AND NORTH-CAROLINA GAZETTE.

"OURS ARE THE PLANS OF FAIR DELIGHTFUL PEACE, UNWARP'D BY PARTY RAGE, TO LIVE LIKE BROTHERS."

VOL. XXXII

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ADVERTISEMENTS.

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MR. WEBSTER'S SPEECH.

As soon as the immense cheering and acclamations with which the toast in compliment to MR. WEBSTER, at the New-York Dinner, had subsided, that gentleman rose and addressed the Company as follows :----

I owe the honor of this occasion, gentlemen, to your patriotic and affectionate attachment to the Constitution of the Country. For an effort. well intended, however otherwise of unpretending character, made in the discharge of public duty and designed to maintain the Constitution, and vindicate its just powers, you have been pleased to tender me this token of your respect. It would be idle affectation to deny, that it gives me singular gratification. Every public man must naturally desire the approbation of his fellow citizens; and though it may be supposed that I should be anxious, in the he gave the whole powers of his mind to the affection. It commenced its being, and its bles

agency which eminent chizens of your own ful- stitution He was selected by Washington to States no farther than those common objects refilled, in regard to that great measure. They be the first Chief Justice of the United States ; quire. I confess, I love to linger around these are now recorded among the illustrious dead , and surely, the high and most responsible duties original fountains, and to drink deep of their but they have left momes never to be forgoiten, of that station, could not have been trusted to waters. I love to imbibe, in as full measure as I them, they will be continued until ordered speak of the Constitution of the United States, gentlemen, the cotemporaries of some of you,

RALBIGHT

of the wisdom of its provisions, of the difficul- known to most, and revered by all, were so conties attending its adoption, of the evils from spicuous in the framing and adopting of the which it rescued the country, and of the pros- Constitution, and called so early to important perity and power to which it has raised it, and stations under it, that a tribute, better, indeed, yet pay no tribute to those who were highly in- than I have given, or am able to give, seemed and strong ; while we congratulate one another ary history of the country, the name of CHANthat we live under its influence, and cherish CELLOR LIVINGSTON became early prominent. hopes of its long duration, we cannot forget who He was a member of that Congress which de-

they were that, in the day of our national infan- clared Independence ; and a member, too, of cy, in the times of despondency and despair, the Committee which drew and reported the mainly assisted to work out our deliverance. I immortal Declaration. At the period of the should feel that I disregarded the strong recol- adoption of the Constitution, he was its firm lections which the occasion presses upon us, friend and able advocate. He was a member of that I was not true to gratitude, not true to pa- the State Convention, being one of that list of triotism, not true to the living or the dead, not distinguished and gifted men, who represented true to your feelings or my own, if I should for:) this City in that body ; and threw the whole bear to make mention of Alexander Hamilton. | weight of his talents and influence into the Coming from the military service of the coun | doubtful scale of the Constitution. try, yet a youth, but with knowledge and ma- Gentlemen, as connected with the Constituturity, even in civil affairs, far beyond his years, tion, you have also local recollections which

or a weakened Union of the States, would be correspondence at home. He had seen and the Constitution were great men, and thorough- berty, as we enjoy it, appears, in the present between State laws and the Constitution, & laws sovereign. This would be cause efficient felt, in the fullest measure, and to the greatest ly furnished for every good work. All that read-state of the world, as sure and stable a basis for of Congress enough. Every thing else, in the common fortunes of communities, she may hope to resist, foreign affairs honorably and usefully, without a intelligence could do, and what is perhaps still enlightened States can find, or does find. Get this is the law of the land. There may be those, tunes of communities, she may hope to reast, stronger and more perfect Union at home. - more all that long experience, in difficult and tain it is, that in these times of so much popular who think it unnecessary, or who would pre-Though not a member of the Convention which troubled times, and a deep and intimate practical knowledge, and so much popular activity, these for a different mode of deciding such questions. Gentlemen, you have personal recollections framed the Constitution, he was yet present knowledge of the condition of the country could and associations, connected with the establish- while it was in session, and looked anxiously for do, conspired to fit them for the great business ment and adoption of the Constitution, which its result. By the choice of this City, he had a of forming a general, but limited government, are necessarily called up on an occasion like seat in the State Convention, and took an active embracing common objects, extending over all this. It is impossible to forget the prominent and zealous part, for the adoption of the Con- the States, and yet touching the power of the

