

State Defence.

Since Maryland has been refused that assistance from the general government which she had every reason to expect, from its having been granted to other states, she has no alternative left but to have recourse to her own resources, as far as they will extend, to furnish means of defence against the incursions of the enemy. In forming a plan for the attainment of an object as important as that for securing the state, many considerations of a serious nature would arise as to the physical means which might be brought into operation, and how they might be applied, consistently with our national compact. For while our constitution calls on the general government, in the imperious and solemn language of duty, to extend simple means of defence to every section of the union, it has confined the power of raising forces for this object, exclusively in that body. Any attempt then to raise or collect troops, different from the mode that has been prescribed, would militate against the spirit as well as express declaration of our constitution. But being abandoned as the state of Maryland now is, it seems necessary that some plan should be adopted for defence, which might not only combine energy in all its operations, but economy in its expenses. Regiments, or corps of volunteers, raised for a limited time, and placed under the command of experienced officers, would form a force far more efficient than twice the number of raw, undisciplined militia, called from the country upon a sudden alarm, and would be far less expensive to the state. Militia, from their inexperience, are liable to disorder and confusion, and are a description of troops in whom fear is easily augmented by novelty and surprize. Unaccustomed to the exercise of arms, or scenes of danger, they would oppose but a feeble front to an equal number of regular troops, whose occupation for years had been that of war. The constant drudgery of low employments, (says an eminent writer) is not only incompatible with any great degree of perfection or expertness in the profession of a soldier, but the profession of a soldier almost always unfits men for the business of regular occupations. Of three inhabitants of a village, it is better that one should addict himself entirely to arms, and the other two stay constantly at home to cultivate the ground, than that all three should mix the avocations of a camp with the business of husbandry—By the former arrangement the country gains one complete soldier, and two industrious husbandmen; from the latter it receives three raw militia men, who are at the same time three idle and profligate peasants. It should be considered also, that the emergencies of war wait not for seasons. Where there is no regular force ready for immediate service, it may be necessary to call the reaper from the fields in harvest, or the plowman in seed time; and the provision of a whole year may perish by the interruption of one month's labour. A regular force, therefore, is not only a more effectual, but a cheaper method of providing for the public safety, than any other, because it adds more than any other to the common strength, and takes less from that which comprises the wealth of a nation, its stock of productive industry. Such then being the advantages of a regular force over the common militia, as to their efficiency in repelling danger, no time should be lost in collecting one, since the state has been assured by the general government that no aid can be expected from that quarter. Under such circumstances, it would certainly be justifiable, although the constitution of the union might seem to forbid it. We have all seen the effects produced by calling the militia from their homes, in seasons of danger and alarm, and few can doubt the propriety of having a force different

from that for the preservation of the state.

Common Defence.

How Mr. Madison's admirers will undertake to defend his late conduct to this state in regard to the protection demanded of him, or how the citizens of Maryland can be reconciled to so flagrant a contempt of their rights, we are at some loss for conjecture. Virginia has but to ask and she receives; but Maryland, for her late political disobedience, is denied those means of defence which she has a right, by the constitution of the United States, to demand—To Virginia the general government stand pledged for the payment of all expenses incurred by necessary preparations for defence, whilst Maryland is told, that she has too many vulnerable points to expect complete protection, and therefore she must take care of herself in the best manner she can. Appropriations to a large amount have been made for the protection of New-York, although she was acknowledged, by military men, to be better secured against an invasion of the enemy than any other section of the union. Thus the general government defrays the expenses incurred by one state, makes large appropriations to another, but to a third, which is far more critically situated than either, she denies the means of protection. This is common defence with a vengeance. True, says the president, we have taken upon ourselves the protection of Virginia, because her militia are placed under the command and at the control of a general officer of the United States, and the situation of New-York particularly demanded our attention. These reasons ought not to be sufficient to satisfy the free enlightened, but neglected, citizens of Maryland, because she composed a part of the district under the command of the officer to whom Mr. Madison alludes, and none have stronger claims to protection, if being exposed to invasion from the enemy ought to insure it.

Is not this trifling with their feelings and disregarding their rights? Does not conduct like this merit contempt from every citizen of the state? It is a partiality shown to one state in preference to another, without the slightest of causes, and in violation of every principle of our national compact—The language of the president amounts to but little less than this, if you will enlist as soldiers and place yourselves under officers of my appointment, then your expenses shall be paid and your state defended.

