

Counties.	Free persons.	Counties.	Free persons.
Washington, 2177	Wilkes, 7800		
Wake, 11208	Wayne, 5931		

Orange, Rowan, Lincoln and Rutherford contain a population of sixty thousand souls. These four counties are situated to the west, if we make the county of Wake the dividing line, though Wake properly belongs to the west. Now, reader, how many eastern counties do you suppose it will take to furnish the number sixty thousand? It takes Haywood, Hyde, Gates, Jones, Tyrrell, Brunswick, Chowan, Greene, Nash, Washington, Columbus, Bladen, Bertie, Currituck, Camden, Lenoir, and Martin, to equal that number. This is seventeen counties to four. Fifty-one members in the legislature to twelve. Could a stronger fact or better proof be adduced to show the necessity of equalizing our representation? Of the sixty thousand souls that belong to the four counties of Orange, Rutherford, Rowan and Lincoln, about one-fourth are represented. Are these the blessings of civil liberty? or is this the value of a representative government? The county of Rowan has a population equal to seven of these counties.

In talking or speaking of this subject, it is not worth while to employ ambiguous language, or use equivocal reasons, or mantle the just causes for a convention under pretexts of minor importance. The constitution of our state may want amendment in many particulars. I know it does. Instead of electing our sheriffs by the magistrates of a county; the election for that office, as well as that of clerks, should be put on a more popular basis. There ought also some provisions to be made respecting the eligibility of judges of our supreme and superior courts of law, after passing a certain period of life. As to the removal of our seat of government, it is a matter of unimportance; though I believe that the state would become more respectable were it any where else than Raleigh.

But I wish to put the question on its strong ground, that of equal representation; and the people of the west will be wanting to themselves as republicans, if they much longer submit to be thus cajoled out of those rights which of all others I consider to be dearest to the freeman. I do not admire that kind of policy which claims on the score of expediency, what it should demand as a matter of right. A determined course of conduct, on the part of the western people, would carry the point; and carried ought to be let the consequences be what they might.

Every individual comes into the world with all his rights unalienable, and every matter of expediency to obey the laws which are found already established, and which cannot be conveniently revised by every individual of each succeeding generation; but this expediency ceases when the present order of things violates the safety or infringes the liberty of the people. Here begins legitimate resistance; and who is to judge of the fitness of resistance? Party answers, every man for himself at his own peril.

These remarks apply to any form of government, particularly to those where the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance are never agitated, until the actual condition of the country elicit them. The American governments, however, are framed and organized on certain principles embodied in a constitution; and it is in the preservation of the integrity of these principles that the value of our institutions consists. It is at the point of contact of the different powers, and on their mutual boundaries with the principles which they involve with us, that resistance is ever likely to become necessary; and the importance of the dispute, too, is not so much to be estimated by the immediate object in view, as by the consequences of a precedent. Soldiers defend to the last drop of their blood, a breach, which is only a heap of stones, for the sake of the place behind, which must fall if the enemy succeed in making a lodgement.

But y old friend Hudibras says it better—

As when the sea breaks o'er its bounds,
And overflows the level grounds,
Those banks and dams that, like a screen,
Did keep it out, now keep it in.
So when tyrannic usurpation
Invades the freedom of a nation,
The laws of the land, that were intended
To keep it out, are made defend it.

From the statistical table it would appear, that North Carolina has not that equipoise of power to which her population should entitle her. About one half of the population are represented in her legislature; the remaining half, therefore, is, in an estimate of general enumeration, the same as if it did not exist.

In this difference consists the oppression. In a word, what is it but controlling a majority by a minority?

A multitude of people can do business jointly only in three ways: first, by the decision of a majority; secondly, by the decision of a minority; or, thirdly, by the decision of the whole. Ours being a representative republic, we have no occasion to speak of the last mode; the question I propose then is which is

most reasonable and equitable, that the majority should bind the minority, or that the former be bound by the latter? It seems to be the most reasonable, that the majority should govern, because it is not so probable that a greater number as that a smaller concurring in judgment should be mistaken. It is most equitable, because a greater number are presumed to have an interest in the society proportioned to that number.

In the course of legislation some question of internal policy will arise, when the interests of a greater and a less portion of our population will conflict, and if our representation continues as at this day, thousands of the population of our state are to be bound by the operation of a law or laws to what they had no consent in making. A liberal but misguided policy has given to the eastern section of the state a controlling power. The people of that part of our state have had the art and address to get their territory split and subdivided into small counties, until they outnumber the western people. So long as this state of things lasts, opinion never will have a fair direction; measures of wise and liberal policy will be forever subjected to the narrow and shortsighted view of minds actuated by local jealousies and territorial partialities. When public acts are adopted under these circumstances, is it reasonable to expect that the true interests of North Carolina will be considered?