and never to be remembered without respect abler or safer hands. It is the duty, one of may, the spirit of those who laid the foundations pose? Whatever he may be, and whatever sub-diciary is the common tribunal of the whole and veneration. Least of all, can they be for equal importance and delicacy, of that tribunal, of the government, & so wisely & skilfully bal stitute he may hold forth, I sin sure the people country. It is organized by the common author gotten by you, when assembled here for the to decide constitutional questions, arising occa-gotten by you, when assembled here for the constitutional questions, arising occa-having bearings, and proportions of this country will decline his kind interference, rivy, and its places filled by the common agent. purpose of signifying your attachment to the sionally on State laws. The general learning Having been afterwards, for eight years Secre- and hold on to the Constitution which they pos- This is the plain and practical provision. It was Constitution, and your sense of its inestimable and ab lity, and especially the prudence, the tary of State, and as long President, Mr. Madimildness, and the firmness of his character, em- son has had an experience in the affairs of the 1 rejoice to know would be looked upon with rists. And who can say that it has failed ? Who I should do violence to my own feelings, gen- mently fitted Mr. Jay to be the head of such a Constitution, certainly second to no man. More abhorrence. It is deeply entreached in the re can find substantial fault with its operation, or I should do violence to my own teenings, get the should offend yours, if I amit- Court. When the spotless ermine of the Judi- than any other man living, and perhaps more gards of the People. Doubtless, it may be up its results ? The great question is, whether we ted respectful mention of great names, yet fresh cial robe fell on Joux Jar, it touched nothing than any other man who has lived, his whole dermined by artful and long continued heatility; shall provide for the peaceable decision of cases in your recollections. How can I stand here, to not as spotless as itself. These eminent men, public life has been incorporated as it were, into it may be imperceptibly weakened by secret at- of coll-ion? Shall they be decided by law, or by the Constitution : in the original conception and tack ; it may be insidiously shorn of its powers force? Shall the decisions be decisions of peace . project of attempting to form it, in its actual fra- by slow degrees ; the public yigilance may be or decisions of war ?

REGIST

ming, in explaining and recommending it, by hilled, and when it awakes, it may find the Con- On the occasion referred to, the proposition speaking and writing, in assisting at the first or- stitution frittered away. In these modes, or some contended for was, that every State, under cerganization of the Government under it, and in a of them, it is possible that the Union of the tain supposed exigencies, might decide for itlong administration of its executive powers, in States may be dissolved. But if the general at- self, and act for itself, and oppos- its own force tution, and with the power of imbibing its true the intended mischief before it is effected, they do you imagine, gentlemen, it was, that such a spirit, and inhaling its very breath, from its first will effectually prevent it by their own sovereign proposition was maintained ? I should call it pulsation of life. Again, therefore, I ask, if he power. They will interpose themselves be- inclaphysical, & subtle ; but those terms would. annot tell us what the Constitution is, and what tween the meditated blow and the object of imply at least ingenuity, and some degree of it means, who can? He had retired with the their regard and attachment. Gentlemen, next plausibility ; whereas the argument appears to respect and regard of the community, and might to the controlling authority of the People them- me plain assumption, mere perverse construct naturally be supposed not willing to interfere a- selves, the preservation of the Government is tion of plain language, in the body of the Cangain in matters of publical concern. He has, mainly committed to those who administer it .- stitution itself. As I understand it, when put evertheless, not withholden his opinions on the Ir conducted in wisdom, it cannot but stand forth in its revised and most authentic shape, it vital question discussed on that occasion, which strong. Its genuine original spirit is a patriotic, is this : that the Constitution provides that, any has caused this meeting. He has stated, with liberal, a generous spirit-a spirit of conciliation, amendments may be made to it, which shall be an accuracy almost peculiar to himself, and so of moderation, of caudor, and charity ; a spirit agreed to by three fourths of the States ; there stated, as, in my opinion, to place almost beyond of friendship, and not a spirit of hostility with is, therefore, to be nothing in the Constitution further controversy, the true doctrines of the the States; a spirit, careful not to exceed, and to which three-fourths of the States have not

