

dragoons to be raised to serve during the existing differences with France, was a necessary measure, it is needless now to examine. We should not withhold our approbation from those who concurred in the act from an apprehension of an invasion by France, although the event in our opinion was not probable. But if there was reason to apprehend an invasion in the year 1798, why continue to organize this army since that period when there was not the shadow of a probability of an invasion by France. In the year 1799, France was struggling for her political existence as a nation against the most powerful combination that was perhaps ever formed. If it had been her intention, she had not the power to invade the United States. Why then, was not this army disbanded on the motion of Mr. Nicholas, if not before? And if it was good policy to retain in service the 3300 men who had been enlisted under the law, why were not the supernumerary officers discharged? Why retain in service officers for twelve regiments to command men who would compose only four or five? It is true that the recruiting service was suspended; but to stop the enlistments and retain the officers was holding out an appearance of economy with all the consequences of profusion. When money is borrowed to supply the deficiency of taxes every expence not absolutely necessary should be carefully avoided.

The opinion of the president upon the necessity of retaining this army may be collected from his speeches to congress. At the last session but one when addressing congress, he observes, "In proportion as we enlarge our views of the portentous and incalculable situation of Europe, we shall discover new and cogent motives for the full development of our energies and resources." Again, speaking of France, he says, "considering the late manifestations of the policy towards foreign nations, I deem it a duty deliberately and solemnly to declare my opinion, that whether we negotiate or not, vigorous preparations for war will be alike indispensable."

How different were the opinions of his predecessor, the truly great and illustrious WASHINGTON! I cannot contrast their opinions more clearly than by adopting the language of the general assembly of Virginia at their last session.—"It is with the most serious concern that the general assembly of Virginia observes, the extraordinary solicitude displayed by the administration of the government of the United States, for raising and extending military establishments: and while it has been steady and uniform in the pursuit of that object, undeterred by the consequences of expences and taxes, the motives avowed for the conduct have been varied and accommodated to every change of our political situation. They had indulged a hope when there was a prospect of an accommodation of differences with the French republic; or, if even the existing mission should not terminate in that desirable event; when all the belligerent nations of Europe are too much occupied with European concerns to meditate an invasion of the United States; that the people would have been relieved from the evils and expences incident to a military establishment: But it has been with the most painful emotions, that they have seen in the president's speech, at the opening of the present session of congress, a total disappointment in this just and pleasing expectation. The following intimation contained in that speech not only proves that their expectation was delusive, but as they conceive, indicates a radical change in the great constitutional principle of national defence. The president in his speech observes, "the result of the mission to France is yet uncertain: but however it may terminate, a steady perseverance in a system of national defence, commensurate with our resources, and the situation of the United States, is an obvious dictate of wisdom." This recommendation if carried into practice would materially lessen the advantages which would naturally result from an accommodation with the French republic; the most important of which would be a relief from the evils incident to a preparation for a rupture; and essentially establishes a position never before officially advanced in the United States—that war in Europe is of itself a sufficient cause for raising a standing army here, equal at least to the present military establishment. The experience of all ages has shewn that the respite from wars amongst the European nations is too short to justify disbanding an existing army, and raising another during the intervals of peace, as a preparation for the next rupture; and of course if European wars be a sufficient cause for raising military establishments, a perpetual standing army would be the certain consequence of the recommendation."

Again: "That the militia is the only safe and adequate defence of a nation, is a political axiom hitherto held sacred in the United States.—This is not only the obvious meaning of the constitution, but is still more strongly evidenced by the practical construction thereof under the former administration, as will appear by reviewing its proceedings for several successive years after the government was put into operation. Shortly after that event, the first president in his speech on the 8th of January, 1790, called the attention of congress to the great business of providing for the national defence in the following words: "A free people ought not only to be armed, but disciplined, to which end, an uniform and well digested plan is requisite." Acting under the same impression in his speech on the 25th day of October, 1791, he again reminded congress of the militia, as the great depository of national force; speaking of the several objects referred to the consideration of congress, in referring to the militia he observes: "The first is certainly an object of primary importance, whether viewed in reference to the national security, or to the satisfaction of the community, or to the preservation of order, in conjunction with this, the establishment of com-

petent magazines, and arsenals, and the fortification of such places as are peculiarly important and valuable, naturally present themselves to consideration. The safety of the United States, under Divine protection, ought to rest on the basis of systematic and solid arrangements exposed as little as possible to the hazard of fortuitous circumstances."

