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The *National Intelligencer* will hereafter be conducted by SAMUEL H. SMITH, and JOHN SMITH, Jun. and printed at the Office of the former, to whom subscribers and correspondents are requested to address themselves.

The same Terms prevails in advance, as the subscribers, the principal consideration which has given it the first place of importance, and is expressly required.

Twenty-four Numbers, not exceeding one sheet in bulk, are issued in the first four months, and hereafter subsequent numbers as circumstances require. It is hoped by this three Months' Notice to be excused. Hitherto but some weeks, an accident of one fourth part of the number sometimes changed the time and mode.

It is intended to furnish the Debates and Proceedings of Congress at the earliest possible period, and to have the Laws of the Union represented to send in these advertisements early in the year, and to have the Laws of the National Intelligencer appear, in case of necessity, twice in a week, if required before minutes, will be inserted.

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

OF THE MILITARY CONSTITUTION of NATIONS.

TO a people who wish to preserve liberty, civil or political existence, the necessity of a military force is too evident to be questioned. Violences on the property of a nation, and without them its rights can neither be asserted nor maintained, all the blessings of plenty and freedom would be at the disposal of foreign foes, or seditious factions. But now to consider that force, how to make it the proper and not the scourge of a nation, how to organize it in such a manner as to render it the instrument of perpetual preservation, and take from it at the same time the power of ever proving dangerous to the state whose object it should be to protect, seems to have been hitherto too much disregarded. The experience of ages has proved, out to people and governments the dangers of a bad military constitution; people attempts to make it a slave from made; but in guarding against dangers on one side, they have been exposed on the other; if a tyrant was feared, an excess of power was given; if an abuse dispaired, the remedy. Hence nations have been enslaved by the original possession of their liberty; have found in them no protection in the hour of peril. To enquire what other is the alternative is absolutely incident to the course of human events; whether employed, like the trust for ever by turns rise and fall; whether no possibility exists of carrying into effect of political evils in a subjection interesting not to command the attention of all men concerned of the necessity of making the science of warfare the guarantee of peace. To them, therefore, I submit the following ideas, with diffidence, it is true, but with the most ardent wish that my feeble endeavours may direct their minds to an object worthy of all their reservation.

Ambition and a thirst for power influence whole tribes as well as individuals; and the government, and the profession of arms is most honorable, and the military most powerful, will ever be preferred to the civil and choice of an army. In no time can monarchies exist without them; in times when they be ceases to be a general, to make his soldiers the depositaries of his authority, the protectors of his prerogatives. To a monarchical government then therefore arms can be intimed, and a bad and skilful chief will find no great difficulty in making troops wind to his service and pour his way to the throne. Awake to this danger, republics are more so large standing armies; they prefer a system where arms are intrusted to citizens, to be used by them only on such particular occasions. The few armed men whom they keep in their pay have no civil disciplines, lets power than the rest of the citizens, and are constantly watched with a jealous eye. The principal security of a country, the members of its inhabitants, the stamina of its population, may be alone give to this fatal appearance of safety, but let any of these circumstances be altered, let such a peaceful country be attacked by disciplined and powerful invaders, or threatened by seditions, and its minds must be turned into a regular army, or its independence and constitution are at stake. If necessary, if a sense of national honor, if the love of only country were the only respiters of a soldier, the contest would hardly be doubtful: numbers and patriotism would secure the victory. But experience teaches us every where whole nations falling an easy prey to troops intrusted to arms, and ruled by systems as well as valor. We ought not to wait for the moment when protection is necessary to give the defenders of a nation a knowledge of the hardships of war, or of military discipline, whose knowledge triumph attend their arms, after the overthrow of the enemy, the conquerors would form a body of regulars, and from them ought to be feared all the dangers of large standing armies.

From these two systems, of affectedly intrusted to a permanent and standing corps. Placed in the middle of Europe, confined to a wall scarcely able to feed its own numerous inhabitants, alive to her freedom and independence, she sent her hardy sons to be taught in the orgies of the military Europeans powers, the means of conducting valor to victory, and of enabling them to remain in foreign service so long as she did not want their protection, but requiring, on the contrary, to be transmitted as soon as danger made it necessary. Some times among strangers the Swiss formed a body of guards, and of Helvetian numbers, and imbibed naturally as attachment to the power which they served, but the love of their country could never be eradicated from their hearts, and their ancestors spent their lives during years of anarchy, they generally returned to their native land, and at spot where they were born, where their fathers had died. Besides their military, they were civil, and in peace always, well disciplined and numerous army, always ready to defend her, and by its dispersion absolutely incapable of ever attempting any thing against the form of her government. For nearly five hundred years, the Swiss have been the pride of a free, nation of being the only truly independent, respected, and happy republic in Europe. Did it not, in the wonders of our age. She has fallen, but not from the thoughtless of her arms, and rather a victim to her own political dissentions, to the deeply laid schemes of her neighbors; but laid in her no proof against her military system.

