

...for such purposes as shall be hereafter pointed out.

See Journal of '76.

On the 7th day of June, 1776, the delegates from Virginia moved in obedience to instructions from their constituents that the Congress should declare that the United Colonies are and of right ought to be, free and independent States.

Monday, 1st of July, 1776.—The delegates from New York said they were, as to themselves, in favor of declaring independence, and were assured that their constituents were for it; but having no instructions to vote for it, they asked leave to withdraw from the question, which was accordingly given to them; and they did not sign the declaration of independence until after they had received instructions to do from the Assembly of New York.

The vote on the declaration was taken by colonies, each colony giving one vote, according to a previous agreement entered into among the delegates. At the same time that the declaration of independence was proposed, a committee of one delegate from each State, was at work maturing the articles for a confederation of the States.

Each state retains its sovereignty, Freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

CHS. FISHER.

CONGRESS.

IN SENATE.

January 6.

Mr. POINDEXTER offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to cause to be laid before the Senate, copies of the orders which have been given to the Commanding Officer of the Military Forces assembled in and near Charleston, S. C.; and also copies of the orders which have been given to the Commander of the Naval Forces, assembled in the Harbor of Charleston—particularly such orders, if any such have been given, to resist the constituted authorities of the State of South Carolina, within the chartered limits of said State.

Mr. POINDEXTER hoped the resolution would be immediately adopted, by unanimous consent, as the facts which it called for might have an important bearing upon the discussion of the bill now before the Senate.

No objection being heard, the CHAIR directed the resolution to be again read, and stated the question of adoption.

Mr. CALHOUN said, the terms of such a resolution might be very important. He was not aware that any thing existed which either required its immediate adoption, or rendered delay in adopting it, proper; but the resolution had better lay one day on the table, under the standing rule.

The CHAIR said, no objection had been made to its consideration, and it was now before the Senate by unanimous consent.

Mr. POINDEXTER did not propose to discuss the resolution at this time, it called for nothing but what should be spread before the public. The country was in a state of profound peace and no occasion could exist for keeping the orders issued to military or naval officers a secret in time of peace. He presumed no gentleman would object to the adoption of the resolution on the ground that we were in a state of hostility. But a state of hostility might arise in contravention to orders of the Executive. His object was to get at the truth—and in case hostilities should arise that responsibility might rest where it belonged. He could see no reason why the adoption of the resolution should be postponed. The information sought might have an important bearing upon the bill

now under debate. He therefore hoped no delay would take place in its adoption.

Mr. GRUNDY did not happen to be in his seat when the resolution was taken up by unanimous consent. He should interpose no objection to its adoption if it was of the proper character; at present he was entirely ignorant of the design and object of the resolution. A great deal had been stated, and much more intimated than directly stated, about hostile measures against the State of South Carolina. He felt as much anxiety as any Senator to know the facts in relation to that subject; and he wished for an opportunity to examine the resolution, and see whether on the one hand, it did not go further than was proper, and on the other, whether it went far enough. The circumstance of gentlemen happening out of their places when such calls were proposed, was one reason for the rule that required them to lay one day on the table; in the present instance, there was no occasion for hastening the call beyond the rule. He therefore moved that the resolution be laid on the table until tomorrow, and printed, which was agreed to.

January 6.

In the Senate yesterday, after two or three bills were carried through stages of passage, the resolution offered on the preceding day by Mr. Poindexter calling on the President for the orders issued to certain officers in South Carolina, came up.

Mr. GRUNDY was in favor of the adoption of the resolution after the modification which it was usual to couple with such calls should be inserted, and a greater extent given to the call for all orders affecting the constituted authorities of the State of South Carolina. He moved to amend the resolution by adding at the 2d line the words "so far as may in his judgment be compatible with the public interest."

Mr. POINDEXTER said, the gentleman, after consulting his pillow, had come here with an amendment which entirely destroyed the effect of the resolution. He denied that any discretion belonged to the Executive relative to the communication to Congress of orders given to military officers in time of peace. There were only two exceptions made in favor of the discretion of the Executive upon calls from either House of Congress. One was where papers relative to a pending negotiation (the other when orders issued to military officers in time of war, should be called for. In such cases only were the documents to be transmitted, referred to Executive discretion—in all others, the Executive was peremptorily required to send the information pointed out. Why should not the information pointed out in this resolution be sent? The country was in a state of profound peace, both at home and abroad. But the Executive had complained the Legislature of one of the States to retrace its steps. Land and naval forces had been assembled within that State, by order of the Executive; and gentlemen come here and say that the President may have secrets which it may be improper to communicate, respecting the orders given to the commanders of these forces. It may be supposed that orders had been given to disperse the Legislature. We may suppose that orders had been issued to apprehend certain obnoxious individuals in that State, and execute them under the second section. Suppose individuals had been proscribed by name, in these orders, as had been done by Lord North—he would not say that such things had actually been done; but, from the wincing of gentlemen, it was obvious that there was something rotten.

