perfectly accomplish these important ends. Indians, it was rendered necessary by the ceive that that Department continues to their engrovoked aggressions; and it is to extend its usefulness without impairing its resources, or lessening the accommodathe States, and that the right of soil and neut and salutary.

This campaign has evinced the effection to the States respectively in which it lies.

organization of the Army, and its capaci-

system, have in the progress, of our Government, for the lands they occupy, paid into the Frenury a large portion of forty millions of deffurs, and of the revenue received therefrom, but a small part has been ger. But a more efficient organization of expended amongst them. When to the our militia system is essential to that sodisadvantage of their situation in this re- curity which is one of the principal objects enect, we add the consideration that it is of all Governments. Neither our situation the lands, and that the proceeds arising maintainance of a large regular force.— from their sale are distributed chiefly a History offers too many lessons of the famong States which had not originally any the result of such a measure not to warn us claim to them, and which have enjoyed the undivided emolument arising from the sale; which attends it, the obvious tendency to of their own lands, it cannot be expected employ it because it exists and thus to on that the new States will remain forger contented with the present policy after the danger to public liberty, will lead us, I payment of the public debt. Ye swert the trust, to place our principal dependence for fented with the present policy after the consequences which may be apprehended From this course, to put an end forever to zons of the republic. If in asserting rights all partial and inferested legislation on or m repelling wrongs, war should come this subject, and to afford to every Ameri Can citizen of enterprise, the opportunity of securing an independent freehold, it seems to me, therefore, best to abandon the idea a nucleus around which such force could be of raising a future revenue out of the pub-Tie hads

not sturrant the application of the funds of the General Government to objects of Inernai Improvement which are not national n their character, and both as a means of doing justice to all interests, and putting an end to a course of legislation calculated to destroy the purity of the Government, have arged the necessity of reducing the whole subject to some freel and certain arrangement. Little useful knowledge is rule. As there dever will occur a period, beginner, more propilious than the present to the accomplishment of this object, 1 ber leave to prem the subject, again upon ther a plan of classification, remedying Pour attention.

In former messages I have expressed

Without some general and well defined Brinciples ascertaining those objects of infernal improvement to which the means of the Nation may be constitutivefully applied, danger to which it exposes Congress of the and corrupting influence upon elections lie defence requires your attention. y holding out to the people the fallacions hope that the success of a certain candid ate will make navigable their neighboring beislation as to the purity of public men.

fution cannot be devised, which is free has been made since your tast session, in and be guided by a lofty spirit of devotion that that instrument provides within itself connected with our Indian relations .the mode of its amendment; and that With one exception, every subject involv there is, therefore, no escuse for assump- ing any question of conflicting jurisdiction, infered as to preserve its efficiency in protion of doubtful powers by the General or of peculiar difficulty, has been happily moting and securing these general objects, Government. If those which are clearly disposed of and the conviction evidently should be the only aim of our ambition granted shall be found incompetent to the ends of its creation, it can at any time apply for their enlargement and there is no United States for their permanent resi- not mistake its powers, or assume those probability that such an application, if bunded on the public interest, will ever timate prosperity. be refused. If the propriety of the propo-with that portion of the Cherokees, however, living within the State of Georcommand the assent of three fourths of the States, the best possible reason why the namer should not be assumed on doubt fal authority is afforded; for if more turn one fourth of the States are unwilling to make the grant, its exercise will be productive of discontents which will far overbalance any advantages that could be degived from it. All must admit that there is nothing so worthy of the constant solicitude of this government, as the harmony and union of the people.

Being solemnly impressed with the conviction that the extension of the power to myke internal improvements beyond the dimit I have suggested, even if it be deem full security for their private and political jects of general interests not calculated to ed constitutional, is subversive of the best rights. Whatever difference of opinion restrict human liberty, but to enforce line. serests of our country, I carnestly recommend to Congress to refrain from its claims of these people, there will probably exercise, in doubtful cases, except in rela- be none respecting the liberality of the ting to improvements already begun, unless they shall first procure from the States less they shall first procure from the States expediency of their masseonate acceptance.

