

and how infinitely dangerous has been the tendency of our affairs of late, when, as has been shown, instead of increasing simply in the same proportion, they have advanced with a rapidity more than double. So far is the assumption from being true, if we regard the duration of our institutions and the preservation of our liberty, we must hold it as a fundamental maxim, that the action of the Government should, with our growth, gradually become more moderate instead of more intense—a maxim resting on principles deep and irreversible, and which cannot be violated without inevitable destruction. Moderation in the action of this Government, the great central power of our system, is, in fact, the condition on which our political existence depends. In complying with this condition, we but conform to the principle which Divine wisdom has impressed upon the beautiful and sublime system of which our globe is a part, and in which the great mass, that gives life and harmony and action to the whole, reposes almost motionless in the centre.

Your Committee are aware that, since 1833, there has been a very considerable decrease of revenue under the act of 2d March, 1833, known as the compromise law, with other preceding acts, in consequence of the payment of the public debt, which would very considerably affect the comparison, if the year 1834, instead of 1833, had been elected; and they have to express their regret that the want of fair and accurate materials for the former year prevents them from furnishing a statement which, while it would show the decrease, would also show how little the final discharge of the public debt has contributed to diminish either the public expenditure or the patronage of the Executive—facts of so small moment as connected with the subject of inquiry. The deep interest which the enlightened and patriotic took in that great event was not to indulge in the idle boast that the country was free from debt, but that it would, as they believed, be necessarily followed by the substantial blessings of reducing the public burdens, and, with it, the patronage of the Government; and thus, while it relieved industry, it would at the same time strengthen liberty against power. Thus far these anticipations have been but very imperfectly, if at all, realized. As great as has been the reduction of the revenue, it is still as great as it was when the debt exceeded more than 100,000,000 dollars; and what is more to the point, what conclusively shows how much easier it is to discharge a public debt than to obtain the corresponding benefits, a proportionate diminution of the public expenditure, is the fact, now, when we are free from all debt, the public expenditures is as great as it was when the debt was most burthensome to the country. The only difference is, that then the money went to the public creditors, but now goes into the pockets of those who live on the Government, with great addition to the patronage and influence of the Executive, but without diminution of burden to the people.

Your committee will next proceed to inquire what has been the effects of this great, growing, and excessive patronage on our political condition and prospects—a question of the utmost importance in deciding on the expediency of its reduction. Has it tended to strengthen our political institutions and to give a stronger assurance of perpetuating them, and with them, the blessings of liberty to our posterity? Has it purified the public and political morals of our country and strengthened the ties of patriotism? Or, on the other hand, has it tended to sap the foundations of our institutions; to throw a cloud of uncertainty over the future; to degrade and corrupt the public morals; and to substitute devotion and subserviency to power, in the place of that disinterested and noble attachment to principles and country, which are essential to the preservation of free institutions? These are the questions to be decided; and it is with profound regret that your committee are constrained, however painful, to say that the decision admits of no doubt. They are compelled to admit, that there never has been a period, from the foundation of the Government, when there were such general apprehensions and doubts, as to the permanency and success of our political institutions; when the prospect of perpetuating them, and with them our liberty, appeared so uncertain; when public and political morals were more depressed; when attachment to country and principles were more feeble, and devotion to party and power stronger; for the truth of all which they appeal to the observation and reflections of the experienced and enlightened of all parties. If we turn our eyes to the Government, we shall find that, with this increase of patronage, the entire character and structure of the Government itself is undergoing a great and fearful change which, if not arrested, must, at no distant period, concentrate all its power in a single department.

Your committee are aware, that, in a country of such vast extent and diversity of interests as ours, a strong executive is necessary; and, among other reasons, in order to sustain the Government, by its influence, against the local feelings and interests which it must, in the execution of its duties, necessarily encounter; and it was, doubtless, with this view mainly that the framers of the Constitution vested the executive power in a single individual, and clothed him with the almost entire patron-