The value of a representative government consists as much as any thing in affording to the great mass of the community a channel of easy and undisguised communication of opinion; it is a system by which the direction and the amount of the public sentiment may at all times be ascertained with a certainty quite sufficient for all practical purposes. And unless there be some conduit in the structure of every society, for the transmission of political opinion through the great mass of the community, it will be impossible ever to acquire a just estimate of the habits and tempers of the people. Those circumstances which most powerfully excite and impress the opinions of the great body of the community, never will be known or felt until just before they have produced a violent convulsion; and to the operation of this principle may be traced those great events in the history of nations, which have most importantly influenced their political condition.

March 18th, 1820.

CONGRESS.

Friday, March 3.

The journal of the proceedings of the house on yesterday being read,

Mr. Randolph rose and intimated an intention now to move the house to consider their vote of yesterday, by which they concurred with the senate in striking the restriction from the Missouri bill.

The speaker declared the motion out of order until the ordinary business of the morning, as prescribed by the rules of the house, should be disposed of. From which opinion of the chair, Mr. Randolph appealed.

The question being taken on the correctness of the decision, it was affirmed by the house.

The house then proceeded in receiving and referring petitions; when, petitions being called for from the members of Virginia,

Mr. Randolph moved that the house retain in their possession the Missouri bill, until the period should arrive, when according to the rules of the house, a motion to reconsider the vote of yesterday on concurring in the first amendment proposed by the senate to the bill aforesaid, should be in order.

The speaker declared this motion out of order, for the reason assigned on the first application of Mr. Randolph on this day.

Mr. Sergeant, from the judiciary committee reported a bill to continue in force the act of March 3, 1819, "to protect the commerce of the United States, and to punish the crime of piracy."

Mr. Randolph, being in the majority on that question, moved the house now to reconsider their vote of yesterday, in which they concurred in the first amendment proposed by the senate to the Missouri bill, which was to strike out the slavery restriction.

Mr. Archer, of Virginia, seconded the motion.

The speaker having ascertained the fact, stated to the house, that the proceedings of the house on that bill yesterday, had been communicated to the senate, by the clerk; and that the bill not being in possession of the house, the motion to reconsider could not be entertained.

Whereupon, Mr. Randolph submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That, in carrying the bill, entitled "an act to authorize the people of the territory of Missouri to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the Union on an equal footing with the original states," after a member from Virginia had given notice of his intention to move a reconsideration of the question

decided last evening, in which the said member, viz. Mr. Randolph, voted in the majority on one of the amendments of the senate thereto, the clerk is guilty of a breach of the privileges of a member of this house under the rules thereof.

And the question being put whether the house would now consider the said resolution; it was decided in the negative—ayes 61, noes 71.

Mr. Randolph then submitted the following proposition; which lies on the table.

"That so much of the 37th rule as allows a reconsideration of any question by motion of any member of the majority on such question on the day succeeding that on which such question be taken, be expunged."

A message was received from the senate, announcing that they had receded from their amendments to the Maine bill; but asking a further conference on the subject of that bill [for the purpose of making a necessary verbal amendment—to insert March "1820," instead of March "next," as the original bill was drafted.]

Mr. Randolph moved that the bill be indefinitely postponed, and proceeded at considerable length to offer his reasons for wishing to prevent its passage; when

Mr. R. was called to order, by Mr. Livermore, for deviating from the question under debate.

The speaker decided that Mr. Randolph was not out of order.

Mr. Livermore appealed from the decision of the chair; but before the question was put,

Mr. Randolph withdrew his motion for the indefinite postponement of the bill.

The conference was then agreed to; and soon after Mr. Holmes reported the amendment as above stated, which was agreed to by the house, and the bill was thus finally acted on.

Monday, March 6

Mr. Smith from the committee of ways and means, reported, by way of amendment to a bill which had been referred to them, a bill in addition to the several acts for the establishment and regulation of the treasury, war and navy departments; which was referred to a committee of the whole house.

Mr. Slocumb submitted a resolution authorizing the president of the senate and speaker of the house of representatives to close this session by adjournment of their respective houses on the day of next. And, at the instance of the mover, the said resolution was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Cocke submitted for consideration a resolution to inquire into the expediency of reducing the naval establishment of the U. States.

