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FROM THE ALBANY REGISTER.

COMMENTS
ON ARMED NEUTRALITY.
(CONTINUED)

No. VIII.
ON NATIONAL FORCE.

A system of neutrality to be carried into effect, requires, as it has already been observed in these essays, three powerful auxiliaries. A national force, a faithful adherence to the principles of neutrality, and a confederate diplomatic system. Without power a nation is not entitled to be considered as a power; without impartial justice to all the belligerents, she is not neutral; and without confederative aid, she is seldom able to maintain her rights.

This short introduction contains the rudiments of the details which I have promised on the plan of an armed neutrality. For my voice* is still for energetic neutrality, as long as war is not absolutely inevitable on honorable ground, and as long as we are not ready to meet that calamity with all the means required by a foreseeing policy to secure the success of our arms.

To be armed by land and by sea, constitutes in a maritime country, the collective idea of a national force or power. The elements of that force, besides the pecuniary means required to put them in action, are on the land, regular troops, militias, and fortifications. On the seas men of war of different rates, and flotillas or light fleets.

The land forces to inspire respect, must inspire fear; to inspire fear, those who compose them, must feel that they are strong; to feel strong they must be well organized, well armed and ready to act with vigor under able and experienced officers; to be ready to act, they must be collected near the place where they are intended to operate, used there to a strict discipline, and familiarized with the great maneuvres of practical war. Militias I know, in all countries, are better calculated for a defensive than for an offensive war; but as conquest for the accomplishment of a system of neutrality is not the principal object, I think that drafts of our militia adjunct or attached as auxiliaries to the regiments of the line, would soon, for the present occurrences, enable us in this part of the world to form respectable armies of neutrality or observation; and if war, unfortunately, was to take place, the greatest number of the auxiliary militia men would soon, as it has been the case in France, at the beginning of the revolution, enlist of their own accord in the regiments of the line, and facilitate the recruiting, which, in a country, where the wages of labour are high, meets with more difficulty than on the continents of Europe and Asia.

The fortification of the sea ports are an essential part of a system of armed neutrality, for the defence of cities, and of the shipping in case of hostilities, and for the refuge at all times, of the navigators who claim the protection and peace of neutral harbors.

But of all the means calculated to render maritime neutrality respectable, none are equal to a good military navy, composed of men of war of the first second and third rates, with a sufficient corresponding number of frigates, sloops of war and cutters.

As long as the the United States are not supplied with such a force, they must not expect to see, during the unterminable wars of the Europeans, their rights constantly respected by them.—We may, it is true, threaten England to take the Canadas, and realise it, if it must be so, in one campaign; we may, with the aid of the Haytians, make Jamaica and the other British Islands share the fate of St. Domingo; we may burn out the dens of the pirates of the Bahamas and Bermuda Islands; we may destroy the settlements of Newfoundland; we may cover the seas with privateers, and intercept every where the British trade. But having gratified our just vengeance and obtained satisfaction for past depredation, how shall our rights be secured against future excess and future robberies? And how shall we hold our rank among other American powers, some of whom have already a navy which the inevitable disasters of old Spain and Portugal will infallibly increase? The answers to those questions are obvious; the commerce of America with Europe and the other parts of the globe, will remain under the controul of the great naval powers of Europe, and the poorer these powers grow in colonial property, the more their maritime policy will be assimilated to that of Algiers.

We must have a navy, if commerce is one of the springs of our wealth, and one of the native habits of a great proportion of our citizens.—It may be alledged that the federal government, obliged at this critical period to provide for the means of immediate defence, are not able to cause one to be constructed. If it is so, why should not each of our local states, by a spontaneous and simultaneous efforts of confederate republicanism, offer each of them to the union, in proportion to their resources, one of those floating citadels, intended to be the bulwark of our commercial independence and give them their name to perpetuate their enlightened liberality? If they did, we should in a short time see our squadrons, combined with those of the kingdom of Brazil, & of the other independent states of the Columbian hemisphere, defend the peace & freedom of the American seas as far as the old boundaries under Carlos IId. and forbid their navigation and the access to their ports to any of the European powers impolitic enough to persevere in their old system of piracy, and refuse to acknowledge the pacific and neutral system of the new world. This plan is extensive, but it is not chimerical: nature is ready to supply profusely the means, and waits for nothing but a scale from the genius of independence to facilitate its execution.