Constitution. He has stated, not notions too equally careful not to relinquish, its just pow- agreed. All this is true : but then comes this loose and irregular to be called even a theory- ers. While no interest can or ought to feel it- interence, viz. that when one State denies the he made this city the place of his adoption a and must bind it still closer to your at achiment and not ideas struck out by the feeling of present self shut out from the benefits of the Constitutionality of any law of Congress, she inconvenience or supposed mal-administration- on, none should consider those benefits as ex- may arrest its execution as to herself, & keep it contemplation of the weak, and distracted con sings, here. It was in this City, in the midst of not suggestions of expediency, or evasions of clusively its own. The interests of all must be arrested, till the States can all be consulted, by dition of the country. Daily increasing in ac- friends, anxious, hopeful, and devoted, that the fair and straight forward construction,-but ele- connected, and reconciled, and provided for, as their conventions, & three-fourths of them shall those whose immediate Representative I am, it quaintance and confidence with the people of new Government started in its course. 'To us, mentary principles, clear and sound distinctions, for as possible, that all may perceive the bene- have decided that the law is constitutional. Inthis city, he saw, what they also saw, the abso- gentlemen, who are younger, it has come down and indispensable truths. I am sure, Gentlemen, fits of an united Government. is here offered. But, gentlemen, I am conscious lute necessity of some closer bond of Union for by tradition ; but some around me are old e- that I speak your sentiments as well as my own, is here offered. But, gentlemen, I am conscious the never some closer bound of bound that the main purpose of this occasion is night of its but interesting scene of the first inauguration. They distinctly as he has done, his own opinions on have erisen, possessing slready an immense pois to evince your attachment to the Consitution, to be attempted for its accomplishment. One what acchain Mulison has funded on the funded of the stream of and your just alarm, at whatever threatens to be ettempted for its accomplishment. One what shouts of enthusiastic hope, what accla-mations rent the sime how many aver were sufand your just alarm, at whatever threatens to be extended to be ex tried, and all failed. The States were urgently fused with tears of joy-how cordially each man think with me, that at his advanced age, and in like New-York, directly connected with mari- not included, and cannot be found there, till called on to confer such further powers on the pressed the hand of him who was next to him, the enjoyment of general respect and approba- time commerce. They are entirely agricultural, three-fourths of the States agree to insert it. In Gentlemen, this could hardly be otherwise. ______ the control of the control of the states agree to insert it. In It would be strange, indeed, if the members of old Congress as would enable it to redeem the view of assembled thousands, an act of distinguished natriotism, when he can be control of distinguished natriotism, when he can be can be control of the states agree to insert it. In the City, in the view of assembled thousands, an act of distinguished patriotism, when he saw to those markets. It is the duty of the Govern- requires three fourths of the States to insert any ral and common principle of commercial regula. the first President was heard solemnly to pro-notions promulgated and maintained, which he ment to bring the interests of these new States thing into the Constitution, yet any State can tion. But the States had not agreed, and were nounce the words of his official outh, repeating deemed unsound and dangerous, not to hesitate into the Union, and incorporate them closely in strike any thing out of it. For the power to hostile to its principles. Where, louder than not likely to agree. In this posture of affairs, them from the lips of Chancellor Livingston.- to come forward, and to place the weight of his the family compact. Gentlemen, it is not im-You then thought, gentlemen, that the great own opinion in what he deemed the right scale, practicable to reconcile these v mous interests, work of the revolution was accomplished. You come what might. I am sure, Gentlemen, it and so to administer the Government as to make ened? In this great Commercial Emporium, at on the request of Virginia, at Annapolis, in Sep- then felt that you had a Government-that the cannot be doubted, - the manifestation is clear, it useful to all. It was never easier to administer the doubted wited the states ware then induced united the states ware the states ware then induced united the states ware United States were then, indeed, united. Eve -that the country feels gratefully the force of ter the Government than it is now. We are Gentlemen, what I have soid of the benefits of ficulties; and it is a time of great general pros- our Government was quoted, praised, and comative situations and trade of the several States; heroes of the Revolution; here were sages of the Constitution to your city, might be said, with perity and happiness. Shall we admit ourselves mended all over the world; when the friends of feeling of attachment to the National Constitu-tion. Gentlemen, no one can estimate more and to consider how far a uniform system of the Convention; here were minds, disciplined it è change in every other part of the country. incompetent to carry on the Government, so as Republican Liberty, every where, were g-zing tion. Gentlemen, no one can estimate more commercial regulations