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ON DEMOCRACY.

"A Standing army for a Monarchy,
"A Militia for a Republic."

Montesquieu.

IT seems to be conceded, that in order to defend our national honor, which is the equal independent right to the exercise of sovereignty, we may be obliged to have recourse to arms; and the question is, which will be the most eligible mode of preparation for such an event.

Should our right to traverse the ocean, for the purposes of commerce, be called in question, we must defend it, at every hazard. He who gave the earth to the sons of men, undoubtedly granted an equal proportion of the right of sailing on the sea, as an appendage to it; and this right we must defend by our ships, which will be increased in proportion to the exigency of our circumstances, and the calls we have for them. Where our trade is of importance to the nation which treats us ill, an expedient will be first attempted, to obtain justice, as a nation, by the feelings of interest; where this fails we have no question as to the second expedient.

The invasion of our country by a land army, or rather the best mode of preparation to repel such an invasion, is the subject now before us.

The preparation is by a standing army, or by a disciplined militia, or by both. A standing army has always, in all countries, been considered as opposed to a free form of government. Such an army, in time of peace, is considered by the people, and it considers itself, as a body of men detached from the citizens at large; as having no interest in their concerns, holding the people in contempt, and by them hated and despised as a public burden on the community. They never was nor can they ever be, a well trained militia, where such an army has been, or shall be maintained. The soldiers are ready to turn every effort of the militia into ridicule, and the people hold the necessary discipline of arms in contempt, because it is the day labour of a set of idle mercenaries, who are useful for nothing, in time of peace, and serve only as bad examples of vice and debauchery.

There is no necessity for a display of offering on this subject; yet it may be observed, that the Romans never depended, in time of war, on their praetorian guards, or standing legions, but called forth the power of the state from the body of the people; and then the largesses were distributed, and the agrarian laws passed, or promised. No modern nation has placed a dependence for defence, on the army which had been maintained in time of peace.

The ancient nations had no fixed and established constitutions. The lines of civic rights, or of civic duties were no where explained on principles reduced by the people to rules, and established as the guardian lines of liberty, as the designation of the rights to private property, of the limits of men in either military, or civil power. Hence therefore, an army of mercenary troops superior to the force of the people established a tyranny of course. An armed multitude, without the lines of established authority, to regulate and guide their movements, introduced an anarchy which ended always in a tyranny.

Montesquieu describes a tyranny, "to be the subversion of despotism," and says that the politics of it "are like a smooth sea, which cuts slowly, and attains its end, by gradual and tedious progression." These are important sentiments, and whoever reads his first volume from page 162 to 230 will find, that he had drawn them as a conclusion from a review of all the Republics, ancient and modern. They will also find, that a standing army in all instances, has been the main instrument in the overthrow of the people's liberty; and those who review the measures and conduct of the Hamiltonian party, from the formation of the Constitution, to the present day, will find, that the *smooth sea* was well understood by them; but that in the matter of the suitability of the states, and some other measures, they became impatient of the slow effects of a *smooth sea*, and by laying hold of one more rough they have overturned their own project.

A standing army can never be a defence of our extensive sea coast, and

innumerable frontiers. Therefore if we are to exist as a nation, and as a Republic, we must have a militia. It does not mean to exclude a competent number of mercenary troops for our parisons, our stores, and arsenals, or a sufficient number to attend to, and exercise our artillery; but that our dependence as a nation, for defence, must be on ourselves, that is, on the yeomanry, the body of the people; and the only question is, how the militia shall be so disciplined that dependence can be confidently placed in them.

The suggestions which are to be made on this important subject, will be very imperfect; but on a matter in which each one is interested, and in which the safety of the nation is so intimately involved, every one who attempts to investigate it, has a claim to attention.

