

that Congress will be pleased to restore her some three or four hundred thousand dollars, ex speciali gratia, and the petition, as in duty bound, will ever pay, &c. &c. Would she follow my counsel, Sir, I would say to her, that she owes it to her own character and dignity cheerfully to contribute to the Government, of which she is a part, her just share of the sun required to meet its necessary demands; that all beyond that she should retain, to be disbursed at her own sovereign will, and under her own exclusive control. Thus she would assume that lofty attitude for which God and nature designed her; and I would say to each and every of the other States, "go ye and do likewise."

"Sir, when gentlemen talk to me about the beneficence of this Government, in this behalf, I tell them that their charity is at the expense of others; I tell them I cannot understand that beneficence, which, by evaporation, draws all the moisture from one portion of a common country, (I say moisture without a figure, because the taxes are derived from the sweat of the brow,) and then pours all its fructifying showers upon another; thus converting the one into a waste of barren desolation, and imparting to the other extraordinary fertility. If they would take their rule of beneficence from the highest of all authorities, they would learn that the rain is made to fall equally upon the just and the unjust. They might surely so far emulate this great example, as to let their showers fall upon those portions of the country, the evaporation of whose moisture produce them."

"Sir, another objection to this system is, that it utterly destroys the whole privilege of representative responsibility. The whole efficacy of that principle, in relation to the disbursement of public money, consists in this; that we are to render an account of our stewardship to those whose money we expend. Is that the case in this system of Internal Improvement? No, Sir; it is one of the most unhappy, nay, fatal attributes, that the majority of the members here, by whose fiat the revenue is drawn from the minority of the community, owe no responsibility to that minority—but to the majority which they represent. Of what avail then is it to make complaint of oppression? Will that complaint be regarded, though it be uttered in a tone of the deepest indignation? No, Sir; because the members who may practice the oppression owe their accountability to the very people who are benefited by the oppression, and who constitute the majority. The prospect of relief, then, Sir, rests only upon this hope: that the people thus benefited will discard from their service their benefactors, for the single reason, that they are their benefactors. They who live upon such hope, must, indeed, in the language of the adage, die of despair."

"Let it not be said, Sir, that the same objection would lie against the action of State legislation—even if it did, I would say, that because the people of the States must submit to possible injustice, on a small scale, it cannot be right that, therefore, this Government will force them to submit to it upon a much larger scale. But the argument is wholly fallacious. There is this striking and characteristic difference between the cases; the General Government, where it makes donations for this purpose to the States, or as in the bill now before us, constructs the road itself, draws the means from a fund belonging to all the States, and applies it to the benefit of one or more, without even pretending to offer to the others any equivalent; whilst, on the contrary, in the case of a single State, whilst the majority, who contribute to an improvement, of which they receive no benefit, though they cannot call the members representing the majority to account, yet find their equivalent in this. That, whenever the States do (what they do not often undertake) construct a road or canal upon public account, they impose tolls, which are equal to an ordinary profit upon the sum expended, and thus there is returned into the treasury through the dividends, what is equal to the interest of the capital. The majority are thus indemnified; and though, occasionally, improper schemes may be engaged in, which fail to produce this result, yet this is the principle on which they act."

"Another objection to this system is, that it has a direct and almost irresistible tendency to perpetuate upon us a revenue, having no reference to the ordinary demands upon the Government but one, which will always afford a large excess for the execution of these projects."

"What State or States, which expected to derive aid from the Federal treasury towards the improvement of their territory, would ever be found ready to reduce the taxes? Would not the inevitable effect be, that they would thereby defeat the very means by which, and by which only, their objects could be effected? And would you not, therefore, as soon expect, that a hungry man would destroy the only food by which his hunger could be satisfied, as that these States would contribute, by their votes, to dry up, those fountains from which they expected copious streams to flow, for their particular use? Shall we then, by a perseverance in this course, hold out a constant motive, which shall operate directly against any reduction of the taxation of our people? There are already motives enough of this kind. I hope and trust that we shall do nothing which will either add to their number, or increase their force."

"Mr. Chairman, strenuous are the objections which I have already urged, there are others, yet stronger, arising from the probable, I had almost said, inevitable effects which this system is calculated to produce."