age of the Government. As long as the influence of the executive is so moderate as to compel him to identify his administration with the public interest, and to hold his patronage subordinate to the principles and measures necessary to promote the common good, the executive power may be said to act within the sphere assigned to it by the Constitution, and may be considered as essential to the steady and equal operation of the Government; but when it becomes so strong as to be capable of sustaining itself by its influence alone, unconnected with any system of measures or policy, it is the certain indication of the near approach of irresponsible and despotic power. When it attains that point, it will be difficult to find any where in our system a power sufficient to restrain its progress to despotism. The very causes which render a strong executive necessary, the great extent of country and diversity of interests, will form great and almost insuperable impediments to any effectual resistance. Each section, as has been shown, will have its own party and its own favorites, entertaining views of principles and policy so different as to render an united effort against executive power almost impossible, while their separate and disjointed efforts must prove impotent against a power far stronger than either, taken separately. Nor can the aid of the States be successfully invoked to arrest the progress to despotism. So far from weakening they will add strength to executive patronage. A majority of the States, instead of opposing, will be usually found acting in concert with the Federal Government; and, of course will increase the influence of the executive; so that, to ascertain his patronage, the sum total of the patronage of all the states, acting in conjunction with the Federal Executive, must be added to his. The two, as things now stand, constitute a joint force, difficult to be resisted.

Against a danger so formidable which threatens, if not arrested, and that speedily, to subvert the Constitution, there can be but one effectual remedy—a prompt and decided reduction of executive patronage, the practicability and means of effecting which your committee will next proceed to consider. The first, most simple, and usually the most certain mode of reducing patronage, is to reduce the public income—the prolific source from which it almost exclusively flows. Experiment has shown, that it is next to impossible to reduce the public expenditure with an overflowing Treasury; and not much less difficult to reduce patronage, without a reduction of expenditure; or in other words, that the most simple and effectual mode of retrenching the superfluous expenditures of the Government—to introduce a spirit of frugality and economy in the administration of public affairs; to correct the corruption and abuses of the Government; and finally to arrest the progress of power—is to leave the money in the pockets of those who made it, where all laws, human and divine, place it, and from which it cannot be removed, by Government itself, except for its necessary and indispensable wants, without violation of its highest trust, and the most sacred principles of justice. Yet, as manifest as is this truth, such is our peculiar (it may be said extraordinary) situation, that this simple and obvious remedy to excessive patronage, the production of the revenue, can be applied only to a very limited extent.

But before they proceed to the question of reducing the revenue, your committee propose to show what will be its probable amount in future as the law now stand; to what limits the public expenditure may be reduced consistently with the just wants of Government; and finally, what, with such reduction, will be the probable annual surplus to the year 1842, when the highest duties will be reduced to 20 per cent. under the act of 28 March, 1833; and when, as the act provides, the revenue is to be reduced to a sum necessary to an economical administration of the Government.

According to the statement from the Treasury Department, the receipts of the year 1834, from all sources, amounted to \$22,584,366, of which, Customs yielded \$16,105,372, Land \$5,020,940; the residue being made up of bank dividends and incidental items; and the question now for consideration is, what will be the probable annual receipt from all sources, during the next seven years, if the income, as has just been stated, is to be reduced to the economical wants of the Government? a question which, from its nature, can only be answered by probable estimates and conjectures; and which in this case is the more difficult to be answered from a defect of data, in reference to the Customs, the principal source of the revenue. The changes in the rates of duties have been so great lately, and the period so recent, since the laws as they now stand, commenced operation, that it is impracticable to resort to those average results, deducted from long periods, by which only, the temporary changes and fluctuations of commerce can be detected; and its habitual current ascertained and subjected to calculation. The act of the 2nd of March 1833, which made the last change, and on the provisions of which, the estimates of the income from the Customs for the period in question must be based, commenced its operation on the first of January, 1834, and we of course, have the result of but a single year. From a statement furnished by the Treasury Department, it seems that the domestic ex-

ports of that year amounted in round numbers, to \$80,000,000, and the imports, given in round numbers, (as all the subsequent statements are) to 125,500,000 dollars; of which 23,000,000 dollars were shipped, leaving 102,500,000 dollars for the consumption and use of the country, of which 55,000,000 dollars were of articles free of duty, and 47,000,000 dollars of those liable to duties; that the gross estimated receipts amounted to 15,572,448 dollars, and the nett to 14,222,448 dollars, leaving 1,350,000 dollars as the expense of collection; that the reduction of one-tenth of the duties above 20 per cent. ad valorem, every two years, according to the provisions of the act of 2nd of March, 1833, amounted 850,000 dollars.

As scanty as are these data, it is believed that it may be safely anticipated that the average annual estimated income from the customs for the period in question will be equal at least to the income of the last year. Instead of entering into all the details through which your committee have come to this conclusion, which would swell this report to an unwieldy size, they will content themselves with simply giving the results of the causes which, as can be foreseen, may either increase or diminish the receipts of the customs for the next seven years, as compared with the past year, accompanied by a statement of their probable effects in the aggregate.