He was satisfied that it was the intention of the President to endeavor to raise a civil war in the State of South Carolina, for the purpose of affording him an apology for marching an army into that State. If no orders had been given which were not improper, why should they be kept secret? He regretted the amendment. If it was in his power, after it should be adopted, he would withdraw the resolution. At all events, he should be justified in drawing his own inferences as to the character of the orders. He could not say by whom the amendment had been suggested, but he had heard that the President held a drawing room last night.

Mr. GRUNDY would meet all inferences which might be drawn by the gentleman, as to any thing improper being contained in the orders transmitted to the military or naval officers in South Carolina, by a positive denial. He undertook to say that no such orders had been given. He deprecated every thing which might give occasion for civil strife among the citizens of South Carolina in their present state of excitement. It was a result he was anxious to guard against, as far as might be in his power. Suppose that information had been received from citizens of the State which was recited in an order founded upon it, would it not be proper to omit the name of individuals giving such information? Would not a different course, at this time, give rise to a state of feeling which would probably lead to bloodshed? If the names of individuals were recited in orders as having given the information which occasioned them, would the gentleman from Mississippi wish them stated?

Mr. POINDEXTER said he wanted the whole and every part of the orders. Mr. GRUNDY had no objection to placing the whole of every order, so far as related to the act of the Executive, in the power of the gentleman. But any recital of confidential information, which might be contained in an order, ought not to be given. Consequences might follow from such a disclosure, which ought to be avoided. Before gentlemen indulged themselves in denouncing the orders which had been issued to the officers in South Carolina, they had better wait until the orders themselves came. In the mean time he could assure them that there was nothing warlike contained in them. There were no orders but of the most pacific character. Still

there was a discretion necessary to be reserved in the President relative to the communication of them even in peace. Suppose an officer in S. Carolina had insinuated an improper degree of feeling in favor of one of the parties, which now happily existed there, would the gentleman require that the order recalling the officer should be laid before the Senate?

Mr. POINDEXTER answered in the affirmative.

Mr. GRUNDY could perceive no sufficient reason for degrading an officer by such a course. He had no objection to calling on the Executive for all substantive orders relating to the action or movement of its forces in South Carolina—but where orders related to information received from A, B, or C—the communication of such facts could do no good, and might do mischief. He should propose to extend the call contained in the resolution by asking for all orders, if any such had been given, to act against the constituted authorities of South Carolina. He had no apprehension that the President had transcended his authority. Gentlemen would do as well to forbear from the indulgence of such remarks as related to punishment under the 2d section. The whole course of the Executive in relation to the State of South Carolina had been moderate and conciliatory. It was believed by most of those who had examined the subject that the President, under existing laws, possessed all the power proposed to be given him by the act now before the Senate, excepting that conferred in the beginning of the first section. But the case was a new one, and the President had preferred laying it before Congress for its consideration. Did this course look like executing citizens under the 2d section? He was himself disposed to have all information which might throw light on this subject placed before the Senate. He was glad the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Poindexter] had proposed the resolution. Should it be withdrawn, he would himself suggest an offer.

As to the inferences which the gentleman proposed to draw from the information, he must acknowledge his inability to understand his remarks on that subject. Mr. POINDEXTER had said that, if the information was withheld he should be justifiable in drawing his own inferences. Mr. GRUNDY could assure the gentleman that there was no wish to conceal any part of the Executive relative to the State of South Carolina. But, at the same time it might be proper to protect the citizens of that State from disclosures, if any such had been made, which might cause them to rush to immediate battle with one another. Every order issued by the Executive was willing should be laid before the Senate. The amendment made by the gentleman, to the President's drawing room, he did not comprehend. From what he had not been able to attend; but if the gentleman did, he hoped he had enjoyed himself.

