way altering the constitution, its form would ed from a numerous assembly, I should quote coress, but in a certain way. I do apprehend in time be so much changed that the people the national convention of France, where Re-siring as respects fixing the ratio, it will be would not recognize it. . instead of strengthening the principles of freedom, they might be frittered away till they were lost in chaos. Amendments ought to be made with a sparing scilors, run the risk of imitating. The great of ty part of its representation on this floor. In the opinion of Mr. Rhen the pre-object is that the people should be satisfied. The principle at some future period, perhaps, object is that the people should be satisfied. The principle at some future period, perhaps, only of the with their representation in this House, and wilnot be the one which will or ought to House as far as the gentleman could desire, that they should be perfectly informed of govern this house, because inequalities are There were but two states in the Union, in the character, as to honesty, probity and in-contantly arising, and new states are forming which Representatives were not elected long telligence which their Representative possess. to te West and South, which in course of before their term of service commerced; du- es. Now, sir, it is my opinion, that if from timewould increase the representation in this

able to the motion of Mr. Macon. He thought the purity of the representative body was casential to the existence of the government; that the exclusion from office established by the constitution was not sufficient, the abuses now being nearly as great as if no such exclasion existed-for their was but little difference in principle between a man's accepting an office, while a member, and his expecting to

The motion of Mr. Rhea was negatived,

Mr. Bacon suggested some amendment in the phraseology of the resolution; and, doubts existing on the subject----

On motion, the committee rose, and the resolution was, on the suggestion of Mr. Sheffey, referred to a select committee, with directions to report their opinion thereout.

The resolution was then, referred to a se lect committee composed of Messrs. Macon. Burwell, Bacon, Sheffy and Mitchill.

DEBATE

On the Bill to regulate the representation in Congress MR MITCHILL said he was in favor of the largest number proposed; and not having been able to obtain that, he should vote for the largest on which a majority could agree. In the district represented by his 'colleague (Mr. Mumford) and himself there were probably 120,000 souls; and yet he had not heared any murmuring that they were not adequately represented. Mr. M. said he was guided in his decision on this subject by considerations of various kinds; one of which was the increased expence of government from an enlarged representation. If gentlemen served honoris gratia, as in the British government, he said he should not have the same objection. There was there to great expence and but a comparatively small attendar se, the number necessary to form a quorum being much smaller. But when it was taken into consideration that every representative here drew a quantum of the public money, it became a serious question, on economical considerations, whether they ought to make so large a draft on the public funds as an increased representation would require. In a government watching its treasury with so much care, and having but two modes of procuring revenue, from commerce and the public lands, they ought to be cautious how they consumed the finances of

the country. Another consideration in favor of a large ratio, Mr. M. said, was this: that this body was now in his judgement quite as numerous as was consistent with a distinct performance of the public business. He meant no reflection on the House when he remarked, that it now required all the skill of the Speaker to keep order, and as much exertion of the lungs as possible for a speaker to make himself heared. If this assembly became more multitudinous, he could not see how it was possible, under all the restrictions that could be devised, that public business could be performed. He believed that an assembly of persons however individually respectable and dignifi ed, when they got together under the influence of warm feelings or party prejudices and excitements, would exhibit such a scene of disorder as to reflect no credit on themselves. A restriction to the number of the members composing the House of Representatives would conduce extremely to the dignity of that body, to the dispatch of business, and to the comfort

of their constituents. Congress, Mr. M said, did not convene here to legislate on all the subjects of the rights of cyczens. Our government is, he contended, a peculiar piece of machinery, an imperium in imperio. The Representatives to Congress left behind them legislatures whose province it was to take care of the personal rights and the rights of property of our citizens. With these concerns, said Mr. M we have nothing to do. V. meet here under a constitution expressly framed and devised for legislating on select subjects, which, on account of the generality of their nature, could not be confined to the several states. When then we consider the narrow grounds we have to legislate on; that our great privileges are left at home, we shall be convinced that there is no occasion that this body should be as numerous as if we were concerned in the great questions of property and right, which are secured by the constitution, under the guardianship of the states legislatures, and of the courts for the furthering of justice. If I were to quote a precedent of a legislature for commanding influence, and for wisdom and sagacity in carrying us through an arduous contest, whilst strugling for our liberties, I should quote the old Congress, limited in number but remarkable for the honesty and fidelity, with which

know not what that constitution is.

the number now proposed.

committee:-

was or could be settled by the present congress, course will be more readily acquiesced in that unless the returns were made from the differ- now. undoubtedly would modify or reverse it as That argument therefore had no weight. they should think proper. This bill was therepassage of the bill; and he believed the in- gradually increase with population. convenience of deciding it now would be greater than if the business were to rest until to the third Monday in February and carried. fter the returns were made.

