on the frigate Chesapeake; but has reparation been made for the attack by that government, or has a single officer concerned in it been punished? No, sir—neither has been done, and I doubt whether either ever will be done. I believed when I came here that no reparation could be made, and I believe it now, unless circumstances should compel it.

With respect to the 6,000 men which is proposed to be raised by the bill, I feel no hesitation in declaring, that I agree with the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Randolph) that they are not enough for offensive war. They are not I presume intended for that purpose; but they are enough to render great service about the cities if they should be attacked. It is for this I apprehend they are wanted, and they are enough to make a rallying point at every place where an attack may be made. They will afford a place, let the danger be ever so sudden, where every man may go to defend his home; it is of much importance to have such a place; without it there must be great difficulty and perplexity. In fact the having the spot fixed, where a few men are known to be, and they prepared for action will encourage all to join them. Thre can be no doubt, but that it is possible the raising these men may turn out to be useless, and that the money which will be expended might as well be thrown away. As to the mere putting them in fortifications for the sake of having them there when no danger was expected, that would be worse tha useless; but is it probable that they will be useless—this each member must determine for himself. Is it not more likely now, under existing circumstances that we shall be attacked, than it was last summer that the Chesapeake would be attacked, or have we less reason to expect one than Copenhagen or Constantinople had? I wish we had.

As to the idea of defending any one place with its portion of the troops to be raised, it cannot be entertained by any man, though they will be very valuable in the view that has been taken of them as a rallying point.

In the present state of the civilized world, and the great political changes which have been lately made in it, especially within the last twelve months, what may not be expected from the two great belligerent powers. I regret, sir, that I cannot speak of them with the same complacency as the gentleman from Tennesse (Mr. Rhea.) Look at the documents made public last Saturday. One says you shall go through her country with your produce, in fact that she will tax you, and the other that she considers you an associate power in the war which she is now carrying on, and holds your property until she knows your determination. I am opposed to these acts of theirs, and am also opposed to becoming either tributary to England or an associate with France, and have no partiality to either of them; as to the expectation of obtaining justice from them by treaty, nothing can be more futile; you have tried it, and you have tried it with the best talents of the nation, and what have you got by the attempt? Nothing, your ministers are only beggars, and they have not got any thing by begging, and if you had the best negociators that ever lived, while one possessed the sea and the other, the land, your negociations would be of no avail. It is true that on paper they shew beyond contradiction the justice of your claim, and the injustice of their pretensions. But force and not reason is their rule to decide questions between nations; both have levied contributions on every place which their power could reach. Can we believe after what we have seen and heard that they will spare us, or that we shall be so highly favored that they will permit us to escape, after they shall have us within their grasp; I wish I could believe they would, but I cannot, and I very much question whether at any time either would feel an inclination to prevent the other from attacking us, much as they hate each other; judging from their actions it is not unfair to presume that they do not regard us more than they do each other.

It cannot be denied that the troops if raised will cost about two millions of dollars a year; this is a serious consideration, but it ought not to be the only consideration. Is not the danger to be apprehended to some parts of the nation equally serious? Is there not cause to apprehend danger to the towns where large quanti ies of money are collected in the banks, and where immense quantities of country produce are collected for exportation? It seems to me to be impossible that any one can be serious when he talks about repelling an actual invasion by a strong force, with the men proposed to be raised. I consider them as intended, as has been stated, only as rallying points, to which every man who possesses true patriotism, or what I call whiggery, may repair, whenever an enemy shall appear. But for the main defence the nation must be armed, and the militia classed according to age; it is the young men of France that have made her armies invincible; class the militia and select the young men for active service, and if you should ever want them, they too will be invincible. I repeat it, do not tell us about any supposed disorganization to be produced in the militia by separating the young from the old. We have appropriated money to erect fortifications, which may take fifty years to finish, and to build gun-boats, which to say the least of them, are an experiment. But the whole world knows that a free nation completely armed, would be a terrible foe, and it may well be questioned, whether the money laid out in arms, would not have been more beneficial to the nation, than in fortifications and gun boats at this time. Gun-boats can be had whenever wanted, because every well built sloop or schooner would do for one, and every port where an attack might be expected has enough of them.

I do not consider the troops to be raised intended for a peace establishment. If I did, I should not vote for the bill; I verily believe that I never shall consent to add to the peace establishment, in times of real peace; the establishment is useless, and is a dead weight to the industry of the people. It has been said there would be great difficulty in getting the men. This will in some measure depend on the proper selection of officers; but be this as it may, notwithstanding I am in favor of the bill, I feel no reluctance in saying, that I believe it is almost as difficult to get clear of a military peace establishment, as it is to enlist the privates for that establishment.

