

to, and, during this probationary period, fortunately became acquainted with a poor girl, far beneath the rank of his own family, but blessed with that which was richer than all that earthly treasures can bring—an humble, virtuous mind, sincerely and rigidly trained to and imbued with the precepts of Religion. She became his wife and preceptor in the work of reformation. To her instruction and salutary advice, communicated in the persuasive tones of affection, to one whose heart had not yet had its sensibilities so blunted as to be insensible to an appeal so powerful, is the entire restoration of this misguided youth to be imputed. For many years they have lived together on a beautiful farm in the romantic highlands of the Hudson, leading a life of peaceful, rural retirement, of conjugal happiness, and the most exemplary piety. May Heaven reward her for her noble triumph, and him and his children with all the comforts that this life affords, and which so honorably an example as conduct like theirs deserves!—*New York Evening Star.*

LETTER FROM MAJOR DOWNING.

To my old friend Mr. Dwight, of the New York Daily Advertiser.

SENATE CHAMBER, WASHINGTON, April 16th, 1834.

I suppose you'll be all pretty considerably struck up when you come to see where I now be; and so I'll just tell you in as short order as possible how it comes about.

Ever since I wrote you the last letter the folks about the General had give me no time to eat or sleep, and I have had nigh upon the hull Government to beat off; but so long as I had the General on my side, I didn't care nuthin' about it. But to-day the General he begun to shake in the wind a leetle, and this was about the cause on't. He and me was settin' talking over matters alone, and firen red hot shot at the opposition folks, and especially at Squire Biddle, when I telled the General, says I General, its well enuf for us to talk so among folks who come to see us, for it is the nature of people to give one credit for honesty at least, though he is wrong, if he only seems warm and determined; but says I, my slate don't tell me that the present trouble all about the country is owing to the Bank crampin' folks. And with that I reached down my slate, and I showed the General. Now says I, here we see that the Bank actually has been lendin' out more money since we took the deposits away from it, than it had lent afore that time. The General he looked over the figers, and sure enuf there it was. Why, says he, Major, how is this? What on earth then, says he, are people grumblin' at? All our folks tell me, says the General, that Biddle is crampin' the people all over creation, and here now you show as clear as day light that the Bank haist screwed at all. And with that the General he began to count on his fingers, and though he can sometimes figer out a pretty considerable tuff sum that way, this puzzled him amazingly.

So to rights says he—Major what then is the cause of this trouble? Well, says I, General, I suppose we shall know now pretty soon. There is a cog out some where, says I; and as the Senate is overhavin' the mill, perhaps they'll find it, and let us know. And the words warn't more than out of my mouth, when in come Kinde and Blair lookin' as though they had just been snaked through a gimblet hole, and they telled the General that the Senate had just past Clay's resolutions: It wont do no good to tell what followed, but the General was hoppin' mad, and it was more than an hour afore he got three slatin' things about. And as it was about the time when folks would be comin' to visit the General, I just stepped out to tell em they must call agin for the General was hard at work in "Cabinet Counsel."

When I got back I found the General with party nigh all the steam blowed off, and them other two critters writin' somethin' to come out in the Globe next day. I telled the General right off, now says I, General, better keep an eye on what we say in print, for we have trouble enuf with what we say here to folks—but says I, if we go to abuse the Senate, and put it in print too, the people may take a stand agin us and puzzle us hereafter most plagily. And with that the General got his steam up in a minute—and he told me if that was my notion I better pack up and quit, for the time had come now for every man to take his own side, and if I thought the Senate had more wisdom than he had, I must clear out. Well, says I, General, hadn't we best call the hull Cabinet together on this business. Cabinet? says the General, what more do I want I and with that he turned and pintered to Kinde and Blair, and give me a look as black as thunder. Well, says I, that's enuf; and as I had kept my bundle ready for a move for some days past, all I had to do was to stick my slip in it, and poke my ax handle threw the upper knot, and I slung the hull concern over my shoulder, and was back agin in the Cabinet afore you could say Jack Robinson.