Mr. CALHOUN was greatly surprised by the objection to the resolution in its present shape. It did not call for a word of private correspondence. But the Senator from Tennessee says that orders may have been founded upon the correspondence of individuals whose names may be stated in the order. He was astonished at the remark. Was he to understand that military or naval orders had resulted from correspondence with a party in the State of South Carolina? What! Is the Chief Magistrate of the United States in correspondence with parties so deeply excited as South Carolina? The disclosure was most extraordinary—regarding it, as he did, as of a semi-official character—it could not fail to have an important influence elsewhere.

12 o'clock having arrived— The CHAIR stated, that by the construction he had placed upon the rule recently adopted relative to the Special Orders, the CHAIR was directed to call it at 12 o'clock each day. After some remarks between Messrs. KING, CALHOUN, SMITH and FOSTER, upon the construction of the rule— Mr. GRUNDY inquired whether his reply to the remarks of the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Calhoun] upon the resolution must be suspended until tomorrow.

The CHAIR was anxious to learn whether his construction of the rule would be appealed from by any Senator— Mr. KING said gentlemen had now been before apprised of the imperative terms in which the rule had been worded for the first time. He was satisfied, and he believed other gentlemen were, that the construction given to it by the CHAIR was correct.

Mr. POINDEXTER moved to lay the special order on the table, for the purpose of proceeding to dispose of the resolution at this time. This motion was lost—ayes 11 votes 29.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Greenbrier county Virginia, to his friend in Washington City.

A great reaction has taken place in this section of the country, with regard to the proceedings of the South Carolina Convention, and the President's proclamation; the motives and principles of the Nullifiers were not correctly understood at first, and they were looked upon as rebels against the republic; and the proclamation made deeper those impressions first entertained, that Governor Hayne's answer, Mr. Calhoun's second letter, the address to the people of the United States and South Carolina, a letter by a member of the convention in answer to General Jackson, have been by many read with attention, and they have given great satisfaction. Some time ago there was not a single Nullifier here, now they would amount to nearly, if not half the thinking men in the county.

From the Jeffersonian & Virginia Times. Washington, 5th Feb. 1833.

Mr. ENGLISH.—Dear Sir: The political scene here has in no respect all changed, only that it is both hoped and believed that the proposed power to the President will be so cut down by amendments, as to repair its frightful character, so as to make its passage of little consequence to the liberties of the country. I almost wish myself, that it could pass with its entire original features; that the people might be properly alarmed at its hideous and dangerous import. Nothing whatever ought to be expected to result beneficially to the country, from the deliberations of the present session of Congress: The recently connected party, composed principally of the eleventh hour Jacksonians, and the old Eastern Federalists, of Hartford memory, have combined to drive near upon South Carolina, at all events: The Tariff is perpetually persisted in by them; and as Henry Clay has the casting vote in both houses upon any, and every question, wedded as he is to the American System, being its god-father at least; he will still exert every effort that is making to reduce it. His famous land bill, should it get through both Houses, will be assuredly vetoed by the President. He has so declared himself upon it already. A report is abroad, and has its believers very much, that the Northern and Eastern manufacturers, express great alarm at their situation; and that they very earnestly desire, to be let alone, and no longer to be legislated for: They wish to go on in their own way, and to manage for themselves, their own measures and interests: They deem the great game now playing, to be a strong political stratagem, of a deeply artful political party, to subvert the true principles of the Government, by making the popularity of General Jackson, and the whole legislation of Congress, tributary to the assumption and maintenance of a fundamental principle unknown to the Government, and heretofore the constitution of the land. They view indeed, that the Union is in very great danger; and hence it is, that they desire to be thrown out of the strife and contentions of the actual designing demagogues.

