

# National Gazette

By PHILIP FRENEAU.

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For the NATIONAL GAZETTE.  
The interest of the NORTHERN and SOUTHERN STATES forever inseparable,

IT seems to have been the design of nature in her formation and distribution of that part of North America, known by the name of the United States, that a mutual dependence should take place between the northern and southern inhabitants. The New-England states, naturally narrow, and their lands in general not very fertile or productive, will ever be under the necessity of keeping a vast number of their people on the watery element; of this number the fisheries will occupy a considerable share. The exportation of the manufactures and commodities of those four states will engage another part; but a large surplus must in a short time, I may even say, would be absolutely out of employ at this instant, were it not for the carrying trade of the southern states, by which I would be understood the states from Maryland to Georgia, both inclusive.

An intimate union, founded upon the broad basis of the carrying trade, may continue durable as time, and the present constitution of things. That it will ever be the interest of the southern states to become their own carriers, does not appear. Necessity alone obliges men to live upon the ocean, and so little does that necessity exist in the Carolinas, that there is at this time not more than one or two masters of vessels belonging to America, who are natives of those states, and absolutely no common seamen.

Where mutual interest is the cement of the people, an empire bids fair to be lasting and happy. Where there are jealousies and rivalships the tie of ancient friendship soon becomes feeble, and ambition presently finds means to establish small independencies, ruinous to the people, and finally rendering them contemptible to larger and better consolidated governments.

To strengthen the habits of intercourse and connexion between the northern and southern extremities of the American government, nothing seems to be more wanting than a capital situated in the centre, which shall be the great resort and emporium of the world, to which the inhabitants of the immense western regions shall find an easy access; where the N. England-man, the Georgian, or the Carolinian shall consider themselves alike at home; where the productions of all will be in demand; and which shall be the grand mart of European and Asiatic commerce. Nov. 8.

Thoughts on the Theory of Government, as applicable to the new Constitution of France. [Translated from *Le Logographe, Journal National, Aug. 28.*]

THE constitution of France holds forth to the nation, Liberty, Property, and, lastly, Security.—And these inestimable blessings are still further secured to us by the spirit of that system upon which the constitution is founded.

There has been much dispute on the nature of the government, which the constitution has given us. It is *monarchical*, (say some)—It is, in reality, *republican*, say others. They, who have no idea but of these two species of government, pretend that it is *mixed*, or partakes equally of the republican and monarchical forms.—But, in reality, the government which France is now upon the point of establishing, appears rather to participate equally of three modes of domination: and, in fact, there are but three original elementary kinds of government in the world: The *monarchical*, the abuse of which leads to despotism—

The *aristocratical*, the abuse of which tends to oligarchy, or when the various powers of government are in the hands of a few: and, lastly, the democratic form of government, the abuse of which is called anarchy.

If we examine accurately, we shall find, throughout the world, that the above three kinds of domination (viz. supreme power in the hands of one man, of many, or of all) are, in practice, either wholly separate, or jumbled together. But abuses inevitably grow into them all, when there is not a certain specific principle to qualify them; or when the mere blending of them into one mass is considered as a sufficient check to the abuses of each, simply considered.

The great problem, then, to be resolved, is, whether, in creating a constitution, it be possible so to combine and melt down the three simple modes of government, that from the whole there shall result a perfect harmonious system; as from the assemblage of certain original sounds, proceeds a perfect harmony, in music.

This is precisely what our legislators have done: they have divided and subdivided the sovereign power really residing in the people; but yet in such a manner, as to leave it complete in practice.

It is a truth, generally known, that a single agent is requisite for a prompt execution of the laws; and that the laws themselves (to be good and salutary) should be the result of the discussions and reflections of a small number of enlightened men; the choice of which men will be the more or less valuable in proportion as it arises from the votes of a greater or smaller number of citizens, who shall have freely concurred in the appointments.

Upon these principles, we shall see every department of public business delegated to him who is most equal to its duties. It will lie upon the whole body of the people to choose their legislators; the legislators will constitute the national assembly of France (elected by the public voice) which will form exactly that kind of elective aristocracy, proposed by Rousseau, and which he held up as the most perfect system of government.—Added to these, is an hereditary throne, occupied by a special agent, the supreme head of the nation, who holding the reins of regal power under the responsibility of his ministers, will ensure the most rapid and perfect execution of the laws of the empire.

Such a system of government leaves nothing further in expectation. It is able in itself completely to maintain the legislative and executive branches in a perfect equilibrium. This alone embraces that assemblage of various powers, the aggregate of which is nothing else than *national sovereignty put in action*.

It must not be imagined, that previous to the formation of any body of people into a state of society, or before the constitution of that society was finally established, that every individual possessed within himself some small share of that sovereignty or plenitude of power, which the great social bodies are wont to exercise. Such a species of sovereignty does not simply consist in the right of governing one's self, it likewise includes the right of governing others. Now, this last right, previous to the casual formation of society, belonged to no one. The species of sovereignty that is founded in the social compact, cannot be considered a separate, particular right; or a private possession of individuals; on the contrary, it is general property, indivisible and common, no part of which did exist before the existence of society itself, and which the people associated cannot claim or exercise, but in common.

From an inattention to these ideas, it has frequently happened, that a small number of individuals, are frequently stiled in their petitions, *members of the sovereign*; and that others have wished to annihilate the *unity of a monarchical head* in the constitution, in order that the two other powers might perfectly balance each other.

