

# The Patriot and Flag.

VOLUME XIX.

GREENSBOROUGH, N. C., FRIDAY, APRIL 17, 1857.

NUMBER 929.

## Business Cards.

**ALEX. P. SPERRY, WITH BELL,**  
BOOKS, PAPER, &c. Importers and  
dealers in Staple and Fancy Dry Goods, No.  
89 Chambers, and 71 Reade St., New York.  
Dec. 21, 1855. 862-11.

**ANDREW J. STEDMAN, Attorney at Law,** Having removed to  
Pittsburgh, N. C., will attend regularly the  
Courts of Chatham, Moore, and Harriet Counties.  
828 if

**G. F. ANDERSON, W. D. REYNOLDS,**  
ANDERSON & REYNOLDS, Gro-  
cers and Commission Merchants, No.  
10, Roanoke Square, Norfolk, Va.  
Pay active attention to the sale of Flour and  
other kinds of Produce avoiding unnecessary  
charges, and rendering prompt returns. 321y

**CARD—W. R. Terry,** of Rock-  
ingham, Richmond County, North Car-  
olina, would respectfully inform the public,  
that he is prepared to attend to the selling of  
all Books, Periodicals, &c., that may be en-  
trusted to his care. 911-11  
Dec. 1855.

**J. D. CUMMING, C. W. STYRON,**  
Cumming & Styron, Commission and  
C. Warehousing Merchants, Wilmington, N. C.  
Special attention paid to selling Flour and  
all kinds of Produce. Aug. 31, 1855-15y

**D. R. J. T. HUNT OFFERS HIS PRO-**  
fessional services to the public. Office  
adjoining Andrew Hunt's Store, LEXINGTON,  
N. C. April 6, 1857. 928 if

**DOCTORS C. L. & R. L. PAYNE,**  
Co-partners in the practice of Medicine,  
Obstetrics and Surgery, Lexington, N. C.  
March 18th, 1857. 925 if.

**D. R. JOHN SWANN,** has settled per-  
manently at Doctor Beall's Old Place,  
Jersey Settlement, and offers his Ser-  
vice to the Public. 42 if.

**E. AYE HUTCHISON, Commis-**  
sion Merchant, Charlotte, N. C.  
will sell on commission, Cotton, Corn, Wheat  
and other Country Produce, in Charlotte,  
Charlotte, and New York, liberal advan-  
ces made on consignments.

**J. W. OGBURN, dealer in School,**  
religious, Scientific, Standard, Poise  
and Practical Works in General Literature;  
Writing Post Folio, Writing Desks, Music  
and Musical Instruments Stationery, &c.  
Greenborough, N. C.  
West Street second square from court house

**GEO. H. KELLY & BROTHER,**  
Family Commission Merchants and Dealers in  
Family Groceries and Provisions, No. 11,  
north water street, Wilmington, N. C.  
Will keep constantly on hand, Sugars,  
Coffee, Molasses, Cheese, Flour, Butter,  
Lard, Soap, Candles, Crackers, Starch, Oil,  
Sausages, &c.

**O. G. Parsley, The Commercial Bank** (Wil-  
lington, N. C.) Bank of Wilmington  
A. M. Gorman, Raleigh  
Rev. R. T. Heflin, Raleigh  
J. W. Garrett, Greensboro'  
James McKnight, Greensboro'

**D. JAMES A. LONG, ATTORNEY AT**  
LAW, Lexington, N. C.

**JOHN W. PAYNE, Attorney at**  
LAW, having permanently located in  
Greenborough, N. C., will attend the Courts  
of Randolph, Davidson and Guilford, and  
promptly attend to the collection of all  
claims placed in his hands. 915 if.  
Jan. 9th 1857.

