at the same time the rights of each man, and of each Canton, in proportion as they are connected with the public—a difficult problem, the solution of which has remained unknown till our days.

For a long while you have wished for the abolition of the venality of the Magistracy: It has been pronounced. You experienced the want of a reform, at least of a provisional one, of the principal faults of the criminal code: It has been decreed, until a general reform can be adopted.—Complaints, demands, and claims have been addressed to us from all quarters of the kingdom—which we have satisfied as far as it was in our power. The multitude of public engagements terrified us: We have consecrated the principles, on that faith which is due to them. You feared the

power of the Ministers: We have imposed a law on them, securing their responsibility. The impost of the Gabelle was odious to you: We have mitigated it in the first instance, and have promised to do it away intirely—for it is not enough, that imposts are indispensably necessary for the public exigencies—they ought also to be justifiable on account of their equality, their wisdom and their mildness. Immoderate pensions, frequently lavished without the knowledge of your King, ravished from you the fruits of your labors. We have in the first instance considered them with an eye of severity, and we are about comprehending them within the limits of strict justice. In short the finances required immense reformation—seconded by the Minister who has obtained your confidence, we have labored at them without cessation, and you will soon enjoy the benefit.—
(To be continued.)

FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

DISCOURSES ON DAVILA.—No. XII.

Order is Heaven's first law—and this confess'd,
Some are, and must be, greater than the rest:
More rich, more wise—But who infers from hence,
That such are happier, shocks all common sense.

THE world is sensible of the necessity of supporting their favourites under the first onsets of misfortune—lest the fall should be dreadful and irrecoverable—for according to the great Master of Nature,

'Tis certain greatness, once fallen out with fortune,
Must fall out with men too: What the declin'd is
He shall as soon read in the eyes of others,
As feel in his own fall: For men, like butterflies,
Shew not their mealy wings but to the summer;
And not a man for being singly man,
Hath any honor; but's honor'd for those honors
That are without him, as place, riches, favor,
Prizes of accident as oft as merit.

Mankind are so sensible of these things, that by a kind of instinct or intuition, they generally follow the advice of the same author.

Take the infant way
For honor travels in a straight so narrow
Where one but goes abreast: Keep then the path,
For Emulation hath a thousand lons,
That one by one pursue; if you give way,
Or hedge aside from the direct forth-right,
Like to an enter'd tide, they all rush by,
And leave you hindmost;
Or like a gallant horse, fall'n in first rank,
Lie there for pavement to the abject rear,
O'er-run and trampled on.

The inference from all the contemplations and experiments which have been made, by all nations, upon these dispositions to imitation, emulation, and rivalry, is expressed by the same great teacher of morality and politics.

Degree being vizarded,
Th' unworthiest shews as fairly in the mask.
The Heavens themselves, the Planets and this center,
Observe degree, priority and place,
In stature, course, proportion, season, form,
Office and custom, in all line of order:
And therefore is the glorious planet Sol,
In noble eminence enthron'd and spher'd
Amidst the others; whose medicinal eye
Corrects the ill aspects of planets evil,
And posts, like the commandment of a King,
Sans check, to good and bad; but when the planets
In evil mixture, to disorder wander,
What plagues and what portents! what mutiny!
What raging of the sea! Shaking of earth!
Commotion in the winds! frights, changes, horrors,
Divert and crack, rend and deracinate,
The unity and married calm of states,
Quite from their fixure? O, when degree is shak'd,
Which is the ladder to all high designs,
The enterprise is sick! how could communities,
Degrees in schools, and brotherhoods in cities,
The primogeniture and due of birth,
Prerogative of age, crowns, sceptres, laurels,
But by degree, stand in authentic place?
Take but degree away; untune that string
And hark! what discord follows! each thing meets
In meek oppugnancy: the bounded waters
Should lift their bosoms higher than the shores,
And make a sop, of all this solid globe:
Strength should be lord of imbecility,
And the rude son should strike his father dead:
Force should be right; or rather right and wrong
Should lose their names, and so should justice too.
Then every thing includes itself in power,
Power into will, will into appetite;
And appetite an universal wolf,
Must make per force an universal prey,
And last eat up himself.
This chaos, when degree is suffocate
Follows the choking,
The General's disdain'd.
By him one step below: he by the next;
That next by him beneath: so every step
Exempl'd by the first pace, that is sick
Of his superior, grows to an envious fever
Of pale and bloodless emulation.
Troy in our weakness stands, not in her strength.
Molt wisely hath Ulysses here discovered
The Fever, whereof all our power is sick.

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'S SPEECH CONCLUDED.)