"From the moment that the present Constitution was formed, public opinion was divided between two opposite opinions; as to the practical operation and tendency of our complicated scheme of government. The great object had been, so to distribute power between the State and Federal authorities, that each should be able, by its own intrinsic energy, to maintain itself, unaided, within its own sphere, and thus preserve the equilibrium of the political balance. The one party feared, that notwithstanding the strength infused into the new Government, which was partly Federal, and partly national, yet that the States which composed it would, in the progress of time, become an overmatch for it, and, by encroachments upon its rightful power, produce, first weakness, then anarchy, and finally, disunion. They reasoned from history, which, as they supposed, proved the weakness of all former confederacies, in every shape; and from what they considered the advantages which the States would possess in any contest with the Federal head. The other party took the opposite ground; they argued, that in the distribution of powers, all that were great and formidable, including, amongst others, the great powers over the purse and the sword, had been given to the Federal Government; and that, therefore, the danger was, not of encroachment on the part of the States, upon the head, but of usurpation, on the part of the head, of the residuary powers reserved to the States. Let us now, Sir, consult the oracle of experience, and see how its response settles this great question. Let not the Committee be alarmed with an apprehension, that I am going to violate my promise, and discuss the question as to the constitutional power over this subject. No, Sir; I have no such purpose; my purpose is, to show how, even the great men of other days were in error, as to the advantages which they supposed the States to have in a struggle with this Government; and how powerfully this system, in its progressive course, will operate to deprive them of their power of self support, and still more decisively to turn the scale against them."

"Let us examine some of the prominent advantages which were supposed to be on the side of the

States, and on which they might safely rely for self defence, in the event of any collision."

"One of these was, that more individuals would be employed under the authority of the several States, than under that of the United States."

"Sir, whoever will examine the number of officers in the Army and Navy, the cadets, the midshipmen, the host of Registers and Receivers, and others employed in relation to the public lands, the Diplomatic Corps, with all its appendages, all the great Executive officers, including the President, Vice President, the heads of Departments, heads of Bureaux, with their hundreds of clerks, the whole tribe of officers engaged in the collection of the revenue; the Judges, Attorneys, Marshals, and others, constituting the Judicial Corps, the numerous mail contractors upon some 80 or 90,000 miles of post road, the eight thousand postmasters, besides others, not reducible to any particular class, and many of whom are to be re-appointed every four years, will find, that there is not a county, city, town, village, or even a hamlet, in the United States, which the Federal arm does not reach; he will be led to doubt whether, even in numbers, this Government does not exceed those of the States; but, if to numbers be added the dignity of office, the character of duties to be performed, and above all, the very high emoluments of Federal offices, compared with those of the States, he cannot for a moment doubt but that, in point of official patronage, that of this Government is immeasurably beyond that of the States."

"But, Sir, in an official patronage, the advantage is now on the Federal side, how much more is it on that side in point of pecuniary patronage, or the disbursement of money? Follow me, Sir, I beseech you, for a moment, while I make the comparison in this respect. I suppose that the annual revenue of the eight largest States does not average more than half a million each, and that of the sixteen others, not more than an hundred thousand dollars each; some I know may considerably exceed it, but others fall greatly short; thus, for example, the revenue of Illinois, a few years ago, did not exceed \$16,000; I exclude from this estimate, county and town taxes for purposes of police; the aggregate then of the revenue of all the twenty four States, is about \$5,600,000. Now, Sir, we know, that the average of the United States' revenue, for many years, has not been less than \$24,000,000; here, then, the advantage is more than four to one on the side of the United States."

"Another advantage which the writers in the Federalist supposed the States to possess, was, that the powers delegated to the Federal Government, were few and defined. Those which remain in the State Governments were numerous and indefinite. The powers of the first, say they will be exercised principally on external objects, as war, peace, negotiation and foreign commerce. Those of the other, that is the States, extend to the lives, liberties and property, of the people, and the internal order, improvement and prosperity, of the State. I give almost the very words, and in the last paragraph, I give them verbatim. Now, Sir, if it will not be thought a violation of my promise, not to make a constitutional discussion, I will remark, that the last paragraph quoted, if you will only omit the word "order," assigns internal improvements in so many words to the State authority—but no more of that. I quoted this extract, in substance to show, that one of the supposed advantages of the States was, that their powers were numerous and indefinite, whilst those of the United States were few and defined."