**STERLING LANIER, (formerly Coleman**  
Lanier House,) Knoxville, Tennessee. S. &  
S. Lanier, Proprietors.  
Mr. Sterling Lanier, late of the Lanier  
House, Macon, Ga., and Sampson Lanier,  
late of Tuskegee, Ala., will be happy to meet  
all friends and customers at the Lanier House,  
where they have ample accommodation for  
250 persons. 916-1y

**LEVI M. & WILLIAM L. SCOTT,**  
ATTORNEYS AT LAW, GREENSBORO'  
N. C., will regularly attend the Courts of  
Guilford, Alamance, Randolph and David-  
son. 919 if

**E. J. LUTERLOH, W. P. ELLIOTT**  
Lutherloh & Elliott General Commis-  
sion and Forwarding Merchants Wil-  
mington, N. C. Dealers in Lime, Colored  
Plaster, Cement, Land Plaster, Plastering  
Hair, &c., &c. 83 1y

**N. C. FREEMAN, with Abbott,**  
N. Jones & Co., Importers and Job-  
bers of Staple and Fancy Silk Goods, No. 153  
Market Street, Philadelphia.

**PETER W. HUTTON, Commis-**  
sion Merchant, TOWN POINT,  
Norfolk, Va.  
Special attention paid to selling Tobacco  
Flour Grain, Cotton, Naval Stores, &c. Also  
to receiving and forwarding Goods.  
Refer to Chas. L. Hutton, Esq., Wake, N. C.  
G. B. Roulac, Esq., and Geo. W. Hay-  
wood Esq., Raleigh, N. C.; Wm. Plummer,  
Esq., Warrenton, N. C.  
Aug. 25, 1855. 864-1y.

**R. J. Mendenhall, Land Agent,**  
will select and enter Government  
Land, locate Land Warrants, make invest-  
ments for capitalists at Western rates, pay  
taxes, and transact a general real estate busi-  
ness in Minnesota, Iowa and Wisconsin.  
Refer to Hon. J. M. Morehead, George C.  
Mendenhall, Col. Walter Gwynn and John A.  
Gilmer. May 16th, 1856. 288 1y

**W. M. H. REECE, CONSOLE,**  
will strictly attend to the collection  
of all debts entrusted to his care, with prompt-  
ness and despatch. Post Office James town,  
Guilford county, N. C. Feb. 27. 922 3m.

**WATSON & NEARES, GENERAL**  
Commission Merchants, 34 Burling  
Slip, New York.—Special attention paid to  
the sale of Grain, Cotton and other Southern  
products.  
Liberal advances made on consign-  
ments. 919 1y.

**WORTH & UTLEY COMMISSION**  
and Forwarding Merchants, Fayette-  
ville, N. C.

**W. H. MCGRARY & CO., FAC-**  
tory and Commission Merchants,  
Agents for sale and purchase of Cotton, Flour,  
Grain, Salt, Groceries, &c. Corner Princess  
and Water Streets, Wilmington, N. C.  
Usual advances on Consignments.

**REFERENCES:**  
H. R. SAVAGE, Cashier Bank of Cape Fear,  
De ROSSETT & BROWN, Wilmington, N. C.  
F. & H. FRIESS, Salem, N. C.  
C. GRAHAM & Co., Marion Court House, S. C.  
HUNT, ADDERTON & Co., Lexington, N. C.

**A CARD.** We, the merchants of Greens-  
borough, feeling the necessity of a  
change in the manner of doing business in  
this place, have resolved to have all debts  
made or Goods sold due on or before the 1st  
of January, without regard to date  
of the purchase. We are decidedly of the  
opinion that it will be better for the custom-  
er as well as for the merchant.

**J. & F. Garrett, W. J. McConnell,**  
Gilmer & Hendrix, A. P. Eckel,  
Thos. J. Patrick, James F. Jolley,  
John N. Thompson, R. G. Linsly,  
J. R. & J. Sloan, W. C. Porter,  
A. Weatherly, C. N. McAdoo,  
Winburn & Witty, C. G. Yates.  
January 1st, 1857. 918 if

