

States. He wished the laws to find support in the energy of the Constitution. It was in vain to say that coercive measures are necessary in this case; for there is an inherent energy in the Constitution which will enable the laws to triumph without an appeal to force.

The Senator from Pennsylvania asked us the other day, if we were unwilling that the powers proposed to be given to the Executive by the bill, should be confided to the present President of the United States. But that was not the question. He would say that the past course of the President had been such, as to entitle him to unlimited confidence, and there was no individual to whom he would more willingly confide this power than to the President. But there was no man, however elevated in station and ennobled by virtue, however pure his integrity and honest his purposes, to whom he would give a power which was unwarranted by the constitution. We are told that a jealous watch over the repositories of power, is the only way of preserving liberty. He could not believe for a moment, that, if this power were given to the President, he would abuse it. But it might, in worse times than these, and in worse hands than his, be abused, to the destruction of our institutions. We may be told that the power will be limited as to continuance and application. But what does history teach us? that the fact of to day becomes a precedent to morrow. Our own history shows us instances of powers, some well established as constitutional, which the framers of the constitution and its early friends would have shrunk from with dread. The General Government has been gradually drawing to itself the exercise of doubtful powers. When told that they are not given by the constitution, they reply that they are justified by precedent.

The honorable gentleman from Pennsylvania, in the course of his remarks, spoke of the submissive manner in which that State would yield obedience to the most unjust and injurious legislation of Congress. The history of that State was illustrated by the virtues and patriotism of her citizens, but the Senator would pardon him if he should say that the State of Pennsylvania was not quite exempt from the faults which are imputed to the State of South Carolina. The course of Pennsylvania in the famous Olmstead case, had some agency in bringing about the present State of things in South Carolina. Though South Carolina had not derived her impulse from that source, yet the doctrines once contended for by Pennsylvania were appealed to in justification of her present course. The opinions and principles of Pennsylvania in the Olmstead case, had been cited in the discussions in South Carolina, as justifying her resort to self redress. He did not stamp his approbation on them, nor on those of Carolina. Mr. Brown then read extracts from the Report made in the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, on the message of the Governor, relative to the mandamus of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of *Goison Olmstead*, as follows:—

"That the subject referred to them has not failed to engage their most serious reflection. They have viewed it in every point of light in which it could be considered. It is by no means a matter of indifference. In whatever way the Legislature may decide, it will be in the highest degree important. We may purchase peace by a surrender of right, or exhibit to the present times, and to late posterity, an awful lesson in the conflicts to preserve it. It becomes a sacred duty we owe to our common country, to discard pusillanimity on the one hand, and rashness on the other. In either case we shall furnish materials for history; and future times must judge of our wisdom, or our weakness. Ancient history furnishes no parallel to the Constitution of this United Republic. And should this great experiment fail, vain may be every effort to establish rational liberty. The spirit of the times gives birth to jealousy of power; it is interwoven in our system, and is, perhaps, essential to perfect freedom and the rights of mankind. But this jealousy urged to the extreme, may eventually destroy even liberty itself. As connected with the Federal system, the State Governments, with their inherent rights, must, at every hazard, be preserved entire; otherwise the General Government may assume a character, never contemplated by its framers, which may change its whole nature."

"Resolved, That in a Government like that of the United States, where there are powers granted to the General Government, and rights reserved to the States, it is impossible, from the imperfection of language, so to define the limits of each that difficulties should not sometimes arise from a collision of powers; and it is to be lamented that no provision is made in the Constitution, for determining disputes between the General and State Governments, by an impartial tribunal, when such cases occur."

"Resolved, That from the construction the United States Courts give to their powers, the harmony of the States, if they resist encroachments on their rights, will frequently be interrupted; and if, to prevent their evil, they should, on all occasions, yield to stretches of power, the reserved rights of the States will depend on the arbitrary power of the Courts."

"Resolved, That should the independence of the States, as secured by the Constitution, be destroyed, the liberties of the people, in so extensive a country, cannot long survive. To suffer the United States Courts to decide on State Rights, will, from a bias in favor of power, necessarily destroy the Federal part of our Government; and whenever the Government of the United States becomes consolidated, we may learn, from the history of nations, what will be the event."