In this great crisis of our affairs, it is our duty to speak freely, and the nation ought to know what we say. By comparing opinions and stating the facts on which they are founded, we shall most likely do that which we ought to do. Perhaps my sentiments concerning our foreign affairs are different from those of any other member of the House, and if they are erroneous, they have been uniform and are honest. If I could discover in all the documents which have been printed, one spark of a friendly disposition in the governments of the two nations which have been before mentioned, it would give me more pleasure than any political event which has lately taken place. War seems to be their delight, peace is ours, and peace is of more consequence to us than to any nation on the globe; because we have more to lose by war; if war should come, we have not sought it; we love peace, and have honestly endeavored to preserve it. In the present situation of our affairs, we must prepare to defend the country and to make every sacrifice which may ensure it.

I have heard to day, and at former times, a maxim boldly advanced, which to me never appeared correct or true,—that to preserve peace you must be prepared for war. In all countries, especially those which are free, the thirst for military fame is greater than that for civil, and if it gets a complete ascendancy, is extremely difficult to allay. It may be observed, that our country is not exempt from this passion which has done so much injury to the human race. We seem to admire the heroic actions of our young men, more than we do the civil virtues of Franklin, Hancock, Adams and Dickenson; though it would be no easy question to decide, whether Washington was greater as a civil or militaty character, yet his military character is that which I believe gives the nation the most delight.

Our situation is a critical one, about which I firmly believe we honestly differ, and differ as to the proper measures which ought to be adopted. It is agreed by all that it is our interest to settle our disputes with every nation as soon as possible; but this does not depend on us alone. Let England and France make peace, and it may be more difficult for us to adjust our affairs with them; but until they settle the disputes with us, we must endeavor to prevent any farther injury being done to us.

Mr. Stanford had not expected to have said a single word on the passage of this bill, because he had as usual anticipated that a very large proportion of that company with whom he had thought and acted for more than ten years past, would on this occasion also have been of the same opinion with himself; but with painful surprize finding himself mistaken, and that he should be in a minority unusually small, and that to consist of but few of his old friends, & first political associates, he could not think of giving a silent vote as on common occasions he was used to do. He felt no difficulty, no great solicitude of mind in a difference of opinion with his friends on questions of minor importance. But on a question like the present, involving in it an important principle, he could not feel the same indifference. He could assure them it was much otherwise, & that he regretted the event sincerely. In so far, indeed, as his long established political opinions upon the subject would permit, he had even suspected himself and the views he had taken of the times, out of real deference to them. Yet after all under the influence of the honest convictions of his own mind he felt it his duty to give his decided negative to the bill.

Mr. S. then said in the course of the observations he was about to make he should not impeach the motives of gentlemen, and if he should appear to do so through the hurry of expression it would not be intentional, and he must hope for the forgiveness of his friends. He had no reason to doubt the motives of gentlemen who advocated the bill, and hoped his claim was well founded to a like liberal consideration on their part. His object would be to draw a contrast in a general way between first principles and the bill before the House.

This question of a standing army, said he, is among the number, which involves first principles, and goes to mark, as it should do, the two great opposite political systems in our country of which we have heard so much—a question which did distinguish the one from the other political party during the late administration. I have, said he always thought and still do think, am indeed from long experience obliged to think that as politicians having formed deliberate opinions, we should be slow to change, even where circumstances themselves seem to change. The more unchanging, uniform and consistent our political course, the more intelligible are we to those who have to approve or disapprove our measures. This I am persuaded should be the case, not merely for our own sake, but for the sake of the nation—I mean the people, who so long as we remain free must form the main spring of all political motion in this country, and who, when they approach the hustings to put in the ballot of approbation or disapprobation, should know for whom and for what they vote, the man and his principles. If they are not to know, distinction avails nothing; right and wrong is a mere jumble, only a nominal thing, and it were better in such case there never had been a distinction. I am therefore convinced that all, especially those who have had to do with our political affairs long enough to have formed opinions and adopted a system, should be as true to such system as the needle to the pole. I am for none of this variation in the political compass, but would desire to be, what my conscience tells me I should be, steady, firm and persevering in the good old way of first principles, and first professions.