was necessary to their and schooled in all the various fortunes of the lts benefits are not exclusive. What has it left to be satisfactory to the whole country? Shail we at it with delight, and were in perfect admiration highly than I do, the natural advantages of your common interest and permanent harmony. Mr. country, acting now in various relations, but all undone, which any government could do, for the admit that the re has so little descended to us of at the harmony of its movements, one State myself, also, of that spirit of wise and liberal Hamilton was one of these commissioners; and co-operating to the same great end, the success- whole country? In what condition has it placed the wisdom and prodence of our fathers? If the policy, which has actuated the government of I have inderstood, though I cannot asser? the ful administration of the new and untried Con-policy, which has actuated the government of I have inderstood, though I cannot asser? If the state of the state o the State in the accomplishment of high objects, fact, that their report was drawn by him. His stitution. And he-how shall I speak of him? ted or degraded by its operation? What is our ton's time, when it was yet new, when the country important to the growth and prosperity both of associate from this State was the venerable he was already first in war condition under its influence, at the very moment was heavily in debt, when foreign relations were the State and the City But all these local ad- Judge Benson, who has lived long, and still -who was already first in the hearts of his coun- when some talk of arresting its power & break- threatening, & when Indian wars pressed on the ing its unity ? Do we not feel ourselves on an frontiers, can it not be administered now ? Let could never have made your City what it now which originated in this meeting. Of its mem- unanimous suffrage of the country, to be first eminence? Do we not challenge the respect of us not acknowledge ourselves so unequal to our the whole world ? What has placed us thus duties. Gentlemen, how gloriously have the hopes, high ? What has given us this just pride ?- Gentlemen, on the occasion referred to, it Government, extending over all the States, and over all the states, and over all the states, and over all the next year, a general then indulged, beca fulfilled! Whose expectation and uniform system and establishing, for all, a common and uniform sys-tem of commercial regulation. Without nation-deliberation the condition of the country and de-whose imagination then so extravagant, as to which it has been proposed now to harmoer and to be country and dedeliberation the condition of the country, and de- whose imagination then so extravagant, as to which it has been proposed now to hamper, and tution. n every free and balanced government, suggestions. I felt it to be a contest for the inal character, without public credit, without sys the such provisions as should render the Con-tematic finance, without uniformity of commer. vise such provisions as should render the Con-tegrity of the Constitution of the bederal Covernment adequate to one half of what has been accomplished in forty that should find himself on any ap t of the anthe back of the there is a contest for the intenatic finance, without uniformity of commer-cial laws, all other advantages possessed by this the existencies of the Union. I need not remind years? Who among you can go back to 1789, where human beings exist and where the exist and where the exist and where the exist and where the exist. cial laws, all other advantages possessed by this the exigencies of the Union. I need not remind years? Who among you can go back to 1789, where human beings exist, and where the exist, and where the exist the administration of justice seems to be the how I might come out. you, that of this Convention, Mr. Hamilton was and see what this city, and this country too, then tence of other nations is known, that would not leading object of institutions of government : Gentlemen, I have true pleasure in saying, an active and efficient member. The Constitu- were-and then beholding what they now are, be proud to say, I am an American ? I am a coun- that Legislatures assemble, that armies are emtion was framed, and submitted to the country. Can be ready to consent that the Constitution of tryinan of Washington ? I am a citizen of that boilied, that of desire to the inhabitants of this city. New-York was conscious of her local advantages for the united states shall now be weakened, nulli-York was conscious of her local advantages for the constitution trailed returning for the united states shall now be weakened, nulli-fied, or dishonored? sprung up, yet there are none on the globe who instration of laws, and the judicial protection of pinion. The general reprobation of the country have ears to hear and have not heard of it-who private rights. The juficial power comes home has been cast upon them. Receat expressions of collections, I feel it an irresistible impulse of duty have eyes to see and have not read of it-who to every man. If the Legislature passes incor- the most numerous branch of the National Legto pay a tribute of respect to another distinguish- know any thing, and y t do not know of its ex- rect or unjust general laws, its members best islature are decisive and imposing. Every where, ed person, not, indeed, a fellow citizen of your istence and its glory ?