the constitution, and a proceeding essentially revolutionary. This is undoubtedly true, if the preceding propositions be regarded as proved If the Government of the United States be trusted with the duty, in any department, of declar ing the extent of its own powers, then a State ordinance, or act of legislation, authorizing resistance to an act of Congress, on the allege ground of its unconstitutionality, is manifestly a usurpation upon its powers.

If the State have equal rights, in matters con cerning the whole, then for one State to set up her judgment against the judgment of the rest, and to insist on executing that judgment by force, is also a manifest ususpation on the rights of other

If the constitution of the United States be a enforce her own construction, and to resist, as to plainly tended? herself, that law which binds the other States. is a violation of the constitution.

And if that be revolutionary which arrests the legislative, executive and judicial power of Goveroment, dispenses with existing ouths and obligations of obedience, and elevates another power to supreme dominion then nullification is revolu tionary. Or if that be revolutionary, the natural tendency and practical effect of which is to break the Union into fragments, to sever all connexthe dust, then nullification is revolutionary.

Wullification, sir, is as dintinctly revolutionary as secession; but I cann it say that the revolution which it seeks is one of so respectable a charac-Secession, would, it is true, abandon the constitution altogether; but then, it would profess to abandon it. Whatever other inconsistencies it might run into, one, at least, it would avoid It would not belong to a Government, while it rejected its authority. It would not repel the burilen, and continue to enjoy the benefits. It would not aid in passing laws which others are to ebey, and yet reject their authority, as to itself. the Government, at the same time. But however more repectable a mode secession may be, it is not more truly revolutionary than the actual and each, resist the constitutional authorities;

Mr. President, having detained the Senate so so long already, I will not now examine, at length, the ordinance and laws of South Carolina These papers are well drawn for their purpose. have been told that South Carolina, after all intends nothing but a law-suit. A very few words. air will show the nature of this beaceable remedy and law suit which South Carolina contem- | whole controversy, and all the desperate meas-

In the first place, the ordinance declares the law of last July, and all other laws of the United

This is the first step in the prosecution of the peaceable retnedy. The second is more decisive. By the act, commonly called the replevin law, any person, whose goods are seized or detained by the collector for the payment of du ties, may sue out a writ of replevin, and by virtue of that writ, the goods are to be restored to him. A writ of replevin, is a writ which the Sheriff is bound to execute, and for the execution of which he is bound to employ force, if necessary He may call out the posse, and must do so, resistance be made. This posse may be armed for marined. I may come forth with miltary array, and under the lead of military men. What ever number of troops may be assembled in Charleston, they may be summoned, with the Governor or commander-in-chief, at their head. to come in aid of the sheriff . It is evident, then, sir, that the whole military power of the State is to be employ whenever necessary, in dis possessing the custom-house officers, and in sazing and holding the goods without paying the This is the second step in the peaceable

remedy. Sir. whatever pretences may be set up to the contrary, this is the direct application of force, and of military force. It is unlawful, in itself. to replevy goods in the custody of the collectors. But thir enlawful act is to be done and it is to by physical force, to resist the laws of the Union. The legal mode of collecting duties is to detain the moods till such duties are paid or secured. clearer case of forcible resistence to law. And lina herself? it is provided that the goods thus seized shall be held against any st'empt to retake them, by the same force which seized them.

Government of the goods, without payment of States from exercising it themselves. This exduties, and seized and secured them by the press and exclusive power is unlimited in the strong arm of the State, only one thing mure re- terms of the grant, but is attended with two spemained to be done, and that is, to cut off possi- cific restrictions: first; that all duties and imposts bility of legal redress; and that too is accom- shall be equal in all the States; second, that no plished, or thought to be accomplished. The or- duties shall be laid on exports. The power, then dinance declares that all judicial proceedings, being granted, and being attended with these two founded on the resenue laws, (including, of course, proceedings in the courts of the United States.) shall be null and void. This aullines the judicial power of the United States. Then comes the test-oath act. This requires State Judges and jurors in the State courts to swear that they will execute the ordinance, and all acis of the Legislature passed in pursuance, thereof. of laying some duties heavier, and some lighter, The ordinance declares, that no repeal shall be for the sake of encouraging our own domestic allowed from the decision of the State couris products, what authority is there for giving to to the Supreme Court of the United States; and and the replevin act makes it an indictable offence for any clerk to furnish a copy of the record, for the purpose of such apposi