From the Same. Washington, 5th Feb. 1833.— Dear Sir,—Since my last letter, the prospect of the passage of Van Buren's bill, through the House of Representatives, without any very destructive amendments, has become bright; but as advance and ambidexterity at work every moment, there is yet considerable difficulty in predicting what will be the final result. The three and twenty Van Buren men from New York, have this bill in their power, and the fate depends upon the instructions they may receive from their master. Yesterday, the temperate speeches of J. Q. Adams and Prentiss Burgess, produced some very warm and serious sensations in the House. Discussing the causes of the forcible resistance heretofore of the southern members, these gentlemen assumed a very lofty tone, and speak of the muscle and physical strength of the north, the superiority of free over slave laborers, and expressed their firm determination, not to be driven from the protective system, by the weaker part of the Union. Mr. Barringer, Col. Drayton and Mr. Patton, replied to these champions of a high tariff, and gave them a severe and well merited castigation. Mr. Burgess did not appear in his seat to day, and Mr. Adams looked somewhat subdued. The friends of these gentlemen, I think, felt ashamed of their indiscreet conduct, or rather perhaps, at the result of it. These men are unfit to live under a republican government; for they cannot or will not, appreciate its true principles. To day, in the Senate, Mr. Tyler, made a very powerful speech, against the bloody enforcing bill, and one which reminded me of the old Dominion in her best days.—discussion will be spun out in the Senate several days longer, and then I should not be surprised, if a motion to lay the bill on the table the remainder of the session, would be successful; for it is even evident that the collar men are trembling with fear of its arrival in the House. They will not, dare not pass this bill; for public opinion as the debate progresses, is getting stronger and stronger against it. The old demagogues in Pennsylvania are raising their bristles, and it is said that a strong effort will be made in a day or two, in their legislature, to rescind from its journals, the shameful vote given some time ago, in favor of the doctrines of the proclamation.—A singular document arrived here this morning, in the New York Standard. It is a report of a committee of the legislature upon the federal relations, and must have come from the pen or the dictation of the Magician. From the slight perusal I have given it, I am induced to believe that it is intended to promote the following objects. First, to shake off Webster from the embraces of the President. Second, to woo the South into an approbation of this amended version of State Rights; and thirdly, to give a cue to the President, how to form his inaugural address, so as to relieve him in some measure, from the almost prostrate condition, into which his passions, and the advice of his federal cabinet, have plunged him. The author of this plausible and ingenious manifesto, may gull the President, if no one else, as to the identity between its doctrines and those of the proclamation; and I would not be surprised if the Apostle hailed it as the true and expected interpretation of the edict of his imperial Master. Yours respectfully.

From the Jeffersonian & Virginia Times. Washington, 5th Feb. 1833.

Mr. ENGLISH.—Dear Sir: The political scene here has in no respect all changed, only that it is both hoped and believed that the proposed power to the President will be so cut down by amendments, as to repair its frightful character, so as to make its passage of little consequence to the liberties of the country. I almost wish myself, that it could pass with its entire original features; that the people might be properly alarmed at its hideous and dangerous import. Nothing whatever ought to be expected to result beneficially to the country, from the deliberations of the present session of Congress: The recently connected party, composed principally of the eleventh hour Jacksonians, and the old Eastern Federalists, of Hartford memory, have combined to drive near upon South Carolina, at all events: The Tariff is perpetually persisted in by them; and as Henry Clay has the casting vote in both houses upon any, and every question, wedded as he is to the American System, being its god-father at least; he will still exert every effort that is making to reduce it. His famous land bill, should it get through both Houses, will be assuredly vetoed by the President. He has so declared himself upon it already. A report is abroad, and has its believers very much, that the Northern and Eastern manufacturers, express great alarm at their situation; and that they very earnestly desire, to be let alone, and no longer to be legislated for: They wish to go on in their own way, and to manage for themselves, their own measures and interests: They deem the great game now playing, to be a strong political stratagem, of a deeply artful political party, to subvert the true principles of the Government, by making the popularity of General Jackson, and the whole legislation of Congress, tributary to the assumption and maintenance of a fundamental principle unknown to the Government, and heretofore the constitution of the land. They view indeed, that the Union is in very great danger; and hence it is, that they desire to be thrown out of the strife and contentions of the actual designing demagogues.

From the Same. Washington, 5th Feb. 1833.