- And, Gentiemen, let the evil as well as others. But judicature acts on the general tone of public feeling is for the Conown, but associated with those I have already me now reverse the Picture. Let me ask, who individuals It touches every private right, eve- stitution. While much will be yielded every mentioned, in important labours, and an early & is there among us if he were to b found to-mor- ry private interest, and almost every private thing, almost, but the integrity of the Constituindefatigable friend and advocate in the great row in one of the civilized countries of Europe, feeling. What we possess is hardly fit to be tion, and the essential interests of the Country, cause of the Constitution. Gentlemen, I refer and were there to learn that this goodly form of called our own, unless we feel secure in its pos- to the cause of mutual harmony and mutual conto Mr. Madison. I am aware, Gentlemen that a government had been overthrown-that the Uni session ; and this security, this feeling of per- ciliation, no ground can be granted, not an inch tribute of regard from me to him is of little im ted States were no longer united-that a death- fect safety, cannot exist under a wicked, or even to menace and bluster. Indeed menace and purposes. Those papers were all writen and portance ; but if it shall receive your approba- blow had been struck upon their boad of Union under a weak and ignorant administration of bluster, and the putting forth of daring uncoation and sanction, it will become of value. Mr. -that they themseves had destroyed their chief the laws. There is no happiness, there is no stitutional doctrines, are at this very moment. Madison, thanks to a kind Providence, is yet a- good and their chief honor, -who is there, whose liberty, there is no enjoyment of life, unless a the chief obstacles to mutual harmony, and semong the living, and there is certainly no other heart would not sink within him? Who is there man can say when he rises in the morning-I tisfactory accommodation. Men cannot well reave sie, called to ratify the new Constitution. Its individued living to whom the country is so much who would not cover his face for very shame? shall be subject to the decision of no unjust son and confer, and take counsel tog-ther, about debates are published. Mr. Hamilton appears indebted for the blessings of the Constitution .- At this very moment, gentlemen, our country judge to-day. to have exerted, on this occasion, to the utmost, He was one of the Commissioners at Annapolis is a general refuge for the distressed and the But, gentlemen, the Judicial Department, un- deny that any such power rightfully exists, and in 1786, of the meeting of which I have already persecuted of other nations. Wheever is in af- der the United States, pos who threaten to blow up the whole Constitution The whole question was likely to depend on spoken ; a meeting which to the great credit of fliction from political occurrences in his own sesses still higher duties. It is true that it may if they cannot otherwise get rid of its operation. the decision of New York. He felt the fall im- Virginia, had its origin in a proceeding of that country, looks here for shelter. Whether he be called on, and is occasionally called on, to It is a matter of sincere gratification, gentlemen, portance of the crissis; and the reports of his State. He was a member of the Convention of be Republican, flying from the oppression of decide questions, which are, in one sene, of a that the voice of this great Stat has been so speeches, imperfect as they probably are, are 1787, and of that of Virginia the following year. thrones-or whether he be Monorch or Monar- political nature. The General and State Gov- clear & strong, and her vote all out monorpours, yet lasting monuments to his genius and patriot. He was thus intimately acquainted with the chist, flying from thrones that crumble and fall ernments, both established by the People, are on the most interesting of these occasions, in the ism. He saw at last his hopes fulfilled : he saw whole progress of the formation of the Constitu-under or around him-he feels equal assurance, established for different purposes, and with dif- II of R presentatives. Certainly such respect the Constitution adopted, and the government tion, from its very first step, to its final adoption. that if he get foot-hold on our soil, his person is ferent powers. Between those powers quer to the Usen becomes N. Y. It is consistent with under it, established and organized. The dis- If ever man had the means of understanding a safe, and his rights will be respected. cerning eye of Washington immediately called written instrument, Mr. Madison has the means And who will venture to say, that in any Go- Some provision for this end is absolutely ne ly prosperous State, --which now is, & is likely him to that post, infinitely the most important, of understanding the Constitution. If it be pos- vernment, now existing in the world, there is cessary. What shall it be? This was the to continue to be, the greatest link in the chain in the administration of the new system. He sible to know what was designed by it, he can greater security for persons or property than in question before the Convention; and various of the Union-will ever be, it is to be hoped, was made Secretary of the Treasury; and how tell us. It was in this city, that in conjunction the United States? We have tried these popul schemes were suggested. It was foreseen, the strongest link also. The great States which he fulfilled the duties of such a place, at such a with Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Jay, he wrote the lar institutions in times of great excitement and that the States might inadvertently pass laws, lie in her neighborhood agree with her fully time, the whole country perceived, with delight, numbers of the Federalise ; and it was in this commotion ; they have stood substantially firm inconsistent with the Constitution of the United in this matter. Pennsylvania, I believe, loyal

