



"Ours are the plans of fair, delightful Peace, Unwarped by party rage, to live like Brothers."

DISCIPLINING THE MILITIA.

Debate in the House of Representatives. January 9, 1823.

The bill to provide for disciplining the Militia of the United States, being under consideration.

Mr. Sanders, of N. C. said he trusted the gentleman from Tennessee, who had reported the bill, would not accuse him of a want of liberality, in doing then, what he should have done on a previous occasion, but for the purpose of enabling the friends to the measure to render it as perfect in detail as practicable. He thought, from what had already occurred, there was but little reason to believe that they would agree amongst themselves; and as the gentleman, (Mr. Cannon,) had gone into his argument in full, he, Mr. S. would at once test the opinion of the committee; by moving to strike out the enacting words of the bill. In making this motion, Mr. S. said, he must be permitted to say, it was with real reluctance he was induced to engage in a debate on a subject, about which, notwithstanding its apparent importance, the committee seemed to manifest so great an apathy, and feel so much indifference; and nothing could have induced him to have done so, but the circumstance of his holding a military rank in his own state, and being a member of the committee, who had reported the bill then under consideration.

Mr. S. said, he had no great pretensions to military science, and prudence on that occasion might admonish him not to speak of war in the presence of Hamilton. He was, however, emboldened in the opinions which he should advance, from the views which had been expressed with so much effect, by the venerable soldier of the war of our Revolution and of your rights, (Mr. Keyes,) and by what he understood also to be the opinion of another patriot of former days, (Mr. Reed, of Maryland,) then in his eye. The principal arguments which had been urged by the gentleman (Mr. Cannon) in favor of the measure, was his hostility to large standing armies, and the expenditures on the navy, forts and fortifications. He, Mr. S. would say to the gentleman, that he too was opposed to large standing armies; he would have a standing army, but it should be one merely in miniature, yet perfect in all its parts. It so happens however, said Mr. S. that we have not at present, nor was it ever contemplated to have, a large standing army. It had been greatly reduced & he presumed it would not be again increased, unless there was some manifest necessity for doing so; if we had a large standing army, then the gentleman's fears might be well founded; and his reasons entitled to greater credit; but, in the language of Galstaff, there was much virtue in it, and such not being the case, he could not give in to the strength of the arguments urged in support of the measure on this score.

As to the expenditures on the navy, forts and fortifications, he, Mr. S. would agree with the gentleman so far as to say, that they should keep pace with the advancement and means of the country; that they should follow and not precede these means. These were, however, in Mr. S.'s view, the only objects on which any thing like permanent preparations could be made in time of peace, for a state of war. Mr. S. said, that as he did not wish to detain the committee, he would proceed to offer the considerations which had brought his mind to the conclusion, that the attempt which was proposed by the bill, to impose upon the militia the discipline of regular troops, would lessen their real efficiency and respectability; and an abstract consideration of the nature and qualities of men, would satisfy any inquiring mind, that such would be the result. It is proposed by the bill, said Mr. S. by way of disseminating military science among the great body of the militia, to collect the officers of each brigade, from the brigadier-general down to the sergeant, at some place, to have them encamped for a period not less than four, nor exceeding six days, and drilled by some officer designated for that purpose. This was the principle of the measure; and, said Mr. S. such a camp service and drill as was thus contemplated, was what no man of elevated feelings and sentiments would submit to. They knew its usefulness, and would feel disgusted at being ordered for days at a time "right and left" by some pet in epaulettes, for whom they would feel no personal respect. There was whom to be found in service officers upon whom should be imposed these burthens and duties, without some adequate advantage to the country. If their duties, labors, and humiliations, were thus to be increased, it would drive those out of service, whom it would be worth retaining. They would consent to undergo the drill that was now practised, but they would not leave their families and homes for days at a time for no purpose. The pay might possibly induce a few to remain in service, its novelty might please for a time, but it would exhaust the treasury, and add nothing to the efficiency or respectability of the militia. It would then be imprac-

