



AND
North-Carolina State Gazette.

Volo, non loe: Spero meliora.

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MONDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1804.

No. 997

Remarks on the proposed Amendment to the Constitution.
(Concluded from our last.)

It is presumed to be altogether unnecessary in this place more than to notice the true, though common place remark, that great and powerful communities, no less than great and powerful individuals, obey the common laws of human nature in feeling mutual jealousy of and ill-will towards each other. Actuated by a spirit of ambition proportionate to their power, and each aiming at the possession of the sceptre, that will constantly develop more dissidence than concord of view; while, on the other hand, the small states, divested of these powerful causes of discord, will more frequently unite.

These arguments are, it is believed, conclusive answers to every objection made to the designating principle on the ground that it will enable the large to oppress the small states. But there remains to be taken one view of this subject which, it is trusted, will carry with it the force of demonstration, and establish, on ground which cannot be shaken, the position that the small states are peculiarly interested in the adoption of the designating principle.

Whatever may be the constitutional rights conferred upon the respective states, it is indisputable that, as in every crisis of danger arising from a want of harmony among them, the physical power of each will be considered as constituting the principal means of offence and defence, so in the adjustment of the leading interest of the union there will be a point of accommodation and concession, beyond which the powerful members of the confederacy will not go, and this will be determined by an estimate of the benefits derived from the union compared with the evils real or imaginary flowing from it. It need not therefore be concealed that the very existence of the union must and will forever depend upon a reciprocity of interests among its several members. The moment this is destroyed, that moment, the only efficient inducements to the larger states to preserve the national compact are also destroyed. In vain, under such circumstances, will the alleged obligations of moral rectitude be pressed on the large states; they will deny, and justly too, the right of one generation exclusively and determinately to legislate for all succeeding generations, and declare, that, knowing no obligation other than that derived from the general good, they will submit to no power other than that which flows from the public will. In such an event what will the constitution be worth? Will the small states be able to save it? Will they be able even to save themselves, on its wreck? The large states may take care of themselves; but where will the small states find their safety?

Any provision then in the constitution which shall destroy this reciprocity of interests, which shall annihilate the vital principles of a republic, that the majority shall govern, any provision which shall interrupt the eternal order of things in

free communities, by rendering a great majority the puppet of a feeble minority, will unavoidably tend by a march of human events, not to be resisted by any temporizing palliatives, to destroy the union itself, and with it to destroy not only the constitutional rights, but the very safety, perhaps existence of the small states.

But, without looking to this awful calamity, we shall find other evils likely to result from the present provision of the constitution, which it becomes the wisdom of the small states to contemplate with a fixed attention. We are told by the opponents of the designating principle, that its adoption will produce a combination of the large states; and that thence they will command forever the election of the chief magistrate of the union. But from what premises is this conclusion drawn? Is it the tendency of fecundity to produce combinations? Are not they, on the contrary, the usual and almost exclusive results of a sense of danger? If then you secure to the large states those great and essential rights of a republican government, to which they consider themselves entitled, and take from them all ground of dissatisfaction or idea of persecution, you will proportionably make them secure, and in proportion to their security and satisfaction will be the measure of their good will to the smaller states, and their indisposition to form to their detriment unjust confederacies among themselves. Further; there existing no sense of oppression, so powerfully calculated to unite men and communities, they will be left to the influence of all those extensive sources of diverse, if not hostile views, which the great the aspiring and ambitious feel toward each other. From the operation of these causes they will rarely be found in conjunction; and their habitual difference will enable the small states frequently to interpose with effect in the designation of the chief magistrate.

Reverse this state of things, by denying to the large states those rights to which they are entitled, and in proportion to the insecurity of their tenure, and their idea of persecution, will be the spirit of combination among each other. Viewing the small states as possessed of more power than they are justly entitled to, and viewing them as the instruments made use of by factions or by ambitious men to frustrate the will of the majority, they will naturally look upon them as enemies, and will soon make them such. They effect will be (if such can under any circumstances be the effect) the consolidation of the large states; and that consolidation will, even without the designating principle, in such event command the election of the chief magistrate. For let not the small states deceive themselves; they will not, they cannot be united in any measures hostile to the large states.—Some of their number will, from principle or prejudice or terror, go along with the large states. Besides, let it be recollected that the large and small states, are separated by an ideal line; and that although there are large states, and small states, there are likewise those of an intermediate grade, and which will

some attach themselves to one and some to the other. Let it also be recollected that many of the small states are rapidly rising in importance, and that viewing their permanent relation, they will be most apt to unite their destinies with those of the larger states.—Is it not then next to certain that the operation of these causes will increase the electoral votes of the command of the larger states to a majority of the whole, in case they are driven into combination.

This branch of the subject is susceptible of much wider illustration, but as the points, not here noticed, have been fully and ably illustrated in the debates of Congress, I shall not repeat what has been already so well said.

In the third place, is the proposed amendment commensurate to the object in view?

By the adoption of the designating principle, it will forever insure a representation of the public will; it will make the chief magistrate the depository of national confidence; it will frustrate the machinations of faction; it will prevent a collision between the different states, and between the people and the states; and it will prevent a division of the nation into two parties actuated by personal attachment and antipathy.

With respect to the subordinate provisions of the amendment little need be said in addition to that which has already gone to the public. Some of the provisions, like the constitution of which it is proposed to make them a part, are the offspring of concession. The friends of the great principle of designation thought justly that they could not give too much for it; and if the eventual succession to the Presidency of the Vice President, who in a remote contingency is eligible by the Senate, be a departure from a spirit of republicanism, let it at the same time be recollected that the interests of the small states are increased by it in perhaps as great a ratio as it is pretended they are impaired by the designating principle, and let it also be recollected that nothing great can be found either in the moral or physical world without alloy.

With these remarks I close an enquiry, which has had nothing but truth for its guide and the public welfare for its end. In the words of the enlightened Congress of 1777, on submitting the articles of confederation to the several states, I say, in language of the sincerest respect, to the same bodies.

“Let them [the provisions of the proposed amendment] be examined with a liberality becoming brethren and fellow citizens, surrounded by the same imminent dangers, contending for the same illustrious prize, and deeply interested in being forever bound and connected together by ties the most intimate and indissoluble; and finally let them be adjusted with the temper and magnanimity of wise and patriotic legislators, who, while they are concerned for the prosperity of their own more immediate circle, are capable of rising superior to local attachments, when they may be incompatible with the safety, happiness and glory of the general confederacy.”

PUBLIUS.

ENGLISH POLITICS.

The following Abridgment of the State of Politics, is copied from the London Evening Post of the 12th of November.

FRANCE.

The French Consul still continues his preparations for the invasion of this country, and the whole energy, attention, and exertion of his government is occupied on that alone. Though on accurate accounts are received, yet by every thing that can be learnt, the preparations are very extensive and nearly completed. The Brest fleet in considerable force is ready to sail the moment that unfavorable weather shall oblige Admiral Cornwallis with our fleet to quit the blockade of that harbour. The fleet is believed to be destined for Ireland, and is said to have on board thirty thousand troops. The boats and other craft on the coast of Holland are likewise stated to be ready to come over if they could get safely out of their harbours, so that the invasion may be looked upon as certain, waiting only for a favorable moment. In the mean time, the ports of Boulogne and Calais are perpetually harassed by our frigates, and the exercise of the brave invaders sadly interrupted by our shot and shells. It is not from either of these two places that we have any very formidable attack to dread, nor can we indeed form any well grounded opinion of the number likely to be sent over. The reports vary from 100,000 to 250,000, but it is very unlikely that they will ever be able at any one time, to get the number of 100,000 fairly sent to sea; our cruizers keep so good a watch over all their motions. Partial and desperate attempts on the coast are what we certainly may expect, the first moment that favors the attempt, exaggeration of the numbers and danger is more to be guarded against than the enemy.

THE OTHER POWERS OF EUROPE.

seem all remaining in a state of silent expectation to see what will be the event of the terrible struggle about to take place between this country and France. It is certainly not to the honor of these powers, who have the means of interfering, to see the destinies of the civilized world committed to the chance of an encounter, or to leave any nation single handed and alone to fight the general cause. Yet so it is, and it unfortunately the cause of destruction and disorder should succeed in this one instance, the whole of Europe would be involved in the misto-tune; but other nations are either not sensible of this, or they trust to England being sure of victory; otherwise they are the most indifferent about their own welfare that it is possible to conceive, for we cannot believe that the mere terror of the French name compel powerful or distant nations to so strange a line.

BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

We continue to increase in vigilance and preparation for receiving our enemies in a way that will probably, under Divine Providence, lay the question of invasion to rest for ever. A great number of seamen have been added to the fleet within these few last days. All the military are in a state of readiness to march; and we, in one word, are in such a situation as to have

reason to wish for the attempt being made as soon as possible. Our brave defenders are impatient of the delay; and it is but justice to them to say, that they shew no disposition to shirk the combat. In the midst of so great and vigorous warlike preparation, a treaty has been made with Sweden, which ought to satisfy the Northern Powers with respect to the long agitated question of the Right of carrying Naval or Military Stores to Nations at War. We are pleased to see a treaty evincing moderation, and at the same time firmness and attention to our rights made in the midst of so important and busy a state of preparation.

Some difficulties of a commercial nature, relative to the trade of the West India Islands, are now under the consideration of ministers; but we have little doubt that every thing will be easily adjusted to the satisfaction of both nations; however, think, that if America be very impatient and urgent at the present, it is both indecorous and unfair; as a nation engaged in defending its existence, as we are, ought not to be oppressed by a friendly power on any subject that is of a nature to admit of delays, which must be the case with every commercial regulation.

Confidence in our own strength is general, and no fears are entertained for this country. In Ireland there is reason to think that the distressed are but few, and the bulk of the nation determined to repel the enemy.

The Indian Queen.

THE best stand in the City of Raleigh for a Tavern. The House contains thirteen Rooms, nine of which have Fire-places. On the lot is a commodious Kitchen, a large and convenient Stable, and all other requisite Out-houses. I will either sell the Premises, or rent them for one or more Years. Wm. NORWOOD, Hillsborough, 13th Dec. 1803.

I will also rent,

The House and Lot, opposite the Court-House. For Terms apply to Simon Turner, Esq.

The beautiful Imported Horse.

BRIAN O'LYNN.

WILL stand the ensuing Season at my Stable, within one Mile of the City of Raleigh. The Terms at which he will cover, with his Pedigree and Performances will be made known before the Commencement of the Season.

BRIAN O'LYNN is a fine dark Bay, full fifteen Hands 2 1/2 Inches high, now in high Health and Vigor. JOSHUA SUGG, 11th Jan. 1804.

NOTICE.

ALL those having Claims against the Estate of John Norwood deceased, late of Franklin County, are requested to present them legally authenticated for payment, to the Subscriber, who will attend on Tuesday at next Franklin Term, for the Purpose of liquidating all Debts and Dues from the said Estate. And those indebted thereto, are required to make immediate Payment without Delay, to Robert L. Whitaker, or to WASHINGTON NORWOOD, Ex'r. Granville County, Jan. 10, 1804.

Lumberton Academy Lottery.

THE Trustees of the Lumberton Academy inform the Public, that, owing to a Number of their Lottery Tickets remaining unsold, they have been under the Necessity of postponing the Drawing of their Lottery until the 4th of July next.

Jan. 29