such an amendment of the Constitution as They were, however, rejected, and thus ston, the free enterprize of our citizens, such an amendment of the Constitution as They were, however, rejected, and thus ston, the free enterprize of our citizens, and thus stone free enterprize of our citizens, will work bounds. If the States feet themselves changed, as do the views communicated in out improvements and ameliorations which competent to these objects, why should my Message to the Scuate of February, this Government wish to assume the paw 1830. er? If they do not, then they will not hesstate to make the grant. Both Govern Secr. tary of the Navy which accompan ments are the Governments of the people ; jes this Message, for a detail of the operaimprovements must be made with the mo tions of that branch of the service during asy of the people; and if the money can the present year. collected and applied by those more to add to the splendor, the patronage, and invite to your notice the increased protection which it has afforded to our commer-Wak otherwise, they will amend the Conscomully to acquiesce.

of endians necessarily led to the inter vice exhibits the fraits of that vigilance church when it is nearly empty than when which enters more essentially into a just of natural justice, and coave to the governthe deverment. A portion of and care which are so indispensable to its a crowd is at the door. presumpts.

our Indian compacts. The advantages of of procuring subsistance, the Indians were mother term of six years, of the general accurate surveys & and satured tities, now security deleased, and the disaffected band appropriation for the gradual improvement curved to purchasers, seem to first the dispersed or destroyed. The result has of the Navy. abelition of the present system, because been creditable to the troops engaged in From the accompanying report of the none can be substituted which will more the service. Severe as is the leasen to the Post Muster General, you will also per

The adventurous and hardy population by for prompt and active service. Its sevof the West, besides contributing their of eral departments have performed their forqual share of taxation under our impost clions with energy and despatch, and the

their labor alone which gives real value to not our institutions, require or permit the against its adoption here. The expense gage in unnecessary wars, and its ultimate protection upon the great body of the citi upon us, our regular force should be in creased to an extert proportioned to the emergency, and our present small army is formed and embodied. But for the purposes of defence under ordinary circumstances, we mail rely upon the electors of my conviction, that the constitution does the country. Those by whom and for whom, the Government was instituted and. is supported, will constitute its protection in the hour of danger, as they do its check in the hour of safety.

But it is obvious that the militia system is imperfect. Much time is lost, much unnecessary expense incorred, and much public property wasted, under the present gained by the musters and drillie, its now established, and the whole subject evident ly requires a thorough examination. Whethese defects, and providing for a system submitted to the consideration, of Congress. The Constitution has vested in the General Government are independent A is obvious that the exercise of the poster authority upon the subject of the militia, it is a source of gratification to reflect that can never be estimated for. Besides the which renders its action essential to the steps to be now adopted are unsuffuestablishment or improvement of the sys Engking hasty appropriations to works of tem. And I recommend the matter to the character of which they may be fre- your consideration, in the conviction, that bus passed. In regard to most of our great mently ignoradt, it prometes a mischier- the state of this important arm of the pul-

and humane policy of transferring from neat basis the p ficy hest calculated to pro-the Eastern to the Western side of the mote the impriness of the people and facreek of river, bring commerce to their Mississippi, the remnants of our aboriginal cultate their progress towards the most foors and increase the value of their pro- tribes, with their own consent and upon complete enjoyment of civil liberty. On pedient to arrest the operation of the unperty. It thus favors combinations to just terms, has been steadily pursued, and an occasion so interesting and important constitutional acts of that government, equander the treasure of the country, upon is approaching. I trust, its consummation, in our history, and of such anxious convertible their respective limits. Such we a multitude of local objects, as fatal to just By reference to the report of the Secretary of War, and to the documents submet. the world, it is our imperious daty to lay If a system compatible with the coasti- ted with it, you will see the progress which aside all selfish and local considerations, from such tendencies, we should recollect the arrangement of the various matters to the great principles on which our instigains ground among the Indians, that their and we cannot therefore too carefully exremoval to the country assigned by the dence, furnishes the only hope of their ul. which the people have reserved to them

grounds of complaint, and to bring to a terto deal justly and liberally with them .-An ample indemnity was offered for their their future support and improvement, and may have prevented respecting the just propositions, and very little respecting the expediency of ther immediate acceptance. will define its character and prescribe its the position of these Indians remains un-

I refer you to the annual report of the

Besides the general remarks on some of simple and economical political machines, the transactions of our Navy, presented, the State Gorcernments, it will imquestion in the view which has been taken of our to mankind, is my most carnest and, sin bly be safer and better for the people, than Poreign relations, I seize this occasion to But if the people of the several States ce and citizens on distant seas, without any augmentation of the force in commission. unfaion, and in their decision all ought in the gradual improvement of its pecuniary concerns, in the constant progress in Fent of detailed and highly satisfactory the collection of materials suitable for use ther suffic operations of the War Depart- during future emergencies, and in the conthe Secretary of War.