**D. P. GREGG, DENTIST, (GRAD-**  
UATE of the Baltimore College of  
Dental Surgery) having located him-  
self permanently in this village respectfully  
tenders his professional services to its citizens  
and those of the surrounding country. He deems  
it unnecessary to publish long lists of testi-  
monials, as he hopes to have sufficient op-  
portunity to evince personally to those hav-  
ing diseased dentures, whatever qualifica-  
tions he may have to notice in the varied  
departments of the profession. **Any call**  
**will be promptly attended to.** Office  
North Street, first door North of Hookland  
Road, ladies will be waited upon at their  
residences upon such an intimation being  
given.  
Greenboro', N. C., Dec. 5th, 759-1y

**J. H. POSTER, LAND AGENT,**  
J. IOWA FALLS, HARBIN CO., IOWA,  
will attend to selecting and entering LAND  
with Cash or Warrants, or investing money  
at western rates, (i. e.) 40 per cent. on Real  
Estate Security.  
Persons desirous of procuring Land in Iowa  
will do well to call on him immediately, as  
most of the Government Land will be taken  
up during the coming season—various Rail-  
roads being in course of construction across  
the State.  
Offices open for entering Land 4th of May.

**REFERENCES:**  
Jesse H. Lindsay, Greensborough, N. C.  
James Sloan,  
A. J. Stafford, Esq., Winston, N. C.  
Iowa Falls, February 5th, 1857. 923 2m.

**J. W. HOWLETT, D. S., J. F. HOWLETT,**  
J. W. HOWLETT & SON, Den-  
tists, respectfully offer their profes-  
sional services to the citizens of Greens-  
borough and all others who may desire opera-  
tions performed on their teeth in the most ap-  
propriate, modern and scientific manner.  
They are amply qualified to perform all and  
every operation pertaining to the mouth and  
throat, unassisted by lithotomy or surgery.  
The Senior of the firm has in his posses-  
sion Diplomas from the Baltimore College of  
Dental Surgery, American Society of Dental  
Surgeons, and the S. S. Finch of Philadelphia  
and has been in the regular practice of the  
profession for over twenty years.

**They have furnished their Operating Rooms**  
West Street two doors above the Bland  
House, in a handsome and comfortable man-  
ner for the reception of Ladies, where one  
of the firm may always be found. Ladies  
will be waited upon at their residences if  
desired.  
June, 23 18 837 1y

**JAS. M. HUGHES, Fashionable**  
Tailor, has just received the latest  
New York and Philadelphia Fashions  
for Spring, 1857, embracing among others  
the following beautiful patterns:

Frock Coat,	Boy's Blouse,
Single breasted Frock	Traveling Paletot,
Coat,	Genleman's Dress Ri-
Dress Coat,	ding G costume,
Business Coat,	Ladies' Riding Habit
Morning " "	Ladies' Walking Cos-
Summer Raquet,	tume,
Yacht's Jacket,	Misses Dress,
Sea-side Costume,	Childs Highland Cos-
Summer " "	tume.

I presenting the public with his SPRING  
FASHIONS he would return his thanks for  
the very liberal patronage heretofore bestow-  
ed, and say that no effort will be spared to  
merit a continuance of the same. He may al-  
ways be found at his new shop on West  
Market street, between Thurston's Cabinet  
Ware house and Ochs's Book Store, ready  
to take measures and make up the various  
descriptions of clothing in style and durabil-  
ity equal to any establishment in the State.  
Greenborough, March, 1857. 924 1y

**MARBLE YARD, North Street, oppo-**  
site Hookland Hotel Greensboro', N. C.—  
The undersigned would respectfully in-  
form the citizens of Greensboro' and surround-  
ing country that he has opened a Marble  
Shop a few doors north of the courthouse,  
where he is prepared to furnish Monuments,  
Tombs, and Grave Stones as cheap as they  
can be had in any part of the country. He  
takes pleasure in the workmanship he will  
give satisfaction to the most fastidious. He  
invites all to give him a call before purchas-  
ing elsewhere. **GEORGE HEINRICH,**  
Feb. 2nd, 1857. 919 1y

**TAILORING—Fall and Winter**  
Method of informing the public that he  
has received his supply of Paris, New York,  
and Philadelphia Fashions for the Fall and  
Winter of 1856.

From my long experience, and the many  
advantages I have had, having been a pupil  
of Mr. J. W. Albright, of Philadelphia, cele-  
brated for his skill in tailoring, I trust myself  
that I cannot be excelled in my own cutting  
in this country.