In compliance with the following resolution of both houses of the Legislature, William B. Martin and Walter Dorsey, Esquires, were deputed by the governor, to wait on the president, to know what aid might be expected from the general government towards protecting the state against invasions of the enemy, and defraying the expenses necessary for the attainment of this object. His answer, through the secretary of war, will show the citizens of Maryland how little they have to expect from that quarter, from which they have been taught by the constitution to believe was bound to furnish them with ample means of defence.

Resolved, That the Governor and Council be and they are hereby requested, forthwith, to send a Deputation to Washington, for the purpose of ascertaining what further protection will be afforded by the General Government against the incursions of the common enemy, and also what provision may be expected to liquidate the necessary expenditures which have been or may be incurred in providing against their aggressions.

Council Chamber, Annapolis, May 25, 1813.

Gentlemen, I HAVE the honour to enclose a copy of my letter to the President of the United States, deputed the honourable William B. Martin and Walter Dorsey to wait on him with the Resolution of the Legislature of the twentieth instant, together with the report made by these Gentlemen to me, a copy of the note presented to the President, and his answer.

I have the honour to be, with much respect, your Obed. Servant, LEV. WINDER. The Honourable the General Assembly of Maryland.

In Council, Annapolis, May 29, 1813.

SIR, IN consequence of a Resolution passed by the Legislature, (a copy of which is herewith enclosed,) we have deputed the honourable William Bond Martin and Walter Dorsey, of our Body, to wait upon you.

We have the honour to be, with much respect, your Obedient Servants,

LEVIN WINDER. His Excellency James Madison, President of the United States. Copy. Ninian Pinkney, Clerk of the Council.

Annapolis, May 25, 1813. His Excellency the Governor of Maryland.

SIR, ON Saturday last we delivered to the President of the United States your letter of the twentieth instant, enclosing the Resolution of the Legislature of the State of Maryland.

The observations of the President on the subject of the Resolution were general, and evidently implied that the General Government would not pay the expenses of the Militia when called into service by the State Authorities without the participation of the United States.

We brought into view the provision made by the Executive of the United States for the Militia of Virginia and New-York, and claimed the like protection for the State of Maryland: The President replied, that a General Officer of the United States was stationed in Virginia, and that the State of New-York was peculiarly exposed to the invasion of the Enemy. After much conversation on the subject of our mission, we requested his Excellency to furnish us with a written answer, which he promised to do, and suggested to us the propriety of addressing a Note to him embracing the substance of the Resolutions. We accordingly transmitted a note, a copy of which is herewith enclosed, and on the 24th instant we received from the Secretary of War the following Answer.

We have the honour to be, with great respect, your Obed. Servants, WILLIAM BOND MARTIN, WALTER DORSEY.

His Excellency the President of the United States.

SIR, THE undersigned being deputed by the Governor of Maryland to wait on your Excellency with the enclosed Resolution of the Legislature of Maryland, request you will be pleased to inform us what further protection will be afforded by the General Government to the State of Maryland against the incursions of the common enemy, and what provisions may be expected to liquidate the necessary expenditures which have been, or may be, incurred by the said State, in providing against belligerent aggressions.

As the Legislature is now in session, and their deliberations will necessarily be delayed until we return to the City of Annapolis, we trust your Excellency will furnish us with an answer in the course of this day.

We have the Honour to be, your Obed't. Servants, WALTER DORSEY, WILLIAM BOND MARTIN. Crawford's Hotel, May 23d, 1813.

War Department, 23d of May, 1813.

Gentlemen, THE President has been pleased to refer to me your Note of yesterday, covering a copy of a Resolution of the Legislature of Maryland of the 20th instant, the object of which is to ascertain—

1st. "What further protection will be afforded by the General Government against the incursions of the common enemy?"—And 2d. "What provision may be expected to liquidate the expenditures which have been, or may be, incurred in providing against their aggressions?"

The former of these questions is so broad in its terms, that (prudent motives aside) it is quite impossible to give to it a definite answer.

The protection given by government must necessarily be subject to two rules, both of which are in their own nature absolute, the extent of the means placed within its reach, and the degree and pressure of the danger to be repelled. It is only of the former that I can say any thing, and in regard to that, after referring you to the Laws, and the provisi-

ons made by them, I can but submit an assurance, that every attention to the special defence of Maryland, that may be compatible with the just claims of other parts of the Union, shall be promptly and cordially given.

To the second question of the Legislature a more precise answer may be given:—So far as expenditures have arisen, or shall arise, in consequence of militia calls made by the State, without the participation of the United States, no provision is found to exist under the present laws. On the other hand, in all cases in which militia detachments have been called out or recognized, (as in the case of the Baltimore Militia,) by the authority of the Union, such provision is found to exist, and will be applied.