Now says I, General, I and you are going to quit—but afore I go I should like to tell you a story—and the best on't is, it aint a long one, says I. And so I telled the General that story you've heard me tell afore. How I was walkin' in a field down there to Downingville, and hearin' a clatter, and seein' no one, but to rights findin' that it all come from a big black snake—more than half a rod long, the tail quarlin with the head about taking the lead, and saying the head had led long enuf, and the tail ought to try its turn a spell—and so the head give up and let the tail have its way—and I followed out to see how things work that way—and so after goin' agin the scales a spell, and makin' things grit considerable, the tail tried to go threw a stone fence, and gittin' jam'd, riggled and twisted and screed and couldnt go on, and the head of the snake wanted to know what was the matter, and why it didn't go threw, and that he had gone threw the same fence twenty times—the tail got a little rathy, and a little asham'd, and didn't like to tell.

When I got so far in my story, the General, who had been all the while settin' and looking right at the fire, turn'd round and gin me a plagy inquirin' look, and I stopp'd short of well, says he, what was the end on't? Why, says I, General, I brint got time now to tell you, but, says I, the next time we meet I'll finish the story, and with that I made the General a rale cabinet bow, and I walked strait off from the white house hole party much I suppose like a good many folks afore me who have had their say there, and then cleared out. As soon as I got outside, I was a leetle stump'd to know which way to steer—I had some bread and cheese in my pack, but I wanted a place to go to for the night—and there was so many committees folks in Washington, every tavern was chock full—but just then I see the flag go up at the capitol, and think I'll go there and try my luck; and up I went—but

own to my being stop'd so often on the way, by folks all wantin' to know what had happen'd, by the time I reach'd the capitol all Congress knew it, and all parties was a talkin' about it. I went first to the House of Representatives, and I let em know there that all I wanted was just to be allow'd to stop there over night; and then come such knockin' of noses—Mr Adams spoke for more than half an hour in favor of havin' a cot put up for me right off—Mr. Cambreling from York City said it was altogether a great party question, and must be handled carefully, and he wanted time to consider on't. I ask'd Mr. Lawrence, another New York member, if he couldn't give me a lift—first he thought he would, and he pick'd his teeth on one side, and said he'd just see his friends about it—when he got back, I found he was pickin' his teeth on tother side, and said he was afraid it might not do, socin he was now a candidate for Mayor up there in New York, and he must go with his party.

And wrafter night about all the speakers got a chance, and some on 'em was just beginnin' to speak a second time, Mr. Beardley said "if Congress, and credit, and Banks, and canals, all perch'd, he'd vote agin it; and to eat the matter short, he mov'd the previous question—and Mr. Vanderpool from Kinderhook, (who I thought was the one who wrote that Dutch Letter to me) he said it was all a "humbug," and he seconded the motion. When they come to count over the names, there was a tie, and the Speaker had to nutie the hull on't; and so he got up and made a considerable of a speech about it, and wound up by sayin' the *Cheer* had never been call'd on to decide on a more important point, and though the *Cheer* could give 9000 reasons right off, for the vote he was about to give, yet he would give but one, and that was, that the Major could not have a bed there—he knew the Bank and Biddle had a hand in seedin' the Major there, and that was a enuf for him; and so the *Cheer* decided that the Major must tote his bundle out. Well, thinks I, that was a pretty tight vote, any how, and I went over to the Senate Chamber. There they were all at it too; as soon as I walk'd in, Mr. Van Buren call'd Mr. King of Alabama, to take his place, and I could only git a glimpse on him now and then, dodgin' about, and no critter could tell whether he was tick'd or not. Mr. Grundy wanted to have the hull matter refer'd to his Committee on the Post Office. Mr. Clayton said he wouldn't agree to that, for that Committee would never report in creation, and when they did, perhaps they'd find the Major's name scratched out, and some one else written in the place on't.