It is therefore to me evidently dangerous standing armies, in an unhappy militia, or to defendens turned in foreign service, and who are not sufficient protectors of their governments that nations have hitherto confided the security and of their property, honor and independence. Are then those military systems the only ones? Are there no other, the thoughts of no danger should exist? where a common interest and common power would equally guard, preservation to the governments, and protection to the citizens?

In a country where every man should have been brought up a soldier, where he was familiar with a military life, military tactics and military discipline, no encumbrance of power would be necessary to succeed invaders from abroad could ever be feared, well armed, well disciplined, always exist at home, as to prevent violence from seizing on the government, which the resistance could always be opposed to invaders as to battle all their skill, should the population of the country be superior to the invading army. Should such a people ever attempt conquest, unless that its principal force consisted in the compactness of its possessions, in the ease of its communications, in the inhabitants, it would make them the means of acquiring, instead of losing, the power. What should could then be assigned to the duration of a government and empire so constituted, were the same manners and powers to be perpetuated from generation to generation? Such theories recited, indeed are written with characters of blood in the annals of the world, and the fighting glaive in them will be sufficient to convince us that the first steps in the fall of an empire are to be dated from the moment when a distinction has been made between its citizens and soldiers, and that this distinction has been the sole cause of those revolutions.

When the increase of population had made the union of several families under a single chief necessary, largely power soon succeeded the patriarchal government. Ambition and lore of conquest followed, and in those early days probably without much resistance, a smaller tribe became subject to a greater. Rome, the greatest, from the time of extending their limits was left to the conquerors now conquered and soldiers, and the new subjects were devoted to the cultivation of the land. To the latter, upon some particular occasions, arms were sometimes entrusted; but they lardly knew the use of them, and indifferent as to the choice of their masters, they did not attempt to resist invasion, or if fled of battle, only acted as witnesses of a defeat. Thus arose and fell those immense kingdoms of the Assyrians and Babylonians, of which scarcely any thing is known but their military existence. Cyrus, upon their ruins, raised the empire of the Persians. Some present nations were the guards of by its conquerors, and fell in 331 turn a prey to a handful of Greeks led on by a hero. The empire of Alexander did not survive him; the Greeks who had conquered him in his conquests, at his death, divided them among themselves, and their successors for a time preserved their much but weak dominions. Meanwhile in a remote part of Italy a few shepherds were forming Rome. They rather associated to themselves then subdued their neighbors, and, when at last when strong enough for victory, they always took care to incorporate the vanquished, and to make them the standing the civil wars, Romans. So, Rome, Which, notwithstanding its dissens and soldiers of Rome, equally interested in her defence and greatness, when the distinction ceased, they possessed themselves of nothing but its walls; all its inhabitants retired to their cottages, and, in distant places, from whence they sallied up on the same occasion, to defend, or rather the retreat of the Gaels. Rome, which for a moment had been under a superior power, soon rose from her conquerors. Till the overthrow of Carthage she went on pursuing the same policy of multiplying her soldiers and her power, and, in the end, the conquerors, instead of being polluted out to their soldiers as it objects for destruction their rivals in power or riches, whether Carthage of Italy, Gaul, or Syria; proscriptions followed, a bloody and fortunate war, and overpowered his competitors, and the mistress of the world was made a slavery for ever. Rome, for about four hundred years Rome, reduced to the most abject slavery at home, too the dominions of her arms were spread her name, generals, and a few of her citizens, in the immediate service of which her emperors seized on all sides for enslaving and plundering the world. Rome, which had been at a barren soil and its poor, rude inhabitants were the only resistance, Gaules could not resist her victory, they ceased to fight, or associating with the enemies of Rome, and, in the end, became the country whose name they bore. Swarms of barbarians inundated the Roman provinces, Rome herself bowed her once proud head to the Gothic, and hardly survived the shame the feeble efforts her self-named emperors were making to take her from her new masters. The Roman empire vanished. With a people animated also by plunders, is well by Gaules, Mahomet, and his successors laid the foundations of the empire of the Califfs. Their arms and religion overran Asia and part of Europe; but their conquests were soon taken from them, and after the defeat of its armies that had made them, the defenceless Colonies fell at the feet of the Turks, and its own numerous nations. The stupendous fabrics erected in time in Asia by Genghis, Tamerlane, Schah Nadir, have all had but a short duration. Easy conquests were made by soldiers, not slaves, who did not attempt to defend themselves against new invaders. The events of our days, I need not mention.

In this rapid sketch, we see almost every where the same conduct, the same faults attended with the same consequences. We see incursions generally bold and successful, and, once feeble and unavailing; not because it is in the nature of things that attack must always be superior to defence, but because invaders commonly have more powerful incitements, and are better prepared than those whom they attack; because it is only to a small proportion of the people that the means of resisting are given. To another cause than the fealty of inhabitants they then be trusted the decay and fall of governments and empires, and if any possibility exist of avoiding that cause, it is possible to preserve constant health and life to the political body. In a nation of soldiers, as we have seen, no such cause of death is to be apprehended.