The two principal provisions on which South Carolina relies, to resist the laws of the United States, and nullify the authority of this Governm hi are, berefore these:

and military. means in her power, of all legal redress in the motive may operate to-day, and to morrow. Up courts of the United States; the confining all on any such mode of reasoning as this, one judicial proceedings to her own State tribinals, might be unconstitutional now, and another law

They do not swear to try its own, ments; only swear to decide it, as nullification re-

means are extraordinary. They propose direct re-sistance, by the whole power of the State, to laws of Congress, and out off, by the methods deemed adequate, any redress by legal & judicial authority.
They arrest legislation, defy the Executive, & banish the judicial power of this Government. They authorize and command acts to be done, and done by force, both of numbers and of arms, which, if done, and done by force, are clearly acts of rebel-

Such, sir, are the laws of South Carolina; such, sir, is the peaceable remedy of nullification. Government proper, with authority to pass laws, Has not nullification reached, sir, even thus and to give them a uniform interpretation and early, that point of direct and forcible resistance execution, then the interposition of a State, to to law, to which I intimated, three years ago, it

And now. Mr. President, what is the reason for passing laws like these? What are the oppressions experienced, under the Union, calling for measures which thus threaten to sever an destroy it? What invasions of public liberty to ruin to private happiness, what long lis of rights violated, or wrongs unredressed, it to justify to the country, to posterity, and to the world, this assault upon the free constitution of the United States, this great and glorious work ion among the people of the respective States, of our fathers? At this very moment, sir, the and to prostrate this General Government in whole land smiles in peace, and rejoices in plenty. A general and a high prosperity per vades the country; and, judging by the common standard, by increase of population and wealth; or, judging by the opinions of that portion of her people not embarked in those dangerous and desperate me: sures, this prosperity overspreads South Carolina herself.

Thus, happy at home, our country, at the same time, holds high the character of her institutions, her power, her rapid growth, and her future destiny, in the eyes of all foreign States. One danger, only, creates hesitation; one doubt only exists, to darken the otherwise unclouded It would not be in the Government, and above | brightness of that aspect, which she exhibits to the view, and to the admiration, of the world Need I say, that that doubt respects the permanency of our Union; and need I say, that that execution of the doctrines of nullification. Both, doubt is now caused, more than by any thing else. by these very proceedings of South Caroliboth, and each, would sever the Union, and sub- na? Sir, all Europe is, at this moment, behol ding us, and looking for the issue of this controversy; those who hate free institutions, with maanxiety and shivering fear.

The cause; then, sir, the cause. Let the world know the cause They are called a praceable remedy, and we one State of the Union to bid defiance to the power of the whole, and openly to talk of

