

members, 23 less than at present. So that, upon the very principles upon which the opponents of the resolutions contend, the West evidently labor under important grievances. But wealth is sufficiently represented in the Senate to afford itself protection. The representation of our state should be upon the principle of free white population, requiring certain qualifications in the representatives, and in the electors of one branch of the Legislature, barely sufficient to protect wealth.

Wealth fattens upon the necessities of poverty; it can bribe; it can corrupt; and whenever it shall have a predominant weight in our government, we may bid farewell to the boasted freedom of our Republic, and ignominiously submit to the yoke of Aristocratic Slavery.

The 34 Eastern counties having a free white population of 154,014, send to the Legislature 102 members; the 27 Western counties send 81 members, which in the same ratio of the East represent 122,219, leaving a balance of 131,024 free white persons, together with all the negroes of the West arrayed against the negroes of the East, and unrepresented. Add to this, Sir, the vast extent of the West, the health of the climate, the territory acquired from the Indians, the vast increase of the value of the lands and wealth of the West, from internal improvement; add these to the grievances under which we labor, and ere long they will become intolerable, not only to patriotism, but to patience itself.

When I predict, under these circumstances, a Convention will be had, can the prophecy be doubted?

We have now met the call of the gentleman from Newbern. Here is our grievance, which we wish to be attended to.

No man could be more unwilling, said Mr. M. than myself to touch the Constitution, if I did not think the occasion called for it, and that the time is peculiarly favorable. The proposition before the committee ought not to be considered in the light of a contest for power. We do not ask from our Eastern brethren any thing to which we are not entitled. Nor would we ask for a correction of this grievance, if it were not constantly accumulating. For, to do our Eastern brethren justice, we acknowledge they have wielded their power with a great degree of justice and moderation, and it is hoped they will continue to do so.

It will be to the East, if we are ever invaded. It may be expected your protection will not be found in your negroes; it will be found in yourselves, or in the strength of the West.

For equal rights and privileges our fathers jointly fought, and bled, and died, and their bones now lie hallowing the soil for the freedom of which they fell a sacrifice.

But give us these, and when the demon of desolation shall hover around your borders, and the tragedy of Hampton is to be performed on your shores, call on your brethren of the West, and the mountains will roll their might to the main, carrying protection to your wives, your children, your homes, and your country.

Mr. Blackledge observed, that he had not intended to take any part in the debate concerning the resolutions on the table; how important soever their subject matter might be. He was anxious that the discussion should be restricted within very narrow limits; for he feared that our sectional feelings and prejudices might be aroused and exasperated by a protracted discussion of this ungracious subject. On similar occasions, it invariably eventuated, as he believed, in harsh and angry recrimination. He dreaded these anti-national feelings; he deeply lamented their existence; he still more lamented, that our Western brethren should studiously foster their growth, and increase their acrimony, by annually thrusting upon us this invidious contest; when they must be sensible, that it will prove both unprofitable and unavailing. As he perceived, however, that the debate, contrary to his wishes, was about to take a very wide range, he felt it due to the few gentlemen who opposed these resolutions, on the floor, and also due to his constituents, not to remain entirely silent.

I do not intend, (said Mr. B.) to enter into an examination, or attempt to detect and expose the fallacy of the gentleman's arithmetical and statistical calculations. Though compiled with so much care, and delivered with so much confidence and complacency, he believed they were assailable. But

he left that task to gentlemen who were more experienced and more able to execute it than himself: he knew there were such gentlemen, in their places, who were prepared to meet them, in due time, on that ground; and to oppose them with statements of an opposite character.

Mr. Chairman, (said Mr. B.) I beg leave to call the attention of the committee to some remarks, made by the gentleman from Rockingham, (Mr. Morehead,) in reply to the able address which his friend from Newbern, (Mr. H.) had delivered on the subject.