THERE is no connection between my debt against the person who may become my security to another, and the creditor to whom I owe a debt of my own contracting—Suppose in common dealing A. owes B. 100l. but being unable to pay, gives C (who owes him money) as his security to B.—Before the debt is paid, C the security becomes insolvent, and A retrieves his affairs and is able to pay—would any man think A in his senses, to refuse payment to B. because C. was unable to pay the debt due to him. But if C. had paid the money to B. then the debt was changed and C. would have a right to charge it against the debt he owed to A. So, whenever the State has discharged a debt owing by Congress, to the individual citizen, and has the evidence of it in her treasury, such State has no right to demand a repayment, 'til by the settlement of her accounts with the United States, it shall appear that a balance is due to her. This is every day's practice between man and man. But both the equity and policy of this measure have been denied. As to the first, let it be asked, are the facts above set forth true, "that the debt was originally that of the United States, and that the creditor has never received any satisfaction for it?" If so, where is the justice or equity of making a discrimination among our creditors? Can any man assign a reason, why debts of the same nature, under the same contract and for the same services, should be rejected and treated as of no force, merely because they have been settled and vouched by different officers, under the same authority. What will the veteran soldier and the respectable militiaman, who, under every discouragement fought your battles, and risked their lives for your preservation. What will the patriot farmer, who furnished you with supplies in the day of darkness and distress—What will the citizen, from whom you forced, perhaps that on which he depended for the support of his family, at the point of the bayonet bay, when they are told, that after waiting ten years in vain for their just due, that it is now inequitable to pay their demand, because it was settled by the State government, agreeably to the directions of Congress. There must be the greatest equity in appropriating that treasure, supplied by the union at large, to the payment of those debts contracted for their common defence. A last argument I shall offer to shew the equity of this measure is, that we are in possession of the very means from which alone the States could pay these debts, if their obligation to it was ever so clear.

I now come to the policy of the measure.—As in private life, so in every government, I am fully satisfied, that honesty will ever be found to be the best policy.

The policy of this measure arises from numberless sources.—It is supporting the public faith.—As our present conduct shall be, so will be the conduct of others towards us, whenever we shall need further loans for public service.—A few hundred dollars saved now, may hereafter cost us more thousands.—Our conduct on this occasion will be narrowly watched, and not forgotten in many years.—Good policy requires one uniform rule of paying our public debt, as well as the like uniformity in the arrangement and collection of the public revenue.—Another source of the policy of this measure arises from the propriety of suppressing all temptations to unnecessary party zeal and collision of opposite interests among the citizens of the same government. Let gentlemen consider the operation of a contrary measure.—Will the citizens of individual States see with complacency the produce of so heavy an impost, expended in partial payments of the debts of the general government, while their demands, funded in the strictest justice, are wholly disregarded by those who are bound to do equal justice to every citizen. It should not be forgotten, that the collection of a revenue in such a country as ours, depends greatly upon opinion. If, by our public measures, we once make it reputable to defraud the revenue, it will be out of the power of all your regulations and penalties to secure its due collection. At present there is a universal prejudice in your favor. The patriotism of your citizens is a greater security than your utmost force. They think that the government is in their own hands.—That they are truly represented here, and that their contributions, are faithfully applied to their best interests. Cherish this spirit, by the most impartial justice and equal dealings to every citizen.—If once it becomes a habit to depart from the path of virtue, it will be more than difficult to tread back those steps again. It is policy, to prevent by this means, one State from preying on the necessities of another, by which jealousy, feuds and animosities, so dangerous to every government, are often promoted. Altho' I am in general averse from bringing into view on general questions, the local circumstances of a particular State, yet in the present case, I beg leave to hold up the circumstance of the State from which I have the honor of coming, because I am best acquainted with her real situation. It is well known to this committee, that in the beginning of the war, she was deprived of many of her citizens, who went off to the enemy. She presented her whole sea coast as a frontier to the British troops.—She was invaded every few months, for several years of the war.—Her militia was almost continually in the field.—Her towns were deserted—Her houses were burned—Her property plundered, and her faithful citizens carried into captivity.—For several years, both the British and American armies were the greatest part of the year within her borders.—As if these evils were not sufficient, at the end of the war, an impost, for State purposes, was established by the two adjoining States, from whom she was obliged to receive all her imports, whereby she was bled at every pore. During this whole time, the requisitions of Congress were made on her, without any allowance for her peculiar circumstances, the other States had shared a milder fate. As far as it was in her power, she complied faithfully with them—and in addition to her exertions, she has relieved the distresses of her citizens, by paying the interest due to them from the government, without respect to the species of debt. In this manner, she has struggled with difficulty, under an oppressive burthen, 'til the period arrived, which she thought, promised an alleviation to her distresses.

The ability of the new government, she fondly hoped would have eased the burthen, and calmed the minds of her citizens, who were daily leaving the State to find a happier climate to the northward and the westward, where heavy taxation would not reach them. I hold up these circumstances of an individual State, to shew that she cannot go much further; every citizen she looses, leaves the incumbrance the greater on those who remain behind. At this moment, sir, in one township of that State, there are between 2 and 300 executions out for the arrears of taxes. Is it not