"Now, Sir, to prove the egregious error here, I need only state this singular fact, that whilst the laws of Virginia, being emanations of powers numerous and indefinite, are contained in two ordinary octavo volumes, those of the United States, having powers few and defined, have swollen to seven larger volumes. The same writer has fallen into another error; he tells us, that the operations of the Federal Government will be most extensive and important in times of war and danger; as far as its legislative operations go, they are more extensive in peace. The writer then mistakes, when he supposes that the advantage in this respect, is on the side of the States."

"All these supposed advantages, then, on which the States were to rely for their own defence, are not on their side, but against them. Now, Sir, if to this you add, that upon the system of internal improvement, twelve millions annually are to be disposed of, by this Government at its will, is there any man sanguine enough to indulge even the hope, much less the expectation, that the political equilibrium between our different governments will be preserved? Is there any man so blind as not to see, that the scale of the States will be made to kick the beam by its comparative want of weight? Sir, let us, as a subject of curious speculation, trace the practical operation of this annual sum of twelve millions, to be distributed in favors, amongst the States."

"In private life, Sir, it is a proposition which no man, who knows human nature, would even doubt, that the person having it in his power to confer an important benefit, will control, or command, the will and the action of one who is desirous of receiving it. Where is the difference in this respect, between individuals and States? Are States any thing more than large masses of individuals, bringing together all their passions and infirmities? Sir, the only difference is, that the command of will and action, where the States are the subjects to be acted on, is as much more extensive and injurious in its effects, than where individuals are the subjects, as the whole population of the State exceeds an individual in number; (the evil is indefinitely increased, but the principle is the same.)"

"I will suppose, then, Sir, that the period has arrived for one of those annual disbursements of twelve millions of dollars. Various States present their humble petitions; but according to the principles contended for, this Government has the unqualified power to make that disposition as it pleases; to give some more, to others less; to some or to one the whole amount, and to the others none at all. Think you, Sir, that the States, which are most firm and erect in the spirit of independence, will be most likely to succeed? Or will it not be rather those which assume the garb of the greatest humility; those which are most zealous in their allegiance; those in fine, which are most decided in their adhesion to the powers that be? Let me put a stronger case. Suppose that there is some magnificent and favorite project to be carried, and the votes of a particular State are necessary to accomplish the object, and that State shall have been a little impracticable. Think you, Sir, that the time may never come when Philip's gold will be applied, and applied successfully too, by the deceiver of a road or canal? Let our knowledge of human nature, let the experience of other nations, answer the question. Sir, that man had read deeply in the volume of human nature—if I mistake not, it was the man of Pella—who said, that an ass, laden with gold, would find his way through the gates of the strongest city. Look at the history of England, and learn thence a lesson of practical wisdom as to the influence of patronage. The Stuarts struggled hard to govern England by prerogative; but the sturdy spirit of that nation would not bow down before its power. No, Sir; instead of this, the result of the great conflict between prerogative and privilege was, that one of that family lost his head, and another his crown. But what the power of prerogative could not do, has been effected by the still small voice of influence, of influence derived from patronage. These historical facts are an exemplification, in actual life, of the instructive moral to be derived from the fable of the traveller, the wind, and the sun. The wind endeavored, with all its blustering force, to cause the traveller

to throw off his cloak; by increasing efforts, he was able to retain it; but when the sun darted his rays, commencing with genial warmth, and continuing to pour upon him a gradually increasing heat, he was finally compelled to yield to the gentle force of the sun what he did not yield to the greater violence of the wind. Compare the condition of that country at the Revolution in 1688, when the whole National Debt was scarcely one million and a quarter of pounds sterling, with its condition at, and since, the close of the last great European war, with a debt then of more than eleven hundred millions, and even now of eight hundred and forty millions. Look at the lofty independence of the Parliament of the Revolution, and the relation in which they now stand to the crown; that relation I forbear to describe, because it is matter of universal notoriety, and is to be found in the animated speeches of their own orators. And, tell me, what has produced the humiliating change? What has caused a parliament, whose unconquerable spirit once "overruled majesty itself," now to be so tame, so pliant, so tractable, that a reform of Parliament has been, and still continues to be, called for by the nation, in a voice which deafens the ears of Parliament itself, and makes the Administration tremble "through all the classes of venality." The cause is to be found in influence: in those streams of patronage which issue from the prolific sources of office, and the disbursement of countless millions, and which so copiously overflow that kingdom. Sir, her own illustrious Chatham said, that, trench themselves as they pleased behind such parchment, the sword would find its way to the vitals of the Constitution. I say that patronage has found its way to the vitals of her Constitution."