ticable, said Mr. S. to carry this scheme into effect, because officers could not be found, capable of receiving and imparting information, who would take upon themselves its onerous burthens and duties, for effecting its object. But supposing, said Mr. S. that he might be mistaken in this opinion, and grant that the officers could be found, who would be willing to place themselves as so many machines in the hands of this self-created Stueben, for the purpose of becoming versed in all the minutia of tactical evolutions, and still they could not carry this discipline into the great mass of the militia. How many officers of the late war, said Mr. S. had been induced to accept of militia commissions, entered with spirit and zeal upon the task of regular discipline, but soon found their men not disposed to submit to those kind of restraints which were practised among regular troops; and though they may have effected much, soon discovered the task a vain and fruitless one. The fact was, said Mr. S. the militia of this country are too free and independent, and he trusted in God, they would ever continue so, to submit to that rigor of discipline which was practised in the regular armies, and which might be necessary there to keep up a proper degree of subordination. If said Mr. S. the situation of the country required these sacrifices; if war threatened their homes—then the militia would be ready to do any thing which the public service might require. In peace, & in a country where every man was equally free, it could not be expected for these things to be effected. It is known to every one, that when the militiaman and regular were called to act in concert, the regular felt a pity for him who did not understand that kind of discipline, which he knew so perfectly—but the militiaman felt indignant at those restraints and humiliations which were imposed in order to acquire this information. The Emperor of Russia had, to a certain extent, introduced discipline into the great mass of his subjects; but it had been by pushing his authority to its utmost limit; that kind of authority against which Mr. S. protested, and which he said, the man who would be willing to confide to the hands of any class of officers, over the freemen of this country, would be a fit subject for the Autocrat of all the Russias. If then, said Mr. S. the system proposed should give disciplined officers, which he did not believe, but should fail to introduce that discipline into the great body of the militia, of what service would it be to the nation? Let experience answer. And here he might rely on the facts which had been disclosed by the gentleman from Vermont, who spoke from what he had seen and known. But, asked Mr. S. was not a Braddock and his officers disciplinarians, and yet he had met with a grave, and his troops with defeat. At Lexington, at Bunker's Hill, and at King's Mountain, the militia fought with success; at the latter place their victory was complete. These names had been hallowed in the sacred page of American history; yet they were commanded by men of equal grade and experience with themselves. The militia are to be relied on, and on proper occasions they are efficient, but their efficiency does not consist in their discipline; it consists in their patriotism, their honor, and impetuous courage; it is this which distinguishes them from regular troops, who are mere mercenaries, (he spoke of the ranks) and strangers to those noble sentiments, which warmed the bosom, and nerved the arm of the militiaman, in the hour of danger. The science of military tactics, said Mr. S. was studied by the pusillanimous, as that of medicine was by the sick; they seek the art of avoiding defeat and resisting attack, and not that which was calculated to command and insure success, and the principles of the bill seemed to accommodate itself to that timid kind of policy. It disclaimed to rely on the natural courage, sense of duty and love of country, which would always serve the militiaman in the hour of need, but sought to make him subservient to useless restrictions in times of the most profound peace, for no possible good. It was not to be expected, that such things would be endured, because there was no necessity for it; and they would not. Mr. S. said, what had once happened, might possibly happen again; but that they were not to expect that to occur, which a long train of exertions had failed to produce. Every state in the Union had its militia laws, and most of them their own discipline; yet, after a series of legislation for forty years, they were about where they commenced. Every attempt at perfection, like the repairs of an old clock, only tended to make confusion worse confounded. We were not then, said Mr. S. to expect, that our experiments would be more successful than those of the states. They had managed in such a way as to get along, and he thought it was best to let them go on in their own way. But, the gentleman from Tennessee, (Mr. Cannon) had told us, said Mr. S. that if the nation went on as it had done, encouraging the army, the academy, the navy, forts and fortifications, that she would experience the same fate, which had attended other republics. For his part, Mr. S. said he entertained no such fears; these were national objects

