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"Ours are the Plans of fair delightful Peace,
"Unwar'd by Party Rage to live like Brothers."

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VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE.

The following Instructions from the General Assembly of Virginia (a short extract from which was inserted in our paper of the 24th ult.) have been given to STEPHENS THOMPSON MASON and WILSON CARY NICHOLS, Senators from the State in the Congress of the United States.

THE General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, though they entertain no doubt of your punctual performance of your duty, or your faithful adherence to the great principles of constitutional law, and national policy, deem it incumbent on them, to announce to you, and to Congress, the opinions, formed after the most mature deliberation on certain subjects essentially connected, as they seemly believe, with the dearest rights, and most important interests of the people.

From the performance of this sacred duty, they will not be deterred by an apprehension, that the charge may be repeated of their being under the influence of ambition, of interest, of party spirit, or of a disposition hostile to the union of the States.

Despising reproaches and disdainful vindication against them, conscious of the rectitude of their motives, and knowing that they have no other object in view, than the happiness of the people, they hesitate not to declare, that they will never cease, while the sovereignty of the State shall be permitted to remain, to express their decided disapprobation of principles, which they believe to be false, and of measures, which they believe and feel to be pernicious.

In the execution of this duty, they experience unfeigned concern. It is to the General Assembly of this Commonwealth, a subject of profound regret, that measures have been adopted and principles avowed by the government of the United States, which demand from them the instructions which they are about to pronounce. That these instructions are in exact coincidence with the great principles of constitutional law and national policy, is a position, the belief of which they aver before God and their country. They submit them, however, to the judgment of all good citizens, who feel any solicitude for the welfare of these United States. They submit them to calm discussion, to dispassionate enquiry, and cannot doubt as to the result.

The General Assembly of Virginia look forward with no less exultation than confidence to the time, when, in the progress of political truth, their principles and opinions shall generally be admitted: to the time when it shall generally be acknowledged, that accumulating debts, increasing taxes, standing armies and expensive navies, are evils which do not necessarily result from political institutions: to that time, when peace, liberty and economy, shall be the only objects, and the Constitution the only guide, which the servants of a virtuous and happy people shall dare to pursue.

The General Assembly of Virginia will not now enter into a minute detail of all the facts and reasonings, which justify and require the instructions hereto subjoined. They cannot forbear to remind you, of some facts and observations, which they deem too expressive and important to be passed over in silence. It is with the most serious concern, that the General Assembly of Virginia observe 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, uninterfered 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 militia 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 could 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 hope was delusive, but, as the General Assembly of Virginia 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 U. 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. It cannot have escaped your notice, that the present war in Europe has not hitherto been deemed a sufficient cause for increasing the military establishment of the United States. So far from it, that during the existence of the war, the former establishment was actually reduced. It is equally notorious, that the only motive avowed for augmenting the military force, arose from the apprehension of an actual invasion from France; and the same law which gave rise to the army, contains a provision for disbanding it, upon an accommodation with that Republic.

The love of power is so strong a passion of the human mind, that it cannot be watched with too much vigilance, nor counteracted with too much circumspection, by those whose rights are subject to its undue operation.

The people of the United States ought not to expect an exemption from the effects of this delusive passion, when every age has exhibited continual scenes of calamities resulting from it, in every country; and they would perhaps deserve the miserable fate which others have experienced, if, when they see the same causes in operation against them, they should invite rather than repel their effects. A standing army addresses itself to this passion with the most persuasive eloquence. It extends the power of those who command it, both by the terror its power may excite, and the emoluments its offices may bestow. It is not therefore surprising, that standing armies, in the eyes of those who controul them, should be viewed as the only safe and adequate defence of the nation. But it would be strange indeed, if the same delusion should extend to those who are the defrayers of their expence, and may be the victims of their power. Although the Constitution submits the right of raising armies to the discretion of Congress, yet it evidently contemplated the militia as the great bulwark of national defence, as well, to use the language of the Constitution, to repel invasions, as to execute the laws of the Union, and suppress insurrections, and contemplated the right of raising armies for pressing and extraordinary emergencies. 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 mean-

ing 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 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 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 connection with this, the establishment of competent magazines and arsenals, and the fortifications, naturally present themselves to consideration. The safety of the United States, under Divine protection, ought to rest on the basis of systematic 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 an 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 objects, 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 enquiry 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 19th 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 to its 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; they will not omit to enquire whether the fortifications which have been already licenced by law, be commensurate with our exigencies.

These quotations require no illustration. They speak the language of the Constitution. They pronounce the national will. They demonstrate, that the militia alone are the safe and adequate depository of the national force; that they alone are competent to every military exigency; that they alone can correct domestic intrigues, as well as repel foreign invasions. Until the 5th Congress, this principle was held sacred and unquestionable in the United States. It was then completely subverted, by the substitution of a military establishment, by embodying and arming volunteer corps, for their devotion to the doctrines of the Administration, and withholding arms from the hands of the militia, at a time when danger from invasion was pretended or believed; and at the present session this revolutionary doc-

trine is further recommended and enforced.

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.

During the last year, whilst money was procured at eight per centum, the appropriations for the supporting the army alone amounted to 4,800,000 dollars; for fortifications, 700,000; for the navy, 4,350,000—amounting in the whole to 9,850,000; exclusively of a great and unascertained sum of voluntary subscriptions for building and equipping vessels of war for which the subscribers receive an interest at six per centum—Thus imposing an annual debt, or inflicting an annual tax, upon the people, of nearly two dollars for every individual throughout the United States; 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 idle, dissolute and vicious of the citizens, violation of personal security, and contempt of the civil authority. And it is with extreme concern that the General Assembly are constrained to anticipate a continuation and increase of these evils in proportion to the continuation and extension of the cause which produces and nurtures them.