"We, too, are men, and cannot claim to be exempt, from the infirmities of humanity. The same causes, if permitted to operate, will produce the same effects here as there. Let it be our part (the best service which we can render to our country) to avert from her borders, such a calamity."

"Mr. Chairman, our Government is an experiment, now in the progress of trial, to solve this great political problem, whether it is possible to unite the liberty and happiness of a republic with the strength and energy of a monarchy? Should it fail, the hopes of mankind will be lost, and lost forever.—Should the States of this Union ever be brought to lose their lofty spirit of independence, and bow down, in deferential homage, before the Federal Government, as supplicants for favors, our political fabric must fall, because the pillars which supported it, will have declined from their perpendicular, and given way. We shall then learn, from fatal experience, that the lever of a single Government, whose fulcrum is here, and whose length is sufficient to extend over this wide spread republic, will bear with a pressure, so heavy, as to crush our liberty beneath it. That liberty is above all price; and, like the golden apples of the Hesperides, will be taken from us, whenever the States, which are placed as the dragons to guard it, shall be lulled to sleep, by the opiates which shall be poured out from the Federal Treasury. To preserve its spirit, requires as sleepless vigilance, as did the sacred fire of Vesta, which was committed to the charge of the Vestal virgins; the extinguishment of that, only portended great calamities; the extinguishment of this, would itself be the greatest of all calamities. That, we are told, might be rekindled from the rays of the sun; there is no sun to rekindle this, it should be once extinguished; but a long night of darkness will overshadow the land. I call upon you, then, as you love your country, as you value the rights of self-government, as you wish perpetuity to the Constitution, to make a pause, a solemn pause, in this dangerous career. Sir, I have done my duty—the decision is with you—may God grant that it may be auspicious in its results."

CONGRESS.

TWENTY-FIRST CONGRESS.....FIRST SESSION.

WEDNESDAY, April 7.

SENATE. Several resolutions connected with the Post Office department, which had been offered by Mr. Holmes, were ordered to lie on the table; the same order was taken on several memorials; orders were taken on some bills and memorials; the bill for the relief of the owners and their legal representatives of the ship "Alleghany," was reported without amendment; and after the transaction of a variety of other business, Mr. Frelinghuysen addressed the Senate for about two hours on the bill for removing certain Indian tribes."

HOUSE. Bills were reported on several subjects recommended to the consideration of Congress in the President's Message; for the relief of Moses Threadwell; and for making appropriations to pay certain Cherokee claims. The Committee of Claims was discharged from the further consideration of various private claims. A bill connected with a memorial of the Colonization Society, &c. &c. was reported and committed to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union. Several appropriation bills were passed, and other business transacted, among which was a resolution passed, allowing Judge Peck to make to the House before Wednesday next at 12 o'clock, a written or oral argument in reply to the charges preferred by Mr. Lawless against him."

THURSDAY, April 8.

SENATE. The bill for regulating the duties and fixing the compensation of Pursers in the Navy, was read the third time and passed. Mr. Frelinghuysen continued his speech in reply to Mr. White on the bill making provision for the removal of the Indians beyond the Mississippi, and occupied the floor until near four o'clock, when the Senate adjourned. About fifteen minutes were spent in the consideration of Executive business."

HOUSE. Mr. Davis, of South Carolina, presented a report from the minority of the Committee on the Judiciary, in relation to the proposed impeachment of Judge Conkling, of New York, concluding with a resolution that sufficient grounds were shown, by the testimony adduced, for the impeachment prayed for by the memorialist, Martha Bradstreet. The report and resolution were read, and ordered to be laid upon the table and to be printed. The remainder of the day was occupied in the consideration of various bills upon the subject of the District of Columbia."