When I speak of the discipline of a militia, for the defence of our country, I do not mean, merely, the expertness of manual exercise, and the exact performance of evolutions; I mean a discipline of sentiment—a discipline of spirit and opinion congenial to the constitutions of our governments. The troops trained as a militia for the defence of our country, must have ideas, and sentiments, very different from troops which are intended for foreign conquests or to add kingdoms, as provinces, to our dominions. Where troops are disciplined to conquer and pillage other nations, every sensation of pity and compassion should be extinguished from their bosoms, their imagination, and the imagination of the people who maintain them, should be entertained with the magnanimity of sacking cities, wasting countries, burning villages, and walking on heaps of slain. Every hall where the festive board shall be laid, must be decorated with the trophies of foreign victories, and the praises of him, whose sword has been wet with the blood of innocent millions, must swell the high sounding chorus of each song. Thus the rising generation would be habitually stimulated, to acts of injustice, and cruelty, which America would be fatally exposed to perpetrate her own innumerable catastrophes. No propensity, but those of ambition and avarice would have been, the finer feelings of the human heart would become a reproach, leaders of various parties aiming at the same object, the chair of despotism, but under different professions, would multiply battles, and prolong the civil contests, until the people wearied with disappointments, oppressed with poverty and misery, would gladly resign themselves to the arms of slavery, under the protection of him, who, at that moment, appeared to be the most fortunate conqueror.

The ideas suggested in the foregoing description are, many of them, taken from the learned Montesquieu, who is read with pleasure by men of science. He observes, "that in monarchies, they whose condition engages them in the profession of arms, have nothing but glory, or at least honor, or fortune in view." But that "in republics, a person takes up arms only with a view to defend his country, and its laws; it is because he is a citizen he makes himself a soldier."

If we, in America, would gather good fruit, we must plant a good tree. The learned writer I have cited, informs us, that "every thing depends upon education in a republic; to inspire a love of the principles of government in a republic, ought to be the principal business of education. It is not the young people that degenerate; they are not spoiled till the of mature age are already sunk in corruption."

To have a good militia, every soldier should be a citizen, and every citizen should be a soldier, but we ought, in order to effect so valuable a scheme to indoctrinate the rising generation in proper sentiments of the nature of government and its laws, and of the necessity of maintaining those for their own security and interest. Without proper instructions of this kind, and a conviction of the truth and importance of such principles, there can never be a militia. No man or body of men could ever perform a public duty nor resolve in their own interest or in without considering it as a task, and a burden. Hence the discipline of a militia in monarchies and other governments, where a standing army existed, was never carried to any considerable degree of perfection.

Our author tells us that "the English are never weaker, nor easier overcome than in their own country,"

and that "the same was observed of the Romans" in the time of their emperors.

The subject of a disciplined militia is of infinite importance to our nation, and I shall beg to be heard once more upon it, while I shall venture to display the means of promoting an end, in which the wishes of every true patriot will be concentrated.

PLAIN TRUTH.

The Examiner—No. XI.

"Woe unto you hypocrites."