Those papers show what were the doctrines of Pennsylvania at that time, and it is well known that she went on to carry them into practical operation. She called out her whole military power to resist the decree of the Court, and steps were taken to bring her military force into actual service. He did not adduce this fact because

he approved of the doctrines of Pennsylvania, for, in his opinion, she went too far. But he meant to show her rashness did not draw down upon her the power of the Union. The administration of that day had not recourse to military coercion. The decided stand which the State had taken was known to the Government and to Congress, but they did not consider that any coercive measure were necessary before the Judicial tribunals had tried their remedy. No bill was introduced in Congress, no measures recommended by the President for meeting the measures of Pennsylvania with military force. They trusted to the force of our institutions, without other remedy, and those institutions triumphed.

Should not the recollection of this transaction inculcate upon Pennsylvania moderation, and unabated confidence in a peaceful remedy? The case addressed itself particularly to that State, and bound her to practise the same moderation towards Carolina which the Union practised towards her, when, in a moment of high excitement, she opposed herself to the law of the Union. He would, in further support of his views, read from a speech delivered by a highly distinguished citizen of Pennsylvania, a passage which was fraught with just and liberal sentiments. [From the address delivered before the literary societies of Jefferson College, at the annual commencement in September, 1832, by the Hon. Mr. Wilkins, he read the following passage:

"If we start with horror from such frightful consequences, let our efforts be directed to avert the evil which brings them in its train. Ever keep in mind the spirit of compromise in which our Constitution had its origin. Instead of defiance and derision, let us adopt the tone of conciliation, and, where practicable, of concession. Instead of hunting up materials, from spiteful comparisons between different States or districts, let us remember only what is glorious in the history, or estimable in the character of each; adopting the happy quotation of Lord Chatham, when deprecating that stubborn and contemptuous defiance which led to the dismemberment of the British Empire; yet each State in reference to every other,

"Be to her faults a little blind,  
"Be to her virtues very kind."

In dwelling on the common efforts and the common sacrifices—on that precious fund of glorious recollections which two wars have accumulated for the whole country, there must be kindled a generous and sympathetic ardour which will prove the most powerful of centripetal forces, I agree, continued Mr. B., that the spirit of compromise and conciliation is the strongest bond which binds us together, and it is that tie which unites us, and not the strong arm of military power.

The gentleman from New Jersey, in the course of his remarks, said that the Constitution was ratified by the people; that it was submitted to the States merely for convenience, and that the people had clothed the General Government with its powers. The establishment of this doctrine utterly annihilates the Constitution, as it was expounded by the most enlightened republicans of '88 and '89. If that doctrine had been constitutional, then it was only necessary that the Constitution should be ratified by the majority of the people. The ceremony of submitting the instrument for the ratification of the States was an idle mockery, if the powers granted by the Constitution were not granted by the sovereign States, but by the people in mass. He would refer to the history of the transaction. Eleven States had ratified the Constitution, constituting an overwhelming majority of the people; but still North Carolina refused to ratify it, and so did Rhode Island. As sovereign States they refused their sanction to it. If the doctrine of the Senator from New Jersey was correct, North Carolina was, at this time, guilty of resistance to the Constitution and laws. Little Rhode Island was guilty of opposition to the supreme law of the land, for she did not come into the Union for some time after North Carolina. That single circumstance shed much light on this subject. Here is a small State, not larger than some of the counties in New York, exerting an unlimited sovereignty, co-extensive with that of New York, Pennsylvania, or any other State of the Union. Another fact repudiates the doctrine here advanced, that the Constitution is the work of the people. It is only necessary for a majority of the States, constituting one-fourth of the people, to refuse to elect Senators, and an end is put at once to the General Government. This consideration puts to flight all the arguments urged to prove that this is a consolidated government. He was aware that it had been said, in reply to this remark, the meaning of the quorum, which was necessary to enable the Senate to transact business, would, in this case, be construed to mean a majority of the States actually represented; and the States not represented would not be considered as belonging to the Union. But this objection would make good the doctrine of the right of secession; for if a State is out of the Union, she has seceded.