Mr. Calhoun said he was glad the Major had come there; the "conservative principle" says he, is now gettin' to be better understood—States should stick to it with reference to the General Government—Counties to States—Townships to Counties—Families to Townships—and Individuals to Families—so that, philosophically and metaphysically, and, above all, politically speaking, the Major had as good a right to the use of the Senate chamber, as the General Government, and here, says he, is the butt end of my notions of nullification, and I hope the Major and every man will now fully understand me—at one end of the avenue, says he, stands the white house, and at the other end the Senate chamber. "Consolidation" there—"Conservative" here—and he wound up by saying that for his part he was ready to contribute his chair and desk for the Major to spread his bed on. Mr. Benton was just gain to begin, and I was about swingin' my pack on my shoulder, for when he gets hold he hangs on like a tooth ake, and would talk'd all night—and so they call'd the question like all natur, and he took his seat. Mr. Webster he got up next, and was just agoin' to tackle on't and take a pull upon Mr. Calhoun's conservative notions—but he hadn't gone far when he took out his watch and seen 'twas gettin' late, he said he would not take up the constitutional part of the question—for if he did, and seen that he must all the hull principle of consolidation and conservative notions, the Major might lose his night's lodgin's; and so he mov'd that the application, along with the Major, his ax and bundle, be laid on the table for that night, and if the table warn't big enuf he'd push his'n along side on't; then come a leetle kind of a tussel, and party nigh the hull on 'em had somethin' to say. When Mr. Clay got a chance—he is a master hand you know in quettin' matters when they git in a snarl—he said there was no doubt a large majority of the Senate was in favor of givin' the Major a place to lay his head, but the great difficulty was to decide whether it would be an act growin' out of the conservative principle, or the principle of consolidation, so ably stated by the gentleman from South Carolina; and as regarded the constitutionality of the measure, he was desirous to hear the gentleman from Massachusetts at an early hour the next day, and he had no doubt that gentleman would ably expound it, and that for he was sure he should not differ with him—but, says he, the Major wants a bed, and it's now almost bed time, and I therefore, says he, offer the following resolution:

Whereas consolidation is known to exist at one end of Pennsylvania avenue, and the "conservative principles," sometimes call'd, and unjustly call'd, nullification, at the other end—Therefore, Resolved, That until the Constitution shall be distinctly and clearly expounded, it is safest for the major to take up his night's lodgin' just half way between those two extremes. The Resolution was then put and carried, 28 to 18—A committee was then appointed to measure the Avenue, and reported that Gadsby's Hotel was just half way, but that was full. The Senate then adjourn'd; Mr. Clay come round and telled me that his Resolution had got me in this difficulty, he couldn't do less than put up a bed for me in his own lodgin's, right in a line with Gadsby's; and I might sleep there in welcome, till the constitutional picts was all settled, and so here I be now at Mr. Clay's house, and knock about through the day as well as I can, and most of the time in the Senate Chamber, where I find; upon the hull, I've got a good thumpin' majority, and afore Congress goes home, I calculate the vote in tother house will change too; a good many there I find shakin' in their shoes already, and as soon as they see your elections and the Virginny elections go as I hope they will, I calculate on gittin' a two third vote on every pint agin the folks who have got the General in keepin' now.

Yours &c. J. DOWNING, Major, Downingville Militia, 2d Brigade.

MR. CALHOUN'S SPEECH. We yield up a large space in our columns of this morning to the masterly effort of Mr. Calhoun, in relation to the Force Bill. It is worthy the intellect of John C. Calhoun—no higher compliment could be paid it.—*Philadelphia Inquirer.*

CONCLUDING PART OF Mr. CLAY'S SPEECH, IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, Monday, April 14, 1834.