Mr. Cocke made a few remarks, in the course of which he stated his object to be to effect a reduction in the number of officers of the navy, so as to proportion them more equally to the number of vessels in commission. It was to this point only, that he wished to call the attention of the naval committee.

The house having agreed to consider the motion by a vote of 67 to 63, it was then, on motion of Mr. Lowndes, with the consent of the mover, ordered to lie on the table.

On motion of Mr. Cocke, it was then Resolved, That the secretary of war be directed to report to this house, copies of all contracts which have been made for the building or repairing fortifications, arsenals or magazines, since the year 1815; and, also, that he report the amount of monies actually paid, to whom, and when, and whether public notice was actually given of said contracts, and what surety was given, in what amount, and whether the surety is still solvent; and whether the contracts have been faithfully performed.

The engrossed bill in addition to the act regulating the post office establishment, was read a third time, passed, and returned to the senate.

The house then resolved itself into a committee of the whole, on the bill making appropriations for the support of the navy of the United States for the current year.

Towards the close of the debate, Mr. Clay moved that "it be recommended to the house to recommit to the committee of ways and means the bill entitled, &c. (the appropriation bill) with instruction to prepare the same in reference to an occasional instead of a permanent employment of the squadron in the Mediterranean."

After debate, this motion was negatived, 72 to 51; and the committee rose and reported the bill, with the following appropriations therein, viz:

For pay and subsistence of the officers, and pay of the seamen, \$989,320.
For provisions, \$415,187.

For medicines, hospital stores, and all expenses on account of the sick, including the marine corps, \$36,000.
For repairs of vessels, \$484,000.

For contingent expenses, \$140,000.
For improvement of navy yards, docks and wharves, pay of superintendants, store-keepers, clerks, and labourers, 100,000 dollars.

For pay and subsistence of the marine corps, 177,228 dollars.

For clothing the same, 27,295 dollars.

For military stores, 1,000 dollars.
For the contingent expenses of the same, 20,000.

And before considering the same, the house adjourned.

Tuesday, March 7.

Mr. Silsbee, from the committee on naval affairs, who were instructed to inquire into the expediency of suspending for a limited time, so much of the standing appropriation of 1,000,000 dollars for the increase of the navy as may be consistent with the public service, &c. made a report, the purport of which, is, that, after due inquiry, they believe that true economy and the best interests of the nation are opposed to a suspension for a limited time, of any portion of the sum annually appropriated for the gradual increase of the navy; and that they have not been able to ascertain where any essential reduction can be made in the expenses of the navy, without reducing the establishment.

The report was ordered to lie on the table.

The house then proceeded to the consideration of the report of the committee of the whole on the bill making the annual appropriations for the support of the navy.

Mr. Cobb moved to recommit the bill to the committee of ways and means, with instructions so to amend it as to reduce the appropriations for every branch of the service, one-fourth.

This motion produced a debate, in the course of which it was supported by the mover, and Mr. Warfield and Mr. Culpepper, and opposed by Messrs. Smith, of Md. Smith, of N. C. Trimble, Johnson, Foot, Holmes, Wood and Lowndes.

Mr. Johnson, desirous to postpone this and the other appropriation bills until the amount of the deficit in the treasury was ascertained, and the deficit supplied, moved to strike out the proposed instruction to the committee, so as to leave the question one of recommitment only. This motion was negatived.

Wednesday, March 8.

On motion of Mr. Cocke, the bill respecting the military establishment of the U. States, (for reducing certain branches of it) was committed to the same committee to whom had been previously referred the bill making appropriations for the military service for the year 1820.

The amendments of the senate to the bill "to provide for taking the fourth census or the enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States," were read and concurred in by the house.

The engrossed bill making appropriations for the support of the navy of the U. States, was read the third time, passed, and returned to the senate.

The house then resolved itself into a committee of the whole, on the bill making appropriations for the support of the military establishment of the U. States.

[To the same committee was to day referred the bill respecting the military establishment.]

The last mentioned bill was taken up, and having been read—

Mr. Cannon moved to strike out all the first section of the bill, excepting the enacting clause, and in lieu thereof to insert the following:

"That the military peace establishment of the United States shall consist of such proportions of artillery engineers, infantry and riflemen, as the president of the United States shall judge proper to retain in service, not exceeding in the whole, including officers, non-commissioned officers and privates, five thousand."

Mr. Cannon supported this motion by a speech of some length on the necessity of retrenchment, occasioned by the state of the finances; the utility of an army in peace—the militia being willing and competent to perform any occasional service in which an army may be employed.