I am, Mr. Speaker, among those who believe we shall never have another patriot army in this country, because I can foresee no occasion which could produce one, such as we once had. I mean no reflection on our present army, nor that which this bill proposes to raise—nor to deny them love of country. I have no reason to doubt that, but at so great a distance from the belligerent powers of Europe are we thrown, and in every point of view so superior to any thing that presents itself either from our North East, or South West frontier we have nothing formidable to dread or to fear. In times of peace standing armies are as little suited to the genius as to the interest of this nation, and to the planter's ear there is nothing more odious than the beating of the recruiting drum. For as to myself I must confess standing army & direct tax bring to my mind the old association of ideas. I cannot separate the one from the other. I combine them involuntarily from a recollection of the past. On a former occasion they followed in train, and it is but fair to expect the like again. If we look back on former times we shall see the natural result, a large majority reduced into a minority scarcely now to be estimated a all.

So varying are the views of gentlemen on this subject, some viewing it as a peace, some as a war army; some as a limited, and some an unlimited bill, and so reasonable is it that we should begin to anticipate a favorable turn of affairs abroad, I will venture to predict if the bill were postponed to the last days of the session it would not pass. First principles and first professions would come into my aid, and the bill would, as it should, get the go-by—would share the same fate as your marine army bill, your peace army bill, and the volunteer system. All these projects seem now to sleep, and I now doubt if expediency will again awaken them. When the President's late message was received on this subject, instead of the volunteer system as recommended, this bill was reported in the Senate and passed. I then began to anticipate something wrong, and not till then, did I suppose we were to have a standing army in lieu of every thing else. Times are little different, if not precisely the same that they were in '98, except that this bill is predicated on a British and not on a French war, for indeed the greater insult has been received from the former, and I am not one of those who look for occasions to soften it down. If gentlemen advocated absolute war, and would make the declaration, I will not say that I should go with them. I certainly should not—but I will say that the question would present itself to me in a very different point of view, and most indubitably I would not withhold the necessary means to make it effectual. But when without contemplating such a course, or knowing why or wherefore we have need of these men, we go upon a supposition that there is a probability of an occasion for them, I am left in the dark, and cannot give my consent to the measure.

Let me now advert, said Mr. S. to our late Spanish crisis, and see what was then the disposition of this House. It was only the session before the last, and if the decision then made upon this subject was correct, can we, ought we to reverse that decision to-day? Honorable consistency forbids it in any and every way that I can view the question. The Journal is before me, and if it were necessary, I could turn to the recorded vote where a large majority determined not to add a man to our present numbers. What was then our situation? We had received an insult such as we have not been accustomed to since the revolution. As a gentleman from Virginia then happily expressed it, "The sacred soil of the good old United States had been trodden by the foe." With impunity was this inroad made upon our territory—and at the same time a menacing attitude assumed on a more distant frontier, and soon after with insolence not more daring, but equally so, did a number of troops of the same nation take a position within limits before recognized to the U. S. Spanish troops! And do we not know?—Are we not obliged to confess that Spanish soldiers are French means? If you add but French officers, you have a French army. We were not without information in these respects; I do not know if I might not say, and that official too; but if I am out of order, I beg pardon, for such has been the mixture of the confidential and unconfidential for some past, it has become difficult for the mind to discriminate, [the Speaker said he had no recollection of any thing official on the subject]—but I do, said Mr. Stanford, and lest it should be improper will forbear. Added to all this, then, I wish further to draw the attention of the House to the period of these outrages—this Spanish and French crisis. It should not be forgotten about this time was in its germ one of the most daring projects of conspiracy that has ever been conceived in this country, and that too known to the government, in a sufficient degree at least to awaken its vigilance. I allude to the late Ouachita conspiracy, which has since become the more horrible in its form & features, because in its ramifications it has been traced within the walls of this Capitol, as we could now witness, if we were in the other wing, (J. Smith then on trial.) Great as was the alarm of war during this period, and I confess I though it more than probable war would happen, what did Congress do? They refused to raise a single man. This House rejected the proposition made for that purpose by a most decided majority. We were told, I believe justly, that the riflemen of Kentucky and Tennessee were competent to the correction of any disorder in that quater, and with pleasure too it was heard they stood ready to obey the orders of the government. A gentlemen from Tennessee (Mr. Rhea) who spoke yesterday and advocated the standing force now contemplated, then defended the militia as competent for any probable emergency. Another gentlemen from Tennessee also (Mr. Campbell) of my recollection serves me right, was eloquent on the competency of the militia without any addition to the regular force. I fully confided in their arguments, and had then the pleasure of voting with those gentlemen.