By a nation of soldiers I not meant here a nation whose only trade is war, whose only pleasures are the pomp of arms, and warlike atchievements; ruled by the harsh laws of Lycurgus, or living on the wild inhabitants of the deserts; nothing is meant but such a nation as has been described above, where the most peaceful citizens, who called by necessity, can at the first signal be changed into the most skilful warrior, in a word where every man while enjoying the sweets of peace, all the comforts of social society, and following all the usual occupations of the most pacific people, may be ranked upon as an image of Mars sleeping, whom the least noise will rouse.

In this idea of the existence of such a nation chimerical? Could not a few years of youth, when the regular course of education is over, be devoted to the study and practise of arms? Would not at that time such a course of juice be formed with military arts, life and labors, as to make it ever afterwards forgotten, as to be occasionally improved in proportion to the progress of military science, and to be ready whenever necessity would require it? Would the peace of society be disturbed, which would have be less obeyed, because every body would know how to obey and be respected? Would manners be less polished, because no inhabitant of the cities would be a stranger to the fatigues of the camp? Would the sacrifice of a few days taken from pleasures appear too dear a price for securing the peaceful enjoyments of all the blessings of a glorious life?

If to show the practicability of such a system, an application of it were required, the following plan might be proposed: Camps of instruction would be formed in five or six convenient positions, according to the extent, or number of inhabitants of the country. All the young men from eighteen to twenty-five years of age, with a few peculiar exceptions, should be divided into five classes, one of which would by turns spend three months dispersed in the different camps of instruction. Each class during its stay in the camps would form the standing army of the country, and as such receive the stated pay of the first. So that the permanent standing army would be not more than one tenth of the youth of the country between eighteen years of age, and every young man during the three-fourths of the year, would be enabled to follow his own particular occupations. Camps of instruction are absolutely necessary; it is not enough to drill men to carry or present arms, they must be made complete soldiers, taught all the different orders of marches and battle, to all the secrets of great tactics or the details of camp, garrison and armies, to the bivouacks and discipline of war. Such camps are sufficient general officers would be brought up, and military science be studied with success. Here every thing relating to war would be taught and practised, and, with the exception of his commandant, horses, war actually be carried on. And let not so great an importance be attached to this exception as to occasion a fear that it would be sufficient to frustrate the design of the institution. It is not so much fear as irresolution that makes bad troops. Where danger is without courage and foresight, are always the results of knowledge, timidity and indecision the offspring of ignorance. Soldiers led on by powerful motives directed by skill and courage, would know how to face death in battle, and to find that society is the protector of their enemy. To the governments the population of the country should be carefully mixed; the inhabitants of one part should receive instruction in the other; they would thus form the peculiar prejudices, habits and distinction of their native places in camps where they would see nothing but the general interests of the great family, where they would form intimate connexions with the inhabitants of the most remote parts of their country. After the age of twenty-five every young man would be discharged, but he would then be embodied in the militia, and the same system followed for the way as for land service. If ever the peace of the country was disturbed, the militia would be called for it, with what a facility could an army be formed of two or three hundred thousand warriors, to be by cause! soldiers would have only to remember what they would have been practising for seven years, and studying all their life; who would then be a civilian, cedes would be sufficiently reassume their normal habits, and uninterrupt focus manner as a monarch's guard, would not expected cost nevertheless formally only for a single, or two years, and, in the end, a soldier.

In this fortunate country, equally impenetrable to foreign and domestic enemies, peace, plenty, and independence would fix their abodes. Covered by all nations, followed by nations, proudly conscious of its superiority its people would stand for ever, defying the world and age. Its example would probably in time be followed by its less happy neighbors; and emboldened at war would be driven from the earth, where every nation, unconquered, would find it impossible to subdue another.

DOCUMENTS

ACCOMPANYING THE MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT.

(Continued.)

Copies and extracts of letters from Mr. Pinkney to Mr. Madison, with enclosures.

Mr. Pinkney to Mr. Madison.

Madrid, Nov. 23, 1808.

Mr. Cimbing has just sent me a note, of which a copy is enclosed, relative to an intended alteration, upon the subject of cotton, in their bill for carrying into execution the late convention with Great Britain. You perceive that he lays some stress upon the necessity of conversation, and I have accordingly explained to you in my letter of the 25th of last month) very drawn from me when I first spoke upon the singularly offensive project of imposing a stamp duty upon our cotton. I mentioned to you, in my letter of the 25 last, that he appeared to have mistaken or misrepresented the tendency of these observations, and that in a subsequent conversation he showed a disposition to receive the explanation of them for their plain, for the purpose of substituting an absolute interdict of the export of that article, rather at least then we should then cease to object to it; but that I thought it my duty to decline to give him any encouragement to do so, although I agreed, as he mentioned to you, to transmit to him this position to you. A few days ago, he sent for me again, and renewed his request with more earnestness, during, with respect to cotton, from a prohibitory duty to a prohibitory prohibition. My answer was the same in substance as it had been before. He then suggested the objectionable arrangement, which you will see stated in his note; but, adhering to the determination I had formed upon the first appearance of the orders in council to make no concession (absolutely precise directed from my government) but the sugg