Sir, the world will scarcely believe that this ares which its support requires, have no other foundation than a difference of opinion. upon a a provision of the constitution, between a majori-States, laying duties, to be absolutely null and ty of the people of South Carolina, on one side, word; and makes it un'awful for the constituted and a vast majority of the whole people of the anthorities of the United States to enforce the United States, on the other. It will not credit paraget of such duties. It is, therefore, sir, an the fact, it will not admit the possibility, that, in indictable offence at this moment, in South Car- an enlightened age, in a free popular republic, olina, for any person to be concerned in collecting | under a Government where the people govern. revenue, under the laws of the United States, as they must always govern, under such sys It being deciared unlawful to collect these duties tums, by majorities, at a time of unprecedented by what is considered a fundamental law of the happiness, without practical oppression, without State, and indictment lies, of course, against any evils, such as may not only be pretended, but one concerned in such collection, and he is, on felt and experienced; evils, not slight or tempogeneral principles, liable to be punished by fine rary, but Jeep, permanent, and intolerable; a sinand imprisonment. The terms, it is true, are, gle State should rush into conflict with all the that it is unlawful "to enforce the payment of rest, attempt to put down the power of the Unduties:" but every custom-house offier enforces ion by her own laws, and to support those laws by power, while he detains the goods, in order to her military power, and thus break up and de-obtain such payment. The ordinance therefore, stroy the world's last hope. And well the world reaches every body concerned in the collection of may be incredulous. We who see and hear it. can ourselves hardly vet believe it. Even after all that had preceded, it, this ordinance struck the country with amazement. It was incredible and inconceivable, that South Carolina should thus plunge headlong into resistance to the laws. on a matter of epinion, both of the present day and of all past time. was so overwheimingly against her. The ordinance declares that Congress has exceeded its just power, by laying ties on imports, intended for the protection of manufactures. This is the opinion of South Carolina: and on the strength of that opinion she nullifies the laws. Yet has the rest of the country no right to its opinion also? Is one State to sit sole arbitress? She maintains that those laws are plain, deliberate, and palpable violations of the constitution; that she has a sovereign right to decide this matter; and that, having so decided, she is authorized to resist their execution, by her own sovereign power; and she declares that she will resist it, though such resistance should shatter the Union into

Mr. President, I do not intend to discuss the propriety of these laws, at large; but I will ask. how are they shown to besthus plainly and palpably unconstitutional? Have they no counten ance, at all, in the constitution itself? Are the quite new in the history of the Government Are they a sudden and violent usurpation on the be done by power Here is a plain interposition. rights of the States? Sir, what will the civilized world say, what will posterity say, when they learn that similar laws have existed from the very foundation of the Government; that for But force comes and overpowers the collector, thirty years the power was never questioned; and his assistants, and takes away the goods, and that no State in the Union has more freely leaving the duties unpaid. There cannot be a and unequivocally admitted it than South Caro-

To lay and collect duties and imposts, is an express power, granted by the constitution to argued, from its omission to give more, that it Congress. It is also, an exclusive power: for Having thus dispossessed the officers of the the constitution as expressly prohibits all the restrictions, and no more, who is to impose a third restriction on the general words of the grant? If the power to lay duties, as known among all other nations; and as known in all our history, and as it was perfectly understood when the constitution was adopted, includes a right of discriminating, while exercising the power and. the words used in the constitution a new, narrow and unusal meaning? All the limitations which the constitution intended, it has expressed; and what it has left unrestricted, is as much a part of its will, as the restraints which it has impo-

But these laws, it is said, are unconstitutional on account of the motive. How, sir, can A forcible seizure of goods, before duties are | al law be examined on any such ground paid or secured, by the power of the State, civil How is the motive to be ascertained? One The taking away, by the most effectual other House, or another member, another. One and the compeling of her judges and jurors of in exactly the same words, perfectly constitutionthese, her own courts, to take an oath, henre- al next year. Besides, articles may not only be ington himself, who had been President of the hand, that they will decide all cases according taxed, for the purpose of protecting home pro-

what it omitted, as well as what it conta Mr. President, it is a settled principle, acknowledged in all legislative halls, recognized before all tribunals, sanctioned by the general sense and understanding of mankind, that here can be no inquiry into the motives of those who pass laws for the purpose of determining on their validity if the law be within the fair meaning of words in the grant of the power, its authori must be admitted until it is repealed. This rule, every where acknowledged, every where admitted, is so universal, and so completely without exception, as that even an allegation of fraud, in the majority of a Legislature, is not allowed as a ground to set aside a law.