Mr. Clay avowed himself to be in favour of reducing the army, in preference to resorting to taxes, loans, or to an invasion of the sinking fund, to meet the expenses of the government—if, on the report of the committee of foreign relations, the attitude of the country should not be changed to that of war, or to that which should menace war.—Meanwhile, he was disposed not to act on the bill now before the committee, but to defer it for the present for the purpose of acting on the military appropriation bill. If, after the report of the committee of foreign relations should be made, it should be thought expedient to reduce the army, the appropriations would shape themselves to what should be the actual force and condition of the military establishment. He therefore moved to lay this bill on the table, with a view to take up the appropriation bill.

The question was taken on this motion without debate, and decided in the affirmative.

The bill making appropriations for the support of the military establishment, for the current year, was taken up.

On coming to the appropriation for the support of the military academy for the present year—

Mr. Cannon spoke at some length against this appropriation, on the ground

of hostility to the institution itself; conceiving that the money levied by taxes on the people, and on the poor as well as the rich, could be better employed than on the gratuitous instruction of a privileged class of youth.

Mr. Smith, of Maryland, remarked that the arguments of the gentleman would well apply to a proposition to abolish this institution; but did not apply with any force to the question in hand, which was not the establishment of the academy, but the appropriation of money to defray expenses already authorized by law.

Mr. Cannon was so little disposed to continue this establishment, that he was willing to arrest, or at least to reduce, the appropriation. But, in order to get a proposition to reduce the expense of that establishment, or to abolish it, Mr. C. moved to lay this on the table.

After some observations from Mr. Strother in opposition to this motion, the question was taken thereon, and decided in the negative.

Mr. Cannon had proposed a sum less than that moved by the chairman of the committee of ways and means for the support of the military academy. So that two questions were presented: the one on a certain sum necessary to the support of the academy as it now stands, and the other on a less sum. The question being taken, according to usage, on the largest amount, it was decided in the affirmative, by a large majority.

The committee proceeded to the consideration of the other items of appropriation.

The item of 21,000 dollars, for bounties and premiums on enlistments of recruits to fill up the army, coming up—

Mr. Williams, of North Carolina, opposed this item, on the ground that there was no necessity for increasing the number of the army beyond their present amount.

Mr. Smith, of Maryland, supported the appropriation as being almost a matter of course and, generally, on the ground that the army ought not to be reduced at all; but, if reduced, that it ought to be by a direct vote.

Mr. Trimble declared himself to be in favour of a reduction of the army, but in a practical way; and he thought that, to attempt it in this way, would but serve to weaken the efforts which should hereafter be made directly to effect the same object.

Mr. Slocumb was opposed to this appropriation; and, by way of showing how cautious the house ought to be in making its appropriations, said, that it appeared from documents laid before the house, that powder and lead belonging to the government had been loaned to bankrupt speculators of \$40,000 each, is costly, and the officer having charge of that branch of service, was precarious, and, in order to mend the matter, that 10,000 dollars more had been advanced in money to the same persons.

Mr. Cobb made a few remarks against the appropriation.

Mr. Livermore delivered his sentiments in favour of a reduction of the army. But, he said, though many were in favour of that reduction, there were also many who were opposed to it—and the only way in which the former could secure their object, was to reduce the appropriation. If the appropriations are made, the ground was given up. He was of opinion, therefore, that the friends of the reduction should make use of the weapons which lay in their way. He thought the army too large, and uselessly employed. It would take longer to collect this army, which was scattered about like the sheep of the shepherd, among many hills—to bring them from the Yellow Stone river, and the remote corners of the earth, than to raise up a new army. He also complained of the magnitude of the staff of the army, as being disproportionate to its numbers, &c.

Mr. Baldwin made some remarks explanatory of the occasion for this appropriation.

Mr. Foot, with a view to present directly to the house the question of authorizing the enlistment of men to supply vacancies occurring in the ranks, moved to strike out from the bill all that relates to appropriations for recruiting expenses.

Mr. Smith, of Maryland, opposed the motion.

[Here the debate began to be essentially a debate on the reduction of the army.]

Mr. Simkins delivered his opinion at length against the reduction of the army, and against a course which would subject measures of great national policy to fluctuations depending on the state of the finances. The sum of his argument may be expressed in the maxim of Washington, which he quoted, that to secure peace we ought to be prepared for war. He declared, that he, for one, would sooner resort to loans and taxes than, in the present condition of the country, vote for the reduction of the army or the navy.

Mr. Clay said a few words expressive of his hope that this bill would be permitted to take its course. The broken efforts, he said, of the friends of a reduction of the army, would have the effect to weaken their strength. For himself