But if the origin and nature of our government did not put this idea to rest, the character and extent of our country would have done so. The people of so wide and various a surface would never have delegated the powers to make a consolidated government. They knew no such government

could exist here. What says Mr. Hamilton in the *Federalist*? What says Mr. Madison on the subject? Why, that to adopt a consolidated government would be destroying the principles of the revolution, and would inevitably lead to monarchy.—And why? Because whenever a majority, having adverse interests to the minority, should combine to oppress the smaller portion, the latter would have to intrench themselves behind their reserved rights, and make resistance to the oppression, or be annihilated. What would be the consequence of this resistance? So soon as the minority, discovering that the majority were forcing interests adverse to their own, and they began to resist the encroachment, the military arm of the government would immediately be strengthened, and there would be but one step beyond that, that of a monarchy.

The gentlemen from New-Jersey had said that it was the aspiring pride of the State sovereignties which had led to this state of things. The aspiring pride of the State sovereignties! It was an avowal of doctrines such as these which was so repugnant to his feelings. It was well known that in the origin of the government the country was divided into two great parties. One of these parties contended in favor of the reserved rights of the States, and to restricted powers of the General Government. The other was for conferring on the General Government unlimited powers. This last was called the Federal party. Within loud note they proclaimed the necessity of investing the General Government with a vast range of authority. Some of them even went so far as to propose a monarchy. Mr. Hamilton was willing to have clothed the government with authority which would have left nothing but the name of the republic. He proposed even to go so far as to give to the President a negative power over the State legislation. Before the State laws should become valid, he thought that they should be subjected to the sanction of the Federal Executive. Such, said Mr. B. is my remembrance of the subject.—The history of these times would show the fact. The doctrines of State Rights, and of the reserved powers of the State sovereignties, was abhorrent to the States.—They did not, however, succeed in carrying their enlarged views into effect. He did not intend to characterize the whole of that party as entertaining these views.—But such were the sentiments of some of its leaders. Nor did he intend to impugn the motives of these gentlemen, though he doubted not, they were actuated by feelings as patriotic as those which actuated any men. But it was well known that the high-touted part of the Federal party did doubt the competence of the people to self-government. They were for arming the Federal power with all authority, in order, as they said, to save the people from their own worst enemies. There were some of the prominent men of the country who did not subscribe to that principle; but who did believe that the people are competent to self-government, that they were fully able to go through the work which they had begun, and to carry out that beautiful theory of republican rule. Happily for the country, they prevailed. Happily for the country, the principle was established, that the States were sovereign and independent, as to all powers which they had not delegated to the General Government. And some of the Republican party went so far as to believe, that the States themselves had the right, in the last resort, to determine for themselves what were the precise powers which they had delegated. He was well aware that the doctrine of Nullification, as it now prevailed in South-Carolina was about to be made use of, not against that doctrine alone, which he did not rise up to defend, but for the purpose of founding upon it a war of extermination. It was against that that he desired to enter his protest; under this masked battery he saw, that it was intended to fire upon the rights of the States. Gentlemen held up the flag of Nullification, rang all the changes upon the word, sounded the tocsin of alarm throughout the country, and presented the whole matter in a light the most unfavorable to South-Carolina, in order to justify to the other States the war which they are disposed to wage. It was a war, too, which would admit of no neutrals. The gentlemen who have taken the strong ground, like Napoleon, have thrown out the declaration, that there must be no neutrals.

The remainder next week.

**Anecdote of Napoleon.**—At Dresden, while the allies were in the neighborhood, he was at day-break toiling like a captain of engineers. While the staff were constructing a bridge in place of the one burnt by the Russians, he took his stand beside a building which had served for a depot of ammunition. The Russian fire was drawn upon this point, and a shell had nearly closed the campaign; it burst over the spot where he stood, struck the side of the building, and dashed a large fragment of wood or stone at his feet. While all round him were alarmed at his hazard, he coolly turned the fragment over and observed, "A few inches nearer and it would have done its business."—*Journal of the defence of Hanburgh.*

**The Great Debate.**—Mr. WEBSTER and Mr. CALHOUN have at last measured strength on the interesting subjects which now agitate and perplex the nation. The Speeches of these gentlemen have not yet come to hand, but we shall lose no time in giving them to our readers, whatever space they may occupy. We copy the following notice of them from that highly respectable paper, the *Alexandria Gazette*:

Raleigh Register.