Dear Sir,—Since my last letter, the prospect of the passage of Van Buren's bill, through the House of Representatives, without any very destructive amendments, has become bright; but as advance and ambidexterity at work every moment, there is yet considerable difficulty in predicting what will be the final result. The three and twenty Van Buren men from New York, have this bill in their power, and the fate depends upon the instructions they may receive from their master. Yesterday, the temperate speeches of J. Q. Adams and Prentiss Burgess, produced some very warm and serious sensations in the House. Discussing the causes of the forcible resistance heretofore of the southern members, these gentlemen assumed a very lofty tone, and speak of the muscle and physical strength of the north, the superiority of free over slave laborers, and expressed their firm determination, not to be driven from the protective system, by the weaker part of the Union. Mr. Barringer, Col. Drayton and Mr. Patton, replied to these champions of a high tariff, and gave them a severe and well merited castigation. Mr. Burgess did not appear in his seat to day, and Mr. Adams looked somewhat subdued. The friends of these gentlemen, I think, felt ashamed of their indiscreet conduct, or rather perhaps, at the result of it. These men are unfit to live under a republican government; for they cannot or will not, appreciate its true principles. To day, in the Senate, Mr. Tyler, made a very powerful speech, against the bloody enforcing bill, and one which reminded me of the old Dominion in her best days.—discussion will be spun out in the Senate several days longer, and then I should not be surprised, if a motion to lay the bill on the table the remainder of the session, would be successful; for it is even evident that the collar men are trembling with fear of its arrival in the House. They will not, dare not pass this bill; for public opinion as the debate progresses, is getting stronger and stronger against it. The old demagogues in Pennsylvania are raising their bristles, and it is said that a strong effort will be made in a day or two, in their legislature, to rescind from its journals, the shameful vote given some time ago, in favor of the doctrines of the proclamation.—A singular document arrived here this morning, in the New York Standard. It is a report of a committee of the legislature upon the federal relations, and must have come from the pen or the dictation of the Magician. From the slight perusal I have given it, I am induced to believe that it is intended to promote the following objects. First, to shake off Webster from the embraces of the President. Second, to woo the South into an approbation of this amended version of State Rights; and thirdly, to give a cue to the President, how to form his inaugural address, so as to relieve him in some measure, from the almost prostrate condition, into which his passions, and the advice of his federal cabinet, have plunged him. The author of this plausible and ingenious manifesto, may gull the President, if no one else, as to the identity between its doctrines and those of the proclamation; and I would not be surprised if the Apostle hailed it as the true and expected interpretation of the edict of his imperial Master. Yours respectfully.

From the Same. Washington, 5th Feb. 1833.

Dear Sir,—Since my last letter, the prospect of the passage of Van Buren's bill, through the House of Representatives, without any very destructive amendments, has become bright; but as advance and ambidexterity at work every moment, there is yet considerable difficulty in predicting what will be the final result. The three and twenty Van Buren men from New York, have this bill in their power, and the fate depends upon the instructions they may receive from their master. Yesterday, the temperate speeches of J. Q. Adams and Prentiss Burgess, produced some very warm and serious sensations in the House. Discussing the causes of the forcible resistance heretofore of the southern members, these gentlemen assumed a very lofty tone, and speak of the muscle and physical strength of the north, the superiority of free over slave laborers, and expressed their firm determination, not to be driven from the protective system, by the weaker part of the Union. Mr. Barringer, Col. Drayton and Mr. Patton, replied to these champions of a high tariff, and gave them a severe and well merited castigation. Mr. Burgess did not appear in his seat to day, and Mr. Adams looked somewhat subdued. The friends of these gentlemen, I think, felt ashamed of their indiscreet conduct, or rather perhaps, at the result of it. These men are unfit to live under a republican government; for they cannot or will not, appreciate its true principles. To day, in the Senate, Mr. Tyler, made a very powerful speech, against the bloody enforcing bill, and one which reminded me of the old Dominion in her best days.—discussion will be spun out in the Senate several days longer, and then I should not be surprised, if a motion to lay the bill on the table the remainder of the session, would be successful; for it is even evident that the collar men are trembling with fear of its arrival in the House. They will not, dare not pass this bill; for public opinion as the debate progresses, is getting stronger and stronger against it. The old demagogues in Pennsylvania are raising their bristles, and it is said that a strong effort will be made in a day or two, in their legislature, to rescind from its journals, the shameful vote given some time ago, in favor of the doctrines of the proclamation.—A singular document arrived here this morning, in the New York Standard. It is a report of a committee of the legislature upon the federal relations, and must have come from the pen or the dictation of the Magician. From the slight perusal I have given it, I am induced to believe that it is intended to promote the following objects. First, to shake off Webster from the embraces of the President. Second, to woo the South into an approbation of this amended version of State Rights; and thirdly, to give a cue to the President, how to form his inaugural address, so as to relieve him in some measure, from the almost prostrate condition, into which his passions, and the advice of his federal cabinet, have plunged him. The author of this plausible and ingenious manifesto, may gull the President, if no one else, as to the identity between its doctrines and those of the proclamation; and I would not be surprised if the Apostle hailed it as the true and expected interpretation of the edict of his imperial Master. Yours respectfully.