Mr. CLAY said: I congratulate you, Mr. President, and I hope you will receive the congratulation with the same heartiest cordiality with which I tender it, upon the issue of the late election in the city of New York. I hope it will excite a patriotic glow in your bosom. I congratulate the Senate, the country, the city of New York, the friends of Liberty every where. It was a great victory. It must be so regarded in every aspect. From a majority of more than six thousand, which the dominant party boasted a few months ago, if it remain any, it is a mongre and spurious majority of less than two hundred. And the whigs contended with such odds against them. A triple alliance of State placemen, Corporation placemen, and Federal placemen, AMOUNTING TO ABOUT THIRTY-FIVE HUNDRED, AND DERIVING, IN THE FORM OF SALARIES, COMPENSATIONS, AND ALLOWANCES, ORDINARY AND EXTRA, FROM THE PUBLIC CHESTS, THE ENORMOUS SUM, ANNUALLY, OF NEAR ONE MILLION OF DOLLARS! Marshall'd, drilled, disciplined, commanded. The struggle was tremendous; but what can withstand the irresistible power of the votaries of truth, liberty, and their country! It was an immortal triumph—a triumph of the Constitution and the Laws, over usurpation here, and over clubs and bludgeons and violence there.

Go on, noble city! Go on, patriotic whigs! follow up your glorious commencement; persevere, and pause not until you have regenerated and disenthral'd your splendid city, and placed it at the head of American cities devoted to civil liberty, as it now stands pre-eminently the first as the commercial emporium of our common country! Merchants, mechanics, traders, laborers, never cease to recollect that, without freedom, you can have no sure commerce or business; and that without law you have no security for personal liberty, property, or even existence! Countrymen of Tane, of Emmet, of Macneven, and of Sampson, if any of you have been deceived, and seduced into the support of a cause dangerous to American liberty, hasten to review and correct your course! Do not forget that you abandoned the green fields of your native island to escape what you believed the tyranny of a British King! Do not, I conjure you, lend yourselves, in this land of your asylum, this last retreat of the freed-man, to the establishment here, for you and for all, of that despotism which you had proudly hoped had been left behind you, in Europe, forever! There is much, I would fan believe, in the constitutional forms of Government. But at last it is its parental and beneficent operation that must fix its character. A Government may in form be free, in practice tyrannical; as it may in form be despotic, and in practice liberal and free.

It was a brilliant and signal triumph of the whigs. And they have assumed for themselves and bestowed on their opponents, a denomination which, according to all the analogies of history, is strictly correct. It deserves to be extended throughout the whole country. What was the origin among our British ancestors, of those appellations? The Tories were the supporters of Executive power, of royal prerogative, of the maxim that the King could do no wrong, of the detestable doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. The whigs were the champions of liberty, the friends of the people, and the defenders of the power of their Representatives in the House of Commons.

During our revolutionary war, the Tories took sides with Executive power and prerogative, and with the King, against liberty and independence. And the whigs, true to their principles, contended against royal executive power, and for freedom and independence. And what is the present but the same contest in another form? The pretenses of the present Executive sustain his power in the most boundless extent. They claim for him all executive authority. They make his sole will the governing power. Every officer concerned in the Administration, from the highest to the lowest, is to conform to his mandates. Even the Public Treasury, hitherto regarded as sacred, and beyond his reach, is placed by them under his entire direction and control. The whigs of the present day are opposing executive encroachment, and a most alarming extension of executive power and prerogative. They are fighting for the abuses and corruptions of an Administration, under a Chief Magistrate who is endeavoring to concentrate in his own person the whole powers of Government. They are contending for the rights of the people, for civil liberty, for free institutions, for the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws. The contest is an arduous one; but, although the struggle may be yet awhile prolonged, by the blessing of God and the spirit of our ancestors, the issue cannot be doubtful.

The Senate stands in the breach, ready to defend the Constitution, and to relieve the distresses of the people. But, without the concurrence of another branch of Congress, which ought to be the first to yield it, the Senate alone can send forth no act of legislation. Unaided, it can do no positive good; but it has vast preventive power. It may avert and arrest evil, if it cannot rebuke constitution. Senators, let us remain steadily by the Constitution and the country, in this most portentous crisis; let us oppose, to all encroachments and to all corruption, a manly, resolute, and uncompromising resistance; let us adopt two rules from which we will never deviate, in deliberating upon all nominations. In the first place, to preserve untrammelled and unsuspected the purity of Congress; let us negative the nomination of every member for any office, high or low, foreign or domestic, until the authority of the Constitution and law is fully restored. I know not that there is any member of either House capable of being influenced by the prospect of advancement or promotion; I would be the last to make such an insinuation; but suspicion is abroad, and it is lost, in these times of trouble and revolution, to defend the integrity of the body against all possible imputations. For one, whatever others may do, I will deliberately avow my settled determination, while I remain a seat in this Chamber, to act in conformity to that rule. In pursuing it, we but act in consonance with a principle proclaimed by the present Chief Magistrate himself when out of power. But, alas! how little has he respected it in power! How little has he, in office, conformed to any of the principles which he announced when out of office.