Governments which do not admit the People to But this is the established mode, and till it be partake in their administration, but keep the altered, the Courts can uo more decline their People under and beneath, sit on materials for duty, on these occasions, than on other occasion an explosion, which may take place at any mo- one. But, gentlemen, can any reasonable man ment, and blow them into a thousand atoms. doubt the expedie sty of this provision, or sug-Gentlemen, let any man who would degrade gest a better ? Is it not absolutely essential to and enfeeble the National Constitution-let any the peace of the country, that this power should man who would nullify its laws, stand forth and exist somewhere ? Where can it exist, better

deed, the inference is still stranger than this ; rily to amend it ; therefore the argument must prove, if it prove any thing, that when any one strike out, and the power of deciding, without appeal, upon the construction of what is already in, are substantially and practically the same. And, gentlemen, what a spectacle should we have exhibited, under the actual operation of beset with none, or but few, of its original dif notions like these ! At the very moment when steps forth, and by the power of nulification, presks up the whole system, and scatters the right chain of the Union into as many sundered links as there are separate States ? Seeing the true grounds of the Constitution thus attacked, I raised my voice in its favor, I must confess, with no preparation or previous itention. I can handly say that I embarked in tions may arise, and who shall decide them ? her interests and her character. That singular-

place, not to disappoint the expectations of those whose immediate Representative I am, it

Gentlemen, this could hardly be otherwise .-first and foremost to raily for the Constitution, whenever opinions and doctrines are advanced. here, may we expect a patriotic voice to be so full of public difficulty, and public distress, raised, when the Union of the States is threatthis central point of the united commerce of the warmest, the most determined, and universal feeling of attachment to the National Constituis, without the aid and protection of a General bers, he and Mr. Mad son are, I believe, the on- in peace. Government, extending over all the States, and ly survivors. These commissioners recommendunripe fruit. A General Government was, for years before it was instituted. the great object of desire to the inhabitants of this city. Newto embrace it; but nothing else than a General and did find, enemies and opposers. Objections Government could make free her path before to it were numerous, and powerful, and spirited. her, and set her forward on her career. She early saw all this, and to the accomplishment of this great and indispensable object, she bent up every faculty, and exerted every effort. She

was not mistaken. She formed no false indgment. At the moment of the adoption of the Constitution, New-York was the capital of one State, and contained thirty two or three thousand people. It now contains more than two hundred thousand people, and is justly regard. ed as the Commercial Capital, not, only of all the United States, but of the whole Continent also, from the Pole to the South Sea. Every page of her history, for the last forty years, bears high and irresistible testimony to the benefits and blessings of the General Government. Her astonishing growth is referred to, and quoted, all the world over, as one of the most striking proofs of the effects of our Federal Union. To suppose her now to be easy and indifferent, when notions are advanced tending to its dissolution, would be to suppose her equally forgetful of the past, and blind to the present, alike ignorant of her own history, and her own interest, metamorphosed, from all that she has been, into a being, tired of its prosperity, sick of its

