can readily spell out whatever they please.

O, miserable condition of human society! when unblushing fraud supported by unfeeling force, imposes its cabbalistical quiddities, in place of the genuine and sacred truths penned by wisdom and virtue, as the testimonies of our rights and the vouchers of our compacts.

" —— *Nos certe taceamus, et obruta multa*
" *Nocte tegi propriæ patiamur crimina gentis.*" Statius.

When once rulers have by their delusions obtained a standing army, its growth in every age and in every country has been tremendously rapid. *Montesquieu* calls "the augmentation of troops in *Europe a distemper*. The consequence of such a situation is *the perpetual augmentation of taxes*; and the mischief which *prevents all future remedy* is, that they reckon no more on their *revenues*, but go to war with their *whole capital*. It is not an unusual thing, to see *governments* mortgage their funds *even in time of peace*, and to employ what they call *extraordinary means*, to ruin themselves; *means so extraordinary indeed, that such are hardly thought on by the most extravagant young spendthrifts*."

The consequence of this false policy has been in every nation, *extreme wretchedness to the people*.

Nothing can be more plain, than this position, that to prevent the *executive* of any government from being enabled to *oppress*, the armies with which he is *entrusted*, should consist of *the people*, and have *the same sentiments* with the people.

Historians have observed, that in the times of our *Anglo-Saxon* ancestors, tho' every man was constantly armed for public defence, yet, being governed with moderation according to known laws, "no popular insurrection ever happened."

Sir W. Temple's introduction to the History of *England*, p. 303.

That, Switzerland, where every man is armed, has, for several centuries, enjoyed domestic tranquility.

As to the formation of *standing armies* there have been varieties. Some ancient and some modern princes have preferred *foreigners*. This was the practice of several kings of England in their disputes with the barons; and it was attended with [illegible] success. For there are almost continually floating about in every country, a number of idle, necessitous, unprincipled men, who rejoice to be called together and embodied for plundering, by a powerful prince, or a daring adventurer.

Marius, whose sagacious and sanguinary example has been generally followed by the contenders for undue eminence, was the first among the Romans who formed his armies of *the dregs of society*

In such cases horrible associations take place. They depend on their employers for prey, and their employers depend on them for power. This innovation made by Marius laid the foundation for that military tyranny which afterwards afflicted, and at last ruined his country.

In the estimate of such accurate calculators of merit, men rise in value in proportion as they are destitute of principle and property. Those who have no home but the camp, and no hope but in cruelty, are above all price. '*Such soldiers can be relied on*. At the word of command, their only law, they spring forward to the work assigned them. Their eyes know not to pity, nor their hands to spare. What excellent materials to their leaders, for rearing the fabric of glory—of immortal glory! "Sic itur ad astra"—*exclaim their flatterers*—which words may well be translated—"this is their way to heaven."

These materials being properly selected, the management is a very easy business. The *Roman* legions, under the doting *Claudius*, made many conquests. "An army is so forcible, and at the same time so coarse a weapon, that any hand which wields it, may, without much dexterity, perform any operation, and attain any ascendent in human society."

Augustus Caesar, a complete master of the artifices that have been so baneful to the peace, liberty, and happiness of mankind, was at the very same time when he practised them, perfectly sensible of the inherent defects and dangers that attended them. He would accordingly, tho' commanding near half a million of men in arms, declare to his intimates, that the *Roman* affairs then stood "*more on reputation than strength*."

Notwithstanding this clear conviction, he had not integrity and magnanimity enough to put things into a better state, as his honest son-in-law *Agrippa* advised him to do, but went on in vacillations of hopes, fears, vanities, distrusts, gleams of duty, and the still-darkening and finally prevailing shades of selfishness, till at last, wretched in domestic relation, unassured as to foreign, bankrupt of every tender and generous affection private and public, he gloomily bequeathed the world to *Tiberius* and to slavery.