The institution, which comes next to a navy in point of utility, in a maritime country situated like ours, is a flotilla, on the plan of those which have been employed in several wars by the northern powers, with the greatest military advantage. In 1794, having abandoned an ungrateful nation, which had deserted me on the breach, and left me as the discretion of their enemies, I honestly and sinserely gave myself to the American republic, with the determination of becoming one of its citizens; and finding that public spirit was raised in favor of defensive measures, and that, in New York particularly, encouraged by the patriotic example of the venerable George Clinton, every friend to his country was devoting, in rotation, his personal labor to repair and improve the fortifications of the harbor, I presented to the governor of this state, and to my other illustrious friends,† Samuel Adams, Moultrie, & Mifflin, governors of Massachusetts, South Carolina and Pennsylvania, a memorial on the formation and tactics of the flotillas, and on the use of gun boats and floating batteries for the defence of roads, bays, rivers and harbors; armaments upon which my former intimacy with the prince of Nassau Siegen, admiral and commander in chief of the Russian flotilla under the great Catharine IId. had enabled me, during a residence at Petersburgh, to obtain the most accurate information. I have been happy to find, by the construction of gun boats, ordered by congress, that Mr. Jefferson, during his presidency, had suggested the same idea; but as it does not seem, by the scattered situation of those vessels, and the service on which they have been used, that they are applied to the object for which they are specifically intended, I will show, by publishing in my next number the memorial above mentioned, how, in the present emergencies, we could immediately form a very respectable naval force, equally well calculated for defensive as for offensive war, and which would be vastly superior to a squadron of ships of the line on the shoals of the bay of Fundy, of the St. Lawrence, of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, to annoy the shores of the enemy, or co-operate, with the forces that would penetate by land, to break the fetters of the Canadians, and make England pay, not to us, but to mankind, the fine of her iniquities.

EDMOND CHARLES GENET,
A citizen of New York.

Prospect Hill, October 24, 1811.

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* In reading the writings of Wallace, published in the Boston Chronicle, I have deeply felt all the power of his masculine eloquence; the beauty of his thoughts, the concision of his sentences, and the electerising fire, which sparkle from his pen, had inflamed my mind and attracted me to admit with my friend, the Editor of the Register, the truth of his opinion, that "having waited the effect of negociation, remonstrance and commercial restriction until patience is exhausted the voice of every American must be for war." But the frighted picture of all the woes accumulated by war on Europe, the state of subjection under which the proud conquerors of so many nations, are now humbled themselves, and many other serious considerations have recalled me to my subject, and encouraged me to continue my enquiries on the means of preserving peace, and recovering our rights by a more energetic system of neutrality than the one which has been hitherto pursued, and also of extending in the Columbian hemisphere, the blessings of liberty and independence not by bloodshed and devastation, but by the example of happiness and public virtue under the mild empire of rational liberty.

† The following letters of Samuel Adams and William Moultrie, will shew that I don't make use of an improper expression in calling those celebrated patriots my friends, and that if my conduct as a minister of France was complained of under the influence of the British faction, it was not disapproved of by veterans, who also had a right to be considered as judges of national gratitude, national honor and national interest. I shall add to those balsams which may serve as antidotes to the renewal bites of the anglo federal vipers, that the day on which George Clinton consented to my marriage with his daughter was the day on which he heard that his old friend and companion Washington, had yielded to the intrigues of Hamilton, and after having secured my ruin in France, had denounced me to Congress. A republican reward far superior in my mind to the most exalted honors which my native country could have bestowed upon me A late report of the supreme court, of the state of N. York, on my case against the libellest, Mitchell and Company, is also extremely gratifying to my feelings, and ought to be a land mark, for those who for 18 years past, have omitted no opportunity of taking the most inhospitable revenge of the panic which my short mission had given them.

Copy of a letter from Samuel Adams, Esq. Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts, to E. C. Genet.

Boston, Oct. 22, 1793.