It will be recollected, Sir, that he (Mr. Hawks) had laid down as the proper basis of representation, a ratio combining both population and taxation—and, resting upon this basis, had called on the gentlemen in opposition to shew that our present Constitution is inconsistent or unequal. The gentleman from Rockingham has essayed to do it. Mr. B's present object was to examine whether he had done it satisfactorily. That gentleman, (Mr. Morehead) had extracted from his statistical budget, the facts, that there were, in the Western counties of the State, upwards of one hundred thousand freemen more than there are in the Eastern counties; and that the Eastern have a greater number of representatives in the Legislature than the Western counties. From these data he concludes that the representation is unequal; and that the Constitution should be altered to remedy the grievance. This, surely, is no answer to the argument of my friend from Newbern. However correct the conclusion might be, were we to assume population solely as the basis of representation, he needed not now to say—it was irrelevant to the question now in issue. But certainly when applied to the basis assumed, to the question in issue, the conclusion shot wide of the mark; it was false and illogical. But if the gentleman insisted that population, solely, should be the basis of representation, he confessed he differed from him essentially as to the correctness of the principle. He did believe, that in all governments, where the stability of its institutions was deemed important, it was found necessary that property, as well as persons, should be represented in the national councils. The protection of property was one of the strongest incentives to the formation of political societies; it was one of the most indissoluble links which bound us together as a society. It is property which mainly swells the State and National Treasury, by its liberal contributions; without which, indeed, both the State and the Union would crumble into ruins, from their own imbecility. It surely, then, should be duly protected; and it could not be properly protected without representation. Our own colonial experience has taught us this maxim, that nothing can be properly protected, unless its due weight is felt in the national councils; and the experience of all nations, who have had any correct notions of rational liberty, has stamped it with the impress of truth. Our government is not a democracy—a pure democracy; nor did he conceive that it was the intention of the framers of our Constitution to make it such. It was impossible that a nation, as wealthy, as populous, and as widely extended as ours, ever could exist under such a form of government. It is, and was intended to be, a mixed republic; in which, whilst the liberality and freedom of its principles were carefully provided for, its stability and duration were not neglected; a form of government as distinct from democracy, as anarchy was from despotism. He hoped it would remain so—that the time never would come, when the privileges of a citizen and a freeholder, would be conferred on every vagabond who might wander amongst us, for he distrusted this vagrant patriotism—that we might never be reduced to the state described by a satyr, more prized for wit than ingenuousness; a state, "where every blackguard rascal is a king."

Mr. B. observed, that he believed the gentleman (Mr. Morehead) himself was not willing to go the whole length to which this principle of disorganization would lead him. He was induced to believe so from the second division of his argument. In this he assumed population and taxation combined, as the proper basis of representation; and contended that out of our own mouths we are condemned. He begged leave to call the attention of the committee to this part of the subject. That gentleman (Mr. Morehead) invites us to review the Com-

troller's report. He tells us that from this it is evident, that, (excluding the county of Wake,) the Western counties pay into the State Treasury a sum exceeding what is paid by the Eastern counties; though by a comparatively small sum; in fact, by what we may, on this subject, call a mere fraction, and hence concludes, that the representation is unequal, even on our own principles. Now, Mr. Chairman, said Mr. B. admitting that the gentleman's data are entirely correct, he asked the committee seriously, whether, when no real or practical evil existed, it was prudent or wise to demolish a fabric as venerable and as time-honoured as our Constitution, solely for the purpose of attempting to rear another, whose symmetry or proportions might better please the eye? Whether it were proper to burn that noble "Magna Charta" of rights, which our ancestors have left us, because our self-complacency induces us to believe, that we could write another which might read more trippingly on the tongue, or look better upon paper? Whether, in a nation comprising nearly a million of citizens, and many millions of wealth, because a mere fraction of either may not be fully represented, the very bonds of society should be dissolved? the government itself should be resolved into its original elements? and the Constitution, the Law and the Gospel, sacrificed on the altar of political experiment. Yet all this is demanded; and that, too, with no security as to what will be the event of the convulsion; with an utter uncertainty as to what may be the nature of the "shapeless monsters," springing out of this chaotic confusion. With a possibility, nay, I may say, a strong probability that our situation will be deteriorated by the experiment. For I fear, that at least our wisdom and our patriotism would be found unequal to the task of preserving equal rights and national liberty, by throwing round them barriers as impregnable as those which our ancestors have erected. But to return to the gentleman's data. He denied that they were entirely correct.

With the greatest respect for the gentleman from Rockingham, he must be permitted to observe, that though he had scrupulously told us the truth, he had cautiously abstained from disclosing to us the whole truth. It will be remarked, that up to this period of the debate, no mention has been made, by that gentleman or any other, of the vast sums of revenue which are poured into the lap of the general government, by the Eastern section of this State. But without a reference to these, we could never arrive at a correct conclusion: for without them the premises were incomplete. He would submit a few remarks to the committee on this subject, with a view of elucidating the question. He believed he might safely assert, that the individual towns of Newbern, Wilmington, Washington and Edenton, paid into the national coffers more money than was derived from all the wealthy and widely extended regions of the West. He had no documents to which he could refer, for the establishment of this or any other facts of the same nature. He had taken no pains to procure them, for he did not expect to have shared in the debate. But he believed he hazarded nothing in asserting, that the excess which the Eastern counties paid into the general treasury, over and above what the Western counties paid into the same fund, equalled, if it did not exceed, the ordinary revenue of the State of North-Carolina. He insisted that the committee ought to take this fact into view, and to give it much weight, as bearing on the present question. Our relative representation in Congress is not affected by this excess of taxation; and it ought to be felt somewhere; it ought to be felt in this legislature. It is this sum paid into the treasury, which increases our navy, supports our army, and enables the administration of the union to carry all its functions into due operation; for the benefit both of the West and the East; for the general good. Giving, then, this circumstance its due weight, taking this view of the subject, we perceive, that though their population exceeds ours, by more than one hundred thousand, yet we pay a double or triple quantum of taxation. And hence we may fairly conclude, that on the proposed basis of population and taxation combined, the present representation is equally proportioned between the Western and Eastern counties; at least as equally so as is to be desired for any practical purposes.