I have the Honour to be, Gentlemen, with very great respect, Your most Obedient and very Humble Servant,

JOHN ARMSTRONG. The Hon. the Committee from the Executive Council of Maryland.

CONGRESS OF THE U. STATES. TUESDAY, MAY 25.

At twelve o'clock this day, the President of the United States transmitted to both houses of Congress the following

MESSAGE.

Fellow citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives

At an early day after the close of the last session of Congress, an offer was formally communicated from his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia, of his mediation, as the common friend of the United States and Great Britain, for the purpose of facilitating a peace between them. The high character of the Emperor Alexander being a satisfactory pledge for the sincerity and impartiality of his offer, it was immediately accepted; and as a further proof of the disposition on the part of the U States to meet their adversary in honorable experiments for terminating the war, it was determined to avoid intermediate delay, incident to the distance of the parties, by a definite provision for the contemplated negotiation. Three of our eminent citizens were accordingly commissioned with the requisite powers to conclude a treaty of peace, with persons clothed with like powers on the part of Great Britain. They are authorised also to enter into such conventional regulations of the commerce between the two countries, as may be mutually advantageous. The two envoys who were in the U States at the time of their appointment, have proceeded to join their colleague already at St Petersburg.

The envoys have received another commission authorising them to conclude with Russia a treaty of commerce with a view to strengthen the amicable relations, and improve the beneficial intercourse between the two countries.

The issue of this friendly interposition of the Russian emperor and this pacific manifestation on the part of the United States, time only can decide. That the sentiments of Great Britain towards that Sovereign will have produced an acceptance of his offered mediation, must be presumed. That no adequate motives exist to prefer a continuance of war with the United States, to the terms on which they are willing to close, is certain. The British cabinet also must be sensible that, with the respect to the important question of impressment, on which the war so essentially turns, a search for, or seizure of, British persons or property on board neutral vessels on the high seas, is not a belligerent right derived from the law of nations; and it is obvious, that no visit or search, or use of force, for any purpose on board vessels of one independent power, on the high seas, can in war or peace be sanctioned by the laws or authority of another power. It is equally obvious, that for the purpose of preserving to each state its seafaring members, by excluding them from the vessels of the other, the mode heretofore proposed by the U States and now enacted by them as an article of municipal policy, cannot for a moment be compared with the mode practised by Great Britain, without a conviction of its title to preference; inasmuch as the latter leaves the discrimination between the mariners of the two nations, to officers exposed by unavoidable bias, as well as by a defect of evidence, to a wrong decision; under circumstances precluding, for the most part, the enforcement of controlling penalties, and where a wrong decision, besides the irreparable violation of the sacred rights of persons, might

illustrate the plans and projects of the enemy, and the errors in such cases, and the effect of casual errors on the operations of navigation, and the success of mercantile expeditions.

If the reasonableness of expenditures drawn from these considerations could guarantee their fulfilment, just peace would not be distant. It becomes the wisdom of the national Legislature to keep in view the obligation of adapting the only course to that happy result in the vigorous employment of resources of war. And particularly in this duty, it is peculiarly enforced by the manner in which the war is to be waged by the enemy, who, influenced by the unvaried spirit of humanity set them, etc. etc. to the savage fury of it on one side, a system of plunder and spoliation on the other, equally laden by respect for national character, and by the established rules of civilized warfare.

As an encouragement to perseverance and invigorated exertions bring the contest to a happy result, I have the satisfaction of being able to appeal to the auspicious progress of our arms, both by land and the water.

In continuation of the brilliant achievements of our infant navy, signal triumph has been gained by Capt. Lawrence and his companions in the Hornet sloop of war, which destroyed a British sloop of war with a celerity so unexampled, and with a slaughter of the enemy so disproportionate to the loss in the Hornet, as to claim for the commander the highest praise, and the recompense provided by Congress in preceding cases. Our public ships of war in general, as well as the private armed vessels, have continued also their activity and success against the commerce of the enemy, and by their vigilance and address have greatly frustrated the efforts of the hostile squadrons distributed along our coasts, to intercept them in returning into port, and resume their cruises.

The augmentation of our arm force as authorised at the last session of congress, is in progress. On the Lakes our superiority is established where it is not already established.

The events of the campaign, so far as they are known to us, furnish matter of congratulation, and show that under a wise organization and efficient direction, the army is destined to a glory not less brilliant than that which already encircles the navy. The attack and capture of York is, in that quarter, a presage of future and greater victories, while, on the western frontier, the issue of the late siege of Fort Mifflin leaves us nothing to regret but a single act of inconsiderate valour.