But, air, is it true, that the motive for these laws is such as is stated? I think not. The great object of all these laws is, unquestionably, REVE-NUE. If there were no occasion for revenue, the laws would not have been passed; and it is notorious that almost the entire revenue of the country is derived from them. And, as yet, we have collected none too much revenue. The treasury has not been more exhausted for many years than at the present moment. All that South Carolina can say is, that, in passing the das which she now undertakes to nullify, particular articles were taxed from a regard to the protection of domestic articles, higher than they would have been had no such regard been entertained. And she insists that, according to the constitution. ne such discrimination can be allowed; that duties should be hid for revenue, and revenue only; and that it is unlawful to have reference, in any case, to protection. In other words, she denies the power of DISCRIMINATION. She does not. and cannot, complain of excessive taxation; on the contrary, she professes to be willing to pay any amount for revenue, merely as revenue; and up to the present moment there is no surplus of revenue. Her grievance, then, that plain and palpable violation of the constitution which she nsists has taken place, is simply the exercise of the power of DISCRIMINATION. Now, sir, is the exercise of this power of discrimination plainly and palpably unconstitutional?

I have alrealy said, the power to lay duties viven by the constitution in broad and general terms. There is also conferred on Congress the wh le power of regulating commerce, i. a nother distinct provision. Is it clear and palpable, sir. can any man say, it is a case, beyond douot, that, under these two powers, Congress, may not justly discriminate, in laying duties for the purpose of countervailing the policy of foreign nations, or of lignant hope; those who love them, with deep favouring our own home productions? Ser, what ought to conclude this question forever, as it would seem to me, is, that the regulation of com- for it is not possible for the hand of man to shift commercial nations, powers avowedly and constantly exercised for this very end. That undemable truth ought to settle the question; because the constitution ought to be codsidered, when it uses well known language, as using it in its well known sense. But it is equally underiable, that it has been, from the very first, fully believed that this power of discrimination was conferred on Congress; and the constitution was itself recommended, urged upon the people, and enthusiasti. cally insisted on, in some of the States, for that very reason. Not that, at that time the country was extensively engaged in manufactures, especially of those kinds now existing. But the trades and crafts of the seaport towns, the business of the artizans, and manual laborers, those employments, the work in which supplies so great a portion of the daily wants of all classes, all these looked to the new constitution as a source of relief from the severe distress which followed the war. It would, sir, be unpardonable, at so late an hour, to go into details on this point; but the the truth is as I have stated. The papers

the debates in conventions, all that we open our

eyes upon, in the history of the times, prove it.

The honorable gentleman, sir, from South

Carolina, has referred to two incidents connected with the proceedings of the Convention at show that the power of protecting manufactures, by laying duties, and by commercial regulations, was not inteeded to be given to Congress. The first is, as he says, that a power to protect manutactures was expressly proposed, but not granted. I think, sir, the gentleman is quite mistaken in relation to this part of the poceedings of the Convention. The whole history of the occurrence to which he alludes is simply, this: Towards the conclusion of the Convention after the provisions of the constitution had been mainly agreed upon, after the power to lay duties and the power to regulate commerce had both been granted, a long list of propositions was made, and referred to the committee, containing various miscellaneous powers, some or all of which it was thought might be properly vested in Congress. Among these, was a power to establish a university; to grant charters of incorporation; to regulate stage coaches on the post roads; and also the power to which the gentleman refers, and which is expressed in these words. "To es tablish public institutions, rewards, and immunities, for the promotion of agriculture, commerce, trades, and manufactures." The committee made no report on this or various other propositions in the same list. But the only inference from this omission is, that neither the committee nor the Convention thought it proper to authorize Congress " to establish public institutions, rewards, and immunities" for the promotion of manufactures, and other interests. The Convention supposed it had done enough, at any rate it had done all it intended, when it had given to Congress, in general terms, the power to lay imposts and the power to regulate trade. It is not to be near, to take back what it had already given. It had given the impost power; it had given the regulation of trade; and it did not deem it necessary to give the further and distinct power of es-

tablishing public institutions. The other fact, sir, on which the gentleman relies, is the declaration of Mr. Martin, to the Legislature of Maryland. The gentleman supposes Mr. Martin to have urged against the constitution that it did not contain the power of protection. But, if the gentleman will look again at what Mr. Martin said, he will find, I think, that what Mr. Martin complained of was, that the constitution, by its prohibitions on the State, had taken away from the States them selves the power of protecting their own manufactures by duty on imports. This is undoubtedly true; but I find no expression of Mr. Martin, intimating that the constitution had not conterred on Congress the same power which it had thus taken from the States.