And, in the next place, let us approve of the original nomination of no notorious brawling partisan and electioneer; but, especially, of the re-appointment of no officer presented to us, who shall have prostituted the influence of his office to partizan and electioneering purposes. Every incumbent has a clear right to exercise the elective franchise. I would be the last to controvert or deny it. But he has no right to employ the influence of his office, to exercise an agency which he holds in trust for the people, to promote his own selfish or party purposes. Here, also, we have the authority of Mr. Jefferson. The Senator from Tennessee, (Mr. GRUNDY) merits lasting praise for his open and manly condemnation of these practices of official incumbents. He was right when he declared his suspicion and distrust of the purity of the motives of any officer whom he saw busily interfering in the elections of the people. Senators! we have a highly responsible and arduous duty; but the people are with us, and the path of duty lies clearly marked before us. Let us be firm, persevering, and unmoved. Let us perform our duty in

a manner worthy of our ancestors—worthy of American Senators—worthy of the dignity of the Sovereign States that we represent; above all, worthy of the name of American freemen! Let us "pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor," to rescue our beloved country from all impending dangers. And, amidst the general gloom and darkness which prevail, let us continue to present an unextinguished light, steadily burning, in the cause of the People, of the Constitution, and of Civil Liberty.



Western Carolinian.

SALISBURY: SATURDAY, APRIL 26, 1834.

SOME THINGS TO BE REMEMBERED.

Ten years ago there were four candidates to succeed President Monroe—namely, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Clay, Mr. Adams, and General Jackson.

Mr. Calhoun had been proclaimed as one, and his friends were anxious of his success, until the State of Pennsylvania, which for a while seemed to favor him, withdrew from him and took up General Jackson. It was then foreseen that, if the South continued divided by three Southern candidates, they would be defeated. Mr. Calhoun was accordingly withdrawn, and his friends went over, some to Mr. Crawford, a few to Mr. Adams, but the great mass to Gen. Jackson.

Mr. Crawford had been nominated by a Caucus of Members of Congress—his friends were zealous, numerous, and powerful, embodying much of the talent and moral worth of the country. At that time Gen. Jackson was untried in politics; but the laurels of victory were fresh upon his brow, he was known every where as a brave and successful soldier, and his intimate friends agreed that, although an unpractised politician, this, so far from being an objection, was a recommendation, inasmuch as he would, if elected, go into office fresh from the people, untrammelled by party combinations, and that his strong clear judgment would enable him, and his stern integrity and patriotism would induce him, to select the wisest and most honest statesmen for his council, which would obviate any imputed want of political ability in himself as the head.

It was soon found out that the contest, at least in the South, must be between the General and Mr. Crawford. The partisans of both, of course, became animated, and sometimes violent. The friends of all the other candidates made a great "handle" of the Caucus, as an attempt, by a small party, to dictate to the People; the friends of the Caucus candidate, on the other hand, accused the partisans of Mr. Calhoun and Gen. Jackson of forming a coalition; and thus was waged a warm wordy warfare.

In April, 1824, the Grand-Juries of Rowan and Davidson Counties, respectively, received from the Representative of this Congressional District a letter decrying Gen. Jackson and extolling Mr. Crawford. Each of the Grand-Juries wrote a letter in reply to the Representative, vindicating Gen. Jackson, but treating Mr. Crawford with the utmost respect, while at the same time they expressed strong disapprobation of caucus dictation, and rebuked, with some severity, the charge of transferring the People from one candidate to another, as equally insulting to the Candidates and the People.