THE political controversy of this country has become a labyrinth which puzzles a man who takes truth for his guide, and the happiness of his country for his object, to trace the various paths which lead to the consummation of his wishes. When we look at the federal party, the greatest inconsistency prevails. They have no uniformity of theory or practice. Their only objects are war and disaffection to the present administration. When they reason on these questions, they adopt arguments calculated to answer purposes at the moment of their promulgation. During the debate in Congress on the subject of Louisiana, when war was to be obtained through this channel, the advantages of holding this territory were of the utmost importance. But since we have acquired the property, with all the rights annexed to it, we are told that the money to be paid is more than equivalent. Fabricius is a man against paying for it, as Morley was in favor of fighting for it. As this subject will immediately arrest the attention of the next congress, it is proper that the question should be well understood. The federal party are now directed to their *negotium ultra*, and they are determined to rally their whole force to oppose the ratification of this treaty. In short, we have no other important consideration, as it relates to our internal tranquility. For if we have no contention as to territory between us and Spain, we have no cause to apprehend any difficulty arising between us, and those respective governments. If we lose all the possessions on the southern board, we cannot lose any interests made upon by artificial means, or open hostilities, or connections arising from *iniquitous necessities*. If we were equally as secure from the northward, we might hold commercial advantages within our own jurisdiction, of which the combined powers of Europe could not deprive us. Our far trade and fisheries, in connection with the various staple productions from the fertile soil of our late acquisition, would give the U. States a commanding attitude in all their intercourse with foreign nations, either in peace or war. The federal party are never satisfied; they urged us to war, because the French would *seize Louisiana*, and they are still uneasy because they have relinquished the idea. They would not let the French hold it, neither will they suffer us to retain it; what can be done with such troublesome adversaries? nothing will please them, unless acquired by the sword. They pretend to *religion*, and require an assent by their assumed party; and yet are for adopting measures in direct violation of all the precepts inculcated by the Gospel. The *sons of men*, are put in competition with dollars and cents. Upon temporal calculation, one soul is of more value than the whole world, but the federalists would risk ten thousand to win a tract of land, which can be purchased for a small consideration. The poor Fabricius, who probably belongs to a church in Dedham—who partakes of the holy sacrament—who subscribes to all the doctrines inculcated in its platform—who denounces a war with England, and represents its dreadful consequences in all the terrific energies of tomahawks and scalping knives. This *good man* is now strenuous for war; reproaches the government for not commencing hostilities before our virtues for reconciliation, is desirous to break the treaty, which leads to peace and unity. But unfortunately he takes his own ground, on an opposite principle from his brother war-makers. Previous to the negotiation of the Louisiana, that *good man* denounce us for waging a *war of blood*. When a pretty figure such as he comes out, "Woe unto you hypocrites!"

ists are dissemblers; they make a false shew of piety. While they pretend to inculcate the christian virtues, they violate every principle recommended in scripture. "He who draws the sword shall perish by the sword," is announced as a doctrinal tenet. That is, whoever, shall commence war, or shed blood in any controversy, without first attempting an amicable reconciliation, shall perish for his rashness and impiety. Even Peter, when he cut off the ear of the man who arrested our Saviour was reprimanded; and ordered to return his sword into its sheathe. If on such an emergency, when personal violence was offered the Saviour of the world, the zeal of Peter was checked, certainly on a controversy about a *place of deposit*, it must have been abhorrent in the sight of God, to commence hostilities, and expose the lives of thousands, without attempting to accommodate the business by negotiation. This is the ground which the President has taken, and has been blessed by Heaven in his undertaking; while he is denounced as an *infidel*, he has pursued the line of a *christian*; while the hypocritical federalists talk about religion, the President practices it; while they cry *carthage*, he proposes peace, and when they "let slip the dogs of war," he displays the *American Eagle*, as the harbinger of public tranquility.

Ye Clergy! where are ye! will you not all advocate the man who promotes your doctrine of "peace on earth, and good will towards men?" Will we not support an administration which allays the passions of the human mind, and checks the dreadful consequences arising from a war? can you suppose that religion will flourish when detestation is prevalent? is the field of Mars the asylum for the Prince of Peace? is martial music grateful to a christian ear? can you gather more converts by the beat of the drum, than by singing the psalms of David? will the detail of a battle, make more proselytes than evangelical sermons? will an army in movement be more devout, than a congregation in their Sabbath-day habiliments? will the trumpet and life, be more devotional, than the solemn tolling of a first and second bell? will the people be more attentive to your preaching when brought together as soldiers, than when they assemble as citizens? will a noisy camp be more appropriate, for family worship, than a peaceful homestead? will religion be more incited by learning the rising generation the profane of a rendezvous, than by teaching them the catechism? are these things the "chief end of man," or are they the requisitions annexed to the ten commandments? is a *drill* *sermon*, more consonant to the church, than a *deacon*; or a *platoon*, more pleasing than a *sexton*? away with such *hypocrisy*; let us understand the things that belong to our peace, and become in deed and in truth what we profess to be. Thank Heaven many clergymen have acted agreeable to their profession. Let not an Essex Junto any longer deceive us; but let us judge with impartiality by the government, and its opposers. If we had followed the advice of the letter, our situation would now be distressing; we should have been connected in a war which threatens to convulse Europe to its centre. Instead of *our loss*, we should have become *beneficiaries*; and every account from those countries, would have involved the fate of the United States.