From the Same. Washington, 5th Feb. 1833.

Dear Sir,—Since my last letter, the prospect of the passage of Van Buren's bill, through the House of Representatives, without any very destructive amendments, has become bright; but as advance and ambidexterity at work every moment, there is yet considerable difficulty in predicting what will be the final result. The three and twenty Van Buren men from New York, have this bill in their power, and the fate depends upon the instructions they may receive from their master. Yesterday, the temperate speeches of J. Q. Adams and Prentiss Burgess, produced some very warm and serious sensations in the House. Discussing the causes of the forcible resistance heretofore of the southern members, these gentlemen assumed a very lofty tone, and speak of the muscle and physical strength of the north, the superiority of free over slave laborers, and expressed their firm determination, not to be driven from the protective system, by the weaker part of the Union. Mr. Barringer, Col. Drayton and Mr. Patton, replied to these champions of a high tariff, and gave them a severe and well merited castigation. Mr. Burgess did not appear in his seat to day, and Mr. Adams looked somewhat subdued. The friends of these gentlemen, I think, felt ashamed of their indiscreet conduct, or rather perhaps, at the result of it. These men are unfit to live under a republican government; for they cannot or will not, appreciate its true principles. To day, in the Senate, Mr. Tyler, made a very powerful speech, against the bloody enforcing bill, and one which reminded me of the old Dominion in her best days.—discussion will be spun out in the Senate several days longer, and then I should not be surprised, if a motion to lay the bill on the table the remainder of the session, would be successful; for it is even evident that the collar men are trembling with fear of its arrival in the House. They will not, dare not pass this bill; for public opinion as the debate progresses, is getting stronger and stronger against it. The old demagogues in Pennsylvania are raising their bristles, and it is said that a strong effort will be made in a day or two, in their legislature, to rescind from its journals, the shameful vote given some time ago, in favor of the doctrines of the proclamation.—A singular document arrived here this morning, in the New York Standard. It is a report of a committee of the legislature upon the federal relations, and must have come from the pen or the dictation of the Magician. From the slight perusal I have given it, I am induced to believe that it is intended to promote the following objects. First, to shake off Webster from the embraces of the President. Second, to woo the South into an approbation of this amended version of State Rights; and thirdly, to give a cue to the President, how to form his inaugural address, so as to relieve him in some measure, from the almost prostrate condition, into which his passions, and the advice of his federal cabinet, have plunged him. The author of this plausible and ingenious manifesto, may gull the President, if no one else, as to the identity between its doctrines and those of the proclamation; and I would not be surprised if the Apostle hailed it as the true and expected interpretation of the edict of his imperial Master. Yours respectfully.

Cromwell; and no surprise or reluctance was discovered on the occasion. When Cromwell afterwards asked Jepson what induced him to make such a motion, as long, said Jepson, "as I have the honor to sit in Parliament, I must follow the dictates of my own conscience, whatever offence I may be so unfortunate as to give you." Get this gone, said Cromwell; giving him a gentle blow on the shoulders; get this gone, for a mad fellow as thou art.

Our correspondent says, that he will leave our readers to make the application. U. S. Telegraph.

From the New York Evening Post.

The time is near at hand when the Senate of the United States will be called upon to pronounce their decision for or against the tariff bill now under discussion in the other House of Congress. The eyes of thinking men of all parties, and in all quarters of the Union, are turned with the utmost solicitude towards that body, they rightly judging that upon their varied depend results of vast, if not of vital importance, to this Union. There seems to be a general confidence entertained that Mr. Verplanck's bill will pass the House; but "shadows, clouds, & darkness," rest upon the opinions of the Senate, and the whole people of the United States are waiting most anxiously for the gloom to be dissipated.

On some members of that assembly, in particular, attention is strongly riveted, and every indication furnished by rumours of the course they will be likely to take, is seized hold of with an avidity that shows how important is considered the crisis at which we have arrived. To Mr. Webster, perhaps more than any other Senator, the eyes of the nation are turned. It is known that in his heart he has never approved the wretched measures so absurdly called the American system; but, on the contrary, that he was a zealous and influential opponent of that system and on more than one occasion has proved by the most incontrovertible arguments, expressed with the utmost fervour, that it is a measure unequal, oppressive and unjust. Circumstances subsequently occurred to change his conduct with reference to the tariff; so one supposes that his opinion has undergone any alteration. Indeed, it is currently reported and believed, that during his recent journey to Washington, he freely admitted he was now convinced that Protection and Union are incompatible, and that the time had arrived when one or the other must be given up. A few days will show which he has concluded to sacrifice.