With respect to the number by which the people of the United States should be represented for the ensuing ten years, Mr. P. said. he would agree that there was a considerble diversity of opinion, not only this house in but in the patien; but he had been not a little astonished to hear the arguments of some gentlemen, evidently inconsitant with the prinment of the people; and, as population increases, representation should also increase in a certain proportion. This Mr. P. considered one of the first maxims of government. Gentlemen had asked, whether the most importantlaws had not generally originated in the other branch of the legislature; and had thence drawn the inference that a small number was the best. If this argument proved any thing, what was it? Why, as energy was the great principle, and as the government of Bonaparte was probably the most energetic in the world, that his government was therefore better than ours. Our government, said Mr. P. is not a government, in this branch repecially, of energy. It is a government of confidence; and when our population is double its present amount, the people will not be satisfied with the same number of representatives as is now fixed. I was therefore, sir, not a little surthey performed what a more numerous body

this vote, and thus absolved themselves of the | could not have accomplished. And if I wish-|detol each other, sacrificed a part of their | Extracts of a letter from Mr. Cla wrong they had done. If they went on in this ed to cite an instance of the evils to be dread- rigs, agreeing to be represented in general presentatives, assembling in great number, at esent most for the interest of the United exhibited such a spectacle of disorder as I Sias, and our best policy, so to arrange it as hope we shall never, by a multitude of counthano mate of the union should be deprived ring the whole of which time of probation they every 40,000 souls the people select such a rewere precluded from office.

We were precluded from office.

We fice, if they are secure of his integrity and the time comes when the old states will be satisfied of his capacity to perform the func-placed in some measure in a degraded situations delegated to him, they will be as well tion what will be their feelings? It will be a satisfied that 40,000 souls should be represent- fruital cause of jealousy, and will add aned by one, as that every 30,000 should be en- other to the sources of discord which already titled to a representative. It is not in propor- too nuch prevail. I think, therefore that gen-tion to the number of legislators that advan- tlemen, when they reflect upon it, will be of otages accrue to a nation, but in proportion to pinion that the present is the most correct rule, the weight of character of such persons. And that they will do nothing which shall tend to of their ports to French vessels, under the penulty receive it at the end of the two years he had in free governments, predicated on such print divide the states into sectious of North, East, siples as ours, it is to be presumed that the West or South. I do not like these distincpeople will chuse such persons, and for this tions at all; they will come soon enough reason; that, in considering the theory of our without our seeking them; and I fear they constitution, we must first suppose the electors will come too soon. If the ratio be now fixed are intelligent, and in the next place that they by which some states will be deprived of a part are virtuous. If these be not two pillars on of their present representation, it will tend to which the constitution rests, its true theory, I excite jealousies which it will be difficult to allay. These states will feel themselves de-Under the impression which he entertain- graded; right or wrong, they will suppose ed on this subject, Mr. M. hoped, before the that their influence is diminishing in the counquestion was taken on the number 40,000, cile of the nation. I apprehend that, by fixthat gentlemen would reflect on the serious ing the ratio at 40,000, this will be the case consequence of rejecting this number and tak- vich three or four states. Unless there be ing a smaller. Under the conviction that a some imperious necessity for this course, I ask representation on the ratio of one for every gentlemen whether it be wife or politic to pur-40,000 would be entitled to the full confi ance sue its. The great family of the nation was of the people; and under the serious appre- originally composed of thirteen branches, all of hension that from increased representation whom contributed stock to it. When the time great detriment would result to the public bu- coases when these branches see their members siness, he felt himself compelled to vote for on this floor lopped off, very unpleasant feelings will be excited. The ratio of 40,000 de-The question on 40,000 was taken and car- priving some states of a part of their present ried, Ayes 78. The committee of the whole representation, will probably leave them large rese and reported the bill, and the question oc- fractions, which must remain for ten years uncurred of concurring with the report of the represented. I am willing to fix on such a ratio as shall place every state at least upon its Mr. PITKIN said that he had not expected present footing in this house. I apprehend, that a bill of so much importance would have when the returns are received, that the ratio progressed so far and gone through the com. of 37 or 38,000 will attain this object. In ten mittee of the whole in so rapid a manner as years more it may be politic to fix on such a this had. What he asked of the house, was ratio as shall take from some states one or settled by the passage of this bill? Nothing more representatives; but at that time such a