Practical perfection, Mr. Chairman, is not to be expected from fore-sighted humanity; least of all, is it to be expected in political combinations. It can exist nowhere but in the fanciful visions of political theorists. On any practical system of representation, there will always be a fraction of population or wealth, not as well represented in some places as in others. But if no practical evil result therefrom, or the disproportion is not enormous, it is unnecessary, nay dangerous, to call into action the rude and unsteady hand of reform. Both population and wealth are necessarily very fluctuating in a country so new as ours: where such great temptations are held out to enterprize; where industry is daily discovering new channels, into which it can be more profitably directed; and where those local attachments exist, in so slight a degree, which, in older countries, bind their inhabitants, though poor and enslaved, with indissoluble ties, to the hearth-stone of their ancestors. From the operation of one, or of all these circumstances combined, a section of country, which now boasted of its population and wealth, might, the next year, be drained of both; and the ratio of representation, which one year was precisely just, would the next year in theory, at least, be odious and unequal. From the operations of the same causes, it sometimes happened, that in sections of the country where enterprize and industry had, for a long time, languished and slumbered in inaction, and wealth and population were at a dead stand; that a new impetus was given to both, from the discovery of some new source of employment. He believed that this was about to be the case in the Eastern counties; and that it would eventuate in equalizing the population of the Eastern and Western divisions of the State. It is well known, that there are immense bodies of wilderness in the Eastern part of the State, some of which have never been trodden by the foot of civilization. They afford the most fertile soils in the State, though now uncultivated. He believed they would not long remain so. The piercing eye of cupidity, was already attracted towards them; and gloated on the "promised land" with rapture and delight. The genius of enterprise and labor, wearied with repose, had already aroused from inaction, and was preparing, with renewed vigor, to address himself to the greatful labor. Experiments had been made; and these lands had been found to render an ample and abundant reward to the agriculturists. Now, Sir, when under these auspices, our widely extended swamps and pocosons shall have been reclaimed by the hand of cultivation; when our deserts shall smile, and our wilderness blossom as the rose; (and ere long, I trust they will,) then Sir, I believe, that the scale even of population will preponderate in the East.

But we are told, Mr. Chairman, (said Mr. B.) that now is the accepted time to examine and amend our rotten Constitution—that in this interval of peace; this *era of good feelings*, when no party excitement exists, we should address ourselves seriously to the task of altering the rotten patch work of our ancestors: we are told also, that we are as wise and as patriotic, perhaps wiser and more patriotic than they were: and consequently, perfectly competent to perform that necessary, but irreligious duty. On this occasion, Sir, (with my friend from Newbern,) I cannot but advert with pain to the bold and peremptory language with which the gentlemen from the West denounce the Constitution; and I had almost said, menaced its supporters. We are plainly told, that if we do not consent peaceably to the alteration of the Constitution, they will forcibly alter it: if we do not vote for the resolutions on the table—they will have a Convention: they will destroy the Constitution. I have heard (said Mr. B.) this language held out of doors; even there I heard it with surprise. But he was grieved and dismayed, that in the face of the people in this hall, such sentiments and such language, should be boldly uttered and seriously defended. Does this language bespeak that cool and temperate spirit, that total absence of party feeling, or that noble disinterestedness, which submits to partial evil for the general good; which we ought to expect in a Convention? Or did these sentiments encourage us in believing, that in a Convention in these days, we could hope to assemble legislators as cautious and as wise, or patriots as pure and as single-hearted, as were they, whose names are subscribed to our present Constitution? He feared not. Much as he respected the friends of the Resolutions on the table; much as he respected his own Eastern friends, he confessed, he respected the patriots of '76 more: he had not sufficient self-complacency, to believe that we are as wise or as patriotic as they were; far less did he believe, that we are wiser or more patriotic. And, on this score, the sentiments, proclaimed by the gentlemen in opposition, had perfected his belief—they had exalted it to faith. He feared, that the rapid increase of luxury and wealth; the wide-spread influence of Banks and other corporations; the prevalence of a spirit of action in some places, and of aristocracy in others, had tended to sap the foundations of public spirit every where; and

had thereby, in some degree, enervated and corrupted genuine republican principles.