Whatever may be the termination of the present difficulties in South Carolina, it must be evident to thinking men that a high protective duty cannot much longer be maintained without producing a serious and perhaps irreparable breach in the Confederacy. The doctrines of nullification may be exploded, and the strong arm of the General Government may, for awhile, hold the States together, despite the efforts of those who assert the right of peaceable secession. But the strife will not long be between a single State and the Government of the Union. The whole South, as well as South Carolina, is grievously oppressed by the tariff; nor can it be doubted if all hope of relief from Congress should fail them, that there are other members of the Confederacy which may be goaded into violating the compact and into having recourse to the ultima ratio of an injured people.

But we yet entertain a sanguine hope that affairs will not be urged to this extremity. We trust to see a portion, at least, of the advocates of protection in the Senate, show, on this momentous occasion, that they value the integrity and prosperity of the whole Union at a higher rate than the pecuniary interests of one class of the inhabitants of a part—that they will show themselves willing to give up a fraction of the immoderate advantages enjoyed by the manufacturers; for the sake of averting consequences which no one can contemplate with out a shudder, and which in their progress, could scarcely fail of overthrowing those very establishments, to uphold which all the existing and most lamentable disaffection between the south and the north has been created.

It is useless, in the present emergency, to argue the constitutional points involved in the discussion of the tariff question.—Whether the existing law is constitutional or not—whether the oppression of which the South complains is real or imaginary it must be reduced, or the Union cannot be preserved. The Southern states believe themselves insupportably aggrieved, and if this is a delusion, it is one which no process of reasoning can dispel. The time for discussion has gone by;—the hour for action has arrived.

The Argument used by some, that to reduce the Tariff now, would be a tricking of the General Government to a single state, which, as a precedent of imbecility, might be disastrous consequences hereafter; has no sort of foundation in truth. It is not to appease South Carolina, that the reduction of the protective duties is urged upon Congress. The President has shown, and Congress no doubt will very shortly show, that there is no intention of weakening and alluring South Carolina into obedience. The tone of the Executive is firm, dignified and commanding. But still the national Government opposes itself to that headlong course of South Carolina, let it not reverse in a system of measures inevitably calculated to alienate all the southern states; let it not, for the sake of reducing one refractory child to obedience, refuse to lessen the intolerable burdens of others, who have mildly complained of its harshness and partiality, but never denied the parental authority.

We do most sincerely hope that neither any false notions that it would be imprudent to reduce the tariff now, because South Carolina has assumed a halting position,

nor any excitement growing out of the topic brought before Congress by the President's late communication, will interfere with the success of a bill, which, if passed into a law cannot fail of having the happiest effect in healing the discussion of the country; and on the other hand, if defeated, will be followed by a state of excoriation in all the southern section of the Confederacy, which it perhaps will then be too late to appease. The Globe, the official paper at the Seat of Government, was glad to see hold a similar language. "We hope," says that paper of Thursday last, "that no patriot in Congress will suffer the introduction of these topics (alluding to those embraced in the President's communication) to influence his course upon the tariff in the slightest degree. It should be remembered that South Carolina is not the whole South; and no irritating course of language, resorted to by any of its members in either House, should prevent an act of justice to the friends of the Union in that section of our country."

From the Same.

We stated yesterday our firm conviction, that if the modifications of the tariff now under the consideration of Congress are not adopted, either the protective principle must be utterly abandoned by the next Congress, or the Union will be at an end. The southern people will not submit to a further delay of this matter, on the miserable pretence that it is not fit to yield them the justice for which they have so long been petitioning, because a single state has changed her petitions into threats. They cannot understand that logic by which certain politicians attempt to prove the reverse of the old maxim, that it is better ten guilty should escape, than one innocent man be punished. They cannot perceive any good reason why all the states except South Carolina which are oppressed by the Tariff, and which have never shown a refractory spirit, should continue to be oppressed, because that single state, in whose acts they have had so sort of participation, has been somewhat hasty and heterodox in asserting its rights.