SIR—Our late worthy and excellent governor having been taken from us by death, citizen Dennery, on his arrival, delivered to me your letter directed to the governor; which on the melancholy event it became my duty to receive. Had the late governor been living, he would have received the new consul as he did the vice consul, with great regard and friendship. I do assure you that I shall observe the same line of conduct as he did from a respect due to your recommendation of him, and my attachment to him as an officer of the French republic. I am satisfied in my own mind that you are possessed of feelings of warm affection towards our country as well as your own; and I rejoice to observe your expectation that your conduct being made public, will evidently appear to have been right in the eyes of all reasonable men, and will make those ashamed whose prejudices have caused them with great industry to load you with abuse and calumny.

I earnestly pray that your future residence in the United States as minister plenipotentiary, may render you personally happy, being already pursuaded it will greatly tend to promote the common cause of liberty and the rights of man.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SAMUEL ADAMS.

Copy of a letter from William Moultrie, Governor of South Carolina, to E. C. Genet.

Charleston, Feb. 11, 1794.

Be assured, citizen, I feel very great concern on being informed that your nation has recalled you from the United States; they certainly knew your worth, or you would not have been appointed to the important trust in which they have placed you; but they did not consider our infant government, quite unacquainted with Europe politics, having no other idea than plain honest republicun principles, were sliding fast in the vortex of British influence. Their trade, their gold and mercantile interest would have soon swallowed us up.

You come here at a most critical juncture for America, your abilities, your integrity to your country, and your friendship for ours, caused you to exert yourself in endeavoring to cement the two republics; but this zealous exertion has been construed into faction, and into a design of drawing us into a war.

Unfortunately you were surrounded by the ministers of despots, who already were at our general government, and who previous to your arrival in America, had insinuated themselves with the ministerial men of this government, that from hence you had as much to combat with in the cabinet, as your republic had in the field.

The very ministers of those powers who were carrying on war against your country, were warring against you, in your cabinet. The people of America in general are chagrined on hearing of your recall, and do still encourage the hope, that upon serious consideration, the recall will not take place; especially when we are not ignorant of the misbehaviour of the French nation, and also know of their forbearing to complain of him to us, which forbearance can be placed only to the regard they cherish for the American people.

I am of opinion, citizen, that your country will loose much by recalling you from hence; the business you have done, and what you now have on hand, is of the utmost importance to your as well as to my country I am therefore still hopeful, that your stay among us will be continued, particularly when the national convention shall receive information that all the reports which have been spread to your prejudice, have been proved to be palpable falsehoods, downright lies and political tricks, contrived for the purpose of destroying the good understanding which now subsists between the French republic and the United States.

Notwithstanding the ministerial gentry may triumph on your recall; your stay among us, citizen, is the desire of much the greater part of the people of America (the trading towns excepted) who are mostly under British influence – nay, should your recall take place, let the French republic send whom they may, he must expect to combat the same difficulties which you have encountered, unless he shall quit the interest of his country, and tamely submit to what may be dictated to him.

Yours, &c.
(Signed) Wm. MOULTRIE.

Congress of the U. States.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Monday, November 4.

The Twelfth Congress met this day, when quorums appearing in both Houses, a joint committee was appointed to wait on the President, and inform him that they were ready to receive his communication.

Mr. *Randolph* expressed a wish that the election of a Speaker might be postponed till one o'clock, in order to give an opportunity to members to vote who might be in town but had not yet arrived at the Capital, or to any that might arrive in town previous to that time.

Mr. Smilie objected to any delay, which he considered unnecessary; there was already a quorum unusually large. Mr. Randolph withdrew his motion.

Votes for Speaker—

Henry Clay, (of Kentucky)	75
George M. Bibb, (Georgia)	33
Scattering	6

Patrick Magruder was re-elected Clerk—Thomas Dunn, sergeant at arms—Thomas Claxton, door keeper—and Richard Birch, assistant door keeper.

The committee appointed to wait on the President, returned at half past two o'clock, and Mr. Mitchel reported that they had performed the duty assigned them & were informed by the President that he would communicate by message to morrow at 12 o'clock.

Tuesday, November 5.

The President communicated to both Houses by Mr. Edward Coles, his private secretary, the following

MESSAGE.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives.