I hereby return my grateful acknowledg-  
ments to the very liberal patronage I have  
received since I have been in business here,  
and hope to merit and receive a liberal share  
of public favor.

My Shop is up stairs, over the Store of Mr.  
Wm. S. Gilmer, and immediately opposite  
the Bland House. **G. W. HARRELL,**  
Oct. 1856.

## The Patriot and Flag.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY  
**M. S. SHERWOOD & JAS. A. LONG,**  
EDITORS AND PROPRIETORS.

**TERMS: \$2.00 A YEAR, IN ADVANCE;**  
\$2.50 after three months, and \$3.00 after twelve  
months from the date of subscription.

**RATES OF ADVERTISING.**  
One dollar per square (thirty-six lines) for the  
first week, and twenty-five cents for every  
week thereafter. Deductions made in favor  
of standing advertisements as follows:

	3 MONTHS.	6 MONTHS.	1 YEAR
One square,	\$3.50	\$5.50	\$8.00
Two squares,	7.00	10.00	14.00
Three " (3 col.)	10.50	15.00	20.00
Half column,	18.00	25.00	35.00

## SPEECH OF HON. JOHN C. CALHOUN,

OF SOUTH CAROLINA.  
Delivered in the Senate of the United States. Ap-  
ril 2d, 1856, on the motion of Senator PORTER,  
of Louisiana, to recommend the bill to establish  
the Northern Boundary of Ohio, and for the  
admission of Michigan into the Union.

This speech will be found vol. 2d of the  
Works of Mr. Calhoun, page 496 to 509.  
It was not published in the Congressional  
debates, but was retained for revision by  
Mr. Calhoun, and only published in his  
works, edited by Mr. Cralle, in 1853.

Mr. CALHOUN said:  
I regret that my colleague has thought  
proper to raise the question, whether a  
State has a right to make an alien a citizen  
of the State. The question is one of great  
magnitude—presented for the first time—  
and claiming a more full and deliberate  
consideration than can be bestowed on it  
now. It is not necessarily involved in the  
present question. The point now at issue  
is, not whether a State or Territory has a  
right to make an alien a citizen; but  
whether Congress has a right to prescribe  
the qualifications of the voters for mem-  
bers of the convention to form a constitu-  
tion, preparatory to the admission of a Ter-  
ritory into the Union. I presume, that  
even my colleague will not deny that Con-  
gress has the right. The constitution con-  
fers on Congress the power to govern the  
Territories; and, of course, to prescribe  
the qualifications of voters within them—  
without any restriction—unless, indeed,  
such as the ordinance and the constitution  
may enforce—a power that expires only  
when a Territory becomes a State. The  
practice of the government has been in  
conformity with the views; and there is  
not an instance of the admission of a Ter-  
ritory into the Union, in which Congress  
has not prescribed the qualifications of the  
voters for members of the State, on its ad-  
mission. The power which Congress has  
thus invariably exercised, we claim to ex-  
ercise on the present occasion—by pre-  
scribing who shall be the voters to form the  
constitution for the government of Michi-  
gan, when admitted into the Union. Michi-  
gan is not yet a State. Her constitution  
is not yet formed. It is, at best, but  
in an incipient state—which can only be  
constituted by complying with the con-  
ditions which we may prescribe for her ad-  
mission. A convention is to be called, un-  
der this bill, to agree to these conditions.  
On motion of the Senator from New York  
(Mr. Wright) a provision was introduced  
into the bill, giving the right to the peo-  
ple of the Territory at large—without limi-  
tation, or restriction, as to age, sex, color,  
or citizenship—to vote for the members of  
the convention. The Senator from Kentucky  
(Mr. Claiborne) while the amendment of the  
Senator from New York was pending, moved  
to amend the amendment by striking  
out people, and inserting free white male  
citizens of twenty-one years of age—thus  
restricting the voters to the free white citi-  
zens of the United States, in conformity  
with what has been usual on such occa-  
sions.