The provisions last made for filling the ranks and enlarging the staff of the army, have had the best effects. It will be for the consideration of congress, whether other provisions depending on their authority may not still further improve the military establishment and the means of defence.

The sudden death of the distinguished citizen who represented the United States in France, without any special arrangements by him for such a contingency, has left us without the expected sequel to his late communications; nor has the French government taken any measures for bringing the depending negotiations to a conclusion, through its representative in the United States. This failure adds to delays, before so reasonably spun out. A successor to our deceased minister has been appointed, and is ready to proceed on his mission; the course which he will pursue in fulfilling it, is that prescribed by a steady regard to the true interests of the United States, which equally avoids an abandonment of their just demands, and a connexion of their fortunes with the systems of other powers.

The receipts into the treasury from the first of Oct. to the 31st of March last, including the sums received on account of Treasury Notes, and of the loans authorised by the acts of the last and preceding sessions of congress, have amounted to fifteen millions four hundred and twelve thousand dollars. The expenditures during the same period amounted to fifteen millions nine hundred and twenty thousand dollars; and left in the treasury on the 1st of April the sum of one million eight hundred and fifty-seven thousand dollars. The loan of six-

millions of dollars authorised by the act of the 26th of February last, has been contracted for. Of that sum more than a million of dollars had been paid into the treasury prior to the 1st of April, and formed a part of the receipts as above stated. The remainder of that loan, amounting to near fifteen millions of dollars, with the sum of five millions of dollars authorised to be issued in Treasury Notes, and the estimated receipts from the customs and the sales of public lands, amounting to nine millions three hundred thousand dollars, and making in the whole twenty-nine millions three hundred thousand dollars to be received during the first nine months of the present year, will be necessary to meet the expenditures already authorised, and the engagements contracted in relation to the public debt. These engagements amount during that period to ten millions five hundred thousand dollars, which, with one million for the civil miscellaneous and diplomatic expenses, both foreign and domestic, and seventeen millions eight hundred thousand for the military and naval expenditures, including the ships of war building and to be built, will leave a sum in the treasury at the end of the present year equal to that on the 1st of April last. A part of this sum may be considered as a resource for defraying any extraordinary expenses already authorised by law, beyond the sums above estimated; and a further resource for any emergency may be found in the sum of one million of dollars, the loan of which to the United States has been authorised by the state of Pennsylvania, but which has not yet been brought into effect.

This view of our finances, whilst it shows that due provision has been made for the expenses of the current year, shews at the same time, by the limited amount of the actual revenue, and the dependence on loans, the necessity of providing more adequately for the future supplies of the treasury. This can best be done by a well digested system of internal revenue, in aid of existing sources; which will have the effect, both of abridging the amount of necessary loans, & on that account as well as by placing the public credit on a more satisfactory basis, of improving the terms on which loans may be obtained. The loan of sixteen millions was not contracted at a less interest than seven and a half per cent. and although other causes may have had an agency, it cannot be doubted, that with the advantage of a more extended and less precarious revenue, a lower rate of interest might have sufficed. A longer postponement of this advantage could not fail to have a still greater influence on future loans.

In recommending to the National Legislature this resort to additional taxes, I feel great satisfaction in the assurance, that our constituents, who have already displayed so much zeal and firmness in the cause of their country, will cheerfully give every other proof of their patriotism which it calls for. Happily no people, with local and transitory exceptions never to be wholly avoided, are more able than the people of the U. S. to spare for the public wants a portion of their private means, whether regard be had to the ordinary profits of industry or the ordinary price of subsistence in our country, compared with those in any other. And in no case could stronger reasons be felt for yielding the requisite contributions. By rendering the public resources certain, & commensurate to the public exigencies, the constituted authorities will be able to prosecute the war more rapidly to its proper issue; every hostile hope, founded on a calculated failure of our resources will be cut off; and by adding to the evidence of bravery and skill, in combats on the ocean and the land, an alacrity in supplying the treasury, necessary to give them their fullest effect; and thus demonstrating to the world the public energy which our political institutions combine with the personal liberty distinguishing them, the best security will be provided against future enterprises on the rights or the peace of the nation.

The contest in which the U. States are engaged, appeals for its support to every motive that can animate an enlightened and enlightened people; to the love of equality; to the pride of liberty; to an emulation of the glorious founders of their Independence; by a successful vindication of the violated attributes; to the gratitude and sympathy which demand security from the most degrading wrongs, of the rights of citizens; the five proved themselves so wor-