subject to the control of the people's representatives, and from the policy hitherto pursued, he thought there was nothing to fear. Mr. S. said, that he was free to confess that he should entertain much greater fears, if the gentleman should succeed in diffusing the military spirit to the extent which he seemed to desire. If, indeed, the free people of this country should so far catch the military spirit, as to believe the only path to fame and distinction, was the military one, then there might be some cause of alarm. He did not wish, therefore, to see their attention diverted from their peaceful pursuits, much less to see them filled with that martial feeling, "the pride, the pomp, and the circumstance of war," which might lead them in quest "of food, of plunder, and of glory." The greatest enemy, said Mr. S. to the mild spirit of social life, was a military one. History was false, if the assertion was not true. The Praetorian band at Rome, the Janissaries at Constantinople, and the Imperial Guard at Paris, were alike the enemies of liberty and of their country. And though it might be said, that those who had sprung up in the world and established military despotisms, had usually come from the military order, yet it will be found that the nation itself had first been prepared for the sacrifice, by the diffusion of the military spirit, and the pride of martial fame. Seek not, then, to make this nation a military people; lest some extraordinary genius may arise, created by nature, and called into action by fortuitous events, who might aspire to his own elevation, on the ruins of his country. Mr. S. acknowledged, that he entertained no serious fears of this kind—they were the mere dreams of fancy; yet he considered them of as much weight as any apprehensions from the present or any future standing army, that we are likely to have in this country.

Having thus offered his general objection to the principle of the measure, Mr. S. said he would now notice its expense. There are at present about one million of effective militia, which were divided into two hundred and seventy-five brigades, and in each brigade there were upwards of one hundred and seventy officers proposed to be encamped. The pay proposed to be given, which, though not adequate to their expenses, would cost upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars per day. Thus, the expense for the number of days proposed, would exceed half a million of dollars. Would the Committee authorize such an expenditure on an object both impracticable and useless?—There was directed to be appropriated \$200,000 for arming the militia, and when these had been procured and distributed amongst the States, they knew not how to dispose of them. They were not generally put into the hands of the militia; and in some states, where they were, the ramrods were not infrequently used as pokers, and the arms themselves found an arsenal in a bar room. Mr. S. said however, he did not complain of this appropriation, as it was a means of defence intended for a state of war. He said, he would barely mention one section of the bill, which was its last. This section authorized an exemption from militia duty on the payment of five or ten dollars per year. Mr. S. said, this was perfectly in accordance with the main principle of the measure. The duties which it sought to impose upon the officers would drive most of them from commission, and this commutation principle would be accepted by every man who could raise his five dollars; and thus the ranks would be as thin as the officers would be few. But we had been told, said Mr. S. that the Constitution had given to Congress the power of regulating the discipline of the militia, and its powers should be carried into effect. It had indeed given to Congress the power of adopting some uniform system of discipline, which had or ought to be done; that we should also have the numerical strength of the militia, render them obedient to the commands of government when called into service; and he doubted the propriety or authority of doing more. He at least never would consent to render the militia subservient to martial law in time of peace, and obedient to those "rules and articles of war" which went to abridge their civil rights—which ought not to be done—which they would not submit to, and which he thought the good sense of the Committee would not impose.

DEBATE ON MANUFACTURES.

In the House of Representatives.