Before he closed a life that put liberty to death,* three or four legions under *Varus*, one of his generals, were cut off by the *German* hero *Arminius*, and his brave compatriots, in the *Hercynian* forest. Terrified at the blow, and expecting the victors immediately to advance, and avail themselves of the circumstances he had undesignedly prepared for assuring their success, he walked in agitation about his house, like a person distracted, striking his head against the walls, and crying—*Varus, Varus*, restore me my legions."

At length, on his less guilty successors and his devoted country, down came the long dreaded destruction.

In process of time the armies became enervated. The fierce nations, which had for many years wished to seize the rich prey, defeated those that were stationed on the frontiers. Having passed this line, they rushed into a land abounding in every thing but courage, arms, and discipline. Terror, fright, slaughter, with a deluge of miseries, overwhelmed the inhabitants—of the *Roman* empire only the named remained.

When a reader for the first time pursues the page relating to this mournful period, he is struck with vast surprise, on observing those nations which were the most distinguished for their love of liberty and martial spirit, crouch at once into mean despondence & dastardly submission, before half armed and undisciplined *barbarians*, many of them in so rude a state, as not to know how to raise grain, or to make bread: as for instance, when he finds the descendents of those *Britons* who repulsed *Caesar*, and so longed defended their freedom against the utmost efforts of *Rome*, basely uttering what they called the "groans of *Britains*" to a *Roman* officer; or, when he finds the prosperity of the *Spaniards*, who had resisted the *Roman* arms in their greatest strength, with firmer determination than any nation in the world, even for more than *two hundred years*, completely conquered by the undisciplined *Vandals* in the short space of two *campaigns*.

This astonishing and destructive degeneracy that spread throughout the whole *Roman* empire, is accounted for in a moment, when *this single fact* expressly declared in history becomes known—that "*the jealousy of despotism had deprived the people of the use of arms*."

This decree contained a volume of denunciations. It doomed them to shame, sorrow, fear, ignorance, and every suffering that could tend to degradation of character. They were taxed, injured, insulted at the pleasure of rapacious, cruel, and arrogant masters. The principles and actions of their ancestors were worn out of their memories. Their minds having always debasing images present to them, withered to a dreadful sympathy with their abject condition. *Thought* was useless, as their only business was to *obey*. They lost of course the capacity of decision. The vigour of the soul was gone. The blandishments of life were fled. Hope was dead. *Nations* became monuments of divine blessings blasted by human crimes.

Let us turn our afflicted recollections from these kindred woes, to seek for subjects for some consolation.

Among modern rulers, the *Stuarts*, those *pedants* in government, whose little minds were always striving to [illegible] great powers, had the tyrannic aversion to *a national militia* in the extreme; and it is well known, what it cost the *Stuarts*.

The family that succeeded them in the throne, succeeded them also in that malady; and so much infatuated were they by it, that they were very near losing their crown, when about ten thousand half armed *Highlanders* advanced to a place only one hundred miles distant from *London*. The *English* were then, as they always are, brave; but they had been betrayed into the disuse of arms. Their preservation was owing to the imbecility of the invaders.

Let us therefore rely on *a well armed and well trained militia*, as the natural, the most effectual, and the safest means of national defence.

By defence is not meant merely a resistance against attacks made, but also a capacity for disabling an enemy at a considerable distance, and thus preventing attacks.

The most illustrious example of this kind given by militia, to be found on the pages of history, ancient or modern, our own country affords.

In the year 1745, war then raging, the vast importance of Louisbourgh, the capital of the island of Cape Breton, was unanimously acknowledged.