But, sir, let us go to the first Congress; let us look in apon this and the other House. at the first session of their organization.

We see in both Houses men distinguished a mong the framers, friends, and advocates, of the constitution. We see in both those who had drawn, discussed, and matured the instrument in the Convention, explained and defended it before the people, and were now elected members of Congress to put the new government into notion, and to carry the powers of the constitution into beneficial execution.

At the head of the Government was Washto the ordinance, and the acts passed under it; ducts, but other articles may be left free, for the thoroughly acquainted with the history of the ble gentleman had touched the same subject, and the Sultan and his insurgent Viceroy.

meaning of the constitution; if they did not un-

derstand the work of their own hands, who can

Sir, the volume which records the proceedings and debates of the first session of the House Representatives, lies before me. I open it. and find that, having provided for the administration the necessary oaths, the very first measur proposed for consideration is, the laying of imposts as to encourage manufactures was advanced, and | nue bill. So are they all revenue bills. The enlarged upon by almost every speaker; and doubted or denied by none. The first gentleman who suggested this as the clear duty of Con- guish one article from another; it did lay duties rress, and an object necessary to be attended to, for protection. Look to the case of coarse cotis Mr. Fitzsimons, of Pennsylvania; the second tons, under the minimum calculation; the duty of South Carolina.

But the great leader, sir, on this occasion, was Mr. Madison. Was he likely to know the itentions of the convention and the people? Was he likely to understand the constitution na has denied the constitutionality of these pro-At the second setting of the committee, Mr. tective laws. The gentleman hunself has narra dadison explained his own opinions of the duty Congress, fully and explicitly. I must not this point. He says that, after the passing of detain you, sir, with more than a few short ex- the law of 1823, despairing then of being able to tracts from these opinions, but they are such as abolish the system of protection, political men are clear and, intelligible, and decisive. "The States, ' says he, "that are most advan-

ced in population, and ripe for manufactures, ought to have their particular interest attended to, in some degree. While these Stat s retained the power of making regulations of trade. they had the power to cher:sh such institutions. By adopting the present constitution, they have thrown the exercise of this power into other hands; they must have done this with an expectation that those interests would not be neglect ed here."

In another report of the same speech, Mr Madison is represented as using still stronger language; as saving that the constinution, having taken this power away from the State, and conferred it on Congress, it would be a fraud on the States and on the people, were Congress on it, sir, if we can avoid the shock of arms, a day to refuse to exercise it.

Mr. Madison argues, sir, on this early and interesting occasion, very justly and liberally in favor of the general principles of unrestricted commerce. But he argues also, with equal force and clearness, for certain important exceptions to these general principles.

The first, sir, respects those manufacture which had been brought forward under encouragement by the State Governments, "It would be cruei," says bir. Macison, "to neglect them, and to divert their industry into other channels, long series of succeeding years. I hold her to from one employment to anomier without being in 1816; or, if she has changed her own opininjured by the change." Again: "There may ions, I claim some respect for those who still rebe some manufactures which, being once formed, tain the same opinions. I say she is precluded can advance towards perfection without any ad- from asserting that doctrines, which she has ventitious aid; while others, for want of the fos- herself so long and so ably sustained, are tering hand of Government will be unable to go plain, palpable, and dangerous violations of the on at all. Legislative provisions, therefore, will be necessary to collect the proper objects for this purpose; and this will form another exception to my general principle." And again: "The next exception that occurs is one on which great stress is laid by some well informed men, and this great plausibility; that each nation should have within itself, the means of defence, independent of fereign supplies; that, in whatever produced. They would stand up to proclaim, in relates to the operations of war, no State ought to depend upon a precarious supply from any part of the world. There may be some truth in this remark, and therefore it is proper for legislative attention."