The Secretary of War.

The Secretary of the Sac and the Sac and the secretary of the Sac and the secretary of the Sac and the present state of this branch of the secretary of the Sac and the present state of this branch of the secretary of the Sac and the present state of this branch of the secretary of the Sac and the present state of this branch of the secretary of the Sac and the present state of this branch of the secretary of the Sac and the present state of this branch of the secretary of the Sac and the present state of this branch of the secretary of the Sac and the present state of this branch of the secretary of the Sac and the present state of this branch of the secretary of the Sac and the present state of this branch of the secretary of the Sac and the present state of this branch of the secretary of the Sac and the present state of this branch of the secretary of the Sac and the present state of this branch of the secretary of the Sac and the buildings new that the buildings new tha

practical to the be a source of revenue, and the trough panter Generals Scott no. At | cheering, - armus new suggestions con that they be sold to settlers in limited par select any the milities of the States of the United States, and of the milities of the States of the United States, and the milities of the States of the United States, are called into the field. After to the United States of the United States, while the country and by the difficulty more so than that urging the renewal, for New York, Pennsylvania, North Carolina Conversion.

tions which it affords to the secure and repid fransportation of the mail.

I beg leave to call the attention of Comgress to the views heretofore expressed in elation to the mode of choosing the Pre-States, and, to those respecting the tenure belief that the modifications suggested on those subjects, if adopted, will contribute to the prosperity and harmony of the your consideration .t this time.

I have herotofore pointed out defer a in he law for punishing official frauds, especally within the District of Columbia. notorious culurits to junishment, and accars all the evidences of the fraud may

The Judiciary System of the United States remains imperfect. Of the time Western and South Western States, three only enjoy the benefits of a circuit court. Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee are embrae ed in the general system; but Indiana, Ilthe existing system be regood one, why should it not be extended? If it be a had one, why is it suffered to exist? new States were promised equal rights and privileges when they came into the timor and such are the guaranteen of the Constitution. Nothing can be more obvious than the obligation of the general gov erament to place all the States on the same footing, in relation to the administration of of instruction, might not be adopted, is justice, and I trust this duty will be negfected no longer.

On many of the subjects to which voor attention is invited in this communication, enced by the embarrassments entarted more the country by the wars through which it interests we may consider ourselves as just starting in our career, and, after a salita-I am happy to inform you, that the wise ry experience, about to fix upon a permacera to the friends of freedom throughout deem to be the inherent rights of the tutions are founded.

That this government may be so adminamino its structure, in order that we may selves, or have preferred to assign to other agents. We should bear constantly in mind the fact that the considerations which ingia, it has been found impracticable, as duced the framers of the Constitution to yet, to make a missiactory adjustment, withhold from the general government the Such was my anxiety to remove all the power to regulate the great mass of the business and concerns of the people, have mination the difficulties in which they been fully justified by experience, and are involved, that I directed the very lift, that it cannot now be doubted that the real eral propositions to be made to them which jus of all our institutions prescribes simaccompany the documents berewith sub plicity and economy as the characteristics mitted. They cannot but have seen in of the reform which is yet to be effected these offers the evidence of the strongest in the present and future execution of the disposition on the part of the Government, functions bestowed upon us by the Constitution.

Limited to a general superintending present possessions, a liberal provision for power to maintain peace at home and abroad, and to prescribe laws on a few sub man rights, this government will find its strength and its glory in the faithful discharge of these plain and simple duties. Refresed by its protecting shield from the fear of war and the apprehension of opprescaunot fail to demonstrate, that the great truth that the people can govern themselves, is not only realized in our example, but that it is done by a machinery in gow ernment so simple and economical as scar cely to be felt. That the Almighty Ruler of the Universe may so direct our deliberations and overrule our acts; as to make us instrumental in securing a result so dear cere prayer. ANDREW JACKSON. December 4th, 1832.

The common fluency of speech in many men and women is owing (says Swift) to a ADDRESS

na, Maryland, Connecticut, Vermont, Missiouri.