The misunderstanding of these principles has been one great cause of various governments, erected, in appearance, on the most solid foundations, falling into confusion and ruin.

Unfortunately, they neglected to establish this power of supremacy, in one person, as a part of their constitution, and infringed that great law of nature, which has ordained that the three branches of government should exist together, to make a complete whole. Wherever this omission has been suffered, it has been the constant effort of the people to restore it; and if England has preserved a more perfect constitution than other nations, it is because she has espoused at all times this great elementary principle of government.

Let us never admit any alterations, if we can possibly prevent them, into this first act of our renovated government [*the constitutional code*] which is founded upon the will of twenty-five millions of people. Let this precious treasure be transmitted from generation to generation in all its purity, and may it descend, with the blessings of the people to our latest posterity! They will have reason to honor the memory of those men of genius and knowledge, who have established the rights of a great nation, upon the most benevolent laws, and who by their wisdom and moderation have prevented that effusion of human blood, which a blind, stupid love of country has hitherto encouraged among the different nations of the world.

Signed, LOUIS LEFEBURE,  
Member of the Council General  
of the district of Paris.  
Paris, August 28, 1791.

To our Subscribers.  
[The constitutional code, above referred to, shall be published in this paper, as soon as authentic accounts arrive of its acceptance by the King.]

## CONGRESS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF  
THE UNITED STATES.

MONDAY, Nov. 7.

Several other members appeared and took their seats, viz. William Findley, from Pennsylvania; John Baptist Ashe, from North-Carolina; and Abraham Baldwin, from Georgia.

The speaker laid before the house a letter from the secretary of the treasury, with an estimate of certain sums necessary to be appropriated for various objects therein specified, including the service of the year 1792.—Read, and referred to Mr. Lawrance, Mr. Baldwin, and Mr. Ashe.

A message was then received from the senate, as follows:

Mr. Speaker—The senate have passed the bill, intituled, "An act granting further time for making return of the enumeration of the inhabitants in the district of South-Carolina," with several amendments, to which they desire the concurrence of the house.

The house having proceeded to consider the said amendments proposed, concurred with the senate therein.

Mr. Bourne, of Massachusetts, and Mr. Smith, of Vermont, were appointed a committee for enrolled bills, on the part of the house.

On the part of the senate, Mr. Ruth-erford was appointed one of the said committee.

The house then proceeded to consider the report of the secretary at war, on the petition of John Torrey, when, after some debate, it was ordered that the said petition and report be committed to a committee of the whole house to-morrow.

The reports of the secretary at war, on the petitions of John Younglove, and of the inhabitants of Albany, Washington, and Saratoga counties, (state of New-York) were called up, and the following resolution moved thereupon—That

the prayer of the petition of said inhabitants (in opposition to the petition of John Younglove) for the repeal of so much of the act of Congress, relative to granting pensions to disabled officers and soldiers, as grants a pension to John Younglove, cannot be complied with.—On motion, the further consideration of said petition was postponed.

The speaker laid before the house, a report from the commissioners appointed by the act making provision for the reduction of the public debt, stating the amount of the purchases which have been made thereof; which was read, and ordered to lie on the table.

The house proceeded to consider the report of the secretary at war on the petition of Joseph Tucker, Thomas Hollis Condy, Robert Williams, and Samuel Armstrong, (agents appointed by the state of Massachusetts to the several regiments to which they belonged) made to the second session of the first Congress; whereupon the following resolution was taken, "That so much of the said report as is contained in the words following be agreed to: "That the case is so circumstanced that the petitioners cannot obtain any further allowances, unless the legislature of Massachusetts should think proper to grant the same." Adjourned.

TUESDAY, November 8.

Another member, Andrew Gregg, from Pennsylvania, appeared and took his seat.

A petition of James Muckelroy, was read, praying to receive certain arrears of pay due to him for services, while a soldier in the army of the United States, during the late war.

Mr. Sheerjashub Bourne, from the joint committee of enrolment, reported, that the bill for granting further time for returning the South-Carolina census had been examined by the committee, and the same had been found to be truly enrolled; upon which the bill was signed by the Speaker, and then sent to the President, from whom a message was afterwards received, notifying the House that he had approved and signed the same.

A petition of Josias Clapham was read, praying the renewal of certain loan office certificates and indents, the property of the petitioner, which were destroyed by fire.—Referred to the committee for directing the mode for renewing lost or destroyed debts of the United States.

A petition of John Sinkler, praying to be allowed to fund certain certificates of indents, being the duplicates of certain original certificates of indents, the property of the petitioner, destroyed by fire.

The house, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a committee of the whole, on the report of the secretary at war, on the petition of John Torrey, laying claim, as administrator, to the half-pay compensation of Joseph Torrey, formerly an officer in the service of the United States, who died without leaving a widow or children; the secretary having reported that he is not entitled thereto.—Mr. Muhlenberg in the chair.

After some debate, the question was taken on agreeing to the secretary's report, and passed in the affirmative. The committee then rose and reported, which report was adopted by the house.—Resolved, that the secretary's report be agreed to, and that therefore the prayer of the petition cannot be granted.

[Adjourned.]

WEDNESDAY, November 9.

William Vans Murray from Maryland, and Thomas Sumpter from South-Carolina, appeared and took their seats.

The Speaker laid before the House a letter from the governor of Maryland, inclosing an appointment of John Francis