In the same debate, sir, Mr. Burk, from South Carolina, supported a duty on hemp for the express purpose of encouraging its growth on the strong lauds of South Carolina. "Cotton," he of the day, the resolutions of public meetings, said, was also in contemplation among them, and if good seed could be procured, he hoped might succeed." Afterwards, sir, the cotton seed was obtained, its culture was protected, and it did succeed. Mr. Smith a very distinguished member from the same State, observed: "It has Philadelphia, which he thinks are evidence to been said, that the States which adopted this constitution expected its administration would be conducted with a tavorable hand. The manufacturing States wished the encouragement of manufactures; the maritime States the encouragement of ship-building, and the agricultural

States the encouragement of agriculture." Sir. I will detain the Senate by reading no more extracts from these debates. I have already shown a majority of the members of South Carolina in this very last session, acknowledge this power of protection, voting for its exercise, and proposing its extension to their own products. Similar propositions come from Virginia; and, indeed, sir, in the whole debate, at whatever page you open the volume, you find the power amitted, and you find it applied to the protection of particular articles, or not applied, according to the direction of Congress. No man denied the power-no man doubted it, the only questions were, in regard to the several articles proposed to be taxed, whether they were fit subjects for protection, and what the amount of that protection ought to be. Will gentlemen, sir, now answer the arguments drawn from those proceedings of the first Congress? Will they andertake to de my that the Congress did act on the avowed principle of protection? Or, if they admit it, will not, we dare not, omit to do that which, in our they tell us how those who framed the constitution feil thus early, into this great mistake about its meaning? Will they tell us how it should happen that they have so soon forgotten their own sentiments, and their own purposes? I confers I have seen no answer to this argument, nor any respectable attempt to answer it. And, sir, how did this debate terminate? What I am tied to it by indissoluble bands of affection law was passed? There it stands, sir, among and duty, and I shall cheerfully partake in its bility and usefulness, may prevent the the statues, the second law in the book. It has fortunes and its fate. I am ready to perform my lision of interests, and the consequent preamble, and that preamble expressly recites, that the duties which it imposes are laid "for the support of Government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures." Unui, sir, this early legislation, thus coeval with the constitution itself, thus fully explicit, can be explained away, no man can doubt of the meaning of that instrument,

Mr. President, this power of discrimination, thus admitted, avowed, and practised upon, in the first revenue act, has never been denied or doubted, until within a few years past. It was not at all doubted, in 1816, when it became necessary to adjust the revenue to a state of peace. On the contrary, the power was then exercised, not without opposition as to its expediency, but, as far as I remember, or have understood, without the slightest opposition founded on any supposed want of constitutional authority. Certainly, South Carolina did not doubt it. The tanff of 1816 was introduced, carried through, and established, under the lead of South Carolina. Even the minimum policy is of South Carolina origin. The honorable gentleman himself supported, and ably supported, the tariff of 1816 He has informed us, sur, that his speech on that occasion was sudden and oif hand, he being called up by the request of a friend. I am sure the gentleman so remembers it, and that it was so; but there is, nevertheless, much method, arrangement, and clear exposition, in that extempore speech. It is very able, very, very much to the point, and .y decisive. And in another speech, delivered two months earlier, on the proposition to repeal the internal taxes, the honora-

constitution, and distinguished for the part taken | had declared, " that a certain encouragement ought to be extended, at least to our woollen and If these persons were not acquainted with the neaning of the constitution; if they did not unlerstand the work of their own hands, who can inderstand it, or who shall now interpret it to my object is other, and higher. I do it for the sake of saying, that that cannot be so plainly and palpably unconstitutional, as to warrant resist ance to law, nullification, and revolution, which the honorable gentleman and his friends have heretofore agreed to, and acted upon, without doubt, and without hesitation. Sir, it is no answer to say, that the tariff of 1916 was a reve point is, and the truth is, that the tariff of 1816. like the rest, did discriminate; it did distin-Mr. White of Virginia; the third Mr. Tucker, on these was sixty to eighty per cent. Something besides revenue, certainly was extended in this; and, in fact, the law cut up our whole commerce with India in that article.

