PUBLISHED WEEKLY, BY WILLIAM W. HOLDEN. EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

## THE CONSTITUTION AND THE UNION OF THE STATES .- THEY "MUST BE PRESERVED."

## RALEIGH, N. C., WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7, 1843.

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of their Delegates could go and return home in a

States of their contingent advantage, on the elec-

But if the mode of voting and counting recom-

mended by that plan should be rejected, as it seems

to us it clearly ought to be, and the per capita

adopted, as it must be to conform to the Constitu-

tion, then the other portion of the plan, which

recommends four Delegates' to be appointed from

each Electoral District must also be rejected. The

reason is plain; it would be incompatible with the

per capita mode of voting, which, in order to

preserve the relative weight of the States, as fixed

by the Constitution, makes it necessary, that each

should have the same number of delegates in the

ment.

## TERMS.

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## ADDRESS

on the first fitting occasion, generosity, the sense We have convened, Fellow-Citizens, to delibe- of justice and sound policy, require of the larger people by duties on imports, otherwise than by a serve the name of Republican who objects to them. what could be better devised to concentrate their of our nature, who does not see in this a great rel. rate on the subject of the approaching Presidential States, and more populous portions of the Union, election, and have given it that serious attention, that they should give a practical and substantial which its great importance demands at all times, proof, it has been in reality accidental, and not de- discriminating for protection, he is able to see no regarded as still unsettled. but more especially in the present critical condi-signed. And what occasion can be more fitting tion of the country. The result is, our unanimous than the present? determination to recommend to you JOHN CALD- If the high qualifications of Mr. CALHOUN.

rect knowledge. When wi

the jury of the vicinage-the wh

an unanimous verdict in his favor, it ought to be t

General Concention of the party should be held in portion of the Union to which he belongs, cannot or internal taxes, but for a system of duties on im- the most important of all the compromises of the which must inevitably follow? tricts, one from each Congressional District, not be strong grounds for believing, that their citi- ties than are indispensable to the economical and beyond controversy.

justice in tariffs faxing unequal- tion; in which, the Legislative caucus held at | State, and count but one, as she would in the case | tion does not secure; on the contrary, it is apparent the farmer, the planter, Albany has concurred, while all the other States, of the Presidential election going to the House. rent from what has already been stated, that in the shipmaster, and as far as we are informed, which have expressed If she desires to have her whole delegation count- going into a Convention on that plan, so far from s, to give protection to an opinion, are in favor of one delegate from each ed, as in the House of Representatives on all other securing compensation for surrendering their conentitled to full credence. We say unanimous, for all other THREE DOLLARS PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE. Those persons who remit by Mail (postage paid) Five Dollars, will be entitled to a receipt for Six Dollars, or two years' subscription to the Standard—one copy or two years' subscription to the Standard—one copy other reasons, entitled to much consideration, but weakens the Government which sanctions it; that led to say, that our objection is irresistibly strong both modes, and exempt herself from their disad- mode of voting and counting would make them two years, we shall call the plan of a subordinate character. Among them, that he belongs to a portion of the Umon, which has nev-ten " ten "

with the cash (\$15), will be entitled to the Standard one year free of charge. Southern or South-Western,—the great exporting turers themselves are far more deeply injured, turers themselves are far more deeply in ADVERTISEMENTS, not exceeding fourteen lines, will the rest of the world more than two-thirds of the from the unsettled condition of their existence, and the election, so far as the voice of the party is shall at the same time grasp the benefit of both, to the exterior and remote; for the plain reason, be inserted one time for One Dollar, and twenty-five revenue of the Union has been drawn, and which the sudden and ruinous changes to which it subcents for each subsequent insertion ;-those of greater have ever furnished their full share of talents, pat- jects their affairs, than they could possibly be by dispensable, that the General Convention should The advantages and disadvantages of whichever venience, expense and time. The most remote length, in proportion. Court Orders and Judicial Ad- riotism, eloquence and wisdom to the councils of that fair protection which an equal, moderate, and conform, as nearly as may be, to the Electoral may be selected, must be taken together. length, in proportion. Court Graes and Statical State erfisements will be charged twenty-five per cent, higher than the above rates. A deduction of 33 1-3 per cent, will be made to those who advertise by the year. Of If the number of insertions be not marked on them, they will be continued until ordered out. Letters to the Editor must come free of postage, or they Letters to the Editor must come free of postage free to the Editor must come free of postage free the postage free the expension for the expension medium size, or smaller States. Is it to be infer- time it is acknowledged it would be oppressive to the States, as fixed by the Constitution, in the the Union, and by necessary consequence, give more remote States. To them the expense, time red from these remarkable facts, that the smaller give directly; but he admits neither the constitu- election of President, should them the almost exclusive control over the Execu- and sacrifice would interpose formidable obstacles and weaker States, and the least populous portions tional right, the morality, nor the logic, by which be preserved. These we regard as fundamental tive Department of the Government, and, through against attending. The result would be, that Of the CONVENTION OF SOUTH CAROLINA, met of the Union are to be permanently excluded from a mere difference of mode in perpetrating a wrong, principles, by which every proposition, in relation its power and influence, over the whole Union .-- from the one there would be a full attendance, at Columbia, on the 22nd of May, 1843, to the its highest honors?-or rather has it been an acat Columbia, on the 22nd of May, 1843, to the institute in a constant of the united cidental course, of events, without aim or design? any rightful power in the federal legislature, di-Democratic Republican Party of the United Cidental course, of events, without aim or design? any rightful power in the federal legislature, di-The latter we hope has been the case, but surely or incidentally, to admitted. They are too obviously just and rea-

draw the exactions of the Government from the sonable to require illustration. He would ill de- election, as far as the party is concerned: and hundred. He has a very imperfect knowledge fair, equal, and bona fide tariff of revenue. Be- It is to their test we intend to bring the points of combined power in the General Convention, than ative increase of influence and weight to the States tween a tariff of protection and a tariff of revenue, difference between the two plans, which may be the plan of the majority giving the vote of each which should send the most, and diminution to

State, and yet at the same time counting per capita, those which should send the handful. The voice difference in constitutional principle, and he holds We object, then, to the mode of voting and and thereby controlling its proceedings, and through of the many would be almost sure to drown that the one as much as the other, repugnant to natu- counting recommended by the Richmond Conven- it the nomination and election? And what could of the few. ral justice and the plainest principles of political tion, because it adopts a principle unknown to the tend more powerfully than that, to destroy the bal- But this relative increase of weight in the Con-

WELL CALHOUN, as the candidate of the Demo- strengthened by such long and important services, economy, and in their tendency subversive of the Constitution, and convert our Feder- vention of the central and contiguous States would cratic Republican Party, for next President. We unanimously supported, as there is every reason to very ends of civil society. He is not in favor of ber of delegates proposed to be appointed from al Republic into a great consolidated and absolute be in reality, but a relative increase of the weight are also unanimous in recommending, that the believe he will be, not only by his State, but the abolishing duties on imports for a system of direct each district, would in practice be destructive of Government, to be succeeded by all the disasters of the larger members of the Union, as those having the greatest population are in fact, for Baltimore, in May 1844; that each State should ensure his election, is it to be expected that any ports laid purely for revenue, and allowing dis- Constitution, or as we might with truth say, the But it may be said, that the evil apprehended the most part, the central and contiguous States. appoint as many Delegates as she is entitled to citizen hereafter belonging to it, however eminent criminations only where true revenue principles fundamental compromise on which the whole rests. has already occurred in another form ; that their while the less populous generally, are the exteriappoint as many Delegates as she is churched to interest of burdening commerce As strong as these assertions may appear, we strength is already concentrated on the Electoral or and remote. The two causes then, though apbe appointed at large, and the remainder by Dis- er States, will ever be elected? And would there and the labor which supports it with no more du- shall, unless greatly deceived, establish their truth College by changing the system of choosing elec- parently operating among the different classes of tors by Districts, into that of the General Ticket, and States would, in fact, unite and combine to increase

where there are such in a State, and where not, zens are forever to be disfranchised, as far as the necessary wants of the Government. He is unby the mode which the Republican Party of such office of President is concerned and that the office alterably opposed to all extravagance, corruption, with our political history, that the greatest difficul-State may deem best fitted to collect and express is to be a permanent monopoly of the larger States and abuses in the expenditure of public money, ty experienced in framing the Constitution, was to the Electoral College. It is, indeed, true that the ration give them an overwhelming weight in the

the reform of which cannot be effected so long as establish the relative weight of the States, in the system of choosing electors by general ticket, in its Convention, and through it, over the no the opinions of the people ; and that the members and more populous sections? To these, other reasons might be added of no less weight. We the revenue is levied on the principles of protec- government of the Union. The smaller States, operation, as far as the concentration of power is the election and Executive Department. should vote per capita.

considerations for recommending Mr. CALHOUN, them, his disinterested and magnanimous course and proceed directly to state the leading and para- in his party relations, of which a single instance mount reason for giving him our preference .- will suffice. We then rest our recommendation on his long, It is well known, that he did not hesitate, reknowledged abilities, energy, firmness and sagaci- believed to be the true principles and policy of the ty; on his profound knowledge of the Constitution Republican party, to separate from the great body tem of Government; on his high administrative tal- the highest rewards and honors of the country lar institutions, and the principles and doctrines of it subjected him, for the time, to the severest dethe Republican party; and, finally, on the spotless nunciations of those he separated from, and apparpurity of his life.

These are high qualifications, but not higher as office, power, and influence were concerned.- high dignity. than he possesses, nor, (as we believe) than a large He willingly sacrificed all to maintain his princimajority of his fellow-citizens accord to him .- ples. Nor is it unknown, when the tide of events They are those, which at all times should be re- turned against his former friends, from whom he garded, as paramount in the selection of the Chief had separated, and when the party was at its great-Magistrate, and as decisive, at such a period as the est depression, and their old opponent ready to rush present, when the government is surrounded by in and overwhelm them, as they believed forever, perils and difficulties; when its character and it was then that he, forgetting the past, and over credit are greatly sunk, at home and abroad; when looking all personal considerations, regarding ongreat abuses and corruption have crept into its ad- ly his duty and his principles, unhesitatingly ministration ; when the principles of the Constitu- brought to them, at their utmost need, his powertion have been departed from : and when univer- ful aid. If events have since turned-if the party sal embarrassment prevails throughout the land. is again in the ascendant, and more powerful than It is at such a period that the great and only ques- ever after its great fall, it may be surely said with of opinion, so far as there has been one, is so in the two Houses of Congress. tion should be, who is best qualified to carry the truth, that the happy change is, in a great meas-Government through its perils and difficulties; to ure, to be attributed to him. It is true that in all correct its errors; reform its abuses; elevate its this he sought neither gratitude nor reward; that, character and credit; re-establish the Constitution, however, only enhances his title to both.

and restore confidence and the prosperity of the To this we add, that he was the first to discover, country? Whoever he may be, he ought to be long in advance, the present dangers and disasters the man. Every subordinate consideration should to point out their causes, and warn against their approach; to use his utmost efforts, and peril his vield.

Who, then is the man for the present period ? all to avert them; and, when actually arrived, to Without intending to underrate or disparage the take the lead in the endeavor to pass through them high qualifications of the distinguished individu- in safety. In proof of all this, we refer to addresses, als of the party, whose names have been presented speeches, and reports for the last fifteen years .--by their friends, as candidates, we respond to the Now that which was then future is past, they look question. Mr. CALHOUN is the man. We sincerely more like history than the anticipations of what is her degree, that any other individual, all the foresight rarely equalled and never surpassed.— gh qualities demanded by the occasion; and that Although he could not avert the dangers and dishis election would do more to redeem the character asters he anticipated, it cannot be doubted he did of the Government and country, and restore confi-much to lessen them, and to prepare the way final-

contrary-His dispensations have not only been died?

kind but munificent, in abundant harvests and al- And, finally, may we not ask, without being wanting in courtesy, as to refuse to yield to so has been stated, the formation of the Constitution nomination of the candidate, is one of the strong- tential that of political managers. It is that which most universal health, while to the violation or thought to disparage the just merits of other canreasonable a request, and persist in adhering to itself. That, too, ended in a compromise, which est against it. It obviously makes it more im- constitutes the great and fatal objection to appoint neglect of the provisions of the Constitution may didates for the Presidency, which one of them do November. Under this impression, we shall not gave the larger States a preponderance in the elec-dwell longer on the reasons in favor of May. We also regard it as substantially settled, that a preponderance in case of a failure of choice, and the smaller tion also. If it be lost there too, all will be hopeless-degrees removed from the people. However propbe traced most of the evils that have befallen us. his past history and opinions more thoroughly We then must mainly look for their remedy, to identify with all the great articles of the Demothe correction of the errors of the Government, and the reformation of its abuses, and for that, to the election of the President, without whose lead, and enlightened and hearty co-operation, there can be in the course of Government, as experience has abundantly proved. What his lead and co-opera-tim prime delightened and hearty proved. What his lead and co-opera-in the course of Government, as experience has abundantly proved. What his lead and co-opera-tim prime delightened and hearty co-operation devolving on the front; and, under denum-tim, while most of the States and public meetings, abundantly proved. What his lead and co-opera-tim prime delightened and hearty co-operation devolving on the front; and, under denum-in the course of Government, as experience has abundantly proved. What his lead and co-opera-tim prime delightened and hearty co-operation. Here can be in the course of Government, as experience has abundantly proved. What his lead and co-opera-tim prime delightened and hearty co-operation. Here can be in the course of Government, as experience has abundantly proved. What his lead and co-opera-tim prime delightened and hearty co-operation. Here can be in the course of Government, as experience has abundantly proved. What his lead and co-opera-tim prime delightened and hearty co-operation. Here can be and even corruption itself, might enter and con-time with balance of the States and public meetings. Here the the two of the States and public meetings. Here and th the correction of the errors of the Government, and cratic creed than Mr. CALHOUN? He, as far abundantly proved. What his lead and co-opera- sequences, boldly in the tront; and, under denun-tion will be in the coming administration, depends ciations and obloquy unexampled for their bitter-tion will be in the coming administration, depends ciations and obloquy unexampled for their bitter-nia, while most of the Convention, and, tion will be in the coming administration, depends on the individual to be elected, and that as far as the party is concerned, on the candidate to be no-minated : and hence, at this time, the great impor-minated : and hence, at this time, the great impor-tion and genius, principally contributed to sus-- cision and genius, principally contributed to sus-tain and pass it through ! Few men have been It is certainly gratifying to observe, that the it is certainly gratifying to observe, that the and counting, and thereby adopts a principle un-this contingent advantage, given them by an ex-through them, give the President the power of nomminated; and hence, at this time, the great impor- cision and genius, principally contributed to sustance of making the proper selection. It may be supposed, that the fact of Mr. CAL- so efficient in saving the libertics of the country tendency of a free and enlightened discussion is to known to the Constitution, and in deadly conflict press provision of the Constitution, in order to inating his successor. In other words, to divest the nous being a native of South Carolina has influ- from that most dangerous of all the instruments of unite and harmonize the party, instead of dividing with the compromises upon which it rests, and on compensate for the advantage which the larger prople of the control over the election, and to trans-HOWN being a native of South Carolina has lined enced us in making up an estimate of his qualifica-tions, and that large deductions ought to be made on that account. We are not unaware how much on that account. We are not unaware how much on that account. We are not unaware how much opinion is liable to be biased by State attachments, and bias made allowance for it, but it is possible and bias made allowance for it, but it is possible on tenders. If, however, deduction is to be made on that account, frog. He, weight often to the the tenders of the future are strong on that account, frog. He, weight often to the tenders of the future are strong on that account, frog. He, weight often to the tenders of the future are strong on that account, frog. He, weight often to the tenders of the future are strong on that account, frog. He, weight often to the tenders of the future are strong on that account, frog. He, weight often to the tenders are strong on that account, frog. He, weight often to the tenders are strong on that account, frog. He, weight often to the tenders are strong on that account, frog. He, weight often to the tenders are strong on that account, frog. He, weight often tenders of the future are strong on that account, frog. He, weight often tenders of the future are strong on that account, frog. He, weight often tenders of the future are strong on the future are of the State should be given by the construction, which prope-ton, by abolishing the great tenders of the future are strong on the future are of the State and less the hole of the strong and vicinage of Mr. Carnoux, iscale lated to warp our judgment and lessen the weight of its weight. The strong and the tender of the whole delegation of the State and it, he vote of the whole delegation of the State and it, he vote of the whole delegation of the State and less the should be subject to the mode of counting, which were the actis sequally calculated, in and vicinage of Mr. Carnoux, iscale lated to use presented the nomice in his favor, the same fast is equally calculated, in and vicinage of Mr. Carnoux, iscale lated to a streng then the nomice in his favor, the same fast is equally calculated, in and bis vote counting on, or the whole delegation in his favor, the same fast is equal opinion from actual observation and full and cor- industry from unnecessary burdens and exactions. should dispose of the state in Conven- place herself on an equality with the smallest partment. The plan of the Richmond Conven- such caucus to make nomination; and the greater

vention.

We shall pass over all minor and subordinate shall however allude to but one or two and among tion, which acts as a bounty on large and influen- placing themselves on the incontestible principle concerned, has the same effect, as voting by majori- We have now we trust conclusively shown, that tial classes, enlisting them in the support of ex- of the perfect equality of rights between a sover- ty, and counting per capita, and it is to be feared the plan of the Richmond Convention, in the mode travagant expenditures as an excuse for high taxa- eign and independent communities, without re- has already done much, and will do still more, to of voting and counting it recommends, instead of tion. He believes that the Government has no gard to size or population, insisted on a like disturb the balance of the Government. But there conforming to, departs wholly from the analogy of power nor right to lay taxes, nor to collect reve- equality of weight in the government of the Uni- is a great difference between them, so much so, the Electoral College, and that it adopts a princifithful, and important public services; on his ac- gardless of consequences, in obedience to what he nue, nor to sell the public lands, for the purpose of on, while the larger and more populous, admitting that the general ticket can afford neither excuse ple unknown to the Constitution, and which in its distributing the proceeds, or any portion thereof, the correctness of that principle, insisted that in a nor precedent, for the plan of the Richmond Conamongst the States; nor that it has any right Federal Republic, composed of States of unequal vention. If the two have the like effect in secur- States, is fixed by its compromises in the election and the genius and character of our admirable sys- of the party in the plenitude of its power, and when or power, directly, to assume the size, and united for the common defence of the ing to the States a united vote, is it brought about of President and Vice President; and of course, debts of the States; nor to carry on a system of whole, the States which brought to the common in a very different manner. The General Ticket not standing the test of the principles to which we ents; on his devoted attachment to free and popu- were in his grasp. It is equally well known, that Internal Improvement. Many of these are cardi- stock of power and means the greater share should may defeat, to a certain extent, the intent of the proposed to bring it, should be rejected. Bo clear nal considerations, in comparison with which, the in fairness and justice have a proportionate weight Presidency sinks into insignificance, and no com- in the government. Such was the obstinacy, with as to the manner of voting and counting. The hazard nothing in asserting, that no State would ently forever blasted his political prospects, so far promises of them can be bartered, even for that which both sides maintained their ground, that at electors still vote individually, and their votes venture to propose, as an amendment to the Conone time it was seriously apprehended the object are counted per capita. Bad as it is to get round stitution, the mode of voting and counting recom-Having now given our reasons for preferring of the Convention would fail, and its labors end the principles of the Constitution in practice, it is mended by the Richmond Convention, containing,

Mr. CALHOUN, we shall next proceed to state in doing nothing. The alarm, which this caused, still worse to act in open defiance and contempt of at the same time, a provision to divest the smaller those that governed us in making the recommen- led to a compromise. The larger States agreed them.

dations we have in reference to the General Con- to an equality of representation in the Senate, and Nor is this the only difference. It is well known tion devolving on the House; or that, if proposed, the smaller to representation in the House propor- that at the commencement of the Government, it would not receive the vote of a single State in Reason and discussion have already done much tioned to population estimated in federal numbers. and for many years afterwards, the District sys- the Union, so strong would be the sense of justice to settle most of the points connected with the From these two elements, all the materials for tem of choosing Electors generally prevailed, and against it. And yet, if that plan should become Convention, and about which there was at first a constructing our beautiful and solid political fabric that it was changed to the general ticket, not vol- the precedent, and general Conventions for nondifference of opinion. We regard the question as were drawn. The Electoral College for the untarily through a conviction, that the latter was inating Presidents and Vice Presidents the estabdefinitely settled, that Baltimore is to be the place choosing of President and Vice President consists right and the former wrong, but reluctantly, and lished practice, it would, in effect, supersede the where it is to be held, and shall therefore pass it of the two blended, so as to give to each State the under a general conviction, that the change was existing provisions in reference to those elections, over without further comment. The expression number of electors that she may have of members for the worse. It was caused in a great measure and become, virtually, a part of the Constitution; by compulsion, through the almost necessary op- as much so as if formally adopted as an amendstrongly in favor of May, 1844, it is scarcely to The modes of voting, as prescribed by the Con- eration of party conflicts. The system once com-

be supposed, that those who prefer November will stitution, are in unison with these elements. As menced by any one party in a State in order to scstand out against it. But four States, Tennessee, there are but two, so there are but two modes of cure victory by concentrating its united strength. Missouri, Virginia, and New York, have ex- voting known to the Constitution,-the per capita, almost necessarily compelled the opposite side, in pressed opinions in favor of the latter, while Mary- and that by a majority, corresponding with the order to avoid defeat, to imitate the bad example. land, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Penn- two elements. When the States are intended to Once started, the same cause, by its action and resylvania, Michigan, Alabama, Mississippi, Rhode be regarded in their original equality, and inde- action, led to the almost universal adoption. It Island, and New Hampshire, have either ex- pendent and sovereign character, the mode of vo- was a weapon forged for party warfare exclusivepressed opinions in favor of, or given strong indi- ting prescribed is by delegation, each delegation ly, and fit only for the purpose for which it was cations that they prefer, the former. Indeed the voting by itself, and the majority disposing of the intended. But to introduce a weapon so intended, argument, to afford the people ample time to vote of the State; but the vote of the State in such in a Convention of members of the same party, make up and express their opinion, and to mark cases, without regard to the number of delegates assembled, not in hostility, but for the peaceable the course of events and the conduct of public counts but one. Such was the mode of voting and friendly purpose of producing and preserving men during the first session of the next Congress, and counting in the formation and adoption of the harmony, union and concert, would be clearly, not General Convention, that it is entitled to in the. believe, that he unites in himself more fully, and in was to come, and afford evidence of sagacity and especially in reference to the 'Tariff and the ex- Constitution, and such the mode prescribed for propopenditures of the Government, is so strong, that sitions to amend it, and in the election of Presi- al ticket, but without justification or excuse.

meet this objection to the number of delegates from we do not see how it can well be resisted. But dent, when the choice devolves on the House, by Another view remains, deserving the most se- each District, recommended by the Richmond putting aside that and other reasons which might the failure of the Electoral College to elect. But rious consideration ; going to show, that the intro- Convention it would fall under the test of the other be urged in favor of the latter period, it seems to when the States are not intended to be so regarded, duction of the general ticket, so far from affording principle premised, which requires, that every dence and presperity, than the election of any oth- ly to overcome them; and now, when the ques- us, as a mere matter of courtesy, if time be re- the vote and count is always per capita, and such reason or precedent in favor of the plan proposed practicable means should be adopted, in order tion is, How shall they be overcome? who so well quested by any considerable portion of the party, is the mode, accordingly, prescribed for the two by the Richmond Convention, furnishes strong that the General Convention should otter truly er man, or the occurrence of any other event. It is not to be disguised that the deplorable con-dition of the country may be almost exclusively take the task, and restore health and prosperity to dition of the country may be almost exclusively take the task, and restore health and prosperity to diffed to give a satisfactory answer—to under-to be obviously unreasonably late, which cannot be diffed to give a satisfactory answer—to under-to be obviously unreasonably late, which cannot be diffed to give a satisfactory answer—to under-to be obviously unreasonably late, which cannot be diffed to give a satisfactory answer—to under-to be obviously unreasonably late, which cannot be to be obviously unreasonably late, which cannot be that of mere politicians. To effect that, it is intraced errors and mismanagement of Govern- the body-politic, as he who has given such contraced errors and mismanagement of Govern-ment. It cannoble charged either to the Consti-tution, or the dispensations of Providence. On the tontrary His dispensations have not only been died? which have fixed on an earlier day, will be so the large and small States, that endangered, as increased in the General Convention and the the feebler will be their voice, and the more po-