Believing that Congress had the unques-  
tionable right to prescribe the qualifications  
of voters as proposed by the Senator from  
Kentucky, and that the exercise of such  
right does not involve, in any degree, the  
question whether a State has a right to  
confer on an alien the rights of citizenship,  
I must repeat the expression of my regret,  
that my colleague has felt it to be his duty  
to raise a question so novel and important,  
when we have so little leisure for bestow-  
ing on it the attention which it deserves.  
But, since he considers its decision as nec-  
essarily involved in the question before us,  
I feel it to be my duty to state the reasons  
why I cannot concur with him in opinion.

I do not deem it necessary to follow my  
colleague and the Senator from Kentucky,  
in their attempt to define or describe a citi-  
zen. Nothing is more difficult than the  
definition, or even description, of so com-  
plex an idea; and hence, all arguments  
resting on one definition in such cases, al-  
most lead to uncertainty and doubt. But  
though we may not be able to say, with  
precision, what a citizen is, we may say,  
with the utmost certainty, what he is not.

He is not an alien. Alien and citizen are  
correlative terms, and stand in contradic-  
tion to each other. They, of course,  
cannot coexist. They are, in fact, so op-  
posite in their nature, that we conceive of  
the one but in contradistinction to the other.  
Thus far, all must be agreed. My next  
step is not less certain.

The constitution confers on Congress  
the authority to pass uniform laws of natu-  
ralization. This will not be questioned;  
nor will it be, that the effect of naturaliza-  
tion is to remove alienage. I am not  
certain that the word is a legitimate one.

[Mr. Preston said, in a low tone, it was.]  
My colleague says it is. His authority  
is high on such questions; and with it,  
I feel myself at liberty to use the word.  
To remove alienage is simply to put the for-

eigner in the condition of a native-born.—  
To this extent the act of naturalization  
goes, and no further.

The next position I assume is no less  
certain; that when Congress has exercised  
its authority by passing a uniform law of  
naturalization (as it has,) it excludes the  
right of exercising a similar authority on  
the part of the State. To suppose that the  
States could pass naturalization, would be  
to make the provision of the constitution  
 nugatory. I do not deem it necessary to  
dwell on this point, as I understood my  
colleague as acquiescing in its correctness.

I am now prepared to decide the ques-  
tion which my colleague has raised. I  
have shown that a citizen is not an alien,  
and that alienage is an inseparable barrier,  
not only to citizenship; and that it can  
only be removed by complying with the  
act of Congress. It follows, of course,  
that a State cannot, of its own authority,  
make an alien a citizen without such com-  
pliance. To suppose it can, involves, in  
my opinion, a confusion of ideas, which  
must lead to innumerable absurdities and  
contradictions. I propose to notice but a  
few. In fact, the discussion has come on  
so unexpectedly, and has been urged on so  
precipitately, through the force of party  
discipline, that little leisure has been afford-  
ed to trace to their consequences the many  
novel and dangerous principles involved in  
the bill. I, in particular, have not had due  
time for reflection, which I exceedingly re-  
gret. Attendance on the sick bed of a  
friend drew off my attention last yesterday;  
when, for the first time, I turned my  
thoughts on its provisions. The numerous  
objections which it presented, and the  
many and important amendments which  
were moved to correct them, in rapid suc-  
cession, until a late hour of the night, al-  
lowed but little time for reflection. Seeing  
that the majority had predetermined to  
pass the bill, with all its faults, I retired,  
when I found my presence could no longer  
be of any service, and remained ignorant  
that the Senate had rescinded the order  
to adjourn over till Monday, until a short  
time after its meeting this morning; so that  
I came here wholly unprepared to discuss  
this and the other important questions in-  
volved in the bill. Under such circum-  
stances, it must not be supposed that, in  
pointing out the few instances of what appear  
to me the absurdities and contradictions nec-  
essarily resulting from the principle against  
which I contend, there are not many others,  
equally striking. I but suggest those which  
first occurred to me.