It is, sir, only within a few years that Caroli

ted to us the true history of her proceedings on went forth among the people, and set up the doctrine that the system was unconstitutional .-" And the people," says the frontrable gentleman, received the doctrine." This, I believe, is true, sir. The people did then receive the doctrine : they had never entertained it before.-Down to that period, the constitutionality of these laws had been no more doubted in South Carolina, than elsewhere. And I suspect it is true, sir, and I deem it a great misfortune, that, to the present moment, a great portion of the people of the State have never yet seen more than one side of the argument. I believe that thousands of honest men are involved in scenes now passing, led away by one-sided views of the question, and following their leaders by the im- My Lords and gentlemen: pulses of an unlimited confidence. Depend upfor reconsideration and reflection will come truth and reason will act with their accustomed force, and the public opinion of South Carolina will be restored to its usual constitutional and patriotic tone.

But, sir, I hold South Carolina to her ancient, her cool, her uninfluenced, her deliberate opinions. I hold her to her own admissions, nay, to her own claims and pretensions, in 1789, in the first Congress, and to her acknowleagments and avowed sentiments through es on which she ied Congress to constitution.

Mr. President, if the friends of nullification should be able to propagate their opinions, and give them practical effect, they would, in my judgment, prove themselves the most skilful " architects of ruin," the most effectual extinguishers of high raised expectation, the greatest blasters of human hopes, which any age has tones which would pierce the ears of half the human race, that the last great experiment of representative government had failed. They would send forth sounds, at the hearing of which the doctrine of the divine right of Kings would feel, even in its grave, a returning sensation of vitality and resuscitation. Millions of aver on the success of the American example, would turn away from beholding our dismemberment and find no place on earth whereon to rest their gratified sight. Amidst the incantations and orgies of nullification, secession, disunion, and revolution, would be celebrated the funeral rites of constitutional and republican liberty.

But, sir, if the Government do its duty, if act with firmness and with moderation, these opiniens cannot prevail. Be assured, sir, be assured, that, among the political sentiments of this people, the love of union is still uppermost.-They will stand fast by the constitution, and by those who defend it. I rely on no temperary expedients, on no political combination; but I rely on the true American feeling, the genuine painotism of the people, and the imperative decision of the public voice. Disorder and confusion, indeed, may arise; scenes of commotion and contest are threatened, and perhaps may come -With my whole heart, I pray for the continuance of the domestic peace and quiet of the country. I desire, most ardently, the restoration of affection and harmony to all its parts. I desire that every citizen of the whole country may look to this Government, with no other sentiments but these of grateful respect and attachment .--But I cannot yield, even to kind feelings, the as may appear, from experience and cause of the constitution, the true glory of the consideration, to be best calculated to country, and the great trust which we hold in our hands for succeeding ages. It the constitu tien cannot be maintained without meeting these scenes of commotion and contest, however unwelcome, they must come We cannot, we must pare. judgment, the satety of the Union requires -Not regardless of the consequences, we must yet regards its temporalities and the maintain meet consequences; seeing the hazards which surrounc the discharge of public duty, it must vet be discharged. For myself, sir, I shun no responsibility justly devolving on me, here or elsewhere, in attempting to maintain the cause own appropriate part whenever and wherever the occasion may call on me, and to take my chance among those upon whom blows may fall first and fall thickest. I shall exert every faculty I possess in aiding to prevent the constitution from being nullified destroyed, or impaired; and even should I see it fall, I will still, with a voice, feeble, perhaps, but earnest as ever issued from human lips, and with fidelity and zeal, which nothing shall extinguish, call on the PEOPLE to ton. come to its resene.

## FOREIGN.

LATER FROM ENGLAND.

NEW YORK, March 23.

About 4 o'clock this morning, our news schooner came up from the packet ship Samson, Capt. Chadwick, bringing us Loudon papers to the evening of February 5th. On that day the King in person delivered his speech. It possesses more explicitness than has before characterized these address-

The embargo on Dutch vessels had not been taken off and it was said would not be while affairs with that country remained unsettled.

bility of Ibrahim Pacha assenting to a cessation of hostulities, with a view to a definitive arrangement of the differences between

Accounts from Constantinople uary 6th state that the Sultan, in tremity of his distress, had accepted the fer of assistance made by the Empe Russia, and that a Russian officer set of Egypt, to demand the submission ceroy to the Sublime Porte.