It will, however be previously necessary to inquire whether the estimated receipts from the imports during the last year in fact equalled the amount which the commercial transactions of the year, under ordinary circumstances, ought to have produced. It is not possible, in such an inquiry, to overlook the very unusual importation of the precious metals during the year, which, according to the statement from the Treasury Department amounted to 16,572,552 dollars constituting to that amount a part of the articles imported in the year free of duty. The re-shipment for the same period amounted to 1,676,208 dollars; leaving in the country, of the amount imported 14,896,344 dollars, a sum greatly exceeding our annual consumption, which, in addition to the supplies of our own mines, probably falls short of two millions of dollars. The excess was doubtless caused by the peculiar condition of the country, in reference to its currency, during the year; and would, under ordinary circumstances, have been imported in goods of various descriptions, for the usual supply of the country, instead of gold and silver. Subtracting, then, the two millions from this sum, and the balance from the amount of the articles free of duty, which, as stated, is 55,000,000 dollars it would reduce the annual consumption of goods free of duty, including the precious metals, to 42,163,626 dollars; and assuming the proportion between goods free of duties and those liable to duties to be as that sum is to 47,000,000 dollars; and also, that the excess of the supply of gold and silver, imported during the year, would, under ordinary circumstances, have returned in that proportion between the dutied and free articles, it would add to the former 7,133,313 dollars, and of course increase the receipts from the Customs in the same proportion; that is, it would make an addition to them of 2,150,000 dollars and would have raised the receipts from Customs, during the year, from 14,220,000 dollars; to 16,370,000 dollars; which last, it is believed, may be assumed, at the present rate of the duties, as the probable receipts, under ordinary circumstances, of an export and import trade, equal to that of the last year.

[To be continued.]

PHILADELPHIA, APRIL 8.

DEATH OF THE HON. JAMES BROWN.—We regret to announce the sudden death by apoplexy, after a long and tedious illness, of the Hon. JAMES BROWN, who for several years has ornamented our city, and imparted to the social circle one of its most agreeable charms. We need not refer to his distinguished public career. He is known to have represented, in the Senate of the United States, the State of Louisiana; and the nation as Minister to the Court of France.

Mr. Brown was, we believe, in his 73d year; and until the last eighteen months, bade fair to live many years longer. But a cloud suddenly overcast this prospect. He was, at about that period, struck down by paralysis, and had never recovered from its effects; but having lingered, sometimes with hope of better days, until yesterday morning, when, at about 10 o'clock, he closed his life—respected and honored by all who knew him.—*Eng.*

Melancholy Occurrence.—A boat containing twelve negroes, in crossing Ashley river from town to James' Island, on Sunday afternoon, during a heavy blow, was upset, and melancholy to relate, eleven of the number were drowned. Seven of them were the property of Mr. WM. RIVERS, one of Mr. CROSEY RIAL, one of Mr. Jos. HINSON, and one of Mr. B. R. ROPER, all planters on the Island. It is not known to whom the eleventh belonged. The boy saved supported himself on the bottom of the boat, and drifted ashore near Fort Johnson.—*Chas. Courier.*

The Massachusetts House of Representatives, by a vote of 160 to 120, have passed a bill, abolishing the punishment of death, except for the crime of murder.

Foreign Intelligence.

New York, April 6.

ONE MONTH LATER FROM EUROPE. After a long interregnum, we have received, by packets arrived yesterday, Liverpool dates to March 12th, London to the 11th, Paris to the 9th and Madrid to the 1st. Considering that we have a whole month's news by these arrivals, there is less of interest than might have been expected.

The American Indemnity Bill had not been acted upon by the Chamber of Deputies, nor do we find that the Committee had made their report. A Paris date of Feb. 26th remarks that they would do so in about a fortnight; which would carry it beyond the date to which our present advices extend. The members of the Committee had called for additional papers.

The new Tory Ministry in England had been twice defeated—once in the important matter of the election of Speaker to the House of Commons,—but evinced no intention to resign.

A debate of some interest took place in the French Chamber of Peers Feb. 23d, on the Slavery question. The Duke of Broglie expressed himself warmly in favor of emancipation, and of the success of the English system. This M. de Rigny was far from doing.