But it is not the southern states alone which are aggrieved by the tariff. In those states, to be sure, the people are one man—they are all opposed to the protective principle—there is hardly a dissenting voice. But there are other states decidedly opposed to the existing tariff.—Maine is opposed to it.—New Hampshire is opposed to it. And in those states in which the majority is the other way, the minority in many is very large, and is respectable. It is a fact worth noticing, that while a number of states are unanimously hostile to the tariff, there is not a single state in the whole Union in which there is anything like unanimity in favor of it. Both in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, (perhaps the most decidedly tariffed of any two members of the Confederacy) there is a numerous and intelligent party in favor of the principles of free trade. And from the first of these two states—the very soul and centre of the American System—more than one opponent of the present tariff has been chosen to represent the state on the floor of Congress. For our own parts, we have not the smallest doubt that if the sentiments of the American people could be individually obtained on the same question.—Shall the tariff be reduced or retained as it is?—there would be found a decided majority in favor of reduction.

If, in the face of all these facts, either House of Congress should negative, or by means of any parliamentary shuffling avoid a decision of the bill before them, they will by so doing, assume a fearful responsibility. The reduction now proposed will appease the South. Even the Columbia Telescope, the organ of the nullifiers in South Carolina, admits that it will be satisfactory. But if this measure of half-way justice is denied, the manufacturers must make up their minds to give up, what they seem to value at a less price, our Union. In reference to the very system of measures which have so exasperated the southern states, one of our national law givers thus expressed himself, in a spirit of prophecy in 1824. "Whatever measure against or unreasonable is not likely to endure. There will come a moment of strong reaction, and if no moderation is shown in laying duties on, there may be little scruple in taking them off." The moment of reaction anticipated by Mr. Webster has arrived, and it depends upon the disposition which Congress makes of the question now before them, whether those who have borne gross injustice from the tariff states so long, will be appeased by a mere diminution of their burdens, or whether they will throw them off entirely, though in their fall they should cast the "vested interests" of the manufacturer with hideous ruin and combustion down.

From the U. S. Telegraph.

The Globe is undertaking to whip wash Mr. Livingston and Mr. Woodbury by quoting their speeches on the subject of Nullification. We invite its attention to Gen. Jackson and Mr. Grundy; and that it may be at no loss for the President's opinions, we refer its conductor to the following article from the American Chronicle:

JACKSON AND NULLIFICATION. A Washington correspondent of the New York Courier and Enquirer, writes under the signature of "The Spy in Washington," and whose highly intemperate, liberal, and interesting letters, we recommend to the attention of our readers, as containing much valuable information to the people of the South—puts the following question to the official of Gen. Jackson, the Washington Globe: "Did Gen. Jackson, or did he not, in 1830, address a note to Col. Hayne, approving of his celebrated speech, now so much commended by those who had the pleasure of reading it? I believe he did. We can assure

that if the modifications of the tariff now under the consideration of Congress are not adopted, either the protective principle must be utterly abandoned by the next Congress, or the Union will be at an end. The southern people will not submit to a further delay of this matter, on the miserable pretence that it is not fit to yield them the justice for which they have so long been petitioning, because a single state has changed her petitions into threats. They cannot understand that logic by which certain politicians attempt to prove the reverse of the old maxim, that it is better ten guilty should escape, than one innocent man be punished. They cannot perceive any good reason why all the states except South Carolina which are oppressed by the Tariff, and which have never shown a refractory spirit, should continue to be oppressed, because that single state, in whose acts they have had so sort of participation, has been somewhat hasty and heterodox in asserting its rights.

But it is not the southern states alone which are aggrieved by the tariff. In those states, to be sure, the people are one man—they are all opposed to the protective principle—there is hardly a dissenting voice. But there are other states decidedly opposed to the existing tariff.—Maine is opposed to it.—New Hampshire is opposed to it. And in those states in which the majority is the other way, the minority in many is very large, and is respectable. It is a fact worth noticing, that while a number of states are unanimously hostile to the tariff, there is not a single state in the whole Union in which there is anything like unanimity in favor of it. Both in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, (perhaps the most decidedly tariffed of any two members of the Confederacy) there is a numerous and intelligent party in favor of the principles of free trade. And from the first of these two states—the very soul and centre of the American System—more than one opponent of the present tariff has been chosen to represent the state on the floor of Congress. For our own parts, we have not the smallest doubt that if the sentiments of the American people could be individually obtained on the same question.—Shall the tariff be reduced or retained as it is?—there would be found a decided majority in favor of reduction.