In calling you together sooner than a separation from your homes would otherwise have been required, I yielded to considerations drawn from the posture of our foreign affairs; and in fixing the present, for the time of your meeting, regard was held to the probability of further developements of the policy of the belligerent powers towards this country, which might the more unite the national councils, in the measures to be pursued.

At the close of the last session of Congress, it was hoped that the successive confirmations of the extinction of the French decrees, so far as they violated our neutral commerce, would have induced the government of Great Britain to repeal its Orders in Council; and thereby authorise a removal of the existing obstructions, to her commerce with the United States.

Instead of this reasonable step towards satisfaction & friendship between the two nations, the orders were, at a moment when least to have been expected, put into more rigorous execution; and it was communicated through the British Envoy just arrived, that, whilst the revocation of the edicts of France, as officially made known to the British government, was denied to have taken place; it was an indispensable condition of the repeal of the British orders, that commerce should be restored to a footing, that would admit the productions & manufactures of Great Britain, when owned by neutrals into markets shut against them by her enemy; the United States being given to understand that, in the mean time, a continuance of their non-importion act would lead to measures of retaliation.

At a later date, it has indeed appeared, that a communication to the British government, of fresh evidence of the repeal of the French decrees against our neutral trade, was followed by an intimation, that it had been transmitted to the British Plenipotentiary here; in order that it might receive full consideration in the depending discussions. This communication appears not to have been received: But the transmission of it hither, instead of founding on it an actual repeal of the orders, or assurances that the repeal would ensue, will not permit us to rely on any effective change in the British cabinet. To be ready to meet with cordiality satisfactory proofs of such change, and to proceed, in the mean time, in adapting our measures to the views which have been disclosed through that minister, will best consult our whole duty.

In the unfriendly spirit of those disclosures, indemnity and redress for other wrongs have continued to be withheld, and our coasts and the mouths of our harbors have again witnessed scenes, not less derogatory to the dearest of our national rights, than vexatious to the regular course of our trade.

Among the occurrences produced by the conduct of British ships of war hovering on our coasts, was an encounter between one of them and the American frigate commanded by Captain Rogers, rendered unavoidable on the part of the latter, by a fire, commenced without cause, by the former; whose commander is therefore, alone chargeable with the blood unfortunately shed in maintaining the honor of the American flag. The proceedings of a court of enquiry, requested by Captain Rogers, are communicated—together with the correspondence relating to the occurrence, between the Secretary of State and his Britannic majesty's Envoy. To these are added the several correspondences which have passed on the subject of the British Orders in Council—and to both, the correspondence relating to the Floridas, in which Congress will be made acquainted with the interposition which the government of Great Britain has thought proper to make against the proceedings of the United States.

The justice and fairness which have been evinced on the part of the United States towards France, both before and since the revocation of her decrees, authorised an expectation that her government would have followed up that measure by all such others as were due to our reasonable claims, as well as dictated by its amicable professions.—No proof, however, is yet given of an intention to repair the other wrongs done to the U. States; and particularly to restore the great amount of American property seized and condemned under edicts, which though not affecting our neutral relations and therefore, not entering into questions between the U. States and other belligerents, were nevertheless founded in such unjust principles that the reparation ought to have been prompt and ample.

In addition to this and other demands of strict right, on that nation, the United States have much reason to be dissatisfied with the rigorous and unexpected restrictions, to which their trade with the French dominions has been subjected; and which, if not discontinued, will require at least corresponding restrictions on importations from France into the U. States.

On all those subjects our minister plenipotentiary lately sent to Paris, has carried with him the necessary instructions—the result of which will be communicated to you, and by ascertaining the ulterior policy of the French government towards the U. States, will enable you to adapt to it that of the U. States, towards France.

Our other foreign relations remain without unfavorable changes. With Russia, they are on the best footing of friendship. The ports of Sweden have afforded proofs of friendly dispositions towards our commerce, in the councils of that nation also. And the information from our special minister in Denmark, shews that the mission had been attended with valuable effects to our citizens, whose property had been so extensively violated and endangered by cruizers under the Danish flag.

Under the ominous indications which commanded attention, it became a duty to exert the means committed to the