The Bill "for the more effectual protection of Manufactures" being under consideration, in Committee of the Whole—Mr. Smyth, of Virginia, said, he would consider the bill in relation to justice, to policy, and to the Constitution. And first, as to its justice. The states, as to certain objects, are united under one government; as to other objects, they are independent of each other. They are independent as to the administration of civil and criminal law, with certain exceptions, and entirely so, as respects the management of agriculture and manufactures. The measures of this government should be such as will

promote the benefit of all. If you take from a part of the people their liberty of acting as they think best, for the profit and advantage of another part of the people, you will act unjustly. That portion of the population of the United States, the produce of whose labour is extended for exportation, whether it be cotton or lumber, tobacco or potash, or furs, and who purchase the manufactured articles which their necessities require, are interested to sell for the highest, and purchase for the lowest prices in their power. It is their interest that the foreign market shall be kept open to their productions, and foreign manufactures admitted, to supply their wants, on the cheapest terms. By prohibitory duties, such as some of those imposed by the bill, you prevent importations; and thus, foreign nations will be unable to purchase your exports. No nation can expect to be allowed to sell only, and not to purchase. Every nation must be content to barter; because no nation can support a trade with another, in which nothing is received but specie. If, then, you prevent importations of foreign articles, you deprive those who produce articles for exportation, of their foreign market; you confine them to the home market, where they must sell for less, and pay higher for the articles which they purchase, than they would have done had you left commerce free. Sir, if you compel one part of the people to trade with another part of the people, and to sell for less, and give more, than the articles would bring if sold or brought in other countries, you treat them as it has been usual to treat the inhabitants of colonies.

It has been said, by the Hon. Chairman of the Committee who brought in this bill, that the people of one-half of this nation are in distress. For that, said Mr. S. I am very sorry; but I cannot agree to relieve them by throwing their distresses on the other half. Let them make something for exportation; manufactures, if you please; but do not sacrifice to their interest, the interest of their more fortunate brethren. Surely they may compete with the foreign manufacturer, whose articles are charged with freight, insurance, mercantile profits, and duties imposed to produce the highest possible revenue. If our manufactures cannot bear a competition with foreign manufactures, thus burthened, their growth ought not to be forced. Let us have no hotbed plants; and confine our cultivation to those congenial to the soil and climate.

As to the policy of the bill. We may as citizens favor domestic manufactures; and I deem it commendable so to do; but here our duties are public; and we should pursue the interest of the whole nation, and of the government. It will, I presume, be admitted that an entire suppression of foreign commerce would be a great evil; it would annihilate our naval power. Now, if the entire suppression of foreign commerce would be a great evil, I hold that every approach thereto would be a lesser evil. Would you have us neither to sell nor to purchase abroad? We will not be permitted to sell only; and our ships should be allowed to bring home foreign cargoes, or the necessary profits of the sailor and ship owner will be too much reduced; and they will withdraw from the ocean.

It has been said that a measure of this kind will render us more independent of foreign nations. The only desirable independence is an exemption from foreign authority. He who can supply his wants by purchase or barter is essentially independent. You would not desire to be independent of the mechanic for the clothes you wear. The mutual dependence of individuals is a pledge of good will. The mutual dependence of nations is a pledge of peace.

Shall we sacrifice the revenue of the nation, to the interest of a portion of the people? Shall we sacrifice the public to private interest? Shall we, by a power to raise revenue, destroy the revenue? Shall we sacrifice the objects committed to us by the constitution, revenue, commerce, and the navy, to an object which is not committed to us, and is never once mentioned in our grant of power? It would be political suicide.

If you destroy the revenue levied on commerce, for the benefit of the manufactures, you should at the same time impose taxes to raise an equivalent revenue from manufactures. If you destroy that portion of the revenue which arises from the importation of woollens, you should impose on the manufacture of woollens a duty to raise the same amount. I would regard the revenue as pledged for certain purposes, and object to its diminution. If any part of it is abolished, some other subject of taxation should be substituted to produce the same amount.

I will now consider whether the object of this bill is one which the constitution authorizes you to effect.