The Duke of Gordon had been robbed of jewelry to the amount of £10,000.

OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.

LIVERPOOL, March 2.—Parliament was opened, with the usual pomp and formality, on Thursday Feb. 26, by the King in person. His Majesty, on his progress to and arrival at the Parliament-house, was respectfully, if not enthusiastically, received by his loyal subjects, who, whatever might have been their feelings, touching the recent exercise of the prerogative in the dismissal of the Melbourne Ministry and in the dissolution of the first Reformed House of Commons, never forget, even while disapproving and condemning those acts, that to William the IV. the nation owes a debt of gratitude for his early, and for a time consistent, support of the cause of constitutional reform.

THE KING'S SPEECH.

"My Lords and Gentlemen, I avail myself of the earliest opportunity of meeting you in Parliament, after having recurred to the sense of my people.

"You will, I am confident, fully participate in the regret which I feel at the destruction, by accidental fire, of that part of the ancient Palace of Westminster which has been long appropriated to the use of the two Houses of Parliament.

"Upon the occurrence of this calamity I gave immediate directions that the best provision of which the circumstances of the case would admit should be made for your present meeting, and it will be my wish to adopt such plans for your permanent accommodation as shall be deemed, on your joint consideration, to be most fitting and convenient.

"I will give directions that there be laid before you the report made to me by the Privy Council, in reference to the origin of the fire, and the evidence upon which that report was founded.

"The assurances which I receive from my allies, and generally from all foreign princes and states, of their earnest desire to cultivate the relations of amity, and to maintain with me the most friendly understanding, justify, on my part, the confident expectation of the continuance of the blessings of peace.

"The single exception of the general tranquillity of Europe, is the civil contest which still prevails in some of the northern provinces of Spain. I will give directions that there be laid before you articles which I have concluded with my allies, the King of the French, the Queen Regent of Spain, and the Queen of Portugal, which are supplementary to the treaty of April, 1834, and are intended to facilitate the complete attainment of the objects contemplated by that treaty.

"I have to repeat the expression of my regret, that the relations between Holland and Belgium, still remain unsettled.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons. I have directed the estimates for the ensuing year to be prepared, and to be laid before you without delay.

"They have been framed with the strictest attention to economy, and I have the satisfaction of acquainting you, that the total amount of the demands for the public service will be less on the present than it has been on any former occasion within our recent experience.

"The satisfactory state of the trade and commerce of the country, and of the public revenue, fully justifies the expectation that, notwithstanding the reductions in taxation which were made in the last session, and which, when they shall have taken full effect, will tend to diminish the existing surplus of the public revenue, there will remain a sufficient balance to meet the additional annual charge which will arise from providing the compensation granted by Parliament on account of the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions.

"I deeply lament that the agricultural interest continues in a state of great depression.

"I recommend to your consideration whether it may not be in your power, after providing for the exigencies of the public service, and consistently with the steadfast maintenance of the public credit, to devise a method for mitigating the pressure of those local charges which bear heavily on the owners and occupiers of land, and for distributing the burden of them more equally over other descriptions of property.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The information received from the Governors of my Colonies, together with the acts passed in execution of the law for the abolition of slavery, will be communicated to you.

"It is with much satisfaction that I have observed the general concurrence of the Colonial Legislatures in giving effect to this important measure; and, notwithstanding the difficulties with which the subject is necessarily attended, I have seen no reason to abate my earnest hopes of a favorable issue. Under all circumstances you may be assured of my anxious desire, and unremitting efforts, fully to realize the benevolent intentions of Parliament.

"There are many important subjects, some of which have already undergone discussion in Parliament, the adjustment of which, at an early period as is consistent with the mature consideration of them, would be of great advantage to the public interest.

"Among the first, in point of urgency, is the state of the tithe question in Ireland, and the means of effecting an equitable and final adjustment of it.

"Measures will be proposed for your consideration, which will have for their respective objects, to promote the commutation of tithes in England and Wales—to improve our civil jurisprudence, and the administration of justice in ecclesiastical causes—to make provision for the more effectual maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline, and to relieve those who dissent from the doctrines or discipline of the Church from the necessity of celebrating the ceremony of marriage according to its rites.

"I have not yet received the report from the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of Municipal Corporations, but I have reason to believe it will be made and that I shall be enabled to communicate it to you at an early period.