Whatever difference of opinion there  
may be as to what other rights appertain  
to a citizen, all must at least agree, that he  
has the right to petition, and also to claim  
the protection of his government. These  
belong to him as a member of the body pol-  
itic—and the possessions of them, is what  
separates citizens of the lowest condition  
from aliens and slaves. To suppose that  
a State can make an alien a citizen of the  
State—or, to present the question more  
specifically, can confer on him the right of  
petition, would involve the absurdity of giv-  
ing him a direct and immediate contro-  
ver the action of the General Government,  
from which he has no right to claim the  
protection, and to which he has no right to  
present a petition. That the full force of  
the absurdity may be felt, it must be borne  
in mind that every department of the Gen-  
eral Government is either directly or indi-  
rectly under the control of the voters in  
the several States. The constitution wisely  
provides, that the voters for the most  
numerous branch of the Legislatures in the  
several States, shall vote for the members  
of the House of Representatives—and, as  
the members of this body are chosen by the  
Legislatures of the States, and the Presi-  
dential electors either by the Legislatures,  
or voters in the several States, it follows,  
as I have stated, that the action of the Gen-  
eral Government is either directly or indi-  
rectly under the control of the voters in the  
several States. Now, admit that a State  
may confer the right of voting on all aliens,  
and it will follow as a necessary conse-  
quence, that we might have among our  
constituents, persons who have not the right  
to claim the protection of the government,  
or to present a petition to it. I would ask  
my colleague, if he would willingly bear  
the relation of representative to those who  
could not claim his aid, as Senator, to pro-  
tect them from oppression, or to present a  
petition through him to the Senate, praying  
for a redress of grievance? and yet such  
might be his condition on the principle for  
which he contends.

But a still greater difficulty remains—  
Suppose a war should be declared betwixt  
the United States and the country to which  
the alien belongs—suppose, for instance,  
South Carolina should confer the right of  
voting on alien subjects of Great Britain  
residing within her limits, and that war  
should be declared between the two coun-  
tries; what, in such event, would be the  
condition of that portion of our voters?  
They, as alien enemies, would be liable to  
be seized under the laws of Congress, and  
to have their goods confiscated and them-  
selves imprisoned or sent out of the coun-  
try. The principle that leads to such conse-  
quences cannot be true; and I venture  
nothing in asserting that Carolina, at least,  
will never give it her sanction. She never  
will assent to incorporate as members of her  
body politic, those who might be placed in  
so degraded a condition and so completely  
under the control of the General Govern-  
ment.

But let us pass these (as it ap-  
pears to me conclusive) views, and enquire  
what were the objects in the constitution  
in conferring on Congress the authority of  
passing uniform laws of naturalization—  
from which, if I mistake not, arguments  
not less conclusive may be drawn in sup-  
port of the position for which I contend.

In conferring this power the framers of  
the constitution must have had two objects  
in view: one to prevent competition between  
the States in holding out inducements for  
the emigration of foreigners, and the other  
to prevent their improper influence over the  
General Government, through such States  
as might naturalize foreigners, and could  
confer on them the right of exercising the  
elective franchise, before they could be  
sufficiently informed of the nature of our  
institutions, or were interested in their  
preservation. Both of these objects would  
be defeated, if the States may confer on  
aliens the right of voting and the other  
privileges belonging to citizens. On that  
supposition, it would be almost impossible  
to conceive what good could be obtained,  
or evil prevented by conferring the power  
on Congress. The power would be per-  
fectly nugatory. A State might hold out  
every improper inducement to emigration  
as freely as if the power did not exist; and  
might confer on the alien all the political  
rights and privileges belonging to a native-  
born citizen; not only to the great injury  
of the government of the State, but to al-  
l improper control of the Government of the  
Union. To illustrate what I have said,—  
suppose the dominant party in New York,  
finding political power about to depart from  
them, should, to maintain their ascendancy  
extend the rights of suffrage to the thou-  
sands of aliens of every language and from  
every portion of the world, that annually  
pour into her great emporium—how deeply  
might the destiny of the whole Union be  
affected by such a measure. It might, in  
fact, place the control over the General  
Government in the hands of those who  
know nothing of our institutions and are  
indifferent to the interests of the country.