We, the People of South Carolina, as shied in Convention, have solemnly and sident and Vice President of the United tering and amending the several Acts in posing duties on imports, are unconstitutonal, and therefore absolutely void, and we have invested the Legislature with amto co operate in enforcing the aforesaid declaration.

In resorting to this important measure has been found almost impossible to bring to which we have been impelled by the most sacred of all the duties which a free ording to a decision of the Court for this people can own either to the memory of District, a prosecution is barred by a lapse their ancestors or the claims of their posof two years after the fraud has been convictently, we feel that it is dee to the intimate nithed. It may happen again, as it has political relation which exists between already happened that during the whole two | South Carolina and the other States of this confederacy, that we should present a clear e in the possession of the culprit himself. and distinct exposition of the principles on However proper the limitation havy be in which we have acted, and of the causes by relation to private citizens, it would seem which we have been reluctantly constrainthat it ought not to commence running in ed to assume this attitude of sovereign refavor of public officers until they go out of sistance in relation to the usurpations of the Federal Government.

For this prirouse it will be necessary to state briefly, what we conceive to be the relation ercated by the Federal Constitution, between the States and the General Government; and also what we conceive to be the true character and practical opliness, Misseuri, Alabama, Mississippi and emtion of the system of protecting duties Louisians, have only district courts. It as it affects our rights, our interests and ue of the crop would be all the manufacour liberties.

form the Crown of Great Britain, the several Colonies became free and independnt States, each enjoying the separate and milependent right of self government; and that no authority can be exercised over them or within their limits, but lev their consent, respectively given as States. It it equally true, that the Constitution of the United States is a compact formed between the several Blates, acting as sovereign communities; that the government created by it is a joint agency of the States, appointed to execute the powers enumeraall its acts not intentionally authorised. are of themselves essentially null and void. and that the States have the right, in the same sovereign capacity in which they adupted the Federal Constitution, fo pronomice, in the last resort, authoritative judgment on the usurpations of the Federal Government, and to adopt such measures as they may deem necessary and ex rithin their respective limits. Such we States-in the very nature of things, absolutely inseperable from sovereignty .-Nor is the duty of a State, to arrest an unconstitutional and oppressive act of the Federal Government less imperative, than the right is incontestible. Each State, by ratifying the Federal Constitution, and becoming a member of the confideracy, contracted an obligation to "protect and lefend" that instrument, as well by resis sting the usurpations of the Federal Govrnment, as by sustaining that government in the exercise of the powers actually conterred upon it .- And the obligation of the outh which is imposed, under the Constitution, on every functionary of the States, to preserve, protect, and defend" the Federal Constitution, as clearly comprehends the duty of protecting and defending it against the usurpations of the Federal Govroment, as that of protecting and defend ing if against violation in any other form or from any other quater.

It is true that in ratifying the Federal Constitution, the States placed a large and important portion of the rights of their citizens under the joint protection of all the States, with a view to their more effectual security; but it is not less true that they reserved a portion still larger and not less important under their own turmediate guardianship, and in relation to which their original obligation to protect their citizens, from whatever quarter assailed, remains unchanged & undiminished. But clear and undoubted as we regard tae in the sacre as we regard the duty of the states to interpose their sovereign power for the purpose of protecting their citizens from he unconstitutional and oppressive acts of the Pederal Government, yet we are as ing any duty at all. clearly of the opinion that nothing short of that high moral and political necessity, which results from acts of usurpition, sub- of the protecting system in such a light. ful necessity under which we have declared the acts of Congress imposing pro- federate States, and to the whole world to tecting duties, null and void within the li decide whether the annals of human legis mits of South Carolina. The spirit and lation furnish a parallel instance of insusthe principles which animated your naces. tice and oppression perpetrated under the ters and ours in the councils and in the forms of a free government. However it submit any longer to a system of Logisla. process by which it is effected, it is nothing scarcity of words; for whoever is master of tion, now become the established policy of less than the monstrous outrage of taking language, and hath a mind full of ideas, will the Federal Government, by which we are three millions of dollars annually, from the be upt in speakr g, to hesitate upon the reduced to a condition of colonial vassulage value of the productions of South Carolina,