"I have appointed a Commission for considering the state of the several dioceses in England and Wales, with reference to the amount of their revenues, and to the more equal distribution of episcopal duties—the state of the several cathedrals and collegiate churches, with a view to the suggestion of such measures as may render them more conducive to the efficiency of the Established Church, and for devising the best mode of providing for the cure of souls, with reference to the residences of the clergy in their respective benefices.

"The especial object which I have in view in the appointment of the Commission is to extend more widely the means of religious worship according to the doctrines of the Established Church, and to confirm its hold upon the veneration and affection of my people.

"I feel it also incumbent upon me to call your earnest attention to the condition of the Church of Scotland, and to the means by which it may be enabled to increase the opportunities of religious worship for the poorer classes of society in that part of the united kingdom.

"It has been my duty, on this occasion, to direct your consideration to various important matters connected with our domestic policy.

"I rely with entire confidence on your co-operation in perfecting all such measures as may be calculated to remove just causes of complaint, and to promote the concord and happiness of my subjects.

"I rely also, with confidence, on the caution and circumspection with which you will apply yourselves to the alteration of laws, which affect very extensive and complicated interests, and are interwoven with ancient usages, to which the habits and feelings of my people have conformed.

"I feel assured that it will be our common object in supplying that which may be defective, or renovating that which may be impaired, to strengthen the foundations of those institutions in Church and State which are the inheritance and bright jewels of my people; and which, amidst all the vicissitudes of public affairs, have proved, under the blessing of Almighty God, the truest guarantee of their liberties, their rights, and their religion."

Speaker of the House of Commons.—The Reformers carried their candidate for speaker, Mr. Abercromby, by a majority of ten votes thus:

- For Mr. Abercromby . . . 316
- For Sir C. M. Sutton . . . 306

Majority for Mr. Abercromby 10

On the announcement of the division, the cheers both within and without the House were deafening beyond precedent.

Second defeat of Ministers.—In the House of Commons Feb. 26th, after a debate of 3 days, an amendment to the Address in reply to the King's Speech, moved by Lord Morpeth, was carried against Ministers by a majority of 7.

LONDON, March 1.—We are happy to be able to say, after duly considering the proceedings in Parliament of the past week, with all the attention in our power, that they inspire in us perfect confidence as to the duration of the Peel Ministry. Sir Robert himself said at Tamworth—"I hope I shall succeed, and I think I shall." His hopes and expectations seem certain of being realized.

In the house of Lords he has, of course, a majority; and a majority so decided, that no division was ventured upon. We are of opinion that no attempt of the kind will be made during the session.

We have no fear then in the Lords. In the Commons ministers were beaten, to the everlasting disgrace of the House, in the choice of a Speaker, and a pensioned hack of the Duke of Devonshire exhibits his sallow and money-hunting countenance as that of the first gentleman in England. This disgrace the House of Commons upon itself by a majority of ten.—*Age, Tory paper.*

LONDON, March 3.—From what has occurred during the last week, both in and out of Parliament, it is manifest that the present Ministers have resolved on maintaining their seats against the declared will of the Commons, as well as the people, of these kingdoms.—*Morning Chronicle.*

Death of the Emperor of Austria.—The *Moniteur* of March 7th, contains a telegraphic despatch from the French Charge d' Affaires at Vienna, stating that the Emperor of Austria died suddenly at one o'clock on the morning of the 3d inst. He was in his 67th year, and had been Emperor, first of Germany and then of Austria, since 1804. He is succeeded by his son Ferdinand, now 42 years of age. This event, it is probable, will cause a great change in the future policy of the empire, as the present emperor is said to entertain a strong dislike against Prince Metternich.

FRANCE.]

London, February 23.—The disorganization in the French Cabinet is such, that a change of a most considerable extent is expected as soon as the Chambers have decided on the American indemnity. The names mentioned as the probable Presidents of the Council are M. Humann, M. Dupuy, or Count Mole, but difficulties attach to the choice of any of the three.

LIVERPOOL COTTON MARKET.—The sales for the week ending Feb. 13th, were 16,080 bales, with a decline of 4d on the lower qualities of American.

Week ending Feb. 27th.—Sales 15,500 bales, prices firm, and good qualities on the advance.—Import 19,993 bales. Stock 163,000, against 178,500 last year. Average quantity taken for consumption weekly from 1st Jan. 20,276 bales; last year, 15,146. "Taken for consumption" not the same thing as consumed.