own growth and greatness, and infatuated for its own destruction. Every blow aimed at the Union of the States strikes on the tenderest nerve of her interest and her happiness. To ring the Union into debate, is to bring her own fature prosperity into debate also. To speak of arresting the laws of the Union, of interposing State power in matters of Commerce and Revenue, of weakening the full and and just authority of the General Government, would be, in regard to this City, but another mode of wharves, of vacated houses, of diminished and dispersing population, of bankrupt merchants, of mechanics without employment, and laborers the Constitution of the United States, are coevils and cotemporaries. They began together, they have flourished together, and if rashness and folly destroy one, the other will follow it to the tomp.

commissioners from five or six of the States met, tember, 1786. The precise object of their ap-United States, of all places we may expect the pointment was, to take into consideration the Ty benignant star seemed to shed its selectest this new obligation. influence on that auspicious hour. Here were trade of the United States ; to examine the relvantages, and all this enlightened state policy lives, to see the happy results of the counsels trymen-and who was now shown, also, by the

Gentlemen, before I leave these pleasant re-They were to be answered ; and they were ef. lectually answered. The writers of the inumbers of the Federalist, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Mulison, and Mr. Jay, so greatly distinguished themselves in their discussions of the Constitution. that those numbers are generally received as mportant commentaries on the text, and accurate expositions, in general, of its objects and ed one of the distinguished delegation from the cuy, into the State Convention at Poughkeep-

the conceptions of ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

pled. It is now, I believe, sixteen or seventeen lic service. A member of the first Congress, he was, by master hands.

and the whole world saw, with admiration. He city that he commenced his brilliant career, un- and steady, while the fountains of the great States, or with acts of Congress. At least, laws to the Union to a man; and Ghio raises her smote the rock of the national resources, and der the new Constitution, having been elected political deep have been elsewhere broken up ; might be passed, which would be charged with voice like that of a lion, against whatsoever threat: abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. He into the House of Representatives of the first while thrones, resting on ages of prescription, such inconsistency. How should these questi- ens disunion and dismember stent. This harmotouched the dead corpse of the Public Great, Congress. The recorded votes and debates of have tottered and fallen ; and while, in other ons be disposed of ! Where shall the power of ny of sentiment is truly gratifying. It is not to and it sprung upon its feet. The fabled birth those times, show his active and efficient agen- countries, the earthquake of unrestrained popu- judging, in cases of alleged interference, be be gainsaid that the union of opinion, in this of Minerva, from the brain of Jove, was hardly cy in every important measure of that Congress. lar commotion has swallowed up all law, and all lodged? One suggestion, in the Convention, great central mass of our population, on this momore sudden, or more perfect, than the finan. The necesary organization of the Government, liberty, and all right together. Our Govern- was to make it an executive power, and to lodge mentous point of the Constitution, auguis well speaking of commercial ruin, of abandoned the States, burst forth from the arrangement of the Departments, & especial- ment has been tried in peace, and it has been it in the hands of the President, by requiring all for our future prosperity and security.