and unrestricted me of the productions of plunder. Of all to our industry. This clearly involves the right of carrying the productions of that has the least shade industry wherever they can be most ad right to exercise and vantageously exchanged, whether in for created principally, and eign or domestic markets. South Caro- for the purpose of protes lina produces, almost exclusively, agricul- and extending that very New Hampshire, Maine, New Jersey, tural staples which derive their principal for the last ten years, Georgia, Delaware, Rhode Island, Ken value from the demand for them in foreign tucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Douisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama and he'r natural markets are abroad; and restrictive daties imposed mon her juter course with those 'markets, diminish the exchangeable value of her productions veielderately declared, in our paramount sovery nearly to the full extent of these duties. ereign especity, that the Act of Congress - Under a system of free trade, the aggreapproved the 19th day of day, 1828, and gate crop of S. Carolina could be exchanapproved the 19th day of day, 1823, and gate crop of S. Carolina could be examined the recognist all the enumies by whom the Act approved the 14th July, 1833, at ged for a larger quantity of manufactures it may be assailed. And in what manner exchanged for under the protecting system. It is no less evident, that the value of that the justices of those views, and with the of no binding force within the limits of this, crop is diminished by the protecting sys-State; and for the purpose of carrying this tem sery nearly, if not precisely, to the exdeclaration into full and complete effect, tent that the aggregate quantity of many factores which can be obtained for it, is ountry, I carnestly recommend them to ple powers, and made it the duty of all the diminished. It is, indeed, strictly and citizens of the State, on their allegiance, philosophically true, that the quantity of consumable commodities which can be obtained for the eofton and rice annually produced by the industry, of the State, is the precise assessure of their aggregate value. But for the prevalent and habitual error of confounding the meany price with the exchangeable value of our agricultural stat ples, these propositions would be regarded as self evident. If the protecting duties were repealed, one hundred bales of cotton or one hundred barrels, of rice would purchase as large a quantity of manufactures, as one hundred and fifty will now purchase. The annual income of the State, its means of purchasing and consuming the necessaries and comforts & luxuries of life, would be increased in a corresponding de-

> Aimost the entire cotton crop of S. Car. oling, amounting amountly to more than six millions; of dollars, is ultimately ex changed either for foreign manufactures. subject to protecting duties, or for similar domestic manufactures. The natural valtures which we could obtain for it, under a aystem of unrestricted Commerce. The artificial value, produced by the united and unconstitutional Eggslation of Congress, in only such part of those manufactures as will remain after saving a date of filty recent to the Government, or, to speak with more precisis as to the Northern manufacturer. To make this obvious to the homblest comprehensions, let it be supposed that the whole of the present crop should be exchanged, by the planters themselves. for those foreign manufactures, for which it is destined by the inevitable course of trade to be ultimately exchanged ted and granted by that instrument; that either by theuselves, or their agents Let it be also assumed, in conformi ty with the facts of the case, that New Jersey, for example, produces of the very same description of manufactures, a quantity equal to that which is purchased by the cotton crop of S. Carolina. We have, then, two States of the same confederacy, bound to bear an equal' share of the bur them, and entitled to enjoy an equal share of the benefits of the common government. with precisely the same quantity and kind appeal to your candor, and to your sense of justice, to say whether South Carolina has not a title as sacred and indefeasable to the full and undiminished enjoyment of them if we would purchase their interior these productions of her industry, acquired by the combined operation of agriculture and commerce, as New Jersey can have to the like enjoyment of similar productions of her-industry; acquired by the maftural markets and the manifold beaches process of manufacture? Upon no prin ciple of Constitutional right-Upon no winciple of human reason or justice, car any discrimination be drawn between the title of South Carolina and New Jersey to these productions of their capital and labor. Yet what is the discrimination actually fact, martifying as it must be, that the made by the unjust, unconstitutional and principle by which South Cardina is that partial Legislation of Congress? A duty, on an average, of fifty per cent; is imposed upon the productions of South Carolina, while no duty at all is imposed upon the similar productions of New Jersey! The inevitable result is, that the manufactures thus lawfully acquired by the honest industry of South Carolina are worth anmually, three milions of dollars less to her citizens than the very same quantity of the very same description of manufactures are worth to the citizens of New Jersey-a difference of value produced exclusively by the operation of the protecting system.