I will now beg leave to shew, so far as recorded opinion can go to shew, that, however small the minority in which I am now to vote, I do not stand alone. That I am, indeed, contending only for the correctness of first principles. For this purpose I will claim the attention of the House while I quote the highest authority in the nation—an authority which politically, I have most assuredly thought was not only the highest but most orthodox in this world. When the people in their majesty had said it, and power was given to the present majority, it was given us, as a first principle, shall I say as a new star to be placed in the bright constellation which was to illumine our way, that "a well disciplined militia" was "our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them." It did, to my thinking, illumine our way, as from what followed will appear. The President's message at the opening of the 7th Congress contains this paragraph:

"A statement has been formed by the Secretary of war, on mature consideration, of all the posts and stations, where garrisons will be expedient, and of the number of men requisite for each garrison The whole amount is considerably short of the present military establishment. For the surplus no particular use can be pointed out. For defence against invasion their number is as nothing; nor is it considered *needful* or *safe* that a standing army should be kept up, in time of peace, for that purpose."

This then, sir, was the doctrine, and a kind of touch-stone of the political correctness of the times, and the army which our mistaken predecessors had left us, consisting only of about five thousand men were not deemed "needful," nay not "safe," & was reduced to three thousand—I believe I ought to say repealed, for it and done at our celebrated *repealing session*, when all misrule was to have been repealed, and literally & truly speaking, much was! But, sir, let us come at once to the times nearest to the present, and we shall find the same unshaken firmness of political principle maintained in this respect through every crisis, and there were many intervening periods of just alarm. We find from the same high, admirable, and correct source, the message of the President of the U. S. at the commencement of our last session, the same doctrine was again inculcated and expressed in a style still more excellent, if that were possible. It reads thus, "Were armies to be raised whenever a speck of war is visible in our horison, we never should have been without them. Our resources would have been exhausted on dangers which have never happened, instead of being reserved for what is really to take place." It should be remembered that this message was sent to Congress at the most alarming period of the conspiracy to the West—And can it be forgotten at this particular juncture of all others, that *armies, navies & taxes* were our constant themes for declaiming and denouncing political heresy? That war must first come before we would either admit or countenance their necessity.

*Mr. Stanford's speech to be continued.*

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*NOTICE.*

SUCH of the creditors of the late general Uriah Forrest, deceased, as have cla ms against his estate prior to the issuing of the commission of Bankruptcy against him, are hereby notified that the Commissioners of Bankruptcy will meet to make a dividend, at Rhode's tavern in the city of Washington on Monday the 30 h day of May next, at 11 o'clock A. M. when and where they will please to attend in person or by attorney.

JOHN HEWITT, Assignee.

City Washington, April 15—wtm

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BY order of the Orphans Court of Prince Georges county, will be exposed to public sale, on Monday the 9th may next, in the town of Piscataway, all the Personal property of Eligius Edelen, deceased, consisting of Horses, Dry Goods and Groceries, assorted, which will be sold on a credit of nine months, with interest from the day of sale, the purchaser or purchasers giving bond with approved security. The sale to commence at 10 o'clock and continue from day to day till sold.

W. EDELEN, Exr.

All persons indebted to the above estate are solicited to make immediate payment to the subscriber.

W. EDELEN, Exr.

April 18—w3

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*NOTICE,*

*To the Stockhold rs of the Washington Bridge Company.*

IN pursuance to an act of Congress you are called on by the late Commissioners to attend in person or by proxy at Washington the 2d of May next, to elect five Directors, a Treasurer, and Clerk I take the liberty through this medium to offer myself a candidate as your Clerk. The advantage to the Alexandrians of the clerk residing in Alex ndria, as the office is to be kept in Washington, is obvious, and no injury can possibly arise from this arrangement to the Stockholders in the City. It will render unnecessary in case of transfers, that the persons conveying or receiving the conveyance should repair to the Clerk's Office in the City to have the needful done—true it is, that it may be done by power of Attorney; but the trouble attendant thereon is an inconvenience, independent of the necessity of an agent to effect the transfer; whereas the clerk residing in Alexandria, might be the means of saving that expence and trouble by keeping a transfer book there.

I shall be content to receive whatever emolument the service may be deemed worthy of, or as low as any competitor that may be presented for your suffrages.

A. LINDO.

Alexandria, April 18—tm

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PROPOSALS

*For publishing by subscription, a new work, entitled,*

*"THE LAWYER; OR MAN AS HE OUGHT NOT TO BE."*

*A Tale.*

CONDITIONS.

1. This work will be printed on fine paper, and handsomely bound in boards.

2. It will be published in one duodecimo volume of about 250 pages, and delivered to subscribers at one dollar.

3. Those who shall obtain 12 subscribers, shall be entitled to one copy gratis.

4. As the expence of publication will be considerable, a discount of one eighth of a dollar will be allowed to such as pay in advance.

Subscriptions for the above work are received at the book-store of D. Rapine, Capitol Hill, where a general assortment of books and stationary are always kept for sale.

March 30, 1808.—St: