ously existing body. It is presumed that this part of the constitution is coeval and co-existent with every other part of the instrument. If therefore it become an excrescence, because this gentleman chuses so to call it; another gentleman may call, and in the same way, make any other obnoxious passage of it, an excrescence; and a third and a fourth may do the same until the whole body of it will be composed of excrescences; and as these political doctors will conclude they have a right to cut away excrescences, the whole constitution will be cut to pieces, by the sharpened knives of our legislative surgeons.

(Here Dr. Elmer rose to explain, and said he did not say it was an excrescence of the constitution, but of the body politic. To which Mr. Dennis replied, it did not alter the case, as in the same way he might make the constitution an excrescence of the body politic.)

Other gentlemen have christened the district with various names, and assigned to its political state the appellation of a monster, and this monster has at different times and in the imagination of the different speakers assumed multifarious qualities and various forms. It has never yet been seen, nor has yet devoured a single citizen of the district; but it is thought to be a hydra which with its hundred mouths, will soon commence its destructive career (though these prophets cannot foretell the precise period when it will begin) and will first eat up all the men, women, and children in certain parts of the territory and then overleap its barriers and devour the nation. But it is a little singular, and a phenomenon yet to be explained by our naturalists, that this monster lurks only on the Virginia side of the Potomac; and in that part of the territory within the former limits of Maryland, lying to the north of Rock creek; and that whilst it occasionally crosses and recrosses the river, it should never attempt to come within the magical circle with which our philosophers have environed the city of Washington! And, sir, it is a little wonderful that amidst all the sympathies of these gentlemen for the good people of Columbia, they have never glanced their benevolent eyes towards the dangers of the city! It now remains for me, sir, to make a few remarks relative to the degraded state in which the imaginations of our political metaphysicians have placed the people of this district.

And first of all let me ask, if they be in that abject and deplorable state of slavery, which is supposed to exist, who have been the foolish or wicked agents that have put them there? I presume, they have been placed in their present situation, by the general convention, the legislatures of Maryland and Virginia, and the act of Congress accepting the cession. Of course, the members of these bodies respectively, must have been either so foolish as not to perceive the effect of their measures; or a very cruel hard hearted set of men, who from the mere love of sporting with the rights of their fellow men, have doomed them to civil and political despotism. There seems to be no alternative between their folly and their wickedness. However, Mr. Speaker, it may be, that these bodies and particularly the general convention, who were the primary agents in this business, and who have been generally considered by foolish people as equally wise, virtuous and patriotic, were both fools and despots. As the whole American pepole and the world have been mistaken upon this point; it is equally probable, that the people of the district, their wise men, their professional men and their judges, who have generally thought that the several provisions of the constitution restricting the exercise of a despotic power, whether by the legislative, executive, or judiciary departments, applied to this district, and other territories, as well as to the people of the states, have all been under a gross mistake—that, though they are in the daily habit of experiencing all the practical benefits of civil and political right, except of actual representation, they are mere slaves—But there is no doubt these mists of error are now dissipated, and that they, and all the world will now be convinced of their mistakes, by the omnipotent logic of the illuminated and illuminating supporters of the resolution.

It has been again and again shewn, that all the restrictions on the powers of the several departments both in the body of the constitution and the amendments thereto, are equally applicable to the people here, as to any other people in the union. At this late hour I will refer you to the fifth amendment only. It is therein declared "that no person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless by a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land and naval forces, or in the militia, &c. nor shall any person be subject, for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall he in any criminal case be compelled to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation." Does this clause apply to the people here, or does it not? If it does not, I cannot see why it does not, and the supporters of the resolution have forgotten to demonstrate that it does not so apply, though no doubt they can easily do so.

Can a people thus guarded, be justly obnoxious to the odious appellations of political slaves; and is there any evidence they are so, but the reveries of our sympathetic philosophers? No, sir, the people who feel themselves safe and secure in their rights and independent in their political opinions, smile at these political quackeries, and know they are to all substantial purposes as well situated as the constituents of those who speak so much about the abstract rights of man. It is true they have no actual representation; but if on that account they are slaves, what will many of them be, if restored to Virginia; and what are those citizens of Virginia, who possessing no freehold, are deprived of the right of suffrage? I mention not Virginia here for the purpose of obloquy, but because her right of suffrage is more limited than any other state; because she has been already mentioned by a gentleman of that state, (Mr. Jackson) and because, if it be true, that every man who is deprived of a right to participate in the choice of representatives, be a political slave, then Virginia will have more of this class of men than any state in the union. Tho' the consequence is inevitable, I know the fact will not be admitted by some of the advocates of the resolution. This will prove, sir, that this doctrine of representation and taxation is not susceptible of regulation, by the precise rules of arithmetic proportion, and admits of deviations perfectly consistent with the substantial freedom and happiness of a people.

Again, sir, I have been charged with advocating doctrines anti repulican and anti revolutionary—tending to despotism and incompatible with the rights of man. Those who make these assertions would have been prudent to have consulted the declaration of independence and re-examined the principles in which originated the revolution, in order to see how far these principles may be found to comport with or contravene the principles of the resolutions before us; and whether the support of the principles of the resolutions be the best evidence that they are entitled to be regarded as the exclusive champions of these great and essential principles of liberty, whereon have been raised the independence and glory of our country.

Not having done so, let me do it for them.

One principle of the revolution was, that of resistance to parliamentary supremacy, and a claim to apply to us a system of measures and of government contrary to that we had chosen for ourselves; and a right to dispense with certain great and fundamental principles which seemed to belong as well to the colonists as the mother country.

Here the omnipotency of Congress over these people has become a familiar phrase, and claims are set up which seem to regard the people of the territory as the absolute slaves of Congress, who like the bondmen of ancient Europe are to be transferred from one master to another as so many appurtenances to the freehold.

Another principle of the revolution was that the people have a right to chuse their own governors; but these people have chosen Congress for their governors, and these champions of the revolution say, the people here are incapable of judging of their own interest, are unworthy to be consulted, and must be transferred to Maryland and Virginia. It was another grievance complained of by the authors of the revolution, that the mother country attempted to impair the rights secured by charters and legislative promises at the time of the emigration of our ancestors, and which constituted the leading motives for that emigration.

Here you are about to violate the most solemn engagements, in confidence of which the people of the district have given up whatever rights they may have formerly possessed, which have induced many of them to emigrate from Europe and elsewhere, and here to vest the whole of their pecuniary resources, and to look to Congress for the exercise of that exclusive jurisdiction which they have preferred to the government of the states, to whom the territory formerly belonged; and this too in the very teeth of their remonstrances. I might sum up the whole catalogue of grievances which were the foundation of the revolution and shew that there was not a single violation of our civil or political rights in that instance, which you are not about to sanction in the passage of these resolutions.

I know, sir, some gentlemen have told us that we have no evidence that the people assented to the exercise of congressional authority and were not consulted in the original transfer.

To this remark it would be a sufficient answer, that in the formation of the federal constitution, every individual of the United States consented, that if the particular spot of land on which he resided, should be included within the ten miles square, he would submit himself, to the exclusive legislation of Congress. But, although, this is the way in which the sense of a people is usually ascertained, to wit, by the sense of representatives, we need not the aid of such support in the present instance. If these sceptics will look over the files of congress, they will find petitions signed by almost every person living within the three counties of which this district was originally composed, who was capable of signing a petition, counting that jurisdiction as one of the greatest blessings you could extend to them, with which they are still satisfied, and of which it is now proposed to deprive them.

And why are they to be deprived of the right of chusing for themselves? Because they formerly belonged to Maryland and Virginia, and because by restoring them to their former situation, they must be so much more eligibly situated, that they and every body who resists it, must be fools, or regardless of all the rights and blessings of a republican government. A gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Clarke) has used a very strong comparison between the government of Congress and of the states of Maryland & Virginia. According to that gentleman, by restoring the people on the west side of the Potomac, who are the objects of the first resolution to the state of Virginia, they are to experience the kind and indulgent protection of a parent, instead of the cold indifference and petulance of Congress, an ill natured step dame. Perhaps, sir, this idea might be enlarged upon and in the estimation of that and other gentlemen, we might greatly enhance the happiness of the whole American people, by releasing them from the jurisdiction of this peevish, cruly, cold hearted, ill natured step dame, and putting them under the kind maternal and fostering patronage of this tender and affectionate parent.

Another gentleman, from Virginia (Mr. Eppes) has talked much about the blessings of self government; and other gentlemen have spoken much of the necessity of destroying that monster, which they call taxation without representation. In the first place it may be answered that the people here are not taxed for local purposes, except in their several corporations where they are represented. But if the people must be restored to self government as one of the greatest blessings man can enjoy, let them be blessed with self government in reality and not merely in name. If this horrific monster must be slain, let the people of Columbia be gratified in destroying him with their own hands and in their own way. Let him be stifled by a territorial government. Let the people of the district have the entire management of their concerns, and let them enjoy the benefits of a representation and of a government in which their voice will be heard, their will obeyed and their interest promoted, where they will have the substance, not merely the apparent and nominal blessings of the representative principle.

All those who think we may not only suffer the legislative power over the territory to be exercised by the states of Maryland & Virginia, but who also think we may transfer forever the very object itself on which the legislative power is to act, must admit the right to delegate the power to a subordinate authority within the district. I believe myself we cannot transfer the district itself and re-annex it to Maryland and Virginia; but that we may consent that an inferior legislative power may regulate the internal concerns of the district, but over which we shall always have the power of revision and contoul, and of which we cannot divest ourselves or our successors. This power has been already practically recognized in delegating to the several Corporations within the district, a legislative power to a certain extent, and which is also recognized by the states in the establishment of their respective corporations. Instead of depriving the people here of the blessings of self government as some have conjectured, I have always been of the opinion and still retain my first impressions on the subject, that a territorial legislature ought to be extended to the people of the district, reserving to congress the exclusive right of legislating on certain matters connected with the public property and their own convenience. And always having the power of repealing or annulling any improper act, we shall retain in our hands all the benefits and advantages of exclusive legislation, whilst we avoid the trouble of regulating the local concerns of the district.

I will now conclude my remarks after having imposed too long, I fear, on the kind indulgence of the House, by observing that if the sentiment of the Poet be correct that "partial ill is universal good," notwithstanding my abhorrence of the resolutions on account of their injurious effects on the people of the district, I am in some degree reconciled to the proposition, on account of the information which has been imparted by the supporters of the resolutions, in their various theories and commentaries on the abstract and imprescriptible rights of man, tending so much to the edification of the American people and the advancement of republican government.

(To be continued.)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, January 30.

Ordered, that Mr. Nicholson be excused from serving on the committee appointed the fourth ultimo, on a memorial and petition of the directors and agents of the Ohio Company.

On motion,

Resolved, that the President of the United States be requested to inform this House, whether Samuel Hammond, a member of this House has not accepted an executive appointment, and when?

Ordered, that Mr. Bryan and Mr. Eppes, be appointed a committee to present the foregoing resolution to the President of the United States.

Mr. Crowninshield, from the committee of Commerce and Manufactures, to whom was referred, on the third ultimo, the petition of Walter Channing, surviving partner of the house of Gibbs and Channing, of New-port, in the state of Rhode-Island, merchant, made a report thereon, which was read, and ordered to be referred to a committee of the whole House, on Monday, the eleventh of February next.

Mr. Richards, from the joint committee for enrolled bills, reported, that the committee did, this day, present to the President of the United States, for his approbation, an enrolled bill, intituled "An Act for the relief of John Steele;" also, that the committee had examined an enrolled bill, intituled "An Act for the relief of Alexander Murray," and had found the same to be truly enrolled: whereupon,

Mr. Speaker signed the said inrolled bills.

Ordered, that the clerk of this House do acquaint the Senate therewith.

A message was received from the President of the United States, by Mr. Coles, his secretary, notifying that the president did, this day, approve and sign an act which originated in this House, intituled "An Act to provide for compleating the valuation of lands and dwelling-houses, and the enumeration of slaves in South Carolina; and for other purposes."

Ordered, That the clerk of this House do acquaint the Senate therewith.

A petition of Jacob Greer, of the state of North Carolina was presented to the House and read, praying compensation for services rendered, and expenses incurred by the patitioner, in compleating the collection of the tax on lands, dwelling-houses and slaves, for the thirty-ninth collection district, composed of the county of Orange, in the state of North Carolina, aforesaid.

Ordered, that the said petition be referred to the committee of ways and means.

A petition of sundry inhabitants of the state of Pennsylvania, whose names are thereunto subscribed, to the same effect with petitions presented on the tenth and fourteenth instant, from sundry other inhabitants of the said state, praying "that a post-road may be established from Norristown, by a tavern known by the sign of the Bull, Pugh-town, Coventry forge, Morgan-town, Church-town, and New-Holland, to the town of Lancaster; and that post offices may be fixed at convenient places on the said road,"—was presented to the House, and read.

Ordered, that the said petition be referred to the committee appointed on the sixth of November last "to enquire whether any, and what amendments are necessary to be made in the acts establishing a post-office and post-roads within the United States."

THURSDAY, January 31.

Mr. Clopton, from the committee, to whom was referred, on the twenty-first ultimo, the petition of sundry British merchants, and others, subjects of his Britanic majesty within the United States made a report thereon, which was read, and ordered to be referred to a committee of the whole House, on Monday next.

Mr. Richards, from the joint committee for enrolled bills, reported, that the committee did, this day, present to the President of the United States, for his approbation, an enrolled bill, intituled "An Act for the relief of Alexander Murray."

On a motion made, and leave given by the House,

Mr. Nicholson, from the committee appointed the twelfth of November last, on so much of the message of the president of the United States, as relates to the defence and security of our ports and harbours, and supporting within our waters the authority of the laws." reported a bill to appropriate a sum of money for the purpose of building gun boats, which was received, and read the first time.

On motion,

The said bill was read the second time, and ordered to be committed to a committee of the whole House, to-morrow.

A message was received from the President of the United States, by Mr. Coles, his secretary, notifying, that the President did this day, approve and sign two acts which originated in this House, to wit:

"An Act for the relief of John Steele," and

"An Act for the relief of Alexander Murray."

Ordered, that the clerk of this House do acquaint the Senate therewith.

FRIDAY, February 1.

The speaker laid before the House, a letter from Gideon Granger, post master general of the United States, stating "that he had received information from various sources, that both his public and private character and conduct had been arraigned on the floor of this House by one of the members thereof in a debate of the 29th and in another of the 31st ultimo; and requesting that an investigation may be made into his *official*, and, if it should be the pleasure of the House, into his *private* conduct, from the first moment that the post office department was committed to his charge to the present period, in such manner as this House, in its wisdom and justice, shall deem proper:

The said letter was read: whereupon,

A motion was made by *Gen. Varnum* that the House do come to the following resolution:

Resolved, That the letter of the post-master general, of this day, be referred to a select committee, with instructions to enquire into the subject-matter thereof, and report a statement of the facts thereon, to the House.

Mr. Nelson opposed the reference.

The yeas and nays were required by Mr. Bryan on agreeing to the resolution.

Mr. Elliot advocated the reference.

Mr. *Nicholson* opposed it, not as improper altogether to make the enquiry, but on account of the disrespectful language used by the writer.

Mr. *Holland* thought the letter sufficiently respectful and was in favor of the reference.

Mr. Gregg opposed the reference as particularly unseasonable at this advanced period of the session.

Mr. Clark joined in the opposition to the reference.

Mr. Lyon rose, and after uttering a few words, was called to order by Mr. Nicholson, for a breach of decorum, in debate, contrary to the rules of the House, by alledging, that "he had been belied by another member of the House:" Whereupon,

Mr. Lyon sat down, and Mr. Speaker decided, "that he was out of order;" after which, Mr. Lyon again arose to proceed in the debates, and addressed the chair, which being excepted to, as not in order,

Mr. Speaker decided, that he was in order,—from which decision of the chair,

An appeal was made to the House, by two members; on which appeal,

The question being stated to, wit:—"Is the decision of the chair in order?"

It was resolved in the affirmative, Yeas 81—Nays 34.

The question of referring the Post master general's letter recurred. It was again advocated by Mr. Elliot, and opposed by Mr. Nelson.

Mr. Huger moved the postponement of the question to next Monday, in which he was seconded by Mr. Smilie. The question of postponement was carried—92 members rising in its favor.

The unfinished business of yesterday on the Yazoo claims was resumed—the amendment offered by Mr. Clark, under consideration.

Mr. J. Clay, Mr. Bedinger and Mr. Holmes spoke in favor of it; and Mr. Lyon and Mr. Dana, against it.

Mr. Nelson observed that as the gentlemen on the north side of the House were getting warm, he feared the heat might encrease, and reach the south side; in order to furnish gentlemen with an opportunity of cooling, he would move an adjournment.

On the question the House divided, 61 in its favor, and 51 against it. The House then adjourned to meet at eleven o'clock to-morrow.

SATURDAY, Feb. 2.

The consideration of the report of the Committee of Claims on the claims for Georgia lands was resumed.

Mr. Clark's amendment still under consideration.

Mr. Holland at some length went into an argument in favor of the report.

Mr. Dawson considered it expedient to adopt the resolution, but not the amendment.

Mr. Nelson spoke at length against the claims.

Mr. Sloan followed on the same side.

Mr. Findley explained more fully his observations made on a former day.

Mr. J. Clay requested his friend Mr. Clark to withdraw his amendment, that the House might meet the question at once.

Mr. Clark thereupon withdrew the amendment.

Gen. Varnum stated the reasons upon which he was induced to vote for the resolution reported by the committee.

Gen. Stanton assigned his reasons for agreeing to the same.

Gen. Van Cortland moved to add to the end of the resolution, after striking out the word "finally" the following, "that the compromise shall not be considered