With respect to the navy, it may be proper to remind you that what ever may be the ostensible object of its establishment, or whatever may be the prospect of temporary advantages resulting therefrom, it is demonstrated from the experience of all nations, who have adventured far into naval policy, that such prospect is ultimately delusive; and that a navy has ever in practice been employed, as an instrument of power, expence and aggression; not of national defence, economy, or protection to commerce.

The General Assembly of Virginia, would consider themselves traitors to the trusts reposed in them, were they to remain silent, whilst a doctrine has been publicly advanced, novel in its principle, and tremendous in its consequences. That the common law of England is in force under the Government of the United States. It is not at this time proposed to expose at large the most monstrous pretensions resulting from the adoption of this principle. It ought never, however, to be forgotten, and can never be too often repeated, that it opens a new tribunal for the trial of crimes never contemplated by the Federal Compact. It opens a new code of sanguinary criminal law, both obsolete and unknown, and either wholly rejected or essentially modified in almost all its parts by State Constitutions. It arrests or supercedes State jurisdiction, and innovates upon State laws. It subjects the citizen to punishment according to the judiciary will; when he is left in ignorance of what the law enjoins as a duty, or prohibits as a crime. It assumes a range of jurisdiction for the Federal Courts, which defies limitation or definition. In short, it is believed, that the advocates for the principle, would themselves be lost in an attempt to apply it to the existing institutions of Federal and State Courts, by separating with precision their judiciary rights, and thus preventing the interference of judiciary claims, or, if concurrent jurisdiction, in all cases recognized by the common law of England, be admitted to both the Federal and State Courts, it establishes two coordinate tribunals for the trial and punishment of crimes, and leaves the accused citizen as a victim to be scrambled for by these rival jurisdictions, and leaves him also uncertain whether an acquittal by one tribunal shall be an acquittal for the other. In civil suits this scramble for jurisdiction, would necessarily lead to still greater complexity, ambiguity, and confusion.

With respect to the Alien and Sedition Laws, it is at present only deemed necessary to refer you to the various discussions upon those sub-

jects, which in the opinion of the General Assembly of Virginia, clearly demonstrate the unconstitutionality of their principles, and experience has already sufficiently shewn the mischiefs of their operations.

The General Assembly of Virginia, confiding in your intelligence and zeal, trust that these principles will be, on all proper occasions, illustrated and supported by you, with that candor, moderation and firmness, without which the friends of liberty and truth, however sincere, cannot render essential service to the cause in which they are engaged.

Deeply impressed with these opinions, the General Assembly of Virginia instruct the Senators and Representatives from this State in Congress, to use their best efforts—

1. To procure a reduction of the army, within the narrowest limits compatible with the protection of the forts, and the preservation of the arsenals maintained by the United States.
2. To prevent any augmentation of the navy, and to promote any proposition for reducing it within the narrowest limits compatible with the protection of the sea coasts, ports and harbours of the United States, and of consequence a proportionate reduction of the taxes.
3. To oppose the passing of any law founded on, or recognizing the principle lately advanced, "that the common law of England is in force under the Government of the United States."
4. To procure a repeal of the acts of Congress commonly called the Alien and Sedition Laws.

AN ESTIMATE For an Appropriation of Monies for the service of the year 1800.

The Secretary of the Treasury respectfully reports to the House of Representatives of the United States,

That for the services of the year one thousand eight hundred, the following appropriations, as detailed in the estimates herewith transmitted, appear to be necessary.

	Dols. Cts.
For the civil list, or the support of the Government, including the contingent expences of the several departments and officers, the sum of	562,876 95
For the payment of annuities and grants,	953 39
For the support of the Mint Establishment,	13,300 0
For the expences of intercourse with foreign nations, including a sum required for reimbursing to Consuls of the United States, the expence of supporting claims to captured property; for aid to distressed seamen in foreign countries, and occasional assistance after their arrival in the United States, exclusive of the annual appropriation authorized by the act of March 19th, 1798,	92,000 0
For the payment of expences incident to the treaties with Great-Britain, Spain, and the Mediterranean Powers,	244,000 0
For defraying the expences incident to the valuation of dwelling-houses and lands, and the enumeration of slaves, pursuant to the act of July 9th, 1798,	215,000 0
For the military department, including the pay of the army, rations, clothing, hospital, ordnance, quarter-master and Indian expences; the defensive protection of the frontiers and contingencies, agreeably to the estimate of the Secretary of War,	4,067,500 0
For the payment of military pensions,	93,000 0
For the Navy Department, including the pay and subsistence of officers and men, hospital and contingent expence, and the support of the corps of marines, exclusive of the expence of building six seventy-four gun ships, authorized by law, agreeably to the estimate of the Secretary of the Navy,	2,482,953 99
For the fabrication of cannon and arms and the purchase of ammunition, for the army and navy, and for the militia of the United States,	260,000 0
For the support of light houses, beacons, buoys, public piers, and other establishments for the security of navigation, including the expence of repairs, and the sum unexpended of an appropriation heretofore made for erecting a light house on Cape Hatteras, and a beacon on Shell Castle Island, which will expire at the close of the present year,	93,240 3
For satisfying miscellaneous claims, including the balances of old accounts, which may be	