New York gives about one sixth of the  
electoral votes in the choice of President  
and Vice President; and it is well known  
that her political institutions keep the  
State nearly divided into two great politi-  
cal parties. The addition of a few thou-  
sand votes either way might turn the scale  
election, and the supposition, to the votes  
of unnaturalized foreigners. The Presi-  
dential election might depend on the  
electoral vote of the State, and a President  
be chosen in reality by them; that is, they  
might give us a king—for under the sur-  
names of the present Chief Magistrate,  
the President is in fact a king. I ask my  
colleague if we ought willingly to yield our  
assent to a principle that would lead to  
such results—and if there be any danger  
on the side for which I contend, would he  
be able to do so already stated? I know how  
sincere he is in the truth of the position  
for which he contends, and that his  
opinion was founded anterior to this dis-  
cussion. We have rarely differed in our  
views on the questions which have come  
before the Senate; and I deeply regret, as  
I am sure he does, that we should differ on  
this highly important subject.

My colleague cites the example of Lou-  
isiana, which was admitted into the Union  
without requiring the inhabitants at the  
time, to conform to the act of naturalization.  
I must think the instance is not in point.  
That was a case of the incorporation of a  
foreign community, which had been acquir-  
ed by treaty as a member of our confeder-  
acy. At the time of the acquisition they  
were subjects of France, and owed their  
allegiance to that government. The treaty  
transferred their allegiance to the United  
States; and the difficulty of incorporating  
Louisiana into the Union, arose, not under  
the act of naturalization, but the right of  
acquiring for ign possessions by purchase,  
and the right of incorporating such pur-  
chase into the Union. These were felt at  
the time, to be questions of great difficulty.  
Mr. Jefferson, himself, under whose ad-  
ministration the purchase was made, dou-  
bted the right, and suggested the nec-  
essity of an alteration of the constitution  
to meet the case; and if the example of  
the admission is now to be used to estab-  
lish the principle that a State may confer  
citizenship on an alien, we may all live to  
regret that the constitution was not amend-  
ed according to the suggestion. My col-  
league insists that, to deny the right for  
which he contends, would be to confer on  
Congress the right of prescribing who  
should or should not be entitled to vote in  
the State, and exercise the other rights  
belonging to citizens; and portrayed in  
strong language the danger to the rights of  
the States from such authority. If his  
views are correct in this respect, the dan-  
gers would, indeed, be imminent; but I  
never cannot concur in their correctness. Under  
the view which I have taken, the author-  
ity of Congress is limited to the simple  
point of passing uniform laws of naturaliza-  
tion, or, as I have shown, simply to re-  
move alienage. To this extent it may be  
clearly so, under the constitution; and it  
is no less clear that it cannot go an inch  
beyond, without palpably transcending its  
powers, and violating the constitution.—  
Every flow from the removal of alienage,  
must be conferred by the constitution and  
the authority of the State. My remarks  
are of course, confined to the States; for,  
within the Territories, the authority of  
Congress is as complete, in this respect as  
that of the States within their respective  
limits, with the exception of such limita-  
tions as the ordinance to which I have re-  
ferred may impose.

But to pass to the question immediately  
before us. This, as I have stated, does  
not involve the question whether a State  
can make an alien a citizen; but whether  
Congress has a right to prescribe the qual-  
ifications to be possessed by those who  
shall vote for members of a convention to  
form a constitution for Michigan. Reason  
and precedent concur, that Congress has  
the right. It has, as I have stated, been  
exercised in every similar case. If the  
right does not exist in Congress, it exists

in the condition of a native-born.—  
To this extent the act of naturalization  
goes, and no further.

The next position I assume is no less  
certain; that when Congress has exercised  
its authority by passing a uniform law of  
naturalization (as it has,) it excludes the  
right of exercising a similar authority on  
the part of the State. To suppose that the  
States could pass naturalization, would be  
to make the provision of the constitution  
 nugatory. I do not deem it necessary to  
dwell on this point, as I understood my  
colleague as acquiescing in its correctness.