Sir, I consider the committee who brought in this bill as an unconstitutional committee. Shew me your authority to encourage domestic manufactures. You have nothing to do with manufactures, but to pass a law for giving up runaway apprentices; and nothing to do with agriculture, but to pass a law for giving up runaway slaves. You have power "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to

pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States." The power granted to you is a power to raise revenue for the purpose of executing your granted powers; not a power to impose taxes to diminish the revenue, thereby to encourage and protect domestic manufactures. If you levy taxes for any other purpose but to raise revenue *bona fide*, you abuse your power. You have a choice of subjects of taxation, but in every tax your object should be revenue. If, by the imposition of the duties necessary to the raising an adequate revenue, manufactures are encouraged, it is a beneficial consequence. The convention who formed the constitution, have never mentioned the subject of manufactures; yet they had under consideration a proposition to give the general government a controlling power over manufactures, which they appear to have rejected. [Here, Mr. S. read some passages, from the Journal of the convention, to shew that such a proposition was, with others, referred to a committee; that several of the other propositions which were referred with it, were inserted in the constitution; but this was omitted.]

Mr. Smyth made some remarks on the prosperity of Venice, Genoa, Holland, and England, which he attributed to commerce; and the superior freedom of their institutions. He said we wanted no example of this kind. The prosperity of this nation had been unparalleled, without laws restraining commercial freedom for the protection of manufactures. He hoped that the enacting clause would be struck out, and the bill rejected.

JUST PUBLISHED.

AND FOR SALE AT THE BOOKSTORE OF J. GALES & SON,

A New System of GEOMETRY, entitled "A Compendious System of Elementary Geometry in seven books; To which an eighth is annexed, containing such other propositions as are elementary, among which are a few that are necessary beyond those of the System, to the more advanced parts of the Mathematics." By JOSEPH CALDWELL, D. D. President of the University of North-Carolina. Subjoined is a treatise of *Plane Trigonometry* by the same, and *Spherical Trigonometry* by Dr. Robert Simpson of Glasgow. This is the System now studied in the University, and upon which those who become students there, will be hereafter expected to be prepared, for prosecuting a Mathematical Course. January 25. 19

A GOOD OPPORTUNITY.

THE Proprietors of the OBSERVER & GAZETTE, will sell a great bargain of their Printing Establishment in this place.

From the many advantages in point of local situation, with the extensive patronage this paper now possesses, it promises to be ere long, one of the most profitable Journals in the State; and at the same time, to afford a good field for the display of useful talent. To a man of some capital, practically acquainted with the details of a printing office, such an opportunity seldom occurs.

Further information may be obtained, by letter, addressed to James Seawell, Fayetteville, N. C. Dec. 1822. 16

VIRGINIAN.

THE Race-Horse, Virginian, will stand the ensuing Season at my Stable, in Mecklenburg County, Va. near Taylor's Ferry, on Roanoke, about five miles south of the Courthouse; and will be put to Mares at \$50 the Season, which may be discharged by the payment of \$35, if paid by the first day of July next, at which time the Season will expire; but if any gentleman will send six shares or become responsible for them, the price will be reduced to \$30 each, if paid as above.—One dollar to the Groom in all instances. Good and extensive pasturage (strongly enclosed) and servants board gratis, but no responsibility for accidents or escapes, though the greatest possible care shall be taken to prevent either.

It cannot be expected in a newspaper advertisement, that I should trace back his Pedigree through a long race of ancestors for two or three centuries, as has been done by his former owner & breeder, and certified to be pure; suffice it to say, he was gotten by the noted stallion Sir Archy, out of Meritrix, one of the best mares ever raised in this country, and partakes of the very best blood in England and America, both by the sire and dam side. (See Mr. Harrison's last year's advertisement.)

It is also deemed unnecessary to give a detailed account of his Performances.—It is thought fully sufficient to say, that in sweepstakes and purses, he won for his owner the sum of \$10,250, and is still thought by him to be the best horse ever raised in this, or any other country. He is a beautiful bay, full sixteen hands high, of great beauty, fine muscle and excellent bone, and is a sure and most excellent foal getter; and is worthy the attention of any gentleman who wishes to improve his own and the breed of horses generally in the country. JOHN C. GOODRICH. Feb. 6, 1823. 21