No ingentity can either evade or refute. this proposition. For even if the planters of South Carolina, in the case supposed, were to sell and not consume the productions of their industry, it is plain that they could obtain no higher price for them, of this day. ter paying duties to the amount of \$3,000, 000, than the manufacturers of New Jersey would obtain for the same quantity of the same kind of manufactures, without pay-

This single view of the subject, exhibits the enormous inequality and injustice versite of the rights and biberties of the that we feel the most consoling confidence people, should induce a member of this that we shall be fully justified by the imconfederacy to resort to this interposition, partial judgment of posterity, whatever Such, however, is the melancholy and pain may be the issue of this unhappy controversy. We confidently appeal to our confields of their common glory, forbid us to may be disguised in the complexity of the

been most unnaturally perverted to eripple power to " regulate co eign nations," was granted the preservation of that commost important of all the dities which the Federal Government oresets B. Care under the compact of Union, is the protection and defence of her foreign comhas this duty been discharged / All the powers of the earth, by their commercial restrictions, and all the pirates of the ocean by their lawless violence could not have done so much to destroy our commercens has been done by that very Government, to which its goardianship has been eyes mitted by the Federal constitution. The commerce of South Carolina consists in exchanging the staple productions of her soil for the manufactures of Europe., It is a lawful commerce. It violates the rights of no class of people in any portion of the confederacy. It is this very con-merca, therefore, which the constitution has enjoined it upon Congress to encus-age, protect, and defend by such regulations as may be necessary to accomplish that object. But instead of that protec tion, which is the only tie of our allegiance, as individual citizens to the Federal Government, we have seen a gigantic system of restrictions gradually reared up. and at length brought to a fual maturity of which it is the avowed object and must be the inevitable fesult, to sweep our commeree from the great highway of untion and cover our hard with poverty and rule Even the States most deeply intereste

in the maintenance of the protecting system will admit, that it is the interest of South Carolina to carry on a commerce of exchanges with foreign countries, tree from restrictions, prohibitory burilens or incumbrances of any kind. We feel, and we know, that the vital interests of the State, are involved in such a commerce: It would be a downright insult to our up derstandings, to tell us that our interests are not injured, deeply injured, by those prohibitory duties, intended and calculated to prevent as from obtaining the cheap man offactures of foreign countries for our staples, and to compel us to receive for them the dear manufactures of our domestic establishments, or pay the penalty of the profection duties for during to exercise one of the most sacred of our natural rights. What right, then, human or divine, have the manufacturing States-for we regard the Federal Government as a more instrument in their hands, to prohibit South Cate olina, directly or indirectly, from general rich productions of her soil, without restriction or incumbrance, for such foreign articles as will most conduce to the weal and prosperity of her citizens? It will not surely be pretended (for truth and de cency equally fordid the allegation,) that in exchanging our productions for the cheaper manufactures of Europe, we vislate any right of the domestic manufacturers, however gratifying it might be to productions at higher prices.

Upon what principle, then, can the State of South Carolina be called upon to submit to a system, which excludes her from her of that enriching commerce which a kind and beneficent Providence has provided to connect her with the family of nations, by the bonds of mutual interests! But our answer can be given to this question. It. is in vain that we attempt to disguise the, excluded, is in strict propriety of language, and totall rational interity and purposes, a principle of colonial dependence and sussalage, in all respects, identical with that Which restrained our furefathers from trule ing with any manufacturing nation of the rope, other than Great Britain, South Carolina now bears the same relation to the manufacturing States of this Confeders acy, that the Angla American colonies bore to the mother country, with the airgle exception that our burthens are incomparably more oppressive than these of ou ancestors. Our time, our pride and the occasion, equally forbid us to trace out the degrading analogy. We leave that to the historian who shall record the judgment which an impartial posterity, will per nounce upon the eventful transactions of

It is in vain that we attempt to consoli ourselves by the empty and unreal mockory of our representation in Congress. A to all those great and vital interests of the state, which are affected by the protection system, it would be better that she had so representation in that body. It serves so other purpose but to conceal the chamb which letter our liberties under the value and emply forms of a representative Gorerument. In the enactment of the protect ting system, the majority of Congress, if in strict propriety of speech an irrespon ble despotism. A very brief analysis will render this clear to every understan What, then, we ask, is involved in the ids of political responsibility, in the imposition of public burthens? It clearly implies that those who impose the burthers, should be responsible to those who bear then Every representative in Congress should be responsible, not only to his own immediate constituents, but through them and their common participation in the burthes imposed, to the constituents of every ether representative. If in the enactment of protecting tariff, the majority in Coug! imposed up of their own constituents consenting of liberty, than that of the free ment into a more instrument of legislative same burthens which there impose a part