In our present happy situation, we have only to consult those things which can secure respect abroad, and harmony at home. The reflections on France are all calculated to sow the seeds of future animosity between the two countries. Admitting that France is powerful, will exalting their chief magistrate render them less so? If she is vindictive, will the abuse thrown upon her, make her more conciliatory, modest or fit to dispute to some editors, that while 70 millions of citizens pledge a confidence in Buonaparte, it becomes such to judge between them. If 30 millions applaud his conduct, of what consequence is the opinion of a man in the interior of America to calumniate him? has such an editor an official document for his scribble, or if he offers one, is it of such validity as to pledge himself upon it? Will his observations terrify Bonaparte, or draw from his last efforts, and soldier entered under him? will they lessen one boat on the expedition to England, or rouse the veterans under his command, soldiers of

his magnanimity! If he does not regard the threats of Britain, it must be arrogance for a young man in America, to arraign his conduct. His remarks may give sport to the federalists, but such rashness will never place him in any elevated situation on either side.

As a neutral country it is our policy to maintain our commercial rights as they respect all European powers. Let us not trespass on the ground of their administration by abuse, but take care of ourselves by prudence. We have no more concern in their government, than in their religion, and as the controversy is now between France and England, let us wish that nation victorious, which bestows the most happiness on mankind.

If we gain possession of Louisiana the purchase money will be reimbursed in a short period, from the revenue derived from importations alone. New Orleans can be continued a port of entry and deposit as heretofore, with this advantage, that the duties on foreign supported goods will pass into our own treasury. Louisiana is the key of the West Indies. Its proximity to Cuba & Jamaica will afford these islands the means of an immediate supply of provisions in times of scarcity, and its commerce will give constant employment to one fourth part of the American tonnage. The fertile regions of Western America will pour out their choicest treasures into the lap of our Merchants. On the Mississippi and its tributary streams will appear the American flag, triumphant, with its eagle and its stars and stripes, displaying their beauties to the passing gales, and our tall masts will lift their proud heads above the surrounding shores. These, and greater blessings we shall realize, if Louisiana is ceded in full sovereignty to the United States.—*Salon Reg.*

Capt. Annelcy, of the 3rd Regt. 5th Regt., arrived at Philadelphia, from London, on the 12th August in last, 20.30. In the evening, between eleven and twelve o'clock, P. M. saw a COMET bearing nearly due east, and about 4 degrees above the horizon. In 12m it appeared about half as large as the moon at full, and produced a brilliant light; the horizon being cloudy, its rising was obscured from us. It was in view about a quarter of an hour, and was then again obscured by clouds. From its direction, supposed it to be the fame which appeared in 1661, and was to appear again in 1786.—From the beginning of July to the time of the comet's appearance, there was a constant succession of thick and rainy weather, with heavy winds, more like to November weather than midsummer. On the day succeeding the comet's appearance, an entire change took place, with a clear atmosphere and mild weather.

LEXINGTON, August 30.

By a gentleman from Natchez, we are informed, that about the 25th or 27th of July, a man by the name of James May, came to Huntville, near Natchez, and made oath before a magistrate, that sundry articles of property and money, which he then delivered up, he had taken from the notorious Samuel Mafon, after following him in the head, just above the eye. May had been robbed and taken by Mafon on his passage down the river, and had joined the party. A few days after which the company hearing a firing of guns, Mafon ordered his party, May excepted, to hide their horses.—He took his gun with him, and on his return, Mafon was counting his money to divide with the party, he shot him, put the money and property on board the ship, and conveyed it to Huntville.

A letter from Natchez, published in the Noxville paper, contains the above account.

A letter to a gentleman in this town from his city of London, Natchez, dated the 5th inst. makes no mention of the above circumstance, but says—

"The Mafons have removed to the Mississippi, where they have of late committed many robberies, but no murders that I have heard of."