I am now prepared to decide the ques-  
tion which my colleague has raised. I  
have shown that a citizen is not an alien,  
and that alienage is an inseparable barrier,  
not only to citizenship; and that it can  
only be removed by complying with the  
act of Congress. It follows, of course,  
that a State cannot, of its own authority,  
make an alien a citizen without such com-  
pliance. To suppose it can, involves, in  
my opinion, a confusion of ideas, which  
must lead to innumerable absurdities and  
contradictions. I propose to notice but a  
few. In fact, the discussion has come on  
so unexpectedly, and has been urged on so  
precipitately, through the force of party  
discipline, that little leisure has been afford-  
ed to trace to their consequences the many  
novel and dangerous principles involved in  
the bill. I, in particular, have not had due  
time for reflection, which I exceedingly re-  
gret. Attendance on the sick bed of a  
friend drew off my attention last yesterday;  
when, for the first time, I turned my  
thoughts on its provisions. The numerous  
objections which it presented, and the  
many and important amendments which  
were moved to correct them, in rapid suc-  
cession, until a late hour of the night, al-  
lowed but little time for reflection. Seeing  
that the majority had predetermined to  
pass the bill, with all its faults, I retired,  
when I found my presence could no longer  
be of any service, and remained ignorant  
that the Senate had rescinded the order  
to adjourn over till Monday, until a short  
time after its meeting this morning; so that  
I came here wholly unprepared to discuss  
this and the other important questions in-  
volved in the bill. Under such circum-  
stances, it must not be supposed that, in  
pointing out the few instances of what appear  
to me the absurdities and contradictions nec-  
essarily resulting from the principle against  
which I contend, there are not many others,  
equally striking. I but suggest those which  
first occurred to me.

Whatever difference of opinion there  
may be as to what other rights appertain  
to a citizen, all must at least agree, that he  
has the right to petition, and also to claim  
the protection of his government. These  
belong to him as a member of the body pol-  
itic—and the possessions of them, is what  
separates citizens of the lowest condition  
from aliens and slaves. To suppose that  
a State can make an alien a citizen of the  
State—or, to present the question more  
specifically, can confer on him the right of  
petition, would involve the absurdity of giv-  
ing him a direct and immediate contro-  
ver the action of the General Government,  
from which he has no right to claim the  
protection, and to which he has no right to  
present a petition. That the full force of  
the absurdity may be felt, it must be borne  
in mind that every department of the Gen-  
eral Government is either directly or indi-  
rectly under the control of the voters in  
the several States. The constitution wisely  
provides, that the voters for the most  
numerous branch of the Legislatures in the  
several States, shall vote for the members  
of the House of Representatives—and, as  
the members of this body are chosen by the  
Legislatures of the States, and the Presi-  
dential electors either by the Legislatures,  
or voters in the several States, it follows,  
as I have stated, that the action of the Gen-  
eral Government is either directly or indi-  
rectly under the control of the voters in the  
several States. Now, admit that a State  
may confer the right of voting on all aliens,  
and it will follow as a necessary conse-  
quence, that we might have among our  
constituents, persons who have not the right  
to claim the protection of the government,  
or to present a petition to it. I would ask  
my colleague, if he would willingly bear  
the relation of representative to those who  
could not claim his aid, as Senator, to pro-  
tect them from oppression, or to present a  
petition through him to the Senate, praying  
for a redress of grievance? and yet such  
might be his condition on the principle for  
which he contends.

But a still greater difficulty remains—  
Suppose a war should be declared betwixt  
the United States and the country to which  
the alien belongs—suppose, for instance,  
South Carolina should confer the right of  
voting on alien subjects of Great Britain  
residing within her limits, and that war  
should be declared between the two coun-  
tries; what, in such event, would be the  
condition of that portion of our voters?  
They, as alien enemies, would be liable to  
be seized under the laws of Congress, and  
to have their goods confiscated and them-  
selves imprisoned or sent out of the coun-  
try. The principle that leads to such conse-  
quences cannot be true; and I venture  
nothing in asserting that Carolina, at least,  
will never give it her sanction. She never  
will assent to incorporate as