In the succeeding Fall, the Jackson Ticket triumphed in Rowan and Davidson by an overwhelming majority. It will be remembered that there was no choice made by the People of the whole country, as neither of the candidates had a majority of the electoral votes—Mr. Adams was elected by Congress, by the aid of Mr. Clay and his friends, who, in their turn, were charged with selling their votes.

The civil services of Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay, and more especially those of the latter gentleman, were entirely eclipsed by the military glory of Gen. Jackson; they were execrated as corrupt intriguers, while he was extolled to the skies as the only man who could cleanse the Government of pollution, retrench its extravagance, and restore the long-lost Republican principles.

Under an amiable and honest, but fatal delusion, the People every where flocked to his standard—Rowan and Davidson furnishing their full quota; and mark the result!—in 1828 he is elected by a triumphant majority—he enters upon his office under a solemn pledge to reform all abuses, and how is the pledge redeemed? He commenced his Administration by turning out of office long-tried servants, merely for a difference of opinion—he used, and continues to use, the patronage entrusted with him for public purposes, as private property for his own benefit—he banished from his councils all his old friends, and took into favor those who opposed him until they discovered that he would have rewards at his disposal—he tried to disgrace and outlaw the very man (Mr. Calhoun) who had once in his extremity (in the Seminole affair) strained every nerve to save the General's honor, and who was, as we have shown, in 1824 accused of transferring his own influence to secure the General's election—he has denied the doctrines of 1798, and threatened war against a Sovereign State for asserting their truth and her right to act upon them—he has treated Congress with contempt, the Laws and Constitution with contempt, the People—even when petitioning—with contempt! he has assumed the entire control of the Treasury, which the Constitution placed under the care of Congress—and, in fine, he acknowledges, or at any rate puts in practice, no restraint of his own violent will!

Such is but a part of the lawless conduct of one who was once an almost universal favorite. In some cases misled by the strongest prepossessions, and in others by the influence of self-deceived or wilfully-deceiving Representatives, many still cling to the *Hero of Orleans*, as if one great military exploit were sufficient to make amends for a violated Constitution, a disordered Currency, and a corrupted Government.

Among other honorable exceptions, however, we are gratified, we are proud, to find the People of our native County and its offspring Davidson. They were once devoted, as warmly as any, to General Jackson; but their partiality was not a blind idolatry, impervious to patriotism and to reason: it was a devotion to principle; and, finding principle deserted by their favorite—not deserted only, but despised—they have chosen the right course, by forsaking their blind guide.

The members of the Grand-Juries who have lately presented the President (see our paper of the 19th and 20th instants) were formerly, with very few exceptions, his supporters—some of them zealous, active, and effi-

cient. But he has driven them from him; and they, what they say, utter the almost unanimous sentiment of the communities in which they live.

What a change from April 1824 to April 1834! The spirit, which causes Freedom to adhere generous, must be extinguished before they can be made to crawl and crouch to despotism.

Our readers will find in our columns to-day, other communication from our correspondent "A North Carolinian," and they will rejoice, as we do, to see so much sound doctrine acknowledged by an intelligent Federalist. And here we will remark, once for all, that when we use the term "Federalist," it is not intended to convey indiscriminate reproach, but as a means to distinguish those who hold certain opinions in politics, from that another party, called Republicans, for—as tending, in their opinion, to a concentration of power in the General Government. We have no doubt that the Federalists, as a party, were as honest and patriotic, in their motives and intentions, as the Republicans. We believe them to be friends of Liberty and Free Government; but, at the same time, to consider some of their doctrines, and especially that which allows the General Government the exclusive right to construe the Constitution, as one which is directly dangerous to the reserved rights of the States, and, consequently, to the Republican and Constitutional character of our Government.