FRIDAY, April 9.

SENATE. Mr. Frelinghuysen continued his speech in opposition to the bill pro-

viding for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in the States, and making an appropriation for their removal beyond the Mississippi; and when he had concluded, Mr. McKinley, occupied the floor, in reply, until the adjournment of the Senate. He argued that the State of Georgia, at the close of the revolutionary war, stood in the same relation to the Indians as Great Britain did previous to the Declaration of Independence; that the British Government never recognized in the Indians the right of sovereignty in the soil, and consequently had never treated with them as a sovereign and independent nation. He argued that the bargains or contracts entered into with the different Indian tribes by Great Britain and the United States could not be considered as "treaties," according to the acceptance of this term by the laws of nations; because treaties, properly so called, can only be formed between nations equally sovereign. He replied to that part of the argument of Mr. Frelinghuysen which went to prove the sovereignty of the Indians and the power of the General Government to treat with them as sovereign within the limits of the State of Georgia, under that part of the Constitution which gives the Federal Government the power of "regulating commerce with foreign nations, among the different States, and with the Indian tribes." If the General Government had the power to treat with the Indians as sovereign within the limits of the State of Georgia, (as contended for by Mr. Frelinghuysen) the Indians, being sovereign, had certainly a right to adopt whatever form of Government they might think proper: and if they had a right to adopt their own form of Government, they might establish within the territorial limits of Georgia, or any other State, a Monarchy. But the Constitution of the United States has guaranteed to each State, what it previously had, a Republican form of Government; and it appeared therefore an absurdity in terms, to suppose that two such forms of Government, a Monarchy and Republican, could exist in the same territorial limits, at one and the same time."

HOUSE. After the usual presentation of reports, the consideration of Mr. Coulter's resolution for the appointment of a standing Committee on Printing was resumed. Mr. Wickliffe, Mr. Crockett, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Hall, Mr. Sterrigger, Mr. Tucker, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Mallory addressed the House upon the subject until the close of the hour. Mr. Drayton has possession of the floor to-morrow. The House then went into the consideration of private bills; upwards of twenty of which were passed through a committee, and ordered to be engrossed for a third reading."

SATURDAY, April 10.

SENATE. The bill to create the office of Surgeon General in the Navy was ordered to be engrossed by a vote of thirty-six to six. The several resolutions submitted by Mr. Holmes, requiring information from the Post Office Department, were, after having been amended, agreed to.—The bill making additional appropriation for the improvement of certain harbors, and the removal of obstructions at the mouths of certain rivers, &c; the bill changing the times of holding the Courts of the United States for the District of Mississippi; and the bill for extending the time for the commencement of the improvement of the navigation of the Tennessee river, were severally read the third time and passed."

HOUSE. The report of the Military Committee, directing the Secretary of War to report to the House a plan for the reduction of the number of officers of the United States' Army was discussed until the lapse of the hour. The House then took up the consideration of private bills when those ordered to be engrossed on the preceding day were read a third time and passed. The principal of them, in point of importance, was that introduced by Mr. Thompson of Georgia, for the better organization of the District of Columbia."

MONDAY, April 12.

SENATE. The following bills were passed by the Senate; viz. the bill to establish the office of Surgeon General in the Navy, with the amendment, altering the component parts of the Navy rating; the bill authorizing Capt. Daniel McDuff to locate and enter a tract of land in Alabama; and the bill to confirm certain claims to lands in the District of Jackson Court House, Mississippi. Mr. Rowan, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported, without amendment, the bill for the relief of Beverly Chace, heirs of Edward Lorraine, and the heirs of Wm. Emerson.—The bill to reorganize the establishment of Attorney General, and erect into an Executive Department, was taken up, on motion of Mr. Rowan, and an interesting debate ensued, in which the bill was opposed by Messrs. Barton, Holmes, Frelinghuysen and Webster, and supported by Mr. Rowan. In the course of the debate, and after the blanks had been filled, Mr. Forsyth moved to amend the bill by inserting a proviso, which he prefaced with some remarks, that the Attorney General shall not, during his continuance in office, engage in any private practice in the Courts of the United States, or of the States. Mr. Holmes, after some remarks,

moved to recommit the bill, with instructions to amend it so as to establish a Home Department, to take charge of the business proposed to be confided to the Attorney General by the bill. After some farther debate, and before any question was taken, the bill was laid on the table, on motion of Mr. King."