ly the paramount subject of revenue, engagedhis med in war; and has proved itself fit for both. State laws to be submitted to him, that he might I have said, gentlemen, what I verily believe Your recollections, gentlemen, your respect, attention, & shared his labors. The legislative It has been assailed from without, and success- negative such as he thought appeared repugnant to be true ; shat there is no danger to the Uniand your affections, all conspire to bring before history of the first two or three years of the Gov- fully resisted the snock ; it has been disturbed to the general constitution. This idea, perhaps, on from open & avowed attacks on its essential without bread. The growth of this City, and you, at such a time as this, another great man, eroment is full of instruction. It presents, in within, and has effectually quieted the disturb-may have been borrowed from the power exer- principles. Nothing is to be feared from those now, too, numbered with the dead. I mean the striking light, the evils intended to be remedied ance. It can stand assault-it cised by the crown, over the laws of the colonies. who will march up boldly to their own proposipure, the disinterested, the patriotic Jons JAT. by the Constitution, and the provisions which can stand adversity-it can stand every thing, It would evidently have been not only an inconve- tions, and tell us that they mean to annihilate His character is a brilliant jewel in the sacred were deemed essential to the remedy of those but the marring of its own beauty, and the wea- vient & trouble-ome proceeding, but dangerous, powers exercised by Congress. But, certainly treasures of national reputation. Leaving his evils. It exhibits the country, in the moment of kening of its own strength. It can stand every also, to the powers of the States. It was not press- there are dangers to the Constitution, and we profession at an early period, yet not before its change, from a weak & ill-defined confederacy thing, but the effects of our own rashness, & our ed. It was thought wiser & safer, on the whole, to ought not to shut our eyes to them. We know Gentlemen, it is true, indeed, that the growth is extra nel almost user and state Judges to the importance of a firm and intelligent Judici-of this city is extra nel almost user and almost user almost user and almost user almost user and almost user and almost user and almost user almost almost user almost user and almost user almost user almost user almost user almost almost user almost user almost user almost almost user almost user almost user almost user almost almost user almost almost user almost almost almost almost user almost almo Gentlemen, it is true, indeed, that the growth of this city is extraor linary, and almost u exam-bled. It is now the first pled. It is now the first pled. It is a striking fact, and as true as it is striking, of our peculiar system, moved, as then Tt is a striking fact, and as true as it is striking, of our peculiar system, moved, as then Tt is a striking fact, and as true as it is striking, of our peculiar system, moved, as then Tt is a striking fact, and as true as it is striking, of our peculiar system, moved, as then Tt is a striking fact, and as true as it is striking, of our peculiar system, moved, as then Tt is a striking fact, and as true as it is striking, of our peculiar system, moved, as then Tt is a striking fact, and as true as it is striking, of our peculiar system, moved, as then Tt is a striking fact, and as true as it is striking, of our peculiar system, moved, as then Tt is a striking fact, and as true as it is striking, of our peculiar system, moved, as then Tt is a striking fact, and as true as it is striking, of our peculiar system, moved, as then Tt is a striking fact, and as true as it is striking, of our peculiar system, moved, as then Tt is a striking fact, and as true as it is striking, of our peculiar system, moved, as then Tt is a striking fact, and as true as it is striking, of our peculiar system, moved, as then Tt is a striking fact, and as true as it is striking, of our peculiar system, moved, as then Tt is a striking fact, and as true as it is striking, of our peculiar system, moved, as then Tt is a striking fact, and as true as it is striking, of our peculiar system, moved, as then the peculiar system, moved, as the p years since I first saw it. Within that compar-atively start of the author of that political paper which is Gentlemen, for one, I confess, I like to dwell pal civilized States of the world, that Govern-atively start of fact, should arise, Executive power. It Connect continue or re-

atively short period, it has added to its pumber generally acknowledged to stand first among the on this part of our history. It is good for us to ment is most secure against the danger of popuwhen the Constitution incomparable productions of that body ; papers, be here. It is good for us to study the situ tion lar commotion, which is itself entirely popular. this end the judical power, under the Constitution the ordinary modes of Executive appointment. when the Constitution was adopted. Of all which called forth that decisive strain of com. of the country at this period, to survey its diffi- It seems, indeed, that the submission of every tion of the United States, was made co-extensive if the time shall ever come, which lleaver things having power to check this prosperity, of mendation from the great Lord Chatham, in which culty, to look at the conduct of its public men, to taing to the public men, to taing to t things p tent to blight and blast it, of all he pronounced them not inferior to the finest see how they struggled with obstacles, real & restraints, imposed by the people themselves, all cases arising under the Constitution and the preme tribonal of the country, who entertain ings capable of competing this city to recede productions of the master states of the world.- tormidable, and how gloriously they brought the furnishes. itself, security that that will, will de- laws of Congress. The Judiciary became thus opinions hostile to the just powers of the that as she has alvanced, a disturbed Govern- He had been abroad, and he had also been long country out of its state of depression and distress. sire nothing wrong. and enterpled public authority, a broken intrusted with the difficult duties of our foreign Fruly, Geatlemen, these founders and fathers of Certain it is, that popular Constitutional Lister resort, in all case of alleged interference delying all terms of Our case will be "past