"We had the gratification of listening to Mr. Calhoun's speech on Friday. It was impossible to look unmoved upon the Orator. The deep tones of his voice—the energy of his action—the fire of his eye—and the expression of his countenance, all told how deep and soul-felt were his convictions. His denunciations of the bill were bold and haughty. He denounced it in the strongest language and in the strongest manner. He declared that it was an effort "to legalize murder"—to "enforce robbery by massacre." While the burning words and breathing thoughts were pouring from him, the restlessness of his person showed how much his mind was agitated. As he involuntarily walked to and fro, we thought of the chased lion surrounded by the hunters, exhibiting his power to the last. He spoke without turning to a note or reference, and with an uninterrupted animation, and concluded only when he had become too dizzy to proceed. He finished his Speech on the next day, and Mr. Webster immediately followed. The Senate Chamber was, if possible, more thronged than it had been the day previous. We are told, that this effort of Mr. Webster was great and powerful. He compared Mr. Calhoun to a strong man struggling in a morass—every step he takes, sinking him deeper than before. His constitutional argument was most convincing. It was full of the soundest logic and the most correct reasoning. He was occasionally very pointed and sarcastic. We have heard many good points in the speech which might now be told with effect; but we prefer waiting until the speech is published, when we shall lay it before our readers.—He concluded with an eloquent peroration, exclaiming that he sought no distinction; but "when the contest for the preservation of Constitutional Liberty did arrive, he desired to be placed in the front ranks, where the blows might fall thickest and fastest—and that, if he was destined to perish, he would exhort his countrymen with his latest breath—to the rescue—to the rescue." A spontaneous burst of applause arose from the galleries and lobbies, which were in consequence thereof immediately cleared of spectators by order of the presiding officer.

The great contest is thus for the present over. The long expected debate between the champion of Nullification and the advocate of Union and Liberty has taken place, and, we may add, it has resulted in a new triumph for the friends of the Constitution. Public expectation is now satisfied, and the voice of the country will soon be heard responding to the sentiments of patriotism which this debate has elicited."

**Suicide of Mr. Ackers.**—The public mind was agitated in this city on Sunday morning last, by a statement that the body of Mr. Ackers, a confidential clerk in one of our first business houses, had been found in the basin near the Mill Dam, under circumstances which justified a belief that he had been robbed and murdered. Nearly all the public prints of the city on the succeeding day, contained paragraphs respecting the case, corroborative of the statement which was first made. It is now satisfactorily ascertained that Mr. Ackers deliberately committed suicide, and it is due to the community that the fact should be made known. Among his papers was found a memorandum addressed to his employer, in which he informs him that he had embezzled about \$9,000 of his property, which had been principally appropriated by him towards the purchase of lottery tickets. A considerable number of undrawn tickets was found in his possession. It has since been discovered, we learn, that he formed one of a club of young men, who speculated very deeply in lotteries, and who sometimes bought the half of an entire scheme. What an awful premonition is furnished to young men by his conduct and melancholy end!—*Boston Atlas.*

**Shaving.**—Cold water should always be used for shaving. In many respects it is preferable to hot. It is generally more readily procured, raises a better lather, and renders the face more hardy and less liable to blisters and pimples. People think that hot water, and dipping the razor in it, facilitates the progress; but it is far better to wash, or rather scrub the beard with a coarse cloth, and soap and cold water, for about three minutes—after that lay on lather immediately. A razor that you could not previously use, will then shave with ease. Of this any one may satisfy himself, and it is a most valuable information to those who are unacquainted with it.

In a report of a committee of the Pennsylvania legislature the capital invested in woollen manufactures in the United States, is estimated at 48,000,000—capital directly vested in the growth and manufacture of wool, 145,000,000,—and the capital involved in the same is about 167,500,000.