> ent sates of the number of inhabitants in each As to the expence of an additional represtate, before the bill became a law; for con- sentation, Mr. P. said, it ought not to be gress alone could designate and specify the thought of a single moment. Whilst we have number of representatives which each state a representative government, expence will atshould tend, The law heretofore passed, de- tend it. In the State Legislatures, some of signating the number of representatives, had at whose branches contain from two to five hunthe same time declared the ratio, and specified dred members, no inconvenience of this kind the number of representatives of each state, had been found which had induced them to Congress alone were competent to decide on change the representation. Neither Mr. P. the legality of the returns, and on their act said, could be consent to the argument that alone could the state legislature proceed. Mr. the matters which came before Congress were presumed no member would say that it of such small importance compared with those should be lefteto the executive or any depart- which came before the state Legislatures, that ment of the government to say how many therefore the number of Representatives representatives each state should send to con- ought to be diminished. The acts of Congress. The present congress might fix the gress were vasily more important; they went ratio as they pleased, but it would not be ob. to affect the liberty and property of every man igatory on the next congress, who could and in the nation, and to an infinite extent almost.

> Mr. P. concluded by hoping that the House fore premature, and in fact would not settle would fix on some ratio between 33 and 40,the principle which it proposed to decide. He 000, keeping in view state feelings as well as was therefore on this ground opposed to the the principle that the representation should

> > The question was taken on postponing the bill

Pocuments

Accompanying the President's Message.

Mr. Pinkpey to Mr. Smith, London, August 29, 1810. Sra-I dined yesterday with lord Wellesley, and found that he had only returned to town in the morning. He still complained of indisposition; but it certainly could not be considered as unfitting ciples of the constitution. This is a govern-thim for business. In a short conversation before dinner he told me that my note respecting the Berlin and Milan decrees should be mentioned to his colleagues to-day, and that I should have an immediate answer; that the affair of the Chesapeake " would be settled to my satisfaction"; that he believed he should recommend to the king the appointment of a minister plenipatentiary to the U. States, either this week or the next; that he had two persons in his eye, (both men of high rank) but that he could not with propriety name them to me

> As far as the opportunity permitted I urged promptitude on all these subjects as indispensable, and expressed my confidence that they would be disposed of in season for the approaching meeting

You perceive that notwithstanding past promises nothing has yet been done; and that there is no security that we shall have any thing but promises. I am truly disgusted with this, and would, if I followed my own inclination, put a speedy end to

it. It is better, however, to do nothing of an irritaprised to see so many gentlemen vote for a ting nature until this government has had full three retio of 50,000, when, by fixing on that ratio, for acting upon my note of the 25th. Even if it even our present number would be lessened, should decline to repeal the orders in council I ask gentlemen whether this accords with the (which I am told is quite possible) a moderate I ask gentlemen whether this accords with the principles of republican government? I apprehend not, sir. It is very well known that the constitution when adopted was a matter the constitution when adopted was a matter and that in of compromise among the states, and that, in conduct so extraordinary will demand, and, if fur consequence of this compromise, the states, ther delays are affected, that I will remembrate in which were before in some measure indepen- very decided terms.

The undersigned has repriered an acco ty the emperor and king, of the with Mr. Armstrong, minister plenty States of America. His majesty author

the following answer:

flix majesty shoud consider his decrees of
Milan as violating the principles of eternal just were not the compelled consequence of the Britis in council, and above all, of those of November When Pagland has procisimed her sovereignly us by the pretension of subjecting the universe to navigation, and by extending the jurisdiction of he liament over the industry of the world, his majory is that it was the duty of all independent nation their sovereignty, and to declare as details nationalises) those ressels which should range the under the denomination of England, by recog sovereignty which skearrogated over them.
His majesty distinguishes the search (a mine) is

recognition (reconnaissance) of the vessel. The nition has no other end than to ascertain the rethin of flag. The search is an interior inquest held, akth verity of the flag he ascertained, and of which the re is either the impressment of individuals, or the confi tion of merchandise, or the application of aristrary laws egulations.