Mr. B. asserted that it was unwise and dangerous to tamper with old Institutions, on any occasions but those of the most emergency; it was most unwise to sacrifice a positive good, for the existence of mere visionary evils. Constitutions ought not to be destroyed for trivial reasons, or imaginary grievances. They were intended as a solemn record of principles: they should be fixed, lasting, durable, permanent. Not like municipal laws, which being applicable to the changeful transactions of ordinary life, should change as they do; and which the same power that breathed them into existence one year, might annihilate the next. They should not be placed in the power of the lordlings of faction—nor treated as the toys or playthings of ambition. He repeated it, they should not be altered or destroyed for aught but real and serious grievances. None such existed. He called on the Gentlemen from the West to point them out if there were any. Though the preponderance of power is in the East, I ask them if it has ever been ungraciously exercised? Can the West complain of any unbrotherly sentiment which we have ever fostered? Any unkind, illiberal or unfraternal act, that we have sanctioned towards them? The Gentlemen from the West admit they cannot. They well know, that we are always ready to do their talents and merit ample justice, by the promptitude with which we confer upon them the offices of Government—in the improvement of roads and rivers, the public purse has been devoted almost exclusively to the West; its contents have been cheerfully distributed among them, with the most liberal hand, and the most lavish profusion.

To conclude, Mr. Chairman, (said Mr. B.) though my reason were not fully convinced of the utter impolicy of the resolutions on the table; which it most certainly is; the strong feeling of respect and veneration with which I have always regarded that glorious instrument; would induce me to hesitate long, ere, under any circumstances, I would assent to its destruction. When he called to mind, that it was the mantle, which was thrown around the first born of the Revolution, on its natal day; that it is the handy-work of the patriots and heroes who achieved our independence—the rich reward of their toils, or the sacred price of their blood—and that it has protected us from our revolutionary cradle to a vigorous maturity, he confessed that he felt for it the deepest veneration. When he recollected, that it had resisted the encroachments of power, and the turbulence of faction; that it shielded us through the storms and troubles of a second glorious and bloody war, and still afforded its ample protection, whilst peace, and plenty, and happiness, smiled on all our borders, the strongest confidence in its excellence was added to his veneration. Feeling these sentiments, and feeling them deeply, he trusted that he should never stretch out an unhallowed hand to assist in its destruction.

PROPHECY AND HISTORY.

The 44th and 45th verses of the 11th chapter of the book of Daniel, contain the following predictions:

44. But tidings out of the East and out of the North shall trouble him; therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many.

45. And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palaces between the seas, in the glorious holy mountain; yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.

On this passage Mr. Scott, an eminent commentator, offers the following remarkable exposition: "All the attempts of commentators to apply this to Antiochus have proved fruitless; for though he went forth with great indignation to subdue some revolted provinces in the east and in the north; yet he never returned into Judea, which land alone can be intended by 'the glorious holy mountain.' It is more probably concluded, that this part of the prophecy relates to events yet future. 'Some conjecture that the Persians, who border on the Turkish dominions to the East, and the Russians, who lie North of them, will unite against the Turks; that in the land of Canaan the latter will fix their camp with great ostentation, as well as wage the war with great fury; and that they shall receive such a defeat, as shall end in the utter subversion of their monarchy.'"

Scott's Bible, 4th American from the 2d London edition Vol. 3.

The reader need not be told how exactly the above passage applies to the late news from Europe, of an expected alliance between the Russians and Persians against the Turks. If Mr. Scott had written his commentary after reading a modern newspaper, he could not have adapted it more exactly to the events of the day. The character of the warfare waged by the Turks is accurately described by the terms "great ostentation," and "great fury." We will only add, that should the whole prediction contained in the text be found to apply to these events, we shall hear of no alliances between the Turks and other nations; for "he shall come to his end, and none shall help him." Such a coincidence is very remarkable, and we are surprised it has not sooner been discovered.

New-York Statesman.

THE ART OF FLYING.

NEW-YORK, MARCH 9.—A Philadelphia paper announces, that an ingenious and adventurous gentleman of that city has constructed a pair of immense wings, which are nearly ready for use. This aeronaut is so confident of success, that he promises to perform a voyage to New-York, in three hours! Such a project surpasses the philosophy of Symmes.—This would be a very convenient mode of travelling during the muddy state of the roads; but let the adventurer recollect the fate of Icarus, and of the luckless theorist, whose experiments are recorded in Rasselas,