These recommendations being considered as relating exclusively to the militia gave rise to a law more effectually to provide for the national defence, by establishing a uniform militia throughout the United States. The president again recurring to the militia as the safe and adequate defence of the nation, in his speech on the 3d of December, 1793, after speaking of the necessity of procuring arms and other military apparatus emphatically observes: "Nor can such arrangements with such object be exposed to the censure or jealousy of the warmest friends of republican government. They are incapable of abuse in the hands of a militia, who ought to possess a pride in being the depository of the force of the republic, and may be trained to a degree of energy equal to every military exigency of the United States. But it is an inquiry which cannot be too solemnly pursued, whether the act has organized them so as to produce their full effect." And again, after the militia had demonstrated their efficacy in promptly marching to suppress an opposition to the laws in Pennsylvania, on the 10th of November, 1794; in his speech the president observes: "The devising and establishing a well regulated militia would be a genuine source of legislative honour, and a perfect title to public gratitude. I therefore entertain a hope that the present session will not pass without carrying into full energy the power of organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and thus providing, in the language of the constitution, for calling them forth, to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions as auxiliary to the state of our defence, to which congress can never too frequently recur, &c." These quotations require no illustration; They pronounce the national will.—The solicitude of the Virginia assembly for disbanding the army, and reinstating the great constitutional principle of national defence, is greatly increased by referring to the enormous sums appropriated for supporting the army and navy.—Whilst the only effects which this ruinous system has yet disclosed, are a corruption of public and private morals.—The dissemination of monarchical doctrines, the dissipation of the treasure of the laborious and industrious for the most part amongst the most idle, dissolute, and vicious of the citizens, violation of personal security, and contempt of the civil authority."

Thus we perceive that the late president in his addresses to congress uniformly expressed the most anxious solicitude that the militia should be organized and disciplined, and placed on the most respectable footing.—That he considered the militia as the only safe and adequate defence of a nation:—as the great depository of national force:—as an object of primary importance, whether viewed in reference to the national security, or to the satisfaction of the community, or to the preservation of order.—We may search in vain in Mr. Adams's speeches for similar sentiments and recommendations.

Had Mr. Adams, like the late president, cherished the opinion that the militia were "the great depository of the force of the republic;"—and that "they may be trained to a degree of energy equal to every military exigency of the United States;"—all the expence of the army lately disbanded would have been saved to the public, and might have been applied to more beneficial purposes. The president not long since deliberately and solemnly declared his opinion "that whether we negotiate with France or not, vigorous preparations for war will be alike indispensable." And yet when it is not known that any negotiation has taken place, when "no official or direct accounts have been received from our commissioners since their arrival in France" according to a letter from a member of congress to his constituents, the president submits to consent that the army may be disbanded.—What event has wrought this sudden conviction? Reason and reflection will suggest the proper inference.

Has the president pursued the course of his predecessor in other important points of national concern? By comparing their opinions and conduct on the subject of intercourse with foreign nations, we shall find that they differ. The president in his speech at the opening of May session 1797 observes, "although it is very true that we ought not to involve ourselves in the political system of Europe, but to keep ourselves always distinct and separate from it, if we can; yet, to effect this separation, early, partial and continual information of the current chain of events, and of the political projects in contemplation is no less necessary than if we were directly concerned in them: It is necessary in order to the discovery of the efforts made to draw us into the vortex, in season to make preparations against them." However we may consider ourselves, the maritime and commercial powers of the world will consider the United States of America, as forming a weight in that balance of power in Europe, which never can be forgotten or neglected. It would not only be against our interest, but it would be doing wrong to one half of Europe at least, if we should voluntarily throw ourselves into either scale. It is a natural policy for a nation that studies to be neutral, to consult with other nations engaged in the same studies and pursuits: At the same time that measures ought to be pursued with this view, our treaties with Prussia and Sweden, one of which is expired, and the other near expiring, might be renewed.