His majesty could place no reliance on the p of the United States, who having no ground of against France comprised her in their acts of exc and since the month of May have forbidden the es fiscation. As soon his majesty was informed to a measure, he considered himself bound to order reprise on American resistance only in his territory, but his in the countries which are under his influence. ports of Holland, of Spain, of Italy and of Naples, American vessels have been seized, because the American have seized French vessels. The Americans car situte as to the part which they are to take. They either to tear to pieces the act of their independence, as to become again, as before the revolution, the subjects England, or to take such measures as that their co and industry should not be tariffed (tarifes) by the Eawhich at least has its assembly of representatives and it privileges. Men without just political views, (sans political) without honor, without energy, may allege the payment of the tribute imposed by England may be soluted to, because it is light; but why will they not peccive that the English will no sooner have obtained the solutions of the mission of the principle, than they will raise the tariff i such way, that the burden at first light, becoming insupportable, it will then be necessary to fight for interest a

er having refused to fight for honor. The undersigned avows with frankness, that France has every thing to gain from receiving well the Amer cans in her ports. Her commercial relations with ne trals are advantageous to her. She is in no way jealous their prosperity; great, powerful and rich, she is sat fied when, by her own commerce, or by that of heigra her exportations give to her agriculture and herfalm the proper developement.

It is now thirty years since the United States of Amer ra founded, in the bosom of the new world, an inde dent country, at the price of the blood of so many in tal men, who perished on the field of battle to throw the leaden yoke of the English monarch. These ge rous men were far from supposing, when they thus sac ficed their blood for the independence of America, it there would so soon be a question whether there st be imposed upon it a yoke r we heavy than that whi they had thrown off, by subjecting its industry to a tart of British legislation, and to the orders in councils

If then the minister of America can enter into and gagement, that the American vessels will not submit the orders in council of England of November, 1807, as to any decree of blockade, unless this blockade should be real, the undersigned is authorized to conclude ever recies of convention tending to renew the treaty of con retric with America, and in which all the measures proper to consolidate the commerce and the prosperity of the Americans shall be provided for.

The undersigned has considered it his duty to answe the verbal overtures of the American minister by a milen note, that the president of the United States may the letter know the friendly intentions of France toward the United States, and her favorable disposition to Am

Seneral Armstrong to the Duke of Cador 7, 1810.

SIR-Your excellency will not think me importunite should employ the last moments of my stay in Paris, eeking an explicit declaration on the following points:

1. Has the decree of his majesty of the 28d of Man st, enjoining acts of reprisal against the commerce the United States on account of their late law of non-

parse, been recalled? 2d. What will be the operation (on the vessels of 'mted States) of his majesty's decree of July last, for ing the departure of neutral ships from ports of Franciscos provided with imperial licenses? Are these licenses merely substitutes for clearances t or do they prescrib regulations to be observed by the holders of them with

be jurisdiction of the United States ! Do they confine the permitted intercourse to two portionly of the said states, and do they enjoin that all ship nents be made on French account exclusively?

Is it his majesty's will, that the se zures made inthe ports of Spain and other places, on the principle of rep al, shall become a subject of present or future negotia between the two governments? or, are the acts aire taken by his majesty to be regarded as conclusive again remuneration?

I need not suggest to your excellency the interest outh governments have in the answers that may be gitte to these questions, and how nearly connected they with the good understanding which ought to exist ween them. After the great step lately taken by his mi sty towards an accommodation of differences, we are no t liberty to suppose that any new consideration will an which shall either retard or prevent the adoption of mees necessary to a full restoration of the commercial ercourse and friendly relation of the two powers.

I cannot omit expressing, on this occasion, the set hali carry with me of the many obligations I am perso y under to your excellency, and of the very high consideration with which I have the honor to be-

(TRANSLATION.) The Duke of Cadure to G north Armstrong, Paris, & 12, 1810.

Sta-I have received your letter of the 7th Septem That which I wrote to you the same day answered the first of the questions you put to me. I will add to what I have had the honor to write to you, that the decrae of the 2 March, 1810, which ordered reprisals in consequence the act of congress of the 1st March, 18 9, was repealed at soon as we were informed of the repeal of the act of ac-

"urse passed against Prance. Only ur second question I hasten to declare to you. Ame sean vessels loaded with merchandise, the growth the American provinces, will be received without diff only in the ports of France, provided they have not suf fered their flar, to lose its national character, by submit ting to the arts of the British corneil; they may in like manner depart from the ports of France. The emperor has given licenses to American vessels. It is the out flag which has obtained them In this his majesty has intended to give a proof of the respect he loves to show to the Americans. If he is somewhat dissatisfied (pensatisfied) that they have not as yet been able to succeeding causing their flag to be respected, at least be sees will pleasure that they are far from acknowledging the tyror nical principles of English legislation.

The Ame . in vessels which may be loaded on ace of Frenchmen or on account of Americans, will be mitted into the ports of France. As to the merchand confiscated, it having been confiscated as a meature reprisal, the principles of represal must be the law in the