The accounts from Paris are to Feb. The naval preparations at Brest to be prosecuted with undiminished enand some of the ships of war were all in a condition to put to sea.

The army of the north, the head of which were at Campaigne, had been stored to the same footing as the which it was placed before its recent en into Belgium.

Accounts from Spain, received by French journals, state that some partials turbances in that kingdom had been tually put down, and that Don Cir. (the King's brother) WAS UNDER ABBLE his OWN APARTMENTS. THE KING'S SPEECH

London, Feb. 5 .- This being the day i delivery of the King's Speech, his bine arrived at the House of Lords, short fore two o'clock; and on alighting from carriage was received by the Cabine V. ters and great officers of State.

His Majesty immediately proceededs. robing room, and from thence to the ior of the Mouse of Lords. On his Mind taking his seat on the throne, the Pala the Black Rod summoned the Houseoff mons to hear the Royal Speech. Sind afterwards, the Speaker, attended by an number of members, appeared at the when his Majesty delivered the follow most gracious Speech:

The period being now arrived at which the business of Parliament is usually sumed, I have called you together for the discharge of the important duties will which you are entrusted. Never at an time did subjects of greater magnitude for your attention.

"I have still to lament the continu of the civil war in Portugal, which some months has existed between the Prince ces of the House Braganza. From the com mencement, of this contest, I have abstract ed from all interference, except such required for the protection of British jects resident in Portugal, but may be sured that I shall not fail to avail my of an opportunity that may be afforded may assist in restoring peace to a country wi which the interests of my dominions are intimately connected

"I have also to regret that my earnest on deavors to effect a definitive arrangement between Holland and Belgium, have hithe to been unsuccessful. I found myself length compelled, in conjunction with the King of the Greach, to take measures I the execution of the Treaty of the 6th Nor The capture of the citadel of Antwerp has part accomplished that object, but the Dut Government still refusing to evacuate in rest of the territories assigned to Belga by that Treaty, the embarago which / bi merce has been continued. The negotions are again commenced and you w rely on their being conducted on my as they have uniformly been with the sing view of ensuring to Holland and Belgi a seperate existence, on principles of min security and independence.

"The good faith and honor with white the French Government has acted in the transactions, and the assurances who continue to receive from the chief Pois of Europe of their friendly disposition, me confidence in the success of my end vors to preserve the general peace. Il given directions that the various page which are necessary for your informati on the affairs of Holland and Belgium should be laid before you.

"The approaching termination of " charter of the Bank of England and of East India Company will require a rev of the establishments, and I rely on wisdom for making such provisions for important interests connected with the cure public credit. to improve and exten our commerce, and to promote the gene prosperity and hower of the British

"Your attention will also be directed the state of the Church, more particulally ance of the Clergy. The complaints have risen from the collection of Titles pear to require a change of system, wh without diminishing the means of ma taining the established Clergy, in respect rangement and dissatisfaction which frequently prevailed between the Mass of the church and their Parishioners may also be necessary for you to come what remedies may be applied for the tion of knowledged abuses, and whether revenues of the Church may not adout more equitable and judicious duting

"In your deliberations on these tant subjects, it cannot be necessary for to impress upon you the duty of care attending to the security of the Church blished by law in these realms, and to

interests of religion. "In relation to Ireland, with a removing the causes of complaint what had been so generally felt, and which beeh attended with such unfortunate sequences, an act was passed during last session of parliament for carrying effecat general composition for Tubeto you, in conjunction with such mendments of the law as may be applicable to that part of ay dominions doption of a measure by which, upon the Letters from Swabia announce the proba- ciple of a just commutation, the posses land, may be enabled to free them from the burthen of annual payme "To the further reforms need

will probably find that, although