HOUSE. Mr. McDuffie, from the Committee of Ways and Means, to which had been referred that part of the President's Message relating to the Bank of the United States, presented a report upon the subject; of which ten thousand copies, were upon motion of Mr. Muhlenburgh, ordered to be printed. The House then, on motion of Mr. Hemphill, went into a Committee of the Whole on the Buffalo and New Orleans road bill. Mr. Lea and Mr. Muhlenburgh, addressed the Committee in opposition to the measure; and Mr. Norton, in its favor. After the consideration of various amendments, which will be particularized in our full report of the debate on this interesting question, the Committee rose and reported the bill for engrossment and a third reading."

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC.

[From the New York Commercial Advertiser.] We have received the Liverpool Mercury of the 24th Feb. brought by an arrival at this port.

The meeting in London to consider the agricultural and commercial distresses of the country, was held on the 22d February. It was most numerously attended—the Lord Mayor in the chair. A series of spirited resolutions were adopted. Mr. Hunt moved a resolution, in addition, which was unanimously adopted, which stated that the distress was to be attributed to the long, bloody and extravagant war, waged and carried on against the liberties of the people of America and France, during the reign of George III. which war was, it is true, sanctioned and abetted by a very large majority of a self-elected House of Commons; and these distresses will never be relieved, until there is a real, effectual and radical reform in the Commons House of Parliament."

In the House of Commons, on the 22d Feb. Mr. R. Grant presented a petition from 957 persons of the Jewish persuasion, praying for the removal of the civil disabilities affecting them. These disabilities, it is said, affect 30,000 persons in the kingdom. After a debate of a very liberal and tolerant character, the petition was ordered to be printed."

Sir Walter Scott has been severely ill, but was recovering."

The following semi-official paragraph, respecting the future Governor of Greece, appears in the Liverpool Courier of Feb. 24th:

"As much contrariety of opinion as to the future destiny of Greece continues to prevail, we think it proper to state, as a fact within our own knowledge, that the arrangements on that subject are definitively completed and ratified. The supreme power is to be vested in the hands of Prince Leopold, with the title, we believe, of Sovereign Prince."

Spain and Mexico. A London paper remarks, that intelligence has been received by Government, of new preparations in Spain for an invasion of Mexico; and we understand that our Ambassador at Madrid has received instructions to protest against such a step. The Spanish Government at present, deny that they have any such object in view, and state that they are merely sending troops to the Havana, to protect Cuba against any attempt of the Mexicans, or a revolt of the Colonists. Vessels have been engaged to take out 3000 troops to the Havana, and 2000 to Manilla."

Arrest the Murderer. It becomes our duty, for the first time, to record a murder of an aggravated nature. On Monday, the 12th instant, a dispute arose between Charles Wilson, of this town, and John Morris, living in Pittsylvania county, Va. After some abusive language had passed between them, Morris retreated to a neighboring house, whither Wilson pursued him, and on his way picked up a stone, weighing from 4 to 6 pounds, and on coming up with Morris, sitting in a chair and leaning against the house, hurled the stone at him, which struck Morris on the head, of which wound he lingered until Thursday morning last, and died. Every medical assistance was afforded for his relief, but was all in vain. Wilson has made his escape; and though exertions have been made to arrest him, he still eludes the officers of justice.—He is about five feet eight inches high, thick set, dark hair, and rather dark complexion. He is very remarkable for having had his back broken, when young, and its forming a projection so large that no dress can conceal it. He is intelligent, speaks with some fluency, and appears to be about 40 years of age."

Editors of newspapers will insert this, particularly those in seaport towns, as he no doubt will leave the United States as soon as possible, being so easily described that he cannot fail being taken if he remains. [Milton Gazette.]

A man was recently convicted of polygamy in Hamilton county (Ohio) court, and sentenced to six months imprisonment in the penitentiary.