"The people of New-England behaved on this occasion with great spirit. Three thousand eight hundred and fifty volunteers, all of them well affected to the expedition, assembled themselves at Boston. [illegible] the whole body of land forces, including marines, amounted to about six thousand. On the 30th of April, about ten men of war of different rates, some other armed vessels, and the transports arrived in Gabaron Bay, which lies within about four miles of Louisbourgh, and notwithstanding some resistance that was made, the forces landed with very considerable loss, and drove the troops that opposed them into the woods. The ground between the place of landing and the ramparts of the town, was extremely boggy, unequal, and almost impassable; but nothing could discourage the assailants, who formed two separate camps which were to direct two attacks. The one played from the South side of the harbour, directly upon the town, and the other from the North part of it, to silence what was called the great battery, which mounted 35 guns of 42 pounds, and commanded the entry and the Bay. Besides these, the enemy had a draw bridge at the Western gate of the town, where was a circular battery of 16 guns, 24 pounders each, commanding the upper part of the harbour, at the mouth of which was the island battery of 34 guns, 42 pounders. The walls, ramparts, and bastions, mounted 64 guns, and the place was besides defended by 10 mortars, each of 13 inches bore, and six of nine inches. It was strong by nature as well as by art; and the garrison consisted of 1200 regulars"—exclusive, as it is apprehended, of the burghers.

"Tho' neither the militia nor their commanders had ever seen any military service, they proceeded with all the regularity and intrepidity of veterans. The grand approaches to the body of the place were to be carried on from the Southern sides. Here the service was extremely laborious, the guns for mounting the batteries being dragged through bogs and incumbered places by the landsmen, for above two miles. They succeeded however to admiration, and by the assistance of the officers and engineers of the marines, and some lent them by the commodore, they mounted a large train of artillery on an eminence called the Green-hill, about three quarters of a mile from the place.—The garrison having made a resolute defence, and a general assault being expected, surrendered on the 15th of June."*

The following extract from General Sumpter's truly valuable speech in Congress, in the year 1798, will shew, that the Southern states partake of the same gallant spirit that animates the Northern.

"The true force of the Southern states to defend themselves, cannot be doubted by those who were attentive observers of their exertions throughout our revolutionary war.

"It is an unpleasant thing for me to have to make any remarks on a subject of this sort; but so frequently have gentlemen made individious distinctions between the courage and efficacy of militia and regulars with so much injustice to the former, that I cannot permit their assertions any longer to pass without notice. In doing this, I do not mean to derogate from the merit of the late American regular army, nor more particularly from that part of it which served to the southward, of whose condition I can better judge than of that which served in the middle and eastern districts; as to them, I am bold to say, they were not inferior, under all circumstances, to any army of equal numbers and equal opportunities, which I have heard or read of, in any time or any places—but then it must be also remembered, whatever gentlemen may here say to the contrary, that the militia were as serviceable, and as successful as any regulars whatever.

"I will take a cursory review of the services of the militia in one of the southern states, which will tend to support my last delaration.

"I will quote only a few cases out of a great number where the militia have acted alone, without any co-operation or support from the regulars, and that against the veteran and conquering cavalry and infantry of British corps, and in which actions they were distinguished for their bravery and success. It may be remembered, that very partial if any impressions had ever been made by our regular troops on the British corps of cavalry during the early period of the war; and it seemed to be reserved to the southern militia to convince them that their equals existed in our country. It is not to be attributed to the want of courage or discipline in our regular corps that this had not been done before, but to imperious circumstances which no skill could overcome; but this did not change the fact.

"After the fall of Charleston in 1780, the first action and that fought by the militia, without any aid from our regulars, was the action of Fishing Creek; where, without entering into a minute description of all circumstances attendant on such an occasion, it will be sufficient to say, that the gallant captain Rooke, who commanded a squadron of Tarleton's legion, fell, and the whole force was beaten and dispersed.

"A few days after—and here permit me, to remark, that if my colleague does not remember, and our historians have neglected to record the atchievements of the militia, yet justice is in some degree done them by a British historian, who was an officer in the British service in that part of our country, and at the very time I am speaking of, who corroborates my facts. A few days after an attack was made by the militia on Rockey Mount; and col. Turnbull, who commanded the enemy's force, and who is now in New-York, I have no doubt has candour enough to acknowledge, that from the contest he had with them (although strongly defended by well constructed works,) and which lasted ten hours, there is something due to their bravery and the effect of their arms.