**Shocking Murder.**—A man named Barke-dale, of Warren county, Geo. had been held to bail for his appearance at court, and his securities, hearing that it was his intention to leave the country, wished to surrender him to the sheriff. For this purpose five persons placed themselves near his residence, on the night of the 12th inst. sitting with their backs against an out house, when Barke-dale made his appearance in front of them, armed with a gun. One of the company mildly begged him to desist from shooting; he however stepped back a short distance, bringing them in a range, and fired, killing a Mr. T. Jones, of Taliaferro county, who received forty small shot and two slugs, which passed through his right arm and chest, and wounded Mr. Peyton Harris very severely, and Thomas Pitman slightly. Barke-dale was pursued, but made his escape.—*Charleston Courier.*

A letter from a gentleman in Augusta, explains the motives of the chivalrous individual who wrote the letter to Gov. Hamilton, some time since, volunteering his services in the cause of Nullification, and which was published in the *Mercury*, accompanied with some complimentary remarks upon the disinterestedness, chivalry, &c. &c. of the author.

The letter says that a Yankee, (whose name is given) wrote the missive, after a regular Saturday night's frolic; and that he has recently received a printed circular, accepting of his services in the most polite manner, and characterizing them as chivalrous, &c. &c. The circular was shown very generally, to a number of persons, who advised him to answer His Royal Highness. He did so, and in a very pompous and ludicrous manner, informed him that it was only a JOKE!! The gentleman asserts that the circumstances are substantially as above related. We should like to see this whole correspondence published.—ib.

An attempt was made in the Legislature of Virginia, (House of Delegates,) on the 19th inst. to introduce resolutions instructing the Senators of that State in Congress, to oppose the Force Bill, as it has been called, now pending in the Senate—but after some discussion, the Resolutions were finally postponed indefinitely—ayes 75, noes 51. *Charleston Courier.*

Extract of a Letter from Washington, to a gentleman in this City.

"Mr. Calhoun spoke on Friday and Saturday morning, and was answered by Mr. Webster. I believe most of the South Carolina Nullifiers here are now satisfied it will not answer to support their Ordinance. I hear numbers of them say they are willing to give up Nullification, but think they have some State Rights which deserve attention."—ib.

NEW-YORK, FEB. 12.  
**From Cape de Verda.**—The brig *Sunna Elizabeth*, from Cape de Verda, arrived at Boston on Saturday, having left the Isle of May on the 14th, and St. Jago on the 15th January. Mr. Geyer, a passenger, states that the provisions sent from the U. States for the starving population, had arrived and would afford but temporary relief, at the great drought with which the Island had been visited, had been succeeded by an equally disastrous flood of rain, so that the crops were entirely destroyed. The Islanders were in a miserable condition.

RICHMOND, FEB. 23.  
**Dreadful Accident at Rockets.**—On yesterday forenoon, while engaged in firing a feu de joie in honor of the day, Captain Tyler, of the *Valiant*, had his bowels in a great measure torn out by the unexpected discharge of the cannon, which he was loading at the time. The rammer passed into his body, doing great injury to the liver and other important viscera. Every medical aid that the case admitted of was promptly furnished, but to no purpose. He expired this morning, at 8 o'clock, much regretted by all who knew him.—*Whig.*

A correspondent of the *United States Gazette*, who heard the first part of Mr. Webster's Speech says, "that in the course of it, he drew a beautiful picture of the efficient protection which a citizen of the U. States receives from the government of the U. States, whenever he goes forth into the great society of the nations of the earth. On the sea he is protected by the stars and stripes and goes abroad in the great family claiming and receiving more respect than he could ever claim and receive if he went under the flag, or the single arm of any State, even if he had the blue cockade and the palmetto button to exhibit as his passport."—*Charleston Courier.*

The Bill introduced in the Senate by Mr. Clay, which has for its object a modification of the Tariff, was, on Saturday night ordered to a third reading in that body, and will no doubt pass it. What may be its fate in the House of Representatives it is more difficult to divine. As there is now little reason to expect the passage of the Bill concerning the Tariff which has been so long before the House, it seems possible, at least, that, if the Bill passes the Senate to day or to-morrow, it may also pass the other House.—*National Intelligencer.*