Now let us hear the words of the late president in his farewell address to the people. "The great role of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in ex-

tending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connections as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be justified with perfect good faith.—Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humour or caprice?

"This our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world; to far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as patronizing infidelity to existing engagements.—Let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them."

The president conceives that it is a natural policy for us to consult with other nations engaged in the same studies and pursuits, and that measures ought to be pursued with this view. The late president deemed it unwise, by interweaving our destiny with Europe, to entangle our peace—unwise to implicate ourselves by artificial ties—unwise and unnecessary to extend our engagements. His opinion is emphatically expressed by these words: "HERE LET US STOP."

The opinion of the president prevailed. A further appropriation of 22,650 dollars was made for defraying the expences of intercourse between the United States and foreign nations for the year 1798, and new embassies were projected.—

Have they been governed by the same rules with respect to appointments to office? It will not be contended that they have. Talents—integrity—patriotism—attachment to the constitution—and meritorious services, ought at all times to be powerful recommendations. These seldom recommended to the late president, his near relations and connections: and these it we may believe what I have never heard contradicted, without an additional ingredient, have seldom been deemed a sufficient recommendation to the ruling president.

G. DUVALL.

[To be continued.]

STRASBURG, May 24.

The Austrians have evacuated the Grisons; Coire, Feldkirch, Bregenz and Lindau are in our hands. A letter from Augsburg states, that on the 18th a courier from Vienna passed that way on his rout to Paris. He was supposed to be charged with pacific dispatches.

PARIS, May 30.

An American frigate placed by the government of the United States at the disposal of their ministers plenipotentiary, has entered the road of Havre. A French pilot was sent on board to conduct her into the harbour; but as late as the 24th she remains in her former anchorage.

Yesterday peace was the order of the day, and nothing was heard but wishes of peace. Undoubtedly, a peace cannot arrive too soon; but in the present posture of affairs, it might be supposed that the Austrians would be the first to talk of it.

June 1.

The council for deciding on prize causes, yesterday ordered the American ship Figou, taken by the Co-card and Bravour, to be restored, with costs.

We are assured that the negotiations with the ministers of the United States of America at Paris are advancing rapidly to an amicable conclusion.

LONDON, June 1.

Report says, that all the English in Russia are held as hostages for the return of the Imperial troops from the islands of Guernsey and Jersey.

A ferment prevails among the inhabitants of the dutchy of Wirtemberg. One half of that country is occupied by the French; at the departure of the last post, however, they had not arrived at Stuttgart.

The city of Schaffhausen was obliged to pay to the French a contribution of 700,000 livres. From the free Imperial city of Uberlingen, they exacted a contribution of 50,000 florins.

At Hohentwiel the French found 33 brass guns, 3 mortars, 4000 muskets, 20,000 pounds of powder, a considerable quantity of flints, bomb-shells, balls, grenades, 2000 casks of flour, and many other stores.

From the rich abbey in Germany, the highest contributions are exacted by the French. The free Imperial city of Memingen was obliged to pay to the French a contribution of 90,000 florins.

An article from Constantinople, dated March 30, says, the grand admiral of the Porte will sail about the middle of April with 14 ships of war and 20,000 men for Egypt and Syria. As soon as tranquillity and order shall be restored in Egypt, the grand vizier will proceed against the pacha of Acre, who wishes to render himself independent of the Porte. A great reward is set upon his head.

Prince Isidore, Count Szwartow, Rimnikoi, has been confirmed in his character of chamberlain, at the court of Petersburg, which he held previous to his leaving Russia with the army.