We know our correspondent to be an honest man, and a patriotic citizen; he was in the vigor of life in '98, and a zealous advocate of the Federal doctrine; and, although we have not been told directly by his self, we have heard, from good authority, that he understands the doctrine of State Rights, as asserted by the Nullifiers of the present day, precisely as he and both parties, in '98, understood the doctrine proclaimed by the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions.

We mention this fact as an evidence of the inconsistency of those who profess to be Republicans of the Jefferson school, while they denounce the very terms promulgated first by that venerable statesman, and which became and continued the text-book of Republicans generally until some of them strayed and joined the PROCLAMATION PARTY.

But to the subject.—There are now but few points of difference between our venerable correspondent and us; but some of them are important, and we shall endeavor to reconcile them.

He says: "The highest source of power in a State is the People, who may delegate it (the power) to the Government which they may establish, and by that means make it Sovereign."

A part of this position is perfectly correct, to wit: that "the highest source of power in a State is the People." It follows, of course, that the People of the State are Sovereign; it also follows, in like manner, that this Sovereign may delegate power to whom it pleases; but it by no means follows that the recipient is Sovereign—on the contrary, we think that our correspondent, who wrote hastily, will, upon more reflection, admit that it is impossible for delegated power to be sovereign power. Sovereignty is inherent; it is not destroyed by imparting some of its powers to others as its agents; if it were, then there is no Sovereignty on earth. We will state a strong case, which was alluded to in our last, and again by "A North Carolinian."

The British Parliament is said to be so powerful that it can do any thing, almost, except turn a man into a woman, or vice versa. Still this Parliament is not sovereign. Nor does Sovereignty, even in Great Britain, belong to the whole of the Government, including, as Junius says, "King, Lords, and Commons." But it is, as he asserts, and as all enlightened advocates of Liberty will assert, in the People.

If, then, the British Government be not sovereign, surely our Federal Government, whose limits are marked by a written Constitution, cannot be sovereign.

But let us come home, and see how our correspondent's idea of delegated Sovereignty will apply to our own State Government. "The People" of North Carolina, "the highest source of power in the State," have delegated to their State Government certain powers. Whatever law this Government may enact in pursuance of the Constitution, which is its power of attorney, must be the supreme law of the State. But does it follow that the Government is therefore sovereign? By no means. The People of the State can, by their delegates in Convention, not only repeal or amend the laws of the Legislature, but they have the right to alter or entirely re-model the Constitution itself, which is above the Legislature.

The Sovereignty, therefore, the supreme power of the State, must be in the People, and not in the Government.

But perhaps we have misconceived the meaning of our correspondent. He probably meant that the Government might exercise the powers of the Sovereign, with the Sovereign's consent; and, from a recurrence to the sentence preceding the one we have quoted, we infer that such is his meaning; for he there acknowledges that "the People are the owners, (of the supreme power), and the Government the trustees" of the People, and exercise these powers for their benefit.

We agree, then, entirely, on the following points:

1. That, before the adoption of the present Constitution, the States were each entirely and absolutely Sovereign.
2. That the Constitution was not adopted by the People of the United States as one community; but by the People of the respective States as independent separate communities.

We think that "A North Carolinian" agrees with us on some other points; but of this we are not certain, as there is a little ambiguity in some of his propositions, owing perhaps to our attaching different meanings to the same phraseology.

He says: "The People have declared the General Government supreme as far as they have delegated powers to it—to attain the objects for which it was established; and the State Governments are relatively sovereign."

We trust it is unnecessary to try more to convince any candid man (and such our correspondent has shown himself to be,) that a Government CANNOT be sovereign, unless it be by the old exploded doctrine of "divine right." We therefore suppose that, when he speaks of the Sovereignty of either the General or the State Government, he speaks figuratively—meaning that they are the agents of Sovereignty. And we will here remark, that there is no clause in the Constitution declaring the General Government supreme, but there is a clause declaring all its constitutional acts the supreme law. The distinction may to some seem trifling, but it is one of much importance, as we shall take occasion to show before we quit this subject of State Rights.

By saying the State Governments are relatively sovereign, we shall suppose him to mean that the States, as political communities, are equal Sovereign