"Eight days after the affair on Rocky Mount, an attack was made on the British at their posts the Hanging-Rock. The force on this occasion consisted of the same corps of South-Carolina militia who had enterprized on the other occasion; they were in number about 600; they had been by a few of the militia from North-Carolina, and it is a pleasure to reflect on the cordiality and bravery displayed by them on this occasion.

* Historians are agreed, that Julius Cæsar rather threw chains over the Romans than fixed them; but that Augustus Cæsar by a cool deliberate perseverance in the practice of every deception and of every cruelty, for nearly half a century, fastened and riveted them on.

Every youth in these states should be taught to abhor the specious, splendid, liberticide tyrant. They should also be informed, that the praises bestowed upon him by Virgil and Horace, were not given to him for his merits, but by this address, the only means in their power, to shew him what he ought to be, and if possible, to soothe this foe to humanity into some mildness of temper. Virtue, conducted by the graces was placed in his view—and his accusing heart recoiled at the heavenly vision.

What, to speak of no other account, is now thought, and by those whose sentiments are worth regarding will be thought, as long as the human race exists, of those oppressors of their fellow-creatures, who have condemned themselves to the notice of future ages?

Alexander in his distressful return from India, we are told exclaimed—"O Athenians, to what toils and dangers do I expose myself to obtain your applause."

With much more propriety might he, speaking in the name of all such aspirants for fame, have said "O world, to what toils and dangers do we expose ourselves, to obtain your detestation."

* Of these noble exertions, the excellent bishop of St. Asaph speaks in the following honorable terms. "Let us not forget, that the people of New-England were themselves, during the last war, the most forward of all in the national cause; that in every year we voted them a considerable sum, in acknowledgement of their zeal and their services; that in the preceding war, they alone enabled us to make the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, by furnishing us with the only equivalent for the towns that were taken from our allies in Flanders."

FOR THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

Accident presented to my view in the Washington Federalist, a compilation stated to be copied from the Baltimore Anti-Democrat, whence (I am informed) it has crept into more remote gazettes. In Maryland ready detection would render this attempt impotent but could furnish no corrective to a poison distantly disseminated. It professes to exhibit, a narrative accompanied by an address or publication to which the signature of the present governor of Maryland is boldly affixed, dated in January 1799. The indecorum of a personal attack on a chief magistrate whose official situation precludes him from reply, was *at least* no restraint.

What must the public conclude, when informed that on the election of the governor, when his eligibility was questioned by a member from Charles, upon some newspaper paragraphs which he read, *not one word was said on the one part respecting this publication, and not one word replied on the other, respecting any former residence of the governor, which added to a recent residence would exceed five years?* The whole is an entire fabrication, as every member of the Legislature and a numerous audience can testify. On the contrary, an original document, signed officially by the deputy collector of the port of George-Town, was read in the House of Delegates, by which it appeared that the present governor, had made oath on the 6th of October 1796, *more than five years next preceding the election*, that he had then moved into the state of Maryland with a *bona fide* intention of settling therein. A part also of a statement was read from which it appeared, that he had never relinquished his residence in Maryland so gained, till the time of the election—this seeming to be entirely satisfactory the debate closing—original, legal and temporary documents which no *court of justice* ought to have rejected as evidence, in full support of the statement, were not read, although in possession of members. These documents went to prove a residence in the City of Washington, from, and indeed before the date of the oath, until towards the close of the year '98, in which period he occasionally and frequently visited his estate in Virginia, from which he drew all his supplies, but always keeping an House furnished and part of his family in the City. A certificate of Mr. Isaac Polock, whose house Mr. Mercer rented at that time, would have proved that on the 10th of Nov. '98, Mr. Mercer's servants and furniture were in the house, and that he considered Mr. Mercer as his tenant at that time. A joint letter addressed to Mr. Mercer in Maryland, signed by the senators and all the representatives of the Culpeper district in Virginia (except one) and dated on that very day (the 10th of November), calls on Mr. Mercer for his *personal exertion, and presses his coming into the district*. On the 11th or 12th November, Mr. Mercer arrived at West River, and there was abundant living testimony ready to prove, that he had continued to reside there since, without ever visiting Virginia, except for temporary purposes.

The clamor and misrepresentations which were industriously propagated before the election, and are now revived on this subject, are founded, it seems, on Mr. Mercer's offer to represent the district of Culpeper in Virginia in the fall of 1798. The circumstances attending which were as follow:—Mr. Mercer then residing with his family in the City of Washington, was compelled by some land causes to attend the October district court in Fredericksburg, in 1798, and was there pressed by his friends to offer for congress in the room of Mr. Nicholas, about to retire. He himself objected that he resided in Maryland. The constitution of the United States, and that of Virginia, were both resorted to by gentlemen of the bar. It was found that the constitution of the United States only required a residence, any time previous to and at the time of, and after the election, which was then six months distant. In the constitution of Virginia it was well understood that the term residence never occurs but once as a qualification to take or hold any office that is in the case of a county delegate. Under these impressions, Mr. Mercer on the 3d of October published an offer, *promising to serve the Culpeper district, if elected*, and at the close of the court, returned to his family in the City of Washington, fully intending to remove as soon as their convenience would admit, into the state of Virginia. This removal he actually commenced, and set out with his family and part of his furniture and servants by water for his seat in Virginia, on the South Bank of the Potowmac, where he was born, a few yards only from the line and jurisdiction of the state of Maryland. Delayed by contrary winds, after landing in Maryland again, he did not arrive until three days before the day he had appointed to meet the people of Culpeper—he took horse, immediately proceeded to Fredericksburg, where joined by Mr. J. G. Mercer (son of the general) he next day proceeded to Mr. Nicholas. They had scarcely left the house of Mr. Nicholas next morning, when they were overtaken by an express (leaving a letter which was instantly communicated to those gentlemen) recalling him to West River, whither he returned with the least possible delay. The illness of Mr. Sprigg terminating in his death; a train of unforeseen events fixed his subsequent residence at West River.

There could be no doubt, but that from the time of Mr. Mercer's offer to the district of Culpeper, he considered himself as a Virginian. He held his conditional engagement to serve as sacred; and that he was bound at every sacrifice to become a legal resident of Virginia before the election, and it was impossible for him to foresee the events that were about to give a different destiny to his future life. As soon however as he was summoned to West River as stated, he communicated through Mr. Daniel C. Brent (whom he accidently met with on his route) to the other representatives of the district, his anxious desire to be withdrawn as a candidate. This it appears produced the letter above cited, signed by all those representatives but Mr. Brent, consenting to his wish with the proviso, that Mr. Nicholas would agree to offer again, otherwise they insist on Mr. Mercer's engagements *to move into Virginia and stand the election*. To this proposal Mr. Mercer held himself bound to accede, and consequently he continued in absolute uncertainty, to which state he was to look for his future residence, until early in January. As soon as he was released from these engagements by a notification that Mr. Nicholas had agreed to offer again.—Mr. Mercer transmitted to a Fredericksburg press a short advertisement, stating in effect, that an event had happened which would produce a change of legal residence.

Such expressions, compared with all the circumstances detailed, would evidently relate to that legal residence which would be necessary, previous to the election in April, had Mr. Mercer continued a candidate—a residence which he had been in the act of acquiring, but which an event entirely unforeseen and unexpected, prevented his finally completing. Such expressions appear in the address as republished in the Washington Federalist, which, insulated and unexplained, might lead to error.

A casual advertisement, even authenticated by the real signature of the party, ought not to be tested by the strict rules of legal accuracy; but